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**Political Leadership Style in Times of Crisis:  
Critical Discourse Analysis of Vilnius NATO Summit**

MA thesis

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## **ABSTRACT**

This paper aims to thematically analyse the social media X posts, speeches, press releases, press conferences and remarks of political leaders at the 2023 Vilnius NATO summit with the purpose of comparing the recurrent features of their communication style with a specific focus on the expression of hard and soft power skills and the collective identity. The collected data of public statements, speeches and social media posts was delivered by the following 10 leaders: Canadian Prime Minister Justin Trudeau, French President Emmanuel Macron, German Chancellor Olaf Scholtz, Italian Prime Minister Giorgia Meloni, Japanese Prime Minister Fumio Kishida, Prime Minister of the United Kingdom Rishi Sunak, President of the United States Joe Biden, the Lithuanian President Gitanas Nausėda, the Ukrainian president Volodymyr Zelenskyy and the NATO Secretary General Jens Stoltenberg. The collected data of 16,707 words consists of the social media X posts, speeches, press releases, press conferences and public remarks delivered during the Vilnius NATO summit (2023, July 11-12). The data was analysed within the theoretical framework of Critical Discourse Studies (Wodak, 2021). The results have shown that the prevalent political leadership style in the Vilnius NATO summit focuses on soft power skills thematically realised via the concepts of unity, defence, relations, values and the NATO membership. It has also been clarified that the most prevalent metaphors used to represent the recurrent themes are related to the source domains of PERSONIFICATION, JOURNEY, SPACE, BODY, MOVEVENT, FIGHT and OBJECT with the consistent references of the inclusive “we” to the collective identity. The combined use of metaphors and thematic representation has revealed that soft power skills prevail in the Vilnius NATO summit discourse with a specific focus on the unified collective identity and the importance of the NATO alliance in the time of crisis.

**Keywords:** Critical Discourse Studies, thematic analysis, NATO, G7, leadership theory, metaphors, pronouns, Vilnius NATO summit, collective identity, hard power skills, soft power skills.

## INTRODUCTION

Critical Discourse Studies is a multidisciplinary field that views language as a social construct, emphasising differences in the context of use and social processes (Wodak 2004, 6). Within this theoretical and empirical approach to language use, there is much focus on analysing the combined use of language, power, and social meaning (Wodak 2004, 303-304). While there are many studies in the research field of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) and political leadership due to the current and ongoing various global and local conflicts the research of political leadership in times of military crises gains new relevance and importance. This paper aims to distinguish what messages world leaders are sending to the public in the time of war. Most importantly, it is set to clarify whether political leaders resort to using soft power skills or hard power skills (Nye 2023, 4-11) to convey their ideas and communicate about the war in Europe more persuasively. It is hypothesised that unsettling times of war enable politicians to prefer hard power to soft power skills (Arcimavičienė, 2023) for communicating ideologically motivated opinions and positions.

This research paper will analyse the discursive features of political leadership styles during times of crisis, with a specific focus on identifying the discursive representation of hard and soft power skills as articulated by chosen political leaders. The analysed political leaders were the G7 countries representatives, namely Canadian Prime Minister Justin Trudeau, French President Emmanuel Macron, German Chancellor Olaf Scholtz, Italian Prime Minister Giorgia Meloni, Japanese Prime Minister Fumio Kishida, Prime Minister of the United Kingdom Rishi Sunak, and President of the United States Joe Biden. To add, the President of Lithuania Gitanas Nausėda and the President of Ukraine Volodymyr Zelenskyy together with North Atlantic Treaty Organization's (NATO's) Secretary-General Jens Stoltenberg during the Vilnius 2023 NATO summit. The niche and novelty of my research are the recency of the Vilnius 2023 NATO summit dedicated to the ongoing war and conflict in Europe, and the underlying features of the summit communication. More specifically, the current study aims to analyse the discursive features of political leadership styles during times of crisis, with a specific focus on identifying the discursive representation of hard and soft power skills as articulated by chosen various political leaders. Additionally, this research aims to investigate how the collective political identity is expressed within the context of the Vilnius NATO summit and to determine the type of leadership style communicated to the public. To achieve the aim, the following research objectives were raised:

1. To analyse how political leadership strategy is communicated at the Vilnius NATO summit by the selected leaders.

2. To thematically analyse various representations of political discourse during the summit, and to match the recurrent themes with the categories of power skills (Nye, 2023).
3. To evaluate the features of the collective identity expressed by the leaders.

It is thus hypothesised that the political leaders focus more on hard power skills in times of war and use binary markers of collective identity with a clearer focus on the ‘Other’. The paper consists of four major sections: it starts with the literature review, followed by data and methods, by research findings and their discussion. Finally, the conclusions are drawn, followed by references and the appendix.

# **1. LITERATURE REVIEW**

In the literature review part of this paper, the theoretical framework of this study will be overviewed in the following way. First, I will examine Critical Discourse studies as a multidisciplinary field in terms of the relationship between its three underlying concepts: language, power, and society. Next is the overview of how the studies of leadership and leadership itself can be examined. Following the leadership studies, the combined approach to leadership and Critical Discourse Analysis is provided, where the concepts of power and power skills are presented. Lastly, some background information about NATO as an international organisation is given.

## **1.1. Critical Discourse Studies**

The following subsection will provide information about Critical Discourse Studies. Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) is a multidisciplinary field of studies. According to Norman Fairclough, CDA “brings the critical tradition of social analysis into language studies and contributes to critical social analysis with a particular focus on discourse and on relations between discourse and other social elements (power relations, ideologies, institutions, social identities, and so forth)” (2013, 9). Fairclough’s definition presents CDA as both a theory and practice, whereby different types of political discourse and power dynamics can be analysed. One of the major features of political discourse is that its analysis is always context-driven. In this paper, CDA will be procedurally applied to analyse the public statements delivered by various political leaders in the form of X social media posts (previously known as Twitter), summit remarks, press releases and press conferences during the Vilnius 2023 NATO summit.

As CDA has been around for over 30 years now, it is nowadays practised throughout the globe (Krzyżanowski & Forchtner 2016, 254). Many scholars consider it one of the best ways to research discourse. One of the most recognised scholars in the field of CDA is Ruth Wodak. She argues, that language becomes a social act closely related to where and in which instances it is produced (Wodak 2004, 303-304). This makes language closer to our social realities, such as war and times of crisis. According to another established scholar in CDA Teun Van Dijk, in addition to social meanings, discourse produces social domination and power abuse of one group over another (2009, 63-64). This concept of dominance and hierarchies is also applicable to political discourse, especially when it is articulated during the time of deepening crisis and conflict between countries. This is the case with the Vilnius NATO summit, where political leaders gathered to express their concerns about the increasing threat from Russia. Such as Russia’s deepening military integration with Belarus,

modernising its nuclear forces and intensifying its hybrid actions against NATO Allies and partners (Vilnius Summit Communiqué 2023, points 15-18).

As previously mentioned, CDA as a theoretical and empirical framework, is problem-oriented and focuses on the analysis of context, language and social acts. Within the context of the current study, CDA is used as both a theoretical and empirical approach to analyse how political leaders communicate in times of crisis and the ongoing war against Ukraine. Despite the fact that the context-driven approach is useful, it poses certain challenges as well. CDA is dependent on context and works through the lenses through which you look at discourse. It could seem problematic at first, as each individual could be subjective and shaped by ideology and power (Fairclough 2013, 10). Even though it has its shortcomings, it is still one of the best ways to research how social meanings are established in political discourse (Fairclough et.al. 2011, 374). Moreover, as the CDA also focuses on social domination and power abuse, it includes different theoretical starting points and discipline-specific applications (Cap, 2019). This proves to be a useful tool for this paper, which is guided by the two theoretical bases: social constructionism and linguistics (Cap 2019, 13). CDA, being a part of Social Constructionism theory, and linguistics, being a language and discourse studies field, can be combined in their application to the analysis of social meanings in political discourse.

To summarise, within the study, CDA is procedurally deconstructing, analysing and looking at the data gathered from political speeches during the Vilnius NATO summit held in July 11-12, 2023, in the capital of Lithuania, Vilnius. In the next section, the concept and study of leadership will be overviewed in more detail.

## **1.2. The Study of Leadership**

The perception of leadership as a concept has undergone changes over the course of years, but it remains concerned about having certain personality traits and motivation (Horner 1997, 270). Great leaders undoubtedly shape behaviour and have the talent to convince people with the ability to predict and prevent unhappiness (Spagnoli et. al. 2021, 5-8). By contrast, less successful leaders may ruin a well-established and working system and could influence people in a wrong way, cause stress (Spagnoli et. al. 2021, 5-8). In psychology, leadership is portrayed as an “inner motor of leader and increasingly follower traits, states, emotions, and cognitive processing styles” (Fairhurst 2008, 510). There would be no leadership and leadership studies without the presence of a leader with one’s individual characteristics and personal features. Another important aspect is how followers’ needs and interests guide leadership (Nye, 2023).

All leaders’ goals have to be their followers-oriented, and it is expected that leaders could influence the decisions and shape thoughts of their followers. In addition to small-scale leadership,



there are plenty example of countries' leaders, who could shape and determine the histories of nations. Such great impact makes leadership a complex political, social and psychological phenomenon that combines mechanisms of domination, culture and structure (Fairhurst 2008, 510). Such complexity presupposes cautious approach, as a leader can influence followers positively and make both positive and negative changes (Spagnoli et. al. 2021, 5-8).

In social sciences, it is argued that perfect leadership incorprtated the combined use of mechanisms that lead to positive and necessary changes or polarization and ruin in social structures. One of the leaders who successfully averted nuclear war during the Cuban Missile Crisis was John F. Kennedy (Nye 2023, 76). In contrast, President Donald Trump's policies are seen to be careless and disruptive by many, but they are yet to be determined in long term (Nye 2023, 75-76). In many instances, the leadership is also having great communication skills and attracting the listeners. For instance, the American leader Franklin D. Roosevelt and his team were convinced, that the security of United States would depend on the ability to capture and attract people from other countries and the president's talent to speak and gain support (Nye 2008, 97).

It can thus be argued that positive leadership can contribute to problem solving and even help with improving security of the country, while negative leadership could worsen the existing problems and issues in the world by dividing and disrupting society. This paper aims to analyse how world leaders communicate in times of crisis, and how they use their power skills in the context of the Vilnius NATO summit. Differently from the previously mentioned studies about leadership oriented towards traits and policies (Fairhurst 2008; Spagnoli et. al. 2021), this study focuses on the leadership style in political discourse. In the following subsection, I will discuss leadership discourse in CDA studies.

### **1.3. Leadership in Critical Discourse Studies**

As indicated previously, leadership has a long and vast prevailing history of research that is mostly about the psychological aspects of human behaviour in a leadership position. This perspective is also supported by the definition provided in the Cambridge Dictionary, where leadership is defined as the quality or ability that makes a person a leader, or the position of being a leader (Online Cambridge English Dictionary, 2024). Similarly, some scholars argue that leadership is inseparable from a leader's qualities, and the study of leadership being inevitably about the leader's qualities itself (Horner 1997).

One of the major ways leadership is displayed is through leader's communication skills. Communication style is viewed as the primary tool in leadership that is inseparable from management (Fairhurst & Zoller 2007, 1333), and thus could be one of the most important traits of a leader. Within

this perspective, communication style could also be viewed as a variable of leaders' behaviour. Hereof, leadership is seen as "an asymmetrical relationship of influence in which one actor guides or directs the behaviour of others toward a certain goal over a certain period of time" (Underdal 1994, 178). The combined use of leaders' assessment in terms of their communication style and decision-making is foregrounded in the social constructivist approach to leadership (Fairhurst & Grant 2010, 172-175). This analysis of leadership has resulted in its classification into various types such as authentic leadership, servant leadership, spiritual leadership, transformational leadership and ethical leadership (Liu, et. al. 2017; Samul 2024, 7-10).

This paper focuses on the discursive type of leadership that is mostly established through communication practices between the leader and followers (Northouse 2016, 91). Discursive leadership attempts to answer two main questions: 1) how leadership is discursively represented, and 2) what the relationship between the psychological and discursive lenses of leadership is (Fairhurst 2008, 511). The discursive lenses are approached by approaching language, from the perspective of its constructed reality or what counts as reality to the participants (Aritz, et al. 2017, 162). In the discursive construction of reality, leadership aims to acquire, maintain and exercise power skills. In the following subsection, the use of power skills in leadership will be discussed

#### **1.4. Leadership, Power and Power Skills**

There are many ways to define the concept power. The Online Cambridge English Dictionary refers to power as ability control people and events (Online Cambridge English Dictionary, 2024). This common interpretation of power is caused by its ability to influence others (Lunenburg 2012, 1). To achieve the desired results, many leaders turn to power and use it to their advantage. Power, as a conceptual category, is divided into many types that serve different purposes of leadership.

One of the types that is acknowledged in social sciences is that of legitimate power (Lunenburg, 2012; French & Raven, 1958). *Legitimate power*, also known as position power, "is derived from a position of authority inside the organisation, often referred to as 'formal authority'" (Lunenburg 2012, 4). It involves some standard or some value which is accepted by people and which can help the agent assert the power (French & Raven 1958, 83). This type of power requires having subordinates, and it is most often exercised by people with status in the social hierarchy. Legitimate type of power is enhanced by the same people in power who change the legislation themselves (Lunenburg 2012, 2-6). This is how legitimate authority or power participates in the processes of decision-making and change events or rules at their convenience.

It is easy to use the definitions of legitimate power and authority interchangeably, however some attention to the difference between the definitions should be drawn. Norman Uphoff argues,

that the difference between authority and legitimacy is that “one is a claim for compliance, while the other is an acceptance of that claim” (1989, 303). Even though it is willing and has the acceptance element in it, French and Raven state, that legitimate power in formal organizations and workplaces is largely relationships between offices rather than persons (1958, 83). This is different from another type of power called *reward power*. Reward power is softer and it helps influence people with the help of providing things they need (Lunenburg 2012, 2-6). It leads to many great achievements, as it generally is more welcomed, than legitimate power. It acts more as positive incentive, rather than a negative one, because the leader can be good and reward the follower for compliance (Barthwal 2013, 409).

This type of power appears when a person possesses something another person wants and would be willing to adhere to certain behaviour to attain the wanted asset, reward power does support legitimate power (Barthwal 2013, 409). The third type of power in leadership studies is referred to as *coercive power*. This type of influence is created by punishing people or directly threatening people to get their consent (Lunenburg 2012, 2-6). Coercive power is often frowned upon in today’s world, as in most cases, there are strict guidelines about treating people and subordinates in various organisations and places of dominance. The coercive power is strengthened by the belief that the subordinate will be punished if they do not succeed or fail to obey leader’s goals (Reiley & Jacobs 2016, 71; French & Raven 1958, 83). Numerous theories suggest, that coercive power is only effective in instances it is not used (Molm 1994, 75).

The theory is based on fear, punishment and can also manifest informally such as fear of rejection (Barthwal 2013, 409). Coercive power differs from the following *expert power*. It is solely created by people who show certain admirable skills, knowledge or abilities (Lunenburg, 2012; Reiley & Jacobs 2016, 71). Followers and subordinates tend to follow inspiring informal leaders and rely on their opinions, as they are usually admired amongst many. The rarer a skill set, abilities and knowledge, the more leaders are admired (Barthwal 2013, 409), it more often than not is special knowledge (French & Raven 1958, 83).

The last type of power introduced is *referent power* (French & Raven, 1958) and this type of power emerges when followers tend to identify with the leader. It involves person’s ability to influence others by being liked, admired or respected. Referent power attracts target subordinate audience, because most people tend to follow and help people they like or are friends with, referent power is based on charisma (Barthwal 2013, 409).

To emphasise, power classification can vary in different settings and are context dependent. Moreover, leadership style is not entirely dependent on one or the other type of power. Most often, leaders show many variations of power skills and some people may even be able to use all of the

aforementioned types of power simultaneously (Lunenburg, 2012). The combined use of power skills help leaders gain audience and follow in the leadership position to a much greater scale.

These different types of power are exercised via different power skills. According to Nye (2024, 68-69), the grouping of power skills into *soft power* skills and *hard power* skills has emerged since the World War II and affected the power dynamics in the world. The World War II strengthened the United States, so the age of US emerged (Nye, 2004). Even though traditionally the strength of a country was considered and measured with its military power, a new type of power skill emerged. Guns, military and artillery could not measure the power and influence. In fact, such things like advancements in technology, education and culture could start to influence others internationally (Nye, 2023). Bearing this in mind however, there are still developing countries and societies (tribes and gangs) which invest into military power (Gray 2011, 10). Thus, it would be hard to state, that military power is completely gone out of the picture and is no longer the goal, as there still are some cases and some countries, which strive for military power. The previously mentioned influence in technology, education and culture is the newly acquired type of power, which is called soft or co-optive power (Nye 2004, 77).

Co-optive or else known as soft power comes in contrast to the hard, oftentimes called command power, which guns and ammunition symbolise. Instead of choosing the *coercive power* and ordering people or nations to follow orders blindly, new-age leaders and influential countries choose to be important in a way, which makes other countries, or people follow orders by their desire to follow. This tendency turned into extremely influential soft power as the need to be associated with the dominant leadership has gained momentum (Nye, 2023). The soft type of power is just as important if not more, as hard power itself gradually becomes softer, less traceable, less tangible and less forced. However, Joseph Nye's analysis of the United States hegemony and domination does lack the analysis and reasons why United States values should be universal and his viewpoint is thought to be overly concentrated on United States and keeping the hegemony American (Bilgin & Eliş 2008, 12).

As mentioned above, soft power skills are very important and represent how the new world is organised today, however there is scepticism of how strong and influential the soft power can be. The scepticism emerges especially with the invested interest of many leaders in increasing the national military power. Presumably, power skills in political leadership differ from military leadership and thus military leadership has to be more unequivocal, rather than ambiguous (Frăţilă 2022, 168-169). To add to the uncertainty of soft power and the arguments against it, it is important to mention that there are many instances, when politicians have to regularly make unpopular decisions and soft power in that case is not always a good representation of strong and unquivering political leadership. The lack in soft power is observed in instances, when political leaders turn to hard power skills instead

and make difficult, generally unsupported by the majority decisions. Also, soft power is often measured in popularity polls, which are very easily manipulated (Nye 2023, 18-19).

Even though the two power skills seem to represent opposite ends and ideas, in most cases of strong political leadership, both soft and hard power skills are combined in political leadership. In fact, this combination of both soft and hard power skills in leadership refers to *smart power* (Nye 2023, 21-26). Smart power is a constant adjustment from soft to hard power equipping the two continuously overlapping needs to solidify the power dynamic. To be fully in power, one needs a combination of coercion, payment and attraction. There are arguments, that smart power has no single definition, it only connects with foreign policy and information technology (Ivanov 2020, 51). Even if this is the case, smart power has contributed more to United States politics than hard or soft powers (Ivanov 2020, 46-50).

The overlapping uses of soft and hard power skills also raise a dilemma whether the distinction between soft power and hard power skills is necessary. In fact, some scholars maintain the opinion that soft power is merely a continuation of the hard power itself (Mattern, 2005). In most cases, the use of both soft and hard power skills is intertwined and leaders equip both sets of power skills interchangeably and in some cases, the power is expressed indirectly (Bilgin & Eliş 2008, 9-10). This study aims to thematically analyse the discursive representation of soft and hard power skills in the context of the Vilnius NATO summit. The discursive representation of power skills is revealed in the following subsection.

### **1.5. Power Skills in Discourse**

Military leadership which is mostly made of actions rather than words frequently evokes hard power skills in the time of crisis. Regarding discursive representation, military discourse is most likely to be firm and unambiguously understood (Frăţilă, 2022). This type of discourse would generally incorporate hard power skills rather than soft power skills. In times of military crisis, populism and fear become central concepts in political leaders' speeches (Wodak, 2021). Oftentimes, the far-right populist discourse is guided by ideological oppositions, where the world is divided in three different camps – *We, The 'Good Fight'* versus *The Others* (Wodak 2021, 132). This type of discourse accentuates the divide between Them and Us and makes the society fall into two camps.

In this paper, different political leaders' communication during Vilnius NATO summit was analysed in terms of the recurrent thematic patterns and their representation of power skills in leadership. Keeping in mind the tendencies for ideological oppositions and more confrontational discourse during military crisis, it is thus hypothesised that during the political summit in the time of crisis, hard power skills and dichotomous language use (i.e. Us vs. Them) would be the most

frequently encountered. By analysing political discourse during Vilnius NATO Summit it is aimed to clarify whether political leaders resort to hard power skills guided by confrontational language use and divisive ideological meanings or rather focus on soft power skills guided by the messages of unity, cooperation and collective identity.

In a similar study by Baturo and Gray (2024), the analysis of the use of key words and emotional sentiment has clarified that political leaders' speeches, differently from diplomats, focus on their political agendas and target a broader audience in the UN General Assembly. In another linguistic study, (Arcimavičienė & Jonaitienė, 2015), it has been shown how political leaders evoked soft and hard power skills that are metaphorically represented by the complex metaphor of STATE IS AFAMILY.

To summarise, it has been clarified that political leaders use language to appeal to the public emotion and create new political meanings in times of crisis. Additionally, it has been shown how CDA is used to analyse political and social meaning in language use. As this study deals with the political speeches delivered during Vilnius NATO Summit of 2023, some background information about the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation will be provided below.

### **1.6. Background Information about the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation**

The North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) is an alliance. Taken into account many definitions of an alliance and combining them, it is fair to say, that alliance is a purely military phenomena, which does not take into account politics (Frydrych 2008, 1). This fits NATO perfectly as it was established in 1949 as a classic example of an alliance meant to ensure the security of Western countries, which in practice meant deterring the Soviet Union threat (Frydrych 2008, 1). Even though NATO was not the primary plan after the World War II as faith was put into United Nations (UN), it was established because of dire need as the Soviet Union gained influence in Europe as well as North-east Asia (Hoehn & Harting 2010, 5).

As the amount of member states in the alliance nowadays and throughout the history of alliance keeps growing, the tensions with Russia are rising again. One of the biggest and most obvious actions NATO is taking now is the presence in the three Baltic States and Poland. This is meant in response to Russia's activities in Ukraine (Tardy & Lindstrom 2019, 9). The July Vilnius NATO summit, hosted in Lithuania, was meant for and "succeeded its main objective of sending a strong signal of transatlantic resolve on what NATO calls 'Russia's war of aggression in Ukraine' " (Everard et. al. 2023, 5).

The success in Vilnius NATO summit and many new geopolitical threats arising in Europe means that NATO is gaining its meaning and purpose, which was lost during many years of its

existence (Kamp et. al., 2020, 11-12). With tensions high in the Eastern Europe and Russian militarization in the province of Kaliningrad surrounded by NATO territory (Marten 11-12, 2017), the most significant and direct threat to Allies is Russia (Everard et. al. 2023, 6). In addition, even with the direct threat named and recognized, the reality remains – the war in Ukraine has not pushed Europe’s biggest powers to reach the needed spending targets for defence (Everard et. al. 2023, 6).

NATO alliance is also known for organising summits at key moments in time, times of crisis and alliance’s evolution. To this point in time, the latest NATO summit was held in Vilnius, Lithuania. It started on the 11<sup>th</sup> of July and took place for a total of two days ending on 12<sup>th</sup> of July, 2023. The leaders in Vilnius NATO summit have delivered ambitious agenda for ‘modernising NATO’, however not always do words get followed by deeds (Zandee 2023, 24).

To summarise, NATO is a military alliance and was established for military purposes. The alliance has faced many struggles and difficulties with its identity but the recent times of crisis in Ukraine has united it and gave it purpose again. This paper will analyse the speeches, press releases, and X social posts used by leaders in the Vilnius NATO summit through the thematic analysis method and leadership styles. The upcoming section will introduce Data and Methods used in this paper.

## 2. DATA AND METHODS

To achieve the aim of the paper, various data samples in the form of public addresses delivered by 10 different political leaders were analysed. More specifically, the following leaders' press releases, speeches, remarks and X posts in English were collected: the U.S. President Joe Biden from the United States of America, Prime Minister Justin Trudeau from Canada, President Emmanuel Macron from France, Chancellor Olaf Scholtz from Germany, Prime Minister Giorgia Meloni from Italy, Prime Minister Fumio Kishida from Japan, Prime Minister Rishi Sunak from the United Kingdom, President Volodymyr Zelenskyy from Ukraine, President Gitanas Nausėda from Lithuania, and the NATO Secretary-general Jens Stoltenberg representing NATO. **Table 1** below summarises information about the collected data.

**Table 1.** Data Sources

Data sources		Date	Tokens
1	The total amount of 50 Social media posts from X	July 11-12, 2023	2541
2	Remarks by President Biden, Prime Minister Kishida of Japan, and President Zelenskyy of Ukraine in a G7 Joint Declaration of Support for Ukraine	July 12, 2023	787
3	Joint press conference by NATO Secretary General Jens Stoltenberg with the President of Ukraine Volodymyr Zelenskyy	12 July, 2023	1569
4	Closing press conference by NATO Secretary General Jens Stoltenberg at the end of the 2023 NATO Summit in Vilnius	12 July, 2023	2277
5	Doorstep statement by NATO Secretary General Jens Stoltenberg at the start of the 2023 NATO Summit in Vilnius	11 July, 2023	2208
6	Press conference by NATO Secretary General Jens Stoltenberg following the meeting with President of Türkiye Recep Tayyip Erdoğan and Prime Minister of Sweden, Ulf Kristersson	11 July, 2023	2360
7	Joint press conference by the NATO Secretary General Jens Stoltenberg and the President of the Republic of Lithuania Gitanas Nausėda	10 July, 2023	1789
8	President Meloni's press conference at the NATO Summit in Vilnius	12 July, 2023	1670
9	President Meloni's press statement with Prime Minister Kariņš	10 July, 2023	872
10	Remarks by NATO Secretary General Jens Stoltenberg and US President Joe Biden at the start of the 2023 NATO Summit in Vilnius	11 July, 2023	404
11	The Prime Minister met Prime Minister of the Netherlands Mark Rutte at the NATO Summit in Vilnius, Lithuania	11 July, 2023	230
<b>Total</b>			<b>16, 707</b>



In total, 16,707 tokens were collected from 11 different sources. The data samples were collected by following a set of criteria as follows:

- All the collected data was released during the Vilnius NATO summit in written mode.
- The key word “Vilnius NATO summit” was used to access the indicated sources in the time period of July 10-12, 2023.

It should be noted that the issues of gender and modality were not taken into account and the pictures and videos from the collected data were not included into the analysis.

The collected data was analysed by procedurally applying the qualitative method of Critical Discourse Analysis with a specific focus on the thematic analysis and framing analysis (Marais & Linström, 2012). In addition, raw calculations with regard to coverage range were carried out. The method was implemented by following three major steps, as indicated in **Table 2** below.

**Table 2.** Research Methodology

No.	Method	Procedure
1.	Qualitative	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Thematic analysis (Marais &amp; Linström, 2012) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Themes are coded</li> <li>• Recurrent themes are identified</li> </ul> </li> <li>2. Framing analysis <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Metaphor use (MIP, 2007)</li> <li>• Pronominal use (Wodak, 2021) found in the recurrent themes</li> </ul> </li> </ol>
2.	Quantitative	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Raw frequency established</li> <li>2. Coverage found</li> <li>3. Normalised Frequency calculated</li> </ol>
3.	Comparative	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Themes, metaphors and pronouns compared across themes</li> </ol>

In the first step, the collected data samples were thematically analysed in Excel sheets. In the second step, the themes were grouped, according to their reoccurrence across the data samples. In the last step, the identified recurrent themes were analysed in terms of their linguistic framing: metaphors, pronouns and collective identity. Finally, the framed themes were matched with the types of power skills – hard and soft.

The following section presents and discusses the research findings.

### 3. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

The analysis of the collected data has resulted in the total number of 345 thematic instances. The instances were then analysed in relation to their metaphorical meaning, usage of pronouns and expression of collective identity. They were then matched with soft and hard leadership power skills. The frequency distribution of the recurrent themes is summarised in **Table 3** below, where C stands for Coverage and NF stands for Normalised Frequency, N/A stands for Not Applicable. N/A was marked when no instances of given data source were found.

**Table 3.** Frequency Patterns Recurrent Themes

Political Leader	Data Sources and frequency patterns					
	X Posts (C)	X Posts (NF)	Remarks (C)	Remarks (NF)	Press Briefings and Press Releases (C)	Press Briefings and Press Releases (NF)
<i>Joe Biden</i>	60,5%	1,6	62,9%	6,7	N/A	N/A
<i>Fumio Kishida</i>	N/A	N/A	70,4%	1	N/A	N/A
<i>Emmanuel Macron</i>	78,8%	0,5	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
<i>Giorgia Meloni</i>	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	24,9%	17
<i>Gitanas Nausėda</i>	45,6 %	1,6	68,7%	4,4	N/A	N/A
<i>Olaf Scholtz</i>	57,3%	0,7	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
<i>Jens Stoltenberg</i>	70,3%	0,9	N/A	N/A	30,1%	24,5
<i>Rishi Sunak</i>	47,1%	1,5	N/A	N/A	26,2%	1,8
<i>Justin Trudeau</i>	41,8%	2,7	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
<i>Volodymyr Zelenskyy</i>	59,6%	4	N/A	N/A	51,5%	8,3

Table 3 above shows the density of thematic sentences per text. As seen from the table, the percentage of the coverage across data samples under 50% is marked in light green colour. The coverage percentage from 50% to 60% is marked in yellow colour. The percentage of the coverage over 60% is marked with a light blue colour. The Normalised Frequency is grouped with the score being under 2 and marked in orange colour, over the score of 2 and under 10 is marked in grey, whilst the score of over 10 is coloured in light pink. The normalised frequency was counted per 10, 000 words. In most cases, the coverage range across all samples did not overcome the threshold of under 50%. The most dense representation was delivered by Fumio Kishida at 70, 4%. Only Volodymyr Zelenskyy employed hard and soft-power related themes with a similar coverage range. The X posts and remarks were denser in thematic expressions than press briefings and press releases. All leaders used X posting

in English, except for Fumio Kishida and Giorgia Meloni publishing their X posts in their native languages. These two cases were excluded from the data sample of X posts and marked as N/A.

The thematic analysis of the collected data has resulted in the overall number of 7 overlapping thematic aspects, as indicated in **Table 4** below.

**Table 4.** Cross-sectional Themes

Political leaders	Media Sources			
	Social media X posts		Public speeches, press briefings, press releases, remarks	
	Themes	RF	Themes	RF
Joe Biden	Relations	7	Relations	15
	NATO membership	1	NATO membership	5
	Unity	4	Unity	4
Fumio Kishida	N/A		Relations	3
			Unity	1
Emmanuel Macron	Defence	2	N/A	
	Unity	1		
Giorgia Meloni	N/A		Relations	17
			Defence	9
			Values	6
Gitanas Nausėda	Defence	4	Relations	4
	Relations	2	Defence	4
	Values	2	NATO membership	1
Olaf Scholtz	Unity	3	N/A	
	Defence	2		
Jens Stoltenberg	Unity	21	Relations	23
	Security	2	Defence	14
	Defence	1	Unity	19
			NATO membership	23
Rishi Sunak	Defence	3	Relations	2
	NATO membership	2		
	Unity	4		
Justin Trudeau	Unity	7	N/A	
	Values	3		
Volodymyr Zelenskyy	Relations	11	Defence	15
	Values	7	Relations	13
	Defence	4	Threat	7
<b>Total</b>				<b>279</b>

The most recurrent themes refer to international relations, defence, unity, NATO membership, values, threat and security. Relations were mentioned 97 times, unity was mentioned 64 times, defence was mentioned 58 times, NATO membership was mentioned 32 times, values 19 times, threat 7 times and

security 2 times. It is clear, that the most prevalent thematic aspects were international relations between countries, unity and defence.

In most cases, leaders talked about relations the most, however such leaders as Gitanas Nausėda and Emmanuel Macron mentioned defence the most. This is understandable, as France is the only country in the European Union with a nuclear arsenal, and Lithuania has a very difficult geopolitical situation (Marten 11-12, 2017). Other leaders were discussing unity and relations in most of their speeches and X posts. As NATO's main core tasks are defense, crisis prevention and management and cooperative security, it is no wonder the Vilnius NATO summit's communiqué and the leader's speeches revolve around unity and relations (Zandee 2023, 21). The content analysis of the most prevalent themes will be discussed in the following subsections below.

### 3.1. Thematic Analysis of Political Discourse in Vilnius NATO Summit

The theme of **unity** is one of the recurrent themes in the analysed data. The leaders evoke the theme of unity in their explicit reference to NATO, international relations and the Western democracy. Here are some of the typical examples of the unity theme:

- (1) *However, it must be said that, in this world of increasing uncertainty, this Summit has managed to reaffirm one of the certainties we have had during this period: the **unity** of the Atlantic Alliance and the **determination** of all allies **to defend their values and the rules of international law**, without which none of us would be safe (Giorgia Meloni, Press conference, 2023)*
- (2) *And we are looking forward to continuing a **united** NATO (Joe Biden, Speech, 2023)*
- (3) *At this critical moment, there's no one better equipped to lead a **united** NATO than Secretary General Stoltenberg (Joe Biden, X post, 2023)*
- (4) *Our Alliance is stronger, more energized, and more **united** than ever (Joe Biden, X post, 2023)*
- (5) *NATO will send an important message of **unity** and solidarity. (Olaf Scholtz, X post, 2023)*

The thematic representation of unity is an example of both explicit and implicit attempts to focus on the collective identity of the NATO alliance. This theme provides the legitimacy narrative, where soft power skills of cooperation are emphasised (Nye, 2023). It is used to ascertain that the NATO alliance member countries are unified through the common values and the rules of international law, as seen in examples (1), (2), (3), (4) and (5) above.

One of the key aspects of public diplomacy, according to Nye (2008), is the development of lasting relationships. The theme of unity is evoked with the intention to emphasize the need for and importance of lasting relationships, it has also discursively combined the concept of values shared by NATO members. Additionally, unity is expressed in reference to showing leader's allegiance with the NATO alliance. This is how the Ukrainian president Volodymyr Zelenskyy evokes the concept of shared vision with NATO and more specifically the United States, e.g.:

- (6) *I am confident that after the war Ukraine will be in NATO, we will be doing everything possible to make it happen, so that we would, with the United States, we would have the same understanding and **the same vision** (Volodymyr Zelenskyy, Press conference, 2023)*

Unity as expressed through the shared vision explicates speaker's need and urgency for joining NATO alliance. This is how the theme of unity is also overlapping with the narrative of NATO membership as unified strength on behalf of the collective identity of the West led by the United States.

The second most recurrent thematic instance in the data sample is related to the concept of **defence**, which fully correlated with the ideological mission of NATO as a military alliance. Not surprisingly, in the time of war, political leaders' reference to defence plans and capabilities is densely covered, as illustrated below.

- (7) *We don't have real **security guarantees** from our partners (Volodymyr Zelenskyy, Press conference, 2023)*
- (8) *We also approved our most comprehensive **defence** plans since the Cold War, backed by an enduring commitment to invest more in **defence** (Jens Stoltenberg, X post, 2023)*
- (9) *Members have increased their **defence** spending and nations have put their neutrality aside in favour of the security NATO brings (Rishi Sunak, X post, 2023)*
- (10) *When we used to talk about **defence**, it was enough to focus on our own traditional **defence** sectors; then we gradually added cybersecurity, then space, the sea, the seabed (Giorgia Meloni, Press conference, 2023)*
- (11) *And I would like to underline once again: we don't see any member nations of NATO that are at war now, that are dying, that are suffering, that are **defending their own country** (Volodymyr Zelenskyy, Press conference, 2023)*

It is evident that defence is an important topic in the summit. By thematically evoking the theme of defence, political leaders resort to hard power skills as hard power skills are connected to coercion, which is force (Nye 2023, 63). By focusing on the action of force, as illustrated above (8), the Secretary General Jens Stoltenberg revokes hard power skills by focusing on the military and defence power of NATO alliance. The Prime Minister Rishi Sunak (9) refers to defence spending, which is known as the transactional approach (Bahenský & Kufčák 2020, 2) within the representation of hard power skills. Prime minister Giorgia Meloni (10) discusses new threats and difficulties as legitimising factors for defence, while President Volodymyr Zelenskyy (11) is creating an emotional appeal with the audience by referring to the atrocities of war thus foregrounding military of defence.

Furthermore, the themes of unity and defence are followed by the thematic representation of **relations** between countries and NATO member states. The concept of relations and the commitment of other countries to NATO especially the United States have been crucial for the future of NATO alliance (Kamp et. al. 2020, 13). Two narratives support the relations between countries in NATO itself. The *friendship* narrative is more focused on common history and friendship of countries, while the *idealist* narrative, follows the line that countries are in relationships as they are built around the

image of the same values across the Atlantic (Bahenský & Kufčák 2020, 4). In both cases, NATO member states are represented as being in close relation with one another, and this theme is differently framed.

One of the ways is the personification of member states and attribution of relationship types to each of them. This is known as Body Politic, that conceptualises a political state by ‘humanizing or spiritualizing’ senses and bodily life itself which is extremely important for its body – the people (Levin 1985, 237). The examples (12), (13), (14), (15), (16) below show the manifestation of Body Politic. These examples personify countries and make them agents capable of dialogue, and both positive and negative positioning.

- (12) *Italy’s position and Latvia’s position are essentially identical (Giorgia Meloni, Press statement, 2023)*
- (13) *Ukraine had this document and was left alone with it (Volodymyr Zelenskyy, Press conference, 2023)*
- (14) *Then, some Allies are also having a bilateral or multilateral **dialogue with Ukraine** on a framework to have in place, to ensure continued support for Ukraine (Jens Stoltenberg, Press conference, 2023)*
- (15) *Then negotiations to solve the conflict in Ukraine will only happen when **Ukraine is ready for negotiations** (Jens Stoltenberg, Press conference, 2023)*
- (16) *And for **Russia**, this means motivation to **continue its terror** (Volodymyr Zelenskyy, X post, 2023)*

Another way of establishing relations between NATO members is by using metonymical references, where the political leaders represent their countries. According to the cognitive linguistic approach, metonymy “is generally viewed as a cognitive mechanism enabling the selection of a salient reference point in a frame to refer to a different concept in the same frame or to the frame as a whole” (Brône, et.al. 2006, 209). The importance of metonymy lies in the fact it creates and initiates the interpretation process which is often more complicated than it is presented (Brône, et.al. 2006, 209).

For example, the interpersonal relations between two leaders President Tayyip Erdoğan and the NATO Secretary General Jens Stoltenberg are mapped onto the theme of the relations within the alliance and between the member states. In the examples (17), (18), (19), (20) and (21) the leaders are in the role of directly representing their own countries and alliances. The metonymic use projects the voice of the leader onto the voice of the nation, e.g.:

- (17) *I met with President Erdogan a few weeks ago, we had constructive and **good talks** (Jens Stoltenberg, Press conference, 2023)*
- (18) *I feel that it is truly meaningful that we, **the G7 leaders, and Volodymyr** have gathered once again today (Fumio Kishida, Remark, 2023)*
- (19) *Today, **President Nausėda of Lithuania and I** discussed our commitment to defending NATO’s eastern flank and our support for the people of Ukraine (Joe Biden, X post, 2023)*

- (20) *I also wish to **congratulate Secretary General Stoltenberg**, also on the extension of his mandate, which clearly reflects the current exceptional circumstances, but also his steadfast and certainly balanced leadership at this difficult time (Giorgia Meloni, Press conference, 2023)*
- (21) ***We've had a very good meeting with President Zelenskyy** and his delegation today, where he welcomed the very strong message from NATO Allies (Jens Stoltenberg, Press conference, 2023)*

Within the framework of leadership (Nye, 2023), the theory of 'attraction' is based on the type of behaviour, where interpersonal and international relations are used to solidify soft power in politics and political discourse. By thematically evoking the concept of relations, political leaders create a sense of attachment and dependency on each other that become constitutive elements of values-guided unity.

This is explained by the fourth most frequently occurring theme of **values** in the analysed data. The theme of values is used by political leaders to emphasise similarities in their political goals and decision-making. Here are some of the typical examples of how the theme of values is contextualised by the speakers:

- (22) *Lithuania & the United States share **special friendship**, based on **core values - democracy & freedom** (Gitanas Nausėda, X post, 2023 )*
- (23) *NATO has stood to guard the **freedom and security** of all its members on both sides of the Atlantic (Rishi Sunak, X post, 2023)*
- (24) *We value our **shared security** (Volodymyr Zelenskyy)*
- (25) *In our mission to protect **freedom, democracy, and the rule of law**, we are more united than ever (Justin Trudeau, X post, 2023)*
- (26) *We are always going to defend **democracy** – both at home and around the world (Justin Trudeau, X post, 2023)*

President of Lithuania Gitanas Nausėda in (22) refers to similar values of freedom and democracy shared by Lithuania and the United States. On a similar note, Prime Minister of the United Kingdom Rishi Sunak argues about the core values of NATO and all its member states in (23), the same is found in the Prime Minister Justin Trudeau's posts about shared values (25), (26). These examples illustrate the importance of the collective identity in political discourse that is established through the thematic construal of shared values.

Differently from most of the leaders, whose countries are a part of the NATO alliance, President of Ukraine Volodymyr Zelenskyy categorises values as security, which points to the fact that Ukraine is still excluded from the collective identity that guarantees security both literally and metaphorically (24). The theme of values assigned to soft power skills, as their contextual use demonstrates ideological unity within the collective identity of the NATO alliance. The collective identity is given psychological and political legitimacy by political leaders' references to freedom, security and

democracy. In fact, these values correlate to the values NATO itself is trying to promote, those being about ‘deconflicting’ and democratization (Frydrych, 2008).

The last most commonly found theme in the analysed data is that of **NATO membership**. During Vilnius NATO summit, Sweden and Ukraine were actively negotiating their possibility of joining the NATO alliance, which resulted in a lot of communication about new member states joining the alliance. To add, the theme of NATO membership was enacted through symbolic references to the history of the Baltic States joining NATO 20 years ago. Such narrative signifies political leaders’ legitimising strategy in solidifying the moral and ideological aspects of NATO membership.

Before the war against Ukraine started, NATO as an international military organisation has received a lot of criticism (Kamp et. al., 2020). However, the European leaders have decided to invest in this military alliance and raise their military spending (Everard et. al., 2023). In that context, it can be argued that this summit has become a platform for revitalising NATO’s role and credit in the international relations. During the summit, political leaders expressed their unified support for extending membership to both Sweden and Ukraine, e.g.:

- (27) *This is very important to mention that we already have this Vilnius meeting as historical one, even before it started, because the **membership of Sweden** is already the — on the table (Gitanas Nausėda, Remark, 2023)*
- (28) *I remember — you may recall when we were having the debate in the United States Senate about **enlarging NATO**, and I was arguing very strongly that the **Baltics should all be a part of NATO** (Joe Biden, Remark, 2023)*
- (29) *So we are moving **Ukraine closer to membership** (Jens Stoltenberg, Press Conference, 2023)*

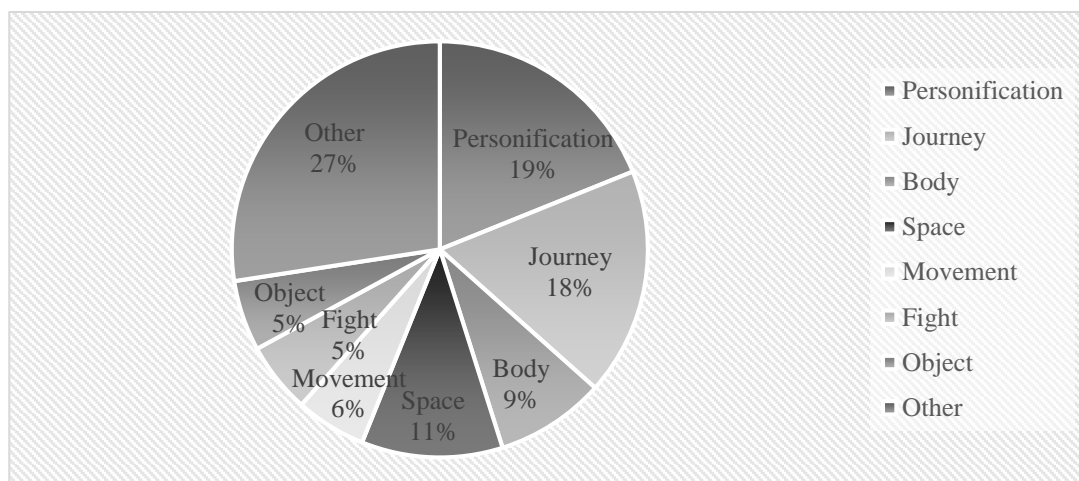
NATO membership as a theme is symbolically used to foreground the strength of NATO via its ability to enlarge the alliance. It is important to mention that all the thematic expressions within the theme of NATO membership have positive meaning that reinforces the concept of collective identity and its ideological valour.

This subsection was about the prevalent different thematises found in the data sample. The four most frequent thematic instances in the data sample were NATO membership, defence, values, unity and relations. In the next subsection, I will discuss the most prevalent metaphoric expressions identified within the recurrent themes.



### 3.2. Framing Analysis of Political Discourse in Vilnius NATO Summit

In this subsection, the most recurrent metaphors and pronominal use will be discussed in more detail. In **Figure 1** below, the most frequently used metaphors by the selected political leaders are summarised.



**Figure 1.** Metaphors in the Recurrent Themes

As shown above, the most representative metaphors are as follows: PERSONIFICATION at 19%, followed by the metaphor of JOURNEY at 18%. By comparison, less recurrent metaphors represent the source domains of SPACE at 11%, BODY at 9% and MOVEMENT at 6%, while OBJECT and FIGHT share the same frequency of use at 5% each.

The PERSONIFICATION metaphor plays a crucial role in the construction of collective identity. Below are provided some of the examples of this metaphor used by different political leaders in the context of Vilnius NATO summit.

- (30) *Lithuania, thank you for the warm welcome (Joe Biden, X post, 2023)*
- (31) *Alliance needs deeper partnerships with likeminded countries around the globe (Gitanas Nausėda, X post, 2023)*
- (32) *The UK has always played a central role in the Alliance (Rishi Sunak, X post, 2023)*
- (33) *It is good that so many states are supporting Ukraine (Olaf Scholtz, X post, 2023)*
- (34) *As part of that process, Sweden has amended its constitution, changed its laws, significantly expanded its counter-terrorism cooperation against the PKK, and resumed arms exports to Türkiye. (Jens Stoltenberg, Press conference, 2023)*

In the examples, countries are personified with the purpose of establishing a sense of community and unity within the NATO alliance. The PERSONIFICATION metaphor can be used to explicate both hard and soft power skills (Arcimavičienė & Jonaitienė, 2015), however in the context of Vilnius NATO summit it is mostly used to solidify the alliance and project a sense of unity and cooperation within the alliance.

Similarly, the metaphor of JOURNEY is used to foreground the progress NATO is making in its policy of the current war against Ukraine, e.g.:

- (35) *Allies all agreed to lift the requirements for Membership Action Plan for Ukraine and to create **a path to** NATO membership while Ukraine continues to make progress on necessary reforms (Joe Biden, Remark, 2023)*
- (36) *We make all the decisions today which is the strongest and most united message on the **path** towards membership NATO has ever issued to Ukraine (Jens Stoltenberg, Press conference, 2023)*
- (37) *On **our way to** NATO, we would like to have the security guarantees (Volodymyr Zelenskyy, Press conference, 2023)*
- (38) *Our partnership **goes back a long way** (Joe Biden, X post, 2023)*
- (39) *We agreed a package to strengthen #Ukraine & **provide a clear path** towards #NATO. (Jens Stoltenberg, X post, 2023)*

Within the theme of NATO membership, political leaders use the metaphor of JOURNEY to refer to past and future goals, they talked about some instance of road, way or path to NATO membership and alliance. In the examples (35), (36), (37) and (39), all leaders mention Ukraine's journey to NATO. The metaphor of JOURNEY symbolises a purposeful movement towards a unifying goal. In a similar way, the metaphor of SPACE is used to create a sense of belonging and shared unity and values. Here are some of the typical examples of the SPACE metaphor.

- (40) *One inch of NATO territory means we're all — we're all in a war together against whomever is violating that **space**, and we're going to **defend every inch of it** (Joe Biden, Remark, 2023)*
- (41) *Overall I am satisfied with the signal that the Atlantic Alliance has given in the last few days, which is a signal of **compactness**: I believe this is the most valuable thing we have in this phase (Giorgia Meloni, Press conference, 2023)*
- (42) *Putin doesn't have a veto on NATO **enlargement** (Jens Stoltenberg, Statement, 2023)*
- (43) *Ukraine's rightful **place** is in NATO (Gitanas Nausėda, X post, 2023)*
- (44) *Ukraine is now **closer to NATO** than ever before (Jens Stoltenberg, Press conference, 2023)*

It is interesting to observe how the metaphor of SPACE legitimises NATO's right to defence against "space violation" (40). The legitimacy is also provided to NATO right for space "enlargement" (42). The SPACE metaphor also signifies collective identity that cannot be contested by the outgroup, as in the reference to "Putin" in (42). The SPACE metaphor here includes the place in space and proximity to the alliance.

The SPACE metaphor is closely interrelated with the metaphor of MOVEMENT, which serves a slightly different ideological purpose. In the collected data, it is used in two ways: to mark the outgroup threatening the collective identity of NATO (45) and ascertain the power of the collective "us" (46), as illustrated below:

- (45) *Look, we — we **go back a long way** (Joe Biden, Remark, 2023)*
- (46) *We see how China is **coming closer** to us (Jens Stoltenberg, Press Conference, 2023)*

- (47) *And therefore we need to really have to **stand together** (Jens Stoltenberg, Press Conference, 2023)*
- (48) *But this is about recognizing that this region faces global challenges and the rise of China is a part of that and that **China is coming close also in Africa**, in the Arctic, but also trying to control critical infrastructure and of course we see them also in cyberspace (Jens Stoltenberg, Press Conference, 2023)*
- (49) *We must **meet** this moment (Justin Trudeau, X post, 2023)*

It should also be mentioned that the MOVEMENT metaphor is different from the metaphor of JOURNEY. The former refers to movement as change, while the latter focuses on the destination and progress. The examples (46) and (48) both refer to China as an external threat approaching NATO alliance. In contrast, both examples (47) and (49) are inviting the audience to stay united, stand together against the upcoming threats.

The next frequently found metaphor across the data set is that of OBJECT. One of the metaphors of OBJECT is relatable with the source domain of competition, namely the game of chess. The most illustrative example is given by the Italian Prime Minister Giorgia Meloni, who compares politics with chess, e.g.:

- (50) *However, talking about a systemic **rival** such as China without bearing in mind the issue of supply chains, without bearing in mind the issue of controlling critical raw materials, would be like playing **a game of chess and moving the queen without realising there is a bishop on the other side of the board ready to pounce**; an increasingly comprehensive approach is therefore needed (Giorgia Meloni, Press Conference, 2023)*
- (51) *In such an interconnected world, we are living in a context in which we need the ability to see the overall **'chessboard'**; we live in a world in which wars are increasingly hybrid and we have to take these factors into account (Giorgia Meloni, Press Conference, 2023)*

This type of metaphor is widely used and is recognised within the political game theory mostly applicable to international relations and military policy (O'Neill, 1994). The game theory is based on the idea of rational choices politicians are supposed to make. Another interesting example of the metaphor of OBJECT is used in reference to countries that are viewed as a part of the outgroup. The Lithuanian President Gitanas Nausėda objectifies Belarus when refers to its relationship the Russian Federation.

- (52) *And we see Belarus just **swallowed** into the Russian Federation, and we see that Belarus is becoming additional threat, additional factor of insecurity in the region (Gitanas Nausėda, Remark, 2023)*

Objectification of countries is not only used to show how countries are interrelated (i.e. Belarus government being controlled by the Russian Federation) but also to express the speaker's attitude towards them (i.e. Gitanas Nausėda's negative view of both Russia and Belarus). Thus, it can be argued that the metaphor of PERSONIFICATION is mostly used to project the concept of

international relations into the relations between countries as active agents, while the metaphor of OBJECT deprived countries of agency.

The last metaphor to be discussed in this paper is that of FIGHT. This metaphor is mainly found in the NATO Secretary General Jens Stoltenberg’s speech in his reference to Russia’s invasion as well as fighting the terrorism in general as illustrated below:

- (53) *Allies have already provided tens of billions of dollars in military aid to **help beat back** Russia’s invasion (Jens Stoltenberg, Press Conference, 2023)*
- (54) *It has delivered more in our **fight** against terrorism (Jens Stoltenberg, Press Conference, 2023)*
- (55) *But we have in the text now developed further how to implement, how to step up the **fight against terrorism**, how to work more closely as Allies and, also, how to ensure that restrictions on arms exports are lifted (Jens Stoltenberg, Press Conference, 2023)*
- (56) *And it is important that we stand together in the **fight against terrorism** (Jens Stoltenberg, Press Conference, 2023)*

This metaphor is a clear example of hard power skills, when the leader directly refers to the military power military response in the context of the Russian invasion but terrorism. In both instances, these are viewed as enemies that should be “fought back” (Nye, 2023).

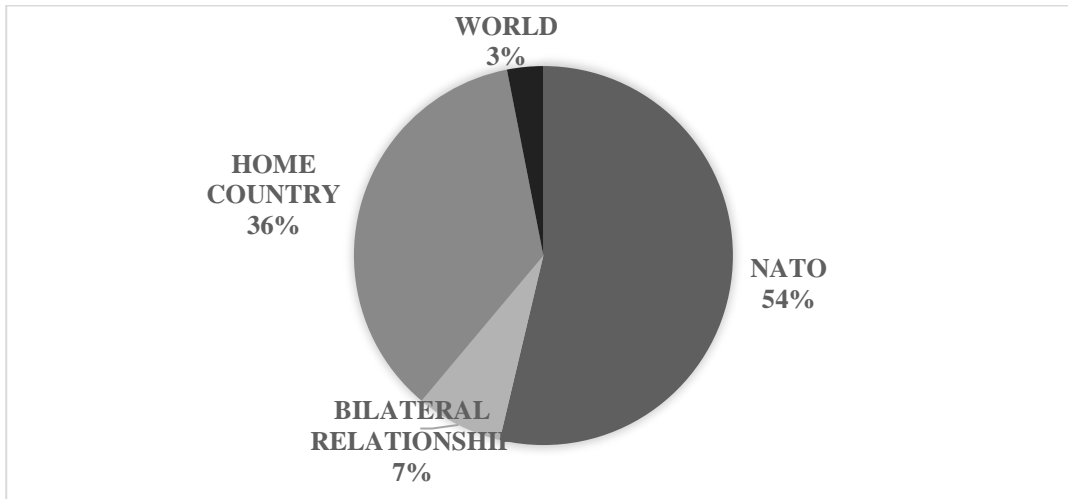
To summarise, the framing analysis has shown that most metaphors used by the political leaders are JOURNEY and PERSONIFICATION. Additionally, the leaders also metaphorized the concepts of SPACE, BODY, MOVEMENT, FIGHT and OBJECT in their reference to various issues of the NATO foreign policy and decision-making. The analysis has pointed out the prevailing tendency of diplomatic language and soft power skills that focus on cooperation, collective identity and collective unity of NATO in the time of crisis. By comparison, a few metaphors of FIGHT and OBJECT can be viewed as more confrontational, whose purpose is to discuss the negative attitude to the outgroup countries such as Belarus, the Russian Federation and terrorism.

In the diplomatic language, the concept of collective identity is crucial (Wodak, 2021). This is the case in the analysed data. The collective identity within the politics of exclusion is supported by personal pronouns in political discourse (Wodak 2021, 123). The use of pronouns is briefly overviewed in **Table 5** below.

**Table 5.** Pronouns in Political Discourse of Vilnius NATO Summit

<b>Pronouns</b>	<b>No. of instances</b>
We	164
I	41
They	7
He	3
You	2
<b>Total</b>	<b>217</b>

As seen above, the pronoun “WE” was used 164 times, while “I” occurred 41 times. The pronoun “THEY” was used by the political leaders 7 times, “HE” thrice and “YOU” only twice. The use of “WE” is the main strategy for reinstating the collective identity mainly in reference to NATO. The contextual meaning of “WE” is summarised in **Figure 2** below.



**Figure 2.** The Inclusive “WE”

As seen above, the majority of cases the pronoun “WE” is used in reference to the collective identity of “WE + NATO”. Some examples are provided below.

- (57) *One inch of NATO territory means **we’re** all — **we’re** all in a war together against whomever is violating that space, and **we’re** going to defend every inch of it (Joe Biden, Remark, 2023)*
- (58) *Ukraine was obviously discussed a lot and, today, **we** have launched the new and important NATO-Ukraine Council, with President Zelensky in attendance (Giorgia Meloni, Press Conference, 2023)*
- (59) ***We’re** coming together at an important moment for Europe, for the Alliance, for the rules-based international order, and for the world (Justin Trudeau, X post, 2023)*
- (60) *We need to be able to deter, combat and outstep future threats (Rishi Sunak, X post, 2023)*

These examples clearly show that leaders focus on the collective identity of NATO, which is one of the signs of soft power skills (Nye, 2008). The need to be inclusive and united shows countries and the NATO alliance as united in their goals and future vision.

Another type of collective identity is determined at the level of “WE + home country”. This is how the leaders make their speech more inclusive and engaging with the populous of their own country, as in the examples provided below.

- (61) ***We** are particularly sensitive because we are obviously the closest neighbours (Giorgia Meloni, Press Conference, 2023)*
- (62) ***We** are probably — Lithuania is one of the most enthusiastic supporters of transatlantic bond in Europe — in European Union because we think that your participation, your attention is extremely important in this field of geopolitical uncertainty (Gitanas Nausėda, Remark, 2023)*

- (63) *We contribute to every NATO mission and are the leading European nation in providing Ukraine with military aid, as well as bolstering NATO's Enhanced Forward Presence on the eastern flank (Rishi Sunak, X post, 2023)*

Prime Minister of Italy Giorgia Meloni in the example (62) uses “WE” referencing to the pressing issues for Italians and other south Europeans. This usage creates an ideological proximity with the populous and shows a more inclusive leadership style. Similarly, President of Lithuania Gitanas Nausėda uses “WE” to emphasise European values of Lithuanian people (63). To add, Prime Minister of the United Kingdom Rishi Sunak in the example (64) uses “WE” to talk about the importance of the United Kingdom in the alliance and includes the populous in the defence of Ukraine together with NATO.

The usage of “WE” can also signify political leaders’ references to bilateral relations and multilateral relations in the foreign policy. The usage of “WE” as “**WE + BILATERAL RELATIONS**” emphasises the two countries and their international relationship together, e.g.:

- (64) *Look, we — we go back a long way (Joe Biden)*  
(65) *We have had a very wide-ranging exchange of views with the Prime Minister (Giorgia Meloni, Press Conference, 2023)*  
(66) *We live in a world in which everything is interconnected, and everything that happens also has repercussions in other areas (Giorgia Meloni, Press Conference, 2023)*  
(67) *Today, we often find ourselves talking about the so-called ‘sixth domain’, which regards systematic misinformation in an attempt to influence public opinion (Giorgia Meloni, Press Conference, 2023)*

In the examples above, it can be seen how political leaders create an ideological proximity with other countries and at the same time represent themselves as approachable and effective leaders. Much lesser in use are the pronouns “I,” “THEY”, “HE” and “YOU”. The pronoun “I” was the second most frequently used in the speeches, e.g. :

- (68) *And I would like this faith to become confidence – confidence in the decisions that we deserve – all of us deserve, and every warrior, every citizen, every mother, every child expects (Volodymyr Zelenskyy, X post, 2023)*  
(69) *I am grateful to you, Vilnius, and to all Lithuanian cities and communities for every call in support of Ukraine, for sheltering our people who have taken refuge in Lithuania from hostilities... (Volodymyr Zelenskyy, X post, 2023)*

In the speeches, President Volodymyr Zelenskyy uses the pronoun “I” to emphasise his own way of thinking and the complexity of his decision-making as a leader (69). The example (70) shows personal gratefulness and closeness to Vilnius on an individual level. Pronouns “THEY”, “HE” and “YOU” are the least frequent in the analysed data and below are provided some of their typical examples.

- (70) *And they know that security means being together with Ukraine (Volodymyr Zelenskyy, X post, 2023)*

- (71) **They're** already friends with us, but they're not part of the G7 (Volodymyr Zelenskyy, Press Conference, 2023)
- (72) **They** are in the middle of the war (Jens Stoltenberg, Press conference, 2023)
- (73) Because then the message is that when **he** uses military force, when **he** violates international law, when invades a neighbour, then **he** gets what **he** wants (Jens Stoltenberg, Press conference, 2023)
- (74) **You** have heard me say, my American press has heard me say many times, I still think that President Putin thinks the way **he** succeeds is to break NATO (Joe Biden, Speech, 2023)
- (75) And this historic moment, adding Finland and Sweden to NATO is consequential, and **your** leadership really matters (Joe Biden, Speech, 2023)

In the examples above, the pronoun “THEY” is used to show exclusion. In the example (70), the President Volodymyr Zelenskyy is excluding Russia by using the pronoun “THEY”. Contrastingly, in the example (71), he refers to friendly countries being in a good relationship with Ukraine. In (72), the Secretary General of NATO Jens Stoltenberg is using “THEY” to talk about Ukraine being at war. This excludes Ukraine from the general narrative of “WE + NATO”. By comparison, in (74), he uses the pronoun “HE” to refer to the Russian President Vladimir Putin demonstrating the politics of exclusion (Wodak, 2021). In (75), the President of the United States Joe Biden is using the pronoun “YOU” to address general audience, while he uses the pronoun “HE” to refer to President Vladimir Putin strengthening the opposition to the Russian Federation.

To sum up, in most cases, the political leaders use the inclusive pronoun “WE” for sustaining the collective identity of NATO and engaging their home countries into bilateral and multilateral relations. These are clear cases of soft power skills in political discourse. By comparison, other pronouns are used significantly less and mostly reinstate the purposes of inclusion rather than ideological exclusion, which is another case for diplomatic discourse and soft power skills.

## 4. CONCLUSIONS

This study aimed at analysing how the selected political leaders communicated their leadership strategy in the Vilnius NATO summit.

This study suggests that the recurrent themes used in the Vilnius NATO Summit were unity, defence, relations, values and the NATO membership. Within the themes, the recurrent source domains were identified as follows: PERSONIFICATION, JOURNEY, SPACE, BODY, MOVEVENT, FIGHT and OBJECT. The use of the inclusive “WE” contributed to the collective effort and the effect of inclusion (Wodak, 2021), signifying soft power skills.

Despite the fact that there were instances of hard power skills while discussing the military defence in the NATO alliance, the major focus in the Vilnius NATO summit was on the soft leadership style (Nye, 2023). Thus, the hypothesis that hard powers skills prevail in political discourse in the time of crisis has been rejected. Similar findings have been reported in the study of Baturu and Gray (2024), who examined the UNGA speeches and identified a balanced approach to leadership.

Admittedly, this paper has its limitations. First, the Vilnius NATO Summit only lasted for two days, which limited the data sample scope. Furthermore, the research did not include photographs, images or videos posted in the articles. Lastly, some leaders were non-native English speakers who posted and delivered speeches in their native language and that data was excluded from the analysis

This study has contributed to the analysis of leadership skills in political discourse. The findings can contribute to a better understanding of what type of power skills political leaders employ in the time of crisis, and how the type of power skills are thematically and linguistically realised.



## SUMMARY IN LITHUANIAN

Šiame darbe pateikiama 2023-ųjų metų Vilniaus NATO suvažiavimo lyderių kalbų analizė. Analizei atlikti, atrinkti G7 šalių lyderiai kartu su NATO generaliniu sekretoriumi bei Lietuvos ir Ukrainos prezidentais. Iš viso, analizuoti kalbos ir socialinių medijų įrašai atrinkti iš dešimt skirtingų lyderių – Kanados ministras pirmininkas Justin Trudeau, Prancūzijos prezidentas Emmanuel Macron, Vokietijos kancleris Olaf Scholtz, Italijos ministrė pirmininkė Giorgia Meloni, Japonijos ministras pirmininkas Fumio Kishida, Jungtinės Karalystės ministras pirmininkas Rishi Sunak, Jungtinių Amerikos Valstijų prezidentas Joe Biden, Lietuvos prezidentas Gitanas Nausėda ir Ukrainos prezidentas Volodymyr Zelenskyy bei NATO sekretorius Jens Stoltenberg. Šis tyrimas atliktas pasitelkiant kritinės diskurso analizės metodologija (Wodak, 2004), sutelkiant dėmesį į teminę ir rėmų analizę. Darbas suskirstytas į tris dalis: teorinę dalį, duomenų ir metodologijos apžvalgos dalį ir tyrimo rezultatų aptarimą. Šio tyrimo tikslas yra nustatyti Vilniaus NATO viršūnių susitikime taikytus komunikacijos tipus, pritaikant Nye (2023) teorinį modelį. Tyrimo rezultatai parodė, kad Vilniaus NATO lyderių dominuojanti galia yra švelnioji. Rezultatai atskleidė, kad dažniausios temos buvo: vienybė, gynyba, santykiai, vertybės ir prisijungimas prie NATO aljanso. Taip pat, dažniausiai naudotos metaforos buvo: PERSONIFIKACIJA, KELIONĖ, ERDVĖ, KŪNAS, JUDĖSYS, KOVA ir OBJEKTAS. Daugiausia metaforų ir tematikų padaro lyderių galios išraišką švelnesne ir diplomatiškesne. Hipotezė buvo paneigta ir tyrimas parodė, kad per Vilniaus NATO suvažiavimą, lyderiai naudojo daugiau švelniąją, o ne stipriąją galią.

**Raktiniai žodžiai:** Kritinė diskurso analizė, tematinė analizė, NATO, G7, lyderystės teorija, metaforos, įvardžiai, NATO viršūnių susitikimas Vilniuje, kolektyvinis identitetas, švelnioji galia, stiprioji galia.

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## APPENDIX

<i>509 word count - Remarks by President Biden and President Gitanas Nausėda of Lithuania Before Bilateral Meeting / Vilnius, Lithuania</i>	<i>Theme</i>	<i>Pronouns</i>	<i>Metaphor</i>	<i>Collective identity</i>	<i>SOFT</i>	<i>HARD</i>
And the United States is here today <b>to reaffirm our commitment</b> to NATO but also to Vilnius.	RELATIONSHIP /COMMITMENT					
And the — when — <b>we — we’re committed</b> to Lithuania and to the Baltics and to NATO.	RELATIONSHIP /COMMITMENT	WE		USA	YES	
Look, we — <b>we go back</b> a long way.	RELATIONSHIP /COMMITMENT	WE	MOVEMENT	USA AND LITHUANIA	YES	
I remember — you may recall when <b>we were having</b> the debate in the United States Senate about <b>enlarging</b> NATO, and I was arguing very strongly that the Baltics should all be a part of NATO.	MEMBERSHIP			USA	YES	
And our <b>pledge</b> to be with you has not wavered.	VALUES/UNITY			USA		
It didn’t take us long to get thousands of <b>troops</b> here when Russia <b>invaded</b> the second time.	INVASION					YES
<b>We’ll</b> be able to — you can be assured that you’re going to have all that you need.	RELATIONSHIP/ COMMITMENT	WE		USA		YES
And, look, as I’ve said before: <b>We</b> take, NATO takes, all of us take Article 5 literally.	RELATIONSHIP/ COMMITMENT	WE		USA		YES
One inch of NATO territory means we’re all — <b>we’re all in a war together</b> against whomever is violating that space, and <b>we’re going to defend every inch of it.</b>	DEFENCE	WE	SPACE	NATO		YES
And I’m confident <b>we’ll get</b> that done today.	MEMBERSHIP	WE		NATO		
And in the coming days, <b>we’re also going</b> to discuss a range of issues — how to strengthen NATO’s eastern flank and modernize NATO’s deterrence and defense capabilities.	STRENGTH	WE		NATO		YES
And I want to thank you and — for your partnership and <b>leadership as we take</b> on this challenge together.	UNITY	WE		NATO	YES	
So, I look forward to our conversation today and to <b>continuing to stand with you</b> and all the people of Lithuania for a simple reason: shared values.	RELATIONSHIP /COMMITMENT		PERSONIFICATION		YES	
<b>So, we’re all in.</b>	RELATIONSHIP /COMMITMENT	WE		USA	YES	
<i>427 word count - Remarks by President Biden, Prime Minister Kishida of Japan, and President Zelenskyy of Ukraine in a G7 Joint Declaration of Support for Ukraine / Vilnius, Lithuania</i>						
<b>We’ve</b> just concluded the first meeting of the NATO-Ukraine Council and — where all our Allies agreed <b>Ukraine’s future lies with NATO.</b>	RELATIONSHIP /COMMITMENT /MEMBERSHIP	WE	PLACE	NATO		
Allies all <b>agreed to lift the requirements</b> for Membership Action Plan for Ukraine and <b>to create a path to NATO membership</b> while Ukraine continues to make progress on necessary reforms.	MEMBERSHIP		JOURNEY	NATO	YES	
And so, today, the long-term <b>commitments we’re making are</b> — are backed up by the notion that in the meantime we’re going to provide security to Ukraine for its needs and against any aggression that may occur.	RELATIONSHIP /COMMITMENT	WE		USA		YES
Today, the members of the G7 are launching a Joint Declaration of Support for Ukraine to make it clear that our support <b>will last long into the future.</b>	RELATIONSHIP /COMMITMENT					
You know, I think there are very few people in Europe or in the continental United States, in the North American continent, <b>that thought this man would stand up and come to the aid and assistance of Ukraine.</b>	RELATIONSHIP /COMMITMENT	THIS MAN	MOVEMENT	ZELENSKYY	YES	



He <b>stepped up</b> — Japan — Japan — because he understood that when any part of the world has 185,000 people, soldiers crossing a <b>border, stealing sovereignty from another nation, that</b> it affects the <b>whole world</b> .	RELATIONSHIP /COMMITMENT	HE	MOVEMENT	KISHIDA		YES
Allies all agreed to <b>lift the requirements</b> for Membership Action Plan for Ukraine and to <b>create a path to NATO membership</b> while Ukraine continues to make progress on necessary reforms.	RELATIONSHIP /COMMITMENT /MEMBERSHIP		JOURNEY	NATO		
But <b>we're</b> not waiting for that process to be finished to <b>make the long-term commitments</b> that we're making to Ukraine's security.	RELATIONSHIP /COMMITMENT	WE	SUPPORT	NATO	YES	
<b>We're</b> going to help Ukraine build a strong, capable defense across land, air, and sea from which we will force the — <b>it will be a force of stability in the region and deter against any and all threats</b> .	STRENGTH	WE	WAR	NATO		YES
I think it's a powerful statement — a powerful statement of <b>our commitment</b> to Ukraine as it defends its freedom today and <b>as it rebuilds the future for — and we're going to be</b> there as long as that takes.	RELATIONSHIP /COMMITMENT	WE	EXPANDING	NATO		
The press is not at all surprised, <b>I have</b> been touting the fact that I think it is really important at this critical moment in Ukraine, in the whole NATO <b>mission</b> , that you continue <b>to lead NATO</b> .	OPINION	I		BIDEN	YES	
You are well trusted, no one knows the situation <b>we are facing better</b> than you do.	WAR	WE		NATO	YES	
And this historic moment, adding Finland and Sweden to NATO is consequential, and your leadership really matters.	WAR /LEADERSHIP	YOU		STOLTENBERG		
And <b>we</b> are looking forward to <b>continuing a united NATO</b> .	UNITY	WE	JOURNEY	NATO		
You have heard me say, my American press has heard me say many times, <b>I still think</b> that President Putin thinks the way he succeeds is to break NATO.	UNITY	YOU		AUDIENCE		YES
<i>198 word count - Tweets by President Biden during Vilnius NATO Summit</i>						
NATO <b>stands strong</b> .	RELATIONS		PERSONIFICATION	NATO		
<b>Lithuania</b> , thank you for the <b>warm welcome</b> .	UNITY		PERSONIFICATION		YES	
Our Alliance is <b>stronger, more energized, and more united</b> than ever.	UNITY		PERSONIFICATION	NATO	YES	
The United States is here today to reaffirm our <b>ironclad</b> commitment to NATO, but also to our Ally Lithuania.	RELATIONS		IRON	USA AND LITHUANIA		YES
Our partnership <b>goes back a long way</b> .	RELATIONS		JOURNEY	USA AND LITHUANIA	YES	
And our commitment to Lithuania, to the Baltics, and to NATO has not <b>wavered</b> .	RELATIONS		NATURAL PHENOMENA	USA	YES	
NATO Summit made even more <b>historic</b> by Türkiye's agreement on the admission of Sweden.	NATO MEMBERSHIP		IMPORTANCE		YES	
The United States will always <b>stand</b> with Lithuania, and <b>we</b> are committed to defending every inch of NATO Territory.	RELATIONS	WE	PERSONIFICATION	USA		YES
<b>Our</b> commitment to the security of <b>our</b> NATO Allies is <b>ironclad</b> .	RELATIONS		IRON	USA		YES
At this <b>critical moment</b> , there's no one better equipped to lead a <b>united NATO</b> than Secretary General Stoltenberg.	UNITY		IMPORTANCE		YES	
Putin thinks the way he succeeds is to <b>break NATO</b> — it's not going to happen.	UNITY	HE	PERSONIFICATION	PUTIN		YES
Today, President Nausėda of Lithuania and I discussed <b>our commitment</b> to defending NATO's eastern flank and <b>our</b> support for the people of Ukraine.	RELATIONS	I	COMMITMENT	USA AND LITHUANIA		YES
<i>52 word count - Tweets by President Macron during Vilnius NATO Summit</i>						

To help Ukraine defend its territory more effectively, <b>France will deliver new long-range missiles.</b>	DEFENCE					YES
In Vilnius, <b>I</b> meet the members of the Alliance, united and determined to ensure <b>our collective security.</b>	UNITY /SECURITY	I		NATO		
With over <b>2,500 French soldiers</b> , sailors and airmen engaged on Europe's eastern flank, France <b>is actively contributing to NATO's robust posture.</b>	DEFENCE					YES
<i>556 word count - Remarks by President Biden and President Gitanas Nausėda of Lithuania Before Bilateral Meeting   Vilnius, Lithuania</i>						
But <b>I</b> would like also to thank for the non-recognition policy of the United States regarding the occupation of Lithuania in the Soviet Union.	RELATIONS	I		NAUSEDA	YES	
The situation in our region is unfortunately <b>deteriorating.</b>	HEALTH		DISSAPEARAN CE - DISINTEGRATI ON			
And <b>we see Belarus just swallowed into the Russian Federation, and we see</b> that Belarus is becoming additional threat, additional factor of insecurity in the region.	OBJECT	WE	FOOD	AUDIENCE		
So this is the reason <b>why we ask the NATO</b> — we ask our <b>strongest Ally, United States</b> — to <b>pay a consistent atten-</b> — <b>attention to the security of our region.</b>	RELATIONS /DEFENCE	WE		LITHUANIA	YES	
And <b>I think</b> the NATO Summit, which takes place in Vilnius, in <b>absolutely near proximity to adversary countries</b> — this is symbolic event — symbolic.	COMPETITION	I		NAUSEDA		
But also, at the same time, this is a great opportunity to <b>take the bold decisions</b> , and <b>we expect that</b> they will be done.	OPINION	WE		LITHUANIA	YES	
This is very important to mention <b>that we already have this Vilnius meeting as historical one</b> , even before it started, because the <b>membership of Sweden is already the</b> — <b>on the table.</b>	MEMBERSHIP	WE		LITHUANIA AND NATO		
<b>We have</b> regional defense plans approved, and now it's important that they become executable by the end of this year, with pre-positioning, with assigned forces.	DEFENCE	WE		NATO		YES
<b>We are probably</b> — Lithuania is one of the most enthusiastic supporters of transatlantic bond in Europe — in European Union because <b>we think that</b> your participation, your attention is extremely important in this field of geopolitical uncertainty.	DEFENCE	WE		LITHUANIA		YES
And <b>I would like to mention Black Hawks.</b>	MILITARY	I		NAUSEDA		YES
So, <b>I think</b> it would be very positive to welcome this decision and welcome the engagement of all eFP countries in the region to increase the forward presence in our — in our region.	DEFENCE	I		NAUSEDA		
It will be another <b>historical moment for Lithuania.</b>	IMPORTANCE					
And all the Lithuanian people <b>greet you so warmly.</b>	RELATIONS		HEAT			
Even Vilnius — you see it's a little bit empty right now, but this is because of <b>security</b> restrictions and some people decided to leave the city just to — to avoid some inconveniences.	SECURITY					
But, you know, in our hearts — from bottom of our hearts, <b>we</b> welcome your visit, <b>we</b> welcome your arrival, and <b>we</b> are looking forward to cooperate with United States in the future.	RELATIONS	WE		LITHUANIA	YES	
<i>291 word count - Tweets by President Nausėda during Vilnius NATO Summit</i>						



Lithuania & the United States share special friendship, based on core values - democracy & freedom.	VALUES/RELATIONS		RELATIONSHIP	USA AND LITHUANIA	YES	
We appreciate contribution to the security of our country & region.	SECURITY	WE		LITHUANIA	YES	
We've met in the most exposed region of NATO, where we know how fragile peace and stability can be.	PEACE /STABILITY	WE		NATO	YES	
My gratitude to every Ally contributing their troops to strengthening the security of and the eastern flank.	STRENGTH				YES	
The security of the Alliance is indivisible.	SECURITY					YES
Ukraine's rightful place is in NATO.	MEMBERSHIP		SPACE		YES	
Alliance needs deeper partnerships with likeminded countries around the globe.	RELATIONS		PERSONIFICATION	NATO	YES	
We agreed on new generation regional defense plans - Ukraine's path to #NATO was defined - 2 % GDP on defence was agreed.	DEFENCE	WE		NATO		
We should help [ukraine flag emoji] to join the NATO family as soon as possible, too.	VALUES	WE		NATO		
NATO's new regional defense plans are an important element boosting our readiness to defend every inch of Allied territory.	DEFENCE					YES
We need to start exercising our plans.	DEFENCE	WE		NATO		YES
I very much welcome 2% of GDP for defense as a new minimum.	DEFENCE	I				YES
<i>74 word count - Tweets by PM Scholtz during Vilnius NATO Summit</i>						
Russia's attack on #Ukraine is a threat to Europe's security architecture.	DEFENCE					YES
It is good that so many states are supporting Ukraine.	SUPPORT/UNITY		PERSONIFICATION		YES	
Germany will send further weapons with a value of almost 700 million euro for the purposes of defence.	DEFENCE		PERSONIFICATION			YES
NATO will send an important message of unity and solidarity.	UNITY					
The Alliance has grown closer together.	UNITY		NATURAL PHENOMENA		YES	
<i>87 word count - Tweets by General Stoltenberg during Vilnius NATO Summit</i>						
Allies took key decisions at a critical moment for our security.	SECURITY		IMPORTANCE	NATO		YES
We agreed a package to strengthen #Ukraine & provide a clear path towards #NATO.	UNITY /STRENGTH	WE	JOURNEY	NATO	YES	
We also approved our most comprehensive defence plans since the Cold War, backed by an enduring commitment to invest more in defence.	DEFENCE	WE		NATO		YES
The United States plays an indispensable role in European security, including with steadfast support to #Ukraine.	SECURITY					YES
President Biden is keeping #NATO strong and united.	UNITY /STRENGTH			NATO	YES	
<i>1774 word count - Closing press conference by NATO Secretary General Jens Stoltenberg at the end of the 2023 NATO Summit in Vilnius</i>						
We have just concluded an historic NATO Summit.	IMPORTANCE	WE		NATO		
Over the past two days, we took major decisions to adapt our Alliance for the future.	IMPORTANCE	WE	PERSONIFICATION	NATO		
We strengthened our commitment to defence investment.	RELATIONSHIP	WE		NATO		
We agreed to bring Ukraine closer to the Alliance, and step up support for the long haul.	MEMBERSHIP	WE	JOURNEY	NATO		YES
And we deepened our partnerships around the world even more.	RELATIONSHIP	WE	SPACE	NATO		
This is a significant step to move Ukraine closer to NATO.	MEMBERSHIP		JOURNEY	NATO		

I also welcome the <b>major new announcements</b> of <b>military support</b> made by NATO Allies at this Summit.	RELATIONSHIP	I		STOLTENBERG		
Allies have already provided tens of billions of dollars in military aid to help <b>beat back Russia's invasion</b> .	THREAT		FIGHTING			YES
Tens of thousands of Ukrainian <b>troops</b> have been trained and equipped by NATO Allies.	THREAT		WAR			YES
And as Ukraine continues to <b>liberate territory, we will stand by them</b> .	POSITION	WE	POSITION	NATO		YES
For <b>as long as it takes</b> .	RELATIONSHIP		TIME			
Yesterday, Allies agreed a new multi-year assistance package for Ukraine to <b>help transition Ukraine from Soviet-era to NATO equipment and standards</b> , and make their <b>forces</b> fully interoperable with NATO.	DEFENCE					YES
Ukraine is now <b>closer</b> to NATO than ever before.	CLOSENESS		SPACE			
Allies reaffirmed that <b>Ukraine will become a member of NATO</b> , and agreed to remove the requirement for a Membership Action Plan.	MEMBERSHIP					
This will change Ukraine's membership <b>path</b> from a <b>two-step process</b> to a one-step process.	MEMBERSHIP		JOURNEY			
<b>We</b> will issue an invitation for Ukraine to join NATO when Allies agree that conditions are met.	MEMBERSHIP	WE		NATO		
This sends a <b>clear, strong and united message</b> from our Vilnius Summit.	UNITY					
<b>We</b> must ensure that when this <b>war</b> ends, there are credible arrangements in place for Ukraine's <b>security</b> , so that history does not repeat itself.	RELATIONSHIP	WE		NATO		
I welcome that many Allies have now <b>committed</b> to providing long-term security assistance to Ukraine.	RELATIONSHIP					
This will help deter any future <b>aggression</b> from Russia after this <b>war</b> ends.	STRENGTH					
This morning, <b>we</b> met with the leaders of Australia, Japan, New Zealand, and South Korea, as well as the European Union.	UNITY	WE		NATO		
NATO is a regional Alliance, but <b>we face</b> global <b>challenges</b> .	DEFENCE	WE	BODY	NATO		
Beijing's global assertiveness and Moscow's <b>war</b> against Ukraine require even <b>closer</b> coordination between NATO, the EU and our Indo-Pacific partners.	UNITY		PROXIMITY			
<b>We</b> condemn North Korea's nuclear and missile programmes, including its latest missile launch: These <b>violate</b> multiple UN Security Council Resolutions and pose a threat to regional and global security.	THREAT	WE		NATO		YES
<b>We</b> will work even more <b>closely</b> together, <b>standing</b> strong for the rules-based international order.	RELATIONSHIP	WE	BODY	NATO		
<b>We face</b> the most serious security situation in decades, but Allies are rising to the challenge.	RELATIONSHIP	WE	BODY	NATO		
NATO is more <b>united</b> than ever, <b>standing strong</b> in defence of our people, and our values.	UNITY		BODY			
I would like to close by thanking President Nausėda, the Lithuanian government and the people of Vilnius for hosting this <b>historic</b> Summit.	IMPORTANCE		IMPORTANCE			
I <b>look forward</b> to the Washington Summit next year, marking NATO's 75th anniversary.	UNITY	I	FUTURE	STOLTENBERG		
<b>We've</b> had a very good meeting with President Zelenskyy and his delegation today, where he welcomed the very strong message from NATO Allies.	RELATIONSHIP	WE		NATO		

He welcomed the establishment of the NATO-Ukraine Council, and also the <b>clear</b> commitment to <b>move</b> Ukraine closer to membership.	RELATIONSHIP /MEMBERSHIP		MOVEMENT			
<b>And I think</b> it is extremely important to recognize that the decisions made with all NATO Allies is the strongest ever message on Ukraine membership that this Alliance ever made, by stating clearly that Ukraine will become a member, that Ukraine's future is in NATO and also [by] describing the path forward with the practical support for ensuring interoperability with strengthening the political ties with the NATO-Ukraine Council, and then by removing the requirements for a Membership Action Plan.	MEMBERSHIP	I	JOURNEY	STOLTENBERG		
Then <b>negotiations</b> to <b>solve</b> the <b>conflict</b> in Ukraine will only happen when Ukraine is ready for <b>negotiations</b> .	RELATIONSHIP		PEACE			
And as <b>we</b> have stated <b>again and again</b> , nothing about Ukraine without Ukraine.	UNITY	WE		NATO		
What <b>we</b> do know is that the more <b>military support</b> we provide to Ukraine, the more land they are able to liberate, <b>the stronger their hand</b> will be at the negotiating table.	SUPPORT	WE/THEY	BODY	NATO/UKRAINE		YES
And therefore <b>we continue</b> , and the message from this Summit and from NATO Allies with new announcements of long range cruise missiles, of more armoured vehicles with more advanced air defence systems and training of the F-16 pilots is that we support them to liberate land, so they will have <b>a stronger hand at the negotiating table</b> .	DEFENCE	WE	BODY	NATO		YES
We also agreed today a new individual <b>partnership</b> program between NATO and Ukraine, where we describe the different work strands where we are going to deepen our cooperation.	UNITY	WE		NATO		
It's about countering hybrid <b>threats</b> , including <b>disinformation</b> and in all the areas where we see the potential for <b>NATO and Japan working more closely together</b> .	UNITY		PROXIMITY			
And therefore <b>we</b> need to really have to <b>stand together</b> .	UNITY	WE	MOVEMENT	NATO		
China's heavy investments in <b>new military capabilities</b> demonstrates that.	CHINA		WEIGHT			YES
<b>We</b> expect that China by 2035 will have 1500 nuclear warheads on missiles that can reach North America and the whole of Europe, NATO territory.	CHINA	WE	STRENGTH	NATO		
<b>We see</b> how China is <b>coming closer</b> to us.	CHINA	WE	MOVEMENT	NATO		
But this is about recognizing that this region faces global challenges and the <b>rise of China</b> is a part of that and that China is coming close also in Africa, in the Arctic, but also trying to control critical infrastructure and of course we see them also in cyberspace.	CHINA		MOVEMENT			
They are in the middle of the <b>war</b> .	WAR	THEY	SPACE	UKRAINE		
There are casualties every day, there's a counter offensive facing fierce resistance dug in Russian forces, landmines and a brutal warfare from the Russian side and of course, that's also the reason why Ukraine and again and again has asked for more support and also why Allies have stepped up with also gradually more and more advanced weapons systems.	BRUTALITY		BRUTALITY			
And also the fact that this is the strongest ever expression of the <b>path forward</b> .	STRENGTH		JOURNEY			

And again, that's reason why the most urgent task, the most important task is the continued <b>flow of military support</b> .	IMPORTANCE		MOVEMENT			
<b>We</b> reaffirm that Ukraine <b>will become a member</b> .	MEMBERSHIP	WE		NATO		
<b>We</b> actually have agreed on concrete tools, political tools, practical tools to help Ukraine move towards membership.	MEMBERSHIP	WE	TOOLS	NATO		
<i>1336 word count - Joint press conference by NATO Secretary General Jens Stoltenberg and the President of Ukraine, Volodymyr Zelenskyy</i>						
NATO will continue to <b>stand with you</b> for as long as it takes.	RELATIONSHIP		BODY			
A multi-year programme of practical assistance establishing a new NATO-Ukraine council, and the reaffirming that Ukraine will become a member of NATO and removing the requirement for the Membership Action Plan.	MEMBERSHIP					
This will help deter any future <b>aggression from Russia</b> after this war ends.	THREAT					
The establishment of the NATO Ukraine Council is one of the three elements in the package we agreed today to ensure that Ukraine <b>comes even closer</b> to NATO and to NATO membership.	RELATIONSHIP /MEMBERSHIP		JOURNEY			
But again, this is <b>one of the steps we are taking</b> to move towards a membership.	MEMBERSHIP	WE	JOURNEY /MOVEMENT	NATO		
Today <b>we</b> meet as equals.	RELATIONSHIP	WE	PERSONIFICATION	NATO + UKRAINE		
I look forward to the day <b>we</b> meet as Allies.	RELATIONSHIP	WE	PERSONIFICATION	NATO + UKRAINE		
Because then the message is that when <b>he</b> uses military force, when <b>he</b> violates international law, when <b>he</b> invades a neighbour, then <b>he</b> gets what he wants.	THREAT	HE		PUTIN		
Because it will be a <b>tragedy</b> for Ukraine if President Putin wins, but it will be <b>dangerous</b> for us.	THREAT					
For as long as it takes.	RELATIONSHIP		JOURNEY			
So we are <b>moving Ukraine closer to membership</b> .	MEMBERSHIP	WE	JOURNEY	NATO		
We make all the decisions today which is the strongest and most united message on the <b>path towards</b> membership NATO has ever issued to Ukraine.	MEMBERSHIP		JOURNEY			
So, Ukraine has the right to <b>choose its own path, Allies will decide, it's not for Moscow to decide</b> .	RELATIONSHIP		PERSONIFICATION			
So this is one of the elements in the decision we are taking today to move Ukraine closer to NATO and NATO membership, and we should all appreciate that.	MEMBERSHIP		JOURNEY			
<i>1657 word count - Doorstep statement by NATO Secretary General Jens Stoltenberg at the start of the 2023 NATO Summit in Vilnius</i>						
This Summit is a <b>historic Summit</b> because we have already made an agreement that ensures that Sweden will become a full-fledged member of the Alliance.	MEMBERSHIP					
On the membership issue, I also expect that Allies will send a clear and positive message on the <b>path forward towards</b> membership for Ukraine	MEMBERSHIP		JOURNEY			
This will <b>move Ukraine closer</b> to NATO.	MEMBERSHIP		MOVEMENT			
We all agree that the most <b>imminent task now is to ensure that Ukraine prevails as a sovereign independent</b> nation in Europe.	RELATIONSHIP		FUTURE			
So the most important thing we can do is to continue to provide weapons, ammunition, military support to Ukraine, because unless Ukraine prevails as a nation, as a democratic nation in Europe, there is no issue to be discussed about <b>security guarantees or membership in NATO at all</b> .	MEMBERSHIP					YES
This is all about <b>moving Ukraine closer to NATO membership</b> , which will be	MOVEMENT /MEMBERSHIP		JOURNEY			

extremely important for Ukraine and also demonstrates the unity and the strength of the message that NATO Allies are sending to Ukraine.						
So first of all, the nuclear rhetoric of Russia is dangerous and reckless, and Russia must know that nuclear war can never be won and must never be fought.	THREAT					
This is both about the <b>path forward for membership, but also about the most imminent task, and that is military support.</b>	DEFENCE		JOURNEY			
It's about <b>lifting restrictions on arms exports, and it's also about ensuring that this is a long term continued cooperation between Sweden and Türkiye also after accession, so there are no other agreements.</b>	UNITY		MOVEMENT			YES
I am absolutely confident that both Sweden and Türkiye will adhere to the agreement and also that this will continue after accession, and to ensure that we actually established last year in Madrid, what we call the Permanent [Joint] Mechanism to ensure the continued <b>cooperation on fighting terrorism.</b>	RELATIONSHIP /FIGHT		FIGHT			YES
At the NATO Summit, we will agree a package for Ukraine with more practical support with stronger political ties and also decisions to <b>move Ukraine closer to NATO membership.</b>	RELATIONSHIP		MOVEMENT			
Then, some Allies are also having a bilateral or multilateral dialogue with Ukraine on a framework to have in place, to ensure <b>continued support for Ukraine.</b>	RELATIONSHIP		PERSONIFICATION			
This sends a very clear message to Russia, to President Putin, <b>that NATO's door remains open</b> , and that it is for NATO Allies to decide on <b>enlargement.</b>	RELATIONSHIP		DOOR			
Putin doesn't have a veto on NATO <b>enlargement.</b>	RELATIONSHIP		SPACE			
<i>1932 word count - Press conference by NATO Secretary General Jens Stoltenberg following the meeting with President of Türkiye Recep Tayyip Erdoğan and Prime Minister of Sweden, Ulf Kristersson</i>						
It has delivered more in our <b>fight against terrorism.</b>	FIGHT		THREAT/FIGHT			
As part of that process, Sweden has amended its constitution, changed its laws, significantly expanded its counter-terrorism cooperation against the PKK, and resumed arms exports to Türkiye.	RELATIONSHIP		PERSONIFICATION			
Completing Sweden's accession to NATO is an <b>historic</b> step that benefits the security of all NATO Allies at this critical time.	IMPORTANCE					
But <b>we</b> have in the text now developed further how to implement, how to step up the fight against terrorism, how to work more closely as Allies and, also, how to ensure that restrictions on arms exports are lifted.	UNITY /FIGHT	WE	JOURNEY/FIGHT	NATO		
<b>I will not</b> give you exact dates for that, but this is a clear commitment	RELATIONSHIP	I	CLARITY			
<b>I think that we have to respect</b> that every parliament has their own integrity, their own timelines.	RESPECT	I/WE	PERSONIFICATION	WORLD		
Partly this is now part of our new defence plans, where we address the two main threats that NATO is facing: terrorism and Russia	THREAT		OBJECT			
So this is something that Sweden does, as an EU member, to support Türkiye's efforts <b>to move closer to the European Union.</b>	RELATIONSHIP		PROXIMITY			
<b>We focus on NATO enlargement at NATO.</b>	IMPORTANCE	WE	SPACE	NATO		
<i>1416 word count - Joint press conference by the NATO Secretary General Jens Stoltenberg and the President of the Republic of Lithuania Gitanas Nausėda</i>						

This week at the NATO Summit, we will strengthen our deterrence and defence, including with more investment.	DEFENCE	WE	STRENGHT	NATO		YES
We will step up our support for Ukraine, and move Ukraine closer to NATO.	MOVEMENT	WE	JOURNEY	NATO		
And we will work even more closely with partners to support the rules-based international order.	UNITY	WE		NATO		
Backed by 300,000 troops on high readiness.	DEFENCE		BODY			YES
This sends a clear message that we will defend every inch of Lithuania.	DEFENCE	WE	CLARITY	NATO		
To continue supporting Ukraine and strengthening our own forces, we need to invest more in defence.	DEFENCE	WE	STRENGHT	NATO		YES
Building on nine consecutive years of increased defence spending across European Allies and Canada.	DEFENCE		BUILDING			
We will also meet with our close partners in Vilnius, the European Union.	UNITY	WE	PROXIMITY	NATO		
And we look forward to Sweden joining as soon as possible.	UNITY	WE	BODY	NATO		
This will move Ukraine closer to NATO.	MOVEMENT		JOURNEY		YES	
And we are now discussing this package that was launched in Oslo of practical support to enable full interoperability between Ukrainian forces and NATO forces, stronger political ties with the NATO-Ukraine Council and then the removal of the Membership Action Plan.	DEFENCE /MEMBERSHIP	WE	STRENGHT	NATO		YES
But again, the final decisions will be taken when every Ally, when we all agree and the Leaders meet tomorrow.	UNITY	WE		NATO		
I think also, it is important to communicate that all Allies agree that Ukraine will become a member of the Alliance, but we also agree that NATO still remains open.	UNITY	I/WE	OPEN	STOLTENBERG/NATO	YES	
And we have also reiterated again and again that of course it is for the Allies and Ukraine to decide when the time is right to invite Ukraine to be a full member.	RELATIONSHIP /MEMBERSHIP	WE	TIME	NATO		
So I think it's extremely important that we continue to ensure that Allies are providing weapons, ammunition, training, spare parts to Ukraine.	IMPORTANCE	WE		NATO	YES	
At the same time, we need to remember that what we agreed in Madrid was a specific list of conditions that Sweden has to meet to be a full member of the Alliance.	RELATIONSHIP /MEMBERSHIP	WE	MEETING	NATO+SWEDEN		
And it is important that we stand together in the fight against terrorism.	STRENGHT/FIGHT	WE	FIGHT	WORLD		
But at the same time, it's also important that we address the legitimate security concerns of all Allies that want to see Sweden as a member of the Alliance as soon as possible, because this will strengthen NATO and it will strengthen our ability to defend and protect not least the Baltic region.	STRENGHT	WE		NATO		YES
So we are working hard to get a Sweden as a member as soon as possible.	RELATIONSHIP /MEMBERSHIP	WE	TIME	NATO		
I met with President Erdogan a few weeks ago, we had constructive and good talks.	RELATIONSHIP	WE		STOLTENBERG AND ERDOGAN		
We agreed at that meeting to convene the Permanent [Joint] Mechanism, the mechanism that was established by Sweden, Finland, NATO and Türkiye.	UNITY	WE		NATO		
We don't have any certainty.	UNITY	WE	CLARITY	NATO		
We don't have any guarantees.	UNITY	WE	CLARITY	NATO		
But of course, now we have the momentum of the Summit with the Leaders here and we will use that	MOVEMENT	WE	JOURNEY	NATO		YES

momentum to ensure as much progress as possible.						
Then after the full-scale invasion of Ukraine last year, we doubled the number of battle groups in the eastern part of the Alliance and we also made the decision at the Madrid Summit that these battle groups should be scalable up to brigade size levels.	THREAT	WE	SIZE	NATO		YES
Meaning we need dedicated forces with dedicated responsibilities and also exercises and pre-positioned equipment and the infrastructure in place to quickly be scaled up to [brigade] size and that's exactly what I saw myself at the exercise here in Lithuania two weeks ago, the ability of NATO Allies, in this case Germany, to scale up to brigade-size level.	DEFENCE	I/WE	SIZE	STOLTENBERG/NATO		YES
In NATO, we will, at this Summit, tomorrow and the day after tomorrow, we will agree new defence plans, we will agree a new force model, a new force structure and the force structure requirements to execute and to meet the needs to protect and defend all Allies.	DEFENCE	WE		NATO		YES
So the details related to our posture, or presence, will be described there but, we welcome the other day the increased presence that has been announced in the Baltic region.	DEFENCE	WE	STANCE	NATO		YES
<i>179 word count - The Prime Minister met Prime Minister of the Netherlands Mark Rutte at the NATO Summit in Vilnius, Lithuania.</i>						
The leaders reaffirmed their staunch commitment to upholding security in our region.	COMMITMENT	THEY	STRENGTH	NATO	YES	
This includes ensuring NATO is fully equipped to take on the challenges of the future.	COMMITMENT		PERSONIFICATION			
On tackling illegal migration, the Prime Minister and Prime Minister Rutte welcomed the strong cooperation between our countries so far.	STRENGTH		PERSONIFICATION		YES	
<i>248 word count - Tweets by PM Sunak during Vilnius NATO Summit</i>						
NATO is a vital alliance.	UNITY		HEALTH		YES	
The UK has always played a central role in the Alliance.	UNITY		PERSONIFICATION		YES	
We contribute to every NATO mission and are the leading European nation in providing Ukraine with military aid, as well as bolstering NATO's Enhanced Forward Presence on the eastern flank.	COMPETITION	WE		UK		YES
NATO has stood to guard the freedom and security of all its members on both sides of the Atlantic.	VALUES		PERSONIFICATION	NATO		YES
Putin, in taking the actions he did, thought he would weaken and divide NATO.	STRENGTH					YES
In fact, he was met with the opposite response.	UNITY					
Members have increased their defence spending and nations have put their neutrality aside in favour of the security NATO brings.	DEFENCE					
We cannot be complacent.	DEFENCE	WE		UK	YES	
We need to be able to deter, combat and outstep future threats.	DEFENCE	WE		UK		
That means ensuring Ukraine is never again left vulnerable to the brutality of Russia.	RELATIONSHIP					
Ukraine's interests are at the heart of NATO's interests.	UNITY		BODY			
<i>576 word count - Tweets by PM Trudeau during Vilnius NATO Summit</i>						
In our mission to protect freedom, democracy, and the rule of law, we are more united than ever.	VALUES	WE		NATO	YES	



And <b>we'll use</b> this @NATO Summit as an opportunity to <b>make even more progress – together</b> .	UNITY	WE		NATO	YES	
Let's make this clear: <b>Russia's unprovoked, unwarranted war</b> on an independent country <b>threatens freedom, international law</b> , human rights, and the whole set of shared democratic values that generations of soldiers have fought to defend.	THREAT					YES
<b>We're coming</b> together at an important moment for Europe, for the Alliance, for the rules-based international order, and for the world.	UNITY	WE		NATO		
<b>We must meet</b> this moment.	UNITY	WE	MOVEMENT	NATO	YES	
And <b>we'll continue</b> to stand strong against <b>threats to democracy</b> and the rule of law – and stand ready to strengthen the Alliance's collective defence.	THREAT /STRENGTH	WE		CANADA		YES
<b>We</b> discussed <b>Russia's invasion of Ukraine</b> , <b>Sweden's</b> application to join @NATO, and more.	INVASION	WE		NATO		YES
<b>We're</b> committed to working together and upholding the principles of peace and collective security around the world.	SECURITY /VALUES	WE		NATO		YES
For two years now, Kaja Kallas <b>and I</b> have been <b>working together to strengthen the partnership between Canada and Estonia</b> .	UNITY	I		TRUDEAU	YES	
At the @NATO Summit and beyond, <b>we'll keep working together</b> .	UNITY	WE		NATO	YES	
<b>We'll continue</b> to make sure the people of Ukraine have the support, expertise, and resources they need.	COMMITMENT	WE		CANADA	YES	
<b>Canada strongly supports Sweden's application</b> to join NATO – and <b>we are</b> looking forward to concluding their accession process without delay.	MEMBERSHIP	WE		CANADA	YES	
<b>We're confident</b> they will strengthen the Alliance and make important contributions to our collective defence.	STRENGTH	WE		CANADA		
As the people of Ukraine continue to defend themselves against <b>Russia's abhorrent attacks</b> , Canada remains committed to providing them with the support they need.	WAR					YES
<b>We are always</b> going to defend democracy – both at home and around the world.	VALUES /DEFENCE			CANADA	YES	
<i>609 word count - Tweets by President Zelenskyy during Vilnius NATO Summit</i>						
The courage of Ukrainian heroes has <b>wiped away the dust of history</b> from all the values for the protection of which NATO was created.	VALUES		WAR		YES	
The eastern border of Ukraine, the border of our state and the positions of our warriors <b>are the line that the Russian dictatorship</b> , which in various forms, but always, always tried to conquer the peoples of Europe, will never cross again.	WAR/HEROISM		INVISIBLE LINE		YES	
<b>We</b> value our allies.	VALUES	WE		UKRAINE		YES
<b>We</b> value our shared security.	VALUES	WE		UKRAINE		YES
And <b>we</b> always appreciate an open conversation.	VALUES	WE		UKRAINE		YES
Ukraine will be represented at the NATO summit in Vilnius.	SUMMIT		PERSONIFICATION			
But <b>Ukraine</b> also deserves <b>respect</b> .	VALUES					
Now, on the way to Vilnius, <b>we</b> received signals that certain wording is being discussed <b>without Ukraine</b> .	RELATIONSHIP	WE		ZELENSKY'S TEAM	YES	
It's unprecedented and absurd when time frame is not set neither for the invitation nor for Ukraine's membership.	RELATIONSHIP	WE			YES	



While at the same time vague wording about "conditions" is added even for inviting Ukraine.	RELATIONSHIP				YES	
It seems there is no readiness neither to invite Ukraine to NATO nor to make it a member of the Alliance.	RELATIONSHIP				YES	
This means that a window of opportunity is being left to bargain Ukraine's membership in NATO in negotiations with Russia.	RELATIONSHIP		WINDOW		YES	
And for Russia, this means motivation to continue its terror.	THREAT				YES	
And they know that security means being together with Ukraine.	SECURITY/RELATIONSHIP	THEY		WORLD/NATO		YES
I am grateful to you, Vilnius, and to all Lithuanian cities and communities for every call in support of Ukraine, for sheltering our people who have taken refuge in Lithuania from hostilities...	RELATIONSHIP	I		ZELENSKYY		YES
Thank you for your help to our defense and for your clear, honest and courageous position on inviting Ukraine to @NATO.	DEFENCE					YES
Ukraine will defend both its own and your freedom!	DEFENCE /VALUES		PERSONIFICATION			
And no one should ever, ever look back to Moscow!	RELATIONSHIP		FIGHTING			
Our defense is a top priority, and I am grateful to our partners for their willingness to take new steps.	RELATIONSHIP	I		ZELENSKYY		YES
More weapons for our warriors, more protection of life for the whole of Ukraine!	DEFENCE		FIGHTING			
We will bring new important defense tools to Ukraine.	DEFENCE	WE		ZELENSKY'S TEAM		
Today I embarked on a trip here with faith in decisions, with faith in partners, with faith in a strong @NATO.	STRENGTH	I	JOURNEY	ZELENSKYY		YES
In a NATO that does not hesitate, does not waste time and does not look back at any aggressor...	AGGRESSION /RELATIONSHIP		PERSONIFICATION			YES
And I would like this faith to become confidence – confidence in the decisions that we deserve – all of us deserve, and every warrior, every citizen, every mother, every child expects.	VALUES	I/WE		ZELENSKYY		
NATO will give Ukraine security.	SECURITY /RELATIONSHIP		PERSONIFICATION			YES
Ukraine will make the Alliance stronger.	STRENGTH		STRENGTH			YES
<i>182 word count - Remarks by President Biden, Prime Minister Kishida of Japan, and President Zelenskyy of Ukraine in a G7 Joint Declaration of Support for Ukraine   Vilnius, Lithuania</i>						
We are coordinating with the G7 countries.	RELATIONSHIP	WE	PERSONIFICATION	UKRAINE		YES
Ukrainian delegation is bringing home significant security victory for the Ukraine.	MOVEMENT		JOURNEY			YES
For our country, for our people, for our children.	UNITY					
<i>1491 word count - Joint press conference by NATO Secretary General Jens Stoltenberg and the President of Ukraine, Volodymyr Zelenskyy</i>						
We can see some specific points, making us closer to NATO.	MOVEMENT	WE	JOURNEY	UKRAINE AND NATO	YES	
As I've already said, some of the things, it's difficult to explain to partners, because we are at war.	THREAT	WE		UKRAINE		YES
They are helping us but still, we are living under different conditions, because we are in the conditions where survival matters and partners are willing to support us to live.	COOPERATION	WE		UKRAINE		
But before we can live, we need to survive.	SURVIVAL	WE	DEATH	UKRAINE		YES
And unfortunately, we pay the ultimate price, the price of our lives.	SURVIVAL	WE	DEATH	UKRAINE		YES
We can see how to fight any aggression.	THREAT	WE		UKRAINE		YES

Now, we are an adequate people.	RELATIONSHIP	WE		UKRAINE		
We clearly understand that partners are helping us with weapons and this is a moment of survival.	SURVIVAL	WE	CLARITY	ZELENSKYY'S TEAM		YES
This is something that we need.	SURVIVAL	WE		UKRAINE		
We understand that someone is afraid of talking about our membership now, because nobody is willing to have a world war, which is logical and understandable.	DEFENCE	WE		UKRAINE	YES	
I want everyone to understand that we are civilized and adequate people.	RELATIONSHIP	I/WE		ZELENSKYY/ UKRAINE	YES	
Ukraine is fighting and it truly understands that Ukraine cannot be a member nation to NATO as long as the war continues in our territory.	THREAT		PERSONIFICATION			YES
And already, we can hear some confident statements - when the conditions will be met.	RELATIONSHIP	WE	PERSONIFICATION	UKRAINE	YES	
My understanding is that when it will be secure on our land on our territory.	COMMITMENT					
But if we're not only dealing with techniques and bureaucracy, but should we look at that as a serious factor to contribute to the motivation, to the Ukrainian society, then for me, as a President, that was an important moment.	IMPORTANCE	WE		ZELENSKYY/ UKRAINE		
I kind of compare this fact with the candidacy for the membership in the European Union and with the dialogue with other countries.	RELATIONSHIP	I	PERSONIFICATION	ZELENSKYY	YES	
The candidacy means no membership, but it brings a significant mobilization for Ukraine and a powerful signal for Russia that Ukraine is not a member of any type of Alliance, but Ukraine is willing to become a member of the European Union and will be an independent state.	DEFENCE		RELATIONSHIP			YES
But today I can see another important signal that I've already mentioned, and we can have some specifics about this.	IMPORTANCE	I/WE	SIGNAL	ZELENSKYY/ UKRAINE	YES	
And that should also give us should also give us such spirit that we'll be in NATO.	IMPORTANCE	WE	SPIRIT	UKRAINE	YES	
We don't have real security guarantees from our partners.	DEFENCE	WE		UKRAINE		YES
I mean, legally, we have actual security guarantees.	DEFENCE	I/WE		ZELENSKYY/ UKRAINE		YES
And that could be the first legal document that symbolizes the fact that we have a sort of a security umbrella, a first document.	DEFENCE	WE	UMBRELLA	UKRAINE		YES
And it will cover all those aspects that we already have, or those aspects that we're lacking now.	DEFENCE	WE	UMBRELLA	UKRAINE	YES	
Besides this document, the security umbrella will allow the other countries in addition to the G7 countries to join.	DEFENCE		UMBRELLA		YES	
So this is, would be, an opportunity for other partners to join as well.	DEFENCE					
And we've already started to have conversations with other partners.	DEFENCE	WE		UKRAINE	YES	
They're already friends with us, but they're not part of the G7.	DEFENCE	THEY		FRIENDLY COUNTRIES	YES	
I think that's a very important next step.	DEFENCE	I	JOURNEY	ZELENSKYY		
I'm not willing to reiterate, but I can tell you one thing, I don't believe the Budapest Memorandum as security guarantee, because I don't understand any responsibility provided under the memorandum.	DEFENCE	I		ZELENSKYY		YES
We don't see the consequences for violating this document.	RELATIONSHIP	WE		ZELENSKYY'S TEAM		YES
Ukraine had this document and was left alone with it.	RELATIONSHIP		PERSONIFICATION			YES

And we understand that the best guarantees for Ukraine and for Ukrainians is to be in NATO.	DEFENCE	WE	GUARANTEE	UKRAINE	YES	
And I would like to underline once again: we don't see any member nations of NATO that are at war now, that are dying, that are suffering, that are defending their own country.	DEFENCE	I/WE		ZELENSKYY/ UKRAINE		YES
On our way to NATO, we would like to have the security guarantees.	MOVEMENT		JOURNEY	UKRAINE		YES
And to have them permanently, so that they would make our relationship to other countries even more powerful.	RELATIONSHIP	THEY		SECURITY GUARANTEE S		YES
We would like to have a document so that the assistance wouldn't be based only on our personal relationship, but to have it written in the document	RELATIONSHIP	WE		UKRAINE		YES
And today's framework declaration and security guarantees will open up the possibilities for the strong bilateral documents.	RELATIONSHIP		OPEN		YES	
We highly appreciate this.	RELATIONSHIP	WE		UKRAINE	YES	
And I believe that NATO needs us just as we need NATO.	RELATIONSHIP	I/WE		ZELENSKYY/ UKRAINE	YES	
I am confident that after the war Ukraine will be in NATO, we will be doing everything possible to make it happen, so that we would, with the United States, we would have the same understanding and the same vision.	UNITY	I/WE		ZELENSKYY/ UKRAINE		
Russia is constantly using cluster munitions on our territory.	THREAT		PERSONIFICATI ON			YES
They're fighting only on our land, they are killing our people, they are using long range missiles, cluster munitions on a regular basis.	THREAT	THEY		RUSSIA		YES
And it is not fair that the aggressor has occupied us, has been occupying parts of our territory for nine years and killing our people.	THREAT		DEATH			YES
We are defending ourselves; we are defending ourselves by not using weapons against the territory of other states.	THREAT	WE	UNITY	UKRAINE		YES
As for the other support and assistance, we do need long-range weapons.	DEFENCE	WE		UKRAINE		YES
<i>129 word count - Remarks by President Biden, Prime Minister Kishida of Japan, and President Zelenskyy of Ukraine in a G7 Joint Declaration of Support for Ukraine   Vilnius, Lithuania</i>						
I am pleased to be able to announce the Joint Declaration on Support for Ukraine today.	UNITY	I		KISHIDA		
At the G7 Hiroshima Summit, by engaging in discussions that included a wide range of invited countries, we agreed that unilateral attempts to change the status quo by force or coercion are unacceptable anywhere in the world and to safeguard a free and open international order based on the rule of law.	RELATIONSHIP	WE		G7		
I feel that it is truly meaningful that we, the G7 leaders, and Volodymyr have gathered once again today.	RELATIONSHIP	I		KISHIDA		YES
The G7 will continue to stand by Ukraine.	RELATIONSHIP		POSITION			
<i>1644 word count - President Meloni's press conference at the NATO Summit in Vilnius</i>						
Over the last year and a half, Russia's aggression against Ukraine and the domino effect of consequences caused by the conflict have called many of our certainties into question.	RELATIONSHIP /AGGRESSION					
However, it must be said that, in this world of increasing uncertainty, this Summit has managed to reaffirm one of the certainties we have had during this period: the unity of the Atlantic Alliance	UNITY				YES	

and the determination of all allies to defend their values and the rules of international law, without which none of us would be safe.						
I wish to offer my congratulations to the President of Lithuania, Gitanas Nausėda, with whom I will be having a bilateral meeting shortly – the last of my commitments at this NATO Summit.	VALUES	I			MELONI	YES
I also wish to congratulate Secretary General Stoltenberg, also on the extension of his mandate, which clearly reflects the current exceptional circumstances, but also his steadfast and certainly balanced leadership at this difficult time.	VALUES	I			MELONI	
As we were saying, at this historic, exceptional moment in time, this Summit had to make decisions on deterrence and defence that are able to address this period, with measures including new regional defence plans, and the relative forces being in a state of maximum preparedness.	DEFENCE	WE			NATO	YES
Italy has supported, and supports, the ongoing adaptations, as can be seen by the important contributions it offers along the entire eastern flank and in the Mediterranean, which were also called for, in the sense that we called for the role in the Alliance, we called for the attention that is currently being paid especially to the eastern flank, but we have also asked for greater attention to be paid to the southern flank.	DEFENCE	WE			ITALY	YES
We live in a world in which everything is interconnected, and everything that happens also has repercussions in other areas.	CONNECTIVITY	WE			WORLD	
To be clear, the war in Ukraine has had heavy repercussions above all in developing countries: I am thinking of Africa, and I am mentioning Africa again not because the Italian Government has a fixation but simply because this is one of the areas where the consequences of the Ukraine conflict are most visible, every day.	CONNECTIVITY	I		CLEARNESS	MELONI	YES
Those consequences create factors of major instability; regarding that instability, there are external aggravators and we are continuing to see an advance of fundamentalism, all of which inevitably has an impact on us, and has an impact on Europe.	INSTABILITY	WE			ITALY	
We are particularly sensitive because we are obviously the closest neighbours.	AFRICA	WE			ITALY	
In such an interconnected world, we are living in a context in which we need the ability to see the overall ‘chessboard’; we live in a world in which wars are increasingly hybrid and we have to take these factors into account.	CHESSBOARD	WE			WORLD	YES
When we used to talk about defence, it was enough to focus on our own traditional defence sectors; then we gradually added cybersecurity, then space, the sea, the seabed.	DEFENCE	WE			WORLD	YES
Today, we often find ourselves talking about the so-called ‘sixth domain’, which regards systematic misinformation in an attempt to influence public opinion.	MISINFORMATION	WE			WORLD	
However, talking about a systemic rival such as China without bearing in mind the issue of supply chains, without bearing in mind the issue of controlling critical raw materials, would be like playing a game of chess and moving the queen without	COMPETITION			CHESS		YES

realising there is a bishop on the other side of the board ready to pounce; an increasingly comprehensive approach is therefore needed.						
Clearly, for us, the issue of relations and dialogue with countries of the Global South, of non-predatory cooperation with these countries, the issue of supply chains, of controlling strategic supply chains, and indeed the issue of protecting a technological advantage in the field of defence, which the Alliance has always had, are all key aspects <b>we need</b> to work on, and <b>that we need</b> to work on together.	RELATIONSHIP	WE			NATO	
It is <b>obvious, and we all agree, that</b> our freedom has a cost, and it is worth reminding those who would like us to demobilise of that, because what is invested in defence comes back tenfold, a hundredfold, in terms of our ability to defend our national interests, and those <b>who say that we must demobilise at the same time as denouncing certain</b> interferences have to understand that those two things do not go together.	FREEDOM/ VALUES	WE			WORLD	
<b>We want to be a nation and we believe</b> that Europe and our partners must be able to <b>defend their national interests</b> as much as possible, and this is also done through the ability we have to defend ourselves; this, however, is not just a matter of numbers.	DEFENCE	WE			ITALY	
For us, it is not just a matter of numbers; another issue that we have brought to the attention of our NATO partners: <b>as Italy, we have always done our part and we will continue to do our part, but we believe that within the commitment, for example, to spend 2% of GDP on defence,</b> developments and sustainability must be taken into account, as indeed must the responsibility taken on by each ally and their involvement in how the alliance works.	RELATIONSHIP	WE			ITALY	
Ukraine was obviously discussed a lot and, <b>today, we have launched the new and important NATO-Ukraine Council</b> , with President Zelensky in attendance.	RELATIONSHIP	WE			NATO	
President <b>Zelensky gave us an update and we are continuing</b> to work to foster conditions for a negotiation process that can lead to a just peace, a lasting peace, a global peace.	RELATIONSHIP	WE			NATO	
<b>As we see it,</b> reaching a peace would clearly be much more difficult without adequate security guarantees, since, as we know, <b>in the past Russia has very often violated the pacts it has signed.</b>	VALUES/SECURITY	WE			NATO	
The issue of security guarantees for Ukraine is therefore also <b>a step towards fostering</b> a peace process.	VALUES/SECURITY		JOURNEY			
As <b>Italy, we have worked,</b> and are working, to offer these guarantees <b>and we were among the countries at the forefront of supporting Ukraine</b> joining the European Union.	RELATIONSHIP	WE			ITALY	
<b>As I was saying,</b> the NATO-Ukraine Council has been created as a main forum for consultation and the decision-making process; a multi-year practical support package has been launched – the Comprehensive Assistance Package; the process to join the Atlantic Alliance <b>has been streamlined,</b> while reiterating that Ukraine will become part of NATO when the conditions so allow.	RELATIONSHIP	I			MELONI	YES

Complementarity is also crucial when it comes to strategies, because if, for example, as NATO we decide to strengthen our defence industry, it is obvious that when <b>we in</b> Europe, in the European Union, then deal with our governance rules, the future rules regarding our investments, <b>we must take into account</b> investments for choices that together we have deemed strategic, in the deficit-to-GDP ratio for example.	STRENGTH /DEFENCE	WE			NATO		
In the <b>margins</b> of the NATO Summit and G7 initiative, <b>I have</b> also had a number of meetings, pull asides and bilaterals.	RELATIONSHIP	I			MELONI/NATO		
<b>I met</b> with President Erdoğan, with whom <b>we spoke</b> a lot about the Mediterranean, energy, <b>migration</b> and <b>peace</b> with regard to the conflict.	RELATIONSHIP	WE	PEACE		ITALY AND TURKEY	YES	
Overall I am satisfied with the signal that the Atlantic Alliance has given in the last few days, which is a signal of <b>compactness</b> : <b>I believe</b> this is the most valuable thing <b>we have</b> in this phase.	VALUES	I/WE	SPACE		MELONI/NATO		
<i>867 word count - President Meloni's press statement with Prime Minister Kariņš</i>							
<b>We have had</b> a very wide-ranging exchange of views and, as has already been the case at various European Council meetings, <b>we have</b> found ourselves sharing many of the <b>key choices</b> required of <b>Europe</b> and our nations at this time.	RELATIONSHIP	WE			EUROPE	YES	
<b>I am</b> very happy to have remedied this and <b>I would</b> in turn like to invite the Prime Minister to come to Rome at his convenience, because there really are a lot of matters on <b>which we are on the same wavelength</b> , obviously starting with the issue of Ukraine.	RELATIONSHIP	I/WE	NATURE - WAVE		MELONI/ ITALY AND LATVIA		
This issue, along with <b>security</b> and <b>defence</b> policy, will also be the focus of the Vilnius Summit <b>we are</b> getting ready to attend.	DEFENCE	WE			NATO		
Italy's <b>position</b> and Latvia's <b>position</b> are essentially identical.	RELATIONSHIP		SPACE			YES	
<b>We have</b> provided, and continue to provide, Ukraine with comprehensive support, also working so that Europe can invest more in its <b>security</b> and <b>defence</b> .	DEFENCE	WE			ITALY		
<b>Following</b> this meeting with the Prime Minister, <b>I</b> will be going to the Camp Ādaži military base where 270 Italian military personnel are engaged in NATO's Enhanced Forward Presence mission.	Military - Positive	I			MELNI		
This not only demonstrates the attention Italy pays to its allies, which are border allies, but also shows how much <b>we believe care</b> , focus and <b>clear-headedness</b> are needed on defence and security issues, especially at this time.	Defence - Postive		BODY				
<b>We have</b> had a very wide-ranging exchange of <b>views</b> with the Prime Minister.	RELATIONSHIP	WE	BODY - SIGHT		ITALY AND LATVIA		
Reasoning about primary <b>movements</b> instead of simply discussing secondary <b>movements</b> is clearly easier with a country like Latvia, which in turn also represents the European Union's external borders.	MOVEMENT		MOVEMENT				
<b>I continue</b> to believe, <b>Italy</b> continues to <b>believe</b> , that <b>the role we give</b> to investment spending on defence, on the green transition and on the digital transition is key.	DEFENCE	I/WE	PERSONIFICATI ON		MELONI/EUROPE		
<b>Italy</b> has indeed also <b>asked</b> for full flexibility in using existing funds in order to balance out the initiatives that have been pursued regarding State aid, <b>and we</b>	TRANSACTION	WE	PERSONIFICATI ON		EUROPE		

believe (and it seems to me that, also on this, we are in agreement with the Prime Minister) that environmental sustainability is fundamental, but it is important that this goes hand in hand with social and economic sustainability.						
Then, with regard to our bilateral relationship, I would like to say that Italy and Latvia are doing a fantastic job together: trade between us has increased by 30% since 2020 and I believe this can improve further, especially with regard to infrastructure and defence.	RELATIONSHIP	I	PERSONIFICATION	MELONI		
Our universities and research centres are working more and more together; there are important projects, such as the one at Riga Technical University, Latvia's leading university, which will open the first Italy-Latvia cooperation centre and expand Italian language teaching and, of course, also Latvian courses for the Italian community in Riga, which in the meantime is beginning to grow.	RELATIONSHIP		NATURE	ITALY AND LATVIA		
This is the dimension of two nations that are also very close on a cultural level, on their defence of identity and tradition, at a time when there is a need for Europe, a need for our civilisation, a need for our ideas and a need not to lose the level of rights we have built on our continent.	RELATIONSHIP		SPACE			
From this point of view, on this and much more, myself and the Prime Minister are on the same wavelength.	RELATIONSHIP		NATURE			