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الأيدولوجيا عبر السياسة التجارية: تحليل الخطاب النقدي المساعد بالمدونات اللغوية في خطاب بايدن

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الملخص
تفحص هذه الدراسة البناءات الخطابية للسياسة التجارية الأمريكية في ظل إدارة بايدن من خلال توظيف مقاربة منهجية تكاملية تجمع أدوات المساعدة اللغوية مع تحليل الخطاب النقدي. تتناول هذه الدراسة تحليل الوثائق الرسمية لممثل التجارة للولايات المتحدة الأمريكية و أجندة الرئيس التجارية. وتعتمد الدراسة على تصميم متعدد المناهج تسلسلي تفسيري عن طريق جمع البيانات الكمية أولا وتهيئتها وتحليلها ثم يصار إلى التحليل النوعي لفهم أعمق للاتجاهات الأيديولوجية للخطاب من خلال نموذج تحليل انتقائي في ظل محدودية الدراسات الأكاديمية في هذا المجال. توجه هذه الدراسة عبر الأسئلة الآتية: ما الأنماط اللغوية لوصف السياسة التجارية لمكتب الممثل التجاري للولايات المتحدة في إدارة بايدن؟ كيف يتم تبرير أطر هذه السياسات؟ وما أبرز الأيدولوجيات التي يمكن بيانها وفقا للتحليل النوعي الانتقائي الموجه من خلال نتائج التحليل الكمي للمدونات اللغوية.ويتكون النموذج التحليلي الانتقائي مندمج أدوات المربع الأيديولوجي (لفاندايك 1998) وطوباويات الحجاج لمقاربة الخطاب التأريخية (لرزكلوفوداك 2009) مع نموذج التأطير (لإنتمان 1993). وكشفت الدراسة أن الليبرالية التجارية والحمائية المعتدلة والسلطوية التنافسية والمؤسسية الدولية والاحتواء هي أبرز الأيدولوجيات في السياسة التجارية لإدارة بايدن. وهذه التمثيلات الأيديولوجية هي انعكاس للشعار السياسي لبايدن "المتمركز حول العامل" وفق النهج الدبلوماسي والإطار التنظيمي متعدد الأقطاب في مواجهة التحديات الدولية. وأبرزت الدراسة أهمية استخدام المدونات اللغوية في دعم التحليل النوعي وصياغة أسئلة البحث وتعزيز موضوعية التحليل بما يحقق توازنا منهجيا في إظهار التحول الأيديولوجي في خطاب بايدن.
الكلمات المفتاحية: سياسة التجارة الأمريكية، التحليل النقدي للخطاب المساعد بالمدونات اللغوية، أيديولوجيا، دراسة الحالة الوسيلية

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Ideology through Trade Policy: Corpus- Assisted CDA of Biden's Discourse

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Abstract
This paper examines the discursive construction of U.S. trade policy during Biden administration by applying corpus assisted tools with *Critical Discourse analysis* (CDA) approach. This study analyses the official document of *United States Trade*

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Representative (USTR) and President's trade policy agenda. For methodological considerations, the study adopts a mixed methods explanatory sequential design in which the quantitative corpus data are accumulated and analyzed first by AntConcsofware, then followed with qualitative analysis for deeper understanding to the quantitative results. Because of the limitation of scholarly attention to provide sufficient understanding for the ideological constructions in American trade policy, this study is directed by the following research questions: what lexical patterns describe Biden's trade policies in USTR? How the framings of trade policies are justified? whatare the key ideologies identifiedfrom the qualitative analysis and guidedby corpus results?. The qualitative CDA analysis is drawn on eclectic model of van Dijk's (1998) ideological square, Reisigl and Wodak' (2009) *Discourse Historical Approach* (DHA) argumentative topoi, and Entman's (1993) framing model. The study reveals that American trade policy during Biden administration is constructed with the ideologies of trade liberalism, moderate protectionism, competitive authoritarianism, interconnected institutionalism, and inclusivism. These ideological representations are reflected from Biden's political slogan "worker-centered" for diplomatic strategies, based rule frame, and multilateralism to face the global challenges.The contributions in this study can be addressed by the role of corpus analysis within CDA studies to guide the qualitative questions and providing systematic analysis for the ideological transformation under Biden discourse.

Keywords: American Trade policy, Corpus- Assisted Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), Ideology,Instrumental case study.

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1. Introduction

Since World War II, U.S. trade policy was consistently addressed with trade liberalization. The U.S. trade strategies constituted the hegemonic power to guide economic and political impacts around the world under different shifts(Baldwin, 1987).During Biden administration, the trade policies are built to repair Trump's confrontational trade policies of isolationism, exclusivism, and extreme protectionism. Therefore, Biden's trade strategies are identified by supporting*World Trade Organization*(WTO), tariffs reduction, and multilateralism in alignment with "worker- centered trade"(Schoebaum, 2023). Thus, the ideological shift in trade provides an important structure to examine the language of American trade policies.Official trade policies are the main constituents to frame the ideological orientations by constructing political principles in the international trade. Consequently, trade policy discourse reveals the ideological considerations of in-group and out-group relations(Vermehren, 2021). USTR and president's trade agenda are composed within the micro level of analysis to justify the president trade

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strategies and his powers under the political system (meso level) and the ideologies of U.S. political culture (macro level)(Callaghan & O'Connor, 2019).

By the transdisciplinary and complexity of trade discourse, CDA can be relevant approach to examine the language of trade policy. CDA analyzes the policy texts in relation to historical, political, cultural, and social affairs concerning genre and discourse(Taylor & Henry, 2003).The combination of CDA and corpus analysis can benefit and strengthen its findings. CDA can be guided by the generality of corpus analysis and corpus results can be supported by the diversity of CDA theoretical considerations(Baker, 2008).To avoid CDA subjective judgment, this study triangulates CDA withcorpus analysis to enhance the objectivity, dependability, transformability, and credibility of CDA results.

The integration of corpus analysis and CDA can be addressed within the studies of American trade policies. However, limited studies have conducted under Biden administration. Most of existing studies have focused on policy impacts, economic development. To bridge the knowledge gap, the current study examines the ideological construction in U.S. trade discourse under Biden administration by conducting an explanatory sequential mixed methods design. At first stage, corpus assisted tools in Antconc software employ to provide dominant lexical patterns for the qualitative phase. Secondly, the eclectic model of analysis reveals the main ideological representation, justifications, and communicative framing in American trade policy.

2. Literature Review

Trade policies compose of a set of standards and guidelines to govern the international economic affairs among states, regions or groups. By the political institutions, each state provides its own trade policy to help world trade system to run efficiently(Bansal & Oak, 2019). As part of trading system, trade policies specify the trade relation among countries by implementing domestic laws and international agreements. Trade policies interconnect foreign, social, cultural, fiscal, and local affairs to regulate international business and protect domestic interests(van Grasstek, 2008). Within trade policy, two types of policies can be addressed: trade protectionism, and trade liberalism. Trade protectionism includes a set of trade measures: tariffs, quota, subsides, and other trade barriers to protect the domestic industries against foreign products(William, 2018). Free trade, tariff reduction, supply chain, and multilateral engagements are the strategic measures under trade liberalism to promote productivity, international peace, and economic growth(Drozdz & Miškinis, 2011).

Trade policy under Biden administration aligns with his slogan "worker-centered" and "buy American"(Smith, 2021). By Biden's slogan, American trade policies include four types of measures: Act of American Rescue Plan (2021), the Infrastructure and Job Act (2021), the Act of Inflation Reduction (2022), and the (2022) Chips Act(Schoebaum, 2023). Biden's trade policies rejoined the Paris

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agreement (2015) in climate change, World Health Organization, and reentered the transatlantic engagements under the slogan “America is Back”(Ligustro, 2024).

CDA is an important approach to analyze trade policy because of the interdisciplinarity nature of trade policy. Trade policy composes of chains of genre to review trade system of governmental reports and other institutions in mixed methods criteria(Ramos, 2019). Therefore, CDA provides comprehensive understanding for trade discourse by its approaches like Discourse Historical Approached to examine the trade aspects during a given moment, in certain historical points or recontextualization of specific economic policy(Fairclough & Fairclough, 2015). For ideological orientations, CDA enriches the understanding of trade strategies as social practices by examining the language, the grammatical structures, genre, and style of trade policy to uncover power struggles and challenges(Samec, 2017). Constructing ideologies of self/ other identify by including/ excluding others in issues concerning their history and places.To frame others' identity, trade discourse is framed to communicate specific situation by selecting the linguistic structure to facilitate the understanding(Hopewell, 2021). By strategic critique of CDA micro- macro (text- in context) level of analysis,contrariety in trade policies can be identified to justify alternative dimensions(Tan, 2024).

Existing studies on Biden's trade policies within CDA have applied to uncover the ideologies in trade language. You's (2022) study is one of CDA studies that qualitatively analyzes Biden's legitimization for his policies under the title “A Proximization Study of Critical Discourse Analysis: A Case Study of President Joe Biden's 2022 State of Union Address”. Proximization theory is conducted to utilize temporal, spatial, and axiological as legitimization strategies in the State of Union Address(You, 2022). The study concludes that Biden's spatial proiximizations are addressed with the issues threatened America interests. The temporal proximizations are associated with past events which the reason behind panic. Otherwise, axiological proximizations are constructed positively for American values. Another study employs CDA to demonstrate Biden's ideologies in economic relations with Vietnam by Loung and Hein (2023). Their study is titled “A Critical Discourse Analysis of Remark by Joe Biden during Official Visit to Vietnam in 2023”, adopting Fairclough's three- dimensional modelto analyze Biden's speech during his visit to Hanoi. The findings of study reveal Biden's language emphasizes themes like partnership, broader geopolitical cooperation, supporting foreign initiatives, and diplomatic engagements(Luong & Hien, 2023). A Growing body of research has integrated CDA with corpus analysis to reveal the ideologies of Biden in his inaugural speech concerning economic and political issues. This study entitles “A corpus- Based Critical Discourse Analysis of President Biden's Inaugural Speech”by He (2022). With corpus tools results, CDA model of analysis (Fairclough’s three-dimensional model) provides a set of linguistic devices as in personal pronouns,

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model verbs, passive structures, nominalization, declarative sentences, implicit meaning to reflectBiden's democratic language(He, 2022).

Previous studies uncover a clear gap in interconnecting between trade policy and CDA by focusing on singletheoretical or methodological approach. Moreover, some corpus- based CDA studies concentrate on describing the lexical patterns rather than systematically investigate themes, discursive constructions, or the justifications of trade policies. Hence, the present study adopts explanatory sequential mixed methods designgrounded in corpus- assisted CDA to systematically analyze ideological constructions, justifications, and framing of Biden's trade policies.

3. Methodology

The current study examines the ideological orientations in U.S. trade policy under Biden's discourse (2021-2024) in USTR and president trade agenda. During this section, the study addresses the methodological philosophy of critical realistic perspective, research design, data collection, data selection, and the analytical framework. The ideological construction, justification, and trade framing are analyzed by adopting explanatory sequential mixed methods design. In addition, methodology section presents the criteria that ensure the transparency, analytical rigor, dependability, and credibility of analytical results.

3.1 Research Design

To provide a comprehensive understanding for the complexity of trade discourse, the interconnected between public agencies, social framing, and the causality of events should be addressed. Newman (2020) explains that *Critical Realism* (CR) is the theoretical foundation that produces the efficient interpretations and clarifications for CDA results by analyzing the relation between social system (discursive) and social practice (non-discursive)(Newman, 2020).O'Regan (2010) clarifies that “critique” in critical realism aims to remove ambiguity based on human capacity to transcend the socio- cultural conventions in order to promote the cause of truth (p.2)(O’Regan, 2010). Therefore, this study employs the methodological framework of Critical Realism and the instrumental case study with explanatory sequential mixed methods design. By quantitative corpus tools of Antconc, the lexical patterns are identified with the recurring words and collocates. The corpus results guide the qualitative CDA analysis to examine the main ideologies, trade policies justification, and communicative mechanisms framing Biden's trade discourse. For instrumental case study, Stake (2005) illustrates that instrumental case study aims to provide more understanding about themes by exploring representative case in complex bounded system(Stake, 2005).

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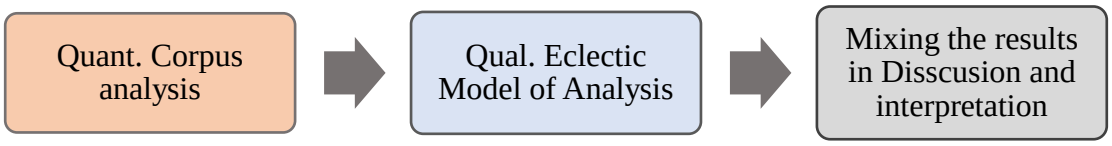


Figure 3.1: *Instrumental Case Study within Explanatory Sequential Mixed-Methods Design*

The data have been collected from the public accessible website of United States Trade Representative as official authoritative governmental institution and the corpus of president's Biden trade agenda (2021-2024). The texts are converted into plain format (txt.) to upload into software Antconc.

Table 3.1

Size for Corpus: Token and type patterns

Corpus	Token patterns	Type
USTR (2021-2024)	147947	7958

The selection of themes is built on the systematic results of corpus analysis and purposive sampling to apply the eclectic model of analysis. The thematic analysis is relevant and focused to the issues that align with Biden slogan "worker-centered" and empirically identify by corpus- driven.

Table 3.2

Thematic Identification by Corpus Analysis

Themes	Biden Discourse (2024)	
	Source	Target
USMCA	USTR 2024, p.3	Inclusivism
Tariff enforcement	USTR 2024, p.115	Diplomatic strategies
China confrontation	President's agenda, p.12	Trade competitor
WTO	USTR 2024, p.15	International institutionalism
American IP rights	USTR 2024, p.154	Global Challenge

3.2 Criteria for Document Analysis

In document analysis, evaluation and reviewing of certain policies can be systematically addressed with confirmability, transferability, credibility, and dependability of the results (Daglish, et al.,2020).Ozkan (2020) adds the criteria of authenticity and representativeness (exemplariness) of documents quality in data

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source. Other criteria can be recovered in the analysis of the data as intransferabilityand dependability(Özkan, 2023). Moreover, credibility and confirmability are specified in the results(Stahl & King, 2020). Thus,the criteria in this study are identified with three levels: data collection and selection level; analysis and discussion level; and results. For data authenticity, it can be represented by reality of USTR data source from the governmental website. Representativeness is affirmed from the thematic purposeful selection guided by corpus systematic results. In analytical level, transferability is confirmed with the clear description for the contexts of analysis to apply in similar cases. Dependability is obviously addressed by the triangulation of theoretical and methodological approaches. At the final stage, credibility and confirmability are the outcomes of strengthening the rigor of the results by the transferability and dependability procedures in analytical level.All these criteria ensure the ethical considerations for this study across all research stages to avoid subjective interpretations.

3.3 Analytical Framework and Model of analysis

In this section, corpus assisted analysis is conducted to systematically guide the foundational approach of CDA analysis. The conceptual framework is addressed by the ideological representation that constructed the meaning behind Biden's trade discourse. By corpus assisted tools, the ideologies can be identified by in-group/out-group representations across the linguistic structures with multiple forms of evidences (social, cultural, historical, and psychological affairs).

For meaningful results, the study conducts theoretical triangulation to examine the problem from different perspectives. Therefore, three levels of analysis are framed: the socio-cognitive approach of van Dijk's (1998) ideological square; Reisigl and Wodak's (2009) argumentative topoi of Discourse Historical Approach; and socio-cultural Approach in Entman's (1993) framing model.

Under van Dijk's ideological square, four types of polarizations can be framed: positive “us” representation and negative “them”; de- emphasize negative “us” and de- emphasize positive “them”(van Dijk, 1998). In DHA, Reisigl and Wodak's argumentative topoi are specified to define the reasons behind the trade policies regarding time and contextualization of the events from political and institutional positions(Reisigl & Wodak, 2008). This study applies seven types of topoi: number, threat, history, burden, authority, advantage, and Krzyanowski's (2009) modernization topos(Krzyzanowsky, 2009). For complementarity, Entman's framing model with four defining levels: the definition of problem; cause of problem; moral evaluation; and remedy of the problem(Entman, 1993).

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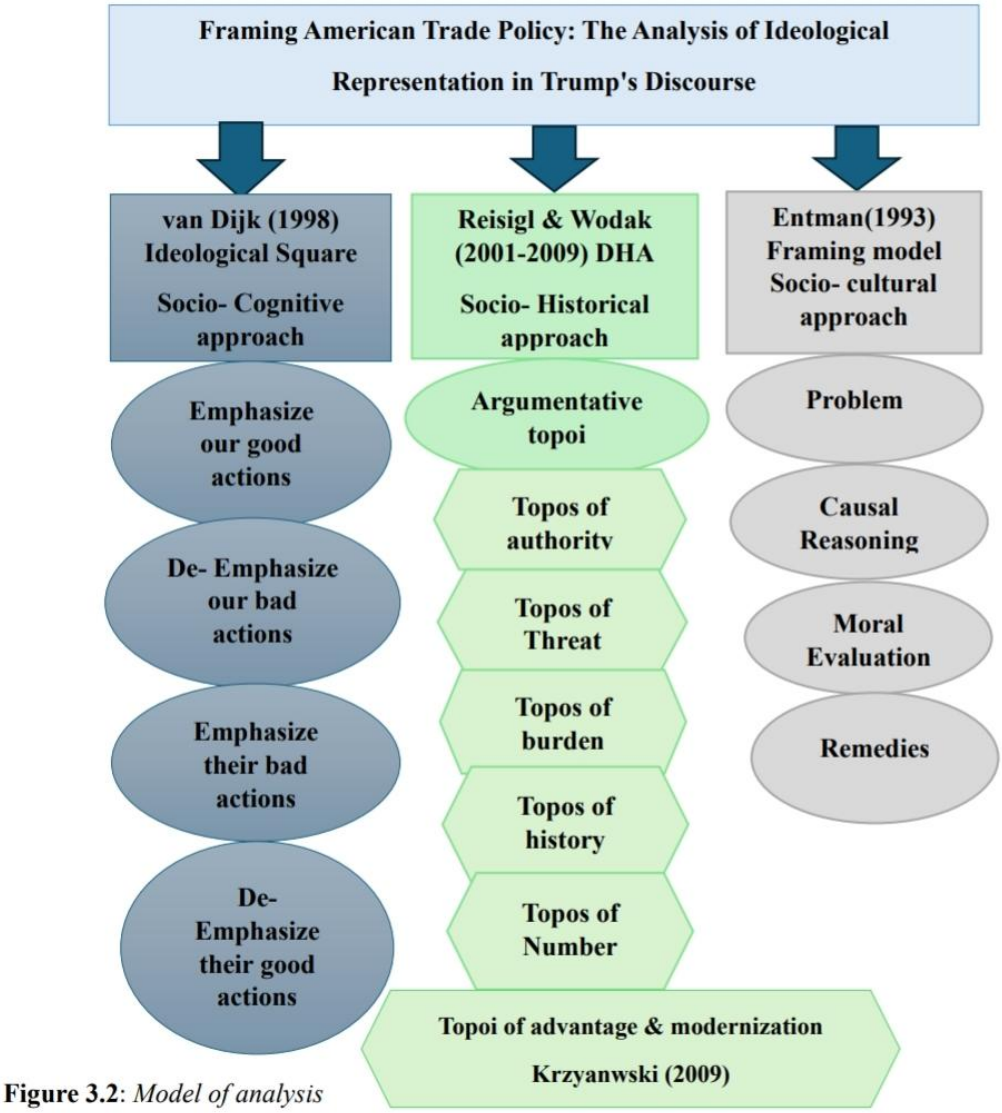


Figure 3.2: *Model of analysis*

4.Analysis and Discussion

This section presents the analytical tools for examining the ideological perspectives in USTR 2024 and President Biden's trade agenda. By the corpus assisted mechanisms, the study addresses the quantitative results by collocation, keywords in context, frequencies, and words cluster. Table 4.1 offers the frequent themes that appear in USTR 2024 and president trade agenda.

Table 4.1

Corpus analysis Results

Word	Cluster	Collocation	Frequency
USMCA	Implementing, innovation, market access,	Environmental protection labor, manufactured	162

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	enforceable, Rapid Response RRM	goods, dispute resolution, dispute settlement mechanism	
Tariff (TRQ)	Nationalsecurity, Section 232, steel and aluminum, EU consultations, non- market access	Global steel and Emission intensity, cooperative framework, global challenge	40
China (PRC)	Unfair, Section 301, Phase one agreement, disputes, enforceable obligations	Traderestrictions, requested settlements, supply chain, diplomatic regulations	51
WorldTrade Organization (WTO)	WTO rules, reform WTO dispute system, WTO obligations, WTO's failure	U.S. recommendations, WTO inability, non- transparent and inconsistent rules, WTO Ministerial Conference, WTO panel proceeding	561
U.S. Intellectual Property Rights (IP)	IP protection and enforcement, IP issues, piracy and counterfeiting, TRIPS, Special 301, OCR	International IP, Bi-multilateral engagements, global IP, WTO Ministerial Decision, IP remedies, interagency consultations	39

Following the corpus analysis identifications, the qualitative analysis reveals the ideological dimensions by interpreting the key lexical items, clusters, collocations, and frequent themes. Along with critical realistic orientation, the extracts are representative and manifested the corpus results to examine the ideological representations within political and institutional contexts.

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4.1 Extract 1

> Through the Biden-Harris Administration's efforts to promote fair competition, we will continue to level the playing field for American workers. One of the Administration's top priorities is the effective enforcement of the USMCA, which includes the strongest labor provisions in any trade agreement ever, as well as a ground-breaking enforcement tool, the RRM. The RRM allows the United States to quickly take action and target specific facilities in Mexico where workers are being denied their rights to freedom of association and collective bargaining. The United States invoked the RRM nineteen times since 2021, including thirteen times in 2023, at facilities that span various sectors, including the automotive, apparel, transportation services, and call center industries. Several cases remain ongoing, while fourteen have already resulted in either comprehensive remediation plans between the United States and Mexico or were successfully resolved during the RRM review process. (USTR, 2024, p. 3)

This extract illustrates the context of *United States- Mexico- Canada Agreement* (USMCA) and its enforcement tool*Rapid Response Mechanism*(RRM). RRM has the priority in Biden' trade strategies to prevent workers' rights violations by Mexico. RRM also ensured trade sustainability, environmental regulations, digital trade, development of American trade, and other issues included in the agreement.

In van Dijk polarizations, U.S. positive actions are typed by RRM to protect labor rights, transportation devices, and reformed other economic sectors. Therefore, negative policies and practices are represented by Mexico. RRM reflects Biden's tendency to be "human savior archetype" under his slogan "worker- centered" associating with ideologies of trade liberalism, and anti- authoritarianism. For legitimation of Biden's RRM, there are a set of topoi: Biden administration has the authority to apply RRM as trade partner under the USMCA agreement to face trade partnerships' violations. With a set of number, RRM was enforced for many times during Biden era. These numbers represented evidence for the success of RRM against burden and threat of Mexican violations. Overall, The RRM had the advantages of strongest remedy as "comprehensive tool" to protect workers' rights for applying "collective bargaining and freedom". During RRM, the ideologies of trade liberalism, progressivism, and reformism are identified. In Entman's model, the problem is framed with Mexican authoritarianism and discriminated policies and practices against workers. The cause of the problemis the violation for USMCA agreement. The "unfair competition" is the evaluation for Mexican policies concerning the facilities in the agreement. RRM is constituted as remedy that align with the ideology of trade liberalism.

In sum, the USMCA and its RRM enforcement device reflect the positive "us" ideologies of trade liberalism, progressivism, anti- authoritarianism, human rights

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protectionism, and reformism.The negative "them" ideologies are identified by discrimination, authoritarianism, non- humanism of Mexican burdened measures.

4.2 Extract 2

> In November 2021, the United States and the EU announced arrangements on steel and aluminum, including U.S. TRQs for EU steel and aluminum products free of duties under Section 232 …, the United States and EU resolved to negotiate future arrangements for trade in the steel and aluminum sectors that take account of both global non-market excess capacity as well as the emissions intensity of these industries. The United States and the EU formed a technical working group to enhance their cooperation and facilitate negotiations on these arrangements, and agreed they will invite like-minded economies to participate in the arrangements. In 2023, the United States and the EU continued these negotiations, and over the past two years made substantial progress to identify the sources of non-market excess capacity and achieved a better understanding of the tools to address the emissions intensity of the steel and aluminum industries. (USTR, 2024, p.115)

Under this context, *Tariff Rate Quotas* (TRQs) are Biden's trade policies concerning national industries of steel and aluminum industries protection. TRQs have been constituted as a less extreme protection policy to confront non- market access of U.S. "like- minded" trade partners. Therefore, Biden administration adopted TRQs as a diplomatic strategy to build trade alliances against global trade challenges.

For ideological Square, the replacement of tariffs with TRQs is the identification of Biden positive policy for the issues under Section 232. In contrary, the negativity is addressed with global non- market access and the bad emission from the industries of steel and aluminum. No positive policies faced these bad practices (de-emphasize positive "them") or rejections for positive U.S. TRQs with collective like- minded" partnership (de-emphasize negative "us"). TRQs illustrate Biden's ideologies of moderate protectionism, trade liberalism, inclusivism, and interconnectedness to face global challenges. Under DHA, Biden provided topoi of burden, history, and threat to represent the danger of "global non- market" practices. Section 232 grants the authority (topos of authority) for Biden administration to use the confrontational policy (TRQs). Toposi of number, advantages and modernization are used to describe the years of positive consultations and cooperations between EU and U.S. to face the unfair global trade practices toward American national industries (steel and aluminum). TRQs policies are justified in alignment with the ideologies of interconnected protectionism, collectivism, and trade liberalism. In framing model, the problem is communicated by "global non- market access" in steel and aluminum industries. The cause of the problem is constituted by the absence of deterrent measures to face that problem. TRQs introduced as U.S. remedy for cooperation and technical measure to ensure balance trade practices and "substantial resolution". U.S.

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ideologies are identified by anti-discrimination, competitive authoritarianism, reformism, and environmental sustainability.

In brief, Biden presented TRQs as strategic measures under (win-win) trade liberalism to build alliances with "like- minded economies". Because of the complexity of international non- market practices, Biden adopted collective cooperation under the ideologies of inclusivism, humanism, green protectionism to stop these violations.

4.3 Extract 3

> The U.S.-China economic and trade relationship is one of profound consequence. As the two largest economies in the world, the bilateral relationship affects not just the two participants, but the entire globe. The Biden-Harris Administration acknowledges that this relationship is complex and competitive…The PRC's approach to trade is marked by pervasive non-market policies and practices that drive frictions in many of the PRC's relationships—not just ours… The PRC practices harm workers and businesses in the United States and in other countries, including some of our closest allies and partners… also undermine supply chain resilience and harm consumers…The PRC became a dominant supplier for many important good and technologies by manipulating cost structures and controlling key industries. The PRC fails to provide its people with even fundamental labor rights, including the right to organize and bargain collectively. Low operating costs resulting from artificially low wages and poor worker protections... Moreover, the use of state-sponsored forced labor, including in the XUAR, is an affront to human dignity… The PRC's policies are also harmful to the environment, including its tolerance of imports of illegally harvested wildlife products, which enables a major source of demand. To address these challenges, the Biden-Harris Administration is taking a holistic and pragmatic approach to our relationship grounded in the principles of our worker-centered trade policy. It starts with the groundbreaking domestic investments... through the Bipartisan Infrastructure Law, bolstering our capacity for critical technologies through the CHIPS and Science Act, and manufacturing clean energy technology through the Inflation Reduction Act. In addition, we are taking steps to build supply chain resilience that will defend American workers and consumers from the harms wrought by the PRC's trade and economic abuses. Critically, we are bringing renewed focus to engagement with our partners and allies, whose workers and societies suffer harm from the PRC's unfair trade and economic practices. We share core democratic values and essential interest in fair, market – base competition. (The President's 2024 Trade Policy Agenda, p.12)

China/ *People's Republic of China* (PRC) confrontation is more prominent context in USTR 2024. For Biden administration, PRC policies are addressed with interconnected and holistic unfair trade practices. Thus, Biden's confrontational

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policies toward China are identified with “holistic and pragmatic” measures to deter China large scale bad practices. The U.S. interconnected policies included domestic reform under “worker-centered” and international policies with “supply chain resilience”.

Biden's trade strategies against China unfair trade experiences represented by positive diplomatic measures under van Dijk's polarization. In opposite side, China/ PRC represented with “them” negative “non- market access” in different sectors: labor rights; digital trade; offense human dignity; and bad impacts on environment. There are no oppositions to Biden's policies to confront China (de- emphasize U.S. negative policies). PRC violations are emphasized as global challenge in trade that must be reformed for international fair competition (de- emphasizePRC positivity). With van Dijk's model, China can be addressed with manipulative and discriminatory practices. In contrary to China, U.S. reformism, competitive authoritarianism, collectivism, and trade liberalism are reflected by the U.S. domestic policies of “worker- centered”, international cooperations and multilateral engagements in supply chain resilience. For topoi, U.S. trade agenda provided topoi of burden, threat, number, and history to describe PRC “anti- competitive practices” as a global risk in different trade policies. Topos of authority is franmed under Section 301 to face unfair foreign trade. Under topoi of advantage and modernization, U.S. remedies created “holistic and pragmatic” strategies. In sum, competitive authoritarianism can be seen by Section 301 and topos of authority. Multilateralism, trade liberalism, progressivism, and inclusivism are the results of topoi of advantage and modernization. China discriminatory, manipulative, and unfair competitive policies and practices identified as the reason behindglobal crises by topoi of threat burden, number, and history. In framing model, PRC violations defined as problem. The causes of the problem are produced by: China is the main supplier for many industries and products;human dignity offense; illegal policies for wildlife products. The moral evaluations are described with: “pervasive non-market policies”; bad policies against “human dignity”; and “unfair competitive” actions. U.S. remedies are reformed domestic laws as“Bipartisan Infrastructure, CHIPS and Science Act, Inflation Reduction Act” in addition to supply chain across the global trade.

In brief, China/ PRC under Biden's trade policy agenda framed as global danger. Because of the complexityChina maneuvering actions, China harmed multiple levels of international trade system. Therefore, U.S. remedies used the diplomatic strategies that based on reciprocity to face China under the ideologies of trade liberalism, collectivism, reformism, and international cooperation.

4.4 Extract 4

> The Biden-Harris Administration is committed to the WTO. Consistent with our approach to trade policy more broadly, our Administration believes the WTO should be a force for good that supports a race to the top and addresses global challenges as they arise…The WTO, however, has not kept pace with

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the rapidly changing global economy. The WTO must improve its capacity to respond to the needs of everyday people, and urgent reform is critical to support the needs of our society, including on workers' rights, supply chain fragility, and the climate. The inability of current WTO rules to effectively constrain unfair trade and non-market economic practices has only become clearer. In addition, the WTO dispute settlement system needs to be reformed to better fulfill its objective of resolving disputes between Members. That is why our Administration will continue to collaborate with other WTO Members on a reform agenda that reflects the priorities of our worker-centered approach—one that protects our planet; improves labor standards; advances gender equity, equality, and empowerment; facilitates an inclusive digital economy; and contributes to shared prosperity. This includes enhancing and improving transparency and inclusiveness to drive fact- and evidence-based deliberations to ensure a more relevant and practical approach to addressing current global challenges. This also includes restoring the efficacy of the negotiating arm, advancing an interest-based approach to reforming the dispute settlement functions of the WTO to restore confidence and fairness in the system, and improving the understanding of and respect for Members' WTO commitments. The United States will also continue to partner with other WTO members to better equip the organization to recognize and effectively address the unfair, non-market policies and practices that are at odds with the fundamental premise of market-based competition and create and perpetuate significant global market distortions. (USTR 2024, p.15)

World Trade Organization (WTO) contextualized under USTR 2024 as "a force for good" and "race to the top" praising the role of WTO in global trade. In USTR 2024, WTO has an important position to support Biden's trade slogan "worker- centered" with a set of U.S. reformed agenda to update WTO system. WTO must reframe its system to address the main global challenges concerning unfair trade practices in labor rights, supply chain, and environment. In addition, WTOmust reform its litigation entity to "restore confidence and fairness" in settling the disputes.

By applying van Dijk's ideological square in WTO context, U.S. positive role is addressed with "WTO reformed agenda" to fix the negativity in WTO outdated system (U.S. ideologies of international institutionalism, reformism, progressivism, and trade liberalism). Therefore, Biden administration collaborated with WTO members to apply these reforms (U.S. ideology of collectivism). With de-emphasizing WTO good system and de- emphasizing bad U.S. updating rules, the U.S. policies under "worker- centered" ensured the U.S. leadership for imposing U.S. ideologies around the global trade system. To justify U.S. policies concerning WTO, USTR 2024 used topos of authority to legitimize its "reformed agenda" as a member in WTO (U.S. international institutionalism, and multilateralism). Topoi of threat, burden and history are presented by WTO inability to address unfair trade practices

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or fairly settled the disputes. Several features are provided to describe U.S. policies advantages and modernized resolutions in "labor rights, gender equity, empowerments, and digital trade" for "race to the top" (competitive authoritarianism and trade liberalism). For comprehensive communications, USTR 2024 framed WTO context with four levels (in alignment with Entman's (1993) framing model):WTO "outdated system" and WTO litigating entity overreaching are defined as problem; the cause of the problem "WTO inability" to address, or face non- market access, and unfair disputes settlements under its litigation system; Morally, WTO system was evaluated by "outdated, unfair, inability, imbalanced, non- transparent, inefficient, and exclusivist". Lastly, U.S. remedial resolutions offered inclusivism by cooperation with other members to reform WTO system.

To encapsulate, USTR 2024 declared its commitment with WTO (U.S. international institutionalism, multilateralism, and trade liberalism. U.S. interconnected work with other WTO members to reform WTO system ensuredU.S. inclusivism to face the global challenges in alignment with Biden "worker-centered" and supply chain (U.S. leadership for holistic protectionism).

4.5 Extract 5

> According to the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development, 2017-2019 data on customs seizures indicates that the country whose goods are most counterfeited and pirated is the United States (almost 39% percent of total seizures around the world are of pirated and counterfeit goods whose right holders originate in the United States)… USTR leads multilateral engagement on IP issues in the World Trade Organization (WTO) through the Council for Trade-Related Aspects of Intellectual Property Rights (TRIPS). In support of achieving balance between IP protection and access to medicines, the WTO adopted the Ministerial Decision on the TRIPS Agreement in June 2022, which sets forth clarifications and a waiver for eligible WTO Members to authorize the use of the subject matter of a patent required for the production and supply of COVID-19 vaccines. During 2023, the TRIPS Council discussed whether or not to extend the Ministerial Decision on the TRIPS Agreement to the production and supply of COVID-19 diagnostics and therapeutics. The United States and a number of other countries maintained common positions on the subject of GIs. These positions aim to help ensure that overseas markets remain open to a wide array of U.S. agricultural exports. (USTR 2024, p.154)

U.S. IP rights in USTR 2024 are governed under WTO and TRIPS agreement. Therefore, the IP violations including counterfeiting and piracy are specified internationally by OECD statement. As it is showed in extract 4, Biden administration committed with WTO standards for fair IP competition. This extract can reflect U.S. ideological representations concerning IP rights protection under COVID 19 crisis.

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USTR 2024 concentrated on the increasing of IP violations during Trump administration with negative strategies (negative "them" polarization" to confront theoperations of counterfeiting and piracy. In contrast to Trump's policies, Biden policies reflect "human savior archetype" (positive "us") to guide the global community for fair IP competition and to be "waiver for eligible" in health care. With no oppositions for U.S. IP policies (de- emphasize U.S. negative policies) and no positive practices for others "them", Biden's policies are efficient to protect IP rights under the multilateralism of trade liberalization and the cooperation with WTO Council of TRIPS. With topoi, the U.S. IP policies are justified under specific reasons. Topos of authority provided the Biden administration with the powers under the agreement of TRIPS (U.S. international institutionalism). With topoi of number, history burden and threat, there are certain issues negatively provided as in numbers (39%) of IP historical violations under Trump's era (2017-2019). Advantage and modernization as topoi are associated with U.S. "multilateral engagement"; "balanced IP protection and access"; and "overseas market open to wide array" (U.S. trade liberalism)during (2022-2023). Accompanied with previous analysis, USTR 2024 framed Trump's failure policies to end IP violations as a problem. The causes of the IP problem are counterfeiting and piracy for U.S. IP rights. The U.S. past policies evaluated with "inappropriate", "most counterfeited and pirated". The USTR 2024 modernized remedies identified by "multilateral engagements"; "support balanced IP protection and access"; and "help ensure open market access".

To condense, IP violations are indicated as global challenge under USTR 2024. Therefore, the IP rights protection called for international cooperation to face these violations (U.S. trade liberalism and international institutional, and holistic protectionism). COVID 19 context enhanced U.S. ideologies of inclusivism, competitive authoritarianism, multilateralism, and collectivism by adopting "waiver of eligible" to build alliances and open trade access for U.S. products.

5. Conclusion

Biden's trade policies reflect the ideologies of trade liberalism, multilateralism, competitive authoritarianism, moderate protectionism, and inclusivism. Because of the complexity of trade discourse, Biden administration framed the trade problems under interconnected reasons (domestic and international affairs). Therefore, the U.S. remedies to face "global trade challenges" are "holistic and pragmatic" including domestic resolutions under the structures of"worker-centered" and international reforms aligned with "supply chain resilience". Biden's diplomatic strategies are legalized domestically by in "Section 232 and 301"and internationally through U.S. commitments with WTO obligations as "race to the top" and "force for good". For ideological polarizations, Biden administration constituted "in- group" to describe "our" policies and practices for U.S. and U.S. trade -partners of "like-minded economies". "Out – group" identified with U.S. past policies and practices and non-trade partners (great competitors) who violated their international obligations. The

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present study offers future investigations for trade policies using corpus- assisted CDA approach to uncover ideological differences among developing and developed countries.

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Conflict of Interest

The authors declare that there is no conflict of interest regarding the publication of this paper

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