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Critical Discourse Analysis of George W. Bush's
speeches prior to the War in Iraq

(Diploma Thesis)

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**Kritická diskurzní analýza projevů George W. Bushe
před započítím války v Iráku**

(Diplomová práce)

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*Prohlašuji, že jsem tuto diplomovou práci vypracovala samostatně
a uvedla plný seznam použité literatury.*

V Olomouci dne

.....

Bc. Dana Štěřbová

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List of abbreviations

CDA – critical discourse analysis

PDA – political discourse analysis

U.N. – the United Nations

U.S.A. – the United States of America

WMD – weapons of mass destruction

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1 INTRODUCTION

“I know words, I have the best words,”¹ was a statement given by now President-elect Donald Trump while delivering a speech at the Hilton Head Island, South Carolina during the 2016 election campaign. If we consider the boldness of his sentence within the general scope of politics and political discourse, we can affirm that Trump summarized the core principles of successful political communication and policy-making. Successful policy-making cannot be achieved without successful persuasion, hence successful persuasion cannot be achieved without a meticulous choice of words that build a powerful speech – a speech that appeals to majority of audiences and is one that enables a politician to achieve his or her aims and intentions. The power of language is immense. Therefore, the thesis aims to demonstrate and analyze the power of language in discursive strategies that were used by the former president George W. Bush in his discourse on war on terror that focused on the legitimization of a military intervention in Iraq in 2003.

The thesis is based on a critical analysis of language in use, which is conceived in the theory and methodology of critical discourse analysis. However, critical discourse analysis does not provide one single or specific theory and neither does it provide one specific methodology; it has been adopted by various disciplines of humanities (mainly by political sciences, sociology, linguistics, psychology, and anthropology) that tailor CDA according to their needs and scope of study, but they all draw on the notion of discourse as language in use and analyse it critically.² Discipline overlaps thus make CDA an open, non-holistic paradigm, which gives reseachers a leeway to adjust it to their purposes.

The important concepts in CDA that remain unchanged are *power*, *ideology*, and *critique*. The critical impetus of CDA, as it has been outlined, is

¹“Donald Trump Biggest Campaign Rally in Hilton Head, South Carolina 30 Dec 2015,” Youtube video, 4 January, 2016, posted by RedArrow, accessed November 28, 2016, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=vFx9j1P37Sg>.

² Ruth Wodak, “Critical Discourse Analysis: History, Agenda, Theory, and Methodology,” in *Methods for Critical Discourse Analysis*, eds. Ruth Wodak and Michael Meyer (London: Sage, 2009), 1—6, accessed April 2, 2016, https://www.corwin.com/sites/default/files/upm-binaries/24615_01_Wodak_Ch_01.pdf.

propelled by the objective of critical thinking about language use and consequently about texts or speeches as revealing structures of power and ideology. CDA occupies itself mainly with “latent types of ideologies”³ that are rooted in everyday beliefs. That is, ideologies that appear neutral thus may be exploited, distorted and used to pursue one’s goals.

In particular, the thesis is based on works by Teun van Dijk, who anchors his approach to CDA in the theory of ideology. He focuses mainly on *how* and *by what means* are ideologies expressed, enacted, and reproduced by discourse. The aim of the thesis’s practical part is to examine the means George W. Bush uses in his speeches in order to persuade the audience about his undertakings, and to examine how he legitimates his cause (taking a coercive action against Iraq). The particular means that are subjected to the analysis are those of rhetorical devices – metaphor, personification, euphemism, number game, enumeration, and contrast. Van Dijk has it that “ideologies typically organize people and society in polarized terms”⁴ This statement is the core presupposition for the analysis in the thesis – it is presupposed that the rhetorical devices the president uses are distributed between two polarized categories in the speeches – *Us* (the U.S.A.) and *Them* (Iraq). It is then the task of the thesis to analyze the speeches and find how they are coded in the language of George W. Bush and assess their contribution to selling his pro-war arguments.

The present study is expected to provide an insight into discursive strategies on the level of rhetorical devices used by George W. Bush in eight selected speeches from the years prior to the War in Iraq – 2002 and 2003. Also, the analysis results show how the American “common sense ideology”, based

³ Majid KhosraviNik, *Discourse, Identity, and Legitimacy: Self and Other in Representations in Iran’s nuclear programme*, (Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins, 2015), 49, accessed November 25, 2016,

<https://books.google.cz/books?id=vBh4CgAAQBAJ&pg=PA49&lpg=PA49&dq=with+latent+types+of+ideologies+van+dijk&source=bl&ots=TuL-k-R-8x&sig=j19qLwJKGeKCvln1ZHEciIPAdyY&hl=en&sa=X&ved=0ahUKEwidtrn38MXQAhWL7hoKHbAjCQgQ6AEIGjAA#v=onepage&q=with%20latent%20types%20of%20ideologies%20van%20dijk&f=false>

⁴ Teun A. van Dijk, “Ideology and Discourse: A Multidisciplinary Introduction,” (Barcelona: Pompeu Fabra University), 43, accessed July 17, 2016, <http://www.discourses.org/UnpublishedArticles/Ideology%20and%20discourse.pdf>.

on American exceptionalism, pursue of the American dream, and rather vague concepts of democracy, justice, and freedom as conceived in the American's Creed, is used to portray the world in polarized terms.

The thesis is divided into a theoretical and practical part. The theoretical part is further subdivided into five subchapters. The subchapters provide an outline of the U.S.-Iraqi history of relations, an account on foundations of American ideology, attempt to explain an interface between text, discourse and ideology, characteristic features of political discourse, and focus on the notions of *rhetoric*, *persuasion*, and *legitimation*. The practical part consists of six separate analyses of rhetorical devices of metaphor, personification, euphemism, number game, contrast and enumeration and assesses their application in the discursive strategy of *Us* and *Them* polarization. The findings of the analyses are discussed in the Conclusion, in which suggestions about their further application is provided.

2 RESEARCH OBJECTIVES AND METHODOLOGY

2.1 Research objective

The analysis provides an insight into rhetorical devices employed by George Bush Jr. in his speeches delivered after the attacks of September 11, 2001, and before the initiation of the War in Iraq that was officially commenced on March 20, 2003. The first speech to be analyzed is the one given upon the first anniversary of September 11 in 2002, considering that it marks a radical change in the discourse on terrorism – a deflection from the policy of containment to the advocacy of war. It can also be assumed that from this point of time onwards, Bush's speeches are oriented heavily on persuasion and legitimating his case against Iraq.

The focus of the analysis is targeted at rhetorical devices that manifest the president's strategy of polarization – drawing a sharp division between the *ingroup* (U.S.A.) and the *outgroup* (Iraq), which facilitates persuasion of the public and legitimates commencement of a war. It is expected that the construction of *ingroup* and *outgroup* dichotomy is done for a purpose, that is intentionally. Given the context of the situation in which the speeches emerged and the topics they cover, it can be presupposed that the rhetorical construction of a sharp polarization between the U.S.A. and Iraq was aimed to legitimate a war on terror, which was materialized as a war in Iraq in this particular case. At the same time, it is presupposed that the polarization strategy is rooted in common sense ideology of the U.S.A.: American exceptionalism, egalitarianism, and values that the American's Creed proclaims.

2.2 Source texts

The texts chosen for the purpose of the analysis cover the period from September 11, 2002, when the one-year anniversary of the attacks on the World Trade Center and Pentagon was commemorated, until March 19, 2003, when the war in Iraq started. The choice of particular speeches results from a variety of factors. Primarily, I have chosen the speeches that are available and also

marked as important for George W. Bush's first term in office (2001-2005) on websites other than the one used to retrieve the speeches from, whose name is stated in the second paragraph. Those websites are as follow: *American Rhetoric* (<http://www.americanrhetoric.com/>) and *Presidential Rhetoric.com* (<http://www.presidentialrhetoric.com/>). Secondly, these are speeches that are considered important in their own nature and relevance (e.g. State of the Union address). Thirdly, they are speeches that were delivered at different occasions to different audiences - the Congress in the case of the State of the Union address, the U.N. members in the case of the address to the General Assembly, common public in the case of the Cincinnati speech. Last but not least, they are essentially speeches of different genres. All these factors of choice were predetermined in order to provide the analysis with a sheer portfolio of examples.

The corpus of texts was retrieved from an online database *The American Presidency Project* (<http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/>). The database offers an extensive number of presidential documents that are freely accessible and organized into categories of public papers, weekly compilations of presidential documents, daily compilations of presidential documents and other relevant documents (party platforms, candidates' remarks, Statements of Administration Policy, documents released by the Office of the Press Secretary, election debates). The American Presidency Project emerged from a collaboration between John T. Wooley and Gerhard Peters already in 1999 and is hosted at the University of California, Santa Barbara.

Below is a list of speeches used in the analysis. For the purpose of the analysis, the titles of speeches will be shortened. The shortened version is provided below each of the speech's title, written in parentheses.

Address to the Nation From Ellis Island, New York, of the Terrorist Attack of September 11

(September 11 Anniversary speech)

New York

September 11, 2002

Address To the United Nations General Assembly in New York City

(Address to the U.N. Assembly)

United Nations Headquarters, New York

September 12, 2002

Address to the Nation on Iraq From Cincinnati, Ohio

(Cincinnati speech)

Cincinnati, Ohio

October 7, 2002

Remarks on Signing the Homeland Security Act

(Homeland Security Act remarks)

Washington, D.C.

November 25, 2002

Address Before a Joint Session of the Congress on the State of the Union

(State of the Union address)

Washington, D.C.

January 28, 2003

Remarks at the American Enterprise Institute Dinner

(Enterprise Institute remarks)

Washington Hilton Hotel, Washington, D.C.

February 26, 2003

Address to the Nation on Iraq

(Address to the Nation on Iraq I)

Washington, D.C.

March 17, 2003

Address to the Nation on Iraq

(Address to the Nation on Iraq II)

Washington, D.C.

March 19, 2003

2.3 Critical discourse analysis

The backbone of the practical part is the concept of critical discourse analysis. The reason to base the thesis on this concept is that CDA approaches texts critically and it does not follow a guideline in regards to textual quality rather it searches for linguistic markers and choices intentionally made by the texts' authors and/or speakers in order to satisfy their intentions, or the intentions of institutions that have ordered a specific text to be discoursed to achieve specific objectives. That is, it looks beyond the structural surface and investigates a specific use of language and extends its research beyond sentence grammar to greater language units within a context.⁵ The focus of the thesis is the structural surface as manifested in the usage of rhetorical devices and its critical assessment.

“Ideological discourse analysis,”⁶ as van Dijk calls his approach to CDA through the theory of ideology, is based on the assumption that people acquire, express and reproduce their ideologies through text and talk. Van Dijk's triangulation approach of discourse, society, and cognition enables the creation of an interface between discourse and ideologies (their discursive expression and reproduction), hence laying basis for an analytical approach to ideologies themselves and their legitimation:

Concealment, legitimation, manipulation and related notions that are seen as the prime functions of ideologies in society are mostly discursive (or more broadly semiotic) social practices.

[...] although discourses are not the only ideologically based social practices, they certainly are the most crucial ones in the formulation of ideologies in their social reproduction.

⁵ Wodak, “Critical Discourse Analysis,” 2.

⁶ Teun A. van Dijk, “Ideological Discourse Analysis,” in *Interdisciplinary approaches to Discourse Analysis* 4, ed. Eija Ventola, Anna Solin (1995): 1, accessed November 28, 2016, discourses.org/OldArticles/Ideological%20discourse%20analysis.pdf.

Language use, text, talk and communication [...] are needed and used by group members to learn, acquire, change, confirm, articulate, as well as to persuasively convey ideologies to other ingroup members, to inculcate them in novices, defend them against (or conceal them from) outgroup members or to propagate them among those who are (as yet) the infidels. In sum, if we want to know what ideologies actually look like, how they work, and how they are created, changed and reproduced, we need to look closely at their discursive manifestations.⁷

Acquirement, reproduction and expression of ideologies through discourse is done through discursive structures and strategies. The strategical processing of ideological discourse through a variety of discursive structures is controlled by ingroup-outgroup polarization of ideologies. Structures of discourse may strategically index the ideology of the speaker or writer, thus it could be said that discourse structures might be ideologically marked.⁸

The discourse structure involved and analyzed in the expression and reproduction of the American war on terror policy is the one of rhetoric. For the purpose of the thesis, six rhetorical devices that fall in the category of rhetorical structures were chosen as follow: metaphor, personification, euphemisms, number game, enumeration, and contrast. These six devices are identified in the thesis according to the key of the *We/Us/Our* (ingroup) and the *They/Them/Their* (outgroup) polarization of the two main social actors involved in the speeches, the U.S.A. and Iraq. Their contribution to persuasion and legitimation of the War in Iraq is discussed in detail in the analytical part and summarized in the conclusion.

Van Dijk does not clearly state whether a qualitative or quantitative type of analysis is better to employ and how the data should be interpreted. Thus, he

⁷ Teun A. van Dijk, *Ideology: A Multidisciplinary Approach*, (London: Sage, 1998), 5—6.

⁸ van Dijk, “Ideology and Discourse,” 18.

provides the analyst with leeway in the complexity of the discourse analysis paradigm. The thesis adheres to a qualitative type of analysis as it is focused on providing actual examples and discussing them, which in the case of CDA is more viable than mapping occurrences of particular phenomena in speeches.

3 THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

3.1 Historical context - United States relationship with Iraq

In this following chapter I would like to introduce the historical background of the U.S.A. and Iraq as this historical overlook shall serve as a contextual information basis for the analysis. The chapter covers a century long period of time when the U.S.-Iraqi relationship crystalized from indifference into a relationship of mutual support based on mutual provision of economic and military benefits, containment policy during Georg H. Bush's and Bill Clinton's administration, and finally into animosity whose consequences affect current affairs until this day.

The conflict between the U.S.A. and Iraq gave rise to a whole new kind of discourse – discourse on terrorism and war on terror. Like any other abstract concept like *democracy*, *liberty*, *justice*, the word *terrorism* is by itself a vague concept which, mainly during George Bush Jr.'s presidency, gained a deeply negative, fear-inducing connotation. Not only deeds, but above all words can achieve a strong impact on one's reasoning, opinions and can eventually change one's standpoint. The thesis will primarily look at the rhetorical technique used to legitimate the war in Iraq, however, it will also take a closer look at the semantics of it.

3.1.1 The early beginnings – 1920s –1979

Mutual relations between US-Iraq had not developed substantially until the end of World War II. Before, the area was seized from the hands of the Ottoman Empire and had been dominated by the British Monarchy since 1921. In the time between the two world wars, the British came to recognize the economic potential of the area of present day Iraq as a direct result of the discovery of vast deposits of oil in the region. The Arabs, already well settled in the region, being strong followers Islam religion, did not want occupiers to impose their system of rules on the country which had been struggling for autonomy for years. Moreover, an exchange of rule from Istanbul for rule from London would

not fulfil the revolutionary tendencies in Iraq. Arabs, unaware of the British occupation design, divide and conquer, falsely believed Britain's vague promises of one day achieving full sovereignty. In order to disguise their intentions, the British proclaimed Iraq a monarchy. However, the British mandate did not come to an end and it used the king Faisal as a puppet to pursue their interests in the area, which were mainly local oil supplies that the British used to boost their industry. To ensure their superiority over the Middle East, in 1955 the U.K. established an organization consisting of Iran, Iraq, Palestine and Turkey to prevent the U.S.A. and the Soviet Union to overtake power in the area through the so-called Baghdad Pact.⁹

In the aftermath of World War II, the U.S.A. started its diplomatic negotiations with the countries of the Middle East as Great Britain did not want to share their control of the Gulf oil reserves. Shortly before the end of the War, president Roosevelt met Abdul Aziz, the king of Saudi Arabia, on a warship in the Suez Canal. Abdul Aziz was happy to sign a treaty with a US-based oil company Aramco (formerly known as CASOC) that would enable US interests to succeed in becoming the most powerful source of influence regarding the production of oil in the Middle East. In exchange, Roosevelt guaranteed the Saudi King protection of his right to the throne. The British in turn tried to protect their interests in the region by attempting to regain their pre-war position of influence over the control of Iraq, however their aims were undermined by a military coup backed and instigated by the U.S.A. that resulted in the deposition of the Iraqi government supported by the British hegemony. This enabled the movement behind the coup, referred to as the Free Officers, to proclaim the Iraq Republic in June 1958. However, its pro-Soviet tendencies were not favoured by the U.S.A. Moreover, in 1958, Iraq withdrew from the Baghdad Pact. This caused the power of influence over the region to then

⁹ "Documentary Iraq a history of colonialism - 1 of 5", Youtube Video, 4 August, 2008, posted by IslamicFront, accessed November 27, 2016, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=YybLDLZEo1I&t=334s>.

fluctuate back and forth between the U.S.A. and the U.K. until 1979 when Saddam Hussein rose to power in Iraq.¹⁰

3.1.2 Saddam Hussein in power – Iran-Iraq War 1980 -1988

Relations between the U.S.A. and Iraq were recovered during the suppression of the Iranian revolution in the 1980s. Oppressions against Khomeini's movement were supported by the U.S. in the way of providing the Iraqi army with satellite footages of Iran's military unit deployment, advanced military technique, chemical weapons and food aid. The first allegations that Iraq was using chemical weapons in the conflict were confirmed by U.S. intelligence in 1983, nevertheless, its usage was merely condemned in the media and the fact did not significantly affect the U.S.-Iraqi relationship. According to Peter Hahn, an expert on history of U.S. diplomacy in the Middle East, the Regan administration backed Iraq when Saddam invaded Iran in 1980 only because the two nations had Iran, a pro-soviet state, as a common enemy:

Not because [the Reagan administration] liked Iraq, not because it had good values, not because they trusted Saddam, but because Saddam was standing in the path of a potential explosion of Iranian influence across the area.¹¹

3.1.3 The Gulf War 1990 – 1991

Initially, Kuwait financially supported Iraq during its conflict with Iran, however, not being able to repay its massive debt to Kuwait, Iraq demanded Kuwait to forgive the debt claiming it prevented Iranian revolutionist from reaching Kuwait. Iraq was challenged with an economic crisis, which was even more intensified by the fact that Kuwait persuaded OPEC countries to increase their oil production by 50 %, causing Iraq to lose millions of dollars in oil

¹⁰ "Documentary Iraq a history of colonialism - 2 of 5", Youtube Video, 8 August, 2008, posted by IslamicFront, accessed November 27, 2016, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=roEETnc70eU&t=205s>.

¹¹ Jeremy Hobson. Interview with Peter Hahn. *Here and Now*. 90.9 WBUR-FM, September 24, 2014. Accessed September 23, 2016. <http://www.wbur.org/hereandnow/2014/09/24/iraq-history-hahn>

revenues. Another integral issue that caused the escalation of the situation, was a border dispute caused by Iraq's territorial claims to parts of Kuwait. Finally, after all attempts by the international community to defuse the situation had failed, an alleged accusation, that Kuwait had been slant-drilling in Iraq's Rumaila oil field was the final excuse that Saddam needed in order to further escalate the crisis into a full out conflict by invading Kuwait.

Saddam's decision to invade and subsequently occupy Kuwait caused the world to become even more concerned of Saddam's expansionistic desires in the Middle East. Mainly because by invading Kuwait, Saddam had shown that he was not afraid to defy the international community and the U.S.A., nor respect the sovereignty of neighboring Arab nations to achieve his goals. Furthermore, as a direct result of all of Saddam's actions, fears of him being a potential threat to Saudi Arabia, and the world's largest oil supplies were now not just merely seen as speculations. All of this in turn prompted the U.S.A. to decide to take action against Iraq and Saddam. Should have Iraq captured the Kuwaiti oil fields, it would have controlled one fifth of the world's oil production. Together with NATO, Egypt and several other Arab nations, the U.S.A. had formed the anti-Iraq coalition and joined their forces in Operation Desert Shield. Another reason why the U.S.A. entered the Gulf War was moral responsibility as Iraq had used chemical weapons against the Kurdish minority in the Iraqi part of non-existing state of Kurdistan (Halabja Massacre). As Hahn explains, Saddam Hussein's regime was perceived as a threat to the new ideals of world governance after the Cold War as it might have got hold of vast crude oil supplies that were under control of the U.S.A:

Everyone around the world was idealistic, that now that the Cold War was seemingly over, we could build a new international order based on peace and stability and states living as good neighbors with one another, and Saddam immediately emerged as the first contestant against that new world order.

There were also very tangible concerns, material concerns, like the control of oil. There was fear that if Saddam was allowed to get away with the conquest of Kuwait, he would immediately move into Saudi Arabia and points beyond. He could soon be in control of a majority of the world's proven oil reserves.¹²

On August 3, 1990, Iraq was instructed to withdraw from Kuwait by the United Nations Security Council. The demand went ignored by Saddam Hussein and early in mid-January of 1991, the U.S.A. and its allies launched air attacks (Operation Desert Shield) on Iraq and a month later, the ground war began. It took only 100 hours and the Iraqi troops were expelled from Kuwait. It is still a matter of controversy and speculations why Saddam Hussein was not removed from power after the war was concluded. In the Gulf War aftermath, harsh economic sanctions were imposed on Iraq by the UNSC in order to decompose the regime and ensure its complete obedience.

In a speech on September 11, 1990, the former president George Bush Sr. outlined the new principles of the post-Cold War world governance called the “new world order”. In the speech, Bush portrayed a vision for new international relationships based on partnership and consultations and collective actions. The partnership between international and regional organizations should play a key role in democracy, prosperity, maintaining the peace and reducing arsenals. The two excerpts from addresses delivered by George H. W. Bush below present the former president’s vision of the world and international relationships which he coined as “the new world order”:

Address Before a Joint Session of the Congress on the Persian Gulf Crisis and the Federal Budget Deficit:

A new partnership of nations has begun, and we stand today at a unique and extraordinary moment. The crisis in the Persian Gulf, as grave as it is, also offers a rare opportunity to move

¹² Ibid.

toward an historic period of cooperation. Out of these troubled times, our fifth objective—a new world order—can emerge: A new era—freer from the threat of terror, stronger in the pursuit of justice and more secure in the quest for peace. An era in which the nations of the world, east and west, north and south, can prosper and live in harmony.¹³

Address to the Nation on the Invasion of Iraq:

This is an historic moment. We have in this past year made great progress in ending the long era of conflict and cold war. We have before us the opportunity to forge for ourselves and for future generations a new world order -- a world where the rule of law, not the law of the jungle, governs the conduct of nations. When we are successful -- and we will be -- we have a real chance at this new world order, an order in which a credible United Nations can use its peacekeeping role to fulfill the promise and vision of the U.N.'s founders.¹⁴

3.1.4 The Policy of containment and the War in Iraq 1991 – 2011

During the administration of George H. W. Bush's successor, Bill Clinton, no conflicts emerged in the Gulf zone. The U.S.A. approached Iraq with the so-called policy of containment, which had started already right after the Gulf War and continued until Bill Clinton left the office in 2000. Iraq agreed to abide by all Security Council resolutions, including demands that Iraq destroy all of its chemical and biological weapons and its ballistic missiles over a certain range, and also dismantle its chemical, biological and nuclear weapons programmes. The United Nations Special Commission (UNSCOM) was

¹³George H. W. Bush. "Address Before a Joint Session of the Congress on the Persian Gulf Crisis and the Federal Budget Deficit." September 11, 1990. American Presidency Project. <http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/?pid=18820>.

¹⁴George H.W. Bush. "Address To The Nation On The Invasion Of Iraq," Speech, January 16, 1991. American Rhetoric. <http://www.americanrhetoric.com/speeches/ghwbushiraqinvasion.htm>.

established to inspect and monitor the elimination of the nonnuclear disarmament provisions of the resolutions and to assist the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) in all nuclear areas.¹⁵ The pressure on the containment policy began to mount in mid-1997 when Saddam Hussein declared he had dismantled or otherwise destroyed all WMD capacities and hindered UNSCOM to conduct further inspections. Still, the policy was seen as the most effective way of dealing with the Iraqi threat.¹⁶

After the candidate of the Republican Party, George Bush Jr., was elected president, a new review of the Iraqi situation was expected and criticism of the strategy of containment followed. Bush appointed a group of experts, “The Vulcans”, from conservative realms with Condoleezza Rice in the lead who relentlessly advocated the removal of Saddam Hussein. At first, the group and Bush’s administration adhered to the “containment-plus” strategy as it had been developed at the end of Clinton’s administration, which approved of military action against Iraq in the case of any disturbance of the imposed no-fly zones, a military attack against any suspected WMD facilities, and an attempt to restore UNMOVIC (former UNSCOM) inspectors’ supervision in the country. To reduce the suffering of Iraqi civilians, the “Oil for food” programme was developed. The remodeling of Iraqi policy was also supported by the so-called smart sanctions initiative, which attempted to tighten restrictions on military hardware.¹⁷

However, the events of 9/11 cast a new light on the Iraqi containment strategy and prompted a resolute action to remove Hussein and his regime once and for all. Iraq became an urgent priority and the strategy of containment-plus promoted by the Secretary of State, Collin Powell, was dismissed. The core topic of the president’s discussions with his senior advisors became the question whether to expand the new war on terrorism on other “rogue” states.

¹⁵Ritchie, Nick, and Paul Rogers. *The Political Road To War In Iraq: Bush, 9/11, and the Drive To Overthrow Saddam*. (Routledge, 2006), 20.

¹⁶*Ibid.*, 24.

¹⁷*Ibid.*, 54.

After 9/11 Bush's administration embraced a new way of looking at the world and strategies for dealing with the then issues – through the view of a national security paradigm. First, it was decided that al-Qaeda in Afghanistan must be dealt with. The second action taken was to hinder the expansion of terrorist networks and punish all states that harbor or support them. Third, direct or indirect provision of WMD for terrorist groups had to be stopped. Countries that could fit the criteria did not only include Iraq, but also Saudi Arabia, Yemen, Iran, or Cuba. In the annual State of the Union Address January 29, 2002, Bush presented his logic of post-9/11 security policy that targeted states sponsoring or otherwise supporting terrorism, states that had active WMD programmes, and states with a history of hostility towards the U.S.A., having singled out Iraq, Iran, and North Korea (coined as the “Axis of Evil”). To eradicate the threat, a “pre-emptive” action was at stake.¹⁸

The War in Iraq, also known as the Second Gulf War, began with air strikes conducted by U.S. Armed Forces on a bunker complex where Saddam Hussein was believed to be meeting with his advisors on March 20, 2002. The greatest resistance the U.S. corps had to endure were groups of Ba'ath party supporters, also known as “Saddam's Fadayeens”. British forces faced similar force of resistance in the southern region of Basra. On April 9, the Republican Guard that was deployed in and around the capital, Baghdad, collapsed and U.S. soldiers took control over the city. In the north, U.S. Special Forces fought with the Kurds on their side to seize the cities of Mosul and Kirkuk. On December 13, 2003, George W. Bush announced the capture of Saddam Hussein, who was eventually convicted of crimes against humanity and was executed on December 30, 2006. Despite having announced the end of major combats in Iraq on May 30, 2003, the conflict continued until December 2011, when the last U.S. troops finally withdrew from Iraq.¹⁹

¹⁸Ibid., 72—76.

¹⁹Wikipedia, s.v. “Iraq War,” last modified November 18 2016, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Iraq_War.

After the withdrawal, Iraq was left to deal with the challenges of a humanitarian, economic, and political crisis. Sectarian insurgences between Shi'a and Sunni Muslims began to arise and the political system suffered from heavy corruption. Thousands of displaced civilians had to rely on inefficient public services. Instead of a functioning state unit, the country was left behind in chaos. As put in the *New Statesman*, "the War in Iraq has emboldened violent jihadis and inflamed sectarian conflict."²⁰

In an article for Al Jazeera, Imran Khan explains that the war itself and the war-induced crisis in Iraq sowed the grain of today's immigration crisis and the expansion of new radicalism:

Before the September 11, 2001 attacks on the World Trade Centre in New York, radical and violent movements were tiny in number. Al-Qaeda and Osama bin Laden were the only real threat. [...] Suddenly the radical groups had found a new cause and a new fight. They learned new tactics. They became hardened fighters. They dreamed of a caliphate that would spread across the Arab and Muslim world. [...] The philosophy of armed rebellion and fighting for God spread. Pakistan, another Muslim nation, found itself fighting an armed rebellion, as did many other countries. [...] It was the war that solidified and unified disparate young men from different countries into following the path of violent jihad.²¹

3.2 Discourse, text, power and ideology and their interrelation

This chapter will provide a theoretical account on the notions of *discourse*, *text* and *ideology* as well as on their interrelation, for these are key terms that lie at the heart of critical discourse studies and critical discourse analysis itself. As

²⁰Anonymous. 2006. "Leader: The Iraq War and its aftermath," *New Statesman*, July 6. <http://www.newstatesman.com/politics/uk/2016/07/leader-iraq-war-and-its-aftermath>.

²¹Imran Khan. 2005. "The Iraq War: The Root of Europe's Refugee Crisis," *Al Jazeera*, September 9. <http://www.aljazeera.com/blogs/middleeast/2015/09/iraq-war-root-europe-refugee-crisis-150908151855527.html>.

the core focus of the thesis is placed on a construction of the legitimacy of the “war on terror” discourse and its rightness, it is essential to explain its underlying terms.

3.2.1 Discourse and text

The thesis adheres to van Dijk’s definition of discourse, which states that discourse encompasses “language use, text, talk, verbal interaction, and communication”.²² Hence, discourse can be perceived as a result of a complex communicative situation where a message is produced, conveyed to the receivers via a variety of media, discussed, modified or distorted, thus influencing the discourse’s active and passive participants’ thoughts and knowledge. By “active participants” I mean those who take part in creating the discourse directly and modify it significantly, by “passive participants” I mean passive perceivers of it.

Studies of discourse occupy themselves mainly with an analysis of written or spoken texts within a broad perspective, not only on the level of text linguistics. Discourse studies usually make use of a widespread analysis of texts rather than using a narrow linguistic approach. The relation between text and discourse is best captured by Fairclough, who poses that discourse is a “dynamic process encompassing social interactions of which text is merely a product of.”²³ Text as such is viewed as a static, though tactile “material” which is subjected to two processes – the production (text = product) and the interpretation process (text = resource). The text production process and text interpretation process are, as it can be deduced from Figure 1 below, parts of discourse that fit below a text layer. That is, text production and text interpretation are concerned with social conditions in which the text is situated. Therefore, we can affirm that purely linguistic approaches, for instance text

²² Teun van Dijk, “Ideology and Discourse,” 11.

²³ Norman Fairclough, *Language and Power*, (New York: Longman, 1989), 24.

analysis, accounts for only a part of discourse analysis and that an analyst must be able to say what is the respective linguistic means' purpose as well.²⁴

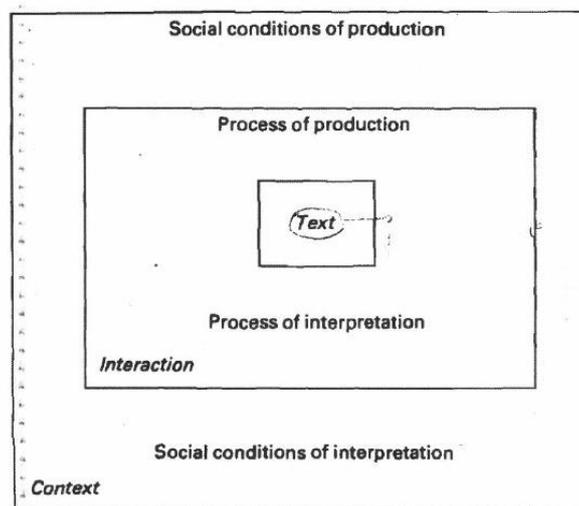


Figure 1 Discourse as text, interaction and context

3.2.2 Discourse and power

The text or, more broadly, discourse production can be then assigned to active participants and pass its interpretation to the passive participants. To a varying extent, there is an ongoing interaction between these two kinds of participants. Usually, it is an interaction based on one group's - *ingroup's* - superiority and other group's - *outgroup's* - inferiority, with the ingroup in the position of elites who "have a special access to discourse", i.e. "they are literally the ones who have the most to say."²⁵ Therefore, it can be inferred that the privilege of access to discourses (powerful discourses, such as political discourse) enables individuals with high positions of power to maintain their power and to exert control over others. It is then the objective of an analysis to examine the texts produced in a particular discourse and show the elements that reveal the use of power and possible "abuse of power" contained in the text and talk produced by the elites. "Abuse of power", which van Dijk defines as

²⁴ Ibid.

²⁵ Teun A. van Dijk, "Principles of Critical Discourse Analysis," in *Discourse & Society* 4, no. 1, University of Amsterdam, 1993, accessed November 21, 2016, 255, discourses.org/OldArticles/Principles%20of%20critical%20discourse%20analysis.pdf.

“breaches of laws, rules and principles of democracy, equality and justice by those who wield power”²⁶, would be the most extreme case of an analysis. Usually, it is confined to discourses on racism, anti-immigration or anti-semitism.

3.2.3 Ideology

The word “ideology” itself can be regarded as self-explanatory - it is a set of ideas. Yet, within the scope of political discourse, which has been customarily seen through the lenses of the marxian philosophy by discourse scholars, it refers to often rigid, misguided partisan ideas of others and it is often contrasted with objective knowledge and critical thinking. The classical approach to ideology also highlights the dominant nature of ideologies in the sense that they play a role in the legitimation of power abuse by dominant groups.²⁷ The dominant group often tries to do what serves best for its ideology to be accepted as “natural” by the dominated group; the dominant group attempts for their ideology to appeal to the common folk and hence to become commonsensical. Such form of ideology “implantation” was discussed in Antonio Gramsci’s essays written in captivity - *Prison Notebooks*. Gramsci himself extended the marxian political economy by a new concept, *hegemony*, which was adopted by most discourse theoreticians and incorporated into their theory of CDA. Goldberg explains Gramsci and his concept of hegemony in the following way:

“[Gramsci] has introduced the concept of hegemony by which he means that ideology’s power derives primarily from consent as opposed to the use of force. Secondly, Gramsci argued to expand ideology by the notion of ‘common sense’. [Common sense is understood as] habitual attitudes which have been assimilated from ruling class ideas, i.e. they appear completely natural or commonsensical, yet they originally

²⁶ Ibid.

²⁷ Teun A. van Dijk, “Politics, Ideology, And Discourse,” in *Elsevier Encyclopedia of Language and Linguistic*, (2005), 729, accessed July 19, 2016, <http://www.discourses.org/OldArticles/Politics,%20Ideology%20and%20Discourse.pdf>.

came into being as artificial concepts that served the purpose of a specific social group.”²⁸

To summarize and concisely explain the interrelatedness of discourse, ideology, and hegemony, we can start by stating that the theory of ideology (and the theory of CDA) assumes an existence of a dominant group, whose power emerges from its social status. Such dominant group is striving to maintain its power and uses it to change the minds of others (be it subordinate groups or groups with more or less the same social status) in order to pursue their own interests. Attempting to change one’s mind, the dominant group exercises control and power over the dominated bloc, which is materialized in the form of discourse, in a text and talk form. That said, it is obvious that the process of exercising control through discourse is of a non-violent character. Consensus is thus attained not by coercion, but by consent. To reach consent and approval of one’s action (legitimation), the strategies of persuasion have to be based on plausible arguments and common sense.

As Stoddart summarizes, “where discourse is mobilized to reinforce systems of social power it functions as ideology.[...], discourse is not necessarily ideological; however, ideology is discursive.”²⁹ We can understand now that social power is exercised through discourse and is also reproduced through it so as to maintain one’s dominant position and enforce one’s thoughts, aims and actions, which is mostly the case of political discourse. In the following subchapter we will take a brief look at how ideology and discourse is understood in works of the three main discourse studies’ theoreticians – Teun van Dijk, Norman Fairclough, and Ruth Wodak. Their theories concur in what has been said above - discourse does ideological work and contributes to unequal social/power relationships.

²⁸ Michal Lewis Goldberg, “Ideology,” accessed August 8, 2016, <https://faculty.washington.edu/mlg/courses/definitions/Ideology.html>.

²⁹ Mark C. J. Stoddart, *Ideology, Hegemony, Discourse: A Critical Review of Theories of Knowledge And Power*, (University of British Columbia, 2007), 193, accessed August 13, 2013, <https://kuscholarworks.ku.edu/bitstream/handle/1808/5226/STARV28A9.pdf?...1>.

3.2.3.1 Ideology and discourse in Fairclough's rendition

In his prominent work, *Language and Power*, Norman Fairclough draws on the marxian and the gramscian philosophy in its theoretical background; it can be said that the work belongs to the Western critical discourse tradition as it has a fierce motivation against capitalism. Nevertheless, Fairclough asserts that institutional power is employed by the dominant bloc because institutional power and practises are perceived as universal and commonsensical, with hardly anyone to have realized these originate from the realms of the dominant bloc. Therefore, they become naturalized. The function of these practices is then to sustain unequal power relations and therefore enabling them to function ideologically. Ideological power is an essential complement to economic and political power and is clearly exercised in discourse.³⁰

3.2.3.2 Ideology and discourse in van Dijk's rendition

Van Dijk, takes a social-cognitive stance towards the term ideology as he assigns it with cognitive and social functions. He does not strictly relate it to politics but to any social group. Yet, at the same time, he acknowledges that not every social group needs to have an ideology. Van Dijk perceives it as a system of beliefs that is socially shared by members of a collective of social actors. In his view, ideologies define the social identity of a group because they encompass shared social representations of the respective group and become axiomatic, therefore common beliefs for a respective group. (Ideologies specify what general cultural values are relevant for the group. Furthermore, ideologies also control and organize other shared beliefs.) For example, anti-terrorist ideology supporters are likely to take an antagonistic stance towards current immigration policies in Europe because they associate migrants from Arab countries with terrorists. According to van Dijk, ideologies provide social groups' beliefs with coherence in order to be easily acquired and used in

³⁰ Norman Fairclough, *Language And Power*, 32—34.

everyday situations. Hence, in order to prosper, ideologies have to be relatively stable.³¹

Van Dijk also asserts that language use and discourse are social practices that are influenced by ideologies. When we speak, we express ideologically based opinions, even without knowing it. Ideologies are unconsciously acquired and formed throughout our life; anti-semitism, eurocentrism, xenophobia being those listed by van Dijk. Therefore, it is important to distinguish three dimensions of ideologies:

- *Ideologies as elements of social cognition* – As it has been said, ideologies represent beliefs of collectivities of people. This mental character of ideologies has an evaluative dimension as our acquired and learned norms and values are at the basis of our opinions and attitudes.³²
- *Ideologies in society* – Ideologies are socially learned and represented by a group of people and so is thus their language. They manifest themselves in various forms of interaction, of which discourse is the most important one, and indirectly control them. Ideologies help members of groups organize social representations, facilitate interaction and cooperation among them and with members of outgroups. It can be thus said that ideologies provide principles by which power abuse (exerting control over an outgroup) may be justified, legitimized, and accepted.³³
- *Ideologies as discourse* – This dimension is based on an assumption that discourses are very complex, containing many levels of structures. It is assumed that text and talk displays sheerly underlying ideologies that can be analyzed on a particular level (structure) of text and talk, e.g. local coherence, modality, contrast, syntax, or rhetoric. Within this

³¹van Dijk, “Ideology and Discourse,” 11—15.

³² Ibid.

³³ Ibid., 35—36.

dimension, the notion of polarized views of ingroups and outgroups – *US* and *THEM*.³⁴

3.2.3.3 Ideology and discourse in Wodak's rendition

In Wodak's theoretical works related to critical discourse studies and critical discourse analysis, the view of ideology holds what the two previous scholars have in common. She acknowledges that ideologies are latent types of everyday beliefs that are manifested in the form of conceptual metaphors and analogies (e.g. love is war, life is a journey). She concurs that dominant ideologies appear as neutral, as worldviews that constitute social cognition, nevertheless, language can be used to challenge power, to subvert it, to alter distributions of power.³⁵

3.2.3.4 *US* and *THEM* polarization

Van Dijk defends that “ideologies typically organize people an society in polarized terms”³⁶ The polarization is based on accentuating negative characteristics of one group and, on the other hand, on accentuating positive characteristics of the other group. Considering that CDA is a problem-oriented, concept, the relation between the groups is often one of confrontation and dispute. The polarization strategy can be used for a justified purpose, but also for purposes of persuasion, legitimation, and propaganda. In his general strategy of ideological analysis, van Dijk proposes to conduct an analysis on an individually chosen structure of dicourse, assuming that each of those exhibit underlying ideologies. Most of ideological and legitimating discourse is then based on these general strategies:³⁷

- Say positive things about US / Do not say negative things about US.

³⁴ Ibid., 42—43.

³⁵ Ruth Wodak, “Critical discourse analysis: history, agenda, theory, and methodology,” in *Methods for Critical Discourse Analysis*, eds. Ruth Wodak and Michael Meyer (London: Sage, 2009), accessed April 2, 2016, https://www.corwin.com/sites/default/files/upm-binaries/24615_01_Wodak_Ch_01.pdf

³⁶ van Dijk, “Ideology and Discourse,” 43.

³⁷ Ibid.,

- Say negative things about THEM / Do not say positive things about THEM.

Van Dijk develops these strategies into what he calls *ideological squares*, which can be then applied in the analysis of any level of discourse structure - as soon as we have an ideological basis, we are able to analyze expressions of ideology of many levels of discourse as discourse incorporates many ways of emphasizing and de-emphasizing positive and negative characteristics of the actors .³⁸

- Emphasize positive things about US
- Emphasize negative things about THEM
- De-emphasize negative things about US
- De-emphasize positive things about THEM

It is also feasible to determine how these two positions relate to one another, or, in other words, what position a particular group takes – dominant, or marginalized? In this case, the U.S.A. takes the dominant position as it distinguishes itself ostentatiously from Saddam Hussein’s regime and, in fact, perceives itself as the brightest example of democracy, human rights, justice, liberty, and security.

3.2.3.5 Clusivity

Clusivity is a notion that is closely related to the polarization strategy as elaborated in the previous chapter. It is “concerned with various aspects of inclusion and exclusion manifested in discourse, where traditionally the terms ‘inclusive’ and ‘exclusive’ were used to denote a type of personal pronoun.”³⁹ Therefore, it can be deduced that clusivity is rooted in the grammatical

³⁸ Ibid.

³⁹ Victoria Wirth-Koliba, “The Diverse and Dynamic World of ‘Us’ and ‘Them’ in Political Discourse,” *Critical Approaches to Discourse Analysis across Disciplines* 8, no. 1, 2016, 24 – 25, accessed November 1, 2016, www.lancaster.ac.uk/fass/journals/cadaad/wp-content/.../Volume-8_Wirth-Koliba.pdf.

phenomenon of *deixis*, which is traditionally conceived as “coding of distance relative to the speaker’s situational coordinates at the moment of utterance.”⁴⁰ As per Hart, deixis is decomposed into three components in order to be able to capture the speaker’s/hearer’s conceptualization of what counts as *we*, *here*, *now*, and *acceptable*. The components are those of person, space, time, and evaluation. In discourse space theory, these elements are represented on a three-axes projection with the deictic centre as the point of speaker’s reference. Each of the axes represent a scale of relative “distance” from the deictic center. Van Dijk’s ideological square strategy is mainly situated on the socio-spatial and evaluation axis representing the deictic conceptualization of *We/Us/Our* versus *They/Them/Their* and *right* versus *wrong* both in their epistemic and in their moral sense, which resonates with the strategy of positive self-representation and negative other-representation (*We* are the good ones, reliable, and trustworthy, *They* are the bad, unreliable and deceptive ones).⁴¹ According to Wirth-Koliba, an ideological square is a successful pragma-cognitive strategy in campaigning, when one party presents itself as the better one, consequently creating a negative image of the other one. The ideological square as proposed by van Dijk works then as aclusivity marker that operates on the pragma-cognitive dimension of a speech event.⁴²

However, the deictic center is prone to alter. Entities included in the *Us* and the *Them* may change its conceptualizations so as to conform with the speaker’s intentions. For example, in the speeches in question, Bush identifies the outgroup’s participants as follows: terrorists and/or Iraq, and/or the Iraqi regime, and/or Saddam Hussein. Sometimes, it is hard to distinguish what social actor the president refers to. This ambiguity caused that Iraq and Iraqi citizens are stereotypically equalled to terrorists.

40 Christopher Hart, *Discourse, Grammar and Ideology: Functional and Cognitive Perspectives*, (London: Bloomsbury, 2014), 164.

41 *Ibid.*, 164—165.

42 Wirth-Koliba, “The World of ‘Us’ and ‘Them’ in Political Discourse,” 25.

3.3. Political discourse

Political discourse analysis (PDA) is one of the most popular and most researched application of CDA as its most critical aspect finds its best use in an analysis of political text and talk. Van Dijk lists three main determinants to categorize a discourse as “political”; (1) the definition of PDA can be determined by the discourse *actors*, (2) the nature of *activities and practices* accomplished by political text and talk and (3) the overall *context*. Even though van Dijk lists the three factors separately, it could be said that an interplay of these is essential to consider a discourse as “political” and would be the most accurate factor to be considered.⁴³

The subject of the thesis analysis is a collection of texts that have one author in common – a politician, George W. Bush. Therefore, the texts fall under the umbrella term “political discourse”. The political action or practise that is involved in the discourse is gaining an approval of war on terror and initiation of an invasion of Iraq. The contextual aspects consist of actors and activities mainly, but variables like time, place, circumstances also fall under the same spectrum. In this case, the determining circumstances would be the 9/11 attacks, the period of time between the attacks and commencement of the war, and the choice of places where the president delivered his speeches. However, van Dijk fails to account for another decisive aspect that is crucial for the definition of discourses as “political” – the thematic aspect of texts and talks. “War” has been traditionally regarded as a political theme as its rhetoric overtly involves power relations, legitimation, competing interests and rights of a large social group.

In the most extreme, Foucauldian approach, any subject concerning human relationships is intrinsically political, being permeated by power

⁴³ Teun A. van Dijk, “What Is Political Discourse Analysis?”, in *Political Linguistics*, (Amsterdam: Benjamins, 1997), 11.

relations, interests, and values, but it can be reckoned that not social actors themselves would detect it.⁴⁴

Politicians are individuals whose profession is to do politics, i.e. activities that relate to influencing the actions and policies of a government or getting and keeping power in a government.⁴⁵ For such activities they get paid and are being elected or appointed as the central players in the polity.⁴⁶ Above all, it is necessary for their career as politicians to hold moral accountability for their actions and responsibility to the public, government offices, institutions, the Congress. To achieve that, politicians have to make appearances and publicly show that they are the right representatives of the people they are accountable to. In democratic societies like the U.S.A., whose nation is significantly patriotic, crucial determinants for politicians involve cherishing democratic values, but also to follow Christianity, to look up to God, cherish the legacy of the Founding Fathers, to obey by the American Constitution, the Declaration of Independence and to honour the national symbols: the Liberty Bell, the U.S. flag, the bald eagle, the national anthem, Uncle Sam, and the Statue of Liberty. Altogether, all these aspects can be called the basic constituents of the American ideology, which are rampantly used by politicians to prove that they act in the best interest of the U.S.A and they are thus employed in the politicians' legitimation strategies.

Texts and/or speeches represent only a part of what is understood under the term discourse and are an important element of political communication, which is central to a politician's and, above all, to a holder of a presidential position. The main function of political communication is to establish relationships with allies, supporters, and common people (e.g. voters), that is, to persuade them to believe that a politician has the right moral high ground

⁴⁴ Maria Zaleska, ed., *Rhetoric And Politics: Central/Eastern European Perspective*, (Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2012), 3, accessed October 19, 2016, <https://f.hypotheses.org/wp-content/blogs.dir/249/files/2012/.../rhetorics-politics.pdf>

⁴⁵ *Merriam-Webster.com*, s.v. "politics," accessed November 19, 2016, <http://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/politics>.

⁴⁶ van Dijk, "What Is Political Discourse Analysis?," 13.

and ethical qualities, that he is competent to administer his office successfully, and is trustworthy and is accountable to his or her country's citizens. Of course, most of the times speeches are not delivered instantaneously. As Wodak asserts, "politicians have always used persuasive strategies and tactics."⁴⁷ With the recent boom of social media that has now opened up a variety of channels through which messages can be communicated, getting a message across is facilitated and politicians can come closer to their audiences. On the other hand, a politician has to maintain consistency in his messages and create a coherent link between the varieties of media, which is not manageable by a single person. Therefore, politicians (mainly presidents) employ spin doctors to be their opinion watchdogs and advise them, to put it simply, what to say, how to word it, and what not to say. They create the president's persuasive strategies and help to enforce new political strategies. A presidential speech is, then, not a text of a single author, but of a group of them.

3.4 Rhetoric, persuasion, and legitimation

The following chapter covers the general theory of rhetoric it occupies with persuasive techniques and strategies speakers have been using through centuries in their strive for persuasion of masses about their intentions. Political speeches fall into the category of political discourse, which makes use of a vast array of rhetorical devices to promote and utilize a particular ideology (American values and norms) in the pursuit of legitimation of particular intentions (military intervention in Iraq). Therefore, an account on the notion of *legitimation* will be made. Stereotypes of what is believed to be placed at the basis of the American identity will be mentioned accordingly.

3.4.1 Rhetoric

In Aristotelian tradition, rhetoric is regarded as the ability to see what is persuasive in any given case. A rhetorician is thus seen as a professional who discovers all available means of persuasion, yet Aristotle poses that he might

⁴⁷ Ruth Wodak, *The Discourse of Politics In Action: Politics As Usual*, (Palgrave Macmillan UK, 2009), 2.

not be able to convince everybody. What is notable about Aristotelian rhetoric is its neutrality – Aristotle admits that it can be used both for virtuous or detrimental purposes, yet he advocates that with rhetoric of his style it is easier to convince the audience about the good and just. Persuasion is achieved through three means, which are either in the character of the speaker (*ethos*), or the emotional state of the hearer (*pathos*), or in the argument itself (*logos*).⁴⁸

In current times, rhetoric has acquired a negative collocation of “speaking vaguely” or “speaking insincerely”. As the Oxford dictionary definition of rhetoric suggests, rhetoric is currently perceived and defined in two ways; as “the art of effective or persuasive speaking or writing, especially the exploitation of figures of speech and other compositional techniques” and/or as “language designed to have a persuasive or impressive effect, but which is often regarded as lacking in sincerity or meaningful content”⁴⁹. The latter reflects the perception of current political debates, talks and political discourse as such. As Tim L. Elvin observes and quantitatively verifies political discourse of modern day is a “demise of logos”: “Instead of bringing arguments to the public deliberative sphere, presidents are increasingly inclined to declare and assert, offering us a predictable inventory of inspirational platitudes and partisan punch lines.”⁵⁰

3.4.2 Persuasion

Within the two notions of *rhetoric* and *persuasion*, Charteris-Black points out their interrelation and the difference between them. Persuasion is conducted between two parties, one active (speaker) and one passive (audience), with the active part having intentions that come prior to the act of persuading. Rhetoric is used when we want “to focus on how persuasion is undertaken: it refers

⁴⁸ Christof Rapp, "Aristotle's Rhetoric," in *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy*, (Stanford University, 2010), accessed November 20, 2016, <http://plato.stanford.edu/entries/aristotle-rhetoric/#means>

⁴⁹ *Oxford Dictionaries.com*, s.v. “Rhetoric,” accessed December 9, 2016, <https://en.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/rhetoric>

⁵⁰ Elvin T. Lim, *The Anti-Intellectual Presidency: The Decline of Presidential Rhetoric from George Washington to George W. Bush*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 2008), 56—57.

specifically to the methods that the speaker uses to persuade”. Persuading is thus an action based on the speaker’s intentions and their desired fulfilment, persuaded audience and change in their opinion then represents the effect of persuasion: “Unless there is a change of opinion, the audience cannot be said to have been persuaded. [...] Persuasion is about being right and once the speaker has convinced the audience that he is right can the audience be said to have been persuaded.”⁵¹

A successful oratory is the one that achieves persuasion. It can be said that a bad orator is the one who fails to persuade the audience about his right intention, right thinking and the one who was not able to make any emotional impact on the audience. Successful rhetoric is the one when all these three proofs of persuasion are fulfilled - when their proportionality is tailored according to the situational context, the speaker himself, the audience and the medium, too. Hence, rhetoric is the skill of using language and utilizing rhetorical resources in a way that the speaker achieves persuasion of his audience:

Audiences are only persuaded when the speaker’s rhetoric is successful. [...] The most rhetorically successful speech performance is the most persuasive one as measured by audience responses. Rhetoric may be said to have failed when an audience expresses opposition to the speaker’s underlying purposes.⁵²

The success of persuasion is sometimes hard to measure; it can be evaluated by the audience’s immediate response, clapping, and other acoustic expressions, such as “booing”. Nowadays public opinion is measured in research centres by conducting interviews and internet polls. Data can be harvested in any course of time, so that a development of public opinion in time

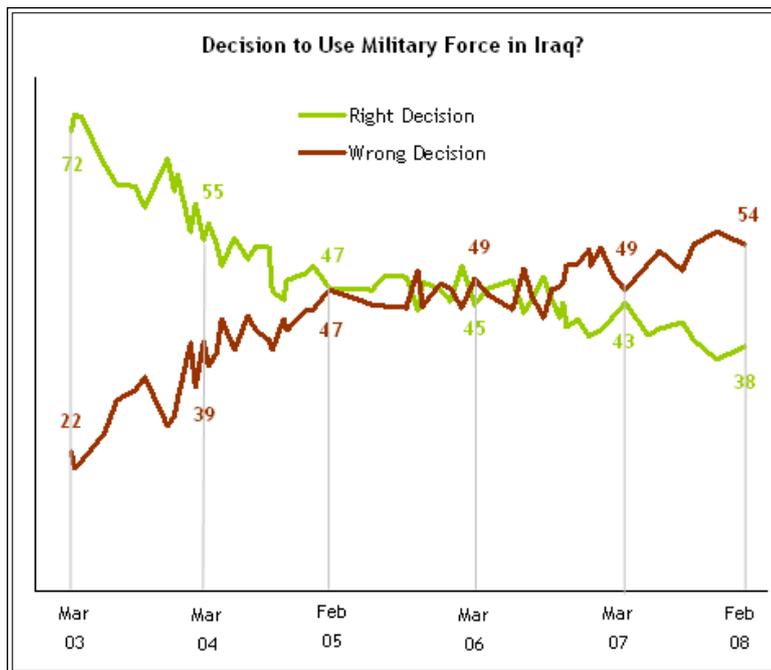
⁵¹ Jonathan Charteris-Black, *Politicians And Rhetoric: The Persuasive Power of Metaphor*, 2nd ed. (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), 14.

⁵² *Ibid.*, 7.

can be obtained. The graph below demonstrates how powerful George W. Bush's rhetoric was in obtaining the consent of the public to use military power against Iraq before the actual war had started and after U.S. troops had been deployed in Iraq and the combat had started. In spite of the fact that Bush's speeches are judged as less factual, he received congressional, public, and the U.N.'s approval to commence a war:

Bush's words likely sent an electric charge through a large proportion of his audience. But deciphering the basis for this internal applause identifies the problem of inspirational platitudes devoid of argument. Inspirational language, while it might have unifying, epideictic purposes, tends to discourage dialogue and debate. Indeed, inspirational platitudes are asserted precisely because they are allegedly so self-evident that they need not be argued for.⁵³

⁵³ Elvin T. Lim, *The Anti-Intellectual Presidency: The Decline of Presidential Rhetoric from George Washington to George W. Bush*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 2008), 59.



Graph 1 Decision to use military force in Iraq progress⁵⁴

At the beginning of March 2003, 72 % of Americans who took part in the research conducted by the Pew Research Center expressed that the *Decision to use military force in Iraq* was *right*. Before March 19, 2003, when the war officially commenced, Americans could only base their judgements primarily on information obtained from authorities and persuasion rhetoric. Despite of the lack of prove of Iraq’s possession of WMD, the U.S. government achieved its goal. Another research agency, Gallup, arrived with more or less the same rate of war favouritism – 59 % of correspondents said they held their views strongly in favour of the war, 13 % of the correspondents held the view that they (not strongly) favoured the war.⁵⁵

3.4.3 Ethos, logos, pathos

As it has been indicated, rhetorical means of persuasion in political communication have not changed since the times of antiquity. In the classical

⁵⁴ Anonymous, “Public Attitudes Towards the War in Iraq: 2003-2008,” *Pew Research Center*, March 19, 2008 <http://www.pewresearch.org/2008/03/19/public-attitudes-toward-the-war-in-iraq-20032008/>.

⁵⁵ Frank Newport, “Seventy-two Percent of Americans Support the War Against Iraq,” *Gallup*, March 24, 2003, <http://www.gallup.com/poll/8038/seventytwo-percent-americans-support-war-against-iraq.aspx>.

tradition, rhetoric is based on three *modes of proof* – *ethos*, *logos*, and *pathos*. These do not act independently, but in unison. In a speech event, a successful orator must prove his moral credibility (*ethos*), rest his argumentation on logic (*logos*), and evoke emotional appeal (*pathos*). *Ethos* is the central mode as it rests on the speaker’s moral integrity and good faith. Once the speaker’s reputation is discredited, it is hard for him to vindicate his good intentions and to purge his name of scandal. An example of this is the famous Watergate scandal of the 1970s, when the former president Nixon bugged senior democratic officials in order to succeed in getting elected to a second term in office. After the disclosure of the scandal, Nixon abdicated. That is why *ethos* is situated in the center of the diagram of rhetorical modes of proof (also called *means of persuasion*).

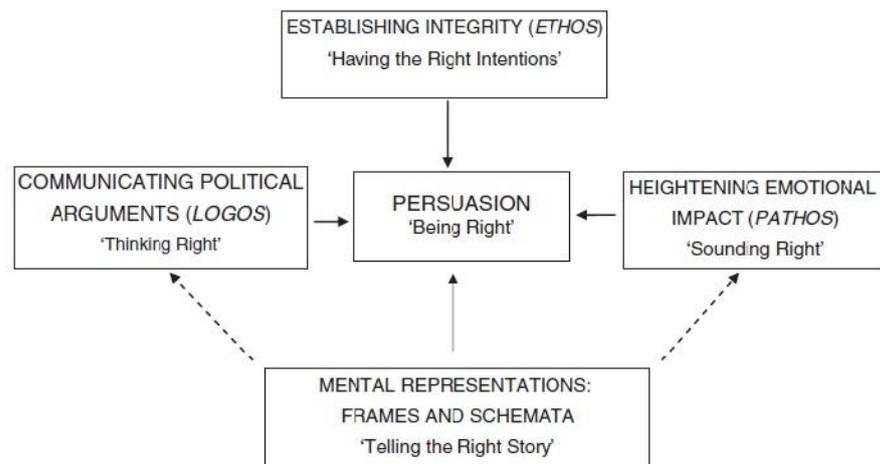


Figure 2 Rhetorical means for persuasion in political communication⁵⁶

With *ethos* being placed in the center, the diagram shows that in order to persuade the audience about one’s right and correct stance, arguments have to constitute the objectivity of one’s intentions (*logos*). Therefore, speaker’s rhetorical strategies make use of illustrations, exemplifications, and number game because exact numbers support the credibility of the speaker’s claims. Furthermore, the speaker has to show his emotional involvement by expressing

⁵⁶ Charteris-Black, *Politicians and Rhetoric*, 14.

sympathy and empathy with those unto whom injustice was done or engage others in the emotional discourse, thus creating an emotional climate where empathy, compassion, or hate and fear thrive (*pathos*).⁵⁷

3.4.4 Legitimation

General principles of legitimation

In everyday communication, if a person is challenged by criticism regarding his or her intentions, actions and the reason of or the ground for them, one resorts to clarification of and, above all, to justification of the actions and their grounds. If a government or an institutional official is criticized, it is usually because of a series of misdeeds that involved breaking the law, or when they expect an opposition against their decisions, policies or political actions. Such justification is not a one-off task, but an ongoing discourse that demands sophisticated strategies to be implemented so as to prove that the opponent's accusations are not substantiated, that they are wrong, or based on series of misinterpretations. Such vast justification that is usually a matter of the institutional domain and institutional (political) discourse is conceived as legitimation. Legitimation as justification of official actions, position, role or institution itself has a top-down direction when elites legitimate themselves downwards, which is also the case of the War in Iraq.⁵⁸

Legitimation and ideology

For a legitimation to be successful, political officials use tactics that draw on the principles of group internal legitimation (membership criteria), that is group ideologies. The judgement about the other group is then built on the grounds of these principles. Political officials attempt to defend that their arguments and standpoints are just and that, on the other hand, the principles of the other group are wrong. Some may declare their ingroup ideologies to be “common sense” and a categorical imperative to be followed by all social members, also those

⁵⁷ Ibid., 14—15.

⁵⁸ Teun A. van Dijk, *Ideology: A Multidisciplinary Approach*, (London: Sage, 1998), 255—256.

of the outgroup. As van Dijk asserts, democratic ideologies provide the basis for judgements about the legitimacy of “democratic action”. Noticeably, such action is often disguised under the cloak of general moral order, common security, and common welfare. In George W. Bush’s speeches, this can be observed most distinctively in the Address to the U.N. (September 12, 2002), in which he talks about “global terror” and that “our common security is challenged by regional conflicts”. Consequently, it is obvious that the group that is to defend itself will attempt to delegitimize the opponent’s (outgroup’s) standpoints/ideologies.⁵⁹

From the point of view of CDA, it is clear that legitimation is one of the social functions of ideologies and a function of language use and discourse. It operates on a pragmatic level when one has to defend oneself by using discursive strategies of legitimation and delegitimation and manoeuvring between positive self-representation and negative other-representation. Legitimation could be then perceived as the goal while persuasion as a method or technique to attain legitimation. As put in the *Oxford Handbook of Political Psychology*, “political ideas and beliefs are always turned into arguments that are contestable. If those arguments are to survive, they must win in the contest of persuasive presentation. Thus, policymaking involves the construction of an agreement (legitimation) through the process of argument.”⁶⁰

Soft power and legitimacy of war

Fairclough makes a distinction of modalities of power; power exercised through physical force, *coercion*, and power exercised through manufacturing of *consent*⁶¹, that is by discourses. Much alike, Chouliaraki acquires a distinction of hard power and soft power when obtaining legitimacy of a war. In particular, she elaborates the theory of legitimacy on the example of the War in Iraq, which proves that hard power needs to be “framed by the soft values of

⁵⁹ Ibid., 257—258.

⁶⁰ David O. Sears, Leonie Hudy, and Robert Jervis, eds., *Oxford Handbook of Political Psychology*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 2003), 275.

⁶¹ Fairclough, *Language and Power*, 33.

humanitarian care for the Iraqi people and of global security of the world population.”⁶²

As Mral points out, in order to dominate the discourse on war, Bush’s Cabinet was trying “to prevent journalists from interpreting and let leaders ‘speak’ directly to the people at the first possible opportunity.”⁶³ Similarly, Chouliaraki recognizes that political discourse anticipates its dissemination in the media and therefore reflexively incorporates public counter-discourse and criticism in its own arguments. In the case of the War in Iraq, the arguments that should have ensured the legitimacy and credibility of Bush’s decision were vastly rested upon the humanitarian and moral argument due to the lack of legal basis for the military intervention.⁶⁴

3.5 Foundations of American ideology

3.5.1 American exceptionalism

America’s presidential speeches are typical of referring to national symbols, historical turning points, traditions, Christian and democratic values and the nation’s exceptionalism that can be inferred from its unique historical development, mainly from the Jeffersonian era of sovereignty and the Lincolnian era when the U.S. society was modernized, slavery abolished, and the Gettysburg Address became the rhetorical and ideological mantra of the U.S.A. The famous quote *Government of the people, by the people, for the people* lies at the heart of the U.S. understanding of democracy. Glorified history and its legacy became the ideological foundations of the American people and an ideal that is meant to be preached and taken as granted, i.e. commonsensical.

⁶²Lilie Chouliaraki, ed., *The Soft Power of War* 4, no. 1, (Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins, 2007), 5.

⁶³ Brigitte Mral, *We’re a Peaceful Nation: War rhetoric after September 11*, (Swedish Emergency Management Agency, 2014), 10, accessed December 5, 2016, ccr.stanford.edu/pubs/Mrall.pdf.

⁶⁴ Chouliaraki, *The Soft Power of War*, 4.

Smith assumes that:

American exceptionalism is generally interpreted to be a school of thought that views U.S. politics and society and a distinctive product of unique circumstances. The exceptionalist perspective argues that from geographic isolation to social mobility, from the national creed to the immigration experience, the United States has been an exception to usual patterns of historical, social, and institutional development. The idea of exceptionalism sometimes also carries a connotation of superiority, implying that the United States is an exceptionally outstanding example of democratic practices and thus worthy of emulation abroad.⁶⁵

Closely tied to the concepts of American exceptionalism is the view of American exceptionalism as a mission. The view aligns along two variants – a religious mission and a political mission, with the latter being the dominant view holding the thought of America’s purpose to advance liberal democracy and export democracy abroad.⁶⁶ In political rhetoric and in presidential speeches mainly, the general idea of the exceptionalist view of the U.S.A. has been frequently exploited to strengthen the allegiance of American people with their country and to stimulate pride of governance and devotion to take part in the construction of the American dream.

3.5.2 Americanism

The concept of Americanism has crystallized throughout centuries since the first settlers set their feet on American soil. Americanism can now be viewed in two ways – as something that distinguishes Americans from other nations,

⁶⁵ Raymond A. Smith, *The American Anomaly: U.S. Politics and Government in Comparative Perspective*, (New York: Routledge, 2014), 205.

⁶⁶ James W. Caesar, “American Exceptionalism: Is It Real? Is It Good?,” (University of Virginia, 2012), 8, accessed November 20, 2016, www.polisci.wisc.edu/uploads/documents/ceaser.pdf.

and loyalty to that nation, rooted in defence of its political ideals – self-government, equal opportunity, freedom of speech and association, a belief in progress. Unlike other nations, the U.S.A. roots its ideals in the political sphere more than in the cultural sphere. These ideals are of an utmost importance to the mindset of the American nation and the overall political setting. Americanism should never be contested; it acts as both a cohesive force and a divisive one. Americanism is an ideology that is always raised in times of conflict as a powerful cohesive concept. At the same time, its ideals are vastly universal and vaguely defined and hence it can be easily misused, for example as a ground for reasons to wage a war:

The resulting battles to define Americanism have alternately divided the nation and unified it, producing both internal strife and solidarity against foreign enemies. These two tendencies have often crested together during wartime. Americanism's propensity to generate both conflict and cohesion continues in the early twenty-first century, when the United States has no rival on the world stage but when "Americanism" is fought about nearly everywhere.⁶⁷

3.5.3 The American's Creed

In the fervour of entering World War I, a demand to craft a patriotic document that would capture the sense of American political faith was placed. Written in 1917 by William Page Tyler, the American's Creed represents a patriotic statement that sums up the basic principles of American political faith, rights, privileges and also obligations of being an American citizen. Tyler drew on other patriotic documents and words of great leaders like the Declaration of

⁶⁷ Michael Kazin, "Americanism," *Princeton University Press* (blog), accessed November 20, 2016, <http://blog.press.princeton.edu/wp-content/uploads/2012/02/2Political-Theory.Americanism.pdf>.

Independence, the Preamble to the U.S. Constitution, the Gettysburg Address, to name the most famous ones.⁶⁸

The American's Creed reads as follows:

I believe in the United States of America as a government of the people, by the people, for the people; whose just powers are derived from the consent of the governed; a democracy in a republic; a sovereign Nation of many sovereign States; a perfect union, one and inseparable; established upon those principles of freedom, equality, justice, and humanity for which American patriots sacrificed their lives and fortunes.

I therefore believe it is my duty to my country to love it, to support its Constitution, to obey its laws, to respect its flag, and to defend it against all enemies.

Though short, the message of the text is very dense in its references to the principles the U.S.A. holds. It underlines the work of American people who strived and worked to give America high standards of living, the blood of American soldiers who sacrificed their lives on battlefields, the equality of all men and the right to vote regardless their race and wealth. It expresses a devotion to a country that once became the American people's motherland and an obligation to stand up for it once threatened. Showing respect to the flag stands not only for knowing how to handle the flag respectfully, but mainly for showing respect to the country one loves.

3.5.4 "In God We Trust"

Even though the U.S.A. were not constituted as a theistic nation, the First Amendment of the Constitution assures that "Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof." The prevailing religion of the United States is Christianity and it is

⁶⁸ *Wikipedia*, s.v. "American Creed," last modified November 18 2016, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/American_Creed.

widely considered to be important to the American people. The political culture is permeated with Christian or God references as well. The notoriously known inscription “In God We Trust” is printed on U.S. currency, it appears on the Great Seal, and in court rooms. A God evoking reference also appears in the Pledge of Allegiance to the flag, which reads “I pledge allegiance to the Flag of the United States of America, and to the Republic for which it stands, one Nation under God, indivisible, with liberty and justice for all.”⁶⁹

Presidential speeches are rarely secular, usually in their closing line the orator cites a line from the Bible, makes spiritual references using religious vocabulary, calls up on prayers and invokes to God. In his work, *God It Wills: Presidents and the Political Use of Religion*, O’Connell distinguishes between three types of presidential religious rhetoric. The first one, *ceremonial*, is commonly used on the occasion of commemorations or holidays. “The president uses religious language and symbolism because it is natural and appropriate for the occasion.” The second, *comforting and calming religious rhetoric*, “uses religious themes as a means of helping the country through a difficult time, such as the aftermath of a terrorist attack, or a natural disaster [...]” Also, this rhetoric may be used to “speak to the people through their consciences in order to mitigate the tense situations that surround riots, assassinations and other moments of internal unrest.” The last type, *instrumental religious rhetoric*, uses religious language “to mobilize the public for a goal or objective, such as passing a piece of legislation, building support for a war or ending a scandal.” This type of rhetoric is highly controversial as presidents are often suspected to use the religion to their own advantage.⁷⁰

3.5.5 The American Dream

As defined in Merriam-Webster dictionary, the American Dream stands for “an American social ideal that stresses egalitarianism and especially material

⁶⁹ Ondřej Thaisz, “The Role of Christianity in Current American Wars” (master’s thesis, Univerzita Palackého v Olomouci, 2013), 12, <http://theses.cz/id/d1hplz/00179956-733821150.pdf>.

⁷⁰ David O’Connell, “God Wills It: Presidents and the Political Use of Religion” (Phd diss., Columbia University, 2012), 34, <https://core.ac.uk/download/pdf/27292792.pdf>.

prosperity”.⁷¹ The definition is universal enough to cover all its interpretation it has had throughout the centuries. The American Dream is a dynamic notion that has been changing with and has been reflecting social, political, and economical development of the relatively young country - it is a series of specific American dreams.

The birth of the notion is tied to the English Puritans who sailed to the American coast to pursue the God’s word in its purist sense. Born from a revolution, the founding fathers and the Declaration of Independence that became the charter of the American Dream. The Lincolnian era and abolishment of slavery was a time when the Dream was equaled with a hope for upright mobility. Another important milestone in the perception of the American Dream was set by Martin Luther King and his immortal *I Have A Dream* speech. In the 1960s, the demand for autonomy and ownership derived from the estate market skyrocketing growth rose. Owning a house in an inner city was the then American Dream. The last variety of the American Dream as mentioned by Cullen is a dream of personal fulfillment, which considers life as an adventure bringing sudden fortune and fame, and thus financial security and affluence.⁷²

To sum up, the idea conceptualizes basic tenets of a modern, democratic civilization based on material property and autonomy, of which the U.S.A. is a great proponent. The ideals of the American Dream together with American exceptionalism lie at the heart of the commonsensical believes of common people and are exploited in rhetoric. Any U.S. government policy of the modern era commits to and is believed to fulfill those ideals of the dream. As Chartis-Black puts it in his account on persuasion and psychology: “In all cases a persuasive message needs to comply with the audience’s wants and needs, since

⁷¹ Merriam-Webster.com, s.v. “American Dream,” accessed November 19, 2016, <http://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/American%20dream>.

⁷² Jim Cullen, *The American Dream: A Short History of an Idea That Shaped a Nation*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 2003), 8—9, accessed October 29, 2016, dliia.ir/Scientific/e_book/History_America/General/001446.pdf.

arousing their desires and imagination involves exploiting existing beliefs, attitudes and values rather than introducing completely new ones.”⁷³

⁷³ Charteris-Black, *Politicians And Rhetoric*, 32.

4 PRACTICAL PART

4.1 Metaphors

According to Peter Newmark, metaphors serve two basic purposes— aesthetic and pragmatic. The aesthetic character of a metaphor appears to senses, whilst the cognitive character describes a person, an object, a concept or an action qualitatively. The cognitive function enables the audience to distinguish who the opposing social actors are, as well as their positive or negative attributes, qualities and features.⁷⁴ As per Lakoff and Johnson, metaphors should not be understood as mere words, but as thoughts and thought processes. They claim that the human conceptual system is metaphorically structured and defined.⁷⁵ Usually, an entity is claimed to be “conceptualized” as some other entity. Thus, metaphors very likely play the most important role in the concept of *Us* and *Them* as they influence one’s conceptual system and cognition.

A familiar argument for using metaphors in political speech is that through metaphors politicians are able to explain abstract issues in a more comprehensible and tangible way to the common public.⁷⁶ However, they are not employed only to provide a description of a thing (*What is it?*), but also they reveal its inner characteristics (*What is it like?*). We can affirm that metaphors are devices that shape one’s stream of thinking. Consequently, from the ideology theory point of view, a “metaphor may be exploited in discourse to promote one particular image of reality over another”.⁷⁷ This is the task of this sections which aims to find metaphors that contribute to draw a distinction between the ingroup and outgroup.

⁷⁴ Peter Newmark, *A Textbook of Translation*, (Prentice Hall, 1988), 104, accessed November 27, 2016,

[http://ilts.ir/Content/ilts.ir/Page/142/ContentImage/A%20Textbook%20of%20Translation%20by%20Peter%20Newmark%20\(1\).pdf](http://ilts.ir/Content/ilts.ir/Page/142/ContentImage/A%20Textbook%20of%20Translation%20by%20Peter%20Newmark%20(1).pdf).

⁷⁵ George Lakoff and Mark Johnson, *Metaphors We Live By*, (London: The University of Chicago Press, 2003), 6.

⁷⁶ Bart Cammaerts, “The strategic use of metaphors by political and media elites: the 2007-11 Belgian constitutional crisis,” *International journal of media & cultural politics* 8, no.2/3 (2012), 5, accessed November 27, 2016, <http://eprints.lse.ac.uk/45008/>.

⁷⁷ Hart, *Discourse, Grammar and Ideology*, 137.

It is, however, important to distinguish between two different entities. First, the social actors on the part of the outgroup in the speeches – the *terrorists* and *Iraq*. Iraq is further subdivided into the Iraqi regime and Saddam Hussein. That is, the speaker either refers metaphorically to the terrorists as the bad group and/or to Iraq and/or the Iraqi regime and/or Saddam Hussein. Sometimes, weapons of mass destruction are included in the deictic center of *They* as well. (Presumably this happens in cases where terrorists and the Iraqi regime are talked about as a *threat* or *danger*.) Second, social actors on the part of the ingroup, which is primarily constituted by the following entities: *America*, *the U.S.A.*, *American citizens*, *the American nation*, and/or *the world*. The only metaphorical conceptualization of the U.S.A. is *homeland*, evoking a close-knit relationship of the American people to the country, thus promoting patriotism.

Table 1 provides an overview of metaphors used to identify and portray the outgroup in a bad light. Table 2 deals with metaphors related to WMD, which also contributes to the overall bad image of the outgroup and serves as an argumentation scheme to legitimate the war on terror.

September 11 Anniversary speech	
Terrorists	(1) gang of fanatics trying to murder their way to power
Address to the U.N. Assembly	
terrorists + Iraqi regime	(2) [...] our principles and our security are challenged today by outlaw groups and regimes [...]
Cincinnati speech	
Saddam Hussein	(3) threat to peace

terrorists	(4) terror network
Homeland Security Act remarks	
terrorists	(5) dangers of a new era
State of the Union address	
terrorists	(6) man-made evil (7) scattered network of killers (8) dangers
Enterprise Institute remarks	
terrorists	(9) networks of terror
Iraqi regime	(10) ideology of power and domination (11) brutal and bullying oppression
Address to the Nation on Iraq I	
Saddam Hussein + terrorists + WMD	(12) threat to peace
Address to the Nation on Iraq II	

Table 1 Metaphors related to the ourgroup

September 11 Anniversary speech

Address to the U.N.
(13) technologies to kill on a massive scale
Cincinnati speech
(14) (arsenal of terror)
(15) (weapons of terror)
(16) the most serious dangers of our age
(17) (the instruments of terror)
(18) (the instruments of mass death and destruction)
Homeland Security Act remarks

State of the Union address
(19) (ultimate weapons of terror)
Enterprise Institute remarks

Address to the Nation on Iraq I

Address to the Nation on Iraq II

Table 2 Metaphors related to WMD

As the results show, the speeches are not very rich in the use of metaphors as they were initially expected to be. Instead of metaphors, the speaker resorts to the usage of evaluative language intensified by hyperboles. For example, in the Homeland Security Act remarks, George Bush calls the terrorists “cold-blooded killers” and “ruthless killers”. In the Cincinnati speech, Saddam Hussein is called a “murderous tyrant” and “homicidal dictator”. In regard to WMD, no typical metaphors were found except for the one in Cincinnati speech – “the most serious dangers of our age”. Other examples, which are written in parentheses, are ones of exaggeration. The low density of metaphors may be related to the fact that George W. Bush did not prove to be a skillful orator and so the speeches needed to be adjusted to comply with his less flowery and simple rhetorical style.

Even though the portfolio of metaphors that we found in the speeches is not very large, it could be concluded that the samples that were discovered comply with the strategy of emphasizing otherness and badness of the outgroup. Iraq is conceptualized as inherently bad, showing contempt for the U.N. and hatred towards the U.S.A.

4.2 Personification

Personification is often treated as a subtype of metaphors, in which “other than human things (animals, objects) are given human attributes or qualities or treated as if they were sentient (i.e. thinking human) subjects.”⁷⁸ This phenomenon, called *anthropomorphism*, is very common in Bush’s references to *We/Us/Our*. He prefers to use the word *America* to make a metonymical reference to the United States of America and endows it with an animate character to evoke patriotism that serves effectively in times of a national crisis since the idea of the nation has a powerful emotional resonance for many Americans. It can be assumed that the metonymical usage of *America* was not chosen arbitrarily in the speeches. Historically, the name *America* is based on

⁷⁸ Christopher Kelen, *An Introduction to Rhetorical Terms: ...the Means By Which We Tell and Receive the Stories That Explain the Worlds*, (Humanities-Ebooks.co.uk, 2007), 23–34, accessed November 27, 2016, www.humanities-ebooks.co.uk/pdf/22.pdf.

a feminized version of its assumed discoverer's name Amerigo Vespucci, coined by the German cartographer Waldseemüller around 1507. As most female names in Germanic languages end with *-a*, it is no wonder that *America* is the preferred one to be used to personify the U.S.A.⁷⁹

Other social actors that play an important role in the distribution of the rhetoric of personification are various organizations that took part in the making of the case against Iraq; in the investigative job to find WMD – U.S. intelligence resources, the Department of Homeland Security, among others. Social actors who are both in the position of an audience and, after an approval of an armed conflict, an ally – the United Nations and coalition forces, are also personified in the speeches.

Personification strategies used with the above mentioned social actors are applied in order to enable the speaker to create a close connection with the American citizens and to, partially, pass responsibility of future events to them and to make Americans identify themselves and embrace upcoming issues.

On the other hand, the personification of Iraq and the Iraqi regime enables the speaker to extend the bad character on all aspects of Iraq itself. Besides the political aspect, it also affects its cultural and religious aspects, thus making the antagonism towards Iraq, its people, its culture, and its religion more profound. Iraq and the Iraqi regime is presented as a human entity who is engaging in deceptive techniques to conceal and possibly use WMD.

Personification that is applied to assign belligerent countries human features is an easy and effective rhetorical strategy to capture animosity between the actors and to draw a conflict black and white. On one side, there are white chessmen who do the “good things” and will pursue the common

⁷⁹ Savo Bojcic, *America...America...Or Is It?*, (Bloomington: AuthorHouse, 2010), 24, accessed November 27, 2016, https://books.google.cz/books?id=_UD_dEpC0qWC&pg=PA21&dq=origin+of+the+name+america&hl=en&sa=X&ved=0ahUKEwjvy4PeyMjQAWhWF1RoKHfQGC88Q6AEIJTAC#v=onepage&q=origin%20of%20the%20name%20america&f=false.

good, while, on the other side there are black chessmen who do the “bad things” and will pursue only their interests using dishonest, violent methods.

September 11 Anniversary speech	
nation, country	<p>(20) Our nation is patient and steadfast.</p> <p>(21) This nation has defeated tyrants and liberated death camps, raised this lamp of liberty to every captive land.</p> <p>(22) Our country is strong [...] Ours is the cause of human</p>
Address to the U.N. Assembly	
America, U.S.A.	<p>(23) America stands committed to an independent and democratic Palestine, [...]</p> <p>(24) We must stand up for our security [...] the Unites States of America will make that stand.</p>
U.N. Security Council	<p>(25) The United Nations was born in the hope that survived a world war – the hope of a world moving toward justice, [...]</p> <p>(26) In 1991, the U.N. Security Council, [...], demanded that Iraq return all prisoners from Kuwait, [...]</p>
Cincinnati speech	

America	<p>(27) [...] America's determination to lead the world in confronting the threat</p> <p>(28) On September 11th, 2002? America felt its vulnerability.</p> <p>(29) America must not ignore the threat gathering against us.</p> <p>(30) America wants the U.N. to be an effective organization [...]</p> <p>(31) [...] America is challenging all nations to take the resolutions of the U.N. Security Council seriously.</p> <p>(32) America believes that all people are entitled to hope and human rights, [...]</p> <p>(33) America is a friend to the people of Iraq.</p> <p>(34) America speaks with one voice and is determined to make the demands of the civilized world mean something.</p>
the world	<p>(35) The world has also tried economic sanctions [...]</p> <p>(36) The world has tried limited military strikes [...]</p> <p>(37) The world has tried no-fly zones [...]</p>
Homeland Security Act remarks	
America, nation	<p>(38) America has been engaged in an unprecedented effort to defend our freedom and our security.</p> <p>(39) [...] every level of our government has taken steps to be better prepared against a terrorist attack.</p> <p>(40) America will be better able to respond to any future attacks, to reduce our vulnerability and [...] prevent the terrorists from taking innocent American lives.</p>

	(41) We're showing the resolve of this great nation to defend our freedom, our security and our way of life.
Congress,	(42) And I'm grateful that the Congress listened to my concerns and retained the authority of the President [...]
The Department of Homeland Security	<p>(43) The Department of Homeland Security [...] will enhance the safety of our people in very practical ways.</p> <p>(44) First, this new department will analyze intelligence information on terror threats [...]</p> <p>(45) Second, this new department will gather and focus all our efforts to face the challenge of cyberterrorism, [...] the department will match this intelligence against the nation's vulnerabilities -- [...]</p> <p>(46) Third, state and local governments will be able to turn for help and information to one federal domestic security agency, [...]</p> <p>(47) Fourth, the new department will bring together the agencies responsible for [...] security.</p> <p>(48) The department will work with the state and local officials to prepare our response to any future terrorist attack that may come.</p>
State of the Union address	

America / nation	<p>(49) And this nation is leading the world in confronting and defeating the man-made evil of international terrorism.</p> <p>(50) America and coalition countries have uncovered and stopped terrorist conspiracies [...]</p> <p>(51) You believe in America, and America believes in you.</p> <p>(52) America has gone from sense of invulnerability to an awareness of peril [...]</p> <p>(53) America will not accept a serious and mounting threat to our country, and our friends and allies</p>
the U.N. + other agencies	<p>(54) [...] our intelligence and law enforcement agencies have worked more closely than ever to track and disrupt the terrorists.</p> <p>(55) The United Nations concluded that [...]</p> <p>(56) U.S. intelligence indicates that [...]</p> <p>(57) The International Atomic Energy Agency confirmed [...]</p>
the world	<p>(58) The world has waited 12 years for Iraq to disarm.</p>
Enterprise Institute remarks	
America / U.S.A. /	<p>(59) America's interest in security, America's belief in liberty, [...]</p> <p>(60) The United States and our coalition stand ready to help the citizens of a liberated Iraq.</p> <p>(61) The United States has no intention of determining the price from of Iraq's government.</p> <p>(62) America has made and kept this [...] commitment</p> <p>(63) The United States and other nations are working on a road map to peace.</p>

	<p>(64) America will seize every opportunity in pursuit of peace</p> <p>(65) In confronting Iraq, the United States is also showing our commitment to effective international institutions.</p> <p>(66) America's cause is right and just [...]</p> <p>(67) By the resolve and purpose of America, and of our friends and allies, we will make this an age of progress and liberty</p>
liberty, freedom	<p>(68) In societies that once bred fascism and militarism, liberty found a permanent home.</p> <p>(69) It will be difficult to help freedom take hold in a country that has known three decades of dictatorship [...]</p>
the world	<p>(70) The world has a clear interest in the spread of democratic values, because stable nations do not breed the ideologies of murder.</p>
Address to the Nation on Iraq I	
America / U.S.A.	<p>(71) The United States or other nations do not deserve or invite this threat.</p> <p>(72) America tried to work with the United Nations to address this threat [...]</p> <p>(73) United States and out allies are authorized to use force in ridding Iraq of weapons of mass destruction.</p> <p>(74) [...] America and our allies accept that responsibility.</p>
security	<p>(75) The security of the world requires disarming Saddam Hussein now.</p>

Address to the Nation on Iraq II	
coalition forces	<p>(76) [...] coalition forces are in the early stages of military operations to disarm Iraq.</p> <p>(77) [...] coalition forces have begun striking selected targets of military importance to undermine Saddam Hussein's ability to wage war.</p> <p>(78) More than 35 countries are giving their crucial support, [...]</p> <p>(79) [...] coalition forces will make every effort to spare innocent civilians from harm.</p> <p>(80) Every nation in this coalition has chosen to bear the duty and share the honor of serving in our common defense.</p>

Table 3 Examples of the ingroup personification

September 11 Anniversary speech	
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Address to the U.N. Assembly	
terrorist attack	(81) [...], terrorist attack brought grief to my country. [...]
Iraqi regime	<p>(82) [...] outlaw groups and regime that accept no law of morality and have no limit to their violent ambitions.</p> <p>(83) an outlaw regime supplies them [terrorists] with the technologies to kill [...]</p> <p>(84) In 1991, Iraqi regime agreed to destroy and stop developing all weapons of mass destruction [...] Iraq has broken every aspect of this fundamental pledge.</p> <p>(85) [...] the Iraqi regime said it had no biological weapons. [...] the regime admitted to producing [...] Iraq has produced [...] Iraq is expanding and improving facilities [...] for the production of biological weapons.</p> <p>(86) If the Iraqi regime wished peace, it will [...]</p> <p>(87) If Iraqi regime defies us again, the world must move deliberately, decisively to hold Iraq to account.</p> <p>(88) With every step the Iraqi regime takes toward gaining and deploying the most terrible weapons, [...] if an emboldened regime were to supply these weapons to terrorist allies [...]</p>

Iraq	<p>(89) Iraq likely maintains stockpiles of VX [...]</p> <p>(90) Iraq finally admitted it had a crash nuclear weapons program [...] the regime in Iraq would like to have possessed [...]</p> <p>(91) Iraq continues to withhold important information about its nuclear program [...] Iraq has made several attempts to buy high strength aluminum tubes [...]</p>
Cincinnati speech	
Iraqi regime	<p>(92) [...] the Iraqi regime was required to destroy its weapons of mass destruction [...] The Iraqi regime has violated all of those obligations. It possesses and produces chemical and biological weapons.</p> <p>(93) [...] the regime was forced to admit it had produced [...]</p> <p>(94) [...] the regime has produced thousands of tons of chemical agents, [...]</p> <p>(95) [...] the regime is rebuilding facilities that it had used to produce chemical and biological weapons.</p> <p>(96) [...] the regime in Iraq would likely have possessed a nuclear weapon no later than 1993.</p> <p>(97) The Iraqi regime is able to produce, buy, or steal an amount of highly enriched uranium [...] it could have a nuclear weapon in less than a year.</p> <p>(98) The Iraqi regime has bugged hotel rooms and offices of inspectors to find where they were going next [...]</p> <p>(99) The Iraqi regime must reveal and destroy [...] all existing weapons of mass destruction. [...] the regime must allow witnesses to its illegal activities to be interviewed outside of the country</p>

	(100) [...], the Iraqi regime has an opportunity to avoid conflict.
	(101) An Iraqi regime faced with its own demise may attempt cruel and desperate measures
Homeland security Act	
terrorist cells	(102) We've given law enforcement better tools to detect and disrupt terrorist cells which might be hiding in our own country.
State of the Union address	
outlaw regimes	(103) [...] the gravest danger facing America and the world, is outlaw regimes that seek and possess nuclear, chemical, and biological weapons. These regimes could use such weapons for blackmail, terror, and mass murder. They could also give or sell those weapons to terrorists, [...]
Iraq	(104) Iraq is blocking U-2 surveillance flights requested by the United Nations.
Enterprise Institute remarks	
threats	(105) [...] threats that had gathered for years
dangers	(106) the threat to peace comes from those who flout those demands [of the civilized world]
Iraqi regime	(107) We hope the Iraqi regime will meet the demand of the United Nations and disarm, [...] (108) The current Iraqi regime has shown the power of tyranny [...]
Address to the Nation on Iraq I	
Iraqi regime	(109) The regime has already used weapons of mass destruction [...] has a deep hatred of America

	[...] has aided and harbored terrorists , including operatives of al Qaeda.
Iraq	(110) Today, no nation can possibly claim that Iraq has disarmed . And it will not disarm so long as Saddam Hussein holds power.
threat	(111) We choose to me the threat now, when it arises, before it can appear suddenly in our skies and cities . (112) [...] threats were allowed to grow into genocide and global war. [...] a policy of appeasement could bring destruction of a kind never before seen on this earth.
Address to the Nation on Iraq II	
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Table 4 Examples of the outgroup personification

The occurrences of personification are divided into two groups of examples. The first one (Table 3) includes references in regard to the ingroup. As it has been previously indicated, Bush often refers to the United States as *America* as the name is likely to evoke a stronger emotional appeal than the shortened version of the country's official name, *United States*, or the official name as such. Most of the personified references about *America* can be found in the Cincinnati speech, the State of the Union speech. This is very likely because (1) the audiences, in case of the Cincinnati speech, are common crowds, (2) the character of the annual State of the Union address has traditionally been focused on raising the nation's optimism, reflection of past achievements and the future, and public mediations on values.⁸⁰ Therefore, as the aim is to portray the U.S.A. not only as some kind of institutionalized entity, but as an entity that is constituted of people and was constituted for people and

⁸⁰ Karlyn Kohrs Campbell and Kathleen Hall Jamieson, *Presidents Creating the Presidency: Deeds Done in Words* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 2008), p. 139

so it is not inappropriate to address the country by its familiar name. To a lesser extent, the *America* references were used in the Homeland Security Act speech and the American Enterprise speech as well.

In the September 11th Anniversary speech, Bush refers to the United States as “country” and “nation” and applies personification on these, consequently highlighting the country’s achievements and emphasizing the nation’s resolve to overcome the hard times. Since the purpose of the speech is to commemorate the tragic events that affected the United States on a large scale in terms of the number of victims, it is “natural” that speakers resort to refer to a republic, federation, monarchy, among others. as “country” or “nation” as these terms represent the unity of the people, enhance the speakers’ and the audiences’ affiliation to it. The overall tone of the message is then more emotional.

Apparently, there are restrictions on where to strictly adhere and where not to adhere to the official title of the country in domestic public speeches. It could be a matter of further research to examine whether this familiar name is used in speeches delivered upon visits to countries outside of the U.S.A.

In other instances, the *Unites States* and other organizations and institution are given human characteristics. In fact, in cases of personification, these entities can be perceived as cases of metonymy as the names of these entities refer to its staff who performs the job and fulfills the organization’s duties.

In the second group of examples (Table 4), the strongest position is held by personification instances related to Iraq, the Iraqi regime and terrorists. In most of the cases, the speaker assigns the outgroup members with actions related to Iraq’s deemed illegal pursuit of WMD and nuclear weapons. Examples of these can be found in the Address to the U.N. and the Cincinnati speech mainly. A specific case of personification can be observed in Examples (105); (106); (111); (112), when the presidents uses a collective term *threat*. Its use is almost emblematic as the word “threat” itself is a metaphor denoting the

outgroup participants. “Threat” sounds less factual and informative, yet it is highly symbolic – it is capable to induce what I would call a “spiritual fear”.

4.3 Euphemisms

Euphemisms are a powerful device used for a number of reasons in political discourse – politeness, decency, humor, but also to mitigate a negative effect of one’s decision and to disguise one’s true intentions under the cloak of virtuous and moral aims and to justify unpopular policy. Euphemisms work as substitutive, synonymous, words or expressions, however, there is an evident diversion from the true nature of the phenomena/reality they substitute and may change its interpretation. Their application in speeches is a tactical move of persuasion and legitimation. Euphemisms neutralize negative connotations of certain aspects or facts and help to fix the desired interpretation of one’s words in the audiences’ minds.⁸¹

Table 5 shows examples of euphemisms found together with their implied meanings. The implied meanings are put in brackets in capital letters.

September 11 Anniversary speech	
(113)	We continue to pursue the terrorists in cities and camps and caves across the earth. (TRACKING DOWN THE TERRORISTS AND KILLING THEM)
(114)	We have no intention of ignoring or appeasing history’s latest gang of fanatics [...] (WE ARE GOING TO INSTIGATE A NEW APPROACH TO THIS THREAT)
(115)	[...] we will not relent until justice is done and our nation is secure. (WE WILL TAKE REVENGE FOR THE ATTACKS)

⁸¹ Y.S. Pravdivtseva, *The Functions and the Role of Euphemisms in the English Political Discourse*, 2014, 104, accessed November 27, 2016. vestnik-philology.mgu.od.ua/archive/v12/30.pdf.

Address to the U.N. Assembly

- (116) My nation will work with the U.N. Security council to meet our common challenge. If Iraq's regime defies us again, the world must **move deliberately, decisively to hold Iraq to account.** [...] But the purpose of the United States should not be doubted. The Security Council resolutions will be enforced – the just demands of peace and security will be met – **or action will be unavoidable.** (MILITARY ACTION)
- (117) With every step the Iraqi regime takes toward gaining and deploying the most terrible weapons, our **own options to confront that regime will narrow.** (WE HAVE NO OTHER OPTION BUT A MILITARY ACTION)
- (118) We must choose between a world of fear and a world of progress. **We cannot stand by and do nothing while dangers gather. We must stand up for our security, and for the permanent rights and the hopes of mankind.** By heritage and by choice, the United States of America will make that stand. (PRO-WAR AGITATION)

Cincinnati speech

- (119) Understanding the threats of our time, knowing the designs and deceptions of the Iraqi regime, we have every reason to assume the worst, and **we have an urgent duty to prevent worst from occurring.** (ATTACK)
- (120) Clearly, to actually work, **any new inspections, sanctions, or enforcement mechanisms will have to be very different.** (POSSIBLE USE OF MILITARY FORCE AGAINST IRAQ)
- (121) [...] for the sake of peace, we will lead a coalition to **disarm** him. (ATTACK)
- (122) If we have to act, we will take every precaution that is possible. We will plan carefully; **we will act with the full power of the United States military;** we will act with allies at our side, and **we will prevail.** (ATTACK, prevail = TAKE CONTROL OVER IRAQ)

(123) The resolution will tell the United Nations, and all nations, that **America** speaks with one voice and is **determined to make the demands of the civilized world mean something**. (ATTACK, SEIZE CONTROL)

Homeland Security Act remarks

(124) We've given a law enforcement better tools to **detect and disrupt terrorist cells** which might be hiding in our own country. (KILL THE TERRORISTS)

(125) The continuing threat of terrorism, [...], will be met with a **unified, effective response**. (ATTACK)

(126) We're showing the **resolve of this nation to defend our freedom, our security and our way of life**. (WE HAVE SUCCEEDED IN ENFORCING EXTREME SECURITY MEASURES)

State of the Union address

(127) [...] the Department of Homeland Security, which is **mobilizing against the threats of a new era**. (MOBILIZING MILITARY AND WEAPON ARSENAL TO SEIZE IRAQ)

(128) To date, we've **arrested or otherwise dealt with** many key commanders of al Qaeda. (KILLED)

(129) One by one, the **terrorists are learning the meaning of American justice**. (THEY ARE BEING TRACKED DOWN, DETAINED OR KILLED)

(130) Once again, we **are called to defend the safety of our people, and the hopes of all mankind**. (WE ARE DETERMINED TO LEAD THE WORLD AGAINST IRAQ IN A MILITARY CAMPAIGN)

(131) And the day he and his regime **are removed from power** will be the day of your liberation. (ARE GOT RID OF)

(132) [...] we will lead a coalition to **disarm** him [Saddam]. (ATTACK IRAQ AND KILL SADDAM)

Enterprise Institute remarks

- (133) [...] we must look **at security in a new way**, because our country is a battlefield in the first war of the 21st century. (WE MUST LAUNCH AN OFFENSIVE)
- (134) The dangers of our time must be confronted **actively and forcefully** [...] (ATTACK, WAR)
- (135) Across the world, we are hunting down the killers one by one. [...] And **we're showing them the definition of American justice**. (THE TERRORISTS ARE BEING DETAINED AND/OR KILLED)
- (136) **Acting against the danger** will also contribute greatly to the long-term safety and stability of our world. (ATTACK, SEIZE CONTROL)
- (137) We will **provide security** against those who try to spread chaos, [...] (PROVIDING SECURITY BY KILLING THE ENEMY)
- (138) The world has a clear interest in spread **of democratic values**, [...] (SEIZE CONTROL OVER IRAQ)
- (139) The **passing of Saddam Hussein** regime will deprive terrorist networks of a wealthy patron that pays for terrorist training, [...] (GETTING RID OF BY ANY MEANS)
- (140) **Protecting those boundaries [of civilized behaviour]** carries a cost. (SOME U.S. SOLDIERS MAY DIE IN THE MILITARY CAMPAIGN AGAINST IRAQ)

Address to the Nation on Iraq I

- (141) **Instead of drifting along toward tragedy, we will set a course toward safety**. Before the day of horror can come, before it is too late to act, **danger will be removed**. (WE WILL STOP THE POLICY OF CONTAINMENT AND GET RID OF THE ENEMY)
- (142) Many nations, however, do have the resolve and fortitude to act against this threat to peace, and a **broad coalition is now gathering to enforce the just demands of the world**. (MANY NATIONS

WILL SUPPLY THE CAMPAIGN WITH THEIR OWN TROOPS AND ARMAMENT)

- (143) **The day of our liberation is near.** (WE ARE GOING TO ATTACK IRAQ SOON)
- (144) Yet, the only way to reduce the harm and duration of war is to **apply the full force and might of our military** [...] (USE MILITARY)
- (145) The terrorist threat to America and the world will be diminished the moment that Saddam Hussein is disarmed. Just as we are preparing to ensure victory in Iraq, we are **taking further actions to protect our homeland.** (THE MOMENT HUSSEIN IS ARRESTED AND/OR KILLED; MOBILIZING OUR MILITARY FORCES; ACTIONS THAT INVOLVE COMMANDOS WHO KILL TERRORISTS)
- (146) The United States, with other countries, will work to **advance liberty and peace in that region.** [in Iraq] (WILL SYSTEMATICALLY SEIZE CONTROL OVER IRAQ)

Address to the Nation on Iraq II

- (147) [...] American coalition forces are in the early stages of military operations to **disarm Iraq, to free its people and to defend the world** from grave danger. (EARLY STAGES OF WAR TO SEIZE CONTROL)
- (148) These are opening stages of what will be a **broad and concerted campaign.** (A WELL-ORGANIZED STRIKE)
- (149) [...] coalition forces have begun striking selected targets of military importance to **undermine Saddam Hussein's ability to wage war.** (DESTRUCTION OF MILITARY ARSENAL TO GET RID OF AOPPOSITION FORCES)
- (150) Every nation in this coalition has chosen to **bear the duty and share the honor of serving in our common defense.** And **helping Iraqis achieve a united, stable and free country** will require our **sustained commitments.** (COALITION FORCES HAVE JOINED

	US IN THE FIGHT; THIS MAY BE A LONG-TERM CAMPAIGN)
(151)	We have no ambition in Iraq, except to remove a threat and restore control of that country to its own people. (DETAIN AND/OR KILL ENEMIES, APPLY OUR RULES)
(152)	Now that conflict has come, the only way to limit its duration is to apply decisive force . (USE WEAPONS AGAINST IRAQ)
(153)	[...] the dangers to our country and the world will be overcome . We will pass through this time of peril and carry on the work of peace . We will defend our freedom . We will bring freedom to others . And we will prevail . (WE WILL WIN IN THE FIGHT AGAINST IRAQ; WE WILL CONTROL IRAQ AND ENFORCE OUR RULES THERE)

Table 5 Examples of euphemisms

In his speeches, Bush cleverly used euphemisms in favor of promoting the positive characteristics of the U.S.A. and to promote Americanism and the attachment to U.S. values and ideals. Strong emphasis is put on concepts of “justice”, “freedom”, “security” and “liberation”. The tracking, arresting or killing of the terrorists them is disguised as “an advancement of justice, freedom, and peace in the region” (Example 146) of which mainly the Iraqi people are deprived. A war is thus conceived as the liberation of an oppressed nation and a great benefit that the Iraqi people will be granted once a military intervention is approved.

The character of the intervention is described as a protective one and the intervention itself is viewed as a duty to respond to the terror the Iraqi people, U.S. citizens and the world have been exposed to. The determination to deal with the threat on the part of the U.S.A. emphasizes the positive character of the country – liberation and freedom are con concepts used to legitimate the use of military force. On the other hand, the awareness of the threat and urgency to lead a coalition of forces in order to protect the U.S.A. against terrorist actions has a fear-inducing effect.

Having constructed an impression that terrorists are omnipresent, Bush presents his solutions (attacking Iraq, waging a war in the region, seizing control over Iraq) to the security crisis as the only ones to rely on. Until George Bush Jr. was appointed President, the policy towards Iraq was the one of containment. Iraq was confronted with economic sanctions and inspections that supervised the destruction of WMD, but a war initiated by the West became imminent after 9/11. After his appointment, George W. Bush's speeches started to implicitly express that the policy of containment will no longer suffice and that "any new inspections, sanctions, or enforcement mechanisms will have to be very different" (Example 120) and that "we must look at security in a new way." (Example 130). Clearly, this was an indication of a major turn in the U.S.-Iraqi policy that would require a radical solution.

Also, the president tries to avoid saying what the particular steps of the radical solution will look like and how will the coalition forces advance against Iraq and the terrorists and what will happen once they are confronted with them. Clearly, evasive expressions such as "detect and disrupt terrorist cells" (Example 124), "arrested or otherwise dealt with" (Example 128), "he and his regime are removed from power" (Example 131) "danger will be removed" (Example 141), deny the fact that using military force is an act of using physical force and killing. Instead, neutral expressions with no negative connotation are used.

4.4 Number game

The president uses numbers that indicate how large Iraq's arsenal of WMD is and how many people Saddam Hussein ordered to be killed or how many people fell victims to terrorists. Also, the number of units of various types of weapons are used to illustrate how deadly the weapons are, thus saying how dangerous the Iraqi regime is. Altogether, these facts paint a negative picture of the regime and express a doubt that the regime is not likely to remain appeased. Apart from fear inducing, numbers bolster the speaker's credibility as well as the credibility of information he presents. As van Dijk states within

his analysis of the former Spanish prime minister Aznar, number game is an important strategy in argumentation and legitimation, but it also signals truth and precision and hence competence and credibility.⁸² Statistics and figures express that the U.S.A. has been relentlessly dedicated to the inspection job. Consequently, it poses an evaluation of the threat and hence a legitimate argument for the war on terror.

As mentioned in Chapter 4.6, number game is used in combination with enumeration; when Bush refers to numbers related to units of a particular type of weapons, he resorts to listing these weapons, thus furtherly specifying the term “WMD” by using hyponyms. Table 6 shows examples of number game related to WMD.

September 11 Anniversary speech	

Address to the U.N. Assembly	
(154)	In 1991 , Security Council Resolution 688 demanded that [...]
(155)	Tens of thousands of political opponents and ordinary citizens have been subjected to arbitrary arrest and imprisonment, [...]
(156)	[...] the regime admitted to producing tens of thousands of litres of anthrax and other deadly biological agents [...]
(157)	His regime once ordered the killing of every person between the ages of 15 and 70 in certain Kurdish villages in northern Iraq. He has gassed many Iranians, and 40 Iraqi villages .
Cincinnati speech	
(158)	Iraq’s eleven-year history of defiance, deception, and bad faith [Hussein] has already used weapons of mass destruction to kill thousands of people .

⁸² Chouliaraki, *The Soft Power of War*, 82.

(159)	[Iraqi regime] had produced more than 30,000 liters of anthrax [...] Iraq had likely produced two to four times that amount
(160)	These actions [using chemical weapons] killed or injured at least 20,000 people, more than six times of people who died in the attacks of September the 11 th .
(161)	Iraq possessed ballistic missiles with a likely range of hundreds of miles – far enough to strike [...] in a region where more than 135,000 American civilians and serviceman live and work.
(162)	Iraq military has fired up upon American and British pilots more than 750 times
State of the Union address	
(163)	[...] more than 3,000 suspected terrorists have been arrested in many countries
(164)	The 108 U.N. inspectors were sent to conduct [...] hunt for hidden materials [...].
(165)	In 1999 Saddam Hussein had biological weapons sufficient to produce 25,000 litres of anthrax – enough doses to kill several million people .
(166)	[...] Saddam Hussein had materials sufficient to produce more than 38,000 litres of botulinum toxin –enough to subject millions of people to death by respiratory failure.
(167)	[...] Saddam Hussein had the materials to produce as much as 500 tons of sarin, mustard and VX nerve agent [...] could kill untold thousands .
(168)	[...] Saddam Hussein had upwards of 30,000 munitions capable of delivering chemical agents. Inspectors turned up only 16 of them. [...] Saddam Hussein has not accounted for 29,984 of these prohibited munitions .
(169)	The dictator [...] has already used them [WMD] on whole villages – leaving thousands of his own citizens dead, blind, or disfigured .

Table 6 Examples of number game related to WMD

Table 7 shows other instances of number game relate to security measures that have been taken to protect civilians from the threat of other attacks, and to number of allies that joined the U.S.A. in the hunt for terrorists. Instances of these are to be found in the Homeland Security Act remarks and the Address to the Nation on Iraq II. Unlike the references to the WMD amounts, these serve the purpose of positive self-presentation. High numbers of security staff and allies who joined the U.S.A. in the war on terrorism ensure the U.S. government’s credibility and show that it is not indifferent to ordinary people’s fate:

Homeland Security Act remarks	
(170)	[...] with the help of 90 nations , we’re tracking terrorist activity, [...]
(171)	[...] we will strengthen security at our nation’s 361 seaports .
(172)	The Department of Homeland Security will have nearly 170,000 employees , [...]
Enterprise Institute remarks	
(173)	Our coalition of more than 90 countries is pursuing the networks of terror [...]
Address to the Nation on Iraq II	
(174)	More than 35 countries are giving crucial support [...]

Table 7 Examples of number game related to security measures

Also, president Bush uses numbers not only to express quantity, but also time. Years and references to particular U.N. resolutions that are assigned names by numbers according to their chronological succession are used in order to present solid data and frame the arguments chronologically in order to reach objectivity. Number game as reference to time and to legal documents is used abundantly in the Address to The U.N. address for obvious reasons – to gain the United Nations Security Council’s approval of a military intervention into Iraq and to secure an alliance of other U.N. members in the campaign:

Address to the U.N. Assembly

(175) In 1991, the U.N. Security Council, through Resolutions 686 and 687, demanded that Iraq return all prisoners from Kuwait and other lands. Iraq's regime agreed. It broke this promise.

Table 8 Examples of number game related to time and legal documents

4.5 Contrast

As the definition suggests, contrast is a rhetorical device “through which writers identify differences between two subjects, places, persons, things or ideas. To put it simply, it is a type of opposition between two objects highlighted to emphasize their differences.”⁸³ Therefore, within the frame of tUs and Them rhetorical strategy, contrast takes on an important role of positioning the he ingroup and outgroup against each other; emphasizing our good characteristics and emphasizing their bad characteristics.

Within the scope of rhetoric, much attention is paid to the “contrastive pair” and the “three -part list”. In Miller’s view, contrastive pairs are often used to portray issues as dichotomous choices involving “two opposed orientations, only one of which is true, right or otherwise proper.”⁸⁴ Atkinson has extensively studied contrast on the basis of the recipients’ response – clapping, which is, in its own essence, considered as an expression of the recipient’s agreement As Miller paraphrases Atkinson, “politicians used contrastive pairs to simplify issues, cast their positions as more reasonable and/or moral than their

⁸³*Literary Devices*, s.v. “contrast,” accessed November 23, 2016, <http://literarydevices.net/contrast/>.

⁸⁴Gale Miller, *Enforcing the Work Ethic: Rhetoric and Everyday Life in a Work Incentive Program*, (Albany: State university of New York Press, 1991), 29, accessed November 27, 2016, https://books.google.cz/books?id=whBFMI_4go4C&pg=PR3&lpg=PR3&dq=Enforcing+the+Work+Ethic:+Rhetoric+and+Everyday+Life+in+a+Work+Incentive+Program&source=bl&ots=TRTqM6mtQb&sig=In7AlGH2GIWqgIZdsKIW0osnXeU&hl=en&sa=X&ved=0ahUKEwj2lam_3MjQAhUElxoKHc18AkUQ6AEIzAC#v=onepage&q=Enforcing%20the%20Work%20Ethic%3A%20Rhetoric%20and%20Everyday%20Life%20in%20a%20Work%20Incentive%20Program&f=false.

opponents’, and elicit applause from audience members.”⁸⁵ Often, contrastive pairs are complemented by a three-part list, which is “a point made via the use of specific components.” Number three, or, three items on a “list”, is more likely to induce a psychological effect of completeness and makes it simpler to catch the audiences’ attention. Example (176) demonstrates the usage of contrast and a three-part list combined. “Free people” are placed into opposition to “fear” and “foreign plot or power” to emphasize the fact that Americans cherish freedom and will always, under the U.S. government, live as free people unlike Iraqis who live in fear and conspiratorial power usurpers. Other examples of this patten are Examples (184); (185); (189); (193) and (196).

A few clear examples of contrasts are cases of antithesis, when literal meaning opposites (words, phrases, clauses, or sentences) are used to achieve a contrastive effect. Example (176) places “every” and “none” against one another to mark how profound the difference is between the Americans (or perhaps only the U.S. government) and the terrorists. Usually, the examples listed do not display a full contrast per se, but the words and phrases could be regarded as “near contrasts” as both of them cannot be valid at the same time. For example, if we consider Example (178), the opposite of “lives taken” would be “lives revived”, not “protecting lives”. Nevertheless, in the context of the war on terror and political discourse as such, I would adhere to recognize such examples as ones of contrast as they contribute to the distinction of *Us* and *Them*, which is by its own nature a concept based on contrast for they contain a contrastive link between them (in the aforementioned example, the fundamental link is death and life), and their proximity within the text is often very close.

September 11 Anniversary speech	
(176)	We value every life ; our enemies value none .
(177)	Now and in the future, Americans will live as free people , not in fear, and never at the mercy of any foreign plot or power .

⁸⁵ Ibid.

Address to the U.N. Assembly

- (178) **Yesterday**, we remembered the innocent **lives taken** that terrible morning. **Today**, we turn to the **urgent duty of protecting other lives**, without illusion and without fear.
- (179) **We've accomplished much in the last year** – in Afghanistan and beyond. **We have much yet to do** – in Afghanistan and beyond.
- (180) Iraq has answered **a decade on U.N. demands** with **a decade of defiance**.
- (181) We want resolutions of the world's most important **multilateral** body to be **enforced**. And right now these resolutions are being **unilaterally subverted** by the Iraqi regime.
- (182) **Free societies do not intimidate through cruelty and conquest**, and **open societies do not threaten the world with mass murder**. The United States supports **political and economic liberty** in Iraq...
- (183) We must choose between a **world of fear** and a **world of progress**.

Cincinnati speech

- (184) We refuse to live in fear. This nation, in **world war** and in Cold War, **has never permitted the brutal and lawless to set history's course**. **Now**, as before, **we will secure our nation, protect our freedom, and help other to find freedom** of their own.
- (185) People everywhere prefer **freedom to slavery; prosperity to squalor; self-government to the rule of terror and torture**.

Homeland Security Act remarks

- (186) [...] America has been engaged in an unprecedented effort to defend our **freedom and our security**. We're fighting a war against **terror** with all our resources, and we're determined to win.
- (187) We understand the nature of the enemy. **We understand they hate us because of what we love**.

(188) And in a **free and open society**, no Department of Government can completely guarantee our safety against **ruthless killers who move and plot in shadows**.

State of the Union address

(189) In each case, the **ambitions of Hitlerism, militarism, and communism** were defeated by the **will of free peoples, by the strength of great alliances, and by the might of the United States of America**.

(190) The dictator of **Iraq is not disarming**. To the contrary; **he is deceiving**.

Enterprise Institute remarks

(191) The current Iraqi regime has shown the **power of tyranny to spread discord and violence** in the Middle East. A **liberated Iraq can show the power of freedom to transform that vital region**, by bringing **hope and progress** into the lives of millions.

(192) Their **lives** [Iraqi people's life] and their **freedom matter little to Saddam Hussein** – but **Iraqi lives and freedom matter greatly to us**.

(193) **We will provide security** against those who try to spread **chaos**, or **settle scores**, or **threaten the territorial integrity of Iraq**.

(194) **The world** has a clear interest in the **spread of democratic values**, because **stable and free nations do not breed the ideologies of murder**.

(195) For these fundamental reasons, **freedom and democracy** will always and everywhere have greater appeal than the **slogans of hatred and the tactics of terror**.

(196) It will be difficult to help **freedom** to take hold in a country that has known **three decades of dictatorship, secret police, internal divisions and war**.

Address to the Nation on Iraq I

(197)	Instead of drifting along toward tragedy , we will set a course toward safety .
(198)	We will tear down the apparatus of terror and we will help you to build a new Iraq that is prosperous and free .
(199)	Free nations have a duty to defend our people by uniting against the violent .
Address to the Nation on Iraq II	
(200)	The people we liberate will witness the honorable and decent spirit of the American military . In this conflict, America faces an enemy who has no regard for conventions of war or rules of morality
(201)	To all of the men and women of the United States armed forces now in the Middle East, the peace of a troubled world and the hopes of an oppressed people now depend on you.
(202)	We will pass through the time of peril and carry on the work of peace .

Table 9 Examples of contrast of ingroup and outgroup characteristic

To sum up, most of the examples regarded to be occurrences of contrast utilize the opposition pattern of “freedom” (the ingroup’s character trait, the values, aims) versus “tyranny”, “dictatorship”, “mass murder”, “terror”, “brutality” (the outgroup’s character traits, values and aims). “Freedom”, the U.S. and its allies, who are portrayed as “open societies” or “free societies”, are the most amplified aspect that the outgroup does not dispose of. Even though the contrast is one of pure antonyms, there is an implicit contrastive link between the words that the speaker intends to be uncovered by the audiences. It can be said that the contrastive link is a very basic one as concepts of “freedom”, “dictatorship”, among others, are rather vague and hard to be defined as they do not have a straightforward definition, and, at the same time, contain multiple meanings that change diachronically. Their lack of precision becomes then exploited in speeches to appeal to the audience’s pathos.

4.6 Enumeration

As it has been previously indicated, the rule of a three-part list is the golden rule to make a speech effective as it evokes the completeness of ideas. Apart from its application in rhetorical figures of contrast, the three-part list rule finds its use in the enumeration strategy. Closely related to enumeration is also the trope of exemplification, yet, it is often likely to overlap both semantically and structurally with the trope of exemplification. In enumeration, “a subject is divided into constituent parts or details and it may include a listing of causes, effects, problems, solutions, conditions, and consequences”⁸⁶; enumeration is more prone to be manifested in the form of a three-part list, exemplification is a specification of a more general idea manifested in the form of an anecdote or a short narrative.⁸⁷

The advantage of the usage of enumeration is its capability to amplify facts by specifying a general idea, thus it can be used to draw attention to a negative characteristic of an outgroup and positive characteristic of an ingroup. In George Bush’s speeches, enumeration is exploited mainly for the purpose of inducing fear by listing types of weapons Iraq is likely to have at its disposal, what methods of torture are used by the regime during interrogations or in prisons. In these instances, the speaker does not limit the listing of items to a three-part list, but adds two or three more items in order to portray the nature of the Iraqi regime in the most negative way.

In the case of the Address to the U.N. Assembly, enumeration is not only limited to sentence-level structures, but also paragraph-level segments. As the main purpose of the speech is to provide a comprehensive list of Iraq’s actions that are in breach of U.N. resolutions and human rights, enumeration is the most important rhetorical device of the speech. Each of the occurrences of enumeration in the speech have a similar structure: The beginning of the

⁸⁶*American Rhetoric*, s.v. “enumeration,” accessed November 23, 2016, <http://www.americanrhetoric.com/figures/enumeratio.htm>

⁸⁷*Literary Devices*, s.v. “exemplification,” accessed November 23, 2016, <http://literarydevices.net/contrast/>.

paragraphs that are counted among those of Bush's enumeration rhetorical strategy is introduced chronologically (e.g. "in 1991"; "from 1991 to 1995"; "last year"). Then follows a statement about what either the U.N. resolutions demanded Iraq to do or what Iraq promised to do. Usually, it is framed by a parallel structure "U.N. Security Council demanded that". The U.N. demands and Iraq's promises are then juxtaposed to the resolution breaches and broken promises on the part of Iraq. These are often framed by a parallel phrase „Iraq's regime agreed. It broke its promise.“ In a sense, it could be said that we are dealing here with a complex structure construed by multiple rhetorical devices – parallelism, contrast, number game, personification, and enumeration. Within the paragraph-level structure of enumeration, another occurrence of enumeration may be included. Below one representative example for all is provided. Occurrences of enumeration within the greater paragraph-level occurrence of enumeration are underlined.

In 1991, the U.N. Security Council, through Resolutions 686 and 687, **demanded that Iraq return all prisoners** from Kuwait and other lands. **Iraq's regime agreed. It broke its promise.** Last year the Secretary General's high-level coordinator for this issue reported that Kuwait, Saudi, Indian, Syrian, Lebanese, Iranian, Egyptian, Bahraini, and Omani nationals **remain unaccounted for** – more than 600 people. One American pilot is among them.

In 1991, the U.N. Security Council, through Resolution 687, **demanded that Iraq renounce all involvement with terrorism, and permit no terrorist organizations to operate in Iraq. Iraq's regime agreed. It broke its promise.** In violation of Secretary Council Resolution 1373, **Iraq continues to shelter and support terrorist organizations that direct violence** against Iran, Israel, and Western governments. Iraqi dissidents abroad are targeted for murder.

Other instances of such “enumeration within enumeration” structures are those that occur at the end of the speech, when Bush lists the ultimate conditions by which Iraq must obey unless it wants the peaceful strategy of containment to stop and a military intervention to take place. Each of these structures begins with a parallel phrase “If the Iraqi regime wishes peace, it will ...” Implicitly, the speaker expresses that there can no longer be peace in Iraq unless Iraq obeys by the U.N. resolution. If Iraq does not obey, the U.S.A. intends to enforce the resolutions’ demands by using coercive means:

If the Iraqi regime wishes peace, it will immediately and unconditionally **forswear, disclose, and remove or destroy** all weapons of mass destruction, long-range missiles, and all related material.

If the Iraqi regime wishes peace, it will immediately **end all support for terrorism and act to suppress it**, as all states are required to do by U.N. Security Council resolutions.

September 11 Anniversary speech	
(203)	Each of us was reminded that we are here only for a time, and these counted days should be filled with things that last and matter: love for our families, love for our neighbors, and for our country; gratitude for life and to the Giver of life.
Address to the U.N. Assembly	
(204)	Tens of thousands of political opponents and ordinary citizens were subjected to arbitrary arrest and imprisonment, summary execution, and torture by beating and burning, electric shock, starvation, mutilation, and rape.

(205) [...] the regime admitted to producing tens of thousands of litres of anthrax and other deadly biological agents for use with **Scud warheads, aerial bombs, and aircraft spray tanks.**

(206) Today, Iraq continues to withhold information about its nuclear program – **weapons design, procurement logs, experiment data, an accounting of nuclear materials and documentation of foreign assistance**

Cincinnati speech

(207) We know that the regime has produced thousands of tons of chemical agents, including **mustard gas, sarin nerve gas, VX nerve gas.**

(208) Iraq possesses ballistic missiles with a likely range of hundreds of miles – far enough to strike **Saudi Arabia, Israel, Turkey, and other nations.**

(209) The U.N. inspections program was met with systematic deception. The Iraqi regime **bugged hotel rooms and offices of inspectors [...]; they forged documents, destroyed evidence, and developed mobile weapon facilities** to keep a step ahead of inspectors.

(210) After eleven years during which we have tried **containment, sanctions, inspections, even selected military action, [...]**

(211) In addition to declaring and destroying all of its weapons of mass destruction, **Iraq must end its support for terrorism. It must cease the persecution of its civilians population. It must stop all illicit trade outside of the Oil For Food program. It must release or account for all Gulf War personnel, including an American pilot,** whose fate is still unknown.

Homeland Security Act remarks

- (212) **we're tracking** terrorist activity; **we're freezing** terrorist finances; **we're disrupting** terrorist plots; **we're shutting down** terrorist camps; **we're on the hunt**, one person at a time. Many **terrorists are now being interrogated**. Many **terrorists have been killed**.
- (213) We're doing everything we can to **enhance security at our airports and power-plants and border crossings**. We've **deployed detection equipment** to look for weapons of mass destruction. **We've given law enforcement better tools to detect and disrupt** terrorist cells which might be hiding in our own country.
- (214) When the **Department of Homeland Security** is fully operational, it **will enhance the safety of our people in very practical ways**. First, this new Department **will analyze intelligence information on terror threats collected by the CIA, the FBI, the National Security Agency**, and others. The Department **will match this intelligence against the Nation's vulnerabilities and work with other agencies and the private sector and State and local governments** to harden America's defenses against terror. Second, the Department **will gather and focus all our efforts to face the challenge** of cyberterrorism and the even worse danger of nuclear, chemical, and biological terrorism. This Department **will be charged with encouraging research on new technologies** that can detect these threats in time to prevent an attack. Third, State and local governments **will be able to turn for help and information to one Federal domestic security agency**, instead of more than 20 agencies that currently divide these responsibilities. [...]
Fourth, the new Department **will bring together the agencies responsible for border, coastline, and transportation security**. [...]

Fifth, the Department **will work with State and local officials to prepare our response** to any future terrorist attack that may come.

[...]

The Department of Homeland Security **will also end** a great deal of duplication and overlapping responsibilities. [...]

State of the Union address

- (215) [...] we've arrested or otherwise dealt with many key commanders of al Qaeda. They include man who directed logistics and funding for the September the 11th attacks; the chief of al Qaeda operations on the Persian Gulf, [...], an al Qaeda operations chief from Southeast Asia; a former director of **al Qaeda training camps in Afghanistan; a key al Qaeda operative in Europe; a major al Qaeda leader in Yemen.**
- (216) American and coalition countries have uncovered and stopped terrorist conspiracies targeting the American embassy in **Yemen, the American embassy in Singapore, a Saudi military base, ships in the Straits of Hormuz and the Straits the Gibraltar.** We've broken al Qaeda cells in **Hamburg, Milan, Madrid, London, Paris, as well as, Buffalo, New York.**
- (217) We've **intensified security at the borders and ports of entry, posted more than 50,000 newly-trained federal screeners in airports, begun inoculating troops and first responders against smallpox, and are deploying the nation's first early warning network of sensors to detect biological attack.** [...] we are **beginning to field a defense to protect this nation against ballistic missiles.**
- (218) The budget I send you will propose almost \$6 billion to quickly make available effective vaccines and treatments against agents like **anthrax, botulinum toxin, Ebola, and plague.**

- (219) Tonight, I am instructing the leaders of the **FBI, the CIA, the Homeland Security, and the Department of Defense to develop a Terrorist Threat Integration Center**, [...]
- (220) [...] outlaw regimes that seek and possess **nuclear, chemical, and biological weapons**.
- (221) He [Saddam] pursued **chemical, biological and nuclear weapons**, [...]
- (222) Saddam Hussein had sufficient materials to produces more than 38,000 liters of **botulinum toxin**, [...] 500 tons of **sarin, mustard and VX nerve agent**. [...]
- (223) International human rights groups have catalogued other methods used in the torture chambers of Iraq: **electric shock, burning with hot irons, dripping acid on the skin, mutilation with electric drills, cutting out tongues, and rape**.

Enterprise Institute remarks

- (224) The dangers are real, as our **soldiers, and sailors, airmen, and Marines** fully understand.

Address to the Nation on Iraq I

- (225) Over the years, U.N. weapon inspectors have been **threatened by Iraqi officials, electronically bugged, and systematically deceived**.
- (226) In a free Iraq, there will be **no more wars of aggression against your neighbors, no more poison factories, no more executions of dissidents, no more torture chambers and rape rooms**.
- (227) I have directed additional **security of our airports, and increased Coast Guard patrols of major seaports. The Department of Homeland Security is working closely with the nation's governors to increase armed security at critical facilities across America**.

(228)	[...] when evil men plot chemical, biological and nuclear terror , a policy of appeasement could bring destruction [...]
Address to the Nation on Iraq II	
(229)	We will meet the threat now with our Army, Air Force, Navy, Coast Guard and Marines , [...]

Table 10 Examples of enumeration related to the outgroup

5 CONCLUSION

The main research objective was to identify manifestations of six types of rhetorical devices (metaphor, personification, euphemism, number game, enumeration, and contrast) in speeches delivered by the former president of the U.S.A., George W. Bush, back in 2002 and 2003, years which preceded the War in Iraq. As the U.S.A. is perceived as the initiator of the war by both the domestic and international public, the thesis set out to investigate discursive structures utilized by the speaker on the level of rhetoric in order to show how the image of the enemy was constructed. I presupposed that the polarization of the U.S.A. (the ingroup) and Iraq (the outgroup) was the underlying discursive strategy in which a variety of discourse structures, including the rhetorical discourse structure, is grounded. The theoretical grounding of this approach lies in the critical discourse theory as viewed by Teun van Dijk as well as his theory of ideology, on which the polarization of ingroups and outgroups is based. The choice of the six rhetorical devices that were subjected to the analysis is not arbitrary, they are rhetorical devices listed as possibly carrying expressions of ideologies in discourse in van Dijk's *Ideology and Discourse Analysis* and *Ideology: A Multidisciplinary Approach*.

Before presenting the results of the practical part, it is vital to identify the social actors that stand on both the ends of the Us and Them dichotomy spectrum. The main social actors who are involved in the deictic center of the ingroup are *the U.S.A.*, *the American people/citizens*, *the American nation*, *the U.S. government*, *America*, and, depending on the addressee of the speeches, *the Congress* or *the United Nations* (in case of the State of the Union address and the Address to the U. N. Assembly). In case of the Enterprise Institute remarks, the ingroup might as well involve the audiences – scholars of the American Enterprise Institute. We can affirm that the perspective of the speaker is ambiguous, for in this case, it could be said that Bush speaks on behalf of the American government as at that moment The Iraq Resolution, which authorized the use of military force in Iraq, was already effective. Also, the participants of the rally might be well included in the speech as they are scholars of an

organization which sets out to defend human dignity, to expand the human potential, to build a freer and safer world, and sets out American strength and global leadership to be their mission.⁸⁸ Therefore, the speaker might have included them in the deictic center of *We* as well as to emphasize the need of unity and impose an obligation of cooperation in the Iraqi matter on the scholars as well. Obviously, in passages where Bush speaks about the military intervention, as for instance in the Enterprise Institute speech, the U.S.A. and *coalition forces* who joined them in the war happen to be the social actors included in the center of *We* (e.g. “[...] we will remain in Iraq as long as necessary, and not a day more.”)

The deictic center of *They/Them/Their* includes the *enemy*, who in the case of the September 11 Anniversary speech, is specified as the *terrorists*. In the following speeches, the entity on *the enemy* is further dissected *Iraq, the Iraqi regime* and *Saddam Hussein*. That is, the speaker either refers to the terrorists as the bad group and/or to Iraq and/or the Iraqi regime and/or Saddam Hussein. Sometimes, weapons of mass destruction are included in the deictic center of *They/Them/Their* as well. Presumably, this happens in the cases where terrorists and/or the Iraqi regime are talked about metaphorically as a *threat* or *danger* (e.g. “In the attacks on America a year ago, we saw the destructive intentions of our enemies. This threat hides within many nations, including my own. In cells and camps, terrorists are plotting [...]“ in the Address to the U.N. Assembly)

The analysis proved that the six rhetorical devices, as listed in van Dijk’s overview of discourse structures through which ideologies can be manifested, are coded linguistically in the texts. Yet, their distribution in the texts is uneven given that it is determined by the genre of the texts – situational context, setting, and the addressees of the text. Last but not least, speeches are always tailored according to the speaker’s personality to ensure their naturalness —

⁸⁸ “AEI.com: About,” American Enterprise Institute, accessed December 1, 2016, <https://www.aei.org/about/>.

George W. Bush's speeches have been regarded as less rhetorically elaborate and less flowery in comparison with his predecessors'.

It has been found that there are no major, striking metaphors that would significantly contribute to the *Us* and *Them* dichotomy. Mostly, Bush uses evaluative language and hyperboles to assign the enemy with an alternative name. Notably, there are hyperboles that describe Saddam Hussein as a "murderous tyrant" or a "homicidal dictator". The terrorists, together with Saddam Hussein's regime and WMD are metaphorically labelled as a "threat" or "dangers". WMD were also analyzed for alternative, metaphorical names, however, no distinctive metaphors other than "dangers of new era" were found.

On the other hand, personification is used abundantly in most of the speeches as it is a common practice to ascribe human features to a variety of state entities and to present them as the "doers" of a variety of political activities. This contributes to an intensification of the American citizens to their country, to the country's history and to traditional American values. Consequently, the use of personification brings the president and the government closer to the heart of their audiences. Not by an exception, Bush often uses to call the U.S.A. "America", which is a feminized version of its assumed discoverer's name Amerigo Vespucci. This helps to amplify the usage of personification and enables the president to reinforce his interests and intentions and through a persuading appeal to the audiences' pathos since his interests are actually presented as the country's interests. Iraq and the Iraqi regime are portrayed as instigators of a chain of bad actions designed by an evil author to threaten the world and the U.S.A. with WMD.

Ironically, euphemisms are used to promote a military operation in Iraq, which is disguised as an advancement of freedom and democracy – values, whose definition can be hardly explained without ambiguities, but which have been customarily glorified by American presidents. President Bush ostentatiously avoids using the words *kill* and *attack* in his description of his plans to eliminate terrorism.

Contrast proved to be a very helpful device that enables the speaker to choose from a variety of characteristic traits of the ingroup and the outgroup and juxtapose them so as to provide a polarized picture of the actors involved and legitimate the necessity of a military action. Usually, the examples listed do not display a full contrast per se, but the words and phrases could be regarded as “near contrasts” as both of them cannot be valid at the same time. Most of the examples regarded to be occurrences of contrast utilize the opposition pattern of “freedom” (the ingroup’s character trait, the values, aims) versus “tyranny”, “dictatorship”, “mass murder”, “terror”, “brutality” (the outgroup’s character traits, values and aims). “Freedom”, the U.S. and its allies, who are portrayed as “open societies” or “free societies”, are the most amplified aspect that the outgroup does not dispose of.

Enumeration and number game are rhetorical devices that provide the speaker with facts, therefore reinforcing his credibility. Thematically, they are mostly restricted to the issue of Iraq’s possession of WMD, which again contributes to an emphasis of the negative character traits of the outgroup. In the cases of number game, Bush states how large Iraq’s weapon arsenal is through the use of numbers. In the cases of enumeration, Bush states how large Iraq’s weapon arsenal is through naming the types of weapons Iraq possesses.

From the point of view of the concept of ideology, it could be stated that all the rhetorical devices that were analyzed pinpoint certain aspects of what in this thesis was called *foundations of American ideology*. They include the emphasis of American indispensability and mission as a global leader and a guardian of democratic values, freedom and justice.

As it can be observed, the U.S. foreign policy and the U.S. involvement in the Middle East that emerged long before the attacks of 9/11 was simplified through the use of the polarization strategy. It enabled George W. Bush to portray the complexity of international relationships in simple terms and makes the issues easy to grasp and therefore easy to understand to the majority of the public. As it is natural for us to understand the world in polarized terms –

something is either good or bad for us, the fabrication of an enemy becomes relatively easy. Their bad deeds and features are emphasized and compared to ours. This is, however, highly alibistic as the comparison and evaluation happens only when there is an opportunity to do it. No country's history exists without a blot on its reputation, naturally, and neither does the U.S.A.'s.

The implications of this study might be further used in other fields of humanities that have some significant overlaps with critical discourse analysis. For example, researchers of security studies of the Copenhagen School might use the thesis's results for further analysis and implications in the study of the concept of 'securitization', which centres itself around the discursive construction of particular issues as security threats. The corpus of text and its audio-video format and the pinpointed rhetorical devices can be used to measure speaker-audience interaction as per Atkinson (1984) and map the audiences' reaction depending on the type of rhetorical device and its content.

6 SUMMARY IN CZECH

„Znám slova, znám ta nejvybranější slova,“ pronesl Donald Trump během jednoho ze svých mnoha vystoupení v rámci prezidentské kampaně v USA v roce 2016. Ač se toto tvrzení může zdát sebevíc troufalé, vystihuje podstatu úspěšného vedení debat, rozhovorů, projevů, tiskových zpráv a vůbec celé politické komunikace, tedy politického diskurzu. Úspěchu na politickém poli nelze dosáhnout bez přesvědčivé komunikace a přesvědčivá komunikace závisí na výběru takových slov a frází, které dokáží politikovi zajistit co největší podporu. Tato práce si zvolila za cíl zkoumat projevy bývalého amerického prezidenta George W. Bushe a poodkrýt *proč* a *díky jakým prostředkům* byla jeho komunikace propagující válku v Iráku ve svých počátcích tolik úspěšná. Předmětem zkoumání je tedy diskurz o tzv. *war on terror*.

Vzhledem ke komplexnosti pojmu diskurz, se v rámci KAD střetávají přístupy z mnoha dalších disciplín. Mimo lingvistické přístupy, které jsou pro KAD zásadní, to je především politologie, sociologie, psychologie, či antropologie. Text a mluvené projevy tak zůstávají v popředí zájmu badatelů, zejména pak ty spadající do spektra politického diskurzu či diskurzu zabývajícího se problematickou sociální tematikou, jako je například rasismus nebo xenofobie. Kontroverzní či jakkoli problematická sociální témata poskytují mnoho prostoru pro kritický přístup. KAD hodnotí reálné texty a mluvené projevy z hlediska obsahu a ve vztahu ke kontextu. Konkrétní přístup KAD, který byl v této práci použit jako teoretický základ analýzy a metodologie, je přístup Teuna van Dijka, založený na teorii ideologie. V rámci metodologie toto znamená, že se práce zaměřuje na strategii polarizace My versus Oni – zdůrazňování „našich“ dobrých hodnot versus zdůrazňování „jejich“ špatných hodnot. Dle van Dijka je tato strategie reflektována v celé řadě tak zvaných *discourse structures*, jako je například syntax či zvuková stránka projevů. Pro stávající práci byla vybrána struktura rétorická. Van Dijk avšak neposkytuje bližší návod, jak na této úrovni analýzu zpracovat a jaký postup při sběru, prezentování či interpretaci dat zvolit, což poskytuje badateli volnou ruku během zkoumání. Zvolena byla proto analýza kvalitativní, neboť se zaměřuje více na

prezentaci reálných příkladů než analýza kvantitativní, která by data interpretovala jen podle četnosti výskytu jednotlivých rétorických prostředků.

Zvolený korpus textů zahrnuje osm projevů George W. Bushe v období 11. září 2002 až 19. března 2003. Práce si stanovila za cíl zkoumat rétorické struktury použité bývalým prezidentem USA v kontextu nadcházející války v Iráku a války proti terorismu a identifikovat je. Jelikož válka v Iráku byla schválena jak americkou vládou, tak i mezinárodními organizacemi a byla také uskutečněna, lze tedy považovat Bushovu rétoriku za úspěšnou. Práce tedy poukáže na případy, které mluvčí záměrně využil k přesvědčení většiny západního světa, že válka v Iráku, potažmo válka potírající terorismus, je nutností a její zahájení je legitimním krokem směřujícím k „lepším zítřkům“.

V praktické části bylo zjištěno, že všech šest stanovených rétorických prostředků, které van Dijk ve svých pracích *Ideology: A Multidisciplinary Approach, Ideology and Discourse* či *Ideological discourse analysis* uvádí pod hlavičkou rétorické diskurzivní struktury, se ve zkoumaných projevech nerovnoměrně vyskytuje. Jejich nerovnoměrné rozložení je podmíněno především charakterem textu, potažmo jeho žánrem – je značně závislé na kontextu situace, prostředí, ve kterém je projev realizován, na posluchačích a v nemalé míře také na osobním stylu projevu prezidenta Bushe, který byl často médií označován jako ne příliš rétoricky propracovaný, a tedy v porovnání s jeho předchůdci střídmější a málo květnatý.

Před samotnou analýzou, která je založená na zkoumání použití metafory, personifikace, eufemismů, number game (rétorický prostředek založený na explicitní citaci čísel), protikladu a enumerace skrze strategii polarizace *My versus Oni*, bylo nutné stanovit, kdo se na obou koncích tohoto spektra nalézá. Dichotomie *My versus Oni* je chápána na bázi tak zvané inkluze. Laicky řečeno, „*Kdo není s námi, je proti nám.*“ Do tzv. *ingroup* patří *United States, America, American people, American citizens, the American nation and government, coalition forces, the United Nations* a další vládní a mezinárodní organizace. Bush tuto skupinu a její zájmy skrze své projevy hájí a prosazuje.

Na opačném konci spektra, v tzv. *outgroup*, se nachází *the terrorists, Iraq, the Iraqi regime, Saddam Hussein*. Tato strategie „rozdělení na dva tábory“ je zásadní v hájení vlastních zájmů a prosazování vlastních názorů. Impulzem pro toto rozdělení byly útoky na Světové obchodní centrum v New Yorku a Pentagon 11. září 2001. Viníky byli shledáni teroristé z hnutí Al Káida. Terorismus a jeho spojení s diktátorským režimem Saddáma Husseina dalo přívržencům radikálního řešení otázky situace na Blízkém východě příležitost aktivně do tamních záležitostí zasáhnout. Válku v Iráku zbývalo už jen tedy významně slovně podpořit, a získat tak na svou stranu Kongres, orgány OSN, její členy a veřejnost. Zvolenou strategií byla již zmiňovaná strategie *My versus Oni* – tedy vyzdvihování našich kvalit a kladných vlastností a vyzdvihování jejich špatných vlastností a zkaženosti. V rámci diskurzu lze tuto strategii analyzovat a hodnotit z několika úhlů. Pro tuto práci byla takovým úhlem zkoumání vybrána právě rétorika.

Metaforická pojmenování, která by významně podpořila dichotomii *My versus Oni* Bush ve zkoumaných projevech ve velké míře nepoužívá. Často se spíše než o metaforu jedná o hodnotící jazyk, potažmo hyperbolu. Příkladem mohou být následující pojmenování řečená na adresu Saddáma Husseina: *murderous tyrant, homicidal dictator*. Teroristé dohromady s režimem Saddáma Husseina a zbraněmi hromadného ničení jsou označovány jako *threat* nebo *dangers*. V rámci metaforických pojmenování bylo také zkoumáno alternativní pojmenování zbraní hromadného ničení, neboť jsou v Bushových projevech neodmyslitelně spjaty s členy *outgroup*. Výraznější metaforická pojmenování než *dangers of new era* však nebyla identifikována.

Prostředků personifikace je naopak v projevech využíváno hojně, neboť přisuzování lidských vlastností a prezentování dané státní entity jako konatele různých činů je v rámci politického diskurzu zažitý úzus. Toto přispívá k zintenzivnění sounáležitosti obyvatel země k jejich historii, tradičním hodnotám a zároveň také vládě dané země. Nezřídka užívá George Bush k pojmenování USA termín *America*. (Ženská odvozenina ze jména mořeplavce Ameriga Vespucci.) Prezentace země v ženském rodě významně amplifikuje

použití personifikace, což umožnilo prezidentovi prosadit své zájmy jako zájmy „mateřské země“ všech Američanů. Irák je také vykreslen jako aktivní podporovatel terorismu, producent zbraní hromadného ničení, režim ignorující nařízení Rady bezpečnosti OSN, uzurpátor lidských práv. Zosobnění Iráku jako sociálního aktéra, který nečiní dobro a proaktivně se poděluje na činnostech ohrožující svobodu a mír, přispívá k vyvolání silného antagonismu vůči tomuto aktérovi. Je přirozenější a častější, že nenávist je vnímána vůči někomu než něčemu.

Eufemismy slouží v politických projevech k potlačení špatných vlastností členů *ingroup*. Často jsou tak záměry a úmysly, které by za normálních okolností vyvolaly kontroverzi či nevoli, prezentovány jako ušlechtilý a vstřícný krok. V případě zkoumaných textů je to potlačení faktu, že záměrem USA je vést válku v Iráku. Ta je naopak prezentována jako rozšiřování demokratických hodnot a osvobození Iráčanů z tyranie diktátora Husseina. Prezident Bush se také ostentativně vyhýbá použití slovesa *kill* a *attack* v kontextu popisu svých záměrů v potírání terorismu a radikálnímu zakročení proti němu.

Efektivita použití čísel v prezidentských projevech je také nezanedbatelná. Vykreslení různých okolností pomocí nich přispívá přesvědčení posluchačů a široké veřejnosti o věrohodnosti projevu, a zvyšují tak důvěryhodnost mluvčího. Bush zároveň toto využívá opět k rozdělení *ingroup* a *outgroup*, a následovně k uznání nutnosti vojenské operace v Iráku. Odhadovaná množství různých typů biologických a chemických zbraní, množství radioaktivního materiálu na výrobu atomové zbraně, množství obětí, za jejichž smrt jsou teroristé nebo Saddám Hussein odpovědní, mluví ve prospěch úmyslu vojenského zásahu. Na podporu důvěry v USA cituje Bush cifry vztahující se k protiteroristickým opatřením. Hovoří o množství spojenců v boji proti terorismu a množství personálu povoláného k ochraně bezpečnosti amerických občanů. Mezi number game lze také ve zkoumaných textech přiřadit explicitní odkazování se na časové úseky v historii vzáthů Iráku a USA a čísla odkazující na konkrétní rozhodnutí OSN. Prezident Bush tak ve svých projevech tvoří časový a právní rámec obvinění, která pro Iráku vznáší.

Použití protikladu je velmi účinným rétorickým prostředkem k vytvoření polarizace My a Oni. V mnoha případech se však nejedná o čisté protiklady (antonyma), nicméně za příklady strategie protikladu je však považovat lze, neboť přítomnost linie dělící významy slov je patrná. V projevech staví George Bush často do opozice mír versus diktátorství, tyranii, brutalitu a teror iráckého režimu. Ačkoli lze jen pouze přesně definovat, co vše pojem *freedom* zahrnuje a jaká je jeho ideální a spravedlivá podoba, pro americké obecnstvo a americkou společnost má toto slovo silnou emocionální a národně-identickou hodnotu, která vychází z americké ideologie výjimečnosti.

Z hlediska formativního je výčet, enumerace, efektivním prostředkem, které pomáhá řečníkovi uvést příklady a blíže tak specifikovat dané téma, o kterém hovoří. Výčet obvykle obsahuje tři prvky, což vytváří efekt úplnosti a dokončenosti dané myšlenky. George Bush používá výčtu jak na úrovni vět, například k vyjmenování typů zbraní, kterými údajně ve svém arsenálu Irák disponuje, či ke specifikaci mučících metod vězňů iráckého režimu. K negativnímu obrazu nepřítele tedy přispívá možnost zaměřit se dle potřeb řečníka na určité negativní vlastnosti nebo činnosti protivníka a detailně je popsat. Výčet se také realizuje na úrovni struktury odstavců; v projevu adresovaném Valnému shromáždění OSN se Bush koncentruje na výčet požadavků OSN, které byly Iráku po Válce v Perském zálivu stanoveny. Na ně se odkazuje pomocí čísel rezolucí vydaných OSN a časovým rámcem jejich uvedení v platnost. Každý tento jedinečný případ je od sebe oddělen odstavci.

Analýza prokázala, že vybrané rétorické prostředky přispívají ke strategii rozdělení sociálních aktérů aktivně i pasivně se podílejících na daném diskurzu mezi tábor „těch hodných, dobrých, mírumilovných“ a tábor „těch zlých, křivých, násilnických“. Zároveň lze konstatovat, že jsou poměrně jednoduchými a efektivními prostředky přesvědčování mas. Implikace této práce mohou být dále zpracovány v rámci teorie ideografů Michaela Calvina McGee, teorie sekuritizace Kodaňské školy. Audio-vizuální formát projevů Geroge W. Bushe by mohl dále posloužit k monitorování a vyhodnocování interakce mluvčí –

posluchač dle Maxe Atkinsona, u které by se rétorické prostředky stanovily jako směrodatné kritérium k monitorování interakce.

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8 APENDICES

8.1 Address to the Nation From Ellis Island, New York, of the Terrorist Attack of September 11

Good evening. A long year has passed since enemies attacked our country. We've seen the images so many times, they are seared on our souls, and remembering the horror, reliving the anguish, reimagining the terror is hard and painful.

For those who lost loved ones, it's been a year of sorrow, of empty places, of newborn children who will never know their fathers here on Earth. For members of our military, it's been a year of sacrifice and service far from home. For all Americans, it has been a year of adjustment, of coming to terms with the difficult knowledge that our Nation has determined enemies and that we are not invulnerable to their attacks.

Yet, in the events that have challenged us, we have also seen the character that will deliver us. We have seen the greatness of America in airline passengers who defied their hijackers and ran a plane into the ground to spare the lives of others. We've seen the greatness of America in rescuers who rushed up flights of stairs toward peril. And we continue to see the greatness of America in the care and compassion our citizens show to each other.

September the 11th, 2001, will always be a fixed point in the life of America. The loss of so many lives left us to examine our own. Each of us was reminded that we are here only for a time and these counted days should be filled with things that last and matter: Love for our families, love for our neighbors, and for our country; gratitude for life and to the Giver of life.

We resolved a year ago to honor every last person lost. We owe them remembrance, and we owe them more. We owe them and their children, and our own, the most enduring monument we can build, a world of liberty and security made possible by the way America leads and by the way Americans lead our lives.

The attack on our Nation was also attack on the ideals that make us a nation. Our deepest national conviction is that every life is precious, because every life is the gift of a Creator who intended us to live in liberty and equality. More than anything else, this separates us from the enemy we fight. We value every life. Our enemies value none, not even the innocent, not even their own. And we seek the freedom and opportunity that give meaning and value to life.

There is a line in our time and in every time between those who believe that all men are created equal and those who believe that some men and women and children are expendable in the pursuit of power. There is a line in our time and in every time between the defenders of human liberty and those who seek to master the minds and souls of others. Our generation has now heard history's call, and we will answer it.

America has entered a great struggle that tests our strength and, even more, our resolve. Our Nation is patient and steadfast. We continue to pursue the terrorists in cities and camps and caves across the Earth. We are joined by a great coalition of nations to rid the world of terror. And we will not allow any terrorist or tyrant to threaten civilization with weapons of mass murder. Now and in the future, Americans will live as free people, not in fear and never at the mercy of any foreign plot or power.

This Nation has defeated tyrants and liberated death camps, raised this lamp of liberty to every captive land. We have no intention of ignoring or appeasing history's latest gang of fanatics trying to murder their way to power. They are discovering, as others before them, the resolve of a great country and a great democracy. In the ruins of two towers, under a flag unfurled at the Pentagon, at the funerals of the lost, we have made a sacred promise to ourselves and to the world: We will not relent until justice is done and our Nation is secure. What our enemies have begun, we will finish.

I believe there is a reason that history has matched this Nation with this time. America strives to be tolerant and just. We respect the faith of Islam, even

as we fight those whose actions defile that faith. We fight not to impose our will but to defend ourselves and extend the blessings of freedom.

We cannot know all that lies ahead. Yet, we do know that God has placed us together in this moment, to grieve together, to stand together, to serve each other and our country. And the duty we have been given, defending America and our freedom, is also a privilege we share. We're prepared for this journey, and our prayer tonight is that God will see us through and keep us worthy.

Tomorrow is September the 12th. A milestone is passed, and a mission goes on. Be confident. Our country is strong, and our cause is even larger than our country. Ours is the cause of human dignity, freedom guided by conscience and guarded by peace. This ideal of America is the hope of all mankind. That hope drew millions to this harbor. That hope still lights our way. And the light shines in the darkness. And the darkness will not overcome it.

May God bless America.

8.2 Address To the United Nations General Assembly in New York City

Mr. Secretary-General, Mr. President, distinguished delegates, and ladies and gentlemen: We meet one year and one day after a terrorist attack brought grief to my country and brought grief to many citizens of our world. Yesterday we remembered the innocent lives taken that terrible morning. Today we turn to the urgent duty of protecting other lives, without illusion and without fear.

We've accomplished much in the last year in Afghanistan and beyond. We have much yet to do in Afghanistan and beyond. Many nations represented here have joined in the fight against global terror, and the people of the United States are grateful.

The United Nations was born in the hope that survived a world war, the hope of a world moving toward justice, escaping old patterns of conflict and fear. The founding members resolved that the peace of the world must never

again be destroyed by the will and wickedness of any man. We created a United Nations Security Council so that, unlike the League of Nations, our deliberations would be more than talk, our resolutions would be more than wishes. After generations of deceitful dictators and broken treaties and squandered lives, we dedicated ourselves to standards of human dignity shared by all and to a system of security defended by all.

Today, these standards and this security are challenged. Our commitment to human dignity is challenged by persistent poverty and raging disease. The suffering is great, and our responsibilities are clear. The United States is joining with the world to supply aid where it reaches people and lifts up lives, to extend trade and the prosperity it brings, and to bring medical care where it is desperately needed.

As a symbol of our commitment to human dignity, the United States will return to UNESCO. This organization has been reformed, and America will participate fully in its mission to advance human rights and tolerance and learning.

Our common security is challenged by regional conflicts, ethnic and religious strife that is ancient but not inevitable. In the Middle East, there can be no peace for either side without freedom for both sides. America stands committed to an independent and democratic Palestine, living side by side with Israel in peace and security. Like all other people, Palestinians deserve a government that serves their interests and listens to their voices. My Nation will continue to encourage all parties to step up to their responsibilities as we seek a just and comprehensive settlement to the conflict.

Above all, our principles and our security are challenged today by outlaw groups and regimes that accept no law of morality and have no limit to their violent ambitions. In the attacks on America a year ago, we saw the destructive intentions of our enemies. This threat hides within many nations, including my own. In cells and camps, terrorists are plotting further destruction and building new bases for their war against civilization. And our greatest fear is that

terrorists will find a shortcut to their mad ambitions when an outlaw regime supplies them with the technologies to kill on a massive scale.

In one place—in one regime—we find all these dangers in their most lethal and aggressive forms, exactly the kind of aggressive threat the United Nations was born to confront.

Twelve years ago, Iraq invaded Kuwait without provocation, and the regime's forces were poised to continue their march to seize other countries and their resources. Had Saddam Hussein been appeased instead of stopped, he would have endangered the peace and stability of the world. Yet this aggression was stopped by the might of coalition forces and the will of the United Nations.

To suspend hostilities, to spare himself, Iraq's dictator accepted a series of commitments. The terms were clear to him and to all, and he agreed to prove he is complying with every one of those obligations. He has proven instead only his contempt for the United Nations and for all his pledges. By breaking every pledge, by his deceptions, and by his cruelties, Saddam Hussein has made the case against himself.

In 1991, Security Council Resolution 688 demanded that the Iraqi regime cease at once the repression of its own people, including the systematic repression of minorities, which the Council said threatened international peace and security in the region. This demand goes ignored.

Last year, the U.N. Commission on Human Rights found that Iraq continues to commit extremely grave violations of human rights and that the regime's repression is all-pervasive. Tens of thousands of political opponents and ordinary citizens have been subjected to arbitrary arrest and imprisonment, summary execution, and torture by beating and burning, electric shock, starvation, mutilation, and rape. Wives are tortured in front of their husbands, children in the presence of their parents, and all of these horrors concealed from the world by the apparatus of a totalitarian state.

In 1991, the U.N. Security Council, through Resolutions 686 and 687, demanded that Iraq return all prisoners from Kuwait and other lands. Iraq's regime agreed. It broke this promise. Last year, the Secretary-General's high-level coordinator for this issue reported that Kuwaiti, Saudi, Indian, Syrian, Lebanese, Iranian, Egyptian, Bahraini, and Omani nationals remain unaccounted for—more than 600 people. One American pilot is among them.

In 1991, the U.N. Security Council, through Resolution 687, demanded that Iraq renounce all involvement with terrorism and permit no terrorist organizations to operate in Iraq. Iraq's regime agreed. It broke this promise. In violation of Security Council Resolution 1373, Iraq continues to shelter and support terrorist organizations that direct violence against Iran, Israel, and Western governments. Iraqi dissidents abroad are targeted for murder. In 1993, Iraq attempted to assassinate the Amir of Kuwait and a former American President. Iraq's Government openly praised the attacks of September the 11th, and Al Qaida terrorists escaped from Afghanistan and are known to be in Iraq.

In 1991, the Iraqi regime agreed to destroy and stop developing all weapons of mass destruction and long-range missiles and to prove to the world it has done so by complying with rigorous inspections. Iraq has broken every aspect of this fundamental pledge.

From 1991 to 1995, the Iraqi regime said it had no biological weapons. After a senior official in its weapons program defected and exposed this lie, the regime admitted to producing tens of thousands of liters of anthrax and other deadly biological agents for use with Scud warheads, aerial bombs, and aircraft spray tanks. U.N. inspectors believe Iraq has produced 2 to 4 times the amount of biological agents it declared and has failed to account for more than 3 metric tons of material that could be used to produce biological weapons. Right now, Iraq is expanding and improving facilities that were used for the production of biological weapons. United Nations inspections also revealed that Iraq likely maintains stockpiles of VX, mustard, and other chemical agents and that the

regime is rebuilding and expanding facilities capable of producing chemical weapons.

And in 1995, after 4 years of deception, Iraq finally admitted it had a crash nuclear weapons program prior to the Gulf war. We know now, were it not for that war, the regime in Iraq would likely have possessed a nuclear weapon no later than 1993.

Today, Iraq continues to withhold important information about its nuclear program, weapons design, procurement logs, experiment data, an accounting of nuclear materials, and documentation of foreign assistance. Iraq employs capable nuclear scientists and technicians. It retains physical infrastructure needed to build a nuclear weapon. Iraq has made several attempts to buy high-strength aluminum tubes used to enrich uranium for a nuclear weapon. Should Iraq acquire fissile material, it would be able to build a nuclear weapon within a year. And Iraq's state-controlled media has reported numerous meetings between Saddam Hussein and his nuclear scientists, leaving little doubt about his continued appetite for these weapons.

Iraq also possesses a force of Scud-type missiles with ranges beyond the 150 kilometers permitted by the U.N. Work at testing and production facilities shows that Iraq is building more long-range missiles, that it can inflict mass death throughout the region.

In 1990, after Iraq's invasion of Kuwait, the world imposed economic sanctions on Iraq. Those sanctions were maintained after the war to compel the regime's compliance with Security Council resolutions. In time, Iraq was allowed to use oil revenues to buy food. Saddam Hussein has subverted this program, working around the sanctions to buy missile technology and military materials. He blames the suffering of Iraq's people on the United Nations, even as he uses his oil wealth to build lavish palaces for himself and to buy arms for his country. By refusing to comply with his own agreements, he bears full guilt for the hunger and misery of innocent Iraqi citizens.

In 1991, Iraq promised U.N. inspectors immediate and unrestricted access to verify Iraq's commitment to rid itself of weapons of mass destruction and long-range missiles. Iraq broke this promise, spending 7 years deceiving, evading, and harassing U.N. inspectors before ceasing cooperation entirely. Just months after the 1991 ceasefire, the Security Council twice renewed its demand that the Iraqi regime cooperate fully with inspectors, condemning Iraq's serious violations of its obligations. The Security Council again renewed that demand in 1994 and twice more in 1996, deploring Iraq's clear violations of its obligations. The Security Council renewed its demand three more times in 1997, citing flagrant violations, and three more times in 1998, calling Iraq's behavior totally unacceptable. And in 1999, the demand was renewed yet again.

As we meet today, it's been almost 4 years since the last U.N. inspectors set foot in Iraq, 4 years for the Iraqi regime to plan and to build and to test behind the cloak of secrecy.

We know that Saddam Hussein pursued weapons of mass murder even when inspectors were in his country. Are we to assume that he stopped when they left? The history, the logic, and the facts lead to one conclusion: Saddam Hussein's regime is a grave and gathering danger. To suggest otherwise is to hope against the evidence. To assume this regime's good faith is to bet the lives of millions and the peace of the world in a reckless gamble. And this is a risk we must not take.

Delegates to the General Assembly, we have been more than patient. We've tried sanctions. We've tried the carrot of oil for food and the stick of coalition military strikes. But Saddam Hussein has defied all these efforts and continues to develop weapons of mass destruction. The first time we may be completely certain he has a— nuclear weapons is when, God forbids, he uses one. We owe it to all our citizens to do everything in our power to prevent that day from coming.

The conduct of the Iraqi regime is a threat to the authority of the United Nations and a threat to peace. Iraq has answered a decade of U.N. demands

with a decade of defiance. All the world now faces a test and the United Nations a difficult and defining moment. Are Security Council resolutions to be honored and enforced or cast aside without consequence? Will the United Nations serve the purpose of its founding, or will it be irrelevant?

The United States helped found the United Nations. We want the United Nations to be effective and respectful and successful. We want the resolutions of the world's most important multilateral body to be enforced. And right now those resolutions are being unilaterally subverted by the Iraqi regime. Our partnership of nations can meet the test before us by making clear what we now expect of the Iraqi regime.

If the Iraqi regime wishes peace, it will immediately and unconditionally forswear, disclose, and remove or destroy all weapons of mass destruction, long-range missiles, and all related material.

If the Iraqi regime wishes peace, it will immediately end all support for terrorism and act to suppress it, as all states are required to do by U.N. Security Council resolutions.

If the Iraqi regime wishes peace, it will cease persecution of its civilian population, including Shi'a, Sunnis, Kurds, Turkomans, and others, again as required by Security Council resolutions.

If the Iraqi regime wishes peace, it will release or account for all Gulf war personnel whose fate is still unknown. It will return the remains of any who are deceased, return stolen property, accept liability for losses resulting from the invasion of Kuwait, and fully cooperate with international efforts to resolve these issues, as required by Security Council resolutions.

If the Iraqi regime wishes peace, it will immediately end all illicit trade outside the oil-for-food program. It will accept U.N. administration of funds from that program, to ensure that the money is used fairly and promptly for the benefit of the Iraqi people.

If all these steps are taken, it will signal a new openness and accountability in Iraq. And it could open the prospect of the United Nations helping to build a government that represents all Iraqis, a government based on respect for human rights, economic liberty, and internationally supervised elections.

The United States has no quarrel with the Iraqi people. They've suffered too long in silent captivity. Liberty for the Iraqi people is a great moral cause and a great strategic goal. The people of Iraq deserve it; the security of all nations requires it. Free societies do not intimidate through cruelty and conquest, and open societies do not threaten the world with mass murder. The United States supports political and economic liberty in a unified Iraq.

We can harbor no illusions, and that's important today to remember. Saddam Hussein attacked Iran in 1980 and Kuwait in 1990. He's fired ballistic missiles at Iran and Saudi Arabia, Bahrain, and Israel. His regime once ordered the killing of every person between the ages of 15 and 70 in certain Kurdish villages in northern Iraq. He has gassed many Iranians and 40 Iraqi villages.

My Nation will work with the U.N. Security Council to meet our common challenge. If Iraq's regime defies us again, the world must move deliberately, decisively to hold Iraq to account. We will work with the U.N. Security Council for the necessary resolutions. But the purposes of the United States should not be doubted. The Security Council resolutions will be enforced, the just demands of peace and security will be met, or action will be unavoidable. And a regime that has lost its legitimacy will also lose its power.

Events can turn in one of two ways. If we fail to act in the face of danger, the people of Iraq will continue to live in brutal submission. The regime will have new power to bully and dominate and conquer its neighbors, condemning the Middle East to more years of bloodshed and fear. The regime will remain unstable—the region will remain unstable, with little hope of freedom, and isolated from the progress of our times. With every step the Iraqi regime takes toward gaining and deploying the most terrible weapons, our own options to confront that regime will narrow. And if an emboldened regime were to supply

these weapons to terrorist allies, then the attacks of September the 11th would be a prelude to far greater horrors.

If we meet our responsibilities, if we overcome this danger, we can arrive at a very different future. The people of Iraq can shake off their captivity. They can one day join a democratic Afghanistan and a democratic Palestine, inspiring reforms throughout the Muslim world. These nations can show by their example that honest government and respect for women and the great Islamic tradition of learning can triumph in the Middle East and beyond. And we will show that the promise of the United Nations can be fulfilled in our time.

Neither of these outcomes is certain. Both have been set before us. We must choose between a world of fear and a world of progress. We cannot stand by and do nothing while dangers gather. We must stand up for our security and for the permanent rights and the hopes of mankind. By heritage and by choice, the United States of America will make that stand. And delegates to the United Nations, you have the power to make that stand as well.

Thank you very much.

8.3 Address to the Nation on Iraq From Cincinnati, Ohio

Thank you all. Thank you for that very gracious and warm Cincinnati welcome. I'm honored to be here tonight. I appreciate you all coming.

Tonight I want to take a few minutes to discuss a grave threat to peace and America's determination to lead the world in confronting that threat.

The threat comes from Iraq. It arises directly from the Iraqi regime's own actions—its history of aggression and its drive toward an arsenal of terror. Eleven years ago, as a condition for ending the Persian Gulf war, the Iraqi regime was required to destroy its weapons of mass destruction, to cease all development of such weapons, and to stop all support for terrorist groups. The Iraqi regime has violated all of those obligations. It possesses and produces chemical and biological weapons. It is seeking nuclear weapons. It has given

shelter and support to terrorism and practices terror against its own people. The entire world has witnessed Iraq's 11-year history of defiance, deception, and bad faith.

We must also never forget the most vivid events of recent history. On September the 11th, 2001, America felt its vulnerability, even to threats that gather on the other side of the Earth. We resolved then and we are resolved today to confront every threat, from any source, that could bring sudden terror and suffering to America.

Members of Congress of both political parties and members of the United Nations Security Council agree that Saddam Hussein is a threat to peace and must disarm. We agree that the Iraqi dictator must not be permitted to threaten America and the world with horrible poisons and diseases and gases and atomic weapons. Since we all agree on this goal, the issue is: How can we best achieve it?

Many Americans have raised legitimate questions about the nature of the threat, about the urgency of action—why be concerned now—about the link between Iraq developing weapons of terror and the wider war on terror. These are all issues we've discussed broadly and fully within my administration. And tonight I want to share those discussions with you.

First, some ask why Iraq is different from other countries or regimes that also have terrible weapons. While there are many dangers in the world, the threat from Iraq stands alone because it gathers the most serious dangers of our age in one place. Iraq's weapons of mass destruction are controlled by a murderous tyrant who has already used chemical weapons to kill thousands of people. This same tyrant has tried to dominate the Middle East, has invaded and brutally occupied a small neighbor, has struck other nations without warning, and holds an unrelenting hostility toward the United States.

By its past and present actions, by its technological capabilities, by the merciless nature of its regime, Iraq is unique. As a former chief weapons

inspector of the U.N. has said, "The fundamental problem with Iraq remains the nature of the regime, itself. Saddam Hussein is a homicidal dictator who is addicted to weapons of mass destruction."

Some ask how urgent this danger is to America and the world. The danger is already significant, and it only grows worse with time. If we know Saddam Hussein has dangerous weapons today—and we do—does it make any sense for the world to wait to confront him as he grows even stronger and develops even more dangerous weapons?

In 1995, after several years of deceit by the Iraqi regime, the head of Iraq's military industries defected. It was then that the regime was forced to admit that it had produced more than 30,000 liters of anthrax and other deadly biological agents. The inspectors, however, concluded that Iraq had likely produced 2 to 4 times that amount. This is a massive stockpile of biological weapons that has never been accounted for and is capable of killing millions.

We know that the regime has produced thousands of tons of chemical agents, including mustard gas, sarin nerve gas, VX nerve gas. Saddam Hussein also has experience in using chemical weapons. He has ordered chemical attacks on Iran and on more than 40 villages in his own country. These actions killed or injured at least 20,000 people, more than 6 times the number of people who died in the attacks of September the 11th.

And surveillance photos reveal that the regime is rebuilding facilities that it had used to produce chemical and biological weapons. Every chemical and biological weapon that Iraq has or makes is a direct violation of the truce that ended the Persian Gulf war in 1991. Yet, Saddam Hussein has chosen to build and keep these weapons despite international sanctions, U.N. demands, and isolation from the civilized world.

Iraq possesses ballistic missiles with a likely range of hundreds of miles—far enough to strike Saudi Arabia, Israel, Turkey, and other nations—in a region where more than 135,000 American civilians and service members live and

work. We've also discovered through intelligence that Iraq has a growing fleet of manned and unmanned aerial vehicles that could be used to disperse chemical or biological weapons across broad areas. We're concerned that Iraq is exploring ways of using these UAVs for missions targeting the United States. And of course, sophisticated delivery systems aren't required for a chemical or biological attack; all that might be required are a small container and one terrorist or Iraqi intelligence operative to deliver it.

And that is the source of our urgent concern about Saddam Hussein's links to international terrorist groups. Over the years, Iraq has provided safe haven to terrorists such as Abu Nidal, whose terror organization carried out more than 90 terrorist attacks in 20 countries that killed or injured nearly 900 people, including 12 Americans. Iraq has also provided safe haven to Abu Abbas, who was responsible for seizing the Achille Lauro and killing an American passenger. And we know that Iraq is continuing to finance terror and gives assistance to groups that use terrorism to undermine Middle East peace.

We know that Iraq and the Al Qaida terrorist network share a common enemy—the United States of America. We know that Iraq and Al Qaida have had high-level contacts that go back a decade. Some Al Qaida leaders who fled Afghanistan went to Iraq. These include one very senior Al Qaida leader who received medical treatment in Baghdad this year, and who has been associated with planning for chemical and biological attacks. We've learned that Iraq has trained Al Qaida members in bombmaking and poisons and deadly gases. And we know that after September the 11th, Saddam Hussein's regime gleefully celebrated the terrorist attacks on America.

Iraq could decide on any given day to provide a biological or chemical weapon to a terrorist group or individual terrorists. Alliance with terrorists could allow the Iraqi regime to attack America without leaving any fingerprints.

Some have argued that confronting the threat from Iraq could detract from the war against terror. To the contrary, confronting the threat posed by Iraq is crucial to winning the war on terror. When I spoke to Congress more than a

year ago, I said that those who harbor terrorists are as guilty as the terrorists themselves. Saddam Hussein is harboring terrorists and the instruments of terror, the instruments of mass death and destruction. And he cannot be trusted. The risk is simply too great that he will use them or provide them to a terror network.

Terror cells and outlaw regimes building weapons of mass destruction are different faces of the same evil. Our security requires that we confront both, and the United States military is capable of confronting both.

Many people have asked how close Saddam Hussein is to developing a nuclear weapon. Well, we don't know exactly, and that's the problem. Before the Gulf war, the best intelligence indicated that Iraq was 8 to 10 years away from developing a nuclear weapon. After the war, international inspectors learned that the regime had been much closer—the regime in Iraq would likely have possessed a nuclear weapon no later than 1993. The inspectors discovered that Iraq had an advanced nuclear weapons development program, had a design for a workable nuclear weapon, and was pursuing several different methods of enriching uranium for a bomb.

Before being barred from Iraq in 1998, the International Atomic Energy Agency dismantled extensive nuclear weapons-related facilities, including three uranium enrichment sites. That same year, information from a high-ranking Iraqi nuclear engineer who had defected revealed that despite his public promises, Saddam Hussein had ordered his nuclear program to continue.

The evidence indicates that Iraq is reconstituting its nuclear weapons program. Saddam Hussein has held numerous meetings with Iraqi nuclear scientists, a group he calls his "nuclear mujahideen," his nuclear holy warriors. Satellite photographs reveal that Iraq is rebuilding facilities at sites that have been part of its nuclear program in the past. Iraq has attempted to purchase high-strength aluminum tubes and other equipment needed for gas centrifuges, which are used to enrich uranium for nuclear weapons.

If the Iraqi regime is able to produce, buy, or steal an amount of highly enriched uranium a little larger than a single softball, it could have a nuclear weapon in less than a year. And if we allow that to happen, a terrible line would be crossed. Saddam Hussein would be in a position to blackmail anyone who opposes his aggression. He would be in a position to dominate the Middle East. He would be in a position to threaten America. And Saddam Hussein would be in a position to pass nuclear technology to terrorists.

Some citizens wonder, after 11 years of living with this problem, why do we need to confront it now? And there's a reason. We've experienced the horror of September the 11th. We have seen that those who hate America are willing to crash airplanes into buildings full of innocent people. Our enemies would be no less willing—in fact, they would be eager—to use biological or chemical or a nuclear weapon.

Knowing these realities, America must not ignore the threat gathering against us. Facing clear evidence of peril, we cannot wait for the final proof, the smoking gun, that could come in the form of a mushroom cloud. As President Kennedy said in October of 1962, "Neither the United States of America nor the world community of nations can tolerate deliberate deception and offensive threats on the part of any nation, large or small. We no longer live in a world," he said, "where only the actual firing of weapons represents a sufficient challenge to a nation's security to constitute maximum peril."

Understanding the threats of our time, knowing the designs and deceptions of the Iraqi regime, we have every reason to assume the worst, and we have an urgent duty to prevent the worst from occurring.

Some believe we can address this danger by simply resuming the old approach to inspections and applying diplomatic and economic pressure. Yet this is precisely what the world has tried to do since 1991. The U.N. inspections program was met with systematic deception. The Iraqi regime bugged hotel rooms and offices of inspectors to find where they were going next. They forged documents, destroyed evidence, and developed mobile weapons facilities to

keep a step ahead of inspectors. Eight so-called Presidential palaces were declared off-limits to unfettered inspections. These sites actually encompass 12 square miles, with hundreds of structures, both above and below the ground, where sensitive materials could be hidden.

The world has also tried economic sanctions and watched Iraq use billions of dollars in illegal oil revenues to fund more weapons purchases, rather than providing for the needs of the Iraqi people.

The world has tried limited military strikes to destroy Iraq's weapons of mass destruction capabilities, only to see them openly rebuilt, while the regime again denies they even exist.

The world has tried no-fly zones to keep Saddam from terrorizing his own people, and in the last year alone, the Iraqi military has fired upon American and British pilots more than 750 times.

After 11 years during which we have tried containment, sanctions, inspections, even selected military action, the end result is that Saddam Hussein still has chemical and biological weapons and is increasing his capabilities to make more. And he is moving ever closer to developing a nuclear weapon.

Clearly, to actually work, any new inspections, sanctions, or enforcement mechanisms will have to be very different. America wants the U.N. to be an effective organization that helps keep the peace. And that is why we are urging the Security Council to adopt a new resolution setting out tough, immediate requirements. Among those requirements, the Iraqi regime must reveal and destroy, under U.N. supervision, all existing weapons of mass destruction. To ensure that we learn the truth, the regime must allow witnesses to its illegal activities to be interviewed outside the country, and these witnesses must be free to bring their families with them so they are all beyond the reach of Saddam Hussein's terror and murder. And inspectors must have access to any site, at any time, without preclearance, without delay, without exceptions.

The time for denying, deceiving, and delaying has come to an end. Saddam Hussein must disarm himself, or for the sake of peace, we will lead a coalition to disarm him.

Many nations are joining us in insisting that Saddam Hussein's regime be held accountable. They are committed to defending the international security that protects the lives of both our citizens and theirs. And that's why America is challenging all nations to take the resolutions of the U.N. Security Council seriously.

And these resolutions are very clear. In addition to declaring and destroying all of its weapons of mass destruction, Iraq must end its support for terrorism. It must cease the persecution of its civilian population. It must stop all illicit trade outside the oil-for-food program. It must release or account for all Gulf war personnel, including an American pilot whose fate is still unknown.

By taking these steps and by only taking these steps, the Iraqi regime has an opportunity to avoid conflict. Taking these steps would also change the nature of the Iraqi regime, itself. America hopes the regime will make that choice. Unfortunately, at least so far, we have little reason to expect it. And that's why two administrations, mine and President Clinton's, have stated that regime change in Iraq is the only certain means of removing a great danger to our Nation.

I hope this will not require military action, but it may. And military conflict could be difficult. An Iraqi regime faced with its own demise may attempt cruel and desperate measures. If Saddam Hussein orders such measures, his generals would be well advised to refuse those orders. If they do not refuse, they must understand that all war criminals will be pursued and punished. If we have to act, we will take every precaution that is possible. We will plan carefully. We will act with the full power of the United States military. We will act with allies at our side, and we will prevail.

There is no easy or risk-free course of action. Some have argued we should wait, and that's an option. In my view, it's the riskiest of all options, because the longer we wait, the stronger and bolder Saddam Hussein will become. We could wait and hope that Saddam does not give weapons to terrorists or develop a nuclear weapon to blackmail the world. But I'm convinced that is a hope against all evidence. As Americans, we want peace; we work and sacrifice for peace. But there can be no peace if our security depends on the will and whims of a ruthless and aggressive dictator. I'm not willing to stake one American life on trusting Saddam Hussein.

Failure to act would embolden other tyrants, allow terrorists access to new weapons and new resources, and make blackmail a permanent feature of world events. The United Nations would betray the purpose of its founding and prove irrelevant to the problems of our time. And through its inaction, the United States would resign itself to a future of fear.

That is not the America I know. That is not the America I serve. We refuse to live in fear. This Nation, in World War and in cold war, has never permitted the brutal and lawless to set history's course. Now as before, we will secure our Nation, protect our freedom, and help others to find freedom of their own.

Some worry that a change of leadership in Iraq could create instability and make the situation worse. The situation could hardly get worse for world security and for the people of Iraq. The lives of Iraqi citizens would improve dramatically if Saddam Hussein were no longer in power, just as the lives of Afghanistan's citizens improved after the Taliban. The dictator of Iraq is a student of Stalin, using murder as a tool of terror and control, within his own cabinet, within his own army, and even within his own family. On Saddam Hussein's orders, opponents have been decapitated, wives and mothers of political opponents have been systematically raped as a method of intimidation, and political prisoners have been forced to watch their own children being tortured.

America believes that all people are entitled to hope and human rights, to the nonnegotiable demands of human dignity. People everywhere prefer freedom to slavery, prosperity to squalor, self-government to the rule of terror and torture. America is a friend to the people of Iraq. Our demands are directed only at the regime that enslaves them and threatens us. When these demands are met, the first and greatest benefit will come to Iraqi men, women, and children. The oppression of Kurds, Assyrians, Turkomans, Shi'a, Sunnis, and others will be lifted. The long captivity of Iraq will end, and an era of new hope will begin.

Iraq is a land rich in culture and resources and talent. Freed from the weight of oppression, Iraq's people will be able to share in the progress and prosperity of our time. If military action is necessary, the United States and our allies will help the Iraqi people rebuild their economy and create the institutions of liberty in a unified Iraq at peace with its neighbors.

Later this week, the United States Congress will vote on this matter. I have asked Congress to authorize the use of America's military, if it proves necessary, to enforce U.N. Security Council demands. Approving this resolution does not mean that military action is imminent or unavoidable. The resolution will tell the United Nations and all nations that America speaks with one voice and is determined to make the demands of the civilized world mean something. Congress will also be sending a message to the dictator in Iraq that his only chance—his only choice is full compliance, and the time remaining for that choice is limited. Members of Congress are nearing an historic vote. I'm confident they will fully consider the facts and their duties.

The attacks of September the 11th showed our country that vast oceans no longer protect us from danger. Before that tragic date, we had only hints of Al Qaida's plans and designs. Today in Iraq, we see a threat whose outlines are far more clearly defined and whose consequences could be far more deadly. Saddam Hussein's actions have put us on notice, and there is no refuge from our responsibilities.

We did not ask for this present challenge, but we accept it. Like other generations of Americans, we will meet the responsibility of defending human liberty against violence and aggression. By our resolve, we will give strength to others. By our courage, we will give hope to others. And by our actions, we will secure the peace and lead the world to a better day.

May God bless America.

8.4 Remarks on Signing the Homeland Security Act

Thanks for coming. Thanks for the warm welcome, and welcome to the White House.

Today we are taking historic action to defend the United States and protect our citizens against the dangers of a new era. With my signature, this act of Congress will create a new Department of Homeland Security, ensuring that our efforts to defend this country are comprehensive and united.

The new Department will analyze threats, will guard our borders and airports, protect our critical infrastructure, and coordinate the response of our Nation to future emergencies. The Department of Homeland Security will focus the full resources of the American Government on the safety of the American people. This essential reform was carefully considered by Congress and enacted with strong bipartisan majorities.

I want to thank Tom Ridge, the Homeland Security Adviser, for his hard work on this initiative. I want to thank all the members of my Cabinet who are here for their work. I want to thank the Members of Congress who are with us today, particularly those Members of Congress who were essential to the passage, many of whom stand up here on the stage with me. One Member not with us is our mutual friend from Texas, Phil Gramm. I appreciate his hard work. I thank the work of Senator Fred Thompson and Senator Joe Lieberman. I appreciate Zell Miller and Don Nickles' hard work as well. We've got a lot of Members from the House here, and I want to thank you all for coming. I particularly want to pay homage to Dick Armey, who shepherded the bill to the

floor of the House of Representatives. I'll miss him. I'm not so sure everybody will. [*Laughter*] But I appreciate your time here. I thank Tom DeLay for making sure the bill got passed. I thank Rob Portman for his hard work. And I want to thank Ellen Tauscher as well for her leadership on this issue.

I appreciate Kay James of the Office of Personnel Management, who worked so hard to make sure this effort was understood by everybody in our Government. And I want to thank the other administration officials who are here, many of whom are going to be responsible for seeing to it this new Department functions well.

I want to thank all the local and State officials who are here with us today—I see Governors and county judges, mayors—for coming. My own mayor, the Mayor of Washington, DC, I appreciate you coming, Mr. Mayor. I want to thank the local and State law enforcement officials who are here, the chiefs of police and fire chiefs who are with us today. I see the chief of my city now is here as well. Thank you, Mr. Chief, for coming.

I want to thank the union representatives who are here. We look forward to working with you to make sure that your people are treated fairly in this new Department. I want to thank the Federal workers who are here. You're charged with being on the front line of protecting America. I understand your job. We look forward to working with you to make sure you get your job done. I want to thank the President's Homeland Security Advisory Council as well, and thank you all for coming.

From the morning of September the 11th, 2001, to this hour, America has been engaged in an unprecedented effort to defend our freedom and our security. We're fighting a war against terror with all our resources, and we're determined to win.

With the help of many nations, with the help of 90 nations, we're tracking terrorist activity; we're freezing terrorist finances; we're disrupting terrorist plots; we're shutting down terrorist camps; we're on the hunt, one person at a

time. Many terrorists are now being interrogated. Many terrorists have been killed. We've liberated a country.

We recognize our greatest security is found in the relentless pursuit of these coldblooded killers. Yet, because terrorists are targeting America, the front of the new war is here in America. Our life changed and changed in dramatic fashion on September the 11th, 2001.

In the last 14 months, every level of our Government has taken steps to be better prepared against a terrorist attack. We understand the nature of the enemy. We understand they hate us because of what we love. We're doing everything we can to enhance security at our airports and power-plants and border crossings. We've deployed detection equipment to look for weapons of mass destruction. We've given law enforcement better tools to detect and disrupt terrorist cells which might be hiding in our own country.

And through separate legislation I signed earlier today, we will strengthen security at our Nation's 361 seaports, adding port security agents, requiring ships to provide more information about the cargo, crew, and passengers they carry. And I want to thank the Members of Congress for working hard on this important piece of legislation as well.

The Homeland Security Act of 2002 takes the next critical steps in defending our country. The continuing threat of terrorism, the threat of mass murder on our own soil, will be met with a unified, effective response. Dozens of agencies charged with homeland security will now be located within one Cabinet Department with the mandate and legal authority to protect our people. America will be better able to respond to any future attacks, to reduce our vulnerability and, most important, prevent the terrorists from taking innocent American lives.

The Department of Homeland Security will have nearly 170,000 employees, dedicated professionals who will wake up each morning with the overriding duty of protecting their fellow citizens. As Federal workers, they

have rights, and those rights will be fully protected. And I'm grateful that the Congress listened to my concerns and retained the authority of the President to put the right people in the right place at the right time in the defense of our country.

I've great confidence in the men and women who will serve in this Department and in the man I've asked to lead it. As I prepare to sign this bill into law, I am pleased to announce that I will nominate Governor Tom Ridge as our Nation's first Secretary of Homeland Security. Americans know Tom as an experienced public servant and as the leader of our homeland security efforts since last year. Tom accepted that assignment in urgent circumstances, resigning as the Governor of Pennsylvania to organize the White House Office of Homeland Security and to develop a comprehensive strategy to protect the American people. He's done a superb job. He's the right man for this new and great responsibility.

We're going to put together a fine team to work with Tom. The Secretary of the Navy, Gordon England, will be nominated for the post of Deputy Secretary. And Asa Hutchinson of Arkansas, now the Administrator of the Drug Enforcement Administration, will be nominated to serve as Under Secretary for Border and Transportation Security.

The Secretary-designate and his team have an immense task ahead of them. Setting up the Department of Homeland Security will involve the most extensive reorganization of the Federal Government since Harry Truman signed the National Security Act. To succeed in their mission, leaders of the new Department must change the culture of many diverse agencies, directing all of them toward the principal objective of protecting the American people. The effort will take time and focus and steady resolve. It will also require full support from both the administration and the Congress. Adjustments will be needed along the way. Yet this is pressing business, and the hard work of building a new Department begins today.

When the Department of Homeland Security is fully operational, it will enhance the safety of our people in very practical ways. First, this new Department will analyze intelligence information on terror threats collected by the CIA, the FBI, the National Security Agency, and others. The Department will match this intelligence against the Nation's vulnerabilities and work with other agencies and the private sector and State and local governments to harden America's defenses against terror.

Second, the Department will gather and focus all our efforts to face the challenge of cyberterrorism and the even worse danger of nuclear, chemical, and biological terrorism. This Department will be charged with encouraging research on new technologies that can detect these threats in time to prevent an attack.

Third, State and local governments will be able to turn for help and information to one Federal domestic security agency, instead of more than 20 agencies that currently divide these responsibilities. This will help our local governments work in concert with the Federal Government for the sake of all the people of America.

Fourth, the new Department will bring together the agencies responsible for border, coastline, and transportation security. There will be a coordinated effort to safeguard our transportation systems and to secure the border so that we're better able to protect our citizens and welcome our friends.

Fifth, the Department will work with State and local officials to prepare our response to any future terrorist attack that may come. We have found that the first hours and even the first minutes after the attack can be crucial in saving lives, and our first-responders need the carefully planned and drilled strategies that will make their work effective.

The Department of Homeland Security will also end a great deal of duplication and overlapping responsibilities. Our objective is to spend less on administrators in offices and more on working agents in the field, less on

overhead and more on protecting our neighborhoods and borders and waters and skies from terrorists.

With a vast nation to defend, we can neither predict nor prevent every conceivable attack. And in a free and open society, no Department of Government can completely guarantee our safety against ruthless killers who move and plot in shadows. Yet our Government will take every possible measure to safeguard our country and our people.

We're fighting a new kind of war against determined enemies. And public servants long into the future will bear the responsibility to defend Americans against terror. This administration and this Congress have the duty of putting that system into place. We will fulfill that duty. With the Homeland Security Act, we're doing everything we can to protect America. We're showing the resolve of this great Nation to defend our freedom, our security, and our way of life.

It's now my privilege to sign the Homeland Security Act of 2002.

8.5 Address Before a Joint Session of the Congress on the State of the Union

Mr. Speaker, Vice President Cheney, Members of Congress, distinguished citizens and fellow citizens: Every year, by law and by custom, we meet here to consider the state of the Union. This year, we gather in this Chamber deeply aware of decisive days that lie ahead.

You and I serve our country in a time of great consequence. During this session of Congress, we have the duty to reform domestic programs vital to our country. We have the opportunity to save millions of lives abroad from a terrible disease. We will work for a prosperity that is broadly shared, and we will answer every danger and every enemy that threatens the American people.

In all these days of promise and days of reckoning, we can be confident. In a whirlwind of change and hope and peril, our faith is sure; our resolve is firm; and our Union is strong.

This country has many challenges. We will not deny, we will not ignore, we will not pass along our problems to other Congresses, to other Presidents, and other generations. We will confront them with focus and clarity and courage.

During the last 2 years, we have seen what can be accomplished when we work together. To lift the standards of our public schools, we achieved historic education reform, which must now be carried out in every school and in every classroom so that every child in America can read and learn and succeed in life. To protect our country, we reorganized our Government and created the Department of Homeland Security, which is mobilizing against the threats of a new era. To bring our economy out of recession, we delivered the largest tax relief in a generation. To insist on integrity in American business, we passed tough reforms, and we are holding corporate criminals to account.

Some might call this a good record. I call it a good start. Tonight I ask the House and the Senate to join me in the next bold steps to serve our fellow citizens.

Our first goal is clear: We must have an economy that grows fast enough to employ every man and woman who seeks a job. After recession, terrorist attacks, corporate scandals, and stock market declines, our economy is recovering. Yet, it's not growing fast enough or strongly enough. With unemployment rising, our Nation needs more small businesses to open, more companies to invest and expand, more employers to put up the sign that says "Help Wanted."

Jobs are created when the economy grows. The economy grows when Americans have more money to spend and invest, and the best and fairest way to make sure Americans have that money is not to tax it away in the first place.

I am proposing that all the income-tax reductions set for 2004 and 2006 be made permanent and effective this year. And under my plan, as soon as I've signed the bill, this extra money will start showing up in workers' paychecks. Instead of gradually reducing the marriage penalty, we should do it now. Instead of slowly raising the child credit to \$1,000, we should send the checks to American families now.

The tax relief is for everyone who pays income taxes, and it will help our economy immediately. Ninety-two million Americans will keep, this year, an average of almost \$1,100 more of their own money. A family of four with an income of \$40,000 would see their Federal income taxes fall from \$1,178 to \$45 per year. Our plan will improve the bottom line for more than 23 million small businesses.

You, the Congress, have already passed all these reductions and promised them for future years. If this tax relief is good for Americans 3 or 5 or 7 years from now, it is even better for Americans today.

We should also strengthen the economy by treating investors equally in our tax laws. It's fair to tax a company's profits. It is not fair to again tax the shareholder on the same profits. To boost investor confidence and to help the nearly 10 million seniors who receive dividend income, I ask you to end the unfair double taxation of dividends.

Lower taxes and greater investment will help this economy expand. More jobs mean more taxpayers and higher revenues to our Government. The best way to address the deficit and move toward a balanced budget is to encourage economic growth and to show some spending discipline in Washington, DC.

We must work together to fund only our most important priorities. I will send you a budget that increases discretionary spending by 4 percent next year, about as much as the average family's income is expected to grow. And that is a good benchmark for us. Federal spending should not rise any faster than the paychecks of American families.

A growing economy and a focus on essential priorities will be crucial to the future of Social Security. As we continue to work together to keep Social Security sound and reliable, we must offer younger workers a chance to invest in retirement accounts that they will control and they will own.

Our second goal is high quality, affordable health for all Americans. The American system of medicine is a model of skill and innovation, with a pace of discovery that is adding good years to our lives. Yet for many people, medical care costs too much, and many have no health coverage at all. These problems will not be solved with a nationalized health care system that dictates coverage and rations care.

Instead, we must work toward a system in which all Americans have a good insurance policy, choose their own doctors, and seniors and low-income Americans receive the help they need. Instead of bureaucrats and trial lawyers and HMOs, we must put doctors and nurses and patients back in charge of American medicine.

Health care reform must begin with Medicare. Medicare is the binding commitment of a caring society. We must renew that commitment by giving seniors access to preventive medicine and new drugs that are transforming health care in America.

Seniors happy with the current Medicare system should be able to keep their coverage just the way it is. And just like you, the Members of Congress, and your staffs and other Federal employees, all seniors should have the choice of a health care plan that provides prescription drugs.

My budget will commit an additional \$400 billion over the next decade to reform and strengthen Medicare. Leaders of both political parties have talked for years about strengthening Medicare. I urge the Members of this new Congress to act this year.

To improve our health care system, we must address one of the prime causes of higher cost, the constant threat that physicians and hospitals will be

unfairly sued. Because of excessive litigation, everybody pays more for health care, and many parts of America are losing fine doctors. No one has ever been healed by a frivolous lawsuit. I urge the Congress to pass medical liability reform.

Our third goal is to promote energy independence for our country while dramatically improving the environment. I have sent you a comprehensive energy plan to promote energy efficiency and conservation, to develop cleaner technology, and to produce more energy at home. I have sent you Clear Skies legislation that mandates a 70-percent cut in air pollution from powerplants over the next 15 years. I have sent you a Healthy Forests Initiative, to help prevent the catastrophic fires that devastate communities, kill wildlife, and burn away millions of acres of treasured forests.

I urge you to pass these measures, for the good of both our environment and our economy. Even more, I ask you to take a crucial step and protect our environment in ways that generations before us could not have imagined.

In this century, the greatest environmental progress will come about not through endless lawsuits or command-and-control regulations but through technology and innovation. Tonight I'm proposing \$1.2 billion in research funding so that America can lead the world in developing clean, hydrogen-powered automobiles.

A simple chemical reaction between hydrogen and oxygen generates energy which can be used to power a car, producing only water, not exhaust fumes. With a new national commitment, our scientists and engineers will overcome obstacles to taking these cars from laboratory to showroom, so that the first car driven by a child born today could be powered by hydrogen and pollution-free. Join me in this important innovation to make our air significantly cleaner and our country much less dependent on foreign sources of energy.

Our fourth goal is to apply the compassion of America to the deepest problems of America. For so many in our country, the homeless and the fatherless, the addicted, the need is great. Yet there's power, wonder-working power, in the goodness and idealism and faith of the American people.

Americans are doing the work of compassion every day, visiting prisoners, providing shelter for battered women, bringing companionship to lonely seniors. These good works deserve our praise. They deserve our personal support, and when appropriate, they deserve the assistance of the Federal Government.

I urge you to pass both my Faith-Based Initiative and the "Citizen Service Act," to encourage acts of compassion that can transform America, one heart and one soul at a time.

Last year, I called on my fellow citizens to participate in the U.S.A. Freedom Corps, which is enlisting tens of thousands of new volunteers across America. Tonight I ask Congress and the American people to focus the spirit of service and the resources of Government on the needs of some of our most vulnerable citizens, boys and girls trying to grow up without guidance and attention and children who have to go through a prison gate to be hugged by their mom or dad. I propose a \$450 million initiative to bring mentors to more than a million disadvantaged junior high students and children of prisoners. Government will support the training and recruiting of mentors. Yet it is the men and women of America who will fill the need. One mentor, one person, can change a life forever, and I urge you to be that one person.

Another cause of hopelessness is addiction to drugs. Addiction crowds out friendship, ambition, moral conviction and reduces all the richness of life to a single destructive desire. As a government, we are fighting illegal drugs by cutting off supplies and reducing demand through antidrug education programs. Yet for those already addicted, the fight against drugs is a fight for their own lives. Too many Americans in search of treatment cannot get it. So tonight I

propose a new \$600 million program to help an additional 300,000 Americans receive treatment over the next 3 years.

Our Nation is blessed with recovery programs that do amazing work. One of them is found at the Healing Place Church in Baton Rouge, Louisiana. A man in the program said, "God does miracles in people's lives, and you never think it could be you." Tonight let us bring to all Americans who struggle with drug addiction this message of hope: The miracle of recovery is possible, and it could be you.

By caring for children who need mentors and for addicted men and women who need treatment, we are building a more welcoming society, a culture that values every life. And in this work, we must not overlook the weakest among us. I ask you to protect infants at the very hour of their birth and end the practice of partial-birth abortion. And because no human life should be started or ended as the object of an experiment, I ask you to set a high standard for humanity and pass a law against all human cloning.

The qualities of courage and compassion that we strive for in America also determine our conduct abroad. The American flag stands for more than our power and our interests. Our Founders dedicated this country to the cause of human dignity, the rights of every person, and the possibilities of every life. This conviction leads us into the world to help the afflicted and defend the peace and confound the designs of evil men.

In Afghanistan, we helped to liberate an oppressed people. And we will continue helping them secure their country, rebuild their society, and educate all their children, boys and girls. In the Middle East, we will continue to seek peace between a secure Israel and a democratic Palestine. Across the Earth, America is feeding the hungry. More than 60 percent of international food aid comes as a gift from the people of the United States. As our Nation moves troops and builds alliances to make our world safer, we must also remember our calling as a blessed country is to make the world better.

Today, on the continent of Africa, nearly 30 million people have the AIDS virus, including 3 million children under the age 15. There are whole countries in Africa where more than one-third of the adult population carries the infection. More than 4 million require immediate drug treatment. Yet across that continent, only 50,000 AIDS victims—only 50,000—are receiving the medicine they need. Because the AIDS diagnosis is considered a death sentence, many do not seek treatment. Almost all who do are turned away. A doctor in rural South Africa describes his frustration. He says, "We have no medicines. Many hospitals tell people, 'You've got AIDS. We can't help you. Go home and die.'" In an age of miraculous medicines, no person should have to hear those words.

AIDS can be prevented. Antiretroviral drugs can extend life for many years. And the cost of those drugs has dropped from \$12,000 a year to under \$300 a year, which places a tremendous possibility within our grasp. Ladies and gentlemen, seldom has history offered a greater opportunity to do so much for so many.

We have confronted and will continue to confront HIV/AIDS in our own country. And to meet a severe and urgent crisis abroad, tonight I propose the Emergency Plan for AIDS Relief, a work of mercy beyond all current international efforts to help the people of Africa. This comprehensive plan will prevent 7 million new AIDS infections, treat at least 2 million people with life-extending drugs, and provide humane care for millions of people suffering from AIDS and for children orphaned by AIDS. I ask the Congress to commit \$15 billion over the next 5 years, including nearly \$10 billion in new money, to turn the tide against AIDS in the most afflicted nations of Africa and the Caribbean.

This Nation can lead the world in sparing innocent people from a plague of nature. And this Nation is leading the world in confronting and defeating the manmade evil of international terrorism.

There are days when our fellow citizens do not hear news about the war on terror. There's never a day when I do not learn of another threat or receive

reports of operations in progress or give an order in this global war against a scattered network of killers. The war goes on, and we are winning.

To date, we've arrested or otherwise dealt with many key commanders of Al Qaida. They include a man who directed logistics and funding for the September the 11th attacks, the chief of Al Qaida operations in the Persian Gulf who planned the bombings of our embassies in east Africa and the U.S.S. *Cole*, an Al Qaida operations chief from Southeast Asia, a former director of Al Qaida's training camps in Afghanistan, a key Al Qaida operative in Europe, a major Al Qaida leader in Yemen. All told, more than 3,000 suspected terrorists have been arrested in many countries. Many others have met a different fate. Let's put it this way: They are no longer a problem to the United States and our friends and allies.

We are working closely with other nations to prevent further attacks. America and coalition countries have uncovered and stopped terrorist conspiracies targeting the Embassy in Yemen, the American Embassy in Singapore, a Saudi military base, ships in the Straits of Hormuz and the Straits of Gibraltar. We've broken Al Qaida cells in Hamburg, Milan, Madrid, London, Paris, as well as Buffalo, New York.

We have the terrorists on the run. We're keeping them on the run. One by one, the terrorists are learning the meaning of American justice.

As we fight this war, we will remember where it began: Here, in our own country. This Government is taking unprecedented measures to protect our people and defend our homeland. We've intensified security at the borders and ports of entry, posted more than 50,000 newly trained Federal screeners in airports, begun inoculating troops and first-responders against smallpox, and are deploying the Nation's first early warning network of sensors to detect biological attack. And this year, for the first time, we are beginning to field a defense to protect this Nation against ballistic missiles.

I thank the Congress for supporting these measures. I ask you tonight to add to our future security with a major research and production effort to guard our people against bioterrorism, called Project Bio-Shield. The budget I send you will propose almost \$6 billion to quickly make available effective vaccines and treatments against agents like anthrax, botulinum toxin, Ebola, and plague. We must assume that our enemies would use these diseases as weapons, and we must act before the dangers are upon us.

Since September the 11th, our intelligence and law enforcement agencies have worked more closely than ever to track and disrupt the terrorists. The FBI is improving its ability to analyze intelligence and is transforming itself to meet new threats. Tonight I am instructing the leaders of the FBI, the CIA, the Homeland Security, and the Department of Defense to develop a Terrorist Threat Integration Center, to merge and analyze all threat information in a single location. Our Government must have the very best information possible, and we will use it to make sure the right people are in the right places to protect all our citizens.

Our war against terror is a contest of will in which perseverance is power. In the ruins of two towers, at the western wall of the Pentagon, on a field in Pennsylvania, this Nation made a pledge, and we renew that pledge tonight: Whatever the duration of this struggle and whatever the difficulties, we will not permit the triumph of violence in the affairs of men; free people will set the course of history.

Today, the gravest danger in the war on terror, the gravest danger facing America and the world, is outlaw regimes that seek and possess nuclear, chemical, and biological weapons. These regimes could use such weapons for blackmail, terror, and mass murder. They could also give or sell those weapons to terrorist allies, who would use them without the least hesitation.

This threat is new. America's duty is familiar. Throughout the 20th century, small groups of men seized control of great nations, built armies and arsenals, and set out to dominate the weak and intimidate the world. In each

case, their ambitions of cruelty and murder had no limit. In each case, the ambitions of Hitlerism, militarism, and communism were defeated by the will of free peoples, by the strength of great alliances, and by the might of the United States of America.

Now, in this century, the ideology of power and domination has appeared again and seeks to gain the ultimate weapons of terror. Once again, this Nation and all our friends are all that stand between a world at peace and a world of chaos and constant alarm. Once again, we are called to defend the safety of our people and the hopes of all mankind. And we accept this responsibility.

America is making a broad and determined effort to confront these dangers. We have called on the United Nations to fulfill its charter and stand by its demand that Iraq disarm. We're strongly supporting the International Atomic Energy Agency in its mission to track and control nuclear materials around the world. We're working with other governments to secure nuclear materials in the former Soviet Union and to strengthen global treaties banning the production and shipment of missile technologies and weapons of mass destruction.

In all these efforts, however, America's purpose is more than to follow a process; it is to achieve a result, the end of terrible threats to the civilized world. All free nations have a stake in preventing sudden and catastrophic attacks. And we're asking them to join us, and many are doing so. Yet the course of this Nation does not depend on the decisions of others. Whatever action is required, whenever action is necessary, I will defend the freedom and security of the American people.

Different threats require different strategies. In Iran, we continue to see a Government that represses its people, pursues weapons of mass destruction, and supports terror. We also see Iranian citizens risking intimidation and death as they speak out for liberty and human rights and democracy. Iranians, like all people, have a right to choose their own Government and determine their own destiny, and the United States supports their aspirations to live in freedom.

On the Korean Peninsula, an oppressive regime rules a people living in fear and starvation. Throughout the 1990s, the United States relied on a negotiated framework to keep North Korea from gaining nuclear weapons. We now know that that regime was deceiving the world and developing those weapons all along. And today, the North Korean regime is using its nuclear program to incite fear and seek concessions. America and the world will not be blackmailed.

America is working with the countries of the region, South Korea, Japan, China, and Russia, to find a peaceful solution and to show the North Korean Government that nuclear weapons will bring only isolation, economic stagnation, and continued hardship. The North Korean regime will find respect in the world and revival for its people only when it turns away from its nuclear ambitions.

Our Nation and the world must learn the lessons of the Korean Peninsula and not allow an even greater threat to rise up in Iraq. A brutal dictator, with a history of reckless aggression, with ties to terrorism, with great potential wealth, will not be permitted to dominate a vital region and threaten the United States.

Twelve years ago, Saddam Hussein faced the prospect of being the last casualty in a war he had started and lost. To spare himself, he agreed to disarm of all weapons of mass destruction. For the next 12 years, he systematically violated that agreement. He pursued chemical, biological, and nuclear weapons, even while inspectors were in his country. Nothing to date has restrained him from his pursuit of these weapons, not economic sanctions, not isolation from the civilized world, not even cruise missile strikes on his military facilities.

Almost 3 months ago, the United Nations Security Council gave Saddam Hussein his final chance to disarm. He has shown instead utter contempt for the United Nations and for the opinion of the world. The 108 U.N. inspectors were sent to conduct— were not sent to conduct a scavenger hunt for hidden materials across a country the size of California. The job of the inspectors is to

verify that Iraq's regime is disarming. It is up to Iraq to show exactly where it is hiding its banned weapons, lay those weapons out for the world to see, and destroy them as directed. Nothing like this has happened.

The United Nations concluded in 1999 that Saddam Hussein had biological weapons sufficient to produce over 25,000 liters of anthrax, enough doses to kill several million people. He hasn't accounted for that material. He's given no evidence that he has destroyed it.

The United Nations concluded that Saddam Hussein had materials sufficient to produce more than 38,000 liters of botulinum toxin, enough to subject millions of people to death by respiratory failure. He hasn't accounted for that material. He's given no evidence that he has destroyed it.

Our intelligence officials estimate that Saddam Hussein had the materials to produce as much as 500 tons of sarin, mustard, and VX nerve agent. In such quantities, these chemical agents could also kill untold thousands. He's not accounted for these materials. He has given no evidence that he has destroyed them.

U.S. intelligence indicates that Saddam Hussein had upwards of 30,000 munitions capable of delivering chemical agents. Inspectors recently turned up 16 of them, despite Iraq's recent declaration denying their existence. Saddam Hussein has not accounted for the remaining 29,984 of these prohibited munitions. He's given no evidence that he has destroyed them.

From three Iraqi defectors we know that Iraq, in the late 1990s, had several mobile biological weapons labs. These are designed to produce germ warfare agents and can be moved from place to a place to evade inspectors. Saddam Hussein has not disclosed these facilities. He's given no evidence that he has destroyed them.

The International Atomic Energy Agency confirmed in the 1990s that Saddam Hussein had an advanced nuclear weapons development program, had a design for a nuclear weapon, and was working on five different methods of

enriching uranium for a bomb. The British Government has learned that Saddam Hussein recently sought significant quantities of uranium from Africa. Our intelligence sources tell us that he has attempted to purchase high-strength aluminum tubes suitable for nuclear weapons production. Saddam Hussein has not credibly explained these activities. He clearly has much to hide.

The dictator of Iraq is not disarming. To the contrary, he is deceiving. From intelligence sources we know, for instance, that thousands of Iraqi security personnel are at work hiding documents and materials from the U.N. inspectors, sanitizing inspection sites, and monitoring the inspectors themselves. Iraqi officials accompany the inspectors in order to intimidate witnesses. Iraq is blocking U-2 surveillance flights requested by the United Nations. Iraqi intelligence officers are posing as the scientists inspectors are supposed to interview. Real scientists have been coached by Iraqi officials on what to say. Intelligence sources indicate that Saddam Hussein has ordered that scientists who cooperate with U.N. inspectors in disarming Iraq will be killed, along with their families.

Year after year, Saddam Hussein has gone to elaborate lengths, spent enormous sums, taken great risks to build and keep weapons of mass destruction. But why? The only possible explanation, the only possible use he could have for those weapons, is to dominate, intimidate, or attack.

With nuclear arms or a full arsenal of chemical and biological weapons, Saddam Hussein could resume his ambitions of conquest in the Middle East and create deadly havoc in that region. And this Congress and the American people must recognize another threat. Evidence from intelligence sources, secret communications, and statements by people now in custody reveal that Saddam Hussein aids and protects terrorists, including members of Al Qaida. Secretly and without fingerprints, he could provide one of his hidden weapons to terrorists or help them develop their own.

Before September the 11th, many in the world believed that Saddam Hussein could be contained. But chemical agents, lethal viruses, and shadowy

terrorist networks are not easily contained. Imagine those 19 hijackers with other weapons and other plans, this time armed by Saddam Hussein. It would take one vial, one canister, one crate slipped into this country to bring a day of horror like none we have ever known. We will do everything in our power to make sure that that day never comes.

Some have said we must not act until the threat is imminent. Since when have terrorists and tyrants announced their intentions, politely putting us on notice before they strike? If this threat is permitted to fully and suddenly emerge, all actions, all words, and all recriminations would come too late. Trusting in the sanity and restraint of Saddam Hussein is not a strategy, and it is not an option.

The dictator who is assembling the world's most dangerous weapons has already used them on whole villages, leaving thousands of his own citizens dead, blind, or disfigured. Iraqi refugees tell us how forced confessions are obtained, by torturing children while their parents are made to watch. International human rights groups have cataloged other methods used in the torture chambers of Iraq: electric shock, burning with hot irons, dripping acid on the skin, mutilation with electric drills, cutting out tongues, and rape. If this is not evil, then evil has no meaning.

And tonight I have a message for the brave and oppressed people of Iraq: Your enemy is not surrounding your country; your enemy is ruling your country. And the day he and his regime are removed from power will be the day of your liberation.

The world has waited 12 years for Iraq to disarm. America will not accept a serious and mounting threat to our country and our friends and our allies. The United States will ask the U.N. Security Council to convene on February the 5th to consider the facts of Iraq's ongoing defiance of the world. Secretary of State Powell will present information and intelligence about Iraq's legal—Iraq's illegal weapons programs, its attempt to hide those weapons from inspectors, and its links to terrorist groups.

We will consult. But let there be no misunderstanding: If Saddam Hussein does not fully disarm, for the safety of our people and for the peace of the world, we will lead a coalition to disarm him.

Tonight I have a message for the men and women who will keep the peace, members of the American Armed Forces: Many of you are assembling in or near the Middle East, and some crucial hours may lay ahead. In those hours, the success of our cause will depend on you. Your training has prepared you. Your honor will guide you. You believe in America, and America believes in you.

Sending Americans into battle is the most profound decision a President can make. The technologies of war have changed; the risks and suffering of war have not. For the brave Americans who bear the risk, no victory is free from sorrow. This Nation fights reluctantly, because we know the cost and we dread the days of mourning that always come.

We seek peace. We strive for peace. And sometimes peace must be defended. A future lived at the mercy of terrible threats is no peace at all. If war is forced upon us, we will fight in a just cause and by just means, sparing, in every way we can, the innocent. And if war is forced upon us, we will fight with the full force and might of the United States military, and we will prevail.

And as we and our coalition partners are doing in Afghanistan, we will bring to the Iraqi people food and medicines and supplies and freedom.

Many challenges, abroad and at home, have arrived in a single season. In 2 years, America has gone from a sense of invulnerability to an awareness of peril, from bitter division in small matters to calm unity in great causes. And we go forward with confidence, because this call of history has come to the right country.

Americans are a resolute people who have risen to every test of our time. Adversity has revealed the character of our country, to the world and to ourselves. America is a strong nation and honorable in the use of our strength.

We exercise power without conquest, and we sacrifice for the liberty of strangers.

Americans are a free people who know that freedom is the right of every person and the future of every nation. The liberty we prize is not America's gift to the world; it is God's gift to humanity.

We Americans have faith in ourselves, but not in ourselves alone. We do not know—we do not claim to know all the ways of providence, yet we can trust in them, placing our confidence in the loving God behind all of life and all of history.

May He guide us now. And may God continue to bless the United States of America.

8.6 Remarks at the American Enterprise Institute Dinner

Thank you all very much. Thanks for the warm welcome. I'm proud to be with the scholars and the friends and the supporters of the American Enterprise Institute. I want to thank you for overlooking my dress code violation. [*Laughter*] They were about to stop me at the door, but Irving Kristol said, "I know this guy. Let him in." [*Laughter*]

Chris, thank you for your very kind introduction, and thank you for your leadership. I see many distinguished guests here tonight, members of my Cabinet, Members of Congress, Justice Scalia, Justice Thomas, and so many respected writers and policy experts. I'm always happy to see your senior fellow, Dr. Lynne Cheney. Lynne is a wise and thoughtful commentator on history and culture and a dear friend to Laura and me. I'm also familiar with the good work of her husband. [*Laughter*] You may remember him, the former director of my Vice-Presidential search committee. [*Laughter*] Thank God Dick Cheney said yes.

Thanks for fitting me into the program tonight. I know I'm not the featured speaker. I'm just a warmup act for Allan Meltzer. But I want to congratulate Dr.

Meltzer for a lifetime of achievement and for tonight's well-deserved honor. Congratulations, Dr. Meltzer.

At the American Enterprise Institute, some of the finest minds in our Nation are at work on some of the greatest challenges to our Nation. You do such good work that my administration has borrowed 20 such minds. I want to thank them for their service, but I also want to remind people that for 60 years, AEI scholars have made vital contributions to our country and to our Government, and we are grateful for those contributions.

We meet here during a crucial period in the history of our Nation and of the civilized world. Part of that history was written by others; the rest will be written by us. On a September morning, threats that had gathered for years, in secret and far away, led to murder in our country on a massive scale. As a result, we must look at security in a new way, because our country is a battlefield in the first war of the 21st century.

We learned a lesson: The dangers of our time must be confronted actively and forcefully, before we see them again in our skies and in our cities. And we set a goal: We will not allow the triumph of hatred and violence in the affairs of men.

Our coalition of more than 90 countries is pursuing the networks of terror with every tool of law enforcement and with military power. We have arrested or otherwise dealt with many key commanders of Al Qaida. Across the world, we are hunting down the killers one by one. We are winning. And we're showing them the definition of American justice. And we are opposing the greatest danger in the war on terror, outlaw regimes arming with weapons of mass destruction.

In Iraq, a dictator is building and hiding weapons that could enable him to dominate the Middle East and intimidate the civilized world, and we will not allow it. This same tyrant has close ties to terrorist organizations and could supply them with the terrible means to strike this country, and America will not

permit it. The danger posed by Saddam Hussein and his weapons cannot be ignored or wished away. The danger must be confronted. We hope that the Iraqi regime will meet the demands of the United Nations and disarm, fully and peacefully. If it does not, we are prepared to disarm Iraq by force. Either way, this danger will be removed.

The safety of the American people depends on ending this direct and growing threat. Acting against the danger will also contribute greatly to the long-term safety and stability of our world. The current Iraqi regime has shown the power of tyranny to spread discord and violence in the Middle East. A liberated Iraq can show the power of freedom to transform that vital region, by bringing hope and progress into the lives of millions. America's interests in security and America's belief in liberty both lead in the same direction, to a free and peaceful Iraq.

The first to benefit from a free Iraq would be the Iraqi people themselves. Today they live in scarcity and fear under a dictator who has brought them nothing but war and misery and torture. Their lives and their freedom matter little to Saddam Hussein, but Iraqi lives and freedom matter greatly to us.

Bringing stability and unity to a free Iraq will not be easy. Yet that is no excuse to leave the Iraqi regime's torture chambers and poison labs in operation. Any future the Iraqi people choose for themselves will be better than the nightmare world that Saddam Hussein has chosen for them.

If we must use force, the United States and our coalition stand ready to help the citizens of a liberated Iraq. We will deliver medicine to the sick, and we are now moving into place nearly 3 million emergency rations to feed the hungry. We'll make sure that Iraq's 55,000 food distribution sites, operating under the oil-for-food program, are stocked and open as soon as possible. The United States and Great Britain are providing tens of millions of dollars to the U.N. High Commission on Refugees and to such groups as the World Food Program and UNICEF to provide emergency aid to the Iraqi people.

We will also lead in carrying out the urgent and dangerous work of destroying chemical and biological weapons. We will provide security against those who try to spread chaos or settle scores or threaten the territorial integrity of Iraq. We will seek to protect Iraq's natural resources from sabotage by a dying regime and ensure those resources are used for the benefit of the owners, the Iraqi people.

The United States has no intention of determining the precise form of Iraq's new Government. That choice belongs to the Iraqi people. Yet, we will ensure that one brutal dictator is not replaced by another. All Iraqis must have a voice in the new Government, and all citizens must have their rights protected.

Rebuilding Iraq will require a sustained commitment from many nations, including our own. We will remain in Iraq as long as necessary and not a day more. America has made and kept this kind of commitment before, in the peace that followed a World War. After defeating enemies, we did not leave behind occupying armies; we left constitutions and parliaments. We established an atmosphere of safety, in which responsible, reform-minded local leaders could build lasting institutions of freedom. In societies that once bred fascism and militarism, liberty found a permanent home.

There was a time when many said that the cultures of Japan and Germany were incapable of sustaining democratic values. Well, they were wrong. Some say the same of Iraq today. They are mistaken. The nation of Iraq, with its proud heritage, abundant resources, and skilled and educated people, is fully capable of moving toward democracy and living in freedom.

The world has a clear interest in the spread of democratic values, because stable and free nations do not breed the ideologies of murder. They encourage the peaceful pursuit of a better life. And there are hopeful signs of a desire for freedom in the Middle East. Arab intellectuals have called on Arab governments to address the "freedom gap" so their peoples can fully share in the progress of our times. Leaders in the region speak of a new Arab charter that champions internal reform, greater political participation, economic

openness, and free trade. And from Morocco to Bahrain and beyond, nations are taking genuine steps toward political reform. A new regime in Iraq would serve as a dramatic and inspiring example of freedom for other nations in the region.

It is presumptuous and insulting to suggest that a whole region of the world, or the one-fifth of humanity that is Muslim, is somehow untouched by the most basic aspirations of life. Human cultures can be vastly different, yet the human heart desires the same good things everywhere on Earth. In our desire to be safe from brutal and bullying oppression, human beings are the same. In our desire to care for our children and give them a better life, we are the same. For these fundamental reasons, freedom and democracy will always and everywhere have greater appeal than the slogans of hatred and the tactics of terror.

Success in Iraq could also begin a new stage for Middle Eastern peace and set in motion progress towards a truly democratic Palestinian state. The passing of Saddam Hussein's regime will deprive terrorist networks of a wealthy patron that pays for terrorist training and offers rewards to families of suicide bombers. And other regimes will be given a clear warning that support for terror will not be tolerated.

Without this outside support for terrorism, Palestinians who are working for reform and long for democracy will be in a better position to choose new leaders, true leaders who strive for peace, true leaders who faithfully serve the people. A Palestinian state must be a reformed and peaceful state that abandons forever the use of terror.

For its part, the new Government of Israel, as the terror threat is removed and security improves, will be expected to support the creation of a viable Palestinian state and to work as quickly as possible toward a final status agreement. As progress is made toward peace, settlement activity in the occupied territories must end. And the Arab states will be expected to meet their responsibilities to oppose terrorism, to support the emergence of a

peaceful and democratic Palestine, and state clearly they will live in peace with Israel.

The United States and other nations are working on a roadmap for peace. We are setting out the necessary conditions for progress toward the goal of two states, Israel and Palestine, living side by side in peace and security. It is the commitment of our Government and my personal commitment to implement the roadmap and to reach that goal. Old patterns of conflict in the Middle East can be broken, if all concerned will let go of bitterness and hatred and violence and get on with the serious work of economic development and political reform and reconciliation. America will seize every opportunity in pursuit of peace. And the end of the present regime in Iraq would create such an opportunity.

In confronting Iraq, the United States is also showing our commitment to effective international institutions. We are a permanent member of the United Nations Security Council. We helped to create the Security Council. We believe in the Security Council so much that we want its words to have meaning.

The global threat of proliferation of weapons of mass destruction cannot be confronted by one nation alone. The world needs today and will need tomorrow international bodies with the authority and the will to stop the spread of terror and chemical and biological and nuclear weapons. A threat to all must be answered by all. High-minded pronouncements against proliferation mean little unless the strongest nations are willing to stand behind them and use force if necessary. After all, the United Nations was created, as Winston Churchill said, to "make sure that the force of right will, in the ultimate issue, be protected by the right of force."

Another resolution is now before the Security Council. If the Council responds to Iraq's defiance with more excuses and delays, if all its authority proves to be empty, the United Nations will be severely weakened as a source of stability and order. If the members rise to this moment, then the Council will fulfill its founding purpose.

I've listened carefully as people and leaders around the world have made known their desire for peace. All of us want peace. The threat to peace does not come from those who seek to enforce the just demands of the civilized world. The threat to peace comes from those who flout those demands. If we have to act, we will act to restrain the violent and defend the cause of peace. And by acting, we will signal to outlaw regimes that in this new century, the boundaries of civilized behavior will be respected.

Protecting those boundaries carries a cost. If war is forced upon us by Iraq's refusal to disarm, we will meet an enemy who hides his military forces behind civilians, who has terrible weapons, who is capable of any crime. The dangers are real, as our soldiers and sailors, airmen and marines fully understand. Yet, no military has ever been better prepared to meet these challenges.

Members of our Armed Forces also understand why they may be called to fight. They know that retreat before a dictator guarantees even greater sacrifices in the future. They know that America's cause is right and just, liberty for an oppressed people and security for the American people. And I know something about these men and women who wear our uniform: They will complete every mission they are given with skill and honor and courage.

Much is asked of America in this year 2003. The work ahead is demanding. It will be difficult to help freedom take hold in a country that has known three decades of dictatorship, secret police, internal divisions, and war. It will be difficult to cultivate liberty and peace in the Middle East, after so many generations of strife. Yet the security of our Nation and the hope of millions depend on us, and Americans do not turn away from duties because they are hard. We have met great tests in other times, and we will meet the tests of our time.

We go forward with confidence, because we trust in the power of human freedom to change lives and nations. By the resolve and purpose of America and of our friends and allies, we will make this an age of progress and liberty.

Free people will set the course of history, and free people will keep the peace of the world.

Thank you all very much.

8.7 Address to the Nation on Iraq (March 17, 2003)

My fellow citizens, events in Iraq have now reached the final days of decision. For more than a decade, the United States and other nations have pursued patient and honorable efforts to disarm the Iraqi regime without war. That regime pledged to reveal and destroy all its weapons of mass destruction as a condition for ending the Persian Gulf war in 1991.

Since then, the world has engaged in 12 years of diplomacy. We have passed more than a dozen resolutions in the United Nations Security Council. We have sent hundreds of weapons inspectors to oversee the disarmament of Iraq. Our good faith has not been returned.

The Iraqi regime has used diplomacy as a ploy to gain time and advantage. It has uniformly defied Security Council resolutions demanding full disarmament. Over the years, U.N. weapon inspectors have been threatened by Iraqi officials, electronically bugged, and systematically deceived. Peaceful efforts to disarm the Iraqi regime have failed again and again because we are not dealing with peaceful men.

Intelligence gathered by this and other governments leaves no doubt that the Iraq regime continues to possess and conceal some of the most lethal weapons ever devised. This regime has already used weapons of mass destruction against Iraq's neighbors and against Iraq's people.

The regime has a history of reckless aggression in the Middle East. It has a deep hatred of America and our friends. And it has aided, trained, and harbored terrorists, including operatives of Al Qaida.

The danger is clear: Using chemical, biological or, one day, nuclear weapons obtained with the help of Iraq, the terrorists could fulfill their stated

ambitions and kill thousands or hundreds of thousands of innocent people in our country or any other.

The United States and other nations did nothing to deserve or invite this threat. But we will do everything to defeat it. Instead of drifting along toward tragedy, we will set a course toward safety. Before the day of horror can come, before it is too late to act, this danger will be removed.

The United States of America has the sovereign authority to use force in assuring its own national security. That duty falls to me as Commander in Chief, by the oath I have sworn, by the oath I will keep.

Recognizing the threat to our country, the United States Congress voted overwhelmingly last year to support the use of force against Iraq. America tried to work with the United Nations to address this threat because we wanted to resolve the issue peacefully. We believe in the mission of the United Nations. One reason the U.N. was founded after the Second World War was to confront aggressive dictators actively and early, before they can attack the innocent and destroy the peace.

In the case of Iraq, the Security Council did act in the early 1990s. Under Resolutions 678 and 687, both still in effect, the United States and our allies are authorized to use force in ridding Iraq of weapons of mass destruction. This is not a question of authority. It is a question of will.

Last September, I went to the U.N. General Assembly and urged the nations of the world to unite and bring an end to this danger. On November 8th, the Security Council unanimously passed Resolution 1441, finding Iraq in material breach of its obligations and vowing serious consequences if Iraq did not fully and immediately disarm.

Today, no nation can possibly claim that Iraq has disarmed, and it will not disarm so long as Saddam Hussein holds power. For the last 4 1/2 months, the United States and our allies have worked within the Security Council to enforce that Council's long-standing demands. Yet, some permanent members of the

Security Council have publicly announced they will veto any resolution that compels the disarmament of Iraq. These governments share our assessment of the danger but not our resolve to meet it.

Many nations, however, do have the resolve and fortitude to act against this threat to peace, and a broad coalition is now gathering to enforce the just demands of the world. The United Nations Security Council has not lived up to its responsibilities, so we will rise to ours.

In recent days, some governments in the Middle East have been doing their part. They have delivered public and private messages urging the dictator to leave Iraq, so that disarmament can proceed peacefully. He has thus far refused.

All the decades of deceit and cruelty have now reached an end. Saddam Hussein and his sons must leave Iraq within 48 hours. Their refusal to do so will result in military conflict, commenced at a time of our choosing. For their own safety, all foreign nationals, including journalists and inspectors, should leave Iraq immediately.

Many Iraqis can hear me tonight in a translated radio broadcast, and I have a message for them: If we must begin a military campaign, it will be directed against the lawless men who rule your country and not against you. As our coalition takes away their power, we will deliver the food and medicine you need. We will tear down the apparatus of terror, and we will help you to build a new Iraq that is prosperous and free. In a free Iraq, there will be no more wars of aggression against your neighbors, no more poison factories, no more executions of dissidents, no more torture chambers and rape rooms. The tyrant will soon be gone. The day of your liberation is near.

It is too late for Saddam Hussein to remain in power. It is not too late for the Iraqi military to act with honor and protect your country by permitting the peaceful entry of coalition forces to eliminate weapons of mass destruction. Our forces will give Iraqi military units clear instructions on actions they can take to avoid being attacked and destroyed. I urge every member of the Iraqi military

and intelligence services: If war comes, do not fight for a dying regime that is not worth your own life.

And all Iraqi military and civilian personnel should listen carefully to this warning: In any conflict, your fate will depend on your actions. Do not destroy oil wells, a source of wealth that belongs to the Iraqi people. Do not obey any command to use weapons of mass destruction against anyone, including the Iraqi people. War crimes will be prosecuted. War criminals will be punished. And it will be no defense to say, "I was just following orders."

Should Saddam Hussein choose confrontation, the American people can know that every measure has been taken to avoid war and every measure will be taken to win it. Americans understand the costs of conflict because we have paid them in the past. War has no certainty, except the certainty of sacrifice. Yet, the only way to reduce the harm and duration of war is to apply the full force and might of our military, and we are prepared to do so.

If Saddam Hussein attempts to cling to power, he will remain a deadly foe until the end. In desperation, he and terrorists groups might try to conduct terrorist operations against the American people and our friends. These attacks are not inevitable. They are, however, possible. And this very fact underscores the reason we cannot live under the threat of blackmail. The terrorist threat to America and the world will be diminished the moment that Saddam Hussein is disarmed.

Our Government is on heightened watch against these dangers. Just as we are preparing to ensure victory in Iraq, we are taking further actions to protect our homeland. In recent days, American authorities have expelled from the country certain individuals with ties to Iraqi intelligence services. Among other measures, I have directed additional security of our airports and increased Coast Guard patrols of major seaports. The Department of Homeland Security is working closely with the Nation's Governors to increase armed security at critical facilities across America.

Should enemies strike our country, they would be attempting to shift our attention with panic and weaken our morale with fear. In this, they would fail. No act of theirs can alter the course or shake the resolve of this country. We are a peaceful people. Yet we're not a fragile people, and we will not be intimidated by thugs and killers. If our enemies dare to strike us, they and all who have aided them will face fearful consequences.

We are now acting because the risks of inaction would be far greater. In 1 year, or 5 years, the power of Iraq to inflict harm on all free nations would be multiplied many times over. With these capabilities, Saddam Hussein and his terrorist allies could choose the moment of deadly conflict when they are strongest. We choose to meet that threat now, where it arises, before it can appear suddenly in our skies and cities.

The cause of peace requires all free nations to recognize new and undeniable realities. In the 20th century, some chose to appease murderous dictators, whose threats were allowed to grow into genocide and global war. In this century, when evil men plot chemical, biological, and nuclear terror, a policy of appeasement could bring destruction of a kind never before seen on this Earth.

Terrorists and terror states do not reveal these threats with fair notice, in formal declarations. And responding to such enemies only after they have struck first is not self-defense; it is suicide. The security of the world requires disarming Saddam Hussein now.

As we enforce the just demands of the world, we will also honor the deepest commitments of our country. Unlike Saddam Hussein, we believe the Iraqi people are deserving and capable of human liberty. And when the dictator has departed, they can set an example to all the Middle East of a vital and peaceful and self-governing nation.

The United States, with other countries, will work to advance liberty and peace in that region. Our goal will not be achieved overnight, but it can come

over time. The power and appeal of human liberty is felt in every life and every land. And the greatest power of freedom is to overcome hatred and violence and turn the creative gifts of men and women to the pursuits of peace.

That is the future we choose. Free nations have a duty to defend our people by uniting against the violent. And tonight, as we have done before, America and our allies accept that responsibility.

Good night, and may God continue to bless America.

8.8 Address to the Nation on Iraq (March 19, 2003)

My fellow citizens, at this hour, American and coalition forces are in the early stages of military operations to disarm Iraq, to free its people, and to defend the world from grave danger.

On my orders, coalition forces have begun striking selected targets of military importance to undermine Saddam Hussein's ability to wage war. These are opening stages of what will be a broad and concerted campaign. More than 35 countries are giving crucial support, from the use of naval and air bases, to help with intelligence and logistics, to the deployment of combat units. Every nation in this coalition has chosen to bear the duty and share the honor of serving in our common defense.

To all the men and women of the United States Armed Forces now in the Middle East, the peace of a troubled world and the hopes of an oppressed people now depend on you. That trust is well-placed. The enemies you confront will come to know your skill and bravery. The people you liberate will witness the honorable and decent spirit of the American military.

In this conflict, America faces an enemy who has no regard for conventions of war or rules of morality. Saddam Hussein has placed Iraqi troops and equipment in civilian areas, attempting to use innocent men, women, and children as shields for his own military, a final atrocity against his people.

I want Americans and all the world to know that coalition forces will make every effort to spare innocent civilians from harm.

A campaign on the harsh terrain of a nation as large as California could be longer and more difficult than some predict. And helping Iraqis achieve a united, stable, and free country will require our sustained commitment. We come to Iraq with respect for its citizens, for their great civilization, and for the religious faiths they practice. We have no ambition in Iraq except to remove a threat and restore control of that country to its own people.

I know that the families of our military are praying that all those who serve will return safely and soon. Millions of Americans are praying with you for the safety of your loved ones and for the protection of the innocent. For your sacrifice, you have the gratitude and respect of the American people. And you can know that our forces will be coming home as soon as their work is done.

Our Nation enters this conflict reluctantly. Yet our purpose is sure. The people of the United States and our friends and allies will not live at the mercy of an outlaw regime that threatens the peace with weapons of mass murder. We will meet that threat now with our Army, Air Force, Navy, Coast Guard, and Marines, so that we do not have to meet it later with armies of firefighters and police and doctors on the streets of our cities.

Now that conflict has come, the only way to limit its duration is to apply decisive force. And I assure you, this will not be a campaign of half measures, and we will accept no outcome but victory.

My fellow citizens, the dangers to our country and the world will be overcome. We will pass through this time of peril and carry on the work of peace. We will defend our freedom. We will bring freedom to others, and we will prevail.

May God bless our country and all who defend her.

9 ANNOTATION

Annotation in English:

The thesis occupies itself with the usage of rhetorical devices used by the former president of the United States, George W. Bush, in his speeches related to the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001, and the decision to initiate a war in Iraq. The corpus of texts includes eight speeches from the period of September 11, 2002, until March 19, 2003. It has been decided that the analysis will examine six rhetorical devices: metaphor, personification, euphemism, number game, contrast, and enumeration. These devices are analyzed from the perspective of the discursive strategy of polarization of *We* versus *They*, which is typical of political discourse. The objective of the analysis is to find these devices in the presented speeches, to analyze them and to assess in what way they contribute to the persuasion of audiences and the broad public to commence an armed conflict and in what way the speaker legitimates his cause. The thesis is based on the theory and methodology of critical discourse analysis as per Teun van Dijk, who perceives the strategy of polarization as to be rooted in the particular country's ideology. In the case of the U.S.A., it is its self-perception as a world leader, an indispensable player in the field of international relationships and foreign affairs, whose mission is to spread democratic values, freedom, peace and justice. The subject of this research and its results highlight the power of language as a thoughtful choice of words enables a speaker to fulfil his intentions, legitimate them, and hence successfully persuade the audience.

Annotation in Czech:

Práce se zabývá zkoumáním užití rétorických prostředků, které použil bývalý prezident Spojených států amerických, George W. Bush, ve svých promluvách v souvislosti s teroristickými útoky ze září 2001 a postupným uchylováním se k rozhodnutí iniciovat vojenskou intervenci v Iráku. Korpus textů zvolený pro cíle analýzy zahrnuje osm promluv z období 11. září 2002 až 19. března 2003. Bylo stanoveno, že analytická část se bude zabývat rétorickými prostředky jako je metafora, personifikace, eufemismy, number game (hra

s čísly), protiklad a enumerace. Tyto prostředky jsou analyzovány na základě diskurzivní strategie polarizace MY versus ONI, která je typická pro politický diskurz. Cílem analýzy je tyto rétorické prostředky na bázi této diskurzivní strategie identifikovat, okomentovat a zhodnotit, jakým způsobem přispívají k přesvědčení posluchačů a veřejnosti o nutnosti zahájit ozbrojený konflikt a jak prezident tento úmysl obhajuje. Teorie a metodologie této práce vychází z kritické diskurzivní analýzy podle van Dijka, který se tématem polarizace ve svých pracích zabývá a vnímá jej jako strategii vycházející z ideologické podstaty dané země, což je v případě Spojených států vnímání sebe sama jako světového lídra, nepostradatelného hráče na poli mezinárodních vztahů a jako země, jejíž mise je šířit demokratické hodnoty, mír, svobodu a spravedlnost. Celá práce tak prostřednictvím zvolené teorie a předmětu zkoumání poukazuje na sílu a moc jazyka a cílené volby slov k dosažení záměru mluvčího, obhájení tohoto záměru a přesvědčení publika o jeho správnosti.