People's Democratic Republic of Algeria Ministry of Higher Education and Scientific Research
Blida 2 Lounici Ali University
Faculty of Letters and Languages
Department of English

The Construction of Reality about the War in Iraq: A Semiotic Analysis of Two Discourses (Bush's Speeches and Moore's Fahrenheit 9/11)

Thesis submitted to the department of Letters and English Language in candidacy for the degree of Doctorate LMD in **Language, Literature and Teaching English as a Foreign Language**

Submitted by:

Hanane Ait Hamouda

Supervised by:

Prof Mohammed Sadek Fodil

Examination Panel

Chair	Dr. Imene Bilouk	MCA	Blida 2 University
Supervisor	Prof. Mohammed Sadek Fodil	Prof	Mouloud Mammeri University
Examiner	Prof. Sadia Belkhir	Prof	Mouloud Mammeri University
Examiner	Dr. Rafik Laceb	MCA	Mouloud Mammeri University
Examiner	Dr. Ali Mohammed Chaabane	MCA	Blida 2 University
Examiner	Dr. Fethi Haddouche	MCA	Blida 2 University

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Dedication

To

My beloved parents who have always inspired and supported me during the writing process which would not have been possible without their encouragements and prayers. I would like to express them my gratitude and unconditional love for all the values they have ingrained in me since my childhood and which have made me the woman I am now.

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Abstract

The core of the present thesis is the war on terror against Afghanistan and Iraq in particular that the USA launched as a response to the terrorist attacks of September 11th, 2001 in the US territory. The thesis attempts to explore the way the US president George W Bush and the American filmmaker Michael Moore tackled the war on terror in general and the war in Iraq in particular in their respective means of communication namely the political speeches and the documentary movie. The current work also endeavors to reinforce the fact that reality is socially constructed and shaped via different instruments and strategies. Accordingly, a semiotic perspective is adopted through using Peirce's triadic theory of sign, Kress and Leeuwen's multimodality, Leeuwen's perspective on the auditory level and Jonathan Charteris- Black's rhetorical means for persuasion in political communication to scrutinize the corpora in order to sort out the strategies and the rhetorical devices both actors resorted to in order to present thewar in Iraq. The findings of the analysis reveal that both actors made use of media devices at their possession which are the political speeches and the documentary movie to present their own positions towards the war in Iraq and persuade their audiences about the reliability of the reality they presented. The results show that the US president presented the war in Iraq as a noble cause and a necessity to get rid of the terrorists who represented a great danger on countries cherishing peace and liberty and as a guarantee to ensure peaceful and safe territories all around the world. While, the filmmaker argued that launching a war against Iraq did not intend to put an end to terrorism and free the oppressive countries but it aimed at distracting people from the real intentions which were to have access to the wide oil fields and make a lot of money. The interpretation ofthe obtained outcomes strengthens the fact that reality is socially constructed and shaped through different means of communication and media in a way to correspond to one's needs, objectives and desires. Some suggestions to account for the war in Iraq andthe social construction of reality are formulated to enrich the current work and attemptto enhance people's awareness about critically considering the world we live in.

Key Words

Documentary movie; media; political speeches; September 11th, 2001; social construction of reality; war in Iraq; war on terror

Résumé

Le point central de la présente thèse est la guerre contre le terrorisme en Afghanistan et en Irak en particulier que les Etats-Unis ont mené en réponse aux attaques terroristes du 11 septembre 2001 sur le territoire américain. La thèse tente d'explorer la manière dont le président américain George W Bush et le cinéaste américain Michael Moore ont abordé la guerre contre le terrorisme en général et la guerre en Irak en particulier à travers leurs moyens de communication respectifs, à savoir les discours politiques et le film documentaire. Le présent travail s'efforce également de renforcer le fait que la réalité est socialement construite et façonnée par le biais de différents instruments et stratégies. En conséquence, une perspective sémiotique est adoptée en utilisant la théorie triadique du signe de Peirce, la multimodalité de Kress et Leeuwen, la perspective de Leeuwen sur le niveau auditif et les procédés rhétoriques pour la persuasion dans la communication politique selon Jonathan Charteris Black pour examiner les corpus afin de déterminer les stratégies et les dispositifs rhétoriques auxquels les deux acteurs ont eu recours pour présenter la guerre en Irak. Les résultats de l'analyse révèlent que les deux acteurs ont utilisé les dispositifs médiatiques en leur possession, à savoir les discours politiques et le film documentaire, pour présenter leurs propres positions à l'égard de la guerre en Irak et persuader leur public de la fiabilité de la réalité qu'ils ont présenté. Les résultats montrent que le président américain a présenté la guerre en Irak comme une cause noble et une nécessité pour arrêter les terroristes qui représentaient un grand danger pour les pays qui chérissent la paix et laliberté de sévir et comme une garantie pour assurer la paix et la sécurité dans le monde entier.En revanche, le réalisateur a affirmé que le lancement de la guerre contre l'Irak n'avait pas pour but de mettre fin au terrorisme et de libérer les pays opprimés, mais qu'il visait à détourner les gens de leurs véritables intentions, qui étaient d'avoir accès aux vastes champs pétroliers et de générer beaucoup d'argent. L'interprétation des résultats obtenus renforce le fait que la réalité est socialement construite et modelée par différents moyens de communication et médias de manière à correspondre aux besoins, objectifs et désirs de tout un chacun. Quelques suggestions pour rendre compte de la guerre en Irak et de la construction sociale de la réalité sont formulées pour enrichir le travail actuel et tenter de sensibiliser les gens à l'examen critique du monde danslequel nous vivons.

Mots clés

Film Documentaire ; Médias ; Discours Politiques; 11 septembre 2001 ; Construction Sociale de la Réalité Guerre en Irak; Guerre contre le Terrorisme.

ملخص

تركز هذه الدراسة على الحرب ضد الإرهاب في أفغانستان والعراق على وجه الخصوص التي شنتها الولايات المتحدة الأمريكية ردا على الهجمات الارهابية في 11 سبتمبر 2001 على الأراضي الأمريكية. تحاول الاطروحة استكشاف كيفية تعامل الرئيس الامريكي جورج دبليو بوش (George W Bush) والمخرج الأمريكي مايكل مور(Michael Moore) مع الحرب ضد الارهاب بشكل عام وحرب العراق بشكل خاص من خلال وسائل الاتصال الخاصة بهما اي الخطابات السياسية و الفيلم الوثائقي. يسعى العمل الحالي أيضا إلى تقوية الفكرة أن الواقع يتم بناؤه و تشكيله اجتماعيا من خلال ادوات و استراتيجيات مختلفة وفقا لذلك تم تبني منظور سيميائي باستخدام نظرية العلاقة الثلاثية لبيرس(Peirce's triadic theory) الوسائل المتعددة لكريس وليوفن (Kress and Leeuwen's multimodality) و منظور ليوفن على المستوى السمعي (Leeuwen's Perspective on the auditory level) لتحليل الخطابات و الفيلم الوثائقي لتحديد الاستراتيجيات و الاجهزة الخطابية التي استخدمها الممثلين لتقديم الحرب في العراق. تكشف نتائج التحليل ان الممثلين استخدموا الوسائل الاعلامية التي بحوزتهما ،و هي الخطابات السياسية و الفيلم الوثائقي لعرض مواقفهما فيما يتعلق بالحرب في العراق و اقناع جمهورهما بمصداقية الواقع الذي قدماه. أظهرت النتائج ان الرئيس الأمريكي قدم الحرب في العراق على انها قضية نبيلة و ضرورية لمنع الارهابيين من قمعهم و لضمان السلام و الامن في جميع انحاء العالم. من ناحية اخرى إدعى المخرج ان شن الحرب ضد العراق لم يقصد به إنهاء الارهاب وتخريب الدول المظلومة بل كان القصد منه الهاء الناس من نواياهم الحقيقية المتمثلة في الوصول إلى حقول النفط الشاسعة و ربح أموال طائلة. تفسير الناتج المتحصلة عليها تقوي فكرة الواقع الذي يبنى من طرف المجتمع و يتم تشكيله بوسائل الاتصال المتعددة التي تتوافق مع احتياجات اهداف و رغبات المعنيين، يتم تقديم بعض الاقتراحات من أجل تغطية الحرب في العراق و البناء الاجتماعي للواقع لإثراء العمل الحالي و محاولة توعية الناس بالتحليل النقدي للعالم الذي نعيش فيه.

الكلمات الرئيسية

الحرب في العراق؛ الحرب على .؛ البناء الاجتماعي للواقع؛ 2001سبتمبر 11 .فيلم وثائقي؛ وسائل الإعلام؛ الخطب السياسية .الارهاب

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General Introduction

1. Context of the Study

On September 11 (9/11) 2003, the United States of America underwent a terrible event in the form of terrorist attacks. Actually, the Twin Towers of the World Trade Center in New York and the Pentagon in Virginia were hit by three planes and the fourth one crashed in a field in Pennsylvania[1]. These attacks caused the loss of approximately 3000 people, which led Americans to a chaotic and frightening situation never experienced before in their own land. People all over the world were affected by this terrifying event as well since the world leading power was targeted. These attacks were, and still are, at the core of many debates not only because of the huge number of people who lost their lives, but also because of the worldwide repercussions the attacks had as well. The 9/11 event engendered many theories regarding the instigators of the 9/11 attacks, a large media coverage, along with overseas military actions against Iraq. These facts are our motives for dealing with the war in Iraq.

As a matter of fact, the terrorist assaults generated a lot of speculations about their causes. In fact, the US government quickly accused the Islamist group 'Al-Qaeda' whose leader then was Osama Bin Laden. This suspicion was formulated because of Al-Qaeda's implication in a series of strikes against the United States. Indeed, as listed in Paul Simpson's work (2012)[2]: in October 1993, two American Black Hawk helicopters were shot down in the capital of Somalia (Mogadishu) where about 18 US soldiers were killed; in October 2000, the USS Cole at a port in Yemen was targeted by two suicide attackers using a boat full of explosives, which killed 17 US sailors and wounded 39, and so on.

Conspiracy theories were formulated only a few days after the 9/11 attacks as well. Some were advocated by groups of individuals who belong mainly,

[1] Bassiouni, C, (2008) *International Criminal Law*, Volume 1: Sources, Subjects and Contents, Netherlands, Martinus Nijhoff Publishers, p. 881

[2] Simpson, P (2012) *That's What They Want You to Think: Conspiracies Real, Possible, and Paranoid,* USA: Zenith Press, p. 260.

according to the Skeptical Inquirer journal[3], to '9/11 Truth Movement', that is a loose network of activists without a specific leader. They work mainly via internet, specifically in their official website www.911truth.org. In fact, the Skeptical Inquirer journal[4] indicates that the activists immediately proclaimed the involvement of the US government in these terrorist attacks. They advanced a set of arguments consisting in: **1.** The rapid collapse of the Twin Towers in spite of their great resistance. Indeed, the 9/11 Truth Movement's main argument used is that the might of hitting was not sufficient for a complete destruction of the towers which were built so that to resist violent impacts. **2.** The occurrence of explosions in the Twin Towers, which explain the ejection of debris very far away from the towers. **3.** The accelerated collapse of Tower 7, which was not hit by an airplane. **4.** The failure of the air defense system in preventing the attacks. **5.** The damage to the Pentagon which does not correlate with the supposed impact of an airplane. These arguments still have their supporters and opponents.

The US government declared war on Iraq in 2003, and this became among the most controversial issues of recent times. It knew a large coverage of all the means of communication and the reported information were not always uniform. In other words, information were presented differently to the audience from one country to another, in the sense that the highlighted aspects of the war in Iraq endorsed by the US media were not similar to those endorsed by the Middle East media. As indicated in the official website of the MIT Communications Forum[5], the Middle East coverage concerned mainly victims and the deterioration of Iraqi lives, and represented the US as the enemy who is destroying Iraq.

From the opposite position, the US media emphasized the military actions and strategies in Iraq. The information were not displayed to the public in the

[3] Thomas, D (2011) The 9/11 Truth Movement: The Top Conspiracy Theory, a Decade Later, Skeptical Inquirer, Vol. 35, No. 4.
[4] Ibid
[5] The official website of the MIT Communications Forum (2003) Covering Iraq: American Media vs. the World? Available on https://commforum.mit.edu/covering-iraq-american-media-vs-the-world-e4216091ca29

same way. For instance, as it is stated in the Chomskyan Studies Journal[6], a missile falling in Souala market in Baghdad and killing 60 people was reported differently. On the one hand, the American newspaper The New York Times explained that "it was impossible to determine its causes" (March 29, 2003) because the spot from where the missile was launched could not be localized. On the other hand, the British newspaper The Independent declared that a piece of missile was found nearby with a serial number (March, 2003). That is to say, the origin of the launched missile could be identified. The coverage of the war was daily and regular which might alter the reliability of the reported information, because of the pressure journalists and reporters were undergoing in ensuring a constant coverage of the war. Indeed, the BBC, as mentioned in Shah's article (2007)[7], confessed making diverse mistakes in reporting the information about the war because of their 24-hour coverage. To word it differently, some details about the war might have been omitted, neglected, distorted, or added.

This inconsistency incites one to wonder whether the information one gets are reliable or whether they are simply meant to construct and orient one's worldview in a specific direction regarding a given subject. It is precisely this issue consisting in 'in forming' peoples' views about a particular topic which arouses our interest in conducting this research whose core objective is to help reveal how 'reality' is to a large extent socially constructed by specifically targeting the controversial discourses about the war in Iraq. Truly, the social construction of reality has gained a growing interest in the social sciences since the edition of Peter Burger and Thomas Luckmann's book *The Social Construction of Reality* in 1966. The book puts the focus on the environment that surrounds humans and points out to the existence of a subjective reality that is totally dependent on individuals, rather than on an 'objective' outside reality. At the same time, the social construction of reality enables one as well, to get a clearer view of the world by realizing that reality is something which is partly

[6]Kalogirato, A. (2007) *The Construction of Reality in a Globalized Environment: The Mass Media and War in Iraq*, Chomskyan Studies, Vol. 2, No.2, pp. 25-46.
[7] Shah, A (2007) Iraq War Media Reporting, Journalism and Propaganda available on http://www.globalissues.org/article/461/media-reporting-journalism-and-propaganda [Accessed on 02/2017].

created, and partly shaped by individuals in certain conditions, to serve particular purposes.

The war in Iraq drew the attention of many authors and politicians, among them Dave Kohler, Al Gore, etc.; and filmmakers like Michael Moore, Robert Greenwald, David O. Russell as well, who tackled the issue from their own point of view, attacked Bush and attempted to present what to them, appear as the 'actual' reasons that lie behind the war in Iraq.

2. Gap in previous Research

Actually, several studies have been devoted to the issue of the war in Iraq differing from each other in terms of interpretations or objectives. Among these works can be mentioned the following: *Speeches and Declarations: A War of Words*[8] written by Antonio Reyes-Rodriguez (2006). The author analyzed the speeches and declarations of the US President George W. Bush from September 11 to the 2003 attack on Iraq. Reyes-Rodriguezattempted to interpret the implied arguments used by George W Bush to justify the military attack on Iraq.

In *The Construction of Reality in a Globalized Environment: The Mass media and the War in Iraq*[9] by Androniki Kalogirato (2007), the author superposed Noam Chomsky's views concerning propaganda and the media, with journalistic coverage of the war.

Fahrenheit 9/11: A Case Study in Counter-narrative, written by Phillip Samuels (2007) is related to the issue as well. In fact, the author undertook a rhetorical analysis of Michael Moore's *Fahrenheit 9/11* in order to understand why the movie was a failure in achieving its goal, which was basically to unseat the elected president.

Fallacies and War: Misleading a Nervous America to the Wrong Conclusion written by Dave Koehler (2008) is about the war in Iraq too. The author listed a

[8] Rodriguez, A.R (2006) Speeches and Declarations: A War of Words in Revista Alicantina de EstudiosInglese (19), pp. 365-86

[9] Kalogirato, K (2007) The Construction of Reality in a Globalized Environment: The Mass media and the War in Iraq in Chomskyan Studies, Vol 2, No 2, pp. 25-46

set of arguments advanced by President Bush and his administration to justify waging the war against Iraq.

The last study to be considered is *The Clash of Civilizations Rhetoric in George W. Bush's Speeches*[10] by Souad Smaili (2016). In her magister dissertation, she analyzed Bush' speeches from September 11 to the 2003 attack on Iraq by focusing on the metaphors used by the president in order to unveil his real motivations to attack Iraq.

Despite the profusion of research devoted to the study of the war in Iraq, none has adopted a contrastive semiotic analysis to show how reality of the war in Iraq is presented in Bush's discourse about the war in Iraq, in opposition to Michael Moore's Fahrenheit 9/11 documentary movie. This research is not only about reporting the way the war in Iraq is viewed by President Bush on one hand, and Michael Moore on the other. It is also about considering and collating the way they proceed in constructing their views about the war in relation to their particular positions.

3. Aim and Significance of the Study

Our research attempts to analyze two media discourses accounting differently for the same event which is the war in Iraq. Namely, the discourse of the former President of the United States George W. Bush, along with Michael Moore's Fahrenheit 9/11 documentary movie. The purpose is to sort out and compare the strategy each author uses to present the issue, as well as to identify the different rhetoric devices employed by each of them to present his own conceptions about the reality of the war in Iraq.

The current study equally attempts to consolidate the idea that reality is socially shaped and often hidden by stakeholders, who usually resort to all sorts of devices to forge a single and a convenient reality. By critically questioning the discourse on the war which mainstream people generally consider as taken for granted, and without crediting the hype about _conspiracy theory', the research tries to shed some light on how information can be used to shape people's

[10]Smaili, S (2016) The Clash of Civilizations Rhetoric in George W. Bush's Speeches available in https://dl.ummto.dz/handle/ummto/1696 [Accessed on 02/2017].

thoughts in a particular environment. It is equally hoped that the research may also encourage the readers to seriously reconsider the media they are immersed in, as well as become more critical about the information they may get from them.

4. Research Questions and Hypotheses

Accordingly, this work seeks to answer the following research questions:

- How does President Bush present the reality of the war in Iraq?
- How does Moore present the reality of the war in Iraq?
- What are the similarities and differences in their presentation?

The following hypotheses are formulated as an attempt to predict the results:

- Both actors (Bush and Moore) use media devices at their command to shape their discourse about the reality of the war in Iraq.
- Both actors (Bush and Moore) present the reality of the war in Iraq, as shaped by their own ideologies.
- Our assumption is that Bush presents the war in Iraq as a necessity to put an end to terrorism, while Moore presents it as a pretext used by Bush to invade Iraq for other purposes.

5. Research Design

5.1. The Corpus of the Study

The corpus of the study encompasses two discourses: former President George W Bush's texts and Moore's Fahrenheit 9/11 movie. The former consists in a set of eighteen written speeches addressed by President Bush to the American nation and the rest of the world, starting from September 11, 2001 to the 2003 attack on Iraq. These speeches are available on the archives of the US government website[1].

The latter is a documentary movie which may be defined as a genre in its own right with its specific features. Documentary movies are about reporting factual information about real events, people, situations, etc. In these documentary

[1] *Selected Speeches of President George W. Bush: 2001-2008* [online]. Available from: https://georgewbushwhitehouse.archives.gov/infocus/bushrecord/documents/Selected_Speeches_George_W_Bush.pdf [Accessed on 03/02/2017].

movies, film-makers do not necessarily present the 'actual' reality as it appears to common people; they represent it in such a way as to give it a specific form, that is, a specific interpretation.

Indeed, everyone has his/her own worldview which, to a certain extent, differs from one person to another depending on the society s/he lives in, religion, culture, social status, ideology, etc. Even if documentary movies may be entertaining, their major aim is to have an impact on a large audience and convince people about the likelihood reliability of the advanced arguments. Fahrenheit 9/11, available on YouTube[12], is written, directed and produced by Michael Moore who is a filmmaker and political commentator. It was released on May 17th, 2004 at Cannes Film Festival in France where Moore was awarded the Palme d'Or; a golden prize all movie makers dream of. The movie was diffused on June 25th, 2004 in the United States of America. In general, the main premise of this documentary movie was to tackle the attack of September 11 (9/11), as well as the decision of America to wage war on Iraq, and account for the manner in which these events were covered by different media.

5.2. Analysis Procedures

The current study borrows analytical categories from four distinctive theoretical frameworks, each serving a specific purpose. In this respect, a)- the triadic semiotic theory of signs as elaborated by C.S Peirce is used to analyze the different oral and written signs present in the corpus under analysis. It is worth to remind that this theory is mostly concerned with logic, reasoning, and the process of interpreting signs. b) - Kress and Leeuwen's theory of multimodality is also heavily used to scrutiny the scenes displayed in the documentary movie. c) – Leeuwen' semiotics of sounds is used to interpret the meaning of the sounds incorporated in the documentary movie. d) - Charteris-Black's rhetorical means for persuasion in political communication is used to sort out the rhetoric devices that the US president and the filmmaker incorporated in their respective media.

[12]Moore, M (2004) *Fahrenheit 9/11*[online] Available from: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=KXJ5P-dFfK4 [Accessed on 03/2017]

The research makes use of Peirce‘s triadic theory of signs because it considers that a sign, in its different forms refers to a specific meaning which is interpreted by people who resort to many criteria, such as; tradition, experience, culture, science, etc. to make it significant and thus, invest it with meaning. In fact, Peirce considers that the sign is the outcome of the dynamic relationship between three distinct, but complementary components which are; the representamen, the object, and the interpretant. The representamen is the form that the sign takes. The form does not only embody physical objects, but also everything that may attract attention, and thus carry meaning. The object must not be confused with the sign. It is what the sign points to. The interpretant, which is distinct from an interpreter, tells how the sign is, or ought to be interpreted. That is to say, it enacts the dynamic interplay between the three entities by ensuring the connection between the representamen and its object to permit the understanding of meaning that signs convey. The interaction between these three elements refers to what Peirce calls semiosis.

We resort to Kress and Leeuwen’s multimodality because the theory involves the different means used by people to communicate with others in social contexts and settings namely; speech, writing, visuals, gestures, on the one hand, and the way people make meaning through the interpretation of the aforementioned means, on the other hand. In this respect, the theory of multimodality, based on Reading Images: The Grammar of Visual Design (2006) will be extensively used for analyzing the visuals consisting in screen shots of scenes extracted from the documentary movie under scrutiny.

Indeed, Kress and Leeuwen consider three patterns and principles in interpreting visuals specifically; patterns of representation, patterns of interaction along with principles of composition. The first concerns the way events occurring in the world are meaningfully represented in images. The patterns of representation are classified into two types of representation including the narrative and conceptual. The second involves the relationships established between the participants. The relationship is achieved thanks to gaze (it concerns the presence or absence of eye contact between the actors and viewers), angle of

interaction (the angle that the image is taken and displayed), and social distance (consists of the spatial distance between the participants and the viewer. The distance is expressed via size of the frame). The third embodies three interrelated principles consisting of salience, information value, and framing. Salience concerns the way the elements composing a visual attract the attention of the viewers. Information value is about the placement of the elements that makes them related to each other and to the viewers. Framing consists of the devices used to connect or separate the elements of the visual composition.

For the analysis of the auditory aspects of the film, videos, etc. we resort to the theory elaborated by Leeuwen, titled: Leeuwen's perspective on the auditory level (1999). This perspective is about the capacity of sounds to establish a relationship between what is being presented and the listener or viewer. Perspective is related to the division of the whole soundtrack into three units which are the immediate (listening and paying attention to is required), the support, and background (parts of the sound scene to be heard). Perspective is also related to the three components of the sound, namely; figure, ground, and field. Figure represents the most important sound(s) that the listener has to react to. Ground is the sound(s) which attracts the listener's attention but it is less dominant than figure. Field is the sound(s) that the listener hears but does not attract his/her attention.

At last, resort to Jonatan Charteris-Black[13] is motivated by his emphasis on the relationship between persuasion and rhetoric. In fact, persuasion is an act of making audiences convinced about the reliability of one's thoughts and adopting them. While, rhetoric refers to the different ways the speaker/writer employs to persuade; listeners/readers about the validity of his/her opinions. In this respect, Jonathan Charteris-Black points out to the different procedures through which persuasion is achieved in a political discourse (communication) consisting of[14]: **1.** Establishing integrity (ethos) which consists in showing the right intentions a politician has towards his audience. **2.** Heightening emotional impact (pathos)

[13]Black, J.C (2011), *Politicians and Rhetoric: The Persuasive Power of Metaphor.2nd Ed.The* United Kingdom: Palgrave Macmillan, p. 13
[14] Ibid, pp. 318-23

which consists of tackling subjects which stir people‘s emotions. **3.** Communicating political arguments (logos) which stand for making the politician‘s opinions accurate. **4.** Communication of ideology by political myth through which the politician accentuates the truthfulness of his point of views.

Basing our research on a qualitative study, we consider that the selected theoretical frameworks are particularly suitable for an in depth analysis of the two media discourses mentioned above. We start from the assumption that the Peircean triadic semiotic theory, Kress and Leeuwen’s multimodal social semiotic analysis, Leeuwen’s semiotics of sounds, and Charteris-Black’s persuasion procedures are relevant for the study of all the artefacts that convey meaning and all the means used to communicate them. We equally consider that President Bush‘s texts and Moore‘s documentary movie are two discourses constituted by a large range of signs and modes. Then our analytic tools seem methodologically appropriate to undertake such a research.

6. Structure of the Thesis

The whole research comprises two parts, one theoretical, the other more practical, preceded by a general introduction, and followed by a general conclusion. The introduction gives an overview of the topic investigated in the current study, specifies the aim for conducting such an analysis, foreshadows the results that may be reached, points out to the centrality of the work by investigating the gap of previous works, mentions the theoretical frameworks and analytic tools employed to conduct the research whose relevance is briefly highlighted.

The first part titled theoretical considerations involves four main chapters, devoted each, to the explication of the theoretical frameworks used to conduct our research. The chapters deal respectively with semiotics, the social construction of reality, discourse and rhetorics, and cinema. The first chapter provides a glance at the origin and definitions of semiotics, and highlights the major semiotic theories which view the sign from different standpoints. The second chapter reviews the works of some eminent figures who contributed in

explaining how the reality is socially constructed. The third chapter covers the notion of discourse, its different types, along with the procedures of its analysis. It embodies a set of rhetorical devices which the writer or speaker may include in his/her discourse in order to achieve a particular purpose as well. The last chapter explores the history of cinema, its major genres, as well as the main theories of film studies.

Three chapters compose the practical part. The first chapter offers a detailed presentation of the corpus consisting in president Bush‘ speeches and Moore‘s Fahrenheit 9/11documentary movie. It also deals with the analysis procedures used in the investigation; Peirce‘s triadic theory of sign, Kress and Leeuwen‘s multimodality, Leeuwen’s perspective on the auditory level along with Jonathan Charteris-Black’s rhetorical means for persuasion in political communication. The Second chapter shows the outcomes reached after the analysis of the two media discourses. The third chapter discusses the results obtained from the analysis of the two types of discourses. It also provides answers to the research questions and checks the reliability of the formulated hypotheses.

Finally, a general conclusion recapitulates the main points of the research and provides a set of recommendations concerning the topic.

Theoretical Considerations

Chapter One:
Semiotics and the Concept of Sign

1. Origin and definition of semiotics

Semiotics, often defined as the study of signs, is derived from the Greek term *Sèmeîon* which means *sign*. The term was spelled *semeiotics* and was first used in English by Henry Stubbes[15] to denote a branch of medicine concerned with the interpretation of illnesses signs (symptoms), but from 1969 on, the term semiotics has taken precedence following the decision of the International Association for Semiotics Studies[16].

Actually, Sebeok[17] indicates that the coinage of the term semiotics dates back to the founding father of Western medical science; Hippocrates (460-377 B.C.). Hippocrates' main concern was to associate a sign (in this case a symptom) to the disease it refers to. For example, a sore throat may stand for a cold. Semiotics at that time was regarded as medical diagnosis. The study of signs was not restricted to the medical branch, but it raised the interest of the Stoic philosophers and of Aristotle (384-322 B.C.). The latter, as mentioned in Sebeok, considered that a sign is made up of three components, ―the physical part of the sign itself, the referent, and the evocation of meaning‖[18]. As a matter of illustration, let us consider the word ‗table', the sounds that compose the word ‗table' /teɪbl/ are the physical aspect of the sign itself, the association of the word ‗table' to a category of ‗furniture' is the referent, and what that word entails psychologically and socially, that is to say, a ‗table' is a furniture used to put different things on ‗books, dishes, etc.' is the evocation of meaning.

The philosopher and religious thinker St Augustine (354-430 C.E.) contributed also to the study of signs through identifying two distinctive signs

[15] Tomar, A (2015) Role of Semiotics in Linguistics, International Journal of Scientific & Engineering Research, Volume 6, Issue 1, pp. 2134-43
[16]Fodil, M.S (2016) A Lexico-Semiotic Approach to Cyber-English or How Technology Affects Language and Culture, p. 23
[17]Sebeok, T (2001) Signs: An introduction to semiotics, University of Toronto Press: Toronto, p. 4
[18] ibid

consisting of natural and conventional signs. Marcel Danesi points that ―natural signs *(signa naturalia)* are qualitatively distinct from conventional ones because they lack intentionality‖[19]. Clearly, natural signs refer to symptoms, natural phenomena (rain, thunder), sounds of animals, etc. whereas the conventional ones are human made and agreed upon, for instance, words, symbols, and so on.

Semiotics was officially introduced into philosophy by John Locke (1632-1604) in his essay *Concerning Human Understanding*[20]. However, it became later a discipline on its own and emerged almost at the same time in Europe thanks to Ferdinand De Saussure (1857-1913)[21] and across the Atlantic, America, thanks to Charles Sanders Peirce (1839-1914)[22].

Actually, Saussure foreshadowed the emergence of a science concerned with the study of signs which was to be known as Semiology. The latter would gather linguistics and other fields and would be concerned with the study of signs and their function in social life. As Saussure claimed[23]: ‗It is . . . possible to conceive of a science which studies the role of signs as part of social life. It would form part of social psychology, and hence of general psychology. We shall call it semiology (from the Greek se¯meîon, ‗sign'). It would investigate the nature of signs and the laws governing them‖.

Semiotics is, according to Peirce[24], ―the doctrine of signs‖ and ought to be another denotation of the term logic which is concerned with the process of human thinking in constructing and understanding meaning. As portrayed in the following[25]: ―The term logic is … employed in two distinct senses. In its narrow sense, it is the science of the necessary conditions of the attainment of truth. In

[19] Danesi, M (2013) Encyclopedia of Media and Communication, University of Toronto Press: Toronto p. 591.
[20] Danesi, M (2004) Messages, Signs, and Meanings: A Basic Textbook in Semiotics and Communication, Canadian Scholars' Press Inc: Toronto, p. 8
[21] Chandler, D (2007) Semiotics the Basics 2nd edition, Routledge: London, p. 14
[22] Ibid, p. 29
[23] Saussure, F (1916) Course in General Linguistics, edited by Roy Harris 1983, Cambridge University Press: Cambridge, p. 18
[24]Gudwin, R (2007) Semiotics and Intelligent Systems Development, Idea Group Publishing:London, p.227
[25] Peirce, C (1931) Collected Papers, Volume 1, p. 242

its broader sense, it is the science of the necessary laws of thought, or still better (thought always taking place by means of signs), it is general semiotic‖.

One of the broadest definitions of semiotics is provided by Umberto Eco[26] to whom semiotics, ―is concerned with everything that can be taken as a sign‖. The latter may be a word, an image, a flavor, a sound, a light, an object, etc. As it is explained by Barthes (1967) in Chandler[27], "[Semiotics] aims to take in any system of signs, whatever their substance (…) ; images, gestures, musical sounds, objects, and the complex associations of all of these, which form (…) systems of signification". All these forms may be considered as signs when people attribute to them meanings. Halliday and Hassan regarded semiotics as a field which studies signs and the way people construct meaning by establishing a relationship between different signs, it is "the study of signs and the study of meaning in its most general sense"[28].

All in all, relying on the aforementioned definitions, one can assume that semiotics involves the investigation of sign processes which consists in attributing meaning to signs (As will be amply detailed further). It is also the study of how meaning is constructed, conveyed and understood for the purpose of communication thanks to the relationship that may exist between one sign and another.

2. Semiotic Theories

Signs constitute the object of study of semiotic theories. Two major theoretical traditions were established by Saussure and Peirce; the binary and the triadic.

2.1. The Binary Tradition

2.1.1. The Saussurean Sign

Despite the fact that Saussure predicted the rise of a science concerned with the study of signs as part of social life, his interest was exclusively restricted to

[26] Eco, U (1976), The Theory of Semiotics, Indiana University Press: USA, p. 7
[27] Chandler, D (2007) Semiotics the Basics 2nd edition, Routledge: London, p. 2
[28] Al Massri, I (2013) Text Linguistics and Translation, p. 75

the linguistic sign. Indeed, he offered a dyadic model of the sign involving the relationship between a concept (the mental construction and the meaning about something in the hearers‘ or readers‘ mind) and a sound image (sound pattern) that is the psychological impression left by the sound heard or graph, read; it is not physical but psychological. In Saussure‘s words: [29]

> *The linguistic sign unites, not a thing and a name, but a concept and a sound- image.' The latter is not the material sound, a purely physical thing, but the psychological imprint of the sound, the impression that it makes on our senses. The sound-image is sensory, and if I happen to call it "material," it is only in that sense, and by way of opposing it to the other term of the association, the concept, which is generally more abstract*

Even if Saussure used to call the sound-image material, it does not mean that it is a physical concrete material. Thus for avoiding any confusion, Saussure preferred to adopt two distinctive terms, the signified and the signifier to define the sign as being the whole that results from the association of the two entities. The former stands for a concept and the latter refers to a sound image. As pointed out by Chandler[30], ―a sign must have both a signifier and a signified. You cannot have a totally meaningless signifier or a completely formless signified‖. That is to say, they are inseparable and complementary as the two sides of a paper. The signifier (signifiant) is defined as the form that the sign takes and the signified (signifié) as the concept it stands for[31].The two aforementioned entities are interrelated and the term ‗signification‘ designates the link between them. The following figure 1[32] offers a representation of this relationship:



Figure 1:**Saussurean Sign**

[29] Saussure, F (1916) Course in General Linguistics, McGraw-Hill Book Company: New York, p. 66
[30] Chandler, D (2007) Semiotics the basics, Routledge: USA, p. 17
[31] Ibid, p. 14
[32]Ibid

The interpretation of a word is achieved through establishing a relationship between the signifier and the signified. In other words, a person needs to relate between the sounds or graphs used to convey a particular meaning and their corresponding concepts. This relationship results in the understanding of the conveyed meaning. For instance, the word ‗open' inscribed on a button on a bus is the signifier (it is the impression left in the mind after the letters which constitute the word are read and understood by a bus-user), the signified is the concept it refers to, which is that pressure on the button will get the doors open. Another example is as follows, the signifier is to be associated with the impression left in the mind after reading the letters that make up the word ‗press' on the plastic packaging of a tooth brush. The concept it stands for is that removing the packaging will give access to the toothbrush, is the signified. Regarding these two instances, we may infer that distinct signifiers may stand for the same signified.

2.1.2. Characteristics of the Saussurean Sign

Saussure (1915)[33]argues that the link between the signifier and the signified is arbitrary. This arbitrariness along with the linear nature of the signifier are the main characteristics of a sign.

a. The Arbitrary Nature of the Sign

Saussure perceives the link between the signifier and the signified as purely arbitrary. In other words, the relationship between the two entities is a matter of convention and agreement but not necessarily of logic or intrinsic coherence. He supports his point of view by showing that the words which designate the same sign differ from one language to another even if they convey the same meaning. For instance, ‗a computer', and ‗un ordinateur' refer exactly to the same sign which is an electronic device used in data processing, storing, etc. Adding to that, Saussure claims that every means of communication used in a given society is a matter of convention, such as, polite formulas. Saussure gives the example of the

[33] Saussure, F (1916) Course in General Linguistics, McGraw-Hill Book Company: New York, pp. 67-70

Chinese who greet their emperor by bowing down to the ground nine times[34]; or, the way the Japanese show respect to their interlocutors by avoiding eye contact, which is totally the opposite in a western society. Saussure also strongly rejects the use of the term 'symbol' employed to stand for the signifier because he considers that the connection between the signifier and the signified that constitutes a symbol is somehow natural, as Saussure asserts, ―one characteristic of the symbol is that it is never wholly arbitrary; it is not empty, for there is the rudiment of a natural bond between the signifier and the signified‖[35]. He mentions the symbol of justice, scales which could not be replaced by another one. Yet, one can be entitled to consider that even symbols are a matter of convention because they differ from one culture to another. For example, Americans wear black clothes for funerals, but Indians wear white ones for the same ceremony. Two, often opposed colors express the same feeling of sadness, empathy, or grief. So, the link is not that natural.

Onomatopoeia and interjections are two objections which are raised against the validity of arbitrariness. The former, limited in number[36] in any given language, consists of the words that imitate the sounds produced by the sign, such as: tic-tac (the ticking of a clock), boom (sound of an explosion), etc. The latter are spontaneous expressions which come out naturally. They put into words different feelings, such as: ouch when somebody is hurt. Yet, Saussure denies completely the natural aspect of the two objections because of their difference from one language to another. Such as, the English word –ouch‖ and its French equivalent ―aie‖[37].

b. The Linear Nature of the Signifier

The linear nature of the signifier is the second characteristic of a sign. Saussure claims, ―The signifier, […] gets the following characteristics: (a) it represents a span, and (b) the span is measurable in a single dimension; it is a

[34]Saussure, F (1916) Course in General Linguistics, McGraw-Hill Book Company: New York, p. 68
[35]Ibid
[36]Ibid, p.69
[37] Ibid

line‖[38]. That is to say, the signifier is articulated in the form of a chain linking different phonemes that are uttered separately. This succession of phonemes may be described in terms of duration. In other words, each phoneme of a word precedes the other phonemes that compose it. For instance, the word ‗girl' is a combination of the following phonemes: /g/ /ɜ:/ /l/. This feature is more apparent in writing. The graphic representation of speech shows clearly the sequencing of the different words that represents the linear nature of the sign. The latter is represented in this example: the deliveryman brought me a packet.

To attribute meaning to any given sign is to relate between the signifier and the signified. This process is called, as it is mentioned before, signification. Saussure adds to the latter the notion of value which refers to the nature of the relationship between different signs. A term gets its value thanks to the presence of others. In other words, the value of any term is merely due to its environment (other terms). In this respect, Saussure posits that ―concepts are purely differential and defined not by their positive content but negatively by their relations with the other terms of the system. Their most precise characteristic is in being what the others are not‖[39]. For instance, the terms of this sentence, ‗linguistics is the scientific study of language', get their meaning not by their own, but in being what the others are not. The term ‗Linguistics' is different from the terms that follow it, and cannot be replaced by any other term existing in the language, hence its particular ‗value'.

Saussure also points out that one can distinguish a word from another thanks to their difference at the level of phonemes. The latter that make up a word do not have a value on their own, but by being different from each other. For example /t/ and /d/ are two distinct phonemes even though both of them are alveolar, they do not share the feature of voicing. The former is voiceless and the latter is voiced. This difference is sufficient to incite a distinction between the two phonemes. This also explains why ‗bit' is different from ‗bid' or ‗bet' from

[38] Saussure, F (1916) Course in General Linguistics, McGraw-Hill Book Company: New York, p. 70
[39] Ibid, p. 117

_bed‘. Thus, the value of phonemes and words is not positive _having a value by their own_ but purely negative _depending on other neighboring elements_ and differential. In fact, ―in language there are only differences‖ Saussure[40] argues.

2.1.3. Dichotomies of Sign

The notion of value may be recapitulated by one of Saussure‘s dichotomies in which he opposes a syntagmatic relationship to a paradigmatic one[41]. On the one hand, the syntagmatic relationship concerns the occurrence of signs in sequence to operate together in order to transmit meaning. It concerns a word that is composed of a set of sequenced letters that work all together to form a meaningful term, such as, _bird‘ which is composed by /b/, /3:/, /d/ . Likewise, a sentence is made up by a sequential order of different words that are combined to make it meaningful. For example, _she missed many classes because she was ill‘. The paradigmatic relationship, on the other hand, may be called substitution relationship because it is about substituting entities with others belonging to the same category, in the sense that subjects will be replaced by subjects, verbs by verbs, and so on. These entities occur in the same context but not at the same time. This example illustrates the paradigmatic relationship:

The boy rides a bike
↓ ↓ ↓
The girl drives a car

In addition to the dichotomies signifier-signified, and syntagmatic-paradigmatic relationship, Saussure makes two other fundamental distinctions. He opposes langue to parole, and synchrony to diachrony. According to him[42], ―Langue refers to the system of rules and conventions which it is independent of, and pre-exists individual users; parole refers to its use in particular instances‖. In other words, langue is the whole system of rules that ensures an effective and relevant speech, while parole is the individual act through which langue is externally manifested in the form of speech or writing. Saussure regards langue

[40] [41] Saussure, F (1916) Course in General Linguistics, McGraw-Hill Book Company: New York, p. 120

McMahon, A (1994) Understanding Language Change, Cambridge University Press: Cambridge, p.25

[42] Chandler, D (2007) Semiotics the basics, Routledge: USA, p. 8

as being collective, unlike parole that is individual. The former exists in the mind of each individual and is shared by those belonging to the same community.

Parole on its turn depends on individuals' performance, it may be relevant or not because it can be influenced by different factors such as tiredness or illness. Saussure advises to study ‗langue' synchronically rather than diachronically. Synchrony and diachrony ―designate respectively a language-state and an evolutionary phase‖[43]. The former is to study language at one particular period in time without taking into account its evolution or changes through history. In contrast, the latter takes into consideration the evolution of language through time. The latter consists of tracing the history of any given language, its development through history. For instance, to study the development of English from the Old English period to the Twentieth Century.

2.2. The Triadic Tradition

Charles Sanders Peirce was into everything and his career was devoted to different scientific fields. He was a philosopher, a logician, a chemist, an engineer, a book reviewer, an astronomer, a metaphysician, a semiotician, and presumably consecrated his lifetime to many other disciplines. Yet, our research study sheds light only on his interest in semiotics.

Peirce developed a semiotic theory which is characterized by being general, triadic and pragmatic[44]. It is general in that it takes into consideration emotional, practical and intellectual experience; it includes all of the components of semiotics; and it broadens the concept of the sign. That is to say, it does not restrict the notion of sign to the linguistic one, as in the dyadic tradition, but it expands its concern to cover all kinds of signs that may transmit a meaning, such as a picture, a word, a gesture, a drawing, a sound, a physical object, etc. It equally considers the background knowledge and experiences of the individual who tries to attribute meaning and interpret the phenomena or objects that attract his/her attention.

[43]Rivkin, J and Ryan, M (2004) Literary Theory: An Anthology, Blackwell Publishing/USA, p. 64
[44]Everaert-Desmedt, N (2011) Peirce's Semiotics available in http://www.signosemio.com/peirce/semiotics.asp.

It is triadic because Peirce founded his semiotic theory upon three main categories (modes of being) which consist in firstness, secondness, and thirdness. He also divided the sign into three interrelated components which are: the object, the representamen and the interpretant. Establishing the link between these three entities is primordial in understanding and making meaning.

It is pragmatic in that it takes into consideration the context of the observation in order to interpret the meaning of signs. That is to say, the context is an essential parameter to consider understanding meaning because the same sign may have different interpretations according to the context, and different signs may have the same interpretations. For example, asking someone to close the window by saying either, ―could you please close the window?‖, or ―it is cold in here‖ (situation: the window is open); both of them refer exactly to the same meaning. It regards also the effect that the sign may have on people. This effect differs from one person to another according to their personal histories, culture, religion, worldview, etc.

Peirce provided a large range of different notions. Defining them is fundamental for the sake of attaining an understanding of his semiotic theory. The scholar pointed out three modes of being (firstness, secondness, and thirdness). He also designated the components that compose a sign (the object, the representamen and the interpretant), and elaborated three trichotomies of the sign.

2.2.1. Modes of Being

The modes of being labeled firstness, secondness, and thirdness, constitute the foundation upon which the triadic semiotic theory is established. These modes are necessary in attributing meaning to signs, in the sense that interpreting correctly a sign involves the three modes; the sign itself which catches the individual‘s interest belongs to secondness, the qualities embodied in that sign that make it distinctive from other signs belong to firstness, and the idea which raises in the mind of the observer about that sign is connected to thirdness.

Let us consider the explosions people heard during the 9/11 attacks in the USA as an example. The explosions heard belong to secondness because they are factual events which attracted people's attention. The different vibrations caused by the noises propelled by the explosions and the different qualities of the emotions generated by these explosions pertain to firstness. The ability to associate the noise people heard to an explosion but not to something else is due to their background knowledge and experiences about how explosions sound like and their terrible effects. This background knowledge and experiences which Peirce also names collateral experience partakes in thirdness.

a. Firstness

Firstness in Peirce's words[45] is:

> *The idea of the absolutely first must be entirely separated from all conception of or reference to anything else; for what involves a second is itself a second to that second. The first must therefore be present and immediate, so as not to be second to a representation… It must be initiative, original, spontaneous, and free; otherwise it is second to a determining cause… It precedes all synthesis and all differentiation; it has no unity and no parts.*

In other words, firstness exists on its own, it is independent of anything. It does not refer to something and its being is not ensured by relying on something else. We cannot associate this notion to a particular definition because it pertains to the realm of possibility, and it concerns feelings, emotions, etc. The latter are abstract, we cannot recognize their shape or their effect until they are manifested into something concrete. To explain the mode of firstness, the notion of ‗redness' is taken as an instance. This notion exists somewhere in the universe but one cannot visualize it until it becomes embodied in something that can be seen or felt, like a red pen, a red photo frame, a red bag, a red scarf, a red light, etc. We can consider a feeling to illustrate this mode of being, such as happiness. One cannot clearly define this sensation until it is externalized and embodied in someone or something, for instance, a smile emoji used in virtual chatting.

[45] Peirce, C. S (1931) *Collected Papers Volume 1*, Harvard University Press: Massachusetts, p. 183

b. Secondness

This mode of being is determined by firstness. To word it differently, it owes its existence to the manifestation of the qualities which belong to the realm of firstness in things, events, facts, etc. that attract people's attention and incites them to react by affecting them in a way or another. It is the mode of actual existence and concerns anything that can be perceived with the five senses. It exists in space and time. This category may be a physical object, a linguistic text, a discourse, etc. The following illustrate this category; a knock at a door, a stomach ache, an acquaintance met in the street, an accident, a birthday ceremony, waves in the ocean, someone's talk, a song, and so on. As Peirce[46] explains:

> *…The second is therefore the absolute last. But we need not, and must not, banish the idea of the first from the second; on the contrary, the second is precisely that which cannot be without the first(...) We find Secondness in occurrence, because an occurrence is something whose existence consists in our knocking up against it. A hard fact is of the same sort; that is to say, it is something which is there, and which I cannot think away, but am forced to acknowledge as an object, or second beside myself.*

c. Thirdness

Thirdness is the category involving laws, rules, habits, or background knowledge which mediates between the realm of possibility and the one of actual existence. As Peirce indicates, ―…the third is that which bridges over the chasm between the absolute first and last, and brings them into relation‖[47]. That is to say, the third relates between the aforementioned modes of being; firstness and secondness. Thanks to this mode of being, people understand the meaning that a sign belonging to the realm of secondness conveys, hence the process of semiosis takes place. This cognitive process permits to associate all the qualities existing in firstness to the objects that are manifested in secondness. As an illustration, when firemen hear the alarm in the fire station, they hasten because the alarm

[46] Peirce, C. S (1931) *Collected Papers Volume 1*, Harvard University Press: Massachusetts, p. 184
[47] Ibid, p. 185

indicates an emergency. The alarm belongs to the realm of secondness that is perceived by the firemen, the sound embodied in the alarm which make it singular and different from the other sounds, the association of the alarm to an emergency is due to the knowledge the firemen got in their training. This knowledge stands for thirdness.

In short, all the indescribable and unmeasurable things that may exist belong to firstness. They are not perceivable until they are incarnated in physical objects, individuals, or events which all pertain to the category of secondness. The latter is the means through which the components of firstness are brought into life. Therefore, another mode of being is necessary to the interpretation of the things one may perceive, labeled thirdness. In other words, the latter links between firstness and secondness categories because in the absence of this mental process, one cannot attribute meaning to the perceivable things. As an illustration, if a soldier hoists a white flag, the enemy is not supposed to attack him. The white flag exists in secondness because it is perceptible in the actual world. The notion of whiteness manifested in the flag pertains to the category of firstness. The knowledge soldiers have about the symbolic meaning of the white color prevent them from attacking. This knowledge belongs to thirdness.

2.2.2. The Peircean Sign and The Process of Semiosis

In the conceptualization of Peirce, once colors, drawings, gestures, sounds, speech, physical objects, or anything else are invested with meaning, they are regarded as signs. That is to say, the sign is everything to which individuals ascribe a particular significance through having recourse to past experiences, culture, habits, or background knowledge as well as the consideration of the context in which the sign occurs . As explained in the following quotation[48]:

[48]Peirce, C. S (1931) *Collected Papers Volume 1*, Harvard University Press: Massachusetts

> *A sign . . . [in the form of a representamen] is something which stands to somebody for something in some respect or capacity. It addresses somebody, that is, it creates in the mind of that person an equivalent sign, or perhaps a more developed sign. That sign which it creates I call the interpretant of the first sign. The sign stands for something, its object. It stands for that object, not in all respects, but in reference to a sort of idea, which I have sometimes called the ground of the representamen.*

Investing signs with meaning constitutes the process of semiosis. This process is a thought mechanism which involves a dynamic relationship between three different but interrelated components; representamen, object, and interpretant.

2.3. Social Semiotics and Multimodality

Social semiotics is another dominant trend in the field of Semiotics. Its valuable contribution consists in its taking into account the context in which the sign is produced and the specificities of the medium or media in which it is expressed. The study of a sign in relation to its context dates back to the work of many scholars including Peirce, but it is also associated with the work of M.A.K Halliday (1974) who conceptualized Systemic Functional Linguistics that has been developed by mainly two scholars Gunter Kress and Theo Van Leeuwen. Among the large range of Halliday‘s interests, we particularly put emphasis on the following notions; social semiotic perspective, language, context, and text. The different functions of language are reported as well.

2.3.1. Key notions

a. Social Semiotic Perspective

The broad definition assigned to semiotics which is the study of signs does not fit Halliday‘s perceptions. In his conception, signs are viewed as existing in isolation (as entities on their own) first, then in relation to others. Consequently, he suggested defining semiotics as ―the study of sign systems- in other words, as

the study of meaning in its most general sense‖[49]. That is to say, the author is concerned with every single medium through which meaning is transmitted, such as painting, sculpture, music, dance, etc. not only via the linguistic sign that constitutes the scope of linguistics, and thus, views a sign as a system of meaning which is externally manifested through its relationship with others.

The term social, according to Halliday (1989), refers to culture and involves the relationship between language and the social structure to which it is related. In other words, Halliday takes into account all the modes used to convey meaning, such as, modes of dress, greetings, etc. which reflect the culture of a society. He also takes into consideration the structure of a society and the way it affects the use of language. The latter may be tackled from different perspectives; psychological, psychoanalytic, etc. but with Hasan (1989)[50], they have opted for studying language from a social perspective. The scholars claim that this stance does not mean that other perspectives of studying language are not pertinent, but it corresponds to their interest in education in which the social aspect has been neglected. Indeed, they argue that ―learning, is above all, a social process‖[51] which takes place in social institutions, namely schools.

b. Context of Situation

According to Halliday[52], the context precedes the text because the former determines the content of the latter, in the sense that in order to produce an effective text, the context has to be taken into account. Accordingly, the context in which a text is produced is indispensable in understanding any piece of writing or speech. Context of situation was coined for the first time by the anthropologist Malinowski in an article written in 1923. Indeed, Halliday noted that the appropriate way of describing the context of a situation is related to the success

[49]Halliday, M.A.K and Hasan, R (1989) *Language, Context, and Text: Aspects of Language in a Social Semiotic Perspective,* Oxford University Press: Oxford, p. 4
[50] Ibid
[51] Ibid, p. 12
[52] Ibid, p. 12

in communication[54]. That is to say, Halliday is concerned with the way people understand each other in the communication act, no matter the means they use (writing, speaking, etc.). Indeed, the scholar pointed out that success in communication is mainly due to the unconscious predictions made by people all along the activity.

In fact, people always more or less expect what others are going to say. These expectations are made according to the context of the situation which gives the participants enough information to predict what will come next. Actually, the context of a situation is expressed in a text thanks to the relationship between the social environment and the functional organization of language. For the sake of interpreting it, Halliday (1989)[55] identified three main categories to take into consideration, specifically; the field of discourse (what is happening, what kind of social action is taking place, the topic of the communication, etc.), the tenor (refers to the participants, their statuses and roles, their relationships to each other, and so on), and the mode (the organization of the text, the channel, etc.).

c. Text

A text is ‑language that is functional‖[56]. In other words, it is language which may take the form of writing or speech that functions in a specific context of situation. It is also defined as a ―semantic unit‖[57]. That is to say, a text cannot be considered as a set of sentences, but rather as a set of meanings which are expressed through the combination of words and sentences. Halliday (1989) argues, ―A text […] has to be considered from two perspectives at once, both as a product and as a process‖[58]. In this regard, a text must be viewed as a product because it is an ‗output‘ which can be recorded and under investigation. It is also characterized by a specific structure. It must be viewed as a process as well, for the reason that it is not a combination of words chosen randomly, but it is about

[54]Halliday, M.A.K and Hasan, R (1989) *Language, Context, and Text: Aspects of Language in a Social Semiotic Perspective,* Oxford University Press: Oxford, p. 12
[55] Ibid, page 14
[56] Ibid, p. 13
[57] Ibid
[58] Ibid

selecting the appropriate words for an effective expression of the intended meaning. The notion of a text is a product and a process of a social meaning expressed in a context of a situation **(See b. Context of Situation).**

2.3.2. Language Functions

Language is the externalization of our thoughts and a means of communicating with others. It is used for describing the environment that surrounds us, as well as it serves to construct the reality we live in. Indeed, Halliday (1973)[59]enumerates seven functions of language: **1.** Instrumental function: language is used for the expression of one's needs and get some services, such as, asking for food **2.** Regulatory function: language is used to direct the way people behave (do this, do not do that, etc.) **3.** Interactional function: language is used for the sake of getting along and interacting with others **4.** Personal function: language is used to express one's own thoughts, feelings, beliefs, and identity **5.** Heuristic function: language is used for the purpose of getting information, and knowledge about the world **6.** Imaginative function: language is employed for the purpose of creating an imaginative environment, pretending, and so on**7.** Representational function: language as a means of transmitting information and facts.

2.3.3. Language Metafunctions

Halliday[60]categorizes three distinct metafunctions that language fulfills, specifically; the ideational (representational), interpersonal and textual metafunctions. The latter allow the field, the tenor, and the mode **(see b. Context of Situation)** to be realized in a discourse. Correspondingly, the ideational metafunction enables people to describe and express their experiences in the real world. It permits to the field to be realized. The interpersonal metafunction concerns the interaction between people by using the spoken and written discourse or any means of communication. That is to say, it concerns the linguistic and grammatical choices people make in order to achieve a

[59] Halliday, M.A.K (1973) Explorations in the Functions of Language, Edward Arnold: London, p. 33
[60] Halliday, M.A.K (2003) On Language and Linguistics, volume 3, Continuum: London, p. 15

communicative purpose. This metafunction allows the tenor to be fulfilled. The textual metafunction is about the cohesive devices which link the discourse altogether to create coherence. That is to say, the reader or listener may easily understand the flow of the events, etc. The textual metafunction permits the achievement of the mode.

2.3.4. Multimodality

Language in social semiotics is no longer studied in isolation. Many scholars, including Kress and Leeuwen gave another dimension to this branch by enlarging its scope. To put it another way, the scope of interest is not limited to the study of language, but it covers all the ways people use to communicate with others in social situations, specifically using images, gestures, speech, Morse; code and so on. For instance, during a daily conversation with some friends, while talking, someone produces speech, makes gestures, may show images or videos, etc. Another example; Facebook which is popular all over the world is a multimodal social network because the users may comment by using words, emoji‘s, or even images. That is to say, they use different modes to interact.

Multimodality is mainly associated with two notions; mode and semiotic resource. In fact, a mode is ‒shaped and organized into a range of meaning-making systems in order to articulate the meanings demanded by the social requirements of different communities; these we call modes‖[61]. In other words, multimodality studies all the means used in order to make and convey the desired meaning depending on the social situation. For example, body posture, eye contact, gaze, etc.

A semiotic resource is the means by which people transmit the meaning they want to. It originated from Halliday‘s claim about grammar which is not according to him, a set of rules that a writer or speaker has to follow in order to be effective, but it is a ―resource for making meaning‖[62]. For instance, if people

[61] Kress, G. et al (2001) Multimodal Teaching and Learning: The Rhetorics of the Science Classroom. New York: Continuum, p. 43

[62]Leeuwen, V (2005) *Introducing Social Semiotics*. London: Routledge, p. 3

want to communicate via speech, they will use their vocal cords, etc. It is illustrated Leeuwen clarifies the point in this passage[63]:

> *Semiotic resources are the actions, materials, and artefacts we use for communicative purposes, whether produced physiologically – for example, with our vocal apparatus, the muscles we use to make facial expressions and gesture – or technologically – for example, with pen and ink, or computer hardware and software – together with the ways in which these resources can be organized. Semiotic resources have a meaning potential, based on their past uses, and a set of affordances based on their possible uses, and these will be actualized in concrete social contexts.*

The two pioneers of multimodality; Kress and Leeuwen claim that the use of different modes to communicate with others has always existed but people did not pay attention to it. Yet, this multimodal communication is recognized in modern societies thanks to the constant evolution and rapid growth of different fields, namely; ICTs which render the world we are living in ‗multimedia' principally with the shift from print to digital communication. Actually, Kress and Leeuwen[64] claim that the spoken language is not only one mode because it is accompanied with facial expressions, eye contact, gestures, etc. That is the case for written language as well which is not limited to a set of letters that compose writing but to the product we use to write and the material through which we communicate the written language.

> *Language, whether in speech or writing, has always existed as just one mode in the ensemble of modes involved in the production of texts, spoken or written. A spoken text is never just verbal, but also visual, combining with modes such as facial expression, gesture, posture and other forms of self-presentation. A written text, similarly, involves more than language: it is written on something, on some material (paper, wood, vellum, stone, metal, rock, etc.) and it is written with something (gold, ink, (en)gravings, dots of paint, etc.); with letters formed as types of font, influenced*

[63]Leeuwen, V (2005) *Introducing Social Semiotics*. London: Routledge, p. 285
[64] Kress, G and Leeuwen, V (2006) Reading Images: The Grammar of Visual Design. London: Routledge, p. 41

> *by aesthetic, psychological, pragmatic and other considerations; and with layout imposed on the material substance, whether on the page, the computer screen or a polished brass plaque.*

In their book entitled, *Reading Images: The Grammar of Visual Design*, Kress and Leeuwen focused mainly on analyzing and interpreting images and texts in advertisements, magazines, and so on. They considered the positioning of an image in relation to a text. That is to say, are they clearly separated by a vertical or horizontal line, is the text/image placed at the top or bottom of the other, are their respective spaces merging.

Chapter Two:
The Social Construction of Reality

1. Overview

Being sociable, communication holds a significant part in human‘s life. It involves an exchange of thoughts between people. It consists in the use of different messages to generate meanings within different contexts and through different means. It knew a lot of evolutions from mimetic communication to organized linguistic speech. In fact, human communication is the vehicle humans use to express their thoughts, and emotions, but also to refer to their environment, participating thus to construct the reality we live in.

The social construction of reality is a term introduced by the sociologists Peter L. Berger and Thomas Luckmann in their book entitled *The Social Construction of Reality: A Treatise in the Sociology of Knowledge*, published in 1966. Reality is defined as ―a quality appertaining to phenomena that we recognize as having a being independent of our own volition‖[65]. That is to say, reality is viewed as something that has always existed and its existence is totally independent from humans. Thus, the concept ―social construction of reality‖ was introduced by the two sociologists in order to lift the veil on the intricacies of the environment that surrounds us and make us realize that a part of our reality is a social product.

The social construction of reality is a living phenomenon which is constantly reproduced by people in order to be maintained and transmitted from one generation to another, even if its interpretation is always shifting. In other words, the conception of reality differs from one person to another according to his/her culture, worldview, background knowledge, etc. This conception of reality emerges through the constant interaction between people. For example, Americans see the events of September, 11th as a horrible terrorist attack. However, the terrorists regard it as a major success in their battle against the United States**.** The perceptions of reality also differ according to the social status

[65]Berger, P and Luckmann, T (1966) *The Social Construction of Reality: A Treatise in the Sociology of Knowledge,* London: Penguin Books, page:7

of individuals, their level of education, their personal trajectory in life, and also according to their personal creed. For instance, a veiled woman, in a Muslim society, is meant to be perceived as a devout person. Whereas, in a secular society, the same woman tends to be regarded mainly as submissive to men. In this regard, there are a lot of protestations against the Muslim veil, among them ‗La journée mondiale des femmes sans voile'[66] On July 10th, 2017 in Paris which gathered women who are against the veil and regard it as an instrument used by Islamic fundamentalists to prevent women from being independent, and of being a sign of sexual apartheid not as an expression of devoutness to God.

2. Major Contributions

The social construction of reality is at the core of a great deal of attention. Indeed, the works of Peter L. Berger, Thomas Luckmann, Michel Foucault, John Searle, Jean Baudriallard are among the major contributions in the development of this field. In the following section light will therefore be shed on the contributions of the mentioned scholars.

2.1. Berger and Luckmann's Work

2.1.1. Objective and Subjective Realities

Berger and Luckmann's work involves the ways social phenomena, used to be taken for granted, are created, known and perpetuated from one generation to another. The two sociologists Berger and Luckmann concentrate their work on the apprehension of the reality we live in and the knowledge we have about it. In their work, knowledge is viewed as ―the certainty that phenomena are real and that they possess specific characteristics‖[67]. In other words, knowledge is the recognition of the existence of different phenomena in societies. For them the world is made up of ‗multiple realities' which are enacted from the passage from an objective reality to a subjective one.

[66] Journée mondiale des femmes sans voile available on http://www.fci-asso.org/index.php/2017/07/06/journee-mondiale-des-femmes-sans-voile/unknownauthor

[67] Berger, P and Luckmann, T (1966) *The Social Construction of Reality: A Treatise in the Sociology of*

Actually, people are born in an already made society which is objective. That is to say, they grow up in societies and absorb the artefacts inherent to their culture, religion, language, customs, etc. and getting influenced by people surrounding them. Then, they become socialized and through time, by internalizing these realities taken for granted, they construct their own reality which is subjective but felt as an objective one. To put it another way, children at an early age assimilate everything in relation to the family they grow up in, to their language, to their religion which tells them what is allowed to do, and what is forbidden, and so on. Children believe this is the only objective reality they are living in since their birth until they develop their critical thinking, and start to consider critically what surrounds them, reconstruct their own knowledge, review their opinions by confronting them with people having different worldviews than theirs.

2.1.2. Reality of Everyday Life

Everyday life is interpreted by people through what Berger and Luckmann (1966) refer to as ―the reality of everyday life‖[68].The latter is apprehended by people as an objective reality which may be explained as a reality that has always existed. It is a reality that imposes itself because people are confronted to an already existent reality after their birth. It is also ‗an inter-subjective world' which means that it is not only the reality of one individual, but it is shared by others. Hence, this reality of everyday life is determined by individual's view of the world, according to his/her own experiences, as well as by the others' view. These views are shared and transmitted through communication and interaction. The reality of everyday life is experienced differently from one person to another spatially and temporally. In other words, the reality of everyday life is viewed and interpreted according to people's physical and geographical space the ‗here' and the very moment reality is apprehended, that is, the ‗now' of the experiment and needs as well. For example: Someone considers a pair of glasses as a medical device which fixes vision troubles. On the other hand, someone else

[68] Berger, P and Luckmann, T (1966) *The Social Construction of Reality: A Treatise in the Sociology of knowledge, Penguin books: London, p. 33*

views it as a trendy accessory. Each one established his/her own reality of that pair of glasses depending on his/her perception of it. In fact, it is not only the everyday life of individuals that has an effect on their interactions but those interactions also influence the construction of the reality in which they live and believe in.

2.1.3. The Construction of Reality as a Process

Berger and Luckmann argue that reality is the product of human activity rather than a natural process. They posit a step by step process by which people construct the reality they live in. The first step is **habitualization** that is defined as ―any action that is repeated frequently and becomes cast into a pattern, which can then be reproduced with an economy of effort‖[69].It concerns the range of things that people tend to do on a regular basis which become routines and integral parts of their daily life. Actually, people do not even question themselves about how and why they are doing those things in the same way and sometimes at the same time as well. For instance, to have a wash when waking up, walking to school five times a week, reading a book before sleeping, etc.

This tendency to habitualize things is applicable to social relationships as well which leads to the second step in the construction of reality which is **institutionalization**. The latter occurs ―whenever there is a reciprocal typification of habitualized actions by types of actors‖[70]. In other words, the authors call attention to the fact that while interacting, we notice the habits of others and they pay attention to ours which is called typification. The latter consists in identifying people as being of specific type, such as: Leo is kind, Emma is so generous. This typification occurs thanks to face to face interactions that permit the formation of institutions either through intimacy or predictions as specified by Berger and Luckmann (1966)[71]. That is to say, while talking to a person that is very close, our typification is based on the knowledge we have

[69]Berger, P and Luckmann, T (1966) *The Social Construction of Reality: A Treatise in the Sociology of Knowledge,* London: Penguin Books, pp. 70-1
[70]Ibid, p. 72
[71] Ibid, p. 47

about him/her. On the other hand, when we are engaged in a conversation with people we do not know, we typify them according to our expectations of the role s/he occupies in the society. For instance, if a teacher assigned someone to do a presentation; in the following session, when the teacher calls the student, the latter will expect being asked to present his/her presentation. Another example: if a doctor calls a patient that s/he visited recently for a health problem, the person will expect that the doctor will ask whether s/he has recovered. The different institutions of a society, such as schools, police offices, etc., are established through the constant expectations made about people's types; these types are called roles.

People have different roles in the institutions they belong to. Roles imply, as Berger and Luckmann (1966)[72] argue, ―that one shares with others specific goals and interlocking phases of performance, and, further, that not only specific actions but forms of action are typified‖. In other words, people attribute to others some features specific to their role in the society. For instance, there is a group of people we qualify as being instructive which is a typical characteristic of a teacher. People respect the regularities established by their institutions in order to ensure a good functioning of these institutions. In fact, these individuals have their own personalities besides the roles they perform in the institutions. That is to say, a fireman whose main job is to extinguish fires, may be in another context a father, a brother, a husband, etc. For this reason, while interacting with an individual who fulfills his/her functions, we address the institution s/he works in. One does not, for instance, get mad at a journalist who reports wrong information, but at the institution that accepted/asked to broadcast them. In this way, institutions are accepted and recognized as having their own existence beyond the individuals that represent them and will remain existent as long as the individuals who have specific roles in these institutions work to make the rules

[72] Berger, P and Luckmann, T (1966) *The Social Construction of Reality: A Treatise in the Sociology of Knowledge,* London: Penguin Books, p. 89

respected by the whole community and passed on from one generation to another, using the third step named by Berger and Luckmannlegitimation[73].

Legitimation, as Berger and Luckmann (1966)[74]point out, is the process by which the existent institutions are explained and justified. The constant explanation and justification of the role that an institution has in a society make it acceptable by the members of the community. The institutions will remain permanent thanks to the continual transmission of their roles which occur mainly through an educational process which permits to individuals getting familiar with these institutions from childhood. In schools, individuals are taught how to behave correctly in societies they belong to. For instance, children are taught how to talk to adults, how to behave in classrooms, in restaurants, etc. and this according to the typical values of the communities the children belong to.

The fourth step is **reification** which is ―the apprehension of the products of human activity as if they were something other than human products - such as facts of nature, results of cosmic laws, or manifestations of divine will‖[75]. That is to say, the roles of institutions are transmitted from one generation to another which ensures their permanent existence. This permanence permits to institutions to be reified. In other words, people do not ask about how these institutions came to exist but they believe that they have always existed. For instance, people expect to find stamps and cheques in post offices not in schools, to stop their cars when policemen ask them to do so, and so on. The reification of the institutions provides individuals with **history**. Birth certificates, university degrees, etc. which are delivered by institutions that are parts of individuals' history[76].

To sum up, the process of constructing the reality we live in, begins with the routines and habits of people which become institutionalized once individuals

[73]Berger, P and Luckmann, T (1966) *The Social Construction of Reality: A Treatise in the Sociology of Knowledge,* London: Penguin Books, p. 79
[74] Ibid, p. 79
[75] Ibid, p. 106
[76] Ibid

observe the habits of others and typify them. They are then reified to appear as the only objective reality that does not need to be questioned.

2.2. Michel Foucault

The reality we live in is mainly shaped, according to the French philosopher Michel Foucault, by discourse in which three interrelated notions, specifically power, knowledge and truth are expressed.

2.2.1. Discourse

Discourse, according to Foucault[77], stands for the ―specific patterns of language that tell us something about the person speaking the language, the culture that that person is part of, the network of social institutions that the person is caught up in, and even frequently the most basic assumptions that the person holds."[78] To illustrate this quotation, let us take the example of the medical jargon uttered by a specific group of people who talk about a specific domain (medicine). This specific discourse gives a clear idea about the institutions they belong to (hospitals for instance), their dressing code (a white blouse), and so on.

Actually, discourse socially constructs the world we live in by being in a constant interaction with other people. We associate people we get in touch with in our daily lives to a specific ethnicity, culture, gender, religion, etc. these constructed perceptions concerning people indicate the way we should behave with them. Thus, discourse does not only dictate the way we should talk to people, but also the way we have to mind our manners. These multiple interactions produce knowledge not only about the people we communicate with, as we have seen above, but also about the world that surrounds us.

2.2.2. Power and Knowledge

[77] Foucault, M (1989) The Archaeology of Knowledge: And the Discourse on Language, Routledge: USA
[78] Van, V (2012) *The Social Reality of Truth*, Netherlands : Tilburg university, p. 4

A discourse permits power. Foucault[79] states:

What makes power hold good, what makes it accepted, is simply the fact that it doesn't only weigh on us as a force that says no, but that it traverses and produces things, it induces pleasure, forms knowledge, produces discourse. It needs to be considered as a productive network which runs through the whole social body, much more than as a negative instance whose function is repression.

We tend to associate the term power with repression and force carried by individuals or institutions upon others. However, in the aforementioned quotation, Foucault does not mean that power is to impose by force on people the way they should behave. But, power consists in culture and history of any given society that has a direct influence in shaping the individuals‘ thoughts and ideologies. In fact, Power and knowledge, according to Foucault[80], are mutually dependent. The former may be a source for and product of the latter, and it is effective only if it is well received and accepted by individuals.

Put differently, the features that characterize the power of a society, such as, culture, religion, customs, etc. dictate implicitly the worldview and beliefs to its members. Knowledge creates power because individuals while growing up construct their own beliefs and views regarding the world they live in, which leads to the creation of power. The mutual link between power and knowledge determines the way people construct their reality. In other words, power and knowledge are elements within a society that create and constitute our reality that we tend to believe. So the perception of reality varies from one society to another, an even from one individual to another. It is what an individual tends to consider credible and true. For instance, Indian girls usually get married at an early age. Such a practice which appears as ‗ordinary‘ for Indians is seen as a decisive moment in their lives, though this might give rise to much controversy elsewhere.

[79]Foucault, M (1980) POWER/KNOWLEDGE *Selected Interviews and Other Writings*1972-1977, Pantheon Books: New York, p. 119
[80] Ibid

2.3. John Searle

Role of Language in Constructing the Reality

Searle draws attention to the role of language in constructing reality. He claims: ―in human languages we have the capacity not only to represent reality, both how it is and how we want to make it be, but we also have the capacity to create a new reality by representing that reality as existing.‖[81] In other words, language capacity is not restricted to describe the world we live in and how we want it to be, but it also shapes the reality itself and brings it into being as something with an actual existence. Actually, language is an institution on its own which is of a paramount importance in building other institutions, such as, money, marriage, and so on.

In order to explain how language constitutes reality, Searle distinguishes between language-dependent and language-independent facts. He differentiates between language-dependent and language-independent thoughts as well. Let us take the following example to illustrate the first distinction; the legislative institution which is in charge of making laws depends on language to formulate and articulate the different rules that will govern a society. However, uttering a sentence such as: ―I am really motivated‖ does not depend on language because even if the sentence is a part of language, the actual feeling is intrinsic and not related to language.

In the second differentiation, Searle asserts that language independent thoughts are ―noninstitutional, primitive, biological inclinations, and cognitions not requiring any linguistic devices‖[82]. In general, he refers to animals that have many needs to satisfy, namely; hunger, and thirst but they do not rely on any linguistic means to feel it. On the other hand, Searle states that thoughts depend on language. That is to say, no matter what the thought is about, it relies on

[81] Searle, J (2010) *Making the Social World: The Structure of Human Civilization*, Oxford University Press: Oxford, p. 80

[82] Jensen, J (2014) *Myths and Mythologies: A Reader*, Routledge: London, p. 111

language to exist. For instance, thinking about the date of today, the time of one's appointment, etc. These two instances, even if they are not uttered out loud, are formulated in our minds via language.

2.4. Jean Baudriallard

2.4.1. Simulacrum

Simulacrum is derived from the verb to simulate which means to feign, to pretend the existence of something which in fact does not exist, or pretend to have something that one does not possess in reality. Consistent with Oxford learner's dictionaries[83], a simulacrum is defined as something that looks like somebody/something else, or that is made to look like somebody/something else. As a matter of fact, the term simulacrum, as indicated by (Wolny, 2017)[84], was used to refer in the 16th century to a representation of people with higher ranks in societies, then, around the 19th century, its meaning stood for a declined representation of the original. Yet today, it is associated with the French sociologist Jean Baudrillard (1994). To him, simulacrum is ―never what hides the truth- it is the truth that hides the fact that there is none‖[85]. Meaning that simulacrum does not veil the reality, but it is another reality which is imposed in people's daily life. A simulacrum conceals the fact that it is human made, which makes individuals believe that it is credible and has always existed. Thus, the simulacrum appears as real. Massumi (1987)[86] warns that a simulacrum**,** has not to be confused with artifice because recognizing something as being artificial, means that an individual is aware of what is real. For instance, to qualify a plastic flower as being artificial means that one is aware of the features proper to the real flower. The simulacrum is the extinction of reality and the creation of another reality which is called hyper-reality.

[83]Oxford learner's dictionaries, available in https://www.oxfordlearnersdictionaries.com/us/ , accessed on May, 2018
[84]Wolny, R (2017) Hyperreality and Simulacrum: Jean Baudrillard and European Postmodernism in European Journal of Interdisciplinary Studies, Vol 8, pp 76-80.
[85]Baudrillard, J translated by Glaser (1994) Simulacra and Simulation, Michigan University Press: USA, p. 1
[86]Massumi, B (1987) available in https://www.Academia.edu

As mentioned in Baudrillard Dictionary (2010)[87], hyper-reality is generated through the process of simulation, which serves to replace the existent reality by another one. For instance, magazine covers: media manipulation determines what is real; another example is Disneyland: a fantastic world turned into real; Venisia hotel in Las Vegas which really looks like Venice, the Italian city; Las Vegas where replica of the most famous monuments of the world such as the Eiffel Tower, the Big Ben are represented; and so on and so forth.

2.4.2. The Phases of Simulation

Jean Baudrillard[88] identifies four phases through which the process of simulation of an image occurs:

1- ―It is the reflection of a profound reality‖[89]. In other words, the image is easily considered as an imitation of the real.

2- ―It masks and denatures a profound reality‖[90], which means that the imitation is so well done that it threatens to replace and substitute the reality, though one can still distinguish between the real and the false.

3- ―It masks the absence of a profound reality‖[91]. In this phase, the simulacrum is no longer defined as an imitation of something for the reason that it starts having its own existence and one can no more determine to what it resembles.

4- ―It has no relation to any reality whatsoever; it is its own pure simulacrum.‖[92]. That is to say, the simulacrum disguises itself as the real; the reality has vanished and is replaced by a new reality that is called the hyper-reality.

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[87] Smith, R (2010) Baudrillard Dictionary, Edinburg University Press: UK, p. 200
[88] Baudrillard, J translated by Glaser (1994) Simulacra and Simulation, Michigan University Press: USA, p. 6.
[89] Ibid
[90] Ibid
[91] Ibid
[92] Ibid

To illustrate the four phases, let us consider the following: The famous painting of Leonardo Da Vinci 'la Cène' which represents Jesus and his twelve disciples. **The 1st phase:** one can recognize easily that Jesus in the painting is only a model who looks like the representation of Jesus. **The 2ndphase:** it is so well painted that the confusion between the model with the real Jesus is created, but with little attention, we can differentiate the model from Jesus. That is to say, we still recognize the Prophet Jesus from the one painted. **The 3rd phase:** the man in the painting exists on its own and is not qualified as a representation of Jesus. **The 4th phase:** the model that only represents Jesus is totally forgotten. Now, the man in the painting is Jesus. The imitation replaced the real character.

2.4.3. The Loss of Reality

Massumi (1987)[93], points that Baudrillard listed a set of causes that have led to the loss of reality and its total substitution by hyper-reality which consists in: media (one's worldview is constrained to how and shaped by what is presented in the different media devices, such as, TV, internet, magazines, etc.); exchange value (nowadays' society is capitalist; everything is measured in terms of money); multinational capitalism (the things people use and consume are industrial products. This is how reality is perceived. People have totally forgotten about the products derivations, for instance, they do not think about cocoa beans that constitute chocolate); urbanization (the growth of cities threatens the nature of disappearance. Nowadays, even natural spaces are created); language and ideology (people rely on language to express their thoughts, the world they live in, and construct realities).

3. Media and the Construction of Reality

Today's globalized world is advancing at a rapid pace, witnessing constant inventions and evolutions in all the fields. It is a world where people have access to a huge amount of information just by a click on the mouse on a laptop, or on a remote control thanks to the permanent developments of media devices.

[93]Massumi, B (1987) available in https://www.Academia.edu

Actually, newspapers, radio, TV, and internet are constantly revolutionized and improved by using colors, images, sounds, etc. with a better quality that render them more catchy to the audience. They occupy an integral part of people‘s daily life; they are not only entertainment devices or sources of news about what is happening around the globe, but they have a salient role in constructing worldviews and perceptions.

As pointed out before, Baudrillard heavily believes in the role of media in creating a hyper-reality and its capacity of convincing people about its reliability. Noam Chomsky, the American linguist, affirms as well that media have a considerable impact on shaping the reality we live in, and attributed to media a propagandistic role in supporting the government of the country they work in, particularly in periods of war. Indeed, Chomsky (1997)[94] mentions a propagandistic action during Woodrow Wilson‘s mandate (the 28th President of the USA). The operation is called the ‗Creel Commission‘ and consisted in turning pacifistic citizens who did not believe in the necessity of taking part in a European war (World War I) into a population with an unrestrained will to declare war to Germany because of their belief that Germany represents a menace. The Creel Commission was achieved within six months because of the huge support of media and intellectuals.

Kalogiratou (2007)[95] indicates that the propaganda was achieved thanks to numerous strategies, among them, preventing people from forming syndicates or associations sharing the same perceptions regarding a particular topic related to society, education, politics, etc. Actually, the seclusion of people aimed at turning some people‘s doubts about the reliability of the information they get from the media into none since those people‘s thoughts are not shared with others. Another strategy was to constantly display frightening events that occurred in other countries and alarm people about the existence of potential

[94] Chomsky, N (1997) Media Control: The Spectacular Achievements of Propaganda, Seven Stories Press: New York, p. 11

[95] Kalogiratou, A (2007) The Construction of Reality in a Globalized Environment: The Mass Media and the War in Iraq in Chomskyan Studies, Vol 2, pp. 25-46

threats. The objective was to turn their attention to what was occurring outside their country to distract them from domestic matters. As, Chomsky explains[96]:

> *Every once in a while you call on them to chant meaningless slogans like "Support our troops." You've got to keep them pretty scared, because unless they're properly scared and frightened of all kinds of devils that are going to destroy them from outside or inside or somewhere, they may start to think, which is very dangerous, because they're not competent to think. Therefore, it's important to distract them and marginalize them. That's one conception of democracy.*

Chomsky[97] also enumerates ten strategies that media use to manipulate the masses consisting in **1.** The strategy of distraction which consists in redirecting the attention of the masses from domestic issues to what is happening around the world through divulging a plenty of news to forward foreign issues and neglect all what is related to the government they support. **2.** Creating problems then offer solutions which means media display the problematic issues that the government builds to create a stressful atmosphere, then shed light on the decisions the government take to get over and resolve problems. **3.**The gradual strategy aims at ingraining things in the society that the citizens would not normally tolerate in a very cautious way so they do not even pay attention or perceive them. **4.** The strategy of deferring corresponds to presenting a decision as necessary and inevitable to the masses and persuades them that the tough period they may go through will pay off and they will have a better future. **5.** Going to the public as a little child which means to consider the masses that the media address as little children through targeting the innocent and infantile side that almost everyone has in order to make them accept and tolerate things. **6.** Using the emotional side more than the reflection consists in stirring people‘s emotions and feelings to deprive people‘s critical thinking and make them accept a situation without critically question it. **7.** Keeping the public in ignorance and mediocrity which means to prevent the masses from having access to the entire

[96] Chomsky, N (1997) Media Control: The Spectacular Achievements of Propaganda, Seven Stories Press: New York, p. 23

[97] Chomsky, N (2012) Interview with Noam Chomsky, available on http://www.x-pressed.org/?xpd_article=interview-with-chomsky

knowledge concerning important issues related especially to powerful groups in the society such as government, it also concerns making the masses concerned with unimportant things through promoting them like social media. **8.** Encouraging the public to be complacent with mediocrity by bombarding them with advertisements about the latest trends and fashion which are almost stupid, silly and unnecessary. Media promote fashionable things related to clothes, makeup, fitness and so on to keep the masses away from the things that build the individual‘s critical thinking such as education and make them believe that they are in the right path to look cool and trendy. **9.** Self-blame strengthen is another strategy that media employs in order to manipulate the public through persuading them that everything that is turning wrong in their lives is due to their incapacity to manage the environment they live in. It aims at numbing the rebellious side of the public and making them tolerate all the decisions that the authorities take. **10.** Getting to know the individuals better than they know themselves is another way of manipulating the masses thanks to the important developments sciences witnessed during the years which allowed understanding the human‘s body and mind. That is to say, the authorities can influence people‘s behaviors and shape their world view through targeting their weaknesses namely stirring their emotions and feelings.

Besides the updated information communicated by media to the masses, entertaining and educating them, Kellner[98], contends that media propagate a plenty of negative values and create serious issues in the society. Indeed, the media foster racism in movies, TV shows, video games, and even in cartoons mainly against blacks who are presented in stereotypical jobs in sport or music, they forward the conflicts between the ‘Whites’ and ‘Blacks’ which is incessant, due to the skin color difference. They spread also the belief that there are races

[98] Kellner, D (2004) The Media and Social Problems in Handbook of Social Problems: A ComparativeInternational Perspective, Sage Publications: London, page 90

superior to others. Media promote violence that is the use of physical force to take it out on somebody or the use of brutal and cruel words at home, in the street, and in different institutions.

Violence is promoted via movies, video games, internet, etc. that create an unsecure and disrespectful environment in the society. Sexism still exists in nowadays societies which always proclaim the equality of all humans whatever their gender. Indeed, sexism is a kind of discrimination which concerns primarily women. The latter have been and are still regarded as weaker, less competent, more sensitive than men. This gender distinction is noticeable at home, schools, work and so on. Children grow up in societies that discredit women everywhere. Homophobia is the expression of hatred and contempt based on the sexual orientation of people. There are groups in different societies all over the world who totally reject and are violent towards homosexuals because they judge homosexuality as being immoral. Media cause numerous addictions as well either to various substances; drugs, alcohol, tobacco, etc. or behavioral addictions, such as, internet, video games, food, shopping, work, and so on.

In fact, in nowadays societies people are getting addicted to the aforementioned things because of the influence of the media which display a plenty of advertisements. The latter encourage people to buy more often clothes to be on trend, to eat various meals that usually are unhealthy, to play video games which provide the satisfaction of being in competition by sitting in the couch of the house. These addictions harm people‘s serenity and health causing different troubles in the family as well as in the society they live in. They are always involved in serious issues like stealing, killing, etc. These values are passed on to children and participate shaping their worldview.

Chapter Three:
Discourse and Rhetorics

Discourse is a means of communication between people and a vehicle that contributes in constructing the reality people live in. It is an exchange of information between the addresser and the addressee via technological devices, such as, internet, TV, etc. or face-to-face communication. Communication theory has made it clear that means of communication tackling different issues are about convincing others about the reliability of the presented points of view. In a communication act, the addresser puts forward his/her worldview and opinions to implicitly or sometimes explicitly influence others by trying to shape their thoughts in such a way to make them share the same reality as his or hers.

Indeed, the term discourse, according to Gansiger and Kole (2017)[99], "integrates a whole palette of meanings" pointing out that the term is broad and encompasses multiple meanings and interpretations. These diverse significations, as asserted by Mills (1997)[100], involve different disciplines including linguistics, sociology, philosophy, and so on. Before covering some definitions of the term discourse as suggested by theorists from different fields, let us consider its general meaning as provided by the Oxford Learners' Dictionaries[101]. The latter defines the term discourse as follows: a long and serious treatment or discussion of a subject in speech or writing.

Conforming to the definition, it can be considered that discourse is a means of communication, either in the form of speech or writing, which tackles important issues such as, wars, pathologies of different diseases, etc. The term discourse, as specified by the English Oxford Living Dictionaries[102], is derived from the French word ‗discours' which is defined in Larousse Dictionary[103] as ―an oral communication about a given subject, presented in public, and in particular on a solemn occasion, by a speaker‖ (My own translation). In other words, discourse

[99]Gansiger, M and Kole, A (2017) Mapping Media Responsibility. Contemporary Aspects of Morals, Ethics and Social Discourse, Anchor Academic Publishing: Hamburg, p. 82
[100] Mills, S (1997) Discourse, Routledge : London, page 1
[101]Oxford Learners' Dictionaries available in https://www.oxfordlearnersdictionaries.com/definition/american_english/discourse
[102]English Oxford Living Dictionaries available in https://en.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/discourse
[103] Larousse Dictionary available in https://www.larousse.fr/dictionnaires/francais/discours/25859

is the expression of thoughts about a particular issue that may take different forms, words, images, etc.

1. Disciplinary Definitions of Discourse

1.1. In Linguistics

Broadly speaking, theorists in the field of linguistics, as Mills (1997)[104] argues, tend to focus on the way a discourse is structured and organized. In other words, they consider the combination of the different components for the sake of making up a meaningful discourse aiming at reaching the intended objective. They are also interested in the way cohesion and coherence are manifested in a discourse responding to parameters fixed by the context. David Crystal, Geoffrey Leech and Michael Short are among the theorists who define discourse from a linguistic perspective. Actually, in order to specify the definition of the term discourse, they contrasted it with the term text to clarify the split between the two notions which are sometimes used interchangeably by some theorists. In this regard, Crystal (1987) in Al Massri (2013)[105] asserts:

> *Discourse analysis focusses on the structure of naturally occurring spoken language, as found in such 'discourses' as conversations, interviews, commentaries, and speeches. Text analysis focusses on the structure of written language, as found in such 'texts' as essays, notices, road signs, and chapters. But this distinction is not clear-cut, and there have been many other uses of these labels. In particular, 'discourse' and 'text' can be used in a much broader sense to include all language units with a definable communicative function, whether spoken or written. Some scholars talk about spoken or written discourse; others about spoken or written text.*

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[104] Mills, S (1997) Discourse, Routledge : London, p. 9

[105] Al Massri, I (2013) Text Linguistics and Translation: English-Arabic Assessment, p.32 available in https://books.google.dz/books?id=pU_JBAAAQBAJ&printsec=frontcover&dq=Text+Linguistics+and+Translation&hl=fr&sa=X&ved=0ahUKEwi29JWfuJfdAhUSKBoKHU6yDXcQ6AEIJjAA#v=onepage&q=Text%20Linguistics%2 0and%20Translation&f=false

Here, the quotation indicates that Crystal points out to the fact some theorists believe that both discourse and text have the same signification, consisting of language that have a communicative purpose whether it is spoken or written. Nevertheless, Crystal distinguishes between them by associating discourse with spoken language, and text with written language.

1.2. In Cultural Studies

In cultural studies, the term discourse is considered as a piece of writing or speech used for interaction between people. Discourse stands for a means of conveying meaning structured in accordance with a specific context. But, theorists in this field are interested in the way discourse is regulated by one's thoughts, beliefs, and worldviews as well, in the sense that people produce a discourse which reflects one's own ideologies, ideas corresponding to the society one belongs to, their religion, etc. They are also concerned in the way people influence others through shaping their views via discourse. As an instance, let us consider Fowler's definition of discourse as reported by Mills (1997)[106]:

> *Discourse is speech or writing seen from the point of view of the beliefs, values and categories which it embodies; these beliefs etc. constitute a way of looking at the world, an organization or representation of experience - ideology in the neutral non-pejorative sense. Different modes of discourse encode different representations of experience; and the source of these representations is the communicative context within which the discourse is embedded.*

The abovementioned quotation points out that a discourse is made up of a set of opinions, values, ways of thinking, and so on. In fact, considering a discourse which is produced in a certain context and situation in form of writing or speech, one can deduce the worldview of the speaker or writer which is manifested in the different words used to constitute the discourse, the different gestures of the speaker while addressing people, the tone s/he adopts; aggressive, friendly, etc.

[106]Mills, S (1997) Discourse, Routledge : London, p. 6

1.3. In Social Psychology and Critical Linguistics

Social psychologists and critical linguists, as indicated by Mills (1997)[107], are influenced by linguistics and cultural studies in their tackling of the term discourse. Indeed, they relate between discourse and the notion of power which is integrated in the different constituents that compose a discourse. As pointed out before, discourse is a process of attempting to control others‘ thoughts and beliefs. For instance, there are people who adopt racist or sexist discourses which are conveyed to the masses in order to raise a wave of hatred and intolerance in the society towards immigrants for instance. There are also discourses that put forward peace and tolerance.

1.4. In Semiotics

Ruqaya Hasan (2015)[108] asserts that discourse is not only limited to speech or writing, but it is an umbrella term which encompasses the entire verbal and non-verbal ways people use to communicate with others. Besides the written and oral discourses, people convey meaning via drawings; gestures; painting; etc.

To sum up, the term discourse whatever its form written, spoken, or non-verbal, reveals participants‘ beliefs, opinions, thoughts, worldviews, and so on that are manifested in the way the users address people, the kind of language they use, the tone, etc. Discourse involves power that consists of imposing explicitly or implicitly the reality of the addresser and persuading people about its validity for the sake of shaping their thoughts to turn them into his/her advantage. Power is present in everyday conversations and is widely spread in the different means of media including newspapers, TV, radio, social media which are constantly updating their content using a persuasive discourse to influence a large number of people.

[107] Mills, S (1997) Discourse, Routledge : London, p. 10
[108] Hasan, R (2015) Discourse as Medium of Knowledge: Transmission of Knowledge by Transmission of Discourse People Live in Journal of Education and Practice, Vol 6, No 31, pp. 119-128

2. Political Discourse

As mentioned before, discourses are produced portraying people‘s ideologies, beliefs, opinions regarding a particular topic. They are delivered to audiences in order to influence as many people as possible to achieve specific objectives. The world at large has recently experienced financial crises in the world, continuous terrorist attacks causing panic and terror, wars all over the world namely in Iraq, Syria, Yemen, and so on. All these events raised the interest of mass media, politicians, associations, authors, etc. who tackled one of the events exposing their own opinions, delivering discourses corresponding to their ideologies and thoughts to audiences. Indeed, political discourses are highlighted because they are among the types that circulate the most nowadays via different means; newspapers, TV, and internet. They also match with the corpus of the current study consisting in Bush‘ speeches and Moore‘s Fahrenheit 9/11 documentary movie.

According to Van Dijk (1998)[109], the broad sense of political discourse, as its name denotes, encompasses the written or spoken discourses produced by politicians or political institutions covering political matters, such as, calling people to vote, convincing them about the reliability of a decision, making rules, and so on. In other words, discourses are categorized as political regarding their producers, exactly as a discourse is qualified political when it is delivered from a political institution or a politician who was elected to represent people and is involved in political issues.

As it is shown in Van Dijk‘s terms: ―Politicians in this sense are the group of people who are being paid for their (political) activities, and who are being elected or appointed (or self-designated) as the central players in the polity‖[110]. Van Dijk points out that politicians are not the only participants involved in politics, actually the masses to whom the discourse is addressed are implicated as

[109] Van Dijk, T (1998) What is Political Discourse, p. 12, available in http://discourses.org/OldArticles/What%20is%20Political%20Discourse%20Analysis.pdf

[110] Ibid, p. 13

well. Indeed, when voting is concerned, the masses are implicated by electing the one who corresponds the most to their expectations. However, one is entitled to think that when a discourse is addressed by a politician to the masses, people are not necessarily implicated. That is to say, they are only receivers of the discourse, if there is no interaction between the addresser and addressee; they are not involved in it.

Van Dijk[111] (1998) asserts that context has a salient role in determining which kind of discourse is delivered. By context, he refers to the setting (place and time) of the discourse, the event, the objective of the discourse, and so on. We consider that categorizing a discourse as political is not limited to the one presented by politicians working in the domain, we actually believe that actors, authors, activists deliver political discourses as well. When their speeches or writings aim at influencing people to accept or reject any given decision, an issue related to politics, such as advocating women rights, supporting a political candidate, talking about financial crisis, etc. are considered political. For instance, Malala Yousafzai, a 21 years old Pakistani activist for women rights particularly the right for learning, obtained the Nobel prize in 2014 at the age of 17. Her speeches target the authorities for ensuring education to women all over the world, as illustrated by her speech at the United Nations in 2013[112].

3. Discourse Analysis

Discourse analysis, as asserted by Abrams and Harpham (2013)[113], is concerned ―with the use of language in a running discourse, continued over a number of sentences, and involving the interaction of speaker (or writer) and auditor (or reader) in a specific situational context, and within a framework of social and cultural conventions‖. That is to say, discourse analysis is not limited to the study of written and spoken discourse at the surface level, in the sense that, it does not only take into account the meaning of the words composing a

[111] Van Dijk, T (1998) What is Political Discourse, p. 14 available in http://discourses.org/OldArticles/What%20is%20Political%20Discourse%20Analysis.pdf

[112] Girl Shot in Head by Taliban, Speaks at UN: Malala Yousafzai United Nations Speech 2013 available in https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=QRh_30C8l6Y

[113] Abrams, M.H and Harpham, G (2013) A Glossary of Literary Terms, Cencage Learning: London, p. 91

sentence, but it highlights how these meanings are constructed and communicated between people in a particular context. Discourse analysis aims at scrutinizing a discourse for sorting out the culture of the participants, the society they belong to through regarding the language they use, their behaviors, etc.

4. Critical Discourse Analysis

The term critical discourse analysis (henceforth CDA) involves several notions including power, ideology, culture, society, etc. Indeed, as stated in Discourse and Power in a Multilingual World[114], CDA regards language as a social practice (by language is meant the means people use to communicate and convey meaning, such as, speech, writing, images, gestures, etc.). Accordingly, Weiss and Wodak in Blackledge (2005) state: ―discursive practices should be regarded as both structured and structuring actions‖[115]. That is to say, language is used to construct relationship and serves for interaction between people. It is also the manifestation of one's culture, ideology, and worldview via the way s/he addresses people, the vocabulary s/he uses, the different gestures that are shaped by the society they live in which sets some habits that are perpetuated among different generations.

Discourse shapes the society as well in the sense that the person delivering a discourse seeks to have an effect on people, convincing them about their point a view concerning an issue for the sake of constructing a social reality corresponding to their interests. CDA is particularly interested in the relationship between discourse and power as well. Indeed, Blackledge (2005) argues that in CDA, discourse ―indexes power, expresses power, and is involved where there are challenges to existing relations of power‖[116]. Actually, discourse is not about exerting a physical force or threatening people's lives; instead it is about manipulating people's thoughts and opinions by the choice of their speech or any

[114]Blackledge, A (2005) Discourse and Power in a Multilingual World, John Benjamins Publishing Compagny: Amsterdam, p. 4
[115] Ibid
[116] Ibid, p. 5

other means of communication. In other words, people turn discourse to their advantage by controlling others.

5. Brief Historical Overview and Definition of Rhetorics

According to Thomas F.X Noble et al[117], rhetorics dates back to the rise of democracy in Greece, particularly in Athens around the 5th century BC. In fact, at that time Athenian men were involved in Politics and were addressing people using their persuasive capacity to make them vote for or against a particular legislative group. Consequently, small schools were established for developing persuasive ability and teaching rhetorics. In this regard, Aristotle who taught people how to construct a successful speech and the way to interpret others' discourses and sort out the truth can be mentioned. His concern is demonstrated in his conception of what rhetorics is; ―the faculty of discovering in any particular case all of the available means of persuasion‖[118]. In other words, Aristotle did not only teach his students the way of convincing someone about a particular opinion, but focused on showing them the way they should pay attention to the discourse to sort out its strategies in manipulating people's thoughts as well.

Aristotle identified[119] three modes of expression that people have to rely on in order to generate a successful political speech. They are logos, pathos, and ethos. Logos is an argument based on logic which means that the construction of an argument must be built on evidences and facts. Pathos is an argument based on emotions. That is to say, it makes the audience involved emotionally to convince them. Ethos stands for basing the argument on the character of the addresser who must be considered as a credible and ethical person to trust. Aristotle also listed

[117] Noble, T et al (2007) Western Civilization: Beyond Boundaries, Wadsworth Cengage Learning: USA,p. 76
[118]Donsbach, W (2015) *The Concise Encyclopedia of Communication*, Wiley Blackwell: USA, p. 537
[119]Eyman, D (2015) *Digital Rhetoric: Theory, Method, Practice*, University of Michigan Press: USA, p.28

five canons[120] indispensable for the process of developing an effective speech as follows:

- **Invention:** the process of coming up with a set of persuasive arguments.
- **Arrangement:** the process of organizing the speech, which argument the speaker has to start with and which one to close with.
- **Style:** the formulation of appropriate words and sentences to achieve the intended objective.
- **Memory:** the use of some tips which helps remembering the speech and its arrangement.
- **Delivery:** the way the speaker is going to present and deliver the speech by using appropriate tone and gestures to attract the attention of the audience.

6. Rhetorical Devices

Rhetoric is achieved thanks to a set of rhetorical devices. In fact, the current study covers the following: metaphors, personification, metonymy, euphemism, parallelism, and pronouns.

6.1. Metaphors

Metaphors are considered as linguistic devices which are not used to express their usual meaning, in the sense that words or phrases are used in reference to people or objects for expressing their likeness in some aspects. For example, Soskice in D E Leary[121] asserts that a metaphor is ―that figure of speech whereby we speak about one thing in terms which are seen to be suggestive of another‖; Brown claims that a ―metaphor is seeing something from the viewpoint of something else‖. Relying on the two aforementioned definitions, we can assume that a metaphor consists in attributing to something the characteristics of

[120] Eyman, D (2015) *Digital Rhetoric: Theory, Method, Practice*, University of Michigan Press: USA, p. 28
[121] Leary, D. E (1990) *Metaphors in the History of Psychology*, Cambridge University Press: UK, p. 5

something else. Metaphors are also associated with poetics and the field of literature; they embellish the discourse.

However, Lackoff and Johnson[122] argue that a metaphor is not only used to ornament a particular piece of writing or speech, but it is integrated in our everyday discourse and it is a matter of thought. That is to say, Lackoff and Johnson consider that a metaphor is not only present in language, but according to them the way we think, act, perceive the world and interact with people is metaphorical as well. They claim that the metaphorical language use and thought occur unconsciously, which means that the use of metaphors is not deliberate. Thus, they propose considering the daily language we use. As an illustration, they provide a set of expressions we usually use in our everyday language standing for the metaphor 'argument is war'[123]; specifically: Your claims are indefensible, he attacked every weak point in my argument, his criticisms were right on target, I demolished his argument, I've never won an argument with him, and so on. All these expressions are often employed by a person arguing with another about any given topic. They are made up of words standing for war such as; attacked and won. As a matter of fact, Lackoff and Johnson identify three distinctive kinds of metaphors; orientational, ontological, and structural.

6.1.1. Orientational Metaphors

Orientational metaphors, according to Lackoff and Johnson[124], involve a spatial relationship between concepts which are organized with respect to one another. They are oriented in space as follows; "up-down, in-out, front-back, on-off, deep-shallow, central-peripheral"[125]. Actually, the two authors assert that these metaphors are related to the human body and the way it reacts to different situations. In his sense, we associate happiness to up, regarding the body posture of someone who is happy; it is vertical and straight. As we relate sadness to down, because of the posture which is somehow inclined. The expressions such

[122]Lakoff, G and Johnson, M (1980) *Metaphors we Live by*. Chicago Press: USA, p. 4
[123] Ibid
[124] Ibid, p. 15
[125] Ibid

as ‘I‘m feeling up’ or ‘I‘m feeling down’ clearly express the emotional state of a person. These kinds of metaphors are not conventional; they are based on our bodies along with culture.

6.1.2. Ontological Metaphors

Ontological metaphors are defined by Lakoff and Johnson as ―ways of viewing events, activities, emotions, ideas, etc., as entities and substances‖[126] which means that the abstract feelings, opinions, experiences, events, and so on, are regarded as being concrete. For instance, ―the solitude kills him‖; ―the happiness was seen in her face‖.

6.1.3. Structural Metaphors

Structural metaphors “allow us to do much more than just orient concepts, refer to them, quantify them, etc., as we do with simple orientational and ontological metaphors; they allow us, in addition, to use one highly structured and clearly delineated concept to structure another”[127]. In other words, they are used to understand a concept in terms of another. Put differently, a target domain is understood by means of the source domain, such as the example given by Lakoff and Johnson (1980): ‘Argument is War’ that is a part of our daily conversations. This metaphor is manifested by different expressions, such as, he attacked every weak point in my argument; I demolished his argument; I have never won an argument with him; you shot down all of my arguments, etc. These expressions show that the language related to a debate is structured by the concept of war. That is to say, a person can win or lose a debate, and the one a person is arguing with is considered as an opponent whose point of view is attacked. Actually, these structural metaphors have the capacity to hide some aspects such as cooperation and understanding between people.

[126] Lakoff, G and Johnson, M (1980) *Metaphors we Live by*. Chicago Press: USA, p. 26
[127] Ibid, p. 61.

6.2. Personification

Lakoff and Johnson (1980) pointed out that personification is one kind of the ontological metaphors. They define it (1980:34) as ―seeing something non-human as human‖[128]. That is to say, it consists of presenting inanimate objects and abstractions (emotions, opinions, etc.) with human qualities. This rhetorical device is not only used in literature but it is widely employed in everyday discourse. As it is illustrated in the following: the religion regulates one‘s behaviors; the current study aims at.

6.3. Metonymy

Metonymy is, in Lakoff and Johnson‘s words (1980:36), ―using one entity to refer to another that is related to it‖. That is to say, one aspect or one feature from an entity is used to stand for something which is closely associated to, or the use of one part to refer to a whole. For instance, the UK supported the USA in the attacks against Iraq; the white house issued an ultimatum to Saddam to withdraw his army from Kuwait. This rhetorical device may be confused with personification for that reason Lakoff and Johnson (1980) put a focus on the distinction between the two. They claim that in personification, there is not any involvement of humans and as it is explained before, it consists of perceiving physical objects and abstract things as having human qualities.

6.4. Euphemism

The term ‘euphemism’, as indicated by Denis Jamet (2012)[129], was employed for the first time in a book entitled Glossographia written by Thomas Blount in 1656. It is derived from the Greek word ‘euphemos’ which means ‘sounding good’ (from: eu ‘good’, and phèmi ‘ say’). Jones and Peccei (2004) assert that euphemism is “a figure of speech which uses mild, inoffensive or vague words as a means of making something seem more positive than it might otherwise

[128] Lakoff, G and Johnson, M (1980) *Metaphors we Live by*. Chicago Press: USA, p. 34
[129] Jamet, D (2012) Euphemism as a Word-Formation Process available in https://www.academia.edu/2369395/Double_whammy_The_dysphemistic_euphemism_implied_in_unVables_such_as_unmentionables_unprintables_undesirables

appear"[130]. Put differently, it is the use of pleasant and non-aggressive words or expressions tackling an issue which may create discomfort and may be offensive. Its main use concerns taboo subjects, military matters as well as diplomatic negotiations between countries. It is also used in our daily life for the sake of presenting things politely and avoid hurting someone's feelings. For instance, saying someone passed away instead of died; saying powder my nose instead of using the rest room; pregnancy termination as an alternative of abortion, and so on.

6.5. Parallelism

In Jones and Peccei's words (2004), parallelism is ―a device which expresses several ideas in a series of similar structures‖[131]. In other words, it may be defined as the succession of expressions that are constructed similarly to generate an identical flow that makes the sentence sounds well. It is employed in different discourses to draw the attention of the addressees and put an emphasis on the equal importance of the presented ideas. It is used in literature (in poems and proses), grammar, daily discourse, as well as in political speeches. For example, the expressions we use in our daily life; like father, like son; what goes around, comes around; the expression uttered by Neil Armstrong when he first stepped foot on the moon: *That's one step for man, one giant leap for mankind;* the sentence attributed to Julius Caesar: *I came, I saw, I conquered (Veni, vidi, vici).*

6.6. Pronouns

A pronoun is a rhetorical device which has a significant role in a written or an oral discourse. As stated by Jones and Peccei (2004) pronouns ―can be used either to foreground or to obscure responsibility and agency‖[132]. To put it in another way, pronouns are employed in a discourse either to put someone or his/her accomplishments in the spotlight (in this case, the pronoun I is used), or

[130] Jones, J and Peccei, J.S (2004) Language, Society and Power: An Introduction, Routledge: London, p. 48
[131] Ibid, p. 51
[132] Ibid, p. 52

to veil the involvement of a person in some events, etc. (the pronoun we is used). This rhetorical device is not only used in political speeches, but also in daily conversations. For instance, a father decided to send his daughter to a boarding school, but when he announced it to his daughter, he said: we decided that the best for you is to study in a boarding school. By using the pronoun ‗we' the father avoids taking the responsibility in front of his daughter, so the daughter may understand that even her mother is implicated.

Chapter Four:
Cinema

It can be assumed that today most people watch movies at a regular basis; they occupy an integral part of people‘s daily life either at home or outdoors. In today‘s world, access to different types of movies is achieved by a simple click, though it has not always been the case. In this respect, genres of movies and film theories are brought into focus.

1. Movies and their Genres

Movies with their various genres were and still are incorporated in everyday life. They are not only entertainment means, but information and knowledge sources about the world as well. They influence audiences by reflecting the society in which they are produced and those to which they are destined by constructing a reality for the sake of shaping the opinions of their audience. In this regard, cinema is defined by the Cambridge Dictionary[133] as “the art or business of making films”. That is to say, it is the process of producing and releasing movies to audiences. Movies or films are, according to Chambers 21st Century Dictionary, “a series of images, often of moving objects, recorded and edited to tell a story, present a subject, etc. and shown in the theater or TV”[134]. In other words, a movie is a set of moving images purposefully gathered together and having specific features, such as, lightening, music, camera movements, etc. It is produced in order to relate a story concerning a specific subject and topic. The topic distinguishes one genre of movie from another. A genre, in Christensen and Haas‘s terms (2005)[135], is “a category or group of films about the same subject or marked by the same style, musicals for instance”. To put it another way, a genre consists in classifying different movies into a specific category. The movies belonging to the same genre have a common purpose and the same ways for achieving it. For instance, comedies aim at entertaining audiences through different jokes along the movies; musicals, via music and shows.

[133] https://dictionary.cambridge.org/dictionary/english/movie
[134] Chambers 21st Century Dictionary (2001), Chambers Harrap Publishers Ltd:New Delhi, p. 490
[135] Christensen, T and Haas, P.J (2005) Projecting Politics: Political Messages in American Films, M.E. Sharpe: USA, p. 5

Movies can be categorized into a wide range of genres mainly, as stated in Current Debates in Media Studies[136] book, action; adventure; documentary; biography; comedy; drama; epic; fantasy; saga and fairy tales movies; western; musical; crime; mystery; horror; family; educational; and so on and so forth. In this regard, some of the movies genres are briefly defined with a particular focus on documentary movies in the following:

1.1. Action movies

Action movies[137], are characterized by a constant animated storyline that primarily narrates the adventures of a hero/heroine who is in a permanent fight against a villain or lawbreaker. This kind of genre is full of spectacular scenes; energetic music; violence; chases; etc. which usually end with the triumph of the hero.

1.2. Comedy movies

According to Kuhn and Westwell (2012)[138], Laughter and humor are the principal features of comedy movies whose purpose is to entertain and create an amusing atmosphere for the audience. Comedies may take the form of parody_ humoristic imitation of a movie, a style of a writer, etc._; satire_ the use of humor and sarcasm for criticizing mainly political issues_ ; black comedy _ makes fun of serious issues, such as death, racism, violence, etc.

1.3. Historical movies

Historical movies are ―fiction films showing past events or set within a historical period‖[139]. In other words, this genre of movies traces back factual past events or portrays the life of some people. Kuhn and Westwell[140] report that this kind of movies try to faithfully represent the period or the person by respecting the landscapes, the clothes, etc.

[136]Ozgur, O (2018) Current Debates in Media Studies, Vol 25, IJOPEC Publication: London, p. 170
[137] Dirks, T Main Film Genres on http://www.filmsite.org/genres.html
[138] Kuhn, A and Westwell, G (2012) A Dictionary of Film Studies, Oxford University Press: UK, p. 91
[139] Ibid, p. 205.
[140] Ibid

1.4. Documentary movies

Kuhn and Westwell (2012)[141] define documentary movies as non-fictional genre which tackle fact based and accurate topics related to people, institutions, etc. Pepe and Zarzynski define the genre as well, they define documentaries as "truthful stories about people, places, events, and things set in the past or present"[142]. That is to say, documentary movies report veracious ongoing or former events related to People or places. They are not produced for the sake of entertainment even if humor has a salient role in conveying the intended meaning. They seek to inform, convince, raise the awareness and attract the attention of audiences on a particular reality occurring in a particular society. Documentaries, according to Nichols, "also make representations, mount arguments, or formulate persuasive strategies of their own, setting out to persuade us to accept their views as appropriate"[143].

In other words, this genre of movies seek to convince audiences about the validity of the issue tackled in the movie and make them support their position. Documentary movies have specific features that make them different from the other genres. These characteristics may be summarized in terms of "(1) subjects; (2) purposes, viewpoints, or approaches; (3) forms; (4) production methods and techniques; and (5) the sorts of experience they offer audiences"[144]. As the first feature is concerned, subject refers to the topic tackled in the movie which is not related to people's feelings, but to accurate facts about people, places, etc. As for purposes, viewpoints or approaches, filmmakers intend to report their views regarding a person, an event, a place or others for the sake of convincing people about the reliability of the communicated information. The form of the movie is not exclusively created by a filmmaker; it is reported from what already exists or

[141] Kuhn, A and Westwell, G (2012) A Dictionary of Film Studies, Oxford University Press: UK, p. 126
[142] Pepe, P and Zarzynski, J.W (2012) Documentary Filmmaking for Archeologists, Left Coast Press: California, p. 23.
[143] Nichols, B (2001) Introduction to Documentary, Indiana University Press: Bloomington and Indianapolis, p. 5
[144] Ellis, J.C and Mclane, B.A (2006) A New History of Documentary Film, The Continuum International Publishing Group Inc: New York, p. 1

some scenes are recreated through getting inspired from the original ones, the filmmaker may add sounds or effects to make the documentary movie more catchy. The fourth aspect stands for the techniques ―images are shot, sounds recorded, and the two edited together‖[145]. In fact, events in documentary movies are not played by actors, they are mainly related by _real people' and images are shot in actual places. Last but not least, the fifth characteristic concerns the intention of filmmakers to have an effect on audiences, to lead them to action[146].

As instances of documentary movies[147]a number of milestones can be mentioned such as *Nanook of the North*, one of the earliest documentary movies produced in 1922 relating the life of a family in the Arctic; *When We Were Kings* (1996) about the two boxers Muhammed Ali and George Foreman; *Shoah*(1985) about the Holocaust; *Bowling for Columbine* (2002) that concerns the Columbine High School Massacre in 1999; *Fahrenheit 9/11* (2004) _the corpus of the current study_ which concerns the war in Iraq; and so on.

2. Film Theories

Film theories are, according to Bettinson and Rushton (2010)[148], a set of speculative beliefs and views advanced by theoreticians regarding every aspect of a movie. In other words, they seek providing an explanation of the movie through considering its intended meaning, how the filmmakers proceed to achieve their communicative purposes by scrutinizing the script, the visuals, the lighting, etc., what are the expected effects on the audience. Film theories aim at focusing the way movies evolved throughout the decades by mainly fitting the current technological advancements as well. They also look at whether movies disclose the society we live in or not. Indeed, there are diverse series of film

[145] Ellis, J.C and Mclane, B.A (2006) A New History of Documentary Film, The Continuum International Publishing Group Inc: New York, p. 2
[146]Ibid
[147] Dirks, T Documentary Films on http://www.filmsite.org/docfilms.html
[148] Rushton, R and Bettinson, G (2010) What is Film Theory: An Introduction to Contemporary Debates, Open University Press: New York, p. 5

theories, identified i n the Concise Encyclopedia of Communication book[149], asfollows:

2.1. Classical Film Theory

Classical Film theory was the master theory from the 1920s until early 1960s. Indeed, this theory conceptualized movies as modes of art and emphasized 'film ontology, or essence' which means they consider the different properties that make up a movie. In this regard, two main theories namely, as Rushton and Bettinson (2010)[150] point out, Formalists and Realists shed light on two major distinctive and contrastive aspects of cinema. The former focused on the exclusive filming techniques of classical movies, whereas the latter emphasized the capacity of photographic recording. To Rushton and Bettinson (2010)[151], Rudolf Arnheim is among the eminent figures of Formalists. Indeed, the main interest of Arnheim was silent movies which he considered outstanding and unique thanks to their particular ways of filming. These specific filming procedures render the silent movies a form of art[152]. Arnheim was in opposition to all kinds of technological evolutions in the field of cinema including colors; sounds; 3D; and so on because they alter the authentic property of cinema, namely pictures. In fact, pictures, in the opinion of Arnheim, distinguishes cinema from other disciplines such as painting, theater, or dance.

On the other hand, André Bazin, one of the leading Realists theorists, regarded the essence of cinema consists in its photographic dimension and its relation to reality. That is to say, Bazin[153] viewed the merit of a movie in the faithfulness of movies in capturing the reality. The capacity of movies to reproduce the reality, according to Bazin[154], is what distinguishes cinema from

[149]Buckland, W (2015) The Concise Encyclopedia of Communication, Donsbach, W, JohnWilley and Sons, Inc: UK
[150]Rushton, R and Bettinson, G (2010) What is Film Theory: An Introduction to Contemporary Debates, Open University Press: New York, p. 9
[151] Ibid
[152] Ibid
[153] Ibid, p. 10
[154] Ibid

other arts. The Realist standpoint of Bazin, as indicated by Rushton and Bettinson[155], made him support some filming techniques, such as, spatio-temporal continuity that is the combination of different shots consistent in time and place, mobile camera work, long takes which consist in shots lasting a long moment, etc. as well as rejecting others mainly montage (editing a set of shots together into a sequence) because it does not correspond to its cinema realism. In other words, Bazin estimated that montage does not contribute in reliably representing the reality.

2.2. Modern Film Theory

2.2.1. Structuralism and Semiotics of Cinema

According to Buckland[156], starting from the 1960s theorists were no longer interested in finding out the essence and property of films that make them recognizable from other disciplines as classical film theorists used to do. They instead turned their concern into considering movies "as a system of social and symbolic meaning"[157]. That is to say, they scrutinized the meaning conveyed by movies in relation to a specific society, its culture, etc. Indeed, during the 1960s and 1970s, modern film theory (also called contemporary film theory) knew two major theoretical positions consisting in structuralism and semiotics of cinema as Rushton and Bettinson (2010)[158] mentioned.

a. Structuralism

Rushton and Bettinson (2010)[159] point out that structuralism in the field of cinema, was greatly influenced by De Saussure's structuralism who considered that "in language there are only differences"[160] starting from a phoneme which

[155] Rushton, R and Bettinson, G (2010) What is Film Theory: An Introduction to Contemporary Debates, Open University Press: New York, p. 9
[156] Buckland, W (2015) The Concise Encyclopedia of Communication, Donsbach, W, JohnWilley and Sons, Inc: UK
[157] Rushton, R and Bettinson, G (2010) What is Film Theory: An Introduction to Contemporary Debates, Open University Press: New York, p. 11
[158] Ibid, p. 14
[159] Ibid
[160] Saussure, F (1916) Course in General Linguistics, McGraw-Hill Book Company: New York, p. 120

has a value by being different from the others, to a word which does not have an innate meaning, but whosesignificance is earned through being distinct from other terms. This basic stance means that structuralists were not involved in understanding the meaning of different elements in the movie on their own, but in relation to other neighboring elements, and how this relationship transmits meaning to audiences. To put it another way, structuralists were interested in the way the association of the different constituents of a movie generate meanings. Rhuston and Bettinson (2010)[161] mention the principle structuralists in film studies, specifically: Claude Levi Strauss (a French anthropologist); Ronald Barthes (a French semiologist and philosopher); and Louis Althusser (a French philosopher). Adding to the aforementioned Christian Metz (a French semiologist)

b. Semiotics of Cinema

As was seen in the chapter on the Concept of Sign, the study of signs consists in the study of anything to which a meaning is attributed. Thus, Semiotics of cinema, also called the language of cinema is about, as Rushton and Bettinson (2010)[162] indicated, analyzing the different components of movies, such as, oral discourse, sounds, images, and so on considered as signs which convey meaning to audiences. Christian Metz as a theorist in semiotics of cinema is interested in montage; camera movements; shots; relationships between the image and speech; sequences, and so on that constitute Metz's[163] concerns.

Metz (1974)[164] claims that semiotics of cinema can be perceived from two positions, namely semiotics of connotation and semiotics of denotation. In terms of connotation, the cinema is conceived as an art consisting of the aesthetic arrangements such as camera movements, light effects and so on. On the other

[161] Rushton, R and Bettinson, G (2010) What is Film Theory: An Introduction to Contemporary Debates, Open University Press: New York, p. 15
[162] Ibid, p. 14
[163] Metz, C (1974) Film Language: A Semiotics of the Cinema, the University of Chicago Press: Chicago, p. 94
[164] Ibid

hand, the denotation is about the events narrated in the movie; the setting; the temporal dimension; the characters; etc. (Metz 1974)[165].

Actually, Metz (1974)[166] claims that movies could undergo two types of analyses, specifically the syntagmatic analysis and the paradigmatic one. These two types are inspired from Saussure‘s dichotomy syntagmatic relationship and paradigmatic one. Indeed, the syntagmatic analysis consists in analyzing a shot of a movie in relation to the shots that precede or follow it in a horizontal way. These shots combined together make up a movie. While, the paradigmatic analysis, as Metz (1974)[167] states involves the analysis of a shot with other shots that may be its substitutes.

2.3. Cognitive Film Theory

Pervez (2015)[168] argues that the term ‘cognitive’ is derived from the word cognition that gathers the intellectual processes associated with perception, thinking, judgement, memory, imagination, use of knowledge in understanding meanings, and so on. In this regard, cognitive film theory, as asserted by Buckland (2015)[169], came up in the 1980s replacing the modern film theory. This theory was interested in designating the relationship between the movie and the viewers. More precisely, it sought finding out the knowledge and skills used by audiences in interpreting and understanding the explicit and implicit meanings of the movie, and the way movies engender logical and emotional involvement of the spectators as well.

Bordwell is one of the theorists involved in analyzing movies from a cognitive standpoint. According to Pervez (2015)[170], Bordwell identified a set of cognitive processes which occur while watching a movie including,

[165] Metz, C (1974) Film Language: A Semiotics of the Cinema, the University of Chicago Press: Chicago, p. 94
[166] Ibid, p. 99
[167] Ibid, p. 101.
[168] Pervez, A (2015) Cognitive film theory: An overview in -Bangladesh Film and Television Institute Journal, vol 1, pp. 581-89
[169] Buckland, W (2015) The Concise Encyclopedia of Communication, Donsbach, W, JohnWilley and Sons, Inc: UK, p. 210
[170]Pervez, A (2015) Cognitive film theory: An overview in -Bangladesh Film and Television Institute Journal, vol 1, pp. 581-89

neurophysiological process consisting in noticing the motion in the movie; universal cognitive process which is about recognizing the actors and considering the music; and culturally variable cognitive process consisting in relying on culture in order to grasp the meaning of a movie. In other words, Bordwell considers that the understanding of a movie requires the use of one's previous knowledge and culture.

2.4. Philosophers and Cinema

Besides structuralists and semioticians, philosophers dealt with the study of films as well. In this regard, Gilles Deleuze is among the philosophers who contributed in the field of film studies. Indeed, the current part will cover the main concepts highlighted by Deleuze in his books devoted to cinema, as stated by Rushton and Bettinson (2010)[171] namely, Cinema 1: The Movement Image (1986) and Cinema 2: The Time Image (1989).

Deleuze is concerned in the way movies make meaning via the different features of a film, such as, editing, arrangement, montage, etc. His work is mainly inspired by the works of Henri Bergson and Charles Sanders Peirce. On the one hand, Deleuze is influenced by Bergson's to whom: ―an image of something is the consciousness we have of that thing‖[172].That is to say, an image of something resembles what the thing actually is. For instance, the image one has of a gun is not separated from what the gun is (with its main components).

Deleuze considers that there is no split between one's consciousness of a movie and the movie itself, as much as there is no separation between a film and the actual world. On the other hand, Deleuze views movies as a set of signs through which meaning is produced in tune with Peirce's triadic semiotics.

Actually, Peirce identified three modes of being, specifically firstness, secondness, and thirdness. Likewise, Deleuze[173], determined three categories

[171] Rushton, R and Bettinson, G (2010) What is Film Theory: An Introduction to Contemporary Debates, Open University Press: New York, p. 112
[172] Ibid, p. 113
[173] Dawkins, R (2005) Deleuze, Peirce and the Cinematic Sign in SRB Insight Journal 15.2, p. 10

pertaining to the world of cinema corresponding respectively to Peirce‘s modes of being consisting in the affection-image; the action-image; as well as the relation-image. The affection-image corresponding to firstness is a series of qualities having their own existence and are not yet embodied in actual things. The action-image designating secondness stands for actual and factual things. That is, the images actually seen by the audience. Relation-image referring to thirdness is about reasoning and logic. Deleuze in Dawkins (2005)[174] specified three aspects of the cinematic sign namely genesis, composition and noosign corresponding respectively to Peirce's representamen, object, and interpretant. In this regard, genesis is considered as the sign itself; composition is the significance of the sign; the noosign stands for the way people interpret the meaning of images.

[174] Dawkins, R (2005) Deleuze, Peirce and the Cinematic Sign in SRB Insight Journal 15.2, p. 10

Practical Part

Chapter 5:
Methodological Considerations

1. Description of the Corpus

The corpus of the current study covers two types of discourse; written and multimodal. The written discourse encompasses a series of speeches delivered by George Walker Bush the 43rd President of the United States from 2001 to 2009 to Americans and the rest of the world citizens after the 9/11 terrorist attacks. It counts 18 speeches, starting from September 11, 2001 to November 6, 2003 accessible on the US government website[175]. These speeches primarily accentuated the gravity of the attack not only in the US territory, but everywhere in the world which may be targeted by terrorists. They emphasized different events related to the terrorist attack and the war in Iraq as well. They are displayed in **table 2** below:

	Title	Date
1	- Address to the Nation on the September 11	September 11, 2001
2	- National Day of Prayer and Remembrance Service	September 14, 2001
3	- Remarks to New York Rescue Workers	September 14, 2001
4	- Address to the Joint Session of the 107th Congress	September 20, 2001
5	- Address to the Nation on Operations in Afghanistan	October 7, 2001
6	- Department of Defense Service of Remembrance at the Pentagon	October 11, 2001
7	- Address to the United Nations General Assembly	November 10, 2001
8	- Address at the Citadel	December 11, 2001
9	- The World Will Always Remember September 11	December 11, 2001
10	- State of the Union Address to the 107th Congress	January 29, 2002
11	- Promoting Compassionate Conservatism	April 30, 2002
12	- West Point Commencement	June 1, 2002
13	- Middle East Peace Process	June 24, 2002
14	- Address to the United Nations General Assembly	September 12, 2002
15	- State of the Union Address to the 108th Congress	January 28, 2003
16	- Remarks on the Future of Iraq	February 26, 2003
17	- Address to the Nation on Military Operations in Iraq	March 19, 2003
18	- Remarks on the Freedom Agenda	November 6, 2003

Table 1:**President Bush's Discourses**

[175]Selected Speeches of President George W. Bush: 2001-2008 [online]. Available from: https://georgewbushwhitehouse.archives.gov/infocus/bushrecord/documents/Selected_Speeches_George_W_Bush.pdf [Accessed in 03/02/2017].

The multimodal discourse consists of Fahrenheit 9/11 documentary movie produced by Michael Moore. As we have pointed out in the theoretical considerations part, a documentary movie is a genre on its own having its proper features that make it distinguishable from other genres. In fact, a documentary movie is not about fictional or fantastic scenarios but it covers real events and reports information about real people. It incorporates humor that is a salient aspect used by filmmakers, not for the sake of entertaining, but for achieving their goals.

The filmmakers' objectives generally consist in reporting their worldview and opinions regarding an event for instance. They seek to convince people that their viewpoints are well-grounded as well; as it is the case of Fahrenheit 9/11 which is produced and directed by Michael Moore, a filmmaker and a liberal activist. Actually, the documentary movie Fahrenheit 9/11 was released for the first time at the 57th edition of Cannes Film Festival in May 2004 in which Moore received the prestigious Palme d'Or, the award of high standing for filmmakers and the audience offered him a twenty-minute standing ovation. The documentary movie highlighted the terrorist attacks of September 11, the 2003 war in Iraq aiming mainly at persuading Americans not to reelect the President Bush. Despite the success Moore's documentary movie got in France as well as in America filling big theaters, as mentioned in *Fahrenheit 9-12: Rebuttal to Fahrenheit 9/11*[176], several documentary movies refuted Fahrenheit 9/11 counting: Fahrenhype 9/11; War, Lies, and Videotape: A Viewer's Guide to Fahrenheit 9/11; and Celsius 41.11. But, these rebuttals did not know the success Moore's documentary movie knew.

2. Analysis Procedures

As it has already been indicated in the introduction, the current study seeks to examine the content of two media discourses in order to figure out the way the former President Bush, and the filmmaker Michael Moore reported the 9/11 events and the war in Iraq to audiences. To achieve this objective, the study relies

[176]Reichel, A.I (2004) Fahrenheit 9-12: Rebuttal to Fahrenheit 9/11, iUniverse, Inc: New York, p. 119

on two main analysis procedures. They consist in Peirce's triadic semiotic theory, Kress and Leeuwen's reading images, along with two other procedures Leeuwen's semiotics of sounds and Jonathan Charteris-Black's rhetorical means for persuasion in political communication.

2.1. Triadic Semiotic Theory

Peirce's triadic semiotic theory is based on the interpretation of the world around us by means of the signs through which the world is perceived. Indeed, one attributes meaning to the things that attract his/her attention. A sign is the result of the dynamic relationship that exists between three constituents which are the representamen, the object, and the interpretant. In Peirce's words, the representamen is ―used to denote an object perceptible, or only imaginable‖[177]. Put differently, it is the form that the sign takes; it does not designate only a physical object, but it stands for everything that is perceivable by our five senses. Peirce warns: ―but in order that anything should be a Sign, it must represent, (…) something else, called its Object‖[178]. In this respect, the object is not a material, one can notice, but it is what the sign refers to; its significance. The interpretant which must not be confused with an interpreter, is the way one interprets the sign. It is the entity which establishes a link between the representamen and its object and enables the comprehension of the intended meaning. The figure 2[179]in the next page shows that the process of semiosis is not linear and points out to the complementarity of the three components of a sign. That is to say, the process of semiosis takes place only if the three constituents representamen, object and interpretant interact with each other.

[177] Peirce, C (1931) *Collected Papers Volume 1*, Harvard University Press, Massachusetts, p. 136
[178] Ibid
[179] Floyed, M *Peirce's Basic Classes of Signs in a Somewhat Different Vein,* in http://www.commens.org/encyclopedia/article/merrel-floyd-peirces-basic-classes-signs-somewhat-different-vein

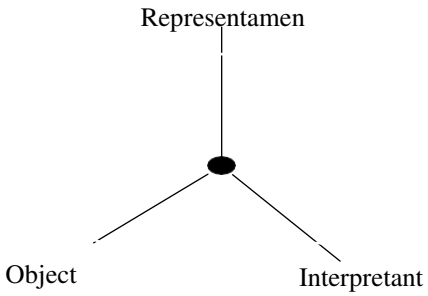


Figure 2: The relationship between the three constituents of the sign

To show this relationship, let us consider these two examples: **1-** A boy noticed that the sign of his mobile phone battery became red and was blinking. Then, he charged his cellphone battery. **2-** A girl logged into facebook in order to chat with a friend of her to ask her a favor, she started talking to her when a green spot appeared next to her friend pseudo. In the example **1**, the representamen is what attracts the boy‘s attention which is the light of the mobile phone which turned into red and was blinking which urged him to react by charging his phone. The possibility that the phone might turn off because the battery was very low, constitutes the object. The interpretant is the boy‘s background knowledge about the functioning of a cellphone that permitted the link between the representamen (red light) and the object (the possibility of that the phone might turn off) which resulted in charging the battery the phone. In the example **2**, the green spot which came into sight represents the representamen because it drew the girl‘s attention who reacted by writing the message to her friend she was waiting for. She started writing to her friend only once she perceived the green spot for the reason that she understood that her friend was online. The object here is her friend‘s expectancy for her online reply. The interpretant is the fact that the girl made use of her background knowledge about how the social network works which allowed her to associate the representamen (green spot) to the object (Expecting an online reply).

Peirce considers that the representamen may take the form of an icon, an index, or a symbol. He recognizes two types of objects as well: the immediate object which is defined as ―the object as the sign itself represents it, and whose

being is thus dependent upon the representation of it in the sign‖[180], and the dynamical object which refers to ―the reality which by some means contrives to determine the sign to its representation‖[181]. To clarify these concepts, the following notices are taken into account: **(a)** ‒do not disturb‖ (posted on the office door of the head of a department) and **(b)** ―you cannot log into Facebook‖ (in a laptop screen). In example **(a)**, the immediate object is the visible graphic representations (letters or graphs) that make up the sentence. The (numerous constraints that led the author to write the note in order not to be disturbed) is the dynamical object. The object involves the consideration of the reason(s) which led to the writing of this particular discourse. In example **(b)**, the different pixels forming the words through which the sentence appeared in a laptop screen constitute the immediate object. The Dynamical object entails the consideration of the specific temporal circumstances in which the sentence was produced.

As far as the interpretant is concerned, Peirce identifies three types of interpretant; the immediate interpretant, the dynamical interpretant, and the final interpretant. The immediate interpretant consists in the understanding of the meaning carried by any given sign which attracts the individual‘s attention. The sign, at this level, does not yet trigger an effect on the individual. That is to say, the individual does not react accordingly to the sign, but s/he grasps only the meaning of it. The dynamical interpretant is the effect that a sign may have on the observer and it differs from one person to another. The final interpretant, also called the logical or pragmatic interpretant, is the true interpretation of the sign by considering the context of its occurrence. In this respect, Peirce argues[182]:

[180]Peirce, C.S (1933) Collected Papers Volume 3 and Volume 4, Charles Hartshorne and Paul Weiss: Harvard University Press, p. 422
[181] Ibid
[182] Ibid

> *In regard to the Interpretant we have equally to distinguish, in the first place, the Immediate Interpretant, which is the interpretant as it is revealed in the right understanding of the Sign itself, and is ordinarily called the meaning of the sign; while in the second place, we have to take note of the Dynamical Interpretant which is the actual effect which the Sign, as a Sign, really determines. Finally there is what I provisionally term the Final Interpretant, which refers to the manner in which the Sign tends to represent itself to be related to its Object.*

The three types of interpretant are explained in the light of the aforementioned examples. In example **(a)**, the meaning of the different words making up the sentence (do not disturb) is the immediate interpretant. The dynamical interpretant may vary from one person to another. For example, if a student reads this note, s/he will wait until the head of the department leaves his/her office. S/he may also decide to come back in the evening, or the day after. If a colleague reads the same note, s/he may text the head of the department asking him/her to call him/her once s/he is free. S/he may knock at the door thinking that the note is addressed to the students. The final interpretant, in this example, for the student is to understand that the head of the department should be busy and could not receive him/her for the moment and decides not to wait, and come back later instead. On the other hand, a colleague may remember that the head of the department scheduled a meeting with the dean at 10:00 that s/he decides to come back after the lunch break.

In example **(b)**, the meaning of words composing the sentence (you cannot log into Facebook) refers to the immediate interpretant. The effects that this message may have on the observer stand for the dynamical interpretant. Thus, the observer may refresh the page and try to connect again. S/he can also restart his/her laptop believing that it is a bug, or switch off the modem, then turn it back on. The final interpretant in this sentence is the fact that the observer realizes that s/he did not pay his/her internet subscription which is the explanation for not having access to Facebook.

2.2. Reading Images

Kress and Leeuwen (2006) are interested in the way people use diverse means to communicate with each other and how people understand the conveyed meaning. Actually, Kress and Leeuwen identify three patterns to be taken into account in order to understand the whole meaning conveyed from the elements composing the visual. They consist in patterns of representation, interaction, and principles of composition which correspond respectively to ideational, interpersonal, and textual functions of language determined by Halliday (1978). Ideational function is ―the content function of language, language as about something‖[183]. That is to say, language is used to conceptualize the world around us. The Interpersonal function represents ―the participatory function of language, language as doing something‖[184] which refers to the use of language in interacting with others and maintaining relationships. The textual function formulates ―the relation of the language to its environment‖[185]. It may be defined as language in use which serves to externally manifest the ideational function and actualize the interpersonal one.

2.2.1.Patterns of Representation

Patterns of representation stand for the participants portrayed (people, things, and places) in the image, and the way relations are established between participants as well. The latter refer to the represented participants in the image along with the viewers. Kress and Leeuwen distinguish two types of representation: narrative and conceptual.

a. Narrative Representation

Images involve a dynamic agency between the internal participants which is interpreted by the viewers. The central characteristic of the narrative representation is the presence of a vector which is formed by an oblique or

[183]Halliday, M.A.K (1978) Language as social Semiotic: The social Interpretation of Language and Meaning, Edward Arnold Publishers: London, p. 112
[184] Ibid
[185] Ibid, p. 113

diagonal line with an arrow designating a direction and represents the participants in action. The vector connects between an ‗Actor' that refers to the participant from whom the vector emerges, as Kress and Leeuwen state: ―The active participant in an action process is the participant from which the vector emanates or which is fused with the vector‖[186], and a ‗Goal' that stands for the participant to whom the vector is addressed, as Kress and Leeuwen specify: ―the passive participant in an action process is the participant at which the vector is directed‖[187].

b. Conceptual Representation

The conceptual representation, in contrast with the narrative representation, is not dynamic. In fact, the vector is not comprised and the participants are represented as static. According to Kress and Leeuwen, the conceptual representation is categorized into three distinct processes: classificational, analytical, and symbolic. Kress and Leeuwen consider that classificational processes ―relate participants to each other in terms of a ‗kind of' relation, a taxonomy: at least one set of participants will play the role of Subordinates with respect to at least one other participant, the Superordinate‖[188]. That is to say, as its labelling denotes, a classificational process consists in classifying the participants into the categories they belong to.

Analytical processes, according to Kress and Leeuwen, ―relate participants in terms of a part–whole structure. They involve two kinds of participants: one Carrier (the whole) and any number of Possessive attributes (the parts)‖[189]. In other words, an entity is defined by the parts composing it or characterizing it.

Kress and Leeuwen claim that a symbolic process is ―about what a participant means or is‖[190]. The authors indicate that in the symbolic process, two participants may be involved, 'the Carrier' and the 'Symbolic Attribute'. The

[186] Kress, G and Leeuwen, V (2006) Reading Images: The Grammar of Visual Design. 2nd Ed. Routledge: New York, p. 74
[187] Ibid
[188] Ibid, p. 79
[189] Ibid, p. 87
[190] Ibid, p. 105

former is ―the participant whose meaning or identity is established in the relation‖[191]. The latter is ―the participant which represents the meaning or identity itself‖[192]. When the process includes both the Carrier and the Symbolic Attributes _objects that are emphasized in an image by exaggerating in their size or accentuated in their colors_; it is called ‗Symbolic Attributive'[193]. In this process, the participants, as Kress and Leeuwen[194] assert, are not represented as being involved in an action, they are only posing for the viewer. They point out to another possibility in which only the ‗Carrier' is involved, and the process in this case, is called, ‗Symbolic Suggestive'[195].

2.2.2. Patterns of Interaction

Patterns of Interaction concern the way relationships between two kinds of participants (represented and interactive) are established. In fact, Kress and Leeuwen argue that the represented participants stand for the people, things, and places portrayed in the visual. On the other hand, interactive participants refer to the communication between the image producer and the image viewer. These relationships are accomplished via three semiotic resources: gaze, social distance, and angle of interaction.

a. Gaze

Kress and Leeuwen[196]distinguish between **demand** and **offer** images. The former consists of the images in which an eye contact between the participants and the viewers is established. In contrast, offer images are the images in which the participants do not make an eye contact with the viewers.

In the demand images, the represented participants directly address the viewers through their gaze or their body parts, such as pointing in the direction of

[191] Kress, G and Leeuwen, V (2006) Reading Images: The Grammar of Visual Design. 2nd Ed. Routledge: New York, p. 74
[192] Ibid
[193] Ibid, p. 105
[194] Ibid, pp. 105-6
[195] Ibid, p. 105
[196] Ibid, p. 117

the viewer. The demanding gaze ―constitutes an image-act‖[197] in which the image-maker ―uses the image to do something to the viewer‖[198]. To put it differently, the demanding gaze creates a direct contact with the viewer that incites him/her to react to the image through a facial expression like a smile, or a particular stare, etc. On the other hand, the offer images ―offer the represented participants to the viewer as items of information, objects of contemplation, impersonally, as though they were specimens in a display case‖[199]. To word it differently, the viewers observe the image with no kind of interaction since the eye contact between the represented participants and viewers is absent.

b. Social Distance

Images set out a social distance between the represented participants and the viewers. Actually, the image designers may opt for portraying the participants close or far from the viewers. This distance is represented by ‗the size of the frame'[200] which depends on the effect the image-maker wants to create. The size of the frame may be ―close-up, medium shot and long shot, and so on‖[201]. The difference in the size of the frame corresponds to the way participants are portrayed in visuals (field of vision). These differences are demonstrated in the table[202] below which displays Hall' social distance, field of vision and size of the frame adopted by Kress and Leeuwen

Hall's Social Distance	Field of Vision Kress and Leeuwen	Size of Frame Kress and Leeuwen
Intimate distance	Face or head only	Very close shot
Close personal distance	Head and shoulders	Close shot
Far personal distance	Waist up	Medium close shot
Close social distance	Whole figure	Medium long shot
Far social distance	Whole figure with space around it	Long shot
Public distance	Torso of at least four or five people	Very long shot

Table 2: **Framing and Social Distance**

[197] Kress, G and Leeuwen, V (2006) Reading Images: The Grammar of Visual Design. 2nd Ed. Routledge: New York, p. 74
[198] Ibid
[199] Ibid, p. 119
[200] Ibid, p. 124
[201] Ibid
[202] Torres, G (2015) Reading' World Link: A Visual Social Semiotic Analysis of an EFL Textbook in International Journal of English Language Education, Vol 3, N 1, pp 239-53

c. Angle of Interaction

The Angle of interaction refers to the position from which the represented participants are depicted in the visuals. Kress and Leeuwen identify two types of angles: horizontal and vertical.

- Horizontal Angle

Kress and Leeuwen specify that the participants may be portrayed from a ―frontal or oblique point of view‖[203]. The way the participants are captured in the visual represents the involvement or detachment of the image designer and viewers towards the participants of the image. In this respect, Kress and Leeuwencontend that ―the frontal angle says, as it were, _What you see here is part of our world, something we are involved with.‘ The oblique angle says, _What you see here is not part of our world; it is their world, something we are not involved with‘‖[204].

- Vertical Angle

The vertical angle implicates the relation of power between the participants and the viewers. The relation of power is represented by the angle from which the represented participants of the image are viewed by the viewers. Kress and Leeuwen[205] point out that when the viewers see the represented participants of the image from a high vertical angle, the viewers have power over the participants. When the participants are seen from a low vertical angle from the viewers, the participants have power over the viewers. When the represented participants are at an _eye-level‘ with the viewers, power is not involved and equality is created between them.

[203] Kress, G and Leeuwen, V (2006) Reading Images: The Grammar of Visual Design. 2nd Ed. New York: Routledge, p. 135
[204] Ibid, p. 136
[205] Ibid, p. 140

2.2.3. Principles of Composition

Principles of composition in a visual stand for the way representational and interactive components constituting the image are related to each other and make up a meaningful image. These principles ensure coherence which is accomplished thanks to three interconnected systems: information value, salience, and framing in the image.

a. Information Value

Kress and Leeuwen[206] inform that the elements composing a visual may occupy various placements in the image: left and right, top and bottom, centre and margin. Each component is loaded with information value that is determined by its position.

- **Information Value of Left and Right**

To Kress and Leeuwen[207], the constituents placed in the left are presented as ‗given', the elements placed on the right as ‗New'. To word it differently, the left side presents a ‗given' information which is assumed to be already known by the viewer. Whereas, the right side presents a ‗new' information, the principal one which seeks to attract the viewer's attention. In this regard, Kress and Leeuwen precise, ―the meaning of the New is (…) ‗problematic', ‗contestable', ‗the information at issue', while the Given is presented as commonsensical, self-evident‖[208]. The left and right placement of the compositional elements depends on cultures. As Kress and Leeuwen mention, in cultures which start writing from the right, the Given is on the right, and the New on the left.

[206] Kress, G and Leeuwen, V (2006) Reading Images: The Grammar of Visual Design. 2nd Ed. New York: Routledge, page 177
[207] Ibid, page 181
[208] Ibid

- **Information Value of Top and Bottom**

Kress and Leeuwen[209] indicate that the elements positioned on the top of a visual are 'ideal' and indicate 'what might be', and the constituents placed at the bottom are 'real' and point to 'what is'. In fact, the ideal refers to the most important part of the visual, the image-maker wants to emphasize on, and it has the 'lead role'[210], whereas, the real constitutes the details or practical information which plays a 'subservient role'[211]. To illustrate the ideal and real structure, Kress and Leeuwen[212] argue that in an advertisement promoting a product, the top is about 'the promise of the product' ; i.e. what the product can bring to its users, while the bottom, represents the product itself by giving some details concerning its purchase, etc.

- **Information Value of Centre and Margin**

The value of the visual constituents may be determined by the placement of the different compositional elements in the centre or in the margin. Kress and Leeuwen[213] indicate that if a visual is composed by a central element and other components around it, the element in the middle is called a centre that represents the salient element carrying the key information and the surrounding ones are called margins and depend on the centre. The centre, as Kress and Leeuwen mention, is bigger than the margin in size.

b. Salience

Kress and Leeuwen define salience as "The elements (participants as well as representational and interactive syntagms) are made to attract the viewer's attention to different degrees, as realized by such factors as placement in the foreground or background, relative size, contrasts in tonal value (or colour),

[209] Kress, G and Leeuwen, V (2006) Reading Images: The Grammar of Visual Design. 2nd Ed. Routledge: New York, p. 186
[210] Ibid, p. 187
[211] Ibid
[212] Ibid, page 186
[213] Ibid, page 196

differences in sharpness, etc."[214]. In other words, salience consists in putting an emphasis on some elements composing a visual and making them more noticeable than others for the viewers. This prominence is fulfilled through diverse semiotic resources such as size, foregrounding, colors and so on.

c. Framing

Framing concerns the way elements that make up a visual are connected or separated from each other. In fact, the constituents of an image may be disconnected by "actual frame lines, by white space between elements, by discontinuities of color, and so on"[215]. The more the framing is accentuated on some components of a visual, the more the components are separated from the others, whilst the absence of the framing shows that the elements belong together. Kress and Leeuwen claim that the presence of framing designates "individuality and differentiation"[216], its absence denotes "group identity"[217].

2.3. Leeuwen' Semiotics of Sounds

Semiotics of sounds is about exploring the message a person communicates with a sound and how others interpret its meaning. Leeuwen is concerned with the study of the features shared by three notions: speech, music, and sound which usually are explored distinctly in different fields. His aim is to foreground the integration of the three notions within the same context rather than their distinction. Leeuwen considers speech, music, and sound interrelated and embedded in the same environment, such as music concerts that incorporate musical instruments and human voice (while someone is singing), as well as movies that combine between different kinds of sounds: speech, sounds of nature (wind, the flow of water in rivers, the sound of animals, etc.). Leeuwen considers diverse domains in studying sounds, among them perspective and social distance

[214] Kress, G and Leeuwen, V (2006) Reading Images: The Grammar of Visual Design. 2nd Ed, Routledge: New York, p. 117
[215] Ibid, p. 204
[216] Ibid, page 203
[217] Ibid

which are employed in the analysis of different sounds that may be integrated in the documentary movie under analysis.

2.3.1 Perspective and Social Distance

Leeuwen argues that a sound establishes a relationship between what it represents and the listeners to whom it is addressed through two distinct ways: perspective and social distance. The former indicates the prominence of the represented components (sounds in this case) by positioning some in the foreground, some in the middle ground, and others in the background. The latter does not concern sounds occurring simultaneously, but concerns single sounds. It stands for the formality that is created between the represented elements and the listeners; intimacy, informality and so on.

a. Perspective and the soundscape

Semiotics of aural perspective classifies the sounds occurring simultaneously into groups or units differing in their positions from the listener. In this respect, Leeuwen (1999)[218] argues that a soundtrack can be divided into three units: immediate, support, and background. The immediate is the sound that the listeners focus on, whereas the support and background are those sounds heard by the listeners; they are present but not accentuated. As it is illustrated in the following: ―The chief thing to bear in mind is that the 'Immediate' effect is to be listened to, while the 'Support' and the 'Background' effects are merely to be heard‖[219]. For example, a Politician communicates his/her electoral discourse on TV, his/her voice is the immediate, the applause of people represents the support.

Leeuwen[220] points out that there are different appellations referring to the sounds that are emphasized and the ones that are not, counting; 'foreground', 'mid-ground' and 'background' named by W. Murch along with 'Figure' , 'Ground', and 'Field' labeled by R. Schafer. Actually, the terminology differs, but they all convey the same meaning consisting in arranging the sounds heard

[218]Leeuwen, T (1999) *Speech, Music, Sound*, Macmillan Press: London, p. 15
[219] Ibid
[220] Ibid, p. 16

simultaneously into three groups or units varying in prominence. That is to say, there are sounds listeners have to pay attention to, and others which do not necessitate attention. Leeuwen[221] indicates that in some cases, there are only two units instead of three: a foreground and a background. For instance, in films, dialogue and action primarily stand out, whereas the music indicating the mood and referring to the context are put on the background. Leeuwen[222] adopts Schafer's terminology and affirms that any sound, whatever its high or low frequency, may be figure (the most prominent sound to which the listener has to pay particular attention, or react or act upon), ground (a sound that is part of the listener auditory field but s/he does not pay much attention to it; it is noticeable only when it stops) or field (a sound that is considered as an object pertaining to their physical world, the way they consider trees while driving). It all depends on the position of the listeners in relation to the sounds and the context in which the sounds are presented which determines the importance of a sound over another.

Leeuwen[223] indicates that Schafer determines two types of soundscapes: hifi and lofi. Hifi soundscapes permit to very low frequency sounds to be heard from an important distance separating them from the listeners, such as hearing a student picking up a pen in an amphitheatre while taking exams. On the contrary, in lofi soundscapes, people have to raise their voices to be heard and other sounds should be intensified to distinguish them from the others.

b. Sound and Social Distance

Social distance, as specified before, is not concerned with the sounds that occur at the same moment, but concerns single sounds. It refers to the formality that is made between the sound and the listeners. As in everyday life, people establish various distances between others depending on how they are close to

[221] Leeuwen, T (1999) *Speech, Music, Sound*, Macmillan Press: London, p. 16
[222] Ibid, p. 17
[223] Ibid

each other, sounds determine a social distance. Leeuwen[224] identifies five distances:

-Intimate distance: a person addressing someone very close to him/her by whispering or via a very delicate voice.

- Personal distance: the sound (voice) is very soft and characterized by a low pitch.

-Informal distance: a person communicates with someone with whom s/he has a friendly relationship through a high frequency voice.

-Formal distance: people who have a formal relationship, such as a boss with his/her employee; a teacher with a student, etc. the conversation is featured by a high pitch voice.

-Public distance: address someone with very loud voice which require to be heard.

2.4. Jonathan Charteris-Black's rhetorical means for persuasion in political communication

Jonatan Charteris-Black specifies that a political discourse is 'persuasive'[225] for the reason that "it influences evaluation and creates sets of associations that have both emotional meanings but also contain implicit cause and effect arguments"[226]. In other words, political discourse affects people's feelings by mentioning an event that marked them or a cause important to them. It explains a phenomenon and indicates its causes as well to make the audiences adhere to the politician's discourse. In this regard, Jonathan Charteris-Black[227] identifies the various roles of metaphors which permit the achievement of persuasion in a political discourse:

[224] Leeuwen, T (1999) *Speech, Music, Sound*, Macmillan Press: London, p. 27
[225] Black, J.C (2011), *Politicians and Rhetoric: The Persuasive Power of Metaphor.2nd Ed,* Palgrave Macmillan: the UK, p. 311
[226] Ibid, pp. 311-2
[227] Ibid, pp 318-323

2.4.1. Establishing the politician's ethos: having the right intentions

Establishing ethos is imperative to persuade audiences about politicians' opinions. Politicians have to prove that they have good and moral aims towards their audience. They have to be self-confident in their communication and convey certainty and assurance to the audiences. Otherwise, their use of rhetoric (metaphors in particular) will sound calculating.

Politicians use metaphors for the purpose of transmitting ethics. In other words, politicians show that the issues they are interested in are completely ethical and correspond with the audience's ethical values.

2.4.2. Heightening the pathos: sounding right

Having an impact on people's feelings is of a paramount importance to make audiences stand by them. Jonathan Charteris-Black[228] declares that politicians employ metaphors in their speech fitting the situation people are going through. In case of a terrorist attack for instance, politicians express empathy and solidarity with the nation, condemn heavily the attacks, and guarantee that the guilty will pay and the security will be reinforced to reassure the audience.

Politicians also use personification in their discourse representing the affective attachment they have to a non-human thing, such as the country. They employ it to make abstract notions (freedom, oppression, etc.) concrete and real. Depersonification is also employed designating their enemy (ies).

2.4.3. Communicating and explaining political policies (logos)

Politicians employ metaphors to make their opinions valid and credible. They support their points of view by showing the common features or the similarities that exist between two situations. For instance, if a country is about waging war on another, the decision maker will draw the attention of the audience on a war

[228] Black, J.C (2011), *Politicians and Rhetoric: The Persuasive Power of Metaphor.2nd Ed,* Palgrave Macmillan: UK, p. 320

which was launched for the same reasons and ended up by a victory. This, to convince people about the validity and necessity of the war.

Metaphors are manipulated to convey political arguments and make people stand by politicians' ideologies that are formulated as to sound thoughtful.

2.4.4. Communication of ideology by political myth: telling the right story

Another way of using metaphors in political discourse for the sake of persuasion is through the creation of myths. A myth, in its broad sense, is "another type of story that provides an explanation of all the things for which explanations are felt to be necessary"[229]. That is to say, a myth is created to provide people with explanations regarding particular issues. A political myth, in particular, according to Jonathan Charteris-Black is ‒An ideologically marked narrative which purports to give a true account of a set of past, present, or predicted political events and which is accepted as valid in its essentials by a social group‖[230]. In other words, a myth is a story conveying one‘s ideologies explaining an issue to audiences for the sake of convincing them about its reliability. Jonathan Charteris-Black[231] points out to Edelman‘s three distinct political myths that are embodied in political discourse, namely:

- **The myth of “conspiratorial enemy”:** is a myth in which an enemy is planning to carry out damaging attacks against a nation.
- **“The valiant leader” myth:** is a myth through which a political leader forwards his courage in facing and overcoming the problems his/her nation are going through.
- **“The united we stand” myth:** is a myth about the importance of unity, solidarity and sacrifices to reach victory.

[229] Black, J.C (2011), *Politicians and Rhetoric: The Persuasive Power of Metaphor.2nd Ed,* Palgrave Macmillan: UK, p. 22
[230] Ibid, p. 24
[231] Ibid, p. 26

Chapter 6: The Reality of the War in Iraq as Presented by President George W. Bush

1. Analysis of the selected Speeches

As indicated in the previous chapter, 18 selected speeches delivered by President George W. Bush starting from September 11, 2001 to November 6, 2003 are under examination to figure out the way President Bush proceeds in presenting the war in Iraq to the US citizens and to the whole world. Actually, the US President addressed his country and the rest of the world because the 9/11 events did not only have repercussions on the US citizens, but affected the entire world causing a wave of panic about possible terrorist attacks targeting any place in the world. These events have also led to intercontinental military interventions in Afghanistan and Iraq. The analysis of these speeches, as pointed out before, relies on Peirce‘s Triadic Semiotic Theory. In this regard, the actual sentences composing Bush’s speeches constitute the representamen. The object stands for the ideas the US president' speeches refer to. As far the interpretant is concerned, it refers to the background knowledge we have about the war in Iraq relying on different articles, books, videos, etc. made by scholars tackling the issue, the analytical frameworks on which the current study is based, the knowledge we have about the English language, and so on and so forth.

In general, the analysis of Bush‘s speeches reveals that all along the analyzed speeches, the US President addresses the whole world and the US citizens in particular making use of a simple and accessible language everyone could understand, yet loaded with rhetorical devices for the sake of well transmitting his intended messages. Bush, throughout his addresses, expresses his sorrow for having lost a considerable number of the US citizens as a consequence of the terrorist attacks, his determination to punish the guilty, and his devotion to protect the country from future possible attacks. He also rapidly designates the responsible of the attacks and announces the launch of the war on terror aiming at eradicating terrorists worldwide by launching a war against Afghanistan first, then against Iraq because of its supposed possession of mass destruction

weapons. He also specifies that peace, freedom, and liberty are the only motives lying behind the declaration of wars. All these points, in addition to others are all tackled extensively as communicated in the examined speeches in the following.

Speech 1

The table below displays the results of the examination of the US President George W. Bush's first speech under analysis *'Address to the Nation on the September 11 Attacks'.*

Object		Representamen
Stirring citizens' emotions	- Bush stirs the citizens' emotions by showing them that their sorrow and grief are felt from everyone in the country counting himself and his administration.	
	- He attempts to restore the citizens' confidence in spite of the attack, assuring that the country will get over this horrific situation because America is strong enough, telling the citizens that the military forces are still strong and ready to retaliate to protect the USA.	"Our military is powerful, and it's Prepared" (p.57).
	- Bush also affirms that the citizens' safety is a priority and he and his administration will protect Americans from other possible attacks.	"Our first priority is (…)to take every precaution to protect our citizens at home and around the world from further attacks" (ibid).
	- Bush cites a biblical verse to comfort the citizens that GOD is with them. Thus, they don't have to fear anything.	"Psalm 23: Even though I walk through the valley of the shadow of death, I fear no evil, for You are with me." (p.58).
The war on terrorism	- He asserts that the investigation to find out the guilty has already started.	
	- He claims that the terrorists and the ones who support them are all in the same bath	"America and our

	and they will pay and will be brought to justice. - He states that the USA is supported by different countries that condemned the attacks as well. He announces to the US citizens and to the world that a war against terrorism will be launched with the contribution of its allies.	friends and allies join with all those who want peace and security in the world, and we stand together to win the war against terrorism" (ibid).

Table 3: **Speech 1**

The analysis of speech 1 indicates that President Bush targets the audience's emotions through showing them that all Americans are mourning the loss of their compatriots in the deadly terrorist attacks. He also makes a commitment to the citizens that a war against terrorism will be launched soon to put an end to the terror threatening the world and punishing the guilty responsible of chaos in the USA.

Right from the beginning, the US president wants to pave the way to the upcoming confrontations against terrorists. He presents terrorism as a major issue they have to sort out to live peacefully and safely in their territory that has been persecuted and attacked in order to prepare the public opinion to accept and morally approve potential wars aiming at getting rid from terrorists all over the world.

Speech 2

The results of the analysis of '*National Day of Prayer and Remembrance Service'* speech of President Bush in the national cathedral (Washington, D.C) on September 14, 2001 are shown in the following table.

Object		**Representamen**
Stirring citizens' emotions	- Bush, along his speech, stirs citizens' feelings by expressing the suffering of the whole nation and showed compassion and empathy towards all those who lost someone. - He also pays tribute for all those who have passed away and pays great attention	-…today we express our nation's sorrow‖ (p. 59).

	to everyone‘s heartbreaking story - Bush also shows the importance of religion in all Americans‘ lives through praying God on his name and on the behalf of all the US citizens to protect them in the upcoming war against terrorism.	–we ask almighty God to watch over our nation, and grant us patience and resolve in all that is to come‖ (p. 61)
The US mission, a noble cause	- He presents the decision of war as a noble cause that cannot be avoided in a way that is the duty of all Americans to fight for freedom that was persecuted. - He points out to the solidarity between the citizens in spite of the differences that may exist in terms of political positions, religion, etc.	–Our responsibility to history is already clear: to answer these attacks and rid the world of evil‖ (p.59) –This is a unity of every faith, and every background. It has joined together political parties in both houses of Congress‖ (p.61).

Table 4: **speech 2**

The scrutiny of the speech 2 shows, as the title denotes, that Bush pays a tribute to the victims and prays for their families and the country. Indeed, he intends to express all his empathy to American citizens and make them live again the atrocities they went through during the 9/11 attacks seeking at proving that the war on terrorism is essential and inevitable to ensure the security of the US territory. He also insists that the war is a noble cause aiming at maintaining the core of the USA; security, peace and safety of the American citizens. He also contends that fighting against violence and tyranny is the duty of a great nation cherishing peace and security and it is the duty of the USA to honor the victims that have not passed away in vain. The US president undoubtedly have got inspired by the 16th president of the USA Abraham Lincoln‘s speech after the battle of Gettysburg (1863) commonly named Gettysburg address in which he forwarded the values of the USA that are liberty and equality “Four score and seven years ago our fathers brought forth on this continent, a new nation, conceived in Liberty, and dedicated to the proposition that all men are created

equal". Americans were so devoted to the US principles that they did not hesitate to sacrifice their lives for preserving their homeland, and Lincoln insisted[232] that all Americans have to cherish their heritage

> *It is rather for us to be here dedicated to the great task remaining before us — that from these honored dead we take increased devotion to that cause for which they gave the last full measure of devotion — that we here highly resolve that these dead shall not have died in vain — that this nation, under God, shall have a new birth of freedom — and that government of the people, by the people, for the people, shall not perish from the earth.*

Speech 3

Bush's speech '*Remarks to New York Rescue Workers'* was communicated on September 14, 2001 in Murray and West Streets (New York). The place was so crowded that the effective transmission of the President's message was disturbed "Q: Can't hear you/ THE PRESIDENT: I can't talk any louder" (p. 63). It was altered because of the noise made by the supporters while chanting "U.S.A! U.S.A!" (ibid) which showed the excitement of the crowd about the President' speech. We sorted out two main points Bush highlights that are mentioned in the table below

Object		**Representamen**
Stirring citizens' emotions	- Bush and the whole nation pray for the victims and show sympathy to the families who lost them.	‑America today is on bended knee in prayer for the people whose lives were lost here, for the workers who work here, for the families who mourn‖ (p.63).
	- He also asserts that the citizens' sorrow and fury reached the whole world	―I can hear you. I can hear you. The rest of

[232] Lincoln, A (1863) Abraham Lincoln's Gettysburg Address https://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/americas/abraham-lincoln-birthday-gettysburg-address-civil-war-us-president-trump-a8206946.html

		the world hears you‖ (ibid).
War on terror	- Bush announces upcoming military actions fighting against terrorism. - The citizens show their patriotic spirit and readiness to struggle for a victory against terrorists.	–The people who knocked these buildings down will hear all of us soon‖ (ibid) –U.S.A! U.S.A!‖

Table 5: **speech 3**

The examination of speech 3 reveals that Bush, through his words, attempts to move Americans' feelings by praying for all the people who passed away tragically, and he also states that a confrontation will be declared against the guilty regarding the thousands lives that perished in the terrorist attacks and the chaos they provoked in the USA. We can clearly discern Bush's use of propaganda which, according to Qualter is "The deliberate attempt by some individual or group to form, control, or alter the attitudes of other groups by the use of the instruments of communication, with the intention that in any given situation the reaction of those so influenced will be that desired by the propagandist"[233]. This is done in order to shape Americans' opinions about the forthcoming wars and render the wars valid and inevitable to live in peace and security. In this respect, Bush intends to manipulate the public opinion by raising their attachment and commitment to their homeland to approve the upcoming wars, to make the US citizens want to take revenge on the guilty that changed their lives for good and to manipulate the Americans to consider the upcoming wars the only way out from the terror the world was witnessing.

Speech 4

Bush in the United States Capitol (Washington, D.C) delivered *'Address to the Joint Session of the 107th Congress'* speech on September 20, 2001

[233]Qualter, T. H (1962). *Propaganda and psychological warfare,* Random House: New York, p. 27

addressing the Speaker, the President Pro Tempore, the members of Congress, and Americans. The results are reported in the table below.

Object		Representamen
Stirring citizens' emotions	- Bush pays tribute to the victims and mentions particular names among many, Todd Beamer, a passenger who helped others along with George Howard, a police man who passed away helping others and whose mother gave him his shield. - He also paid tribute to the foreigners from Pakistan, India, Israel, Iran, Mexico, etc. who passed away on September 11.	‒This is my reminder of lives that ended, and a task that does not end‖(p.73)
The USA, a land of peace	- He forwards the solidarity and union between the US citizens helping, praying, and comforting each other. In this particular context, Americans put aside their religious differences and political beliefs. - Bush insists that the USA is a land of tolerance between all the races whatever their difference. - He also proves that his intentions are totally peaceful by stating that the war will not be launched if the Taliban obey to the letter to the set of demands he listed which are not negotiable	‒Republicans and Democrats joined together on the steps of this Capitol, singing ‒God Bless America‖ (p.65). ‒No one should be singled out for unfair treatment or unkind words because of their ethnic background or religious faith‖ (p.71) ‒These demands are not open to negotiation or discussion. The Taliban must act, and act immediately. They will hand over the terrorists, or they will share in their fate‖ (p.68)
War on terror: A necessity	- He claims that he will not deliver a report on the state of union about the upcoming calendar of the country because	‒Tonight, no such report is needed. It has already been delivered

	he judged that Americans already did. He implies that Americans‘ will is to put an end to terrorism.	by the American people‖ (p. 65)
	- He employs the word ‗war‘ announcing an upcoming confrontation against terrorists to restore freedom that was persecuted.	―On September the 11th, enemies of freedom committed an act of war against our country‖ (p.66) ―Tonight we are a country awakened to danger and called to defend freedom. Our grief has turned to anger, and anger to resolution. Whether we bring our enemies to justice, or bring justice to our enemies, justice will be done‖ (p.65).
	- He also portrays Afghanistan as the core of terrorism where terrorists recruited by Osama Bin Laden and terrorists from different parts in the world join camps to indoctrinate them to destruction, sacrifices, etc. and have as an only aim plunging the world in obscurity and terror.	―These terrorists kill not merely to end lives, but to disrupt and end a way of life‖ (p.65)
	- Bush insinuates that Afghanistan is going to be the first target of the USA and its allies, and that upcoming wars in other countries are to be launched as well until freedom over oppression is obtained.	―Our war on terror begins with al Qaeda, but it does not end there. It will not end until every terrorist group of global reach has been found, stopped and defeated‖ (p.65)
	- Bush firmly calls the world to support the USA or they will be considered supporters of terrorism.	―Every nation, in every region, now has a decision to make. Either you are with us, or you are with the terrorists‖ (p.69)

	- He also declares that the nations supporting terrorism will be in the USA sight.	–From this day forward, any nation that continues to harbor or support terrorism will be regarded by the United States as a hostile regime‖ (p.69)
	- He also expresses his determination to put an end to terrorism and announces that the war is very close.	–I have a message for our military: Be ready‖ (p.70) –The hour is coming when America will act, and you will make us proud‖ (p.70)
The USA rebuilding	- The US President indicates the solidity of the country economy which means that the USA has solid foundations to get rebuilt.	–These were the true strengths of our economy before September 11th, and they are our strengths today‖ (p.71).
	- The President reassures people who have lost their jobs after the fall of the two towers that they will get it back soon proving that the economy has a solid basis and the USA will work to improve it even more.	
	- He also gives hope to citizens that New York will be rebuilt and the USA will not be plunged in terror, but freedom will prevail all around the world.	–this will not be an age of terror; this will be an age of liberty, here and across the world‖ (p.72)
The War on terror: A great cause	- Bush states that many countries whatever their religion all around the world support the USA and share its grief. He mentions the UK (Buckingham Palace), Germany (Berlin Brandenburg Gate), France (Paris), South Korea (US embassy in Seoul), Egypt (a mosque in	–I thank the world for its outpouring of support‖ (p. 66)

	Cairo), Australia, Africa, and Latin America. - He also announces that one of the leading powers in the world Great Britain supports the USA. This support makes the cause just and makes the war legitimate and he declares that every cultivated and accomplished nation supports the USA.	–The civilized world is rallying to America‘s side. They understand that if this terror goes unpunished, their own cities, their own citizens may be next‖ (p.66)

Table 6: **speech 4**

The scanning of speech 4 indicates that Bush did not miss an occasion to remember all the American and foreigner victims of the 9/11 attacks, to pay a tribute to them, and to strongly make them embedded in Americans' hearts and minds. He also highlights the devotion of the USA to Peace in their homeland and all over the world, and that wars on terror will be led against all the countries harboring terrorism starting from Afghanistan. He also insists that the USA is only seeking at spreading peace and putting an end to terrorism all over the world accordingly many nations around the globe expressed their support to the USA.

We can relate this speech to Wilson's War Message to Congress that took place on April 2, 1917 in which Wilson asked the congress to approve the war against Germany that was the only way of preserving human rights that the USA cherish in their territory and the world that is threatened by the Germans "We must put excited feeling away. Our motive will not be revenge or the victorious assertion of the physical might of the nation, but only the vindication of right, of human right, of which we are only a single champion"[234]. Wilson also contended that being neutral concerning the war against Germany was not a choice, that it was important to work altogether to fight an oppressive regimes that attacked many nations and shook their stability and security "Neutrality is no longer feasible or desirable where the peace of the world is involved and the freedom of its peoples, and the menace to that peace and freedom lies in the existence of

[234]Wilson, W (1917) War Message to Congress available in WWI Document Archive https://wwi.lib.byu.edu/index.php/Wilson's_War_Message_to_Congress

autocratic governments backed by organized force which is controlled wholly by their will, not by the will of their people"[235]. Bush voices out that the nations had to cooperate all together to fight terrorism that was and still is a world issue, and he insists that the countries harbouring and supporting terrorists in a way or another will constitute a target of the USA.

Speech 5

Bush pronounced '*address to the Nation on Operations in Afghanistan'* on October 7, 2001 in the Treaty Room of the White House (Washington, D.C.). The outcomes of the examination are detailed in the following table.

Object		**Representamen**
War on terror: a necessity	- The US President reports that the military actions in Afghanistan have started following his command.	"On my orders, the United States military has begun strikes against al Qaeda terrorist training camps and military installations of the Taliban regime in Afghanistan" (p.75)
	- The president also indicates also in his speech that the USA and its allies are resolute to wage the war on Afghanistan because the terrorists did not respect his requests. - He proclaims that negotiations with terrorists were out of the question. Thus, the USA and its allies will exterminate all the camps and put an end to the terror. The President also insinuates that the war might be propagated to other countries.	"None of these demands were met. And now the Taliban will pay a price" (p.75). "Today we focus on Afghanistan, but the battle is broader" (p.76)
War on terror: a great cause	- Bush mentions the fact that the USA and its allies have localized specific targets on which the military forces will strike.	"These carefully targeted actions are designed to disrupt the use of Afghanistan as a

[235] Wilson, W (1917) War Message to Congress available in WWI Document Archive https://wwi.lib.byu.edu/index.php/Wilson's_War_Message_to_Congress

		terrorist base of operations" (p.75)
	- He certifies that the attacks did not aim to spread terror on Afghanistan but it was for the sake of putting an end to terrorists' camps. Bush also affirms the military actions will get rid of terrorists and their control. They will bring freedom to the oppressed Afghans and to all the nations. Bush assures that the Afghans will benefit from all the help they need.	"the oppressed people of Afghanistan will know the generosity of America and our allies" (p.75)
	- He adds that the war on Afghanistan is not only an American mission allowing to take vengeance on terrorists but it is a worldwide mission seeking to bring peace and freedom everywhere, to all the oppressed nations.	–We defend not only our precious freedoms, but also the freedom of people everywhere to live and raise their children free from fear‖ (p.76).
	- He also tells the audience that he has received a letter from a military's daughter who was ready to lose her father proving that the mission was just and worthy.	–As much as I don't want my Dad to fight, I'm willing to give him to you‖ (p.77)
The USA: a land of peace and tolerance	- Bush chose the Treaty Room of the White House to announce the beginning of the war in Afghanistan because he considers the place a symbol of peace where all the US presidents labored for freedom. He insists on the fact that the USA has always sought for promoting peace.	"We're a peaceful nation" (p.76).
	- Bush argues that the military actions are not waged against Muslims; the USA actually respects Islam, they fight against the enemy of humanity: terrorists.	"The United States of America is an enemy of those who aid terrorists and of the barbaric criminals who profane a great religion by committing murder in its Name" (p.76).

	- He claims that he would have preferred avoiding the war but the situation decided otherwise specifying that the USA freedom which was threatened compelled his administration and its allies to take such a decision.	"We did not ask for this mission, but we will fulfill it" (p.76)
Stirring Citizens' emotions	- Bush expresses his confidence about the victory of the USA and its allies against terrorism.	"We will win this conflict by the patient accumulation of successes, by meeting a series of challenges with determination and will and purpose" (p.76).
	- He reassures at the same time Americans that the security of their country and others will be restored. He also confirms that the security of the American citizens was a priority; he reassures the citizens that they will be safe with all the security measures taken inside and outside the country.	"At my request, many governors have activated the National Guard to strengthen airport security. We have called up Reserves to reinforce our military capability and strengthen the protection of our Homeland" (p.76)
The Military forces: Men of Peace	- Bush shows respect and gratitude towards the military forces by making the citizens realize their great endeavour to reestablish freedom and peace.	"sacrifices are being made by members of our Armed Forces who now defend us so far from home, and by their proud and worried Families" (p.77).
	- The president also pays tribute to the sacrifices military forces made, and emotionally prepares Americans to the possibility to lose members of their families and friends in a foreign land where they are fighting for the USA and the world's freedom.	"We ask them to leave their loved ones, to travel great distances, to risk injury, even to be prepared to make the ultimate sacrifice of their lives" (p.77).
	- He also guarantees to the military forces that their mission is just and legitimate.	"Your mission is defined; your objectives are clear; your goal is just" (p.77)

Table 7: **speech 5**

The exploration of speech 5 discloses that Bush tackled the overseas military actions against the terrorist networks based mainly on Afghanistan. He assures that his decision to wage war against Afghanistan is only triggered by the will to get rid of terrorists who are enemies of peace and life in general. Bush also indicates that the war on terror will be wide and will concern many other countries threatening the security of the USA and the world in general aiming at spreading peace everywhere. He also guarantees that the USA military will prevail against their enemies that threatened the security of their homeland and are threatening the security of many countries all over the world.

Speech 6

Bush communicated *Department of Defense Service of Remembrance at the Pentagon* on October 11, 2001. The upcoming table shows the results of the scrutiny.

Stirring Citizens' emotions	- Bush pays tribute to all the people who have passed away after the terrorist attacks that the USA witnessed.	"We also remember (…) those men and women, boys and girls who fell into the hands of evildoers, and also died here exactly one month ago"(p.79).
	- Bush talks about the painful period Americans went through and the way this grief turned into rage to reinstate freedom and peace.	"Today, we are a nation awakened to the evil of terrorism, and determined to destroy it" (p.79)
	- Bush posits that the strikes will end up with a victory over terror reassuring the citizens to have faith on their mission against terrorists. Bush appeases the citizens by pledging that the USA will probably go	"America will never relent on this war against terror. There will be times of swift, dramatic

	through tough times but they will undoubtedly win expressing his confidence on the American military.	action. There will be times of steady, quiet progress. Over time, with patience, and precision, the terrorists will be pursued" (p.81).
War on terror: a necessity	- Bush highlights the atrocities terrorists are able to provoke to fulfil their aim which is spreading terror all over the world.	"Theirs is the worst kind of cruelty, the cruelty that is fed, not weakened, by tears. Theirs is the worst kind of violence, pure malice, while daring to claim the authority of God‖"(p.80).
The USA: a land of freedom	- Bush argues that the USA is a nation which has always fought for its freedom by making a reference to the beginning of Pentagon construction which coincided with the threat of the Nazi. He asserts that the USA was engaged to achieve the mission of putting an end to terrorism everywhere and the quest for freedom will not end until the terrorists are eliminated.	"The terrorists have no true home in any country, or culture, or faith. They dwell in dark corners of earth. And there, we will find them"(p.80)
Military Forces: the USA strength	Bush expresses his total confidence on the strength of the US military forces and their capacity to accomplish different objectives and guarantees them that they will be provided with all the necessary commodities and weapons to win over terrorists.	"I give you these commitments (…) in the missions ahead for the military, you will have everything you need, every resource, every weapon, every means to assure full victory for the United States and the cause of freedom" (p.81)

Table 8: **speech 6**

The scrutiny of speech 6 shows that the US President is affected as much as Americans are after the terrorist attacks that engendered the loss of a lot of people. Indeed, Bush does not miss an occasion to pay a tribute for all those who passed away. He insists that peace and freedom are always the motives that push the USA to declare wars against all the groups that threaten the security and stability of countries. The US president compares terrorists to Nazis led by Adolf Hitler that horribly persecuted Jews in Germany and over Europe between 1941 and 1945 engendering a genocide and an ethnic cleansing of around "six million European Jews, around two-thirds of the Jewish population of Europe"[236] to forward the necessity of getting rid of the terrorists in order to preserve human rights. He also indicates that the US military was the power that was about to achieve the US goal to put an end to terrorism aiming at encouraging the military and at presenting them as heroes to the US citizens.

Speech 7

On November 10, 2001, Bush delivered the speech *Address to the United Nations General Assembly* in the United Nations Headquarters in New York. The outcomes of the analysis are enumerated in the table below.

War on terror: a necessity	- The US President declares that the terrorist attacks had terrible consequences on American citizens who are still looking for their relatives because many people are not yet found; they still lie under debris.	"A few miles from here, many thousands still lie in a tomb of rubble" (p.83)
	- He reveals the terrorists' potential use of mass destruction weapons which implies that exterminating the terrorists is a must.	"These same terrorists are searching for weapons of mass destruction, the tools to turn their hatred into holocaust" (p.84)
	- The US President asks Americans and other countries not to believe the different conspiracies that were circulating about the	"Let us never tolerate outrageous conspiracy theories

[236]Vallejo, L (2018) History of Nazi Holocaust and Genocide (1941-1945), Scribbles

	9/11 attacks attempting to dissolve the union determined to eradicate terrorists.	concerning the attacks of September the 11th; malicious lies that attempt to shift the blame away from the terrorists"(p.88).
	- Bush posits that waging war on terrorism was the key for living in a peaceful world, otherwise the world will be plunged in terror	"The only alternative to victory is a nightmare world where every city is a potential killing field" (p.89)
The USA: a land of peace and tolerance	- The President Bush mentions blacks, immigrants, and Muslims narrating their stories. In doing so, he shows his sympathy towards all the races and all the religions. It implies that the USA was a land of diversity and tolerance. He also demonstrates his respect to Muslims by insisting on the fact that terrorists profane the religion they pretend serving.	"terrorism is a disease, and that Islam prohibits killing innocent civilians (…) they dare to ask God's blessing as they set out to kill innocent men, women and children (…) and a murderer is not a martyr; he is just a Murderer" (p.84).
	- He swears an oath promising the USA would contribute with other nations in reconstructing Afghanistan.	"I can promise, too, that America will join the world in helping the people of Afghanistan rebuild their Country" (p.87).
Stirring citizens' emotions	- Bush pays a tribute to the victims and insists that the US nation will always remember the 9/11 events that was the trigger of declaring war on terrorism.	"Time is passing. Yet, for the United States of America, there will be no forgetting September the 11th" (p.84).

War on terror: a great cause	- Bush argues that the threat is important and the war the USA and its allies are waging against terrorism is primordial and history will remember it.	"This threat cannot be ignored. This threat cannot be appeased. Civilization, itself, the civilization we share, is threatened. History will record our response"(p.85).
	- The President asserts that all the civilized nations are fighting besides the USA for a better future of peace, freedom, hope, and unity.	"We act to defend ourselves and deliver our children from a future of fear. We choose the dignity of life over a culture of death" (p.85)

Table 9: **speech 7**

The examination of speech 7 allows to observe that George W. Bush emphasizes the terrorist attacks of 9/11 that plunged New York in terror to sensitize theworld that they are exposed to a threat that can hit at any time. Thus, reacting and putting an end to the terror becomes a necessity. A necessity to spread peace all over the world that the USA cannot ignore especially after affirming that mass destruction weapons were at the terrorists' possession and that they could use them at any time and cause the murder of huge numbers of people and the destruction of cities and countries. Bush posits that the USA could not turn a deafear to the menaces and has to fight in order to restore the security that was threatened in the US territory.

Speech 8

The results of the examination of *Address at the Citadel* speech that Bush delivers on December 11, 2001 are listed in the following table.

Object		Representamen
The war on terror: a necessity	- Bush tackles the issue of the security of his country that was and still is his main concern and declares that he is aware of the terrorist threat that he is determined and it is up to them to put an end to it.	"That threat has now revealed itself (…) So, today, I will set forth the commitments essential to victory in our war against terror" (p.91)
	- Bush claims that the 9/11 events threatened the security of a country considered as impenetrable, which pushes them to fight for their forever cause: bringing peace and putting an end to terrorism.	"An illusion of immunity was shattered. A faraway evil became a present danger. And a great cause became clear: We will fight terror and those who sponsor it, to save our children from a future of fear" (p.92)
	- Bush insists on the danger and threat terrorists constitute for everyone' security. He forwards the brutality of terrorists towards innocent people.	"The great threat to civilization is that a few evil men will multiply their murders, and gain the means to kill on a scale equal to their hatred" (p.93)
	- Bush argues that the only way to live in a peaceful world is to wage war on terrorists until they defeat and prevent them from using weapons of mass destruction.	"The authors of mass murder must be defeated, and never allowed to gain or use the weapons of mass destruction" (p.93)
	- Bush proves the fact that the threat is real by citing one terrorist's testimony. This makes the potential existence of weapons of mass destruction real.	"One former al Qaeda member has testified in court that he was involved in an effort 10 years ago to obtain nuclear materials" (p.96)

Military Forces: the USA strength	- Bush points out that Pearl Harbor war represented a milestone in the USA way of war; actually, Bush announces that air power will be used on the war against Afghanistan. - Bush reassures the US citizens that the military forces are well prepared and very strong and expresses his confidence on the US forces. - Bush expresses trust and confidence towards the military forces by forwarding their capacity to eradicate terrorism.	"The age of battleships gave way to the offensive capability of aircraft carriers"(p.92). "When I committed U.S. forces to this battle, I had every confidence that they would be up to the task. And they have proven me right" (p.92) "The brave men and women of our military are rewriting the rules of war with new technologies and old values like courage and honor. And they have made this nation proud" (p.94)
Stirring People's Emotions	- Bush in his speech attempts to make the US and the world citizens hope for a better future once the world gets rid of all forms of terror. - Bush asserts that the incorporation of different technologies makes the military actions more precise which imply that they will save the Afghans' lives.	"We are also beginning to see the possibilities of a world beyond the war on terror. We have a chance, if we take it, to write a hopeful chapter in human history" (p.92) "Our commanders are gaining a real-time picture of the entire battlefield, and are able to get targeting information from sensor to shooter almost instantly"(p.94)

	- The President reassures the citizens and the world about the precision of the weapons used in the different strikes and assaults ensuring few collateral damages in the US military, their allies, and the Afghans	"We're striking with greater effectiveness, at greater range, with fewer civilian casualties" (p.95)
War on terror: a great cause	- Bush declares that nations with some disagreements are forming a unity against terrorism which puts an end to all kinds of rivalry and reconciliations between the USA and different nations are being progressively achieved.	"All at once, a new threat to civilization is erasing old lines of rivalry and resentment between nations" (p.92)
	- He asserts that whatever the differences between the countries, they are all together involved in this war on terror to bring peace all over the world.	"The vast majority of countries are now on the same side of a moral and ideological divide. We're making common cause with every nation that chooses lawful change over chaotic violence" (p.93)
	- Bush specifies that the Afghan forces support the USA mission. This support permits an effective moving on the ground and an adequate communication with the Afghans.	"Our intelligence professionals and special forces have cooperated in battle-friendly — with battle friendly Afghan forces — fighters who know the terrain, who know the Taliban, and who understand the local Culture" (p.94)
	- Bush mentions the cooperation between the USA and Russia aiming at exterminating the nerve agents.	"The United States will also work with Russia to build a facility to destroy tons of nerve Agent" (p.97)
	- Bush is firm in claiming that the mission is legitimate and the USA and its allies	"Our cause is necessary. Our cause is

	will win.	just. And no matter how long it takes, we will defeat the enemies of freedom" (p.99)
Citizens' security: a priority	- Bush propounds that the threat of an eventual terrorist attack is always present but the USA will prevent any attack and protect the citizens.	"Our enemies seek every chance and every means to do harm to our country, our forces, and our friends. And we will not permit it" (p.97)
	- Bush indicates that some treaties have to be broken for the sake of ensuring peace and security in the USA and around the world.	"Last week we conducted another promising test of our missile defense technology (…) In order to do so, we must move beyond the 1972 Anti- Ballistic Missile Treaty, a treaty that was written in a different era, for a different enemy" (p.98)
	- Bush guarantees that all the decisions he makes are carefully taken by taking into account many parameters and considering intelligences which makes the mission valid	"A President needs real and current knowledge and analysis of the plans, intentions, and capabilities of our Enemies" (p.98)
	- He holds on the fact that security and peace are the priorities that all the necessities will be provided to people working on the country security.	"Our intelligence agencies must attract the best people — the best collectors, the best analysts, the best linguists. We will give them the training they need and the compensation they deserve" (p.98)

Table 10: **speech 8**

The probing of speech 8 reveals that the US president states assertively the essentiality of putting an end to terrorism that persecuted the security and peace of the Americans' homeland and the whole world. Bush insists on the legitimacy of the war against terrorism through shedding light on the cooperation of the countries regardless their disagreements. He also comforts the American citizens that their security is his main priority and the US military are completely devoted to protect them. Bush reassures Americans that their military are equipped with sophisticated weapons assuring their protection. This implies that the USA was about to make important investments in the military field which might weaken the US economy more than it was. In fact, the country was going through an economic crisis after the 9/11 attacks as it is indicated in the succeeding –Following 9/11, New York's economy slowed painfully‖[237].

Speech 9

Bush addressed a speech *The World will always Remember September* 11 in the east room of the White House (Washington, D.C) on December 11, 2001. The results of the scrutiny are specified below.

Object		**Representamen**
September 11th: unforgettable date	- Bush asserts that the war on terror does not erase the 9/11 terrorist attacks from the memories that every detail of that day is memorized.	"We remember the perfect blueness of the sky that Tuesday morning" (p.101)
	- He also describes the pain of the families' victims, the solidarity of the citizens helping each other as well as the support of many nations. He also pays tribute to every person who has passed away because of the terrorists' atrocity.	"We remember the cruelty of the murderers and the pain and anguish of the murdered" (p.101).
	- He states that the 11th day of each month will make him and all the Americans return to September 11 to live again what they were doing and what	"The only marker we'll ever need is the tick of a clock at the 46th minute of the eighth

[237]Mervin, J (2011) Wall Street and the aftermath of the 9/11, available in https://www.bbc.com/news/business- 14798711

	their feelings at the specific time of the attack.	hour of the 11th day. We will remember where we were and how we felt" (p.102)
Victory over terror	- The President emphasizes his resolution to punish the guilty. - He declares that the guilty are identified and a war seeking at eradicating the terrorists is waged. He indicates that whatever the strive will last, victory over terror will be achieved.	"Our determination to right this huge wrong" (101). "Today, the wrong is being righted and justice is being done. We still have far to go. And many dangers lie ahead. Yet, there can be no doubt how this conflict will end" (101).

Table 11: **speech 9**

The scrutiny of speech 9 indicates that 9/11 was hooked in Bush and all American citizens' minds and hearts due to the chaos they lived that day and the loss of their compatriots. The US president also asserts that the responsible of this tragedy is about to be punished and promises that triumph will be accomplished. The US president keeps relying on emotional reminders of the suffering and the atrocities the USA went through as a consequence of the 9/11 attacks to maintain the support of the public opinion in waging wars against terrorism.

Speech 10

State of the Union Address to the 107th Congress is the name of the speech of the US President addressed in The United States Capitol (Washington, D.C.) on January 29, 2002. The findings of the analysis of the speech are reported in the table below.

Object		**Representamen**
Unity against Terrorism	Right from the onset, Bush describes the hard times America and other nations are	"Our nation is at war, our economy is in

	passing through in their fight against terrorism. However, he pinpoints the strength of the coalition in front of the enemy	recession, and the civilized world faces unprecedented dangers" (p.103). "Yet the state of our Union has never been stronger" (p.103).
Defeat of Terrorists in Afghanistan	Bush in his discourse asserts that the USA was not weakened and highlights the USA achievements in putting an end to oppression and terror in Afghanistan.	"In four short months, our nation has comforted the victims, begun to rebuild New York and the Pentagon, rallied a great coalition, captured, arrested, and rid the world of thousands of terrorists, destroyed Afghanistan‘s terrorist training camps, saved a people from starvation, and freed a country from brutal oppression" (p.103)
Toward a free Afghanistan	- The US President announces that the USA is now working with Afghanistan to reconstruct the country. - He reveals that they will welcome the interim leader of a liberated Afghanistan: Chairman Hamid Karzai in the USA. He also accentuates the major progress achieved in Afghanistan with the help of the USA regarding women.	"America and Afghanistan are now allies against terror. We‘ll be partners in rebuilding that country" (p.103). –This evening we welcome the distinguished interim leader of a liberated Afghanistan: Chairman Hamid Karzai"
Military Forces: the USA strength	- Bush in his discourse expresses his total trust on the military forces that permitted the eradication of terrorists in Afghanistan.	"When I called our troops into action, I did so with complete confidence in their courage and skill. And tonight, thanks to

		them, we are winning the war on terror" (p.103).
	- Bush notifies the enemies of the USA that any attempt to attack the USA will be severely punished	"Even 7,000 miles away, across oceans and continents, on mountaintops and in caves — you will not escape the justice of this nation" (p.104)
September 11th: An unforgettable date	- Bush maintains that the 9/11 terrorist attacks saddened the US citizens forever.	"For many Americans, these four months have brought sorrow, and pain that will never completely go away" (p.104).
War on terror: A long Journey	- Bush ensures that their mission is legitimate and just and he announces that the mission will be maintained regarding what they have found in Afghanistan about terrorists.	"Our cause is just, and it continues. Our discoveries in Afghanistan confirmed our worst fears, and showed us the true scope of the task ahead" (p.104).
	- He reveals that the terrorists have detailed information about the cities of the USA and their intention to produce chemical weapons.	"We have found diagrams of American nuclear power plants and public water facilities, detailed instructions for making chemical weapons, surveillance maps of American cities, and thorough descriptions of landmarks in America and throughout the world" (p.104)
	- He claims that even though terrorists‘ camps are destroyed there, terrorists are	"So long as training camps operate, so long

	still around the world and asserts that the war on terror will be carried out until the eradication of terrorists who threaten the freedom of the countries all over the world	as nations harbor terrorists, freedom is at risk. And America and our allies must not, and will not, allow it" (p.105)
Freedom and Security in the USA all over the world: a priority	- Bush enumerates the two main objectives the USA is seeking to achieve which consist in eradicating all the terrorists all over the world along with hampering the terrorists from having access to all sorts of mass destruction weapons that menace the freedom of the USA and the world. - Bush also reports the huge budget invested in innovating weapons of extreme precision in the war in Afghanistan, but claims that it is worthy and the USA will spend more for developing the weapons to secure the nation and protect it from eventual attacks.	"we must prevent the terrorists and regimes who seek chemical, biological or nuclear weapons from threatening the United States and the world" (p.105). "It costs a lot to fight this war. We have spent more than a billion dollars a month — over $30 million a day — and we must be prepared for future operations" (p.107) "The next priority of my budget is to do everything possible to protect our citizens and strengthen our nation against the ongoing threat of another attack" (p.107)
Weapons of mass destruction and terrorist attacks: real threats	- Bush declares that the weapons of mass destruction are a real threat for the freedom of the USA and the world. He identifies North Korea, Iran, along with Iraq as countries seeking to possess the weapons of mass destruction to the detriment of their citizens' freedom. All these countries constitute a danger not only to the USA but to the whole world because they may supply terrorists with these weapons to plunge the world in	"In any of these cases, the price of indifference would be catastrophic" (p.106).

	terror. Bush insists that the practices of these countries should not be neglected.	
The victory of the USA: a certainty	- Bush affirms that the USA will win the war on terror and the USA will be greater again by propelling the economy of the country.	"We'll prevail in the war, and we will defeat this recession" (p.108)
Rebuilding the USA economy and improving domestic issues	- Bush assures all the citizens who have lost their jobs because of the economic decline that they will benefit from unemployment support and affirms that jobs will be provided. - He forwards the importance of education in improving the economy of the country that he works personally with two opposing political parties Republicans and Democrats for an education reform. - Bush insists on the importance of teaching children with educational programs of quality by competent teachers. He also highlights the different changes the USA will witness aiming at improving the citizens' lives such as aiding the citizens to buy health coverage - He also posits that America will work to find out different ways to produce affordable energy to replace their reliance on imported oil.	"My economic security plan can be summed up in one word: jobs" (p.108-9). "Republicans and Democrats worked together to achieve historic education reform so that no child is left behind." (p.109). "I ask Congress to join me this year to enact a patients' bill of rights to give uninsured workers credits to help buy health coverage" (p.110) "This Congress must act to encourage conservation, promote technology, build infrastructure, and it must act to increase energy production at home so America is less dependent on foreign oil." (p.109)
Stirring Citizens' emotions	- Bush expresses his confidence about reconstructing a great economy and improving the domestic issues thanks to the solidarity of American citizens who help each other to overcome the terrible events they went through.	"Our enemies believed America was weak and materialistic, that we would splinter in fear and selfishness. They were as wrong as they

		are evil" (p.110) "As I have met the heroes, hugged the families, and looked into the tired faces of rescuers, I have stood in awe of the American people" (p.111)
	- Bush expresses his respect and pays tribute to all the Americans who faced the 9/11 events with courage.	
The USA: a country of peace and tolerance	Bush posits that the intervention of the USA in foreign countries was for the sake of only bringing peace, justice, make them evolve, and put an end to oppression and terror.	"We have no intention of imposing our culture. But America will always stand firm for the non-negotiable demands of human dignity" (p.112)

Table 12: **speech 10**

The scrutiny of speech 10 emphasizes the determination of the USA, according to Bush, to put an end to terrorism in Afghanistan thanks to the military forces that are ready to fight everyone threatening the security in their country. He claims that the USA is working on reconstructing Afghanistan proving that their purpose of waging war was only to free Afghans from terrorists' grip. The 9/11 attacks are also highlighted showing that they are unforgettable. Bush also claims that war on terror will be carried on because terrorists' menace still exists especially with their intention of making chemical weapons. He also cites potential countries that can constitute a danger on the USA and the world in general as they possess mass destruction weapons. Among them was Iraq as a strategy of settling the ground and preparing the public to a future war. He also confirms that the USA will be involved in a war aiming at ensuring peace and freedom in the USA and all around the world no matter the cost because peace is priceless and it is one of the values USA cherishes.

Speech 11

The US President Bush delivered a speech *Promoting Compassionate Conservatism* in the Parkside Hall, San Jose (California) on April 30, 2002. The results of the examination are listed in the following table.

Object		Representamen
Rebuilding the USA economy and improving domestic issues	- Bush sheds light on the progress the economy of the country was witnessing after the decline it knew because of the terrorist attacks.	"After a recession made worse by a national emergency, we have seen some good news. Our economy is beginning to grow" (p.115)
	- Bush asserts that even if statistics demonstrate evolvement in the economy but he is not totally satisfied because there are still citizens who did not find any job opportunities which constitutes a big problem for the USA.	"But so long as somebody who wants to work can‘t find work, that‘s a problem for America" (p.115)
	- Bush argues that the suppression of needless bureaucratic regulations is necessary for the blossoming of entrepreneurs in their work.	"Our economy grows entrepreneurs are rewarded for their success, not hounded by regulations and needless litigation" (p.116)
	- He also states that developing sources of energy is primordial for making the economy grow.	"our economy grows when we have steady, stable and affordable sources of energy" (p.116)
	- Bush advances that he is taking measures to improve the economy of the country.	"At the end of this three-year period, the level of our annual development assistance will be $5 billion higher than current levels" (p.121)
	- Bush argues that all the support they give other nations to reconstruct their country and improve their lives necessitates in exchange the cooperation of these nations to enhance the USA economy by opening their markets for instance.	"We expect nations to rout out corruption, to open their markets, to respect human rights, and to adhere to the rule of law. And these are the keys to progress in any nation, and they will be the conditions for any new American aid" (p.121)
The victory of the USA on	- Bush in his discourse posits that the USA is involved in a world	"We are in for a long and difficult war. It will be

terror: a certainty	cause which is to eradicate terror and bring peace to the oppressed countries. He affirms that whatever the duration of the fight, the USA will win over terrorists.	conducted on many fronts. But as long as it takes, we will prevail" (p.116-7)
The USA a country of peace and tolerance	- Bush declares that the oppressive terrorists are eradicated by the US forces, and the USA is reconstructing Afghanistan. - Bush mentions Abraham Lincoln and Franklin D. Roosevelt who were particularly devoted to freedom to insist that the USA has always been and still is a country fighting for freedom. - Bush insists that the USA is a country which condemns all the acts that threaten the peace of countries all over the world. - Bush expresses his respect towards religious groups and insists that they are allies of the government not enemies and they contribute in helping people moving through hard times	"Our work in that country is not over. We are helping the Afghan people to rebuild their nation" (p.117) "In our time, we will defend the land we love and we will act on the ideals that gave it birth‖ (p.117-8) "America rejects bigotry. We reject every act of hatred against people of Arab background or Muslim faith. We reject the ancient evil of anti-Semitism" (p.118) "Our government should view the good Americans that work in faith-based charities as partners, not rivals" (p.121)
Weapons of mass destruction: a real threat	Bush in his discourse affirms that the terrorists have access to weapons of mass destruction (biological, chemical and nuclear) and the USA has to prevent them from threating the security of the USA and other countries	"We will not allow the world‘s most dangerous regimes to threaten America or our friends and allies with the world‘s most destructive weapons" (p.117)
War on terror: it is still on	Bush posits that the war on terror is not over with the eradication of	"We have entered the next phase of the war, with a

	the terrorists in Afghanistan but the USA will carry on the fight in other countries to put an end to terrorism and asserts that the world has to indicate his standpoint either with the USA or with the terrorists.	sustained international effort, to rout out terrorists in other countries, and deny al Qaeda the chance to regroup in other places" (p.117)

Table 13: **speech 11**

The examination of speech 11 demonstrates that developing domestic issues was among Bush's priorities by improving the economy that knew an important decrease after the 9/11 attacks. He also forwards that the USA has always fought for freedom, peace and security. For this purpose, he uses echoes of Roosevelt's speech after the Pearl Harbor attack. In fact, Roosevelt, the 32nd president of the USA, addressed a joint session of the Senate and the House of Representatives on December 8, 1941 less than 24 hours after the attack on Pearl Harbor on December 7, 1941 announcing a war against Japan that attacked them surprisingly. Roosevelt assured that the relationship between the USA and Japan was peaceful ‑The United States was at peace with that Nation and, at the solicitation of Japan‖[238]. However, the bond got cut between the two countries with the deliberated Japanese attack and a war had to be declared ―I ask that the Congress declare that since the unprovoked and dastardly attack by Japan on Sunday, December 7, 1941, a state of war has existed between the United States and the Japanese Empire‖ because the US territory was in grave danger ― There is no blinking at the fact that our people, our territory, and our interests are in grave danger‖[239]. Roosevelt claimed that no matter the duration it might take them to defeat their opponent, the USA will prevail ―No matter how long it may take us to overcome this premeditated invasion, the American people in their righteous might will win through to absolute victory‖[240]. Similarly, Bush asserts the necessity of the wars against terrorists around the world, he also insists that the only way to feel safe again in their homeland is by the total eradication of

[238] Roosevelt, F. D (1941) Speech by Franklin D. Roosevelt, New York (Transcript) https://www.loc.gov/resource/afc1986022.afc1986022_ms2201/?st=text&r=0.285,0.002,0.5,0.635,0
[239] Ibid
[240] Ibid

terrorists that have mass destruction weapons in their possession terrorizing and threatening the whole world. For this reason, Bush claims that war on terror is maintained and he firmly asks the countries to clearly precise their position either to support the USA or the terrorists. The American president also strongly insists that the USA is ready to give a helping hand to every nation in need if only they are willing to work side by side to make the economy of the USA grow and evolve.

Speech 12

The President George W Bush delivers *West Point Commencement* in the United States Military Academy, New York on June 1st, 2002. The findings of the scrutiny are detailed below.

Object		**Representamen**
West Point, a great Academy	- Bush praises the institution of "West Point".	"The United States Military Academy is the guardian of values that have shaped the soldiers who have shaped the history of the world" (p.125)
	- Bush forwards the value of the academy which formed graduates who exceled in various domains.	"West Point produced the chief engineer of the Panama Canal, the mind behind the Manhattan Project, the first American to walk in space" (p.125)
	- Bush highlights the period of war the USA is going through and incites the new graduates to join the struggle against terrorists.	"You graduate from this Academy in a time of war, taking your place in an American military that is powerful and is honorable" (p.126)
War on terror: a long journey	- Bush indicates that the war on terror is not about to finish yet, but sheds light on the success it has on Afghanistan.	"Our war on terror is only begun, but in Afghanistan it was begun well" (p.127)
War on terror: a great cause	-Bush admits that the turns that a war can take are not always controlled. In his discourse, he indicates that the war can be	"Yet I am certain of this: Wherever we carry it, the American flag will stand not only for our power, but for

	waged against any country in need, to make peace triumphs against terrorism and oppression. - Bush forwards the mission the USA is engaged in to establish security and peace all over the world and not to colonize countries. - Bush expresses the determination of the USA in eradicating all sorts of terrorism and tyranny that threatens the peace of America and the world. - Bush argues to fully live peacefully is the right of every nation no matter their religion or ethnicity.	freedom" (p.127) "America has no empire to extend or utopia to establish. We wish for others only what we wish for ourselves — safety from violence, the rewards of liberty, and the hope for a better life" (p.127) "We will not leave the safety of America and the peace of the planet at the mercy of a few mad terrorists and tyrants. We will lift this dark threat from our country and from the world" (p.129) "The people of the Islamic nations want and deserve the same freedoms and opportunities as people in every nation" (p.131)
War on terror: everyone's concern	- Bush explicitly says that the war on terror is also the concern of the new graduates. They are asked to join the military and wear the uniform for reaching their purpose. - Bush indicates that the war on terror does not only concern the USA but countries cherishing freedom like Japan, Russia, and Europe are all involved in the fight against terrorists.	" From this day forward, it is your challenge, as well, and we will meet this challenge together" (p.127) "today the great powers are also increasingly united by common values (...) share a deep commitment to human freedom" (p.130)
Nuclear Weapons: a real threat	- Bush insists that the USA is determined to put an end to terrorists who had nuclear weapons at their disposal which	"The gravest danger to freedom lies at the perilous crossroads of radicalism and technology" (p.127)

	might cause disastrous consequences. - Bush insists that waging an armed war is necessary at times in which mass destruction weapons are at the disposal of dictators who will not hesitate to destruct nations.	"Containment is not possible when unbalanced dictators with weapons of mass destruction can deliver those weapons on missiles or secretly provide them to terrorist allies" (p.128)
War on terror: a necessity	The US President insists that the war is necessary to reach a victory against tyranny and affirms that the USA will act in terrorists' lands to prevent them from harming the USA again and other countries.	"Yet the war on terror will not be won on the defensive. We must take the battle to the enemy (...) and this nation will act" (p.128)

Table 14: **speech 12**

The scrutiny of speech 12 shows that Bush highlights the value of West Point academy and calls the graduates to join the fight against terrorists representing a danger on the whole world that was not about to end. The US president also insists through his speech on the necessity of waging wars against all the nations governed by dictators who had access to mass destruction weapons that represent a great danger on the whole world implying a potential invasion of countries governed by dictators such as Iraq as a way of smoothly preparing the public opinion to morally and ethically approve the future wars.

Speech 13

The US President George W. Bush addresses a speech *Middle East Peace Process* on June 24, 2002 in the Rose Garden of the White House, Washington, D.C. The outcomes of the scanning are listed in the following.

Object		**Representamen**
Bringing Peace: the priority	- Bush sheds light on the tense situation between Palestinians and Israeli claiming that the situation may be improved if the parts decide to cooperate and	"My vision is two states, living side by side in peace and security. There is simply no way to achieve that peace until all parties fight terror" (p.133)

	stand together against terrorists. - Bush calls Palestinians to reform their government for the sake of settling solid groundings of tolerance and liberty and attain agreements with Israel and Egypt and Jordan with the help of the USA. - Bush asserts that the USA will work with the European Union, the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund in order to reform economy to improve the current situation in Palestine. - Bush affirms that the USA will prevent the setting up of a Palestinian state because to him, Palestinian authorities encourage terrorism. Palestinians will get the USA support when they decide to fight against terror and foster democracy. - Bush insists that bringing peace all over the world and eradicating terrorists are the motives for launching wars against countries promoting terror. He expresses his support to Israel calling the nations to stop equipping terrorists with money and weapons.	–The United States, along with the European Union and Arab states, will work with Palestinian leaders to create a new constitutional framework, and a working democracy for the Palestinian people‖ (p.134) "The United States and members of the international community stand ready to work with Palestinian leaders to establish finance — establish finance and monitor a truly independent judiciary" (p.135) "the United States will not support the establishment of a Palestinian state until its leaders engage in a sustained fight against the terrorists and dismantle their infrastructure" (p.135) "Every nation actually committed to peace will stop the flow of money, equipment and recruits to terrorist groups seeking the destruction of Israel" (p.135)
Iraq fosters terror	- Bush declares that Iraq is among the countries fostering terror.	"Every nation actually committed to peace must block the shipment of Iranian supplies to these groups, and oppose regimes that promote terror, like Iraq" (p.136)

Table 15: **speech**

The scanning of speech 13 shows that the US president Bush emphasizes the importance of Peace in all the countries. He asks Palestine to work with Israel to sort out their conflicts to cohabit peacefully. He also clearly shows his position regarding the opposition between Palestinians and Israelis by expressing his support to Israel and asking Palestinians to stand against their authorities that are supporting terrorists. In fact, the USA has always been a faithful friend of Israel and has always supported the Israelian authorities. Actually, the USA ―was the first country to recognize Israel as a state in 1948, and the first to recognize Jerusalem as the capital of Israel in 2017‖[241]. He also indicates that Iraq is among the countries promoting terrorism which implies an upcoming war in the Iraqi territory.

Speech 14

The US President George W. Bush addresses ‗the United Nations General Assembly' in the United Nations Headquarters (New York) on September 12, 2002. The findings of the scrutiny are mentioned below.

Object		**Representamen**
Stirring people's emotions	Here, Bush speaks about the 9/11 terrorist attacks after one year and one day to accentuate the gravity of the attacks and the impact it had on the USA. He pays tribute to the victims and forwards the engagement of the USA to protect the citizens and fight terrorism.	"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" (p.139)
War on Terror: A Long Journey	Bush indicates that the launching of the war on terror has already paid off in Afghanistan and elsewhere and he indicates that it is not about to end.	"We've accomplished much in the last year — in Afghanistan and beyond. We have much yet to do — in Afghanistan and beyond" (p.139)
War on Terror: a	Bush asserts that the only goal of waging war on terrorists in	"The founding members resolved that the peace of the

[241]U.S. Relations with Israel, https://www.state.gov/u-s-relations-with-israel/, JANUARY 20, 2021

Great Cause	different countries is to re-establish peace where it was oppressed for so long by dictators and asserts that the United Nations Security Council was founded for the sake of taking actions for peace, prosperity and security.	world must never again be destroyed by the will and wickedness of any man" (p.139)
The USA committed to Human rights	- Bush announces the return of the USA to UNESCO to contribute in protecting the human rights. - Bush declares that the United Nations will help in establishing a government with solid grounding respecting human rights and representing all the Iraqis.	"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" (p.140) "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" (p.145)
Terrorists: a Real Threat	- Bush emphasizes that terrorists continually threaten the world and expresses his fear about potential terrorist attacks that can be supplied with weapons of massive destruction. - He mentions the invasion of Kuwait by Iraq and the determination of Saddam Hussein to spread it to other countries. The war that came to an end thanks to the USA, its allies, and the United Nations.	"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" (p.140) "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 (...) Yet this aggression was stopped — by the might of coalition forces and the will of the United Nations" (p.140)
Iraq: an oppressive regime	- Bush argues that Saddam Hussein did not respect any of his commitments and decisions	"By breaking every pledge — by his deceptions, and by his cruelties — Saddam Hussein

	will be taken against him. - Bush argues that the Iraqi regime did not respect its words. It has been reported that the prisoners of Kuwait and other countries who were supposed to be released in 1991 by the Iraqi regime were still missing in 2001	has made the case against himself" (p.141) "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" (p.141)
Iraq and Mass Destruction Weapons	- Bush contends that the agreement made in 1991 to destruct all the weapons of massive destruction in Iraq was not respected and the regime still have them at their disposal and still work on developing them.	"Right now, Iraq is expanding and improving facilities that were used for the production of biological weapons" (p.142) "Iraq employs capable nuclear scientists and technicians. It retains physical infrastructure needed to build a nuclear weapon" (p.142)
An End to the Iraqi Regime: a Necessity	- Bush explicitly claims that Saddam Hussein's regime is a danger to the whole world and insists on the importance to act to stop him. - Bush declares that actions will be taken against Saddam Hussein's regime to end his power and construct a peaceful government for the Iraqis who suffered for too long. - Bush stands firmly regarding the necessity to act against the	"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" (p.144) "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 just demands of peace and security will be met (...) And a regime that has lost its legitimacy will also lose its power" (p.146) "If we meet our responsibilities, if we overcome this danger, we

	Iraqi regime which represents an incessant danger on the Iraqis, its neighbors and a potential danger for the whole world.	can arrive at a very different future." (p.146)

Table 16: **speech 14**

The scrutiny of speech 14 indicates that the US president dealt with the 9/11 terrorist attacks showing the importance of this date in the American history and paid a tribute to the people who passed away. It is a kind of emotional reminder of all the pain they suffered from and the chaos that the attacks engendered in the US territory to prepare the public opinion to agree with Bush‘s decisions in declaring more wars. He points out that the war on terror succeeded in Afghanistan after depriving the Taliban from ruling the country. Actually, this cannot be called a success since the Taliban returned to power in 2021. In fact, the Taliban gathered at the borders of Pakistan and started their invasion of Afghanistan where they could have control on different cities counting Kabul by August 2021[242]. Bush declares that the Taliban is an oppressive regime that abuses human rights; it constitutes a danger on Afghans and the world in case they allow terrorists to intervene in the Afghan territory. The Taliban engendered a human crisis among Afghans to the decline of the economy, the disastrous sanitary situation and starvation. He highlights the fact that the USA is determined to sustain their goal of spreading peace, assuring security and protecting human rights that the USA returned to UNESCO. He also asserts that the American government is still determined to put an end to terrorism all over the world. In this respect, Bush sheds light on the dictatorship Saddam Hussein was exerting on Iraqis, the invasion he operates in Kuwait and his possession of mass destruction weapons that constituted reasons to intervene and prevent him from provoking more harm.

[242] Maizland, L (2021) The Taliban in Afghanistan, Council Foreign Relations https://www.cfr.org/backgrounder/taliban-afghanistan

Speech 15

George W. Bush delivers a speech titled: *State of the Union Address to the 108th Congress* in the United States Capitol, Washington, D.C. on January 28, 2003. The findings of the examination are reported below.

Object		Representamen
Security and improving the US citizens' lives: Bush's priority	- The President asserts that the USA will take the necessary measures against enemies threating America.	"we will answer every danger and every enemy that threatens the American people" (p.149)
	- Bush insists on the fact that every step he and his government are taking is in the service of Americans. He proclaims that he and his government seeks to ensure an evolving economy and create more job opportunities for Americans.	"Our first goal is clear: We must have an economy that grows fast enough to employ every man and woman who seeks a job" (p.150)
	- The US President personally suggests the reduction of taxes to all Americans starting from 2003 accrediting the idea that his main goal is to ensure an easy life for Americans.	"I am proposing that all the income tax reductions set for 2004 and 2006 be made permanent and effective this year" (p.150)
	- He also declares that besides his goal in making the economy grow, he aims also at granting an affordable health care for all the citizens.	"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" (p.151)
	- Bush claims that he is taking some measures for the sake of improving the environment as well in terms of independent energy, air pollution, preventing fires, and so on and calls the congress to put them into	"I urge you to pass these measures, for the good of both our environment and our economy" (p.152)

	practice immediately. - He emphasizes the importance of fighting drugs which destruct citizens' lives and investing more in recovery programs.	 "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 three years" (p.154)
Peace and security all around the world: the USA concern	- Bush asserts that the USA is also concerned with other countries all around the world facing critical situations. - He mentions the help the country gave to Afghanistan by putting an end to powers oppressing Afghans, and the incessant help to rebuild a secure country, the work of the USA to instore peace between Palestine and Israel and the food aid offered to poor countries all over the world, etc. - The US President suggests a plan seeking to prevent AIDS infections and providing people with life-extending medicines in America and all over the world, particularly in Africa which suffered from the lack of drugs.	"Our founders dedicated this country to the cause of human dignity (...) This conviction leads us into the world to help the afflicted, and defend the peace, and confound the designs of evil men" (p.154) "we must also remember our calling as a blessed country is to make this world better" (p.155) "I propose the Emergency Plan for AIDS Relief — a work of mercy beyond all current international efforts to help the people of Africa" (p.155)
War on terror: a necessity	- Bush asserts that the war on terror will continue until the elimination of all the terrorists. - Bush announces the start of working on securing the USA against ballistic missiles and facing the reality of bioterrorism	"One by one, the terrorists are learning the meaning of American justice" (p.156) "We must assume that our enemies would use these diseases as weapons, and we must act before the dangers are

	through making cures to different diseases that constitute an important danger. - Bush proclaims the danger of nuclear, chemical and biological weapons on the world and assures the commitment of the USA in facing this new threat as the USA always did with oppressive regimes. In this respect, he mentions Iran and North Korea as instances of oppressive regimes which possess mass destruction weapons and claims that the USA is working with the collaboration of South Korea, Japan, China, and Russia to put an end to the acquisition of nuclear weapons.	upon us." (p.157) "Once again, we are called to defend the safety of our people, and the hopes of all mankind. And we accept this responsibility" (p.158) "The North Korean regime will find respect in the world and revival for its people only when it turns away from its nuclear ambitions" (p.159)
Iraqi Regime: A real threat	- Bush claims that the work to stop bioterrorism has already started by asking the United Nations to maintain their request of disarming Iraq, by looking for the nuclear materials all over the world, etc. He also guarantees the Americans that he will take every measure necessary to secure the Americans. - Bush reveals that Saddam Hussein purchased high-strength aluminum tubes and the British government reported that Saddam Hussein brought an important quantity of uranium from Africa that are suitable for nuclear weapons. - Bush posits that Saddam Hussein was tricking the rest of the world by hiding mass	"whatever action is required, whenever action is necessary, I will defend the freedom and security of the American people" (p.158-9) –Our intelligence sources tell us that he has attempted to purchase high strength aluminium tubes suitable for nuclear weapons production‖ (p.161) "The dictator of Iraq is not disarming. To the contrary; he is deceiving" (p.161)

	destruction weapons, hiding the real scientists from interviewers for dominating the world.	
	- Bush declares that Saddam Hussein provided shelter to terrorists and can supply them with weapons.	"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 Qaeda" (p.161)
	- Bush states that measures should be taken in order to disarm Saddam Hussein's regime and endeavor any attempt of attack.	"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?" (p.162)
	- Bush openly announces an eventual coalition to deprive the Iraqi regimes from all kinds of weapons if Saddam Hussein refuses to disarm regarding the danger the ruling regime constituted to the USA and the whole world.	"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" (p.162)
Pursuit of Peace: the USA essence	- Bush speaks about the devastating aspect that always goes with war, losing people but the pursuit of peace is the essence of the USA.	"(...) 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" (p.163)
	- Bush guarantees that the potential war against the Iraqi regime sought only to disarm it; it was not against the Iraqis to whom they provided help and liberated them from the dictator's	"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" (p.163)

	ruling as the USA did and still does in Afghanistan. - Bush reassures the US citizens that victories will be achieved. - Bush points out that the ultimate goal of the USA has always been and still is peace.	 "(...) we go forward with confidence, because this call of history has come to the right country" (p.164) "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" (p.164)

Table 17: **speech 15**

The examination of speech 15 indicates that Bush and his administration seem really implicated in domestic issues. They aim at enhancing the economy of the USA and improving the conditions of American citizens in terms of health, work, and taxes, etc. The US president also insists on the involvement of the USA in ameliorating other countries‘ conditions such as trying to reconcile between Palestine and Israel, putting an end to the terror in Afghanistan. He highlights the prerequisite of following the war on terror until the eradication of all terrorists regarding the presence of nuclear, chemical and biological weapons. Bush also announces the necessity of disarming Saddam Hussein who has mass destruction weapons at his disposal and offers refuge to terrorists. He guarantees that waging war against Iraq is meant only to deprive its oppressive government from governing and mass destruction weapons that constituted a danger on the whole world.

Speech 16

In Washington Hilton Hotel (Washington, D.C) on February 26, 2003, Bush addresses a speech *Remarks on the Future of Iraq*. The results of the scrutiny are displayed in the following table.

Object		Representamen
The Security of the USA: A Priority	- Bush accentuates the importance of working on reinforcing the security of the USA particularly after the attacks led by terrorists causing the death of a considerable number of people. - He insists on the necessity to take measures to prevent other attacks threating the freedom of the US citizens. - Bush asserts that ensuring security in the USA and all around the world required disarming Iraq and removing the Iraqi regime from ruling the country.	"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" (p.168) "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" (p.168) "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" (p.168)
War on terror: legitimate cause	- Bush precises the number of countries collaborating with the USA in fighting terrorists to make the war on terror legitimate and asserted that the coalition achieved important triumphs over terror through arresting and hunting al Qaeda and terrorists and confronting regimes owning mass destruction weapons.	"Our coalition of more than 90 countries is pursuing the networks of terror with every tool of law enforcement and with military power" (p.168)
Iraq: a Real danger to the World	- Bush insists on the necessity to disarm Iraq which constitutes a danger on the USA and the whole world. He argues that the Iraqi regime led by Saddam Hussein construct, hide, and supply terrorists with mass destruction weapons.	"In Iraq, a dictator is building and hiding weapons that could enable him to dominate the Middle East and intimidate the civilized world" (p.168)
Peace: the only Motive of the	- Bush contends the prerequisite of operations to disarm Iraq	"We hope that the Iraqi regime will meet the demands of the

USA for waging war on Iraq	peacefully first (to show that the USA always fought for peace), otherwise by force.	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" (p.168)
	- Bush states that the USA and the coalition also seek to liberate Iraqis from the oppressive regime. He posits that the Iraqis' miserable way of living under the ruling of the dictator Saddam Hussein cannot last longer.	–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‖ (p.169)
	- Bush asserts that the USA and the coalition are ready to wage a war against the Iraqi regime to disarm it from the mass destruction weapons and help the Iraqis to face the misery they face daily through providing them medicines, food, etc. and more importantly liberate them.	"We will also lead in carrying out the urgent and dangerous work of destroying chemical and biological weapons" (p.168)
	- Bush commits that the USA will leave Iraq after putting an end to the current oppressive regime and helping the Iraqis to rebuild a secure and free country as it did in the past with other countries.	"We will deliver medicine to the sick, and we are now moving into place nearly 3 million emergency rations to feed the hungry" (p.169)
	- Bush claims that liberating Iraq and electing a new regime by Iraqis would incite other nations to pursuit freedom.	"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" (p.169-70) "A new regime in Iraq would serve as a dramatic and inspiring example of freedom

		for other nations in the region" (p.170)
The USA acts for the good of Iraqis	- Bush claims that they will prevent Saddam Hussein's regime from seizing the natural resources and certifies that only Iraqis will profit from the resources of their country. - He also indicates that the rebuilding of Iraq government will be exclusively elected by the Iraqis after removing Saddam Hussein from ruling.	"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" (p.169) "(...) Yet, we will ensure that one brutal dictator is not replaced by another. All Iraqis must have a voice in the new government" (p.169).
Peaceful relation between Palestine and Israel: Another USA concern	- Bush accentuates the impact of building a secure and democratic Iraq would have on the Middle East in general and in Palestine in particular. He declares that the US government and himself are engaged to achieve peace between Palestine and Israel.	"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 road map and to reach that goal" (p.171)
War on terror: the concern of all the countries	- Bush argues that the fight against terrorists and disarming the countries constructing and distributing weapons of mass destruction cannot be achieved by only one country but requires the mobilization of all the countries to make peace prevail all around the world either peacefully or by force.	"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" (p.172)
The US Armed Forces: the key for prevailing	- Bush admits that waging war on Iraq would be a hard task for the Armed Forces because of the possession of mass destruction weapons and the country is ruled by a dictator who is used to commit crimes, but the Armed Forces are well trained and are ready to fight against dictatorship	"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

	and oppression to establish peace and freedom in Iraq and to protect the USA from eventual attacks.	honor, and courage" (p.173)

Table 18: **speech 16**

The scrutiny of speech 16 shows that the US president forwards the importance of strengthening the security of the US territory to protect Americans from potential terrorist attacks and insists that the security of the USA depends on disarming the Iraqi regime. Bush indicates that the only aim of waging war on Iraq was to get rid of the oppressive government and declares that the USA will leave Iraq once their objective achieved. He also insists on the essential role other countries can have in putting an end to terrorists all over the world. He confesses that the operations in Iraq would be complicated because of the presence of mass destruction weapons but he asserts that the US forces will prevail. Bush also guarantees that the USA is determined to protect the natural sources such as oil that the Iraqi territory has in their fields. It is a kind of euphemism implying that the USA will have an access to large oil areas which suggests the gain of a lot of money.

Speech 17

Bush delivers a speech addressing the nation about the military operations in Iraq *Address to the Nation on Military Operations in Iraq*. The speech takes place in the Oval Office (Washington, D.C) on March 19, 2003. The outcomes of the analysis are listed below.

Object		**Representamen**
War on Iraq: Pursuit of Peace	- Bush announces to the US citizens that the military operations to deprive mass destruction weapons have started in Iraq to liberate Iraqis from the oppressive regime and secure the world from a dangerous threat.	"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" (p.175)
Peace: the Only Objective	- Bush claims that the coalition forces will do their best to avoid	"A campaign on the harsh terrain of a nation as large as

	civilian victims in their fight against Saddam's regime and announces that the war may last a long time. - Bush argues that waging war against Iraq is a constraint to put an end to the danger threating the whole world and prevent eventual attacks that will cause thousands of victims.	California could be longer and more difficult than some predict" (p.175) "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 fi re fighters and police and doctors on the streets of our cities" (p.176)
Peace will prevail	- Bush ensures the triumph of the coalition forces over Saddam's regime.	"And I assure you, this will not be a campaign of half measures, and we will accept no outcome but victory" (p.176)

Table 19: **speech 17**

The analysis of speech 17 discloses that according to Bush the war in Iraq began to free Iraqis and get rid of a danger threatening the world in general and the USA in particular. He also insists that Iraqis will be protected and victory will be achieved. The tone of his speech is direct and aggressive representing a charismatic political and military leader who is confident and sure of his decisions. One can also understand that he is fully determined to invade Iraq but does not mention the soldiers who were sent to Iraq operating on battlefields.

Speech 18

The US President George W. Bush delivers a speech *Remarks on the Freedom Agenda* in the United States Chamber of Commerce (Washington, D.C) on November 6, 2003. The results of the scanning are detailed in the following.

Object		**Representamen**
Peace: the essence of the USA	- Bush argues that liberty must be protected. - He also contends that sacrifices ensure freedom and the USA is	"We also know that liberty, if not defended, can be lost" (p.179). "Americans have amply displayed our willingness to

	ready to sacrifice for liberty which contributes in establishing democracies and protecting the world from nuclear threats.	sacrifice for liberty. The sacrifices of Americans have not always been recognized or appreciated, yet they have been worthwhile" (p.179)
	- Bush declares that the USA desire is to establish democracy in the Middle East respecting their religion and culture, not to make the countries the USA replicas.	"As we watch and encourage reforms in the region, we are mindful that modernization is not the same as Westernization" (p.184).
	- He insists on indispensable principles to ensure democracy consisting on taking decisions corresponding to people's will and needs.	"Successful societies limit the power of the state and the power of the military — so that governments respond to the will of the people, and not the will of an elite" (p.184).
The Role of the USA in bringing peace to the world	- Bush asserts that history will testify to the fact that the USA was the nation which protected free nations, supported and led tyrannized countries to democracy through being engaged military and morally in Europe and Asia.	"It is no accident that the rise of so many democracies took place in a time when the world‘s most influential nation was itself a democracy" (p.178)
	- Bush claims that oppressed nations are aware about the security and freedom the USA offers to its citizens and hope to get help from it.	"And they prayed that America would not forget them, or forget the mission to promote liberty around the world" (p.179)
	- Bush asserts that Iraq is working on constructing a democracy despite the fear and tyranny ingrained in its people. He assures that the USA will succeed with the contribution between Iraqis, the USA and the coalition.	"And we‘re working closely with Iraqi citizens as they prepare a constitution, as they move toward free elections and take increasing responsibility for their own affairs" (p.185)

The USA Commitment to Free the World	- Bush declares that the USA is currently engaged to free oppressed and tyrannized countries and establish democracy. - The US President stresses the engagement of the USA in the Middle East to liberate and free people from oppression and tyranny which will last decades. - Bush accentuates the importance of establishing democracy in Iraq to protect the world from been exposed to terrorist attacks and make the liberation of Iraq a milestone in history.	"our commitment to democracy is tested in countries like Cuba and Burma and North Korea and Zimbabwe" (p.180) "our commitment to democracy is tested in China" (p.180) "Our commitment to democracy is also tested in the Middle East, which is my focus today, and must be a focus of American policy for decades to come" (p.180) "The establishment of a free Iraq at the heart of the Middle East will be a watershed event in the global democratic revolution" (p.186)
Islam in accordance with Democracy	- Bush asserts that Islam has never been a hindrance for democracy. - He also claims that Muslims succeeded in the societies they lived in because of their faith.	"It should be clear to all that Islam — the faith of one-fifth of humanity — is consistent with democratic rule" (p.181). "They succeed in democratic societies, not in spite of their faith, but because of it" (p.181)
Liberation of the Middle East: Challenge	- Bush argues that leading liberation operations in the Middle East is a challenge for the USA and the coalition forces because of the ‑freedom deficit" (p.182) the Middle East suffers from, which is the huge difference between its countries and others in the world. He claims that people in the Middle East live in poverty, fear and	"These are not the failures of a culture or a religion. These are the failures of political and economic doctrines" (p.182)

	oppression exerted by the ruling regimes. - Bush insists that Palestinians will get their way to peace once the leaders will stop encouraging hatred and violence.	 "the Palestinian leaders who block and undermine democratic reform, and feed hatred and encourage violence are not leaders at all" (p.184)

Table 20: **speech 18**

The scanning of speech 18 indicates that the USA is really bound for peace and freedom that the government is ready to make sacrifices to foster it in their homeland and all around the world. Bush actually mentions the role the USA plays in assuring peace in Europe and Asia. The US president also forwards his obstinacy to spread Peace in Middle East countries enduring oppression and tyranny. This indicates the readiness of Bush to launch other wars in different countries.

2. Discussion of the Results

The analysis reveals that the outcomes correspond to the strategies Jonathan Charteris-Black[243] specifies as a means for convincing and making audiences stand by one‘s position while delivering a political discourse. They consist in establishing the politician‘s ethos, heightening the pathos, communicating and explaining political policies and communication of ideology by political myth. They are all tackled extensively in the following.

2.1. Political Persuasion Strategies

2.1.1. Establishing the Politician’s Ethos: Having the Right Intentions

George W. Bush while addressing the US citizens in particular and the rest of the world in general aims at demonstrating that all the decisions he has taken were morally approvable because they were meant to improve the situation the USA and the world were living at that time. In fact, he guarantees that he and his

[243] Black, J.C (2011), *Politicians and Rhetoric: The Persuasive Power of Metaphor.2nd Ed.The* United Kingdom: Palgrave Macmillan, p. 26

administration put the security of the US citizens at the top of their priorities. He also asserts that they are fully devoted to reconstruct the country and improve the domestic issues in relation to work, education, health, etc. after the terrorist attacks that caused the death of many people and the dropping of the US economy. He also insists on the fact that they are waging war on Afghanistan and Iraq for the sake of liberating them from dictatorships governing and oppressing their citizens only. He sheds light on the commitment of the USA to spread peace and freedom all around the world and to ensure human rights to all the nations as the Americans‘ country is a land where freedom and tolerance are ingrained.

2.1.2. Heightening the Pathos: Sounding Right

The scrutiny of George W. Bush‘ speeches reveals that the US President meticulously chooses his words to have an emotional impact on the citizens making them support the decisions he is about to take in the future concerning their homeland and other countries. Actually, Bush pays tribute to the victims of the 9/11 attacks in almost all of his addresses showing he and all Americans are profoundly affected. He also expresses empathy to all the people suffering from the loss of a loved one and assures them they are not alone, that they are supported by himself and all the Americans who share their pain and mourning. He also makes reference to the 9/11 attacks that have shaken the entire world and the USA in particular. Indeed, the impact the attacks has resulted in launching the war on terror to put an end to terrorists and prevent other attacks that may have terrible consequences.

Yet, Bush expresses his confidence about the ongoing of the war on terror pledging the victory of the USA to reassure the families of the military forces. He also asserts that the upcoming wars are worthy to accomplish the elimination of the terrorists and to spread liberty all around the world. He also points out the paramount role of the US military forces in reaching victory and eradicating terrorists‘ threats. He insists on the fact that the wars are to be waged against Afghanistan and Iraq regarding the danger of their governing regimes on the world and the oppression of their citizens not because of their religious beliefs. In

this respect, he claims that Islam condemns these acts and Muslims are not terrorists to hearten all the US Muslims and to show his open mindedness and tolerance towards other religions.

2.1.3. Communicating and Explaining Political Policies

The examination of Bush‘ speeches shows that the US President along his addresses has always attempted to persuade the world and the US citizens about the credibility and the necessity of all the decisions he took. His incessant attempt to persuade to the masses was not because he needed their permission, but to make them support and stand by his choices and not be blamed if things went wrong that is in fact a risk that countries take when they confront other countries such as the loss of an important number of soldiers or innocent citizens that do not constitute the target.

As a matter of fact, Bush tackled the issue of launching a war aiming at eradicating terrorists all over the world very early in his addresses after the 9/11 events regarding the urgency and gravity of the situation. He sheds light on the constant threat the whole world was facing and the necessity of waging wars against terrorists no matter their location and no matter the duration it could last. This shows the determination of the US president and his administration at getting rid of terrorists exerting tyranny and oppression as well as several upcoming wars which imply investments in the military and security fields and the eventuality of losing fellow citizens on the battlefield.

2.1.4. Communication of Ideology by Political Myth

Bush relies on another strategy while addressing the US citizens for the sake of persuading them about the reliability and validity of his decisions mainly about the war on terror against Afghanistan and Iraq which is the use of political myths. In this respect, Bush incorporates three different myths, Jonathan Charteris-Black[244] identifies, in his speeches while tackling the issue of the war

[244] Black, J.C (2011), *Politicians and Rhetoric: The Persuasive Power of Metaphor.2nd Ed,* Palgrave Macmillan: the UK, p. 26

on terror aiming at having the US citizens and the whole world at his side. They consist in the myth of conspiratorial enemy, the valiant leader enemy myth along with the united we stand myth. In this regard, Bush keeps repeating along his speeches the eventuality of other terrorist attacks that might target the USA again because of their will to demolish the countries which cherish liberty and freedom in their territories. He also pinpoints the presence of mass destruction weapons in many countries such as Afghanistan and Iraq and emphasizes the disasters they might engender if their owners decide to use them. The US president accentuates the devotion of the USA to ensure peace and freedom, to protect the human rights along with their work to help countries in need ruled by oppressive regimes. He also calls other countries to join them in their war on terror to achieve effective results and to eliminate terrorists in the majority of the countries enduring terrorism.

2.2. Rhetorical Devices

Our scrutiny of the US President George W. Bush‘ speeches has permitted us to shed light on Bush‘s deliberate emphasis on the use of rhetorical devices in every single discourse. Bush includes different rhetorical devices not for the sake of embellishing the language he used while addressing his audience, but for rendering the speeches catchy, poignant, and persuasive and to make the US citizens and the world in general go along with the decisions he and his administration were taking about the USA and other countries such as Afghanistan and Iraq. Regarding the objectives Bush intended to achieve, he might have had recourse to linguist specialist on rhetoric and other disciplines. In this respect, one can mention Michael Gerson who wrote most of Bush‘s speeches from 2001 to 2006. This explains the poignancy and catchiness of the speeches under analysis through the choice of language devices such as pronouns, metaphors, personification, euphemisms, along with parallelisms.

In this regard, Bush makes use of pronouns (personal and possessive) depending on the message he wants to convey regarding his implication in the occurring events. Pronouns, as seen before serve, according to Jones and

Peccei[245], at putting forward the role of someone or hide it behind a group. Metaphors and personification that is a type of ontological metaphors, as pointed out by Lakoff and Johnson[246],refer to attributing human qualities to non-human things, are also largely used in his speeches while talking about the USA and their enemies, along with peace and tyranny. Euphemism is a rhetorical device used to sound right and decent. Parallelism, according to Jones and Peccei[247], is another rhetorical tool consisting of syntactic structures giving the sentences a rhythm to draw the attention of his audiences Bush relies on to portray his world visions. The succeeding points illustrate the inclusion of some rhetorical devices in the speeches.

Rhetorical devices		Speech	Quotation	Implication
Pronouns	I	*National Day of Prayer and Remembrance Service*	―to the children and parents and spouses and families and friends of the lost (…) I assure you, you are not alone‖ (p. 59).	Bush wanted to show that he was personally affected by the attack and the loss of people, and expressed his solidarity with the families of victims

[245]Jones, J and Peccei, J.S (2004) Language, Society and Power: An Introduction, Routledge: London, p. 52

[246]Lakoff, G and Johnson, M (1980) *Metaphors we Live by*, Chicago Press: USA, p. 34

[247]Jones, J and Peccei, J.S (2004) Language, Society and Power: An Introduction, Routledge: London,p. 51.

	We Our	*Address to the Joint Session of the 107th Congress* speech, Bush used the pronoun	–Tonight we are a country awakened to danger and called to defend freedom‖ (p.65) –Our enemy is a radical network of terrorists, and every government that supports them‖ (p.68).	The US President aimed at expressing that all the US citizens have a common goal is to eradicate terrorism.
	I You	*Address to the Nation on Operations in Afghanistan* *The Union Address to the 108th Congress*	–I gave Taliban leaders a series of clear and specific demands‖ (p.75). "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" (p.163)	Bush shed light on his personal decisions Bush stressed the role of the American Armed Forces in the upcoming mission and claimed that all the nation counted on them.

Metaphors	*Address to the Nation on the September 11 Attacks*	–we're the brightest beacon for freedom‖ (p.57)	The US president compared the American territory to fire to forward that the position of the USA in the world as a power that cherishes human rights.
	West Point Commencement	–History has also issued its call to your generation‖ (p.126)	George W Bush used the word ‗history' to incite and motivate the graduates of West Point to be part of the war on terror and make their names and accomplishments unforgettable.
Personification	*Remarks to New York Rescue Workers*	–America today is on bended knee in prayer for the people whose lives were lost here‖ (p.63).	The president's objective was to accentuate that all the American citizens were affected by the terrible event that occurred in the USA.

	Address to the Joint Session of the 107th Congress	–Prayer has comforted us in sorrow, and will help strengthen us for the journey ahead‖ (p.71)	Bush attributed prayer the capacity of comforting as humans do, and the capacity of strengthening which implies that they are believers and GOD is important in every step and every decision they take.
	Address to the Nation on Operations in Afghanistan	–In the face of today‘s new threat, the only way to pursue peace is to pursue those who threaten it‖ (p.76)	Bush personified Peace to emphasize its importance all over the world. All the people aspire to live peacefully.
	Department of Defense Service of Remembrance at the Pentagon.	–One death can leave sorrow that seems almost unbearable‖(p.79)	Death was personified to insist that every single person who passed away matters.
Metonymy	*Department of Defense Service of Remembrance at the Pentagon*	–those men and women, boys and girls who fell into the hands of evildoers‖ (p.79)	Bush made reference to a part of the human body _hand‘ to stand for the person.
Euphemism	*Address to the Nation on the*	–to take every precaution to	Bush avoided the use of the world

	September 11	protect our citizens at home and around the world from further attacks‖(p.57)	_war‘ right from the beginning aiming at not worrying and disturbing the Americans‘ lives that were chaotic after the attacks. He preferred to imply it.
Parallelism	*Address to the Nation on Operations in Afghanistan*	–The battle is now joined on many fronts. We will not waver; we will not tire; we will not falter; and we will not fail. Peace and freedom will prevail‖ (p.77)	Through the repetition of _we will not‘, Bush aimed at accentuating the position of the USA and its firm determination to fight for peace and get rid of all their enemies.
	State of the Union Address to the 108th Congress	"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	Bush insisted on the constant involvement of the USA in the fight for peace, and its devotion to peace through the repetition of _once again‘

		of our people and the hopes of all mankind‖ (p.158)	

Table 21: **Rhetorical Devices**

The speeches under analysis also reveal that Bush in his process of convincing people about the validity of the wars launched against Afghanistan and Iraq adopts the operational concepts of habitualization and legitimation which correspond to two steps of constructing a social reality as indicated by Berger and Luckmann. In fact, the US President, as shown before, talked about the Taliban, Al Qaeda, Saddam Hussein and the threat they represented to the world in all the scrutinized speeches. Bush speaks about the tyranny and oppression Saddam Hussein was exerting on Iraqis. He mentions several times the possession by the Iraqi regime of mass destruction weapons that might destruct the whole world. The repetition of these facts while addressing the US citizens and the whole world makes them aware of the terrorist threats they were facing. It also engenders the belief on the necessity of putting an end to these threats as the only way to live peacefully and feel safe in the US territory. The assumed threats render the wars legitimate, valid and indispensable for putting an end to the menaces that might slide the world into chaos.

Forwarding the cruelty of terrorists in attacking nations which cherish democracy, peace, and tolerance, emphasizing the presence of mass destruction weapons owned by tyrannical regimes and the possibility of terrorist attacks anywhere and at any time served the US President at terrifying the Americans and the rest of the world. This corresponds to one strategy of propaganda identified by Chomsky[248] which consists in creating an atmosphere of fear. Indeed, George W. Bush uses his speeches to frighten the world in general and the USA in particular to turn their attention away from all the domestic issues, such as the theories of conspiracies formulated by groups of people arguing the culpability of Bush‘s administration in the 9/11 events and more importantly for

[248]Chomsky, N (1997) Media Control: The Spectacular Achievements of Propaganda, Seven Stories Press: New York, p. 23

the sake of rendering the wars valid and legitimate because he creates a paranoia among his fellow citizens that were frightened of other deadly attacks.

The possession of Saddam's regime to mass destruction weapons representing a threat to the whole world and removing him from ruling the country were the main motives Bush divulged in his speeches addressing the USA and other countries for justifying the launching of military actions against Iraq. In fact, Bush announced the beginning of the war on March 19, 2003 in his speech *Address to the Nation on Military Operations in Iraq*. The end of the war was marked with the withdrawal of the final US troops which started on June 30, 2009 and ended on December 18, 2011 during Obama's presidential term.

In the meanwhile, as mentioned by Laub and others (2017)[249], on December 14, 2003, Saddam Hussein was captured by the US soldiers in a basement in Tikrit. On November 5, 2006, his trial ended with a sentence of hanging since he was accused of crimes against humanity and he was executed on December 30, 2006. This means that Saddam was removed from governing since his arrest in the same year they invaded Iraq. On December 19, 2005, Bush announced that the mass destruction weapons were not found after two years of inspection in Iraq –After the swift fall of Baghdad, we found mass graves filled by a dictator, we found some capacity to restart programs to produce weapons of mass destruction, but we did not find those weapons‖[250].

These facts could have been reasons to stop the war for good and evacuate Iraq but it lasted eight additional years until 2011. Actually, Iraq denied the presence of mass destruction weapons in their territory in a 12000 page document submitted to the United Nations on December 7, 2002, as Woodward[251] indicated, but Hans Blix who was at that time the head of the United Nations Monitoring, Verification and Inspection Commission concluded that the report did not advance solid evidences which rendered the report unreliable. This report led to antiwar positions in the world where millions have

[249]Laub, Z et al (2017) *The Iraq War available* in https://www.cfr.org/timeline/iraq-war
[250] Transcript of Bush speech, http://edition.cnn.com/2005/POLITICS/12/18/bush.transcript/
[251]Woodward, B (2003). Bush at War, Simon & Schuster: New York, p. 354

marched in many European, Arab, and Asian capitals. In this respect, Dominique De Villepin (the foreign minister of France) declared, ―nothing justifies envisaging military action‖[252].

Despite the antiwar positions and the different attempts of Powell to dissuade Bush, as Woodward[253] claimed, from launching overseas military actions regarding the worldwide repercussions they might cause such as the destabilization of the Middle East countries and rendering Israel vulnerable to be attacked by Saddam, the US President was determined to launch war against Iraq. Actually, Woodward[254] revealed that Bush decided not to launch a war against Iraq right after the 9/11 attacks, but it was among the war cabinet interests, which implied that Iraq was the target of the USA just after the 9/11 events, and Bush opted for postponing the war. So, one can assume that the war on Afghanistan was a trick proving that all the countries harboring terrorists constituted targets of the USA. Thus, Afghanistan might not be guilty of the 9/11 terrorist attacks but underwent military actions to manipulate the public opinion and demonstrate that Bush's decisions were legitimate.

The war on Iraq might have been the result of the tension existing between the USA and Iraq which dates back to the presidential term of Bush senior (George H. W. Bush). As reported in BBC website[255], George H. W. Bush launched a war against Iraq, which is called the Gulf war or the Persian Gulf War. The latter started on August 2, 1990 led by the USA as a response to the call of Arab powers particularly; Saudi Arabia and Egypt which first tried to mediate between Iraq and Kuwait, but the President of Egypt Hosni Mubarak failed to intervene in Kuwait that was occupied by the Iraqi leader Saddam Hussein in early August 1990. Saddam Hussein accused Kuwait of siphoning Ar-Rumaylah (an Iraqi region situated in the borders separating Iraq from Kuwait) oil which actually was an excuse to benefit from the large oil reserves of the

[252] Woodward, B (2003). Bush at War, Simon & Schuster: New York, p. 354
[253]Ibid, pp. 332-33
[254]Ibid, p. 329
[255]Timeline: War in the Gulf in 2000 on http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/middle_east/861164.stm (unknown author)

country. Thus, the Iraqi president made his withdrawal from Kuwait conditional on Israel‘s unlikely evacuation of Palestine.

After the failure of all the negotiations, the USA with the support of other nations, specifically, as indicated by Stephen Knott[256]; Britain, France, Germany, the Soviet Union, Japan, Egypt and Saudi Arabia faced Iraq which had Jordan, Sudan, Yemen, Tunisia and the Palestinian Liberation Organization (PLO) as allies. On January 17th, 1991 the coalition launched air attacks called Operation Desert Storm against Iraq. In fact, the USA along with their supporters attacked the Iraqi communication networks, the places where weapons were hidden, etc. The Operation Desert Storm resulted in the destruction of the Iraqi air forces. On February 24th, 1991, started Operation Desert Sabre started which marked the shift from the air attacks to the ground ones. The confrontation between the coalition and Iraqis lasted about 4 days which ended with the liberation of Kuwait. The US forces attacked the Iraqi armored reserves. In spite of the resistance of the Iraqis, the latter fell down. Thus, George H.W Bush ordered a ceasefire on February 28, which put an end to the Persian Gulf War. Saddam Hussein kept his ruling power of the country, accepted to recognize Kuwait as a sovereign country, and to destruct all kinds of mass destruction weapons Iraq was supposed to have: nuclear, biological, and chemical. There were some parties who judged the end of the Gulf war, as Woodward[257] indicates, too quick. Hence, the 2003 war could be considered as the continuity of George W. Bush to his father‘s actions in Iraq.

[256] Knott, S George H. W. Bush: Foreign Affairs available on https://millercenter.org/president/bush/foreign-affairs
[257] Woodward, B (2003). Bush at War, Simon & Schuster : New York, p. 328

Chapter 7:

The Reality of the War in Iraq as Presented by Michael Moore

As specified in the methodological considerations, the current study scrutinizes Fahrenheit 9/11, a 2004 documentary movie produced by Michael Moore. The documentary movie is made up of audio-visual discourse constituted of moving images, Moore‘s comments along the movie, interviews, people‘s testimonies, along with the inserted music and sounds. The components composing the corpus under analysis make it a multimodal means of communication. Therefore, the examination of the audio (oral) discourse relies on Peirce‘s triadic theory. In this respect, the utterances and the song lyrics stand for the representamen. The object refers to the significations we attribute to the analyzed representamens. The interpretant represents the background knowledge we have about the producer Michael Moore, the 9/11 events and the war in Iraq, along with the knowledge we have about the English language which is indispensable in interpreting English oral and/or written discourse. The examination of the visual discourse relies on Kress and Leeuwen‘s reading images theory figuring out the meaning of the different images composing the movie scenes regarding several characteristics such as, the angle of shooting, the gaze of the participants, and so on. As the analysis of the sounds is concerned, it relies on Leeuwen’s semiotic of sounds regarding the way they are integrated in the movie; if they are dominant or they are slightly audible, etc.

I.Analysis of the selected Images

As a whole, the scrutiny of Moore‘s Fahrenheit 9/11 communicates explicitly the standpoint of Michael Moore towards the election of George W. Bush and the decisions he took mainly about waging war on Afghanistan and Iraq as consequences of the 9/11 terrorist attacks. The film producer aims at persuading his audience about the credibility of his position regarding the total illegitimacy of the war in Iraq and probably to prevent the reelection of Bush. Through his documentary, Moore discredits the election of the 43rd President of the USA claiming Bush‘s cheating in order to be elected. He also forwards the relation

that existed between Bush‘s family and Bin Laden‘s one, the family of the most wanted terrorist at that time. He questions the efficacy of the war on Afghanistan and he condemns heavily the war on Iraq. Indeed, Moore argues that the Iraqi regime was not responsible for the 9/11 attacks and did not represent any threat neither on the USA nor on other countries. He also claims that the war on terror was only a pretext to invade Iraq, which Bush was determined to achieve since the beginning of his presidential term for having access to large oil fields to boost the USA economy. These elements are all covered as transmitted in the movie in the following parts.

1. Discrediting Bush’s Election

Moore started his documentary movie by a festive atmosphere celebrating the victory of Al Gore in the Presidential election of 2000 ―like a miracle was taking place‖[258]. The victory was described as a miracle because it was probably unexpected as he waited for Bush‘s victory. Moore reported right at the beginning of the documentary movie Al Gore‘s thanking his audience after winning the state of Florida ―God bless you Florida, Thank you‖[259]. Florida victory was reported by different TV news channels namely CBS –Florida goes for Al Gore‖[260]; CNN ―We call Florida in Al Gore‘s column‖[261], but the dream was rapidly interrupted and turned into a nightmare after the announcement of the elected President of the USA, George W. Bush ―something called the Fox News channel and hold the election in favor of the other guy‖. Employing the words ‗the other guy‘ instead of saying George W Bush was somehow disrespectful and clearly showed that Moore was against and did not support the election of Bush as the new US President and strongly claimed the falsification of the presidential election results.

In this respect, an analysis of a set of screenshots corresponding to the point ‗discrediting Bush‘s election‘, which were extracted from the documentary

[258] Moore (2004) Fahrenheit 9/11 (00:52)
[259] Moore (2004) Fahrenheit 9/11 (00:32)
[260] Ibid, (01 :20)
[261] Ibid, (01 :25)

movie is given below to portray Moore‘s claim about the non-validity and illegality of Bush‘s election as the President of the USA.

Image 1:

At the representational level: image (1) presents uppercase letters constituting the phrase ‗FLORIDA VICTORY‘ situated at the centre of the image. The letters are luminous on a black background representing the success of Al Gore in Florida. Moore decided to display the scene in his documentary movie to express his hope to see Al Gore elected. The poster also portrays a crowded place where people are rising their hands up in the air celebrating the victory of Al Gore who is on a stage in company of his wife among others.

At the interactional level: it is an offer image because of the absence of eye contact and interaction between the viewers and the represented participants exposing information about the success Al Gore knew in Florida. The participants are captured from a frontal angle which involves the concern of the film maker and the viewers regarding the displayed information.

At the compositional level: salience is given to the phrase ‗FLORIDA VICTORY‘ which attracts the viewers‘ attention by its luminosity and the position it occupies in the image; i.e. the phrase is centered to accentuate its importance. The represented participants are pictured differently. That is to say, those on stage are given more prominence and are somehow dominant regarding the crowd. The latter is also the one who contributes in giving the ones one stage (mainly Al Gore) his position. The people are all connected to each other in the sense that each participant invades the space of the other, as they all serve the same purpose; supporting Al Gore.

Image 2:

At the representational level: Image (2) depicts a picture of Al Gore along with different phrases positioned in different spots. The picture and the phrase written in uppercase letters ‗AL GORE (D) WINS‘ are in the centre, the others

are placed at the top of the image indicating the TV Channel name ‗CBS NEWS', the state where Al Gore won ‗Florida', and the number of electoral votes that is 25. All these visual elements are presented on the American flag representing the background, since it has to do with the presidential election of the USA.

At the interactional level: it is a demand image because of the eye contact that the film maker established between the represented participant Al Gore and the viewers aiming at attracting people's attention to the person who was elected in Florida. Al Gore is captured from a frontal angle aiming again at making the viewers concerned with the communicated information consisting of Al Gore's election in Florida. The direction of Al Gore's gaze contributes somehow in creating a kind of trust between him and the citizens. That is to say, he will be at their service.

At the compositional level: salience is given to Al Gore whose face and shoulders are captured in the image that indicates a close personal distance from the viewers which is achieved via the close shot. Salience is also given to the phrase ‗AL GORE WINS' with a particular emphasis on ‗WINS' by the size and the color yellow which connotes Gold referring to Golden medal which symbolizes victory. The same golden color is shown on the star put at the bottom of Al Gore's image. This star is foregrounded compared to the other stars on the US flag put in the background to shed light on Florida as one of the fifty one states of America. The information placed on the top of the image indicates its leading role and its constituents are connected and disconnected at the same time. That is to say, they share the same background, but they are separated by vertical short white lines.

Image 3:

At the representational level: image (3) portrays a picture of Al Gore on the left of Bush's picture with their election percentages 48% and 49% respectively. They are placed in the centre. The names of the politicians are put at the bottom

of their pictures. Some information are put on the top of the image as well, namely the phrase ‗You Decide 2000' indicating that the percentages are the outcomes of voters, the state concerned; i.e. ‗FLORIDA' and the number of electoral votes that is 25.

At the interactional level: it is a demand image because the filmmaker is asking his audience to react by establishing an eye contact between them and the represented participants. Actually, Moore wanted to put a focus on the way success in Florida moved from Al Gore to Bush. The politicians are captured from a frontal angle to make the audience involved in what is taking place.

At the compositional level: salience is given to the two politicians whose face and shoulders are captured that indicates a close personal distance from the viewers which is achieved via the close shot. ‗FLORIDA' and the phrase ‗You Decide 2000' are important regarding their placement in the top of the image. Moore decided to insert them as an interrogation to how the people's decision has suddenly changed regarding the person elected in Florida.

Image 4:

At the representational level: image (4) illustrates a picture of George W. Bush with a large smile indicating his state of mind when elected. The picture is placed inside a blue and red circle with golden stars surrounding it referring to the American flag. Writings with uppercase letters indicating the election of the new USA President ‗CAMPAIGN 2000 GEORGE W. Bush ELECTED' is placed on the right of the picture. The TV channel CBS NEWS and the word ‗PRESIDENT' are also placed on the top of the image. All the represented participants are placed on the same background referring to the USA flag.

At the interactional level: it is a demand image regarding the eye contact between the represented participant Bush who is captured from a frontal angle and the viewers. Moore aimed at making the audience involved with the election of their new President that occurred according to him after the change that occurred in Florida.

At the compositional level: Salience is attributed to the sentence announcing the election of the new USA President namely George W. Bush. The sentence is highlighted through using a big font size and the yellow color to give it prominence and to make it more apparent on the background. The sentence is also placed on the right of the image for the sake of exposing a new information. Contrary to the picture of Bush that is placed on the left assuming that everyone already knows him. Despite the small font size of the word ‗PRESIDENT', it is important regarding its spot in the picture.

Image 5:

At the representational level: in image (5), Moore inserted a newspaper article occupying the whole screen. We can notice the name of the newspaper ‗THE PANTAGRAPH', the date of its display ‗WEDNESDAY, DECEMBER 19, 2001' which are placed on the top, the columns that is the typical structure of a newspaper article, along with the heading ‗Latest Florida recount shows Gore won election' centered in the image. The heading shows that Florida voted in favor of Al Gore, which implies that the results were falsified.

At the interactional level: it is an offer image through which the filmmaker exposes information to the viewers. The information is captured from a frontal angle making the viewers concerned with the information pushing them to question the election of Bush as the new USA President.

At the compositional level: Salience is given to the heading centered, written with a big font size and bold to draw the viewers' attention. The name of the newspaper is put on the top showing its importance giving to the information credibility that everyone can check on the internet by looking for the article published on the communicated date.

Images 6 and 7:

At the representational level: The two images set out two women in front of a mike addressing a speech to an audience. The two women look serious showing

that they are talking about a serious issue which is in this case the rejection of Bush‘s presidential election mainly because many Afro-Americans were hindered from voting. The background of the two pictures is the same consisting of two empty chairs of parliament representing the absence of support towards these two women‘s claims.

At the interactional level: They are demand images because of the eye contact made between the represented participants and the viewers. They are also captured from a frontal angle aiming at making the viewers concerned with what they are asserting.

At the compositional level: Salience is given to the two women who occupy the centre of the two images aiming at directing the viewers‘ attention towards them. The represented elements are not separated but are in the same setting. The two images are captured from a real context; they are not edited.

Images 8 and 9:

At the representational level: The two images represent crowds gathered in streets (without referring to a specific setting) after Bush‘s election expressing their total rejection. In the image 8, we can notice a man holding a notice written on it _LORD HELP US‘ with uppercase letters. This indicates that the situation is so terrible that they need a divine aid. Besides, in the image 9 people are holding a banner on which the words _BUSH CHEATED‘ are written in uppercase letters claiming the illegitimacy of Bush‘ success.

At the interactional level: They are offer images because of the absence of eye contact between the represented participants and the viewers. Actually, Michael Moore wanted to expose events that occurred regarding Bush‘s election.

At the compositional level: Salience is given to the words written in the notice and banner through size and foregrounding. That is, the words are both written in a big font size and in bold aiming at attracting the viewers‘ attention.

The words are connected to the other represented participants as they share the same background.

The scrutiny of the aforementioned screenshots showed that Moore openly discredited the winning of Bush claiming that the final result was falsified as it was announced by Fox News channel in which Bush's cousin John Ellis was working. Moore reported Bush expressing his confidence in winning the votes in the state of Florida –you know something, we all gonna win Florida. Mark my words, you can write it now‖[262]. Through reporting Bush's anticipated declaration concerning his victory in Florida, Moore wanted to insist on the illegitimacy of the election, like the results were already wrapped up regarding Bush's certainty in winning the election.

He also claimed that the responsible of votes in Florida was his campaign manager, and the senator of Florida was Bush's brother. Moore also stated that the way votes turned out depended only on the votes of the Supreme court members who were very close to Bush's father despite the fact that some independent investigations proved that Al Gore really won Florida. He claimed that Bush's circle along with the huge number (16000) of Afro-Americans who were deprived of their right to vote contributed to the winning of the election. Actually, the Afro-Americans representatives raised objections against the election of Bush to the Senate whose chairman was Al Gore, were rejected because they did not succeed in getting at least one signature from a senator —not a single senator came to the aid of the African-American in the congress, one after another, they were told to sit down and shut up‖[263] which resulted in the official election of George W Bush as the 43rd President of the USA.

The American film maker reported that the first inauguration of George W Bush marking the beginning of his Presidential term on January 20, 2001 did not go well because of the number of demonstrators who were waiting for Bush's parade along Pennsylvania Avenue protesting against his election —What do we

[262] Moore (2004) Fahrenheit 9/11 (02 :18)
[263]Ibid, (05:58)

want? Justice, when do we want it? Now‖[264]. This prevented the traditional parade on foot. It occurred by limousine which was hit by eggs and tennis balls thrown by the protestors. By focusing on the demonstrators who were showing their dissatisfaction of the way votes turned out, Moore emphasized that the election of George W. Bush was not achieved by a fair election and the votes were manipulated which engendered the discontent of many Americans.

To sum up, the examination of the screenshots proved that Michael Moore has meticulously chosen the scenes aiming at inciting the American citizens to question the legitimacy of Bush‘s election. The film maker carefully selected the highlighted images and scenes to demonstrate that the election of Bush as the 43rd president of the USA was not deserved, it was falsified instead. In other words, Moore emphasized the illegitimacy of Bush‘s election to hinder Americans from having great expectations on their new president

2. Bush’s Neglect of his Presidential Tasks

In order to support the assertion concerning Bush and his neglect of presidential duties, Moore inserts in his documentary movie different scenes, among them the screenshots we captured from the movie. The examination of these screenshots is provided below:

Images 10 and 11:

At the representational level: The two images represent the President George W. Bush having fun in company of other people. We can notice that Bush is wearing casual daily clothes (t-shirt, cap, sunglasses, hat) that are completely different from the suits he wears in office. In image 10, Bush is on a boat having a beautiful sea as a background and showing the big fish he had just caught. In image 11, Bush is in a ranch standing next to a car and caressing his dog. Moore pinpoints such images to show that Bush spends a lot of time far from the White House where he is supposed to be to manage national and international affairs.

[264] Moore (2004) Fahrenheit 9/11 (06 :25)

At the interactional level: Both images (10) and (11) are offer images because of the absence of eye contact between the represented participants and the viewers. In fact, Moore wants to attract his audience‘s attention on Bush spending good times in different places as if he were on holidays. This absence of the viewers‘ involvement with the participant can also imply that Bush is not completely concerned with his duties as a President towards American citizens.

At the compositional level: Salience is given in both pictures to the President Bush either by centering him or by making him occupy an important space in the shot. All the represented participants in the two images are connected to each other through sharing the same setting and background.

Image 29:

At the representational level: Image (29) portrays the US President George W. Bush who is wearing casual clothes (a shirt, jeans, and a hat) talking to two men who are holding some official documents denoted by the Great Seal of the United States symbol noticeable on the cover. As seen before, this symbol specifies the authenticity and credibility of the communicated documents or information. There are also two black and white arrows pointing to the documents. They are in a field (may be a ranch) implying that Bush was on holidays while being given the documents. Moore wants to focus again on the way Bush spends his presidential term.

At the interactional level: It is an offer image because there is no eye contact between the represented participants and the viewers. Actually, the filmmaker exposes an event for the sake of informing the audience about an important document that could have prevented the 9/11 attacks which is really a serious accusation towards the US President. The image is captured with a long shot to highlight the setting and it is captured from the bottom as if it was taken discretely and this implies that Moore‘s information are confidential and that his aim is to divulge or reveal some secrets related to Bush to make the viewers involved with what is going on in the image.

At the compositional level: Salience is given to the documents that occupy the left of the image designating their leading role the filmmaker wants to convey. Bush is put on the right of the image to make him less important than the documents. All the constituents are linked to each other, there is no separation between them as they share the same background.

Images 44 and 45:

At the representational level: Images 44 and 45 are two successive screenshots that portray the US President George W. Bush dressed in a casual way; a t-shirt and pants in a green space that could be a garden or a golf field. In image 44, Bush is really close to the camera while addressing the whole world to support the USA in leading a war against terror that is a serious speech. Besides, image 45 displays Bush hitting a golf ball with a club, as if he did not call up the nations over the world to fight against terror a few seconds before. The filmmaker Moore portrays these scenes to support his claims about Bush neglecting his Presidential tasks. Moore intends to convey the message that instead of having fun, Bush should be in his office to direct the mission he wanted to achieve namely putting an end to terrorism all over the world.

At the interactional level: image 44 is a demand one as an eye contact between the US President and the audience is established. While, image 45 is an offer image as there is no eye contact between the viewers and Bush. Actually, in the first image Moore wants to make the public focus on Bush‘s important speech to directly expose him as playing golf. Again, it is for the sake of forwarding that Bush is taking his presidential responsibilities lightly. In image 44, the represented participant is captured from a frontal angle with a close shot to make the viewers involved and share the same world as Bush‘s. On the other hand, image 45 is captured with a long shot because Moore means to direct the viewers‘ attention towards the place where Bush is standing.

At the compositional level: Salience, in image 44, is attributed to the US President Bush by placing him at the centre of the image and forwarding him

through the close shot. In image 45, Bush is centred as well but the whole space is also emphasized, which means that both of them are important in the image. All the elements constituting the two images are linked to each other as Bush is really present in that green space.

The examination of the screenshots indicates that along the movie, Moore portrays George W. Bush as a President who was very often on vacation and far from Washington where he was supposed to be managing domestic and external issues involving the USA. Moore reports[265] that Bush in his first eight months of his presidential term before the 9/11 spent 42% of his time on vacation according to the Washington Post.

Moore also claims that Bush was warned about the eventual terrorist attacks supposed to target the USA but he ignored the warning and preferred to go on vacation instead of calling upon all the ones in charge of the country security to find out a way to counter the terrorists‘ plan. Moore insinuates that the terrorist attacks could have been avoided if Bush had taken his presidential responsibility and tasks seriously. Actually, Moore[266] insists on the fact that the President Bush was aware of the 9/11 terrorist attacks on August 6, 2001 thanks to the Presidential Daily Brief (PDB) but he kept this information for himself. He did not inform his fellow citizens and did not ask those in charge of the security of the territory to work on finding how to counter the attacks. The same kind of attacks was planned in 1993 but the plan of the terrorists did not succeed. Actually, terrorists at that time wanted to target one of twin towers causing the fall of the other as a consequence of the explosion. Therefore, the attacks must have been taken seriously, the terrorists clearly wanted to achieve what they failed doing years ago. Moore argues that Richard Clarke (the responsible of counterterrorism security group) asked several times to schedule Principals Committee meeting to talk about Al Qaeda and their threat on the US territory

[265] Moore (2004) Fahrenheit 9/11 (08:06)
[266] Moore, M (2004) The Official Fahrenheit 9/11 Reader, Simon and Schuster Paperbacks: New York; p. 140

but the meeting occurred only on September 4, 2001[267], a very few days before the 9/11 attacks. Apparently, Bush and his administration did not take the eventuality of being attacked seriously by slowing down Clarke's request by months but also through neglecting Al Qaeda issue when the meeting finally occurred. In f act, the issue of Al Qaeda threat was not the priority but it was one issue among the others they tackled such as –nuclear proliferation in South Asia, democratization in Pakistan‖[268].

Bush was also often represented as laughing and/or dedramatizing some important issues such as the scene where he called upon all nations to join the USA on its war against terror and hit a golf ball with a club right after[269].

Relying on the different scenes Moore uses to accentuate Bush's neglect of his duties towards his country, we can understand that the film maker suspects Bush of being implicated in the 9/11 attacks because of his disregard to the information he got about eventual attacks against the USA. Turning a deaf ear is a serious accusation against the US president at that time as it implicated the death of many Americans, the destruction of buildings and the dropping of the US economy. Was the US president really involved in the 9/11 assaults or was the accusation a way among others to discredit Bush in the eyes of Americans and the whole world?

3. The 9/11 Terrorist Attacks

Moore reports the 9/11 terrorist attacks and displays some information in relation to the attacks. Some of the scenes are captured and are analyzed in the following:

Image 12:

At the representational level: Image (12) depicts a total black screen with no single participant. The black screen indicates the gravity of the 9/11 terrorist

[267] Moore, M (2004) The Official Fahrenheit 9/11 Reader, Simon and Schuster Paperbacks: New York; p. 142
[268] Ibid, p.143
[269] Moore (2004) Fahrenheit 9/11 (50 :56)

attacks. Moore aims at forwarding the sounds of the explosion and the people breaking out in panic. The sounds are sufficient to have an image of what is going on.

At the interactional level: we can consider the image as an offer image because of the absence of participants, which make the eye contact impossible. Actually, Moore wants to highlight the terrible situation Americans were living and make the audience focus on the sounds that are really significant.

At the compositional level: Salience is given to the color black that occupies the whole space standing for the gravity and toughness of the attacks.

Images 13-14-15-16-:

At the representational level: The images represent frightened and shocked people. They are all looking up to the sky starring at the collapsing towers. They look horrified because they are probably realizing the damages the attacks will engender. In image 14 and 16 ambulances can be observed in the background standing for the emergent situation.

At the interactional level: They are offer images because of the absence of eye contact between the represented participants and the viewers. The participants in images 13 and 15 are captured by using a close shot; their heads and shoulders are forwarded. Images 14 and 16 are depicted by a very close shot in which only their heads are captured. This kind of shots indicates a close personal distance and an intimate one respectively. This invites the viewers to be involved and to feel the situation the represented participants are going through.

At the compositional level: Salience is attributed to the represented people by making them occupy almost the whole space in the screen. The people who are in the same images are connected to each other; they are living the same situation and are present in the same setting.

Images 17 and 18:

At the representational level: The images (17) and (18) portray the same street where different means of transportation such as buses and cars can be perceived**.** We can also notice a lot of debris and papers everywhere as a consequence of the towers falling down; and there are people running in image 18. The two images seem foggy because of all the dust clouds that were formed after the towers had collapsed. There is also a light which is probably due to the sun rays that penetrate the fog. The two images in which the predominant black and gray colors represent the chaos in New York.

At the interactional level: They are offer images through which Moore displays real events that took place in New York during the 9/11 attacks. He wants to transmit the panic and the horrific situation in New York. The images are captured from a frontal angle making the audience involved with what Americans are passing through.

At the compositional level: Salience is given to the whole street, and to every constituent in both images. The elements are all connected to each other sharing the same setting and the people are going through the same event all together.

Images 19 and 20:

At the representational level: Images (19) and (20) depict President Bush in a primary school classroom considering the alphabet letters and posters of stories for kids stuck on the wall behind the President. A sentence written in uppercase letters displays _READING MAKES A COUNTRY GREAT‘. Such a significant sentence that actually reflects how much reading is important in forming a powerful country is placed behind the President who is sitting on a chair holding a book, but he is not actually reading it neither loudly nor silently. He seems lost in his thoughts after being informed about the hijacked planes that targeted the USA. This particular capture is meant to make the audience question how a person that does not read can make their country evolve.

At the interactional level: They are offer images because of the absence of eye contact between Bush and the audience. Moore wants to expose the way Bush reacted to the announcement of the terrorist attacks. Moore intended to highlight Bush's reaction presenting him as completely lost, ignoring how to react to such news while he is the President who is supposed to give directives in such situations.

At the compositional level: Salience in both images is attributed to President Bush along with the sentence behind him _READING MAKES A COUNTRY GREAT'. Salience is achieved by centering the US President and making him occupy an important space in the picture and choosing uppercase letters to highlight the sentence. The elements are connected to each other as they share the same setting namely the classroom.

The analysis of the screenshots demonstrates that the 9/11 terrorist attacks were pictured as a horrific event that drastically affected the Americans' everyday life were reported in Moore's documentary movie in a black screen transmitting only the audio track of the sounds caused by the planes hitting the towers of the world trade center and the explosions they caused. Then, people shocked by the events they were witnessing were portrayed at length, which was indeed a very moving scene. Panicked people were screaming, crying, and waiting to have news about their relatives.

Moore presents the colleague he lost as a consequence of the terrorist attacks showing that he was personally affected by the event. He voices out: ―On 9 September 2001 nearly 3000 people including a colleague of mine Bill Weems were killed on a largest foreign attack ever on the American soil‖[270]. Moore portrays a young woman holding a picture of her boyfriend/husband in tears asking to be contacted if someone comes to see him ―if anyone (…) knows where he is, to call us, he's got two little babies, two little babies‖[271]. Moore also displays a woman who lost her husband in 9/11 terrorist attacks searching for the

[270]Moore (2004) Fahrenheit 9/11 (16:30)
[271] Ibid, (16 :32)

truth; to know what really happened to her husband to mourn him and try to move on ―(…) I'm now by myself, I need to know what happened to him (…) it's very important‖[272]. Moore also shows a group of people who were the victims' relatives, protesting to know the truth and decided to sue some Saudis because they were ignored by the Bush administration. In fact, The Saudis hired James A. Baker the lawyer of the Bush family. This implicates that some facts of the 9/11 attacks were not divulged to the public and the relation between Bush and the Saudis is very solid that is somehow suspicious.

Moore reports that when the first tower in the world trade center was hit by a plane on September 11, George W. Bush was informed while going to attend a class in an elementary school, but he did not turn back. ―Mr Bush decided to go ahead with this photo opportunity‖[273].Put differently, Moore implies that Bush ignored the attacks and preferred to be filmed with children which was a plus for his image. Moore focuses on the way, Bush reacted to the information of the air attacks when he was informed that another plane hit the second tower ―the nation is under attack‖[274]. Indeed, Bush was portrayed as being stoic, continuing to read a story to the children, lost in his thoughts, utterly ignoring how to react to such an issue, but does panicking would have changed the course of events! Of course, not.

Moore also speculates about what Bush was thinking about in the classroom as a way to divulge some facts about the US President. Moore forwards Bush's absence from office by declaring ―was he wondering may be he should have been at work more often‖[275]. He also sheds light on Bush's lack of concern regarding terrorist threats ―Should he had at least one meeting since taking office to discuss the threat of terrorism with his head of counterterrorism‖[276]. Moore suggests that Bush was also thinking about finding a possible guilty –I've been

[272]Moore (2004) Fahrenheit 9/11 (39 :12)
[273] Ibid, (17 :08)
[274] Ibid, (17:34)
[275] Ibid, (18 :25)
[276] Ibid, (18 :30)

hanging out with the wrong crowd‖[277]. Among his so called friends: Saddam Hussein whose regime was armed by the USA, the group of religious fundamentalists who paid a visit in the USA when he was a governor, or the Saudis: ―damn, it was them, I think I'd better blame this guy (Saddam)‖[278].This clearly shows that Moore openly accused the Saudis of the 9/11 attacks and explicitly mentions that Bush preferred accusing another country to avoid having any kind of conflicts between the USA and Saudi Arabia. Bush preferred to accuse the President of Iraq and thought that he needed a big black marker to erase his relation with James R. Bath who was the money manager of the Bin Laden family in Texas for hiding the relationship the Bush family had with the Bin Laden's.

To recapitulate, the analyzed images show that Moore displays many scenes about the 9/11 assaults, the horrific atmosphere of that day, the terror and the fear of the witnesses as well as the anxiety of people who were looking for their folks. The filmmaker intends at making the viewers especially the Americans live that moment again and remind them about the chaos they lived that day. Moore aims at designating the guilty as well, when he asserts that the US president had a role in the terrorist attacks which could have been avoided.

4. The War in Afghanistan

Some screenshots of the documentary movie regarding the war in Afghanistan are scrutinized below:

Image 46:

At the representational level: image 46 is a screenshot of an online article published in BBC News. The article reads: _Taleban to Texas for pipeline talks' written in bold and in black colour with a big font size. This information is exclusively reported by one of the British media that intended to forward the relationship between Bush who was elected governor of Texas in 1994 and re-

[277] Moore (2004) Fahrenheit 9/11 (19 :27)
[278] Ibid, (19 :51)

elected in 1998 with the Taliban that is an Islamic political movement in Afghanistan. A date can also be noticed above the title so the viewers can easily check the validity of the article in BBC News archives.

At the interactional level: It is an offer image as there is no eye contact between the represented elements and the audience. In fact, Moore is disclosing information to the public concerning a meeting that took place in Texas in 1997 about pipelines in Afghanistan. He highlights this information to make a link between Bush who was then a governor then in Texas and the Taliban, which implies that the war on Afghanistan was not for the sake of catching Bin Laden but to the establishment of pipelines. The title is captured from a frontal angle to make the viewers concerned with what is occurring in the world they live in.

At the compositional level: Salience is given to the title, as it is located on the right of the image because it is the main information the viewers have to focus on. ‗BBC NEWS' and the date are placed on the top because they are important elements as well since they give credibility to Moore's claims. The constituents are not detached from each other and they share the same background.

Image 22:

At the representational level: Image (22) portrays the President of Afghanistan Hamid Karzai standing next to the US President George W. Bush. The latter is delivering a speech via mikes to the audience, probably, about the election of Karzai. Bush is wearing one of his usual suits and Karzai is dressed in traditional clothes related to Afghanistan religion or culture. We can also notice the USA flags behind the two participants, which may stand for the total US control over Afghan issues. In other words, a designation of the President of Afghanistan disguised into one of the democratic artifacts consisting in electing a president through voting.

At the interactional level: It is a demand image because there is an eye contact between one of the represented participants namely Karzai and the

audience. The filmmaker intends to direct the viewers‘ attention towards Karzai to make them doubt about the credibility of his election as Bush and Karzai already know each other. Both of them are captured from a frontal angle indicating the involvement of the viewers in the events that are going on in the world as depicted in the image.

At the compositional level: Salience is given to the two Presidents represented in the image with much focus on Bush who is centered but without marginalizing Karzai despite the fact that he is standing on the left of the image. Still, the eye contact established between him and the viewers makes him noticeable. The represented participants share the same background, which is American flags involving that the USA has the leading role. The two presidents are all connected as they are involved in the same world and business like the construction of the pipeline in Afghanistan.

Image 49:

At the representational level: Image (49) portrays the world wide known terrorist Osama Bin Laden in front of a mike fixing the camera and delivering a speech. The latter is probably a threat and announcement of upcoming terrorist attacks considering the gesture he made with his hand. A world map can be noticed behind him written in Arabic, where we can clearly distinguish some of African countries and the Atlantic Ocean. The map is presumably used to decide which country will be the next target.

At the interactional level: It is a demand image because of the eye contact between the main represented participant and the viewers. Moore probably wanted to remind that the well-known terrorist Osama Bin Laden who was responsible of many terrorist attacks was not yet caught. He is captured with a close shot to direct the audience‘s attention towards him.

At the compositional level: Salience is given to Osama Bin Laden as he is occupying the centre of the image indicating his leading role in Moore‘s

message. The elements constituting the image are linked to each other and have a world map as a background.

Moore uses the screenshots to imply that Bush and his administration took the decision with the support of a coalition[279] to bomb Afghanistan four weeks after the 9/11 terrorist attacks, to mislead the public opinion from his real intention which was to invade Iraq. In this addition, Moore displays an interview of Richard Clarke in charge of the territory security against terrorist attacks. Richard Clarke asserts that when he went to meet the President Bush to plan a response to Al Qaeda that attacked the USA, Bush and his administration asked him and his staff to find some argument accusing Iraq of the 9/11 terrorist attacks. ―The President in a very intimidating way left us, me and my staff with a clear indication that he wanted us to come with a word that there was an Iraqi hand behind 9/11‖[280]. This implies that the US president was completely resolute to accuse Iraq and thus declare a war against the Iraqi regime no matter whether Iraq was involved the terrorist attacks or not.

Clarke insisted that Bush and his administration were determined to bomb Iraq and no argument could change their minds, but they ended up accepting bombing the infrastructures of Al Qaeda in Afghanistan, not because they gave up the idea of waging war on Iraq, but for not leading Americans to mistrust their government because, according to Clarke, Al Qaeda was obviously behind the terrorist attacks and was obviously based in Afghanistan. The war on Afghanistan started four weeks after the 9/11 terrorist attacks because the Taliban government in Afghanistan were harboring Bin Laden, but the war according to Clarke was ―small and slow‖[281]. Small in terms of the number of troops sent there (11000) which is less than the number of police in Manhattan as Clarke stated[282]. These troops, as indicated in the documentary, reached the region where Bin Laden was hiding two months after the US deployment in the Afghan territory, which was too late of course; Bin Laden moved to another

[279] Moore (2004) Fahrenheit 9/11, (44 :51)
[280] Ibid, (43 :40)
[281] Ibid, (45 :12)
[282] (45 :14)

place. Why did the US troops take that long to arrive to a mass murderer who was wanted by the authorities worldwide? One can assume that the USA did not take the mission of capturing Bin Laden seriously and the US military did not even care of Bin Laden's arrest. They spent so long in Afghanistan for hiding their real objective consisting in invading Iraq and making the upcoming war valid in the public opinion.

Moore implicitly argued that the war of Afghanistan was a matter of having access to the natural gas in the Caspian sea; not a matter of catching Bin Laden who obviously was not the prior objective of the USA ―terror is bigger than one person (…) I don't know where he is, I don't spend so much time on him‖[283], said Bush as reported in Moore's documentary. Moore indicated that in 1997 when Bush was the governor of Texas, a delegation of Taliban from Afghanistan came to Huston in Texas to meet with Unocal (a petroleum corporation) executers to discuss about building a pipeline through Afghanistan to bring natural gas from the Caspian Sea. The meeting was covered only by the British press showing clearly that the US government wanted to hide it from American citizens in particular and the US media supported the US government through reporting only the news that do not harm the government.

When the USA achieved their invasion in Afghanistan, Hamid Karzai, with the contribution of the USA, was elected by the Afghans President of Afghanistan, which might seem as one step aiming at rebuilding Afghanistan on a democratic basis. This election aimed at showing the world that the objective of the USA was to spread freedom and help oppressed countries only. Bush also designated Zalmay Khalizad as an envoy to Afghanistan. Moore in his documentary movie indicated that Hamid Karzai and Zalmay Khalizad were former Unocal advisers, which means they were Bush's partners in Unocal company. This may imply that the election was not accomplished democratically; the President was not elected but designated by the USA that wanted to always be able to intervene in Afghanistan issues. Moore specifies that

[283] (46 :46)

the main aim of the election was the pipeline through Afghanistan that already was a discussion in 1997[284]. In this regard, after the election of the President Hamid Karzai, an agreement between Afghanistan and their neighboring countries was signed allowing the building of a pipeline passing through Afghanistan carrying natural gas from the Caspian Sea. The invasion of Afghanistan did not seek to the capture of the Taliban or Bin Laden as Moore indicates ―oh! And the Taliban? They mostly got away as did Osama Bin Laden and most of Al Qaeda‖[285], but it solely aimed to have access to the natural gas.

Michael Moore employed the images under analysis among many other scenes in the documentary movie in order to accentuate the fact that the war in Afghanistan was an inevitable collateral damage to dupe the Americans and the world in general about Bush's real objective which was the invasion of Iraq. Indeed, Afghanistan was a way to construct a pipeline in the Caspian Sea and a pretext to pursue their so called legitimate goal to spread freedom and get rid of all forms of terrorism, thus wage a war against Iraq. Considering all these events, one can deduce that Bush aimed at boosting the American economy and gain a lot of money thanks to gas and petrol.

5. The War in Iraq

Moore keeps repeating that Iraq was innocent, along his documentary movie and the war was unjustified. Moore dealt with different points concerning the war in Iraq and inserted many scenes as a support to his declarations. Some of the displayed scenes are analyzed below:

Images 23-24-25:

At the representational level: Images (23), (24), and (25) portray the US President George W. Bush in a White House office, where the USA flag on his right (left on the image) and the Great Seal of the United States flag that is the emblem of authenticity and authority of the USA can be easily noticed. Photo

[284]Moore (2004) Fahrenheit 9/11 (48:14)

[285] (48 :16)

frames of Bush‘s family can also be spotted behind him, which indicates that he is attached to his family and all the values that represent the family in general, such as love and loyalty. The main difference between the three images is Bush‘s facial expressions. Indeed, Bush looks joyful and at ease with a little discrete but noticeable smile in images 23 and 24 before announcing his decision to declare war on Iraq. Nevertheless, it is a consequential issue on both America and Iraq. However, Bush turned from being joyful to serious in image 25 in no time at all indicating that his serious facial expression is counterfeit suggesting that he is excited for this war in reality.

At the interactional level: The images are demand images because of the presence of eye contact established between the US President Bush and the viewers. Moore wants to draw the viewers‘ attention to the facial expressions of Bush to support the standpoint developed along his documentary movie concerning the war in Iraq presented as a business war. Bush is captured from a frontal angle with a close shot referring to a close personal distance to make the audience involved in Bush‘s world and concerned with his decision. This also suggests that Bush‘s decision to attack Iraq is a national issue upon which all Americans have to be involved in.

At the compositional level: Salience is given to President Bush who is centered indicating his leading role in taking the decision to declare war on Iraq that, according to Moore, never threatened America. The represented elements are connected, sharing the same setting with no separation between them, except for photo frames that are somehow detached by their own frames denoting that his family is not responsible for Bush‘s decisions. This can also be interpreted as selfishness, ego and inhuman nature of Bush, in the sense that while he pretends to value and protect his family, he but attacks Iraq families generating thousands of orphans and widows, etc.

Images 26 and 27:

At the representational level: Images (26) and (27) represent Iraqi children having fun on a sunny day in a playground. In image 26, children seem to spend an enjoyable moment on a colorful carousel wheel. In image 27, the kid looks amused as well while sliding. The two images give the impression that Iraqis have a quite calm, peaceful and enjoyable life that will totally be turned upside down because of the war that was about to be waged. Capturing children who represent innocence leads the audience to feel empathy for them and have a stand against the war.

At the interactional level: They are demand images owing to the eye contact between the represented participants and the viewers. In fact, Moore wants to draw the viewers‘ attention towards the kids who were about to be deprived of their right to play and have fun because of the war. As said above, it is mainly to stir emotions; because there is nothing worse than seeing or imaging kids suffering. The images are captured from a frontal angle with a long shot making the viewers involved in the children‘s world that is portrayed around them.

At the compositional level: Considering the size of the elements displayed in both images, salience is given to the carousel wheel and the slide to highlight the setting that inspires fun and joy. Salience is also given to the kids that we notice easily thanks to the eye contact and we first perceive humans before inanimate things. The represented constituents of the two images are all connected sharing the same background and setting.

Image 28:

At the representational level: Image (28) represents an explosion in the heart of a city at night; everything is dark, only the lights from houses, buildings or factories can be noticed. We can also observe a huge fire and clouds of smoke in the sky that is completely dark with some shades of blurred (or dirty) orange due to the explosion. The image stands for a complete chaos that was only the beginning for Iraqis.

At the interactional level: It is an offer image because the filmmaker Moore is exposes real events that took place in Iraq. There is no eye contact between the viewers and the represented elements. Actually, Moore forwards the chaotic situation taking place in Iraq and messes up the children's quiet and enjoyable daily life, as he highlighted in the two aforementioned images (26 and 27). The image is captured from a frontal angle to make the audience concerned with what was occurring in Iraq.

At the compositional level: We can say that salience is attributed to all the represented constituents with much focus on the explosion. Indeed, the latter is on the left indicating its leading role, comparing to the other elements. Moore wants to emphasize the explosion that represents the turning up of Iraqis‘ daily life into a war affecting all the Iraqis. The represented elements are all connected to each other as they share the same setting.

Image 52:

At the representational level: Image 52 portrays an old woman who holds a handkerchief wiping away tears from her face. She is dressed in black, symbolizing her mourning concerning the loss of people close to her because of the war that her country Iraq was witnessing. She is talking to a journalist from Al Jazeera TV channel as indicated by the mike expressing her suffering about all what was taking place in her country. A little boy standing behind her can be noticed. The scene is very heartbreaking because children do not deserve living these hard conditions.

At the interactional level: It is a demand image because of the eye contact between the represented participant and the viewers. This image seeks to draw the audience‘s attention to feel the pain who is suffering from, to have empathy towards her and all the people in her situation. Actually, Moore wants to make the Americans realize that their country namely their President and his administration are responsible for what those pitiable people are going through. The image is captured from a frontal angle with a close shot to make the public

involved in the depicted world where innocent people are targeted and attacked as well.

At the compositional level: Salience is attributed to the woman who occupies the centre of the image since all the attention is directed towards her. All the elements constituting the image are linked to each other as there are not any frames separating them because they are all in the same setting and living the same conditions.

Image 51:

At the representational level: image 51 portrays Bush surrounded by a number of people who are standing behind him; those working for the government given the way they are dressed, and others, probably citizens and adherents to his party. All these people clap their hands when welcoming the President, expressing along the way their admiration and trust. The President seems touched by the way he is welcomed.

At the interactional level: it is an offer image because there is no eye contact between the represented participants and the viewers. Actually, Moore exposes the trust the American citizens have towards their President and towards his decisions. The image is captured from a frontal angle because the US President and the viewers are all involved in the same world as his decisions affect all the Americans. Thus, Moore is questioning whether Bush is trustworthy or not.

At the compositional level: Salience is given to President Bush as he occupies the centre of the image showing his leading role in the message Moore wants to convey. The elements are linked to each other as they all share the same world and setting.

Image 36:

The representational level: Image 36 represents a phrase _COALITION OF THE WILLING‘ written in white upper case letters. It is also written in bold with a big font size, and it is located in the centre of the image. The phrase has a

colorful earth globe as a background. The globe is displayed in this image as different countries from different parts of the world supported the USA in the war it waged against Iraq.

The interactional level: It is an offer image as there is not any eye contact between the represented constituents and the viewers. The filmmaker Moore uses this image as an information alert. Actually, he wants to expose the countries ready to take part in the war against Iraq as a support to the USA. This support legitimizes the war that President Bush decided to wage against terror. The image is captured from a frontal angle to make the people concerned because we all belong to the same world.

The compositional level: Salience as it is easily noticeable, is attributed to the Phrase _COALITION OF THE WILLING‘ designating its leading role in the image. Salience is achieved by centering it for the sake of directing the audience‘s attention towards it.

Images 37-8-9-40-1-2-3:

At the representational level: The images display the names of the coalition of the willing, which is constituted by _COSTA RICA‘, _PALAU‘, _ICELAND‘, _ROMANIA‘, _MOROCCO‘, NETHERLANDS, and _AFGHANISTAN‘. All the names of the countries are written in white uppercase letters. They are written in bold with a big font size as well. Behind these names, there are stereotypical backgrounds particular to the aforementioned countries. In image 37, a man directing his oxen that are pulling a skip in which wood is put in can be observed. This image meant to represent Costa Rica is resumed to farmers only as it is the only characteristic of this country. Image 38 portrays girls dancing who are wearing crowns and flower necklaces. Michael Moore reduces the whole country that is constituted of islands into dancing. In image 39, we can observe two men on a boat in form of an animal probably meant to make a frightening impression on the opponents. The two men have unusual helmets like the ones of the Vikings and one of them is holding an axe. Moore sums up a country to the

settlement of the Vikings. Image 40 has as a background a representation of the vampire Dracula, probably because Romania and vampires are interrelated particularly after the edition of Bram Stoker‘s Dracula. Moore presents a standardized image of Romania. The background in image 41 displays men with traditional clothes, playing music with their instruments in company of other people as a festivity outdoors. This representation portrays Morocco as a country of dance and music only. Image 42 displays two men in the background; one is lighting weed to the other, as we usually associate cannabis to Netherlands. Image 43 displays people in the background collecting flowers in a field. All these images are stereotyped representations of the countries backing the war to emphasize the fact that they are not world powers and they have no important armies.

At the interactional level: All the images are offer images as an eye contact between the represented participants and the viewers is not established. In fact, Moore wants to expose information to the public, to disclose the countries supporting the USA and demonstrate that the coalition is only a strategy to legitimize the war. The images are all captured from a frontal angle particularly the phrases to draw the audience‘s attention towards them. They are all captured with a long shot pinpointing the background to accentuate the image he wants to give about the countries concerned.

At the compositional level: Salience is given to all the constituents of the images with particular focus on the names of the countries. They occupy the centre of the images focusing their involvement in the war and emphasizing the fact that they are not powerful countries. Although the white color is distinguishable from the whole background, they are not detached because the backgrounds represent the countries.

Image 53:

At the representational level: Image 53 displays a horrific situation taking place in an Iraqi city. Indeed, two burnt corpses suspended by their legs to a

bridge are exposed in a street. This creates a traffic jam because there are many people in the street looking at the hung bodies. This image is a representation of what can occur during a war. It reflects the atrocity of countries in conflict, generating murders, torture, and so on.

At the interactional level: It is an offer image because of the absence of eye contact between the represented participants and the viewers. In fact, Moore wants to expose the fact that a war is never a bed of roses and that is not limited to the pseudo goal that the countries fix before going on a war. There are always deaths and dreadful events going on. The image is captured from a frontal angle to make people involved in what was happening in the represented place and face the reality that is not only about capturing the target but it is about killing people and destroying their houses, etc. as well.

At the compositional level: Salience is attributed to the burned corpses in this image. They are put on the top showing their leading role in reflecting what is going on in Iraq, like people being killed in horrible ways. All the represented participants are linked to each other as they are involved in the same world and are living the same situation.

Image 54:

At the representational level: Image 54 portrays Lila Lipscomp (mother of a killed American soldier) sitting next to her husband looking at her carefully, which shows the love and respect the husband has towards his wife. He is also sharing her pain because they are going through the same event that really moved them. In fact, Lila Lipscomp was addressing the camera talking about her son who passed away in Iraq. One can easily notice the pain she feels in her eyes.

At the interactional level: It is an offer image as there is no eye contact between the represented participants and the viewers. Moore discloses the harsh reality parents endure when having their children in the army as they may lose them at any time like Mr and Mrs Lipscomp did. It is an exposure of the

mourning of one family among many others. The parents are captured with a close shot to make the audience feel the parents‘ pain caused by the war on Iraq.

At the compositional level: Salience is given to the parents as they occupy the whole space in the image with much emphasis on the mother who is fixing the camera making the audience associate the deep grief a mother feels when losing a child. The represented participants are attached to each other, as they are concerned with the same situation.

Image 55:

At the representational level: Image 55 displays a woman Lila Lipscomp facing the White House. This image is so significant because it represents Mrs Lipscomp facing the guilty who caused the death of her son probably to find some interior peace and move on in her life. She is standing far from the White House because of the barrier or may be getting very close to it is forbidden.

At the interactional level: It is an offer image as the woman is not facing the camera but is captured from the back. Moore seems to imply to the public that Lila Lipscomp designated the White House as the responsible for the loss of her son in Iraq. The White House is captured in a higher position than the one of the woman, which means that the former is the dominant over the latter. In other words, the White House controls the soldiers‘ lives and their families have to handle.

At the compositional level: Salience is attributed to all the constituents of the image by accentuating the woman who is forwarded comparing to the White House that is far. The represented elements are separated from each other with this kind of wall formed by the green material surrounding the White House.

In Moore‘s documentary movie, we learn that the war in Iraq started on March 19, 2003 when Bush announced on TV that the US army begun bombing Iraq –my fellow citizens, at this hour, America and coalition forces are on early stages of military operations to disarm Iraq, to free its people, and to defend the

world from a great danger‖[286]. Moore showed Bush smiling discreetly before announcing a history changing event, and then looking all serious while disclosing the information about Iraq. This shows that Bush was not constrained at waging war; he was somehow excited for announcing a war like he was about to realize an objective he was determined to achieve a long time ago.

In the documentary, Moore displays Iraqis enjoying life; women and men at a wedding party, children having fun in a playground, but all this joy of living suddenly turned into chaos because of the bombing. Through this scene, Moore intends to make the audience believe that the USA targeted the places crowded by civilians and did not limit the bombing on the areas harboring terrorists. Civilians were bombed despite the fact that, according to Moore, Iraq has never attacked the USA, nor killed a single American citizen. Indeed, Moore[287] argues that the CIA acknowledged the non-existence of proofs accusing Iraq of the 9/11 assaults but attacking Iraq gave the guilty a name and a country and seemed the best option for Bush administration to hide their business objectives in having access to the Middle East large oil fields. Moore also tried to picture Iraq as a peaceful country, but everyone knows the conditions the Iraqis were living under the command of an oppressive regime led by Saddam Hussein were not exemplary. Many scenes forwarded the suffering of civilians, kids and women because of the US attacks, and showing a soldier admitting that innocents were killed reinforced his assertion because the soldier was on site, so he was reporting facts not speculations. These scenes meant to prove that the bombings did not only target Saddam‘s spots, but innocent people, along with divulging the true face of the USA and its intentions for invading Iraq which was actually far from the pseudo USA goals of liberating Iraq from the repressive regime and put an end to terrorism.

Moore also presents some soldiers‘ testimonies of what was taking place in Iraq, as they were not in total control of what they were doing, like distinguishing

[286] Moore (2004) Fahrenheit 9/11, (01 :09 :05)
[287] Moore, M (2004) The Official Fahrenheit 9/11 Reader, Simon and Schuster Paperbacks: New York, p. 181

between the civilians and the so called enemies. The war was not all roses and sunshine, it was rather deaths, wounded people, and other horrible things. Accordingly, soldiers listened to songs while targeting the enemy such as ‗the roof is on fire'[288] causing adrenaline rush which contributed in making the shooting and bombing less harder , but a soldier admitted that it was very difficult to deal with all the atrocities happening in Iraq affecting the civilians. This would not be difficult if they had precise targets to bomb. Worded differently, if soldiers were only targeting Saddam's regime identified as the guilty of the 9/11 terrorist attacks, they would have had the feeling of accomplishment for punishing the guilty who attacked their homeland.

On one hand, Moore displays Rumsfeld talking about the precision of the bombing in Iraq. On the other hand, he shows some scenes of deep suffering of Iraqis and forwards the testimony of a woman talking in Arabic devastated about all the innocent people passing away and confirming that the USA targeted civilians' places as well. Translation was not needed because her suffering was so expressive that everyone in the world could understand it. Again, these scenes aim to prove that the bombings did not only target the regime but also innocent people lost their lives, their children, and their homes.

Moore claims that Bush and his administration kept echoing the relationship that existed between Saddam and Al Qaeda: ―Saddam Hussein aids and protects terrorists including members of Al Qaeda‖[289], ―Saddam Hussein hates the fact like Al Qaeda does that we love freedom‖[290] along with reiterating the possession of mass destruction weapons by the Iraqi regime and the potential danger they represented on the whole world safety ―Saddam Hussein (…) taking great risks to build and keep weapons of mass destruction‖[291].

Bush insisted that disarming Iraq was primordial and necessary for the good of humanity which led Americans to trust their President as Britney Spears, (a

[288] Moore (2004) Fahrenheit 9/11, (10 :46)
[289] Ibid, (01 :15 :41)
[290] Ibid, (01 :16 :20)
[291] Ibid, (01 :15 :01)

famous American pop singer) who expressed her trust on every decision of the President ―honestly, I think we should just trust our President and every decision that he makes, and we should just support that, you know, and be faithful on what happen‖[292]. The interview of Britney Spears inserted in the documentary showed her as being an idiot deprived of critical thinking. This implies that Moore incited his audience to be more attentive and critical concerning the way Bush was governing the country.

Moore also wanted to lead people to question their trust on Bush who was constantly repeating the existence of mass destruction weapons in Iraq despite the fact that at the beginning of his presidential term, he and his administration ensured the non-existence of the nuclear weapons in Iraq: ―they simply got people to believe that there was a real threat out there, when in fact there wasn‘t one‖[293]. This sudden turn of events seemed suspicious because it was about an important issue which later had repercussions on the whole world.

Moore claims that the coalition of the willing was only a trick Bush and his administration resorted to, in order to show that the war on Iraq was led by the USA with the support of other nations aiming at proving that the war was legitimate. The USA also resorted to animals like dolphins and monkeys to detonate mines in ports and lands[294]. Moore revealed the countries supporting the USA providing stereotyped portraits namely: Costa Rica (farmers), Palau (dance), Island (Vikings), Romania (Dracula, vampires), Morocco (offered to give 2000 monkeys to clear minefields), Netherlands (weed), Afghanistan (the US army) ―Afghanistan? Oh yeah, they have an army, our army‖[295]. This coalition of the willing did not have an army to fight besides the USA. It was only a stratagem, according to Moore, aiming at hiding the fact that the war was exclusively led by the USA. Yet, in the documentary two Japanese were taken hostages threatened of death if Japan did not leave Iraq. This indicates that Moore emphasized the insignificance of the countries in terms of the military or

[292] Moore (2004) Fahrenheit 9/11, (01 :14 :31)
[293] Ibid, (01 :16 :29)
[294] Ibid, (16 :41)
[295] (01 :17 :58)

other sectors backing the USA, trying thus to obtain the viewers' adherence to his on standpoint.

In the documentary, Moore points out to the media bias which took place when covering the events occurring in Iraq, consisting in the selection of the reported information and the non-coverage of some others, for instance, Moore reports, the personal stories, and the death of the US soldiers. Moore protests: –one story that media wasn't covering was the personal story of each and every soldier who was killed in the war. The government would not allow any cameras to show the coffins coming home. That kind of story was a downer‖[296]. The death of the US soldiers were not covered by media despite the fact that 825 US soldiers have lost their lives in Iraq which probably aimed at focusing on the USA achievements not the victims which was somehow disrespectful towards them and insensitive towards their families. The media bias showed the support for the government and worked to legitimize the war in Iraq. Moore showed horrible scenes of Iraqis (Shiites) torturing American soldiers capturing hostages like the two Japanese journalists threatened to be burned alive if Japan did not leave Iraq within the three following days. This proves the presence of Japan and its support to the USA in the war of Iraq.

The filmmaker forwards one of the soldiers who testified that the war on Iraq took longer than expected –I've never really expected to get deployed this long, I think nobody did‖[297] and more troops were needed in Iraq. Sergeants found the ones wanting to join the army in the cities suffering from economic crisis like the ones in Flint, in Michigan, as Moore indicates. They pretended that joining military was an excellent option to have a better future, through having access to college (university), travelling around the world, and so on.

Moore based his documentary movie on the testimony of a woman, Lila Lipscomp who was very proud of belonging to the USA and having a family serving the values of her country in the US military; her uncles, aunts, brothers

[296] Moore (2004) Fahrenheit 9/11, (01 :19 :20)
[297] Ibid, (01 :23 :23)

among others were in the military force; her daughter served in the military and her son served in Iraq where he passed away. She says: ‒I‘m an extremely proud American (…) when I put my flag out, I can‘t allow it touch the floor because I know the lives that were lost‖[298]. The scenes devoted to Lila can be considered as the emotional climax of the documentary movie. In the film, Lila presents herself to Moore as a conservative democrat and a believer. She is depicted as a tolerant person wearing a multicolor and a multicultural cross.

Lila claimed that she hated the demonstrators against Bush and the war because she felt that they were dishonoring her son who was fighting for keeping the USA and the world safe ―I always hated the protestors, it was just a slap on my face, it was just like they were dishonoring my son‖[299]. Then, Moore showed Lila in the living room talking about what she felt when she was informed by phone that her son passed away after the loss of the Black Hawk helicopter ―the grief grabbed me so hard, that I literally fell on the floor, and I was alone, I didn‘t have anybody to pick me up (…) I remember screaming why does it have to be Michael, why is it my son that you had to take‖[300] which showed the way Lila was devastated for losing her son, and it was a kind of an eye opener regarding the war in Iraq to her, she realized that the war was not that worthy.

Moore also reported the scene where Lila was reading the last letter she got from her son. She read out loud in front of the camera her son‘s words ―we‘re just here in the sand and wind storms waiting, what in the world is wrong with George trying to be like his dad Bush, he sent us here for nothing whatsoever , I‘m so furious right now mama, I really hope they do not reelect that fool honestly‖[301]. The expression of the soldier‘s hope not to see Bush reelected illustrates perfectly that the war on Iraq was senseless and unjustifiable which made the loss harder, as Lila‘s husband argued many families not only them lost their kids for no reason. Moore filmed Lila paying a visit to the white House where she confessed that being there relieved her in some way, because she

[298] Moore (2004) Fahrenheit 9/11, (01 :34 :12)
[299] Ibid, (01 :35 :39)
[300] Ibid, (01 :43 :58)
[301] Ibid, (01 :45 :11)

found a place where to put all her anger and grief on. She was mad at Bush because he was the one who sent her son among many others to Iraq that according to her, was unnecessary. She claimed that people did not know the truth about the war in Iraq ―people think they know but they don‘t know, I thought I knew but I didn‘t know‖[302]. The quotation shows that there were aspects about the war in Iraq which were hidden from the public opinion.

Another military stated: ―you cannot kill someone without killing a part of one‘s self‖[303]. Another scene shows a group of young soldiers wondering what they were still doing in Iraq. Another puts forward a military refusing to go back to Iraq even if he was risking jail because he refused to kill innocent people "not anymore", he says, ―I will not let my person, I will not let anyone send me back to kill other poor people, especially when they pose no threat to me and my country‖[304]. All these scenes clearly argue that the war on Iraq was not legitimate and the long period it took was not necessary.

Moore asserts that despite all the sacrifices made by the military for the USA, their wages were cut by 33% and assistance to their families were reduced by 60% as well. In this respect, Moore informs that the last salary of sergeant Brett Petriken who died in Iraq on May 26 was sent to his family with a deduction of the last five days of the month in which he did not work because he had passed away. This was really disrespectful towards the sergeant who lost his life serving his country and towards his family who considered him as a hero who died to protect their country from a great danger as Bush kept claiming. Moore also voices out that veterans were left behind: ―they said that they aren‘t gonna leave any veteran behind, but they left all kinds of veterans behind‖[305] showing that Bush and his administration did not treat veterans at their fair value.

In one scene, Moore films two old women in an old people‘s house, one of them protesting that Americans were duped because there were not any mass

[302] Moore (2004) Fahrenheit 9/11, (01 :54 : 10)
[303] Ibid, (01 :38 :12)
[304] Ibid, (01 :38 :46)
[305] Ibid, (01 :40 :05)

destruction weapons, and that both of Iraqis and American military died for nothing. This scene is meant to show that there were Americans who were aware that Bush manipulated the public opinion serving his profits which was the invasion of Iraq in order to have access to its oil fields.

Moore declares that he was tired of seeing ordinary people sending their children to war, to fight for the safety of their homeland; he was tired of seeing people sending their children particularly to unjustifiable wars, when only one among congress members' children was in the military. So, he decided, accompanied by the corporal Henderson who served in Iraq, to go meeting the congress members asking them if they would accept to send their children to Iraq, and he got different reactions; pseudo agreement, astonishment, ignorance, etc. Moore asserted that the members of Congress all refused sending their own children in wars for protecting the USA ―and of course, not a single member of Congress wanted to sacrifice their child for the war in Iraq, and who could blame them; who would want to give up their child, would you?‖[306].

Moore pays a tribute to the soldiers who passed away and who fought for preserving the safety and freedom of the country and who were asking only to be sent when and where necessary. Moore precises: ―they serve so we don't have to, they offer to give up their lives, so we could be free. It is remarkable their gift to us‖[307]. The expression of gratitude towards the military who were sent to Iraq and the tribute paid to them pictured Moore as being really involved in the way these heroes were treated by their own country and he was very grateful and respectful towards their sacrifices. ―Will they ever trust us again?‖[308] was the question Moore asked to denounce the lie about the existence of mass destruction weapons.

The film maker Michael Moore made use of the aforementioned images representing different scenes in the movie to shed light on the core objective of the documentary movie under examination that consists in proving that the war

[306] Moore (2004) Fahrenheit 9/11, (01 :57 :10)
[307] Ibid, (01 :57 :45)
[308] Ibid, (01 :57 :50)

on Iraq was completely illegitimate and invalid. It only sought to have access to the large oil fields in Iraq to boost the USA economy and earn a lot of money. Moore also insisted that the promise Bush made not to target the civilians areas was not respected which engendered the death of so many Iraqis.

6. The Relationship between the Bush Family, the Bin Laden one and the Saudis

The analysis of the upcoming screenshots portrays Moore's assertion about the relationship between the USA and the Bush family, the Saudis and the Bin laden family. All the screenshots are taken from Moore's documentary movie as a support to his declarations.

Image 35:

At the representational level: Image 35 displays an extract from a newspaper. A picture of Bush Senior sitting in a living room or an office with Saudis (the king Fahd on the right) is shown demonstrating again the link between the USA particularly the Bush family with the Saudis. Actually, there is the flag of Saudi Arabia behind them but not that of the USA because it is not a presidential or governmental meeting since George Bush is no longer the President of the USA as it is indicated just below the picture. As it can also be noticed, the name of the former USA President Bush senior and the Carlyle group written in bold are forwarded and highlighted. As mentioned before, the Carlyle group is a multinational company that funds different sectors such as defense. It counts among its investors and workers the Bush family, the Saudis, and the Bin Laden family. For this reason, the two names are highlighted to emphasize the strong link between them.

At the interactional level: Despite the presence of eye contact that is established between the king and the viewers, it may be considered as an offer image as the elements in focus are the name of the former President Bush Senior and the Carlyle group. In fact, Moore wants to support his claim that the USA particularly the Bush family, and, in this case and the Saudis, are involved in

common businesses. The image is captured from a frontal angle to make the viewers focus on the highlighted words.

At the compositional level: Salience is attributed to the name of former President Bush senior and the Carlyle group. Indeed, the words are written in bold, centered and highlighted, which indicates their leading role the filmmaker intends to direct the audience‘s attention to. The highlighting serves as separation frames from the rest of the images because the names are the constituents we have to emphasize on.

Images 30-1-2-3-4-:

At the representational level: The images represent either Bush Senior or George W. Bush with Saudis, because Moore insists on the fact that Saudi Arabia has an important role in the USA economy as it depends partly on its investments. Bush senior is sitting in an office or an official guest room with the Saudis, talking to each other. Because, only Saudi Arabia‘s flag is shown, it can be assumed that it is either a courtesy visit or a business one. Besides, in image (32), George W. Bush is holding the Saudi Crown Prince‘s hand welcoming him in the USA because Bush seems the one who is leading the path and the men behind him are all wearing suits different from Saudis‘ traditional clothes. In image (33), the US President is shaking the Saudi Crown Prince‘s hand while staring at the cameras. In image (34), Donald Rumsfeld is shaking one of Saudi Arabia‘s Crown in a friendly manner in Saudi Arabia this time if we consider the setting and the way the guards are dressed. All these images point out to the friendly or good relationship between the USA and Saudi Arabia.

At the interactional level: They are all offer images because of the absence of eye contact between the represented participants and the viewers except image 33 that is a demand one on which eye contact is established between Bush and the audience. Indeed, Moore is displaying information to the public indicating clearly indicates that Bush senior, George W. Bush and his administration during his presidential term had solid relationship with the Saudis, which implies that

they have businesses in common. In image 33, the filmmaker wants to draw the attention towards Bush who seems really excited welcoming the Saudi Crown Prince indicating again that Saudi Arabia was really involved in the American issues. The participants are all captured from a frontal angle to make the audience involved and concerned with the solid relationship between the USA and the Saudis and make the audience consider the fact that the USA is always ready to save its relationship with Saudi Arabia no matter the circumstances.

At the compositional level: Salience in these images is given equitably to all the represented participants because Michael Moore wants to forward the link between the USA and Saudi Arabia. The represented participants share the same background linked to each other because their interests are common.

Image 21:

At the representational level: image (21) displays a part of a newspaper recognizable by its typical outline. The heading written in bold with a big font size ‗Bush opposes 9/11 panel' and above it, there is a phrase written in bold too and in uppercase letters ‗THE WAR ON TERROR'. The two sentences are contradictory because it is illogical to refuse investigations to uncover what really happened during the 9/11 attacks, while supposed to lead a war against terrorists. There is also a picture of the US President in front of soldiers who salute him in a military way. Bush seems confident and powerful in this capture referring to the power he has as the President of the USA.

At the interactional level: It is an offer image because there is no eye contact between the represented participants and the viewers. It is a matter of disclosing facts regarding what is taking place and what is particularly hindered regarding the 9/11 terrorist attacks. Moore chose to include this particular article to make the audience question this opposition, and to make them question whether there is something Bush does not want to divulge.

At the compositional level: Salience is given to the heading and the phrase ‗WAR ON TERROR' regarding their location in the image. The former is in the

centre and on the top. The latter is on the top referring to its leading and important role in the image. The picture of Bush and soldiers is emphasized as well. Bush‘s head is captured involving an intimate distance making the audience focusing on the expression on his face and to highlight his role in preventing the investigations dealing with the 9/11 attacks. The phrase on the top is somehow disconnected from the rest by this kind of frame under it, to forward the inconsistency between it and the rest of the represented elements.

Through the scrutiny of the scenes captured in the documentary movie displaying the relationship between Bush‘s family, Bin Laden‘s and the Saudis, Moore intends to shed light on the relationship that exists between the Bush‘s family and the Bin Laden‘s claiming that George W. Bush was more worried about Saudis‘ interest than about Americans‘. This means that Bush was clearly interested with business and money. When reporting Bush‘s reaction after being informed that America was attacked, Moore suggests that Bush was aware that the guilty was the Saudis but preferred to accuse Saddam Hussein to save the economic and business relationship between the USA and Saudi Arabia. After the 9/11 attacks, the planes were grounded and the flights cancelled ―FAA is taking the action to close all of the airports in the United States‖[309], declared who?. Even Bush senior could not travel. Yet, some particular planes were allowed to leave the country, acknowledged the who ―we had some airplanes authorized from the highest level of the government to fly to pick up Osama Bin Laden‘s family members and other Saudi Arabians to transport them out of this country‖[310]. The planes permitted to 142 Saudis including 24 members of Osama Bin Laden‘s family to leave the USA (The filmmaker inserted _We got to get out from this place‘ song,)[311] which according to Moore is not the usual way of proceeding after such an attack.

Moore questions how could the US government allow the members of a mass murderer‘s family to leave the country before interrogating them knowing that

[309] Moore (2004) Fahrenheit 9/11, (20 :08)
[310] Ibid, (20 :45)
[311] Ibid, (20 :37)

they were still in contact with Osama Bin Laden since they attended the wedding of one of his sons the summer before the 9/11 attacks. Moore invites Jack Cloonan[312], a retired FBI agent who was a senior agent in FBI/CIA Al Qaeda task force before the 9/11 attacks to declare that the Bin Laden's family members had to be interrogated and not allowed to quit the country that is the proper procedure of investigation. Moore, then inserts an extract from a movie representing the right procedure of investigation consisting in asking the suspect's relatives first. Moore also mentions the Oklahoma attack during Clinton's presidential term in which the president did not allow the McVeigh family to leave the USA. This implies that Bush was not a trustworthy President and he did not deserve Americans' devotion and loyalty because of his actions.

The scene displaying the meeting between Ossama Bin Laden and his ambassador in the USA, aims at reminding the American support for Saudi Arabia and Bin Laden to fight the communists in Afghanistan. Moore also argues that the Saudi government ―did not only provide significant money and aid to the suicide hijackers but also allowed potentially hundreds of millions of dollars to flow to Al Qaeda and other terrorist groups through suspect charities and other fronts‖[313]. This quotation shows the involvement of Saudi Arabia in financing terrorists whose aim was killing innocent people all over the world. Despite this fact, the USA still allows Saudi Arabia to have an important role in the economy of the US territory.

Moore shows that Bush wanted to hide from the public the business relationship he had with James R Bath who was the money manager of Bin Laden's family in Texas, and was one sponsor of Bush's projects, by divulging the uncensored report of Bush's military record that Moore got on 2000[314] which is slightly different from the one that the air national guard displayed in 2004 in which the name James R Bath was suppressed. The aforementioned name was

[312] Moore (2004) Fahrenheit 9/11, (22 :33)
[313] Ibid, (14:71)
[314] (27:44)

suppressed in order, according to Moore, to prevent the public opinion from making a link between Bush and Bin Laden.

Moore also argues that most of the time Bush run into the ground the oil companies he founded or bought, such as ‗Arbusto', ‗Spectrum 7', and ‗Harken' but he always succeeded boosting them thanks to the investments he was receiving from the Saudis. The latter who have access to large oil fields invested in Bush's companies in order to have George W Bush, the son of the US President Bush senior on board. The filmmaker also talks about the position Bush occupied in the Carlyle group to always shed light on the relationship between Bush and Bin Laden's family. Indeed, the Carlyle group is a multinational company that invested in different industrial fields among them ―telecommunication, health care, and, particularly, defense‖[315] where both George W Bush, and George H Bush worked. They worked in the same company that counted among its investors the Bin Laden family.

On September 9, 2001, an annual meeting gathering the Carlyle group investors including Bin Laden's family was occurring while the hijacked planes hit the towers, which destabilized the USA's defense. Bin Laden's family considered the attacks as an opportunity to take advantage of as they invest in the defense sector of the Carlyle group owning the United Defense ―September 11th guaranteed that the United Defense is going to have a very good year‖[316]. As the saying goes ‗one man's loss is another man's gain'. After the 9/11 terrorist attacks, George W Bush retired from Carlyle group because the media covered the involvement of the Bin Laden's family in the company. The public opinion was confused because Bush senior was working with the Bin Laden's family before the 9/11 events knowing that Osama Bin Laden was at that time a wanted terrorist. Moore states: ―(…) to know that George H W Bush was meeting with the Bin Laden's family while Osama was a wanted terrorist well before

[315] Moore, M (2004) The Official Fahrenheit 9/11 Reader, Simon and Schuster Paperbacks: New York, p. 159
[316] Moore (2004) Fahrenheit 9/11, (32 :56)

September 11th is very discomforting for Americans to know that‖[317]. This indicates that the USA was ready to cooperate with anyone around the world as long as they contribute in earning a lot of money.

Moore argues that Bush was mostly concerned with what was best for the Saudis first regarding the huge amount of money Saudis were investing in the USA regardless of their status as human rights violators condemned by Amnesty International. In fact, Saudi Arabia, according to Moore[318], infracted many human rights they agreed to respect such as the Convention against Torture and the Convention against Discrimination. Moore insists that the Saudis were responsible for attacking America but since a lot of money was involved, Bush preferred preserving the relationship the USA had with Saudi Arabia rather than to declare the war against the responsible of the chaos the USA was going through after the 9/11 attacks.

In fact, Bush tried to stop the congress from investigating the 9/11 attacks and wanted to forbid independent organizations from doing their own investigations which had never occurred in the USA ―the President's position was a break from history, independent investigations were launched in days of Pearl Harbor and President Kennedy assassination‖[319]. The congress, as Moore reveals, wrote a report about the 9/11 attacks from which Bush administration censored 28 pages, which, according to NBC News[320] concerned Saudi Arabia. Bush took the necessary measures not to associate Saudis to the 9/11 terrorist attacks, thus avoiding the implication of the Saudis in the 9/11 terrorist attacks and by the same token question the validity of the war waged against Iraq.

Briefly, Moore employs the analyzed scenes to put an emphasis on the connection that existed between George Bush senior and son with the Saudis mainly in business. He showed that both sides had a common objective to make money no matter the ways, and no matter if they engendered collateral damages

[317] Moore (2004) Fahrenheit 9/11, (33 :46)
[318] Moore, M (2004) The Official Fahrenheit 9/11 Reader, Simon and Schuster Paperbacks: New York, p. 168
[319] Moore (2004) Fahrenheit 9/11, (37 :51)
[320] Ibid, (38:02)

like the death of a considerable number of innocent people. Moore wants to portray Bush as an insensitive president who was eager to find ways for earning important amounts of money.

7. The Major Place of Saudis in the USA's Economy

The scrutiny of the image below highlights the primordial role Saudi Arabia has in the US territory as displayed in Moore's documentary movie.

Image 50:

At the representational level: Image 50 represents the US President, George W. Bush with the ambassador of Saudi Arabia in the USA; Prince Bandar in an office (probably one of the White House offices) considering the different bookshelves behind them. Bush is comfortably sitting on an arm chair talking to Bandar who faces him. Bandar is sitting on the armrest of the armchair. The informal way they are sitting and the way they are dressed demonstrate that they are not in an official meeting related to political issues or business. This clearly indicates that Bush and Bandar are close to each other and are friends as well. We can also interpret the way Bandar is sitting in a higher position than the President as the dominance and control of Saudi Arabia over the USA.

At the interactional level: It is an offer image because an eye contact is not established between the represented participants and the viewers. Moore aims to expose and highlight the relationship between the two men which seems really friendly regarding the way the ambassador is sitting on the armchair. Their relationship illustrates the relationship between the USA and Saudi Arabia. It is captured from a frontal angle with a long shot, Moore wants to highlight the importance of Saudi Arabia in the USA. As their respective status as President and ambassador is concerned, their relationship entails a relationship between the two countries.

At the compositional level: The represented elements are all linked to each other with no kind of separation between them. Bandar who occupies the right

space of the image shows that Moore wants to direct the public's attention towards him and to pinpoints his importance and his country in the USA.

Moore indicates that the Saudis invested a huge amount of money in the USA ―over 860 billion dollars‖[321] as Moore specifies ―in terms of investments in the Wall Street (…) it's roughly 6 or 7% of America‖[322] which represented an important involvement in the economy of the country. That means that if the Saudis decide to withdraw their money from the American banks, the USA will know a serious economic issue. This explains probably why Saudi Arabia's embassy is placed in the same sector as the important buildings in Washington namely Watergate Hotel and Kennedy centre.

Moore also informs that Prince Bandar was the most protected ambassador in the USA, and that when Moore was in front of Saudi Arabia's embassy interviewing the journalist and author Craig Unger, secret services came close to him to figure out what he was doing there and they admitted that it was not among their usual tasks, which proves the importance of the embassy and the ambassador. Actually, Moore argues that according to a Diplomatic Security official, ―Prince Bandar has a security detail that includes full-time participation of six highly trained and skilled DS officers‖[323]. The Ambassador was so very close to Bush's family that he got the nickname of Bandar Bush. They were really close that even two days after the 9/11 attacks, Bandar was invited to dinner in the White House ―even though Bin Laden was a Saudi, and Saudi money had founded Al Qaeda, and fifteen of the nineteen hijackers were Saudis‖[324]. Moore adds that the Saudi government hindered the American investigators from interrogating the hijackers' families. Saudis were also hesitant to block the bank accounts of the hijackers. All these actions lead one to seriously question the implication of Saudi Arabia in the 9/11 terrorist attacks and the important role it had in the US territory.

[321] Moore (2004) Fahrenheit 9/11, (40 :05)
[322] Ibid, (40 :25)
[323] Moore, M (2004) The Official Fahrenheit 9/11 Reader, Simon and Schuster Paperbacks: New York, p. 172
[324] Moore (2004) Fahrenheit 9/11 (40 :56)

Fahrenheit 9/11 highlights the major place Saudi Arabia has in the USA regarding its embassy placement near the Kennedy centre and the Watergate hotel. Moore also puts a focus on the close relationship between Prince Bandar and the US president who did not only meet for political issues connecting their respective countries, but they also have friendly meetings where they wear casual clothes and do not respect any protocols of behaviours.

8. Frightening Americans of possible Terrorist Attacks

In his documentary movie, Moore points out that Bush and his administration targeted Americans too through frightening them about possible future terrorist attacks settling an atmosphere of terror which messed up their daily lives ‑with the war in Afghanistan over and Bin Laden forgotten, the war President had a new target; the American people‖[325]. In this respect, Moore inserts some newscasts reporting the terrorist threat: ―we got an unusual terror warning (…) terrorists could use pen guns just like in James Bond films filled with poison as weapons‖[326]. Or, another cast: ―America is on high alert tonight, just four days before Christmas, a possible terrorist threat as bad as or worse than 9/11‖[327], without mentioning any details about the eventual attacks. The news were not founded and were clearly meant to terrify Americans, and to justify possible upcoming operations across the oceans. The strategy Bush employed was described as ―skillfully and ugly‖[328] at the same time for what he and his administration inflicted on the US citizens. On the one hand, by terrifying them of an eventual terrorist attack ―world has changed after September 11th, it changed because we are no longer safe‖[329]. On the other hand, by encouraging them to enjoy life ―fly and enjoy America‘s great destination spots‖[330], ―take your families and enjoy life‖[331].

[325] Moore (2004) Fahrenheit 9/11 (48 :51)
[326] Ibid, (49 :06)
[327] Ibid, (49 :18)
[328] Ibid, (50 :44)
[329] Ibid, (50 :09)
[330] Ibid, (50 :12)
[331] Ibid, (50 :21)

These strategies destabilized Americans who ignored the way they should behave which turned people afraid in every village and town and rendered people somehow paranoiac suspecting all the people around them. One of the citizens said: ―when I look at certain people, oh goodness do you think they could be a terrorist‖[332]. Families were advised to buy some gadgets or other stuff that guarantee them protection in case of terrorist attacks proving what really matters was earning money and take advantage over the fear of people ―every family in America should prepare itself for a terrorist attack‖[333], but people despite the fear were filmed doing their Christmas shopping because life was going on and they could not be constantly on their guard. These strategies were really well thought aiming at terrifying Americans about terrorist attacks that could target the USA at any time to manipulate the public opinion and make them trust the credibility of all the measures taken or to be potentially taken to protect them from danger.

9. The Presence of Al Qaeda and Taliban in the USA

Through his documentary, Moore indicates that Taliban and Al Qaeda had access to the USA; he declares that a delegation of Taliban came from Afghanistan to Texas in 1999 when George W. Bush was the governor of Texas. This event was covered only by the British press, which is an indication that American media supported governmental issues which contributed in the lack of transparency in reporting the events occurring inside the country. In 2001, Bush‘s administration welcomed one of the members of Taliban to help him improve the image of the Taliban government despite the fact that they were harboring Osama Bin Laden. This implied the existence of a relationship between Bush and the Taliban who represented and still represent a worldwide danger.

Moore reveals that during summer preceding the terrorist attacks, Al Qaeda members were in the USA and Osama Bin Laden sent his agents to flight schools in the US territory, but the government turned a blind eye and a deaf ear.

[332]Moore (2004) Fahrenheit 9/11, (54:55)
[333] Ibid, (52 :07)

Actually, as Moore points out[334], the agent Kenneth Williams sent a letter labeled _Phoenix memo‘ to the FBI informing them that some students were attending aviation classes and suspected them of being Bin Laden‘s agents. Despite the fact that the information was communicated, the trainings were not hindered and no investigation to check the validity of the letter content was carried out. How can a country ignore such a thing and allow agents of a wanted worldwide terrorist to learn piloting planes that for sure intended to attack some place. One can assume that the USA tried to hide its relationship with Bin Laden to present a credible image to the world in general and to the Americans in particular and not make them questioning the way planes were hijacked attacking one of the leading powers in the world.

Moore strongly insists on the presence of Al Qaeda and the Taliban in the USA by inserting some scenes that support his assertion. The analysis of the image below is captured from the documentary movie.

Image 46:

At the representational level: image 46 is a screenshot of a BBC News online article. We can observe the title of the article _Taleban to Texas for pipeline talks‘ written in bold with the black colour and with a big font size. This information was exclusively reported by one of the British media that intended to forward the relationship between Bush who was elected governor of Texas in 1994 and re-elected in 1998 with the Taliban that is an Islamic political movement in Afghanistan. We can also notice a date above the title as the viewers may check the validity of the article in BBC News archives.

At the interactional level: It is an offer image as there is no contact between the represented elements and the audience. In fact, Moore discloses information to the public concerning a meeting that took place in Texas in 1997 about pipelines in Afghanistan. He highlights this information to make a link between Bush who was then a governor in Texas and the Taliban. The implication is that

[334] Moore, M (2004) The Official Fahrenheit 9/11 Reader, Simon and Schuster Paperbacks: New York, p. 181

the war on Afghanistan was not for the sake of catching Bin Laden but to the establishment of pipelines. The title is captured from a frontal angle to make the viewers concerned with what occurs in the world they live in.

At the compositional level: Salience is given to the title, as it is located on the right of the image because it is the main information the viewers have to focus on. ‗BBC NEWS' and the date are placed on the top, because they are important elements as well since they give credibility to Moore's claims. The constituents are not detached from each other and they share the same background.

10. The Patriot Act

Image 47 presents what the Patriot act is mainly about. It is a screenshot from Moore's documentary movie.

Image 47:

At the representational level: Image 47 represents a set of phrases namely a heading and a list of points. The heading ‗USA PATRIOT ACT' is written in bold yellow, in uppercase letters, and with a big font size. The USA patriot act is a political decision voted by the American congress to fight against terrorism by watching citizens' daily actions like their medical records, phone and computer conversations, and so on as they are listed below the heading, and they are written with the white colour.

At the interactional level: It is an offer image because Moore exposes the main objectives of the patriot act. Indeed, he lists some of the principles by indicating that they concern every American citizen even if none of them committed a crime. Moore captures the principles from a frontal angle to make the audience realize that is a violation of the intimacy legitimized by the fight against terrorism.

At the compositional level: Salience is attributed to the all the represented elements with more emphasis on the heading as the colour is different from the

listing points. These points are all centred with the heading on the top showing that they are important elements the public has to concentrate on. Although the heading has a different colour, it is linked to the other sentences as these are just a development of the heading. They have also the same background represented by the American flag as it is a political decision, which concerns the Americans only.

Michael Moore specifies that the Patriot Act is an anti-terrorism measure proposed by John Ashcroft, passed by the congress, and signed by Bush. This act allows the authorities to watch the US citizens on a daily basis having an eye on their medical and financial records, their computer or phone conversations, and even the books they get from libraries. The measure, according to Moore, was a bit extreme but the citizens seemed to understand why they were bugged and under watch even if they did not appreciate that ―it's definitely sad, but it has to be done‖[335]. ―Yes something needed to be done‖ comments Moore with an ironic tone, while displaying the infiltration of a group militating for peace called _Peace Fresno' in California by Aoron Kilner who was a member of the sheriff's anti-terrorism team.

Actually, Moore considers that the group _Peace Fresno' had not to be spied because they were a group of quiet people who did not inspire mistrust or fear. Well, if the terrorists were recognizable only by looking at their faces, or considering their age, many terrorists could have been caught and attacks avoided. Moore argues that the Patriot Act was not respecting the privacy of ordinary people, and that the FBI agents go to people's homes after spying upon their conversations. To fuel his argument, Moore gives the floor to an Ancient navy who reported that the FBI went to his home after declaring at the gym that Bush is worse than Bin Laden because he was bombing everywhere in the world for oil profits. The scene was displayed to show Americans that there were people sharing the same opinions Moore developed along his documentary movie. In fact, Moore claimed that monitoring citizens has always interested the

[335] Moore (2004) Fahrenheit 9/11, (57 :36)

US government who took the opportunity of the 9/11 attacks to implement it: ―there are always on the shelf somewhere ideas of things they would like to do, and they got 9/11 and they said it‘s our chance, go for it‖. The terror settled in the USA after the 9/11 attacks made the citizens admit the necessity of the US government decisions no matter if they had an impact on their private lives.

Moore reveals that the Congress did not read the Patriot Act which did not prevent them from passing it. The Patriot Act was not an isolated case, a member of the Congress divulged that a large number of acts were passed without being read: ―sit down my son, we don‘t read most of the bills, do you really know what that would entail if we were to read every bill that we pass?‖[336]. This shows that the men of the congress were not concerned with acts or decisions that can affect the citizens, they were signing them because it was the procedure, without taking into account the content. Thus, Moore decided to read the Patriot Act content to the Congress members using a loudspeaker of an ice cream truck because he was chocked that the Congress had no idea about what the Patriot Act implied: ―I couldn‘t believe that no one member of Congress had read the Patriot Act before voting at it‖[337]. Moore wanted to accentuate the fact that neither the Congress nor Bush were concerned with what was good for Americans.

11. Security in the USA

Moore declares that the security of the USA citizens did not really represent the priority of president Bush and his administration. The analysis of the image below that was extracted from Moore‘s documentary movie explains his declaration regarding the security in the USA.

Image 48:

At the representational level: Image 48 displays a border guard considering the way he is dressed and the borders separating the American territory and the ocean. The man is looking at the horizon that seems immense. Even if the place

[336] Moore (2004) Fahrenheit 9/11, (01 :02 : 42)
[337] Ibid, (01 :02 :55)

looks quiet, everything can change rapidly as meant by the dark clouds in the sky, which indicate that a storm was about to occur.

At the interactional level: it is an offer image because there is no eye contact between the border guard and the viewers. In fact, Moore intends to draw the audience‘s attention towards the immensity of the borders that are watched by one man only. In other words, Moore wants to make the public face the reality and realize that the security of their country is not a priority, at least not as much as Bush was claiming. The image is captured with a long shot to highlight the whole space.

At the compositional level: Salience is given to participants and the whole spotted space mainly, the borders and the ocean, along with the border guard. Even if the border guard was captured with a long shot making him a bit far, he remains also important as Moore wanted to highlight the fact that he is the only one who watches the borders in that place. The wood borders represent frames that separate the ocean from the guard.

Moore supports his representation of Bush as a President who was not really involved in the country‘s security by portraying him in a restaurant, where he was talking about his role in securing the USA but with a relaxed tone: ―my job is to secure the homeland and that‘s exactly what we gonna do, but I‘m gonna take somebody‘s order‖[338]. By this scene, Moore wants to show that the security of the American territory was not at the top of Bush‘s priorities, contrary to what he was constantly claiming. Moore also reports that that John Ashcroft asked Thomas Pickard, FBI Director before the 9/11 terrorist attacks, not to talk about the terrorist threat which was communicated by the CIA. Bush neglected the report given to him on August 6, 2001 in which the planning of Bin Laden to attack America by airplanes was mentioned. The report was not taken into account despite the fact that its title was very clear _Bin Laden is determined to attack inside the USA‘. Moore argues that the terrorist attacks might have been avoided if the CIA reports were considered seriously; a terrible attack that caused

[338] Moore (2004) Fahrenheit 9/11, (01 :03 :22)

about 3000 victims might have been avoided. It is a serious accusation that questions the credibility of Bush and his administration.

Moore ironically discusses some security measures established after the 9/11 attacks to prevent other eventual terrorist attacks, such as the prohibition of bringing a bottle of breast milk on plane: ―homeland security was making sure that breast milk was kept off a plane‖[339]. He also sarcastically adds that they were also doing their best to reassure people, as no one could light up a fire bomb on board, but matches were allowed. Moore also indicates that the security of the borders was not really accomplished. He mentions that the border of Oregon that is 160 Km long was watched by only one trooper who complained about the absence of training on how to catch terrorists if the latter decide to cross the borders. Moore also indicates that the number of troopers on duty on the whole state of Oregon at night was most of the time eight troopers because of budget cuts which weakened the security. He implies that the homeland security was not really at the top of government priorities because according to him the atmosphere of fear settled by Bush and his administration meant to hide the real goal they wanted to achieve.

12. War of Business

Iraq is the second largest oil source in the world, thus having a free access to its fields permits generating a lot of money making small companies evolve ―lots of you are small businesses and you are struggling (…) once that oil starts flowing and money coming, it‘s gonna be a lot of money‖[340]. This implies that the war in Iraq was a great opportunity for making a great deal of money to the detriment of the chaos in the country and the innocent victims either Iraqis or Americans. Thus, many demonstrations started taking place in the USA asking for the ending of wars of business. The oil fields were constantly guarded by the US troops. Haliburton, a company that gives meals, means of communication, medicines, etc. to the US soldiers in order to rebuild Iraq: ―our workers are doing

[339] Moore (2004) Fahrenheit 9/11, (01 :04 :18)
[340] Ibid, (01 :48 :55)

a great job, we are feeding the soldiers and they rebuilding Iraq‖[341] was, according to Moore, among the companies that were taking profit from the war in Iraq. The US soldier was paid around two to three thousand (2000/3000) dollars a month, while Haliburton worker was getting eight to ten thousand (8000/10000) dollars a month. It indicates that drilling oil to gain a lot of money was more important than the work of soldiers who were constantly risking their lives for ensuring the security of their homeland. This suggests that the war in Iraq was merely about business, an opportunity the USA seized to engender additional money resources: ―good for business, bad for people‖[342].

The analysis of the image below represents the awareness of some people that the war on Iraq was declared for business matters only.

Image 56:

At the representational level: Image 56 displays a group of people demonstrating in the street. They are almost all holding white notices on which different phrases such as _STOP THE OIL WARS‘, _NO WAR FOR PROFIT‘, _WAR KILLS PEOPLE‘, and so on can be read. These phrases are all written in uppercase letters and in bold with black and red colours. The people are obviously protesting against the wars America declared against other countries. In fact, the notices call the authorities to stop the wars that occurred for business purposes like having access to oil, and making money, and which cause the death of innocent people.

At the interactional level: It is an offer image as no eye contact between the represented participants and the viewers can be noticed. The filmmaker Moore exposes the protestants‘ thoughts and wants to make the audience realize that the objective of wars in Afghanistan and Iraq is not to eradicate terrorists but to enhance business and make a lot of money. The image is captured from a frontal angle to draw the viewers‘ attention and make them concerned with what is written in the notices. The attention is also captured with a long shot to highlight

[341] Moore (2004) Fahrenheit 9/11, (01 :47 :26)
[342] Ibid, (01 :51 :44)

the whole space and emphasize the number of protestants who share the same point of view.

At the compositional level: Salience is given to the notices as they are forwarded in the image with much focus on the words written in red to direct the viewers‘ attention towards them. They are also highlighted being placed in the centre and on the right of the image indicating their leading role in the message Moore intends to convey. The represented elements are all related to each other, and although the words are written in different colours, they are complementary in the meaning they transmit.

Moore ends his movie by representing Bush repeating an old saying in Tennessee: ―fool me once shame on you, but you won‘t fool me again‖[343]. Moore replied, ―for once we agreed‖[344], implying that the US citizens are aware of the illegitimacy of the war in Iraq and question the real causes of the 9/11 terrorist attacks. Thus, people won‘t be fooled again and won‘t reelect Bush. He also finished his documentary movie by displaying the people to whom he dedicated his work as it is clarified in the analysis of the image below:

Image 57:

At the representational level: Moore ends his documentary movie with a black background symbolizing the grief of Americans and the dark side of the wars in which we can read the people to whom the movie is dedicated written with the white colour referring to their spirits who passed away. Actually, Moore pays a tribute to the soldiers of the Flint area where he is originated from, and who died in the war in Iraq. He also pays tribute to his friend Bill Weems and all those who died because of the 9/11 attacks, along with the people who died in Afghanistan and Iraq wars. The final phrase ‗as a result of our actions‘[345] implies that he accuses the USA as well as the citizens who trusted Bush in all his decisions to be guilty.

[343]Moore (2004) Fahrenheit 9/11, (01 :59 :28)
[344]Ibid, (01 :59 :30)
[345] Ibid, (01:59:14)

At the interactional level: It is an offer image due to the absence of eye contact between the represented participants and the viewers. Moore pays a tribute to all those who lost their lives as a consequence of the 9/11 attacks, the war in Afghanistan, and the one in Iraq. This indicates that Moore is involved in all the events that took place in his country and abroad after the 9/11 attacks as much as all Americans are. He is affected by all the people who passed away doing their duty of protecting their homeland.

At the compositional level: Salience is given to all the sentences as they are centred in the image showing their importance. All the represented constituents are linked to each other and they share the same background.

II. Discussion of the results

The scrutiny of Fahrenheit 9/11 has shown that Michael Moore produced and directed the documentary movie for the sake of revealing the reality lying behind the 2003 war in Iraq through divulging facts regarding the overseas attack. The documentary aimed at achieving a political goal consisting in hindering the next reelection of George W. Bush. Through relying on Peirce triadic theory and Kress and Leeuwen‘s reading images, the documentary movie was perceived from a denotative position as Christian Metz[346] indicated. Indeed, we have emphasized the scrutiny of the documentary movie on the setting which took place in different spots of the American territory as well as some shots from Afghanistan and principally Iraq, on time that concerned the 9/11 terrorist attacks and the launching of the wars against Afghanistan and Iraq, the different events that were narrated along with the different characters (actors) highlighted through the movie who are the US president George W Bush, his administration staff, some soldiers, a soldier‘s mother and many others. The examination helped in understanding that the movie was produced for political purposes that Moore resorted to different ways to fulfill his objectives among them some of the

[346]Metz, C (1974) Film Language: A Semiotics of the Cinema, the University of Chicago Press: Chicago, p. 96

strategies Jonathan Charteris-Black[347] identified consisting of establishing the politician‘s ethos along with heightening the pathos mainly used in a political discourse to have the crowds stand by one‘s position, ideologies, and thoughts. In this respect, through using the former strategy namely establishing the politician‘s ethos, Moore intended to prove his audience that his intentions of producing the documentary movie were for the good of Americans, for making them realize and face the reality of the war in Iraq. Indeed, Moore argued the non-authenticity of the election of George W. Bush as President of the USA. He claimed that the votes were rigged through depriving an important number of voters from their right to vote and shed light on the fact that the winning of the state of Florida which made the difference between Bush and Al Gore was fulfilled because the senator of Florida at that time was his brother and his cousin was working in the channel which announced the state of Florida in Bush‘s Column. This indicates that Bush abused the Americans‘ trust right from the beginning.

Moore indicates that the 9/11 terrorist attacks had a terrible impact on the USA, and its citizens could have been prevented if Bush had seriously taken the CIA report about the terrorists‘ intention to attack the USA instead of going on vacation to relax and have fun. He argues that there were many aspects of these attacks that were not disclosed to the citizens and the victims‘ families and relatives which pushed them to protest in the USA streets asking for unveiling the truth of the 9/11 attacks permitting them to know what really happened to their loved ones and move on. Moore also suggests that the stoic reaction of Bush when informed that the hijacked planes got into the USA territory and hit the twin towers was due to his thinking over a potential guilty: a so called friend who betrayed his trust.

Moore also informs his audience that the war on Afghanistan was only a diversion from the real objectives of Bush and his administration. The latter decided to wage war on Afghanistan with the support of a coalition in order to

[347] Black, J.C (2011), *Politicians and Rhetoric: The Persuasive Power of Metaphor.2nd Ed,* Palgrave Macmillan: the UK, p. 26

avoid stirring up the questioning of the public opinion if no action against Al Qaeda was taken when the latter was obviously in everybody‘s eyes the guilty. The USA seized the opportunity of being in Afghanistan to have access to the natural gas in the Caspian Sea and neglected totally their mission there, which was to capture Bin Laden, a wanted worldwide terrorist and get rid of the Taliban who were oppressively ruling the country. Nowadays, one can clearly notice that the USA intervention in Afghanistan was not effective contrary to what the US president claimed. In fact, George W Bush indicated that the war on terror was a success in the Afghan territory after stopping the Taliban from controlling the country. Actually, it was clearly a failure since the Taliban regained power in 2021. In fact, the Taliban gathered at the Pakistani borders and begun their intrusion in Afghanistan where they managed settling their authority over multiple cities including Kabul by August 2021[348].

Moore insists that Bush and his administration had Iraq as a target right from the beginning despite the fact that it was not responsible of the 9/11 terrorist attacks. He argues that putting an end to Saddam Hussein‘s regime because of his dictatorship was an argument Bush advanced to convince the masses of the legitimacy and validity of the war. He also points out that the divulgation of the existence of mass destruction weapons and potential future terrorist attacks was only a strategy Bush and his administration resorted to, in order to frighten the masses and again render the war necessary and just. The USA hid its real motive that consisted in taking profit from the large oil fields present in the Iraqi territory. Moore also forwards the fact that the broadcasting of information covering the war in Iraq was controlled in favor of the USA picturing the military as heroes who fought against the evil for the security of the US territory and the whole world. Moore asserts that the Saudis were responsible of the 9/11 attacks but Bush and his administration took the necessary measures to hide their guiltiness because an important part of the American economy was based on the Saudis‘ investments. Moore argues that Bush stood by the Saudis, turned his

[348] Maizland, L (2021) The Taliban in Afghanistan, Council Foreign Relations, available in https://www.cfr.org/backgrounder/taliban-afghanistan

back on his fellow citizens, waged war against an innocent country because a lot of money was at stake. Moore also considers that the war on Iraq was only an opportunity for boosting the economy of the USA and a way of making the business evolve. It was not a matter of caring of the way Iraqis were living.

Through employing the latter strategy namely heightening the pathos, Moore seeks to move people‘s feelings and stir their emotions to persuade them about the credibility of his position against Bush and his administration and the reliability of the reality he presents through his documentary movie. To this end, Moore displays the horrific scenes that took place in the World Trade Center when the two towers were hit, along with forwarding the suffering of people looking for their beloved ones who probably lost their lives. By these images, he wants to pay a tribute to the victims and to insist that these attacks which caused the mourning of many American and foreign families, were the consequence of turning a deaf ear to the CIA‘s alarm. That is to say, all the chaos the USA went through could have been avoided if alerts were seriously taken into account.

Moore also puts into focus the suffering of the Iraqi civilians who were not supposed to be targeted; they were supposed to be protected and saved from the oppression of Saddam Hussein‘s regime. This implies that the USA did not keep its word, and saving the lives of the Iraqis was not at the top of the priorities. By the same token, Moore also pays a tribute to the US military who passed away far from their homes believing that their war was a just cause. Human life, according to Moore, did not have any value in the war of Iraq; what really mattered was the access to oil fields and making money. To prove that the war on Iraq was not legitimate and the Americans were duped, Moore resorts to the testimony of Lila Lipscomb; a mother who lost her young son in Iraq. As extensively developed before, the scenes emphasizing Lila were so moving because she read the last letter she got from her son in which he wrote that the military were sent to Iraq for the wrong reasons and he wished to come back home soon which never happened because he passed away. Moore also talks about the passing of the Patriot Act which aimed at watching over the citizens at

a regular basis to prevent terrorism without being read by the Congress members. By this, he intends to prove to the Americans that the ones who were supposed to work for the best and the good of Americans do not even read papers they issue to organize the welfare of the citizens.

In short, Moore insists on the fact that Bush and his administration manipulated Americans to reach their purposes through hiding some facts, and creating others to make the war in Iraq seem indispensable and legitimate, and to make the military troops believe that they were involved in a just cause, aiming at protecting the world in general and their homeland in particular. Moore seeks to prove that the war in Iraq was neither a matter of unseating the oppressive President Saddam Hussein nor the seizing of mass destruction weapons representing a great danger on the whole world, the war was rather a matter of business, oil, and making money, a lot of money.

The analyzed documentary movie shows that in his process of awakening the spirits of Americans and making them realize that the war in Iraq was not necessary, besides being duped by the US President George W. Bush, Michael Moore makes use of habitualization and legitimation which constitute two steps in the construction of a social reality as identified by Berger and Luckmann. In this respect, the film director, as indicated before, puts forward the guiltiness of the Saudis in the 9/11 attacks and their exculpation thanks to the relationship between Bush, and the Saudis which was highlighted all along the documentary movie. Indeed, Moore emphasizes the major place the Saudis occupy in the American economy, the huge amount of money they invested in different businesses, and the closeness between the ambassador of Saudi Arabia in the USA, Bandar, and the Bush family. Moore also brings forth the relationship that existed between Bush and Al Qaeda members by divulging the visit members of Al Qaeda paid to Texas in order to improve their image when Bush was the Senator of Texas. Moore kept repeating these facts to make them rooted in the Americans‘ minds which corresponds to Berger and Luckmann‘s notion of habitualization. The latter serves to render the facts illustrated by the movie

maker tangible and legitimate to the public opinion. The aim is to gain the approval of the audience.

Moore through his documentary movie seeks to convince his audience that Bush resorted to a strategy of propaganda identified by Chomsky[349] consisting of settling an atmosphere of fear in a society to make people believe that all the measures the authorities take are legitimate and indispensable. In fact, Moore shows that Bush kept frightening the US citizens about possible future terrorist attacks and kept repeating with his administration that Saddam Hussein had on his possession mass destruction weapons which he intended to use against countries where freedom, democracy, and liberty are the principal values Americans cherish, in order to make the world in general, and the American territory in particular understand the reasons lying behind the war in Iraq. The strategy Bush employed was, according to Moore, a trick to achieve his aims without owing an explication to his fellow citizens or other citizens of countries.

Fahrenheit 9/11 is a documentary movie reporting Bush‘s first presidential term and the decisions he took with his administration, particularly overseas military attacks on Afghanistan and Iraq, as a consequence of the 9/11 terrorists attacks. As already mentioned, Moore aims at convincing Americans that Bush should not be reelected by advancing a set of arguments which have been extensively tackled before, among them the war on Iraq that occurred for business aims only which makes the war illegitimate. That is to say, a war that did not seek to get rid of Saddam Hussein‘s regime dictatorship or his involvement in the 9/11 terrorist attacks but it was a war that aimed at generating money through having access to large fields of oil.

Relying on the different outcomes reached after the analysis of the images captured from Moore‘s documentary movie, it is clear that the examined visuals were meticulously designed when one considers the selection of colors, the angle of capturing the represented participants, their gaze, the catchphrases, and so on.

[349] Chomsky, N (1997) Media Control: The Spectacular Achievements of Propaganda, Seven Stories Press: New York, p. 23

The aim is to convince people about the reliability and validity of his movie content. The screenshots representing different scenes from the movie testify Moore‘s posture regarding the status of George W Bush as the President of the USA. The latter is portrayed as an election cheater, ready to lie to his people and sacrifice military lives to make more money. In fact, through the images he displays, Moore intends to reveal and disclose information, which he considers totally unknown from the masses. Indeed, he tries to expose what he deems to be the truth regarding the 9/11 terrorist attacks that could have been avoided, because , to him, the decision of invading Iraq was only a tactic to have access to oil fields, since the presence of mass destruction weapons in Iraq was merely an affabulation.

The results of the analysis of Fahrenheit 9/11 documentary movie screenshots reveal that the documentary was an attempt to unveil the Moore's conception of the ‗truth‘ to the Americans and to the world. A ‗truth‘ veiled, according to Moore, by the American media that have chosen to exhibit some minor events like the visit of the Taliban to Texas in the USA. It was a way to expose the propagandistic role of media in supporting the government waging war, and the way they displayed information to orient people‘s beliefs and opinions. In fact, the filmmaker Michael Moore is in perfect tune with Chomsky‘s assertion of the role of media in societies. Indeed, Chomsky[(34)] considers that small groups of elites have control and take advantage of media coverage to promote their personal profits and use media to shape people‘s worldview and build a reality proper to them and provide it an actual existence. This manipulation, according to Chomsky[(35)], is achieved mainly by distracting people by creating problems then finding solutions to them, such as the appearance of a contagious illness then providing citizens with vaccine against the disease.

Leading their attention to what happens in other countries for the sake of keeping them ‗passive spectators‘ who are only getting trivial information is another strategy of media manipulation. In other words, people are diverted to hinder the rise of opposition and revolt. Chomsky[**(36)**] notes as well, that media

control of the masses is fulfilled by terrorizing the population about potential attacks, and frightening them to turn people blind regarding domestic issues. Moore intends to invite the Americans to consider the other side of the coin concerning the role of media which is not only to inform and entertain. He wants to make people aware that they are manipulated in such a way they tolerate the war which is presented as a way of stopping terrorists and putting an end to all kinds of threats against the USA.

Documentary movies are supposed to account for fact-based events and/or report objectively the stories of people, which Moore did not totally respect in his documentary movie, according to the documentary movie titled ‗Fahrenhype 9/11: unravelling the truth about Fahrenheit 9/11 & Michael Moore'[350]. Alan Peterson's Fahrenhype 9/11 heavily criticized Moore's Fahrenheit 9/11 qualifying it as subjective and containing edited scenes out of their context which do not correspond to the characteristics that distinguish a documentary movie from other kinds of movies. The name of the movie criticizing Moore's makes the audience expects the revelation of facts concealed or turned into Moore's advantage while editing his movie. In this regard, the scene displaying Bush in an elementary school attending a class while a second hijacked plane hit the second tower, which was represented by Moore as being inappropriate in such a situation, was portrayed in Fahrenhype movie as suitable in such a circumstance. In fact, the movie reported the teacher who had President Bush in her class testimony ―I was very pleased with the way it was handled, that he took a few moments to gather himself‖[351]. In other words, the teacher, besides others' testimonies appreciated the way Bush reacted to the terrible announcement ―America is under attack‖[352] because actually the president could not do anything at that specific moment to change the course of events. Bush also announced in that school that America was going through terrorist attacks that weaken the security of the territory which was not reported in Moore's Fahrenheit 9/11:

[350]Fahrenhype 9/11: unravelling the truth about Fahrenheit 9/11 & Michael Moore https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=s713LjbTR7E
[351]Fahrenhype 9/11 (02 :17)
[352] Ibid, (02 :59)

The authentic declaration goes as follows:

Ladies and Gentlemen, this is a difficult moment for America (…) today we have a national Tragedy; two airplanes have crashed into the World Trade Center in an apparent terrorist attack on our country (…) I have ordered the full resources of the federal government go to help the victims and their families, and to conduct a full-scale investigation to hunt down and to find those folks who committed this act. Terrorism against our nation will not stand. And now if you [would] join me in a moment of silence.[353]

Not reporting Bush's news conference may lead us to believe that Moore's documentary movie was biased to some extent. Moore shed light on the stoic reaction of Bush and did not display his address to the nation announcing the terrorist attacks. This omission does not correspond to the transparency that characterizes documentary movies from other genres. Addressing the nation while Bush was still in the elementary school, shows how the terrorist attacks affected the President who immediately expressed sympathy to the victims asking to observe a minute of silence. Moore's deletion of this scene probably aimed at not portraying the President as someone who has empathy towards others, but as a president who considers money and business as his principal priorities.

Fahrenhype 9/11 accredited Bush's election because the TV channels which designated Al Gore as the winner of Florida checked the validity of the new results before going back on their first declaration ―The New York Times, The Washington Post, and CNN verified it (the results of the 2001 election), come on Michael (…) Al Gore accepted it, it's time to move on‖[354]. We think TV channels of this magnitude would not broadcast news which are not valid and verified even if they probably omit facts or not cover others like all media do. (who speaks before) Actually, as mentioned in Fahrenhype 9/11, Moore discredited Bush's election because he supported Ralph Nader who was a 2000

[353] Fahrenhype 9/11 (5 :22)
[354] Ibid, (07:42)

presidential candidate, which again shows the subjectivity of Moore‘s standpoints regarding Bush‘s election. Fahrenhype 9/11 sheds light on an article that Moore displayed in his documentary movie ‗Latest Florida recount shows Gore won election‘[355] claiming that it was a reader‘s opinion of the 2000 election, not the title of an article. Moore, Peterson says, ―managed to increase the font of the headline (…) to completely rearrange the layout of the article, but in fact it wasn‘t an article at all‖[356]. The rearrangement of the layout aimed at presenting an opinion as a fact which indicates that Moore intended to manipulate his audience and present his desire to see Gore elected as a fact that was not divulged to the public.

Indeed, in his documentary, Moore did not only assume that Bush won the 2000 presidential election thanks to the intervention of his cousin John Ellis working for FOX News at that time, but he also advanced some evidence about his claim. In one scene, William O‘Rourke who is affirmed that ―John Ellis, a first cousin of George W. Bush, ran the network‘s ‗decision desk‘ during the 2000 election, and FOX was the first to name Bush the winner. Earlier, Ellis had made six phone calls to Cousin Bush during the vote-counting‖[357]. The latter implies that the call between George W. Bush and his cousin is a bit suspicious because it occurred on the election night, which clearly indicates that their call turned around the votes because if it was about something else, the call would have been postponed.

Michael Moore also asserts that Al Gore would have won the election if the votes were officially recounted. To support his stance, Moore affirms that many media organizations such as ―CNN; the New York Times; the Palm Beach Post; the St Petersburg Times; the Wall Street Journal; and the Washington Post‖[358] have asked the National Opinion Research Center (NORC) to scrutinize the ballots and explained how the election turned to Bush‘s advantage while they

[355] Fahrenhype 9/11, (08 :40)
[356] Ibid, (08 :42)
[357] Moore, M (2004) The Official Fahrenheit 9/11 Reader, Simon and Schuster Paperbacks: New York; p. 134
[358] Ibid, p. 135

announced the victory of Al Gore a moment early. The organization did not have a plausible explanation for that. Moore also contends that: ―Recount Provides No Firm Answers‖[359] which was the title of Washington Times on November 12, 2001. Later, Moore[360] declares that according to Martin Merzer who is, Al Gore asked for recounting the votes but Bush's agreement was indispensable for such decision, and Bush refused. The non-cooperation of Bush leads one to question the validity of the election; if the latter was legitimate, why refusing the recount. Was it to hide something illegal or did Bush refuse to give such a favor to all his opponents. We personally think that one cannot figure out what really happened during the 2000 Presidential election of the USA.

The terrorist threat was real, as displayed in Fahrenhype 9/11 documentary movie. Actually, Steven Emerson, an American journalist and author, discovered that many terrorist organizations existed in the United States which represented a real danger on Americans: ―they have one agenda, it is militant Islamic domination‖[361]. In the same documentary movie, other terrorist attacks targeting the US were forwarded such as the USS Cole, The Khobar Towers, and the US embassy in Kenya. This means that the 9/11 attacks were not an isolated event but it was among many potential others. Thus, the terrorist threat was not a trick Bush resorted to for the sake of going on a war, contrary to what Moore claimed about Bush who was determined to wage war on Iraq. Bush was presented in Fahrenhype 9/11 as being totally devoted to his country, and very determined to eradicate terrorism: –I will do whatever it takes, (…) if that means mobilizing the air forces and new kinds of ways; I'll do it, if that means rearranging the structure of the federal government; I'll do it‖[362].

The relationship between Bush and the Talibans that was so underscored in Moore's Fahrenheit 9/11 was turned into none in Fahrenhype 9/11 documentary movie. The latter asserted that Bush had neither direct nor indirect relationships with the Talibans: ―there is no relationship between Bush and the Talibans, they

[359] Moore, M (2004) The Official Fahrenheit 9/11 Reader, Simon and Schuster Paperbacks: New York; p. 134
[360] Ibid, p. 36
[361] Fahrenhype 9/11 (17 :20)
[362] Ibid, (23 :25)

never met with him‖[363]. Further, Peterson adds: ―they really hadn‘t literally nothing to do with George W Bush‖[364]. Once more, Fahrenhype 9/11 accused Moore of controlling some scenes and turning them into his advantage.

Farenhype 9/11 denied what Moore declared concerning the Saudis who left the US territory only hours after the 9/11 attacks. Indeed, the documentary movie denies that the Saudis were not allowed to leave the USA: ―the Saudis were allowed to leave the United States when air travel was closed to the public, that‘s absolutely false‖[365] adding, ―we find no evidence that any flights of Saudi nationals, domestic or international took place before the reopening of the airspace on the morning of September 13, 2001‖[366]. In the same movie, it was claimed that Moore overrated the percentage of Saudis‘ investment in the USA. The percentage is actually ―not even close to 7-8% of the United States‖[367]. In other words, Saudis do not have a significant impact on the US economy. The same movie declared that the relationship between the USA and Saudi Arabia did not start with Bush Senior, but it dates back to the 32nd President of the USA, namely Franklin Delano Roosevelt.

Fahrenhype 9/11 refutes Moore‘s assertion that the borders which separate the USA from its enemies in Oregon was guarded only by one trooper because Bush decided to cut the funding of the police. Moore is suspected of trying to convince his audience that the security of the USA was not Bush‘s major preoccupation contrary to his supposed desire to wage war on Iraq.

Actually, in another scene from Fahrenhype 9/11, the trooper Andy Kenyon who was complaining about the lack of troopers in the state of Oregon in Moore‘s movie was to be included in a documentary tackling the issue of funding cuts causing the decreasing of the number of troopers affecting the security of the whole US territory; but Moore seized these scenes to make the

[363] Fahrenhype 9/11, (20 :10)
[364] Ibid, (20 :23)
[365] Ibid, (32 :34)
[366] Ibid, (32 :44)
[367] Ibid, (33 :55)

audience believe that Bush was the responsible for this flaw. The trooper Kenyon declared being very frustrated and disappointed by the conclusion reached in the movie in which Moore accused Bush of being the responsible of cutting funds of police agencies which was not the case at all.

The Patriot Act was, according to Moore, a violation of Americans' intimacy. The Act aimed at having access to people's daily telephonic conversations, the books they get from library, etc. But in Fahrenhype 9/11. It was argued that Moore did not take into account all the other positive aspects concerning the Act. For instance, thanks to the Act, a call between the terrorists who were planning to attack the Brooklyn Bridge, a must-see place in New York was intercepted, and this prevented the attack from occurring. The attack did not happen thanks to the Patriot Act which permitted the interception of suspicious calls and carry on an investigation on them.

Who speaks —I think that the image and thesis that underpin the film that President Bush was only too happy to provoke a war with Iraq and wanted more than anything in the world to go to war and seize the pretext of 9/11 to have the war that he wanted to have is simply a fabrication‖[368]. This quotation is extracted from Fahrenhype 9/11 talking about Moore's documentary movie arguing that Moore's claim about Bush and the war on Iraq was totally shaped to convince the masses that the war was illegitimate. The countries, such as France, Russia, China, and so on stood against the war on Iraq to protect the business relationships they had with Saddam's regime, not because Saddam's regime had never threatened the USA who speaks. —This is absolutely false for Michael Moore to claim that Saddam Hussein never threats to attack the United States‖[369]. In fact, as mentioned in Fahrenhype 9/11, Saddam Hussein had threatened the USA several times; among them: one-year anniversary of the 9/11 attacks, Saddam Hussein called for the formation of a suicide squad targeting the USA. Saddam Hussein was actually very dangerous and he was promoting terrorism by rewarding families when their members committed suicide. He also had places

[368] Fahrenhype 9/11, (43 :20)
[369] Ibid, (47 :13)

where his regime was torturing innocent children in front of their parents; a psychopath attitude. Saddam Hussein‘s regime was also torturing people, enjoying their sufferance, and piling up murdered bodies.

The documentary movie Fahrenhype 9/11, heavily criticized Moore‘s procedures in de-contextualizing facts. That is to say, Moore resorted to montage several times in his documentary appropriating some interviews as parts of his movie which were in fact destined to other channels or movies. It was a manipulation of moving images making them appear as interviews he conducted to support his arguments against Bush and against the war in Iraq and using them for his own benefit. In this respect, one soldier Sergeant Peter Damon who appeared in Moore‘s Fahrenheit 9/11 declared that his testimony was not filmed by Moore and was not to be displayed in Fahrenheit 9/11 : ‒I‘ve never met Michael Moore (...) all the footages you saw me in Fahrenheit 9/11 were taken from news footage. All the footages were stolen‖[370].

In the documentary movie Fahrenhype 9/11, testimonies of soldiers were reported indicating that they got involved in the US army and troops because they wanted to ensure the security of their country and preserve its freedom. Actually, the soldiers expressed their commitment to the protection of their homeland and its main values namely; freedom and democracy. They also explained that their involvement in the US Army was not a sacrifice but a will they were proud of: ‒I joined for patriotism, it was my big dream‖[371], said one of them. ‒I joined later in my life; and it was something I strongly wanted to do‖[372], said another. ―I‘m very proud of my service in Iraq‖[373], claimed a third.

Sergeant Peter Damon asserted that he felt somehow violated; that his rights were violated because he did not permit Moore to display his sequences in the documentary movie. Sergeant Damon strongly considered that Moore dishonored

[370] Fahrenhype 9/11, (01 :00 :20)
[371] Ibid, (58 :53)
[372] Ibid, (58 :55)
[373] Ibid, (01 :01 :35)

him and all the military who were involved in the war in Iraq because he considered that Moore lied in reporting his case and many others.

Was the documentary movie which was awarded the Palme d'Or without even having a distributor, fully, or partially manipulated through assembling a set of decontextualized footages to make Moore's arguments valid? Did he lie on some events he reported implying that he did not respect the features characterizing this genre of movies which is supposed to display real facts and events without any modification? If it was so, why did Moore struggle to find a distributor accepting to display the documentary movie in theaters?

The diffusion of a TV show, a documentary, or other any other entertainment is forbidden when the content discloses some veiled facts and the consequences of its display threaten to be disastrous for a particular part. Moore said that he experienced many refusals such as the one he got from the Walt Disney Company which refused distributing Fahrenheit 9/11 under the fallacious pretext of not displeasing the families frequenting their leisure parks because of the nature of the movie that is political: Michael Eisner, the head of Disney, said that he ―didn't want his studio putting out a partisan political film that might offend the families who go to their amusements parks‖[374]. Moore argued that the company refused it because the movie did not support Bush. This means that the issue was the content; if Moore had produced a movie showing his support to Bush, it would have been displayed.

Moore had difficulties to get his documentary movie in theaters because he revealed that many distributors were under Republicans' pressure: Bush's party. In fact, Moore[375] declares that the White House, specifically Karl Rove's office, contacted many journalists asking them to criticize severely the movie even they had not seen it. The White House asserting that the documentary was a pack of lies; no need to show it in theaters to realize that the content was unsound and

[374]Moore, M (2004) The Official Fahrenheit 9/11 Reader, Simon and Schuster Paperbacks: New York, p. xiii
[375] Ibid, p.xiv

false ―we don‘t need to see it to know that it is wrong‖[376] who speaks. All these attempts to hinder the diffusion of Moore‘s documentary did not succeed, as the movie was displayed. The people were expecting a documentary that discloses information hidden to the public, and according to Moore, they were not disappointed: ―when these millions of Americans emerged from movie theaters, they were shaken to the core. Theater managers across the country reported crowds in tears, audiences standing and cheering a black screen at the end of the movie‖[377], Moore voices out. The movie shook its viewers to the core Moore said, after receiving a huge number of emails; around 6000 a day in which people expressed their opinions and the impact the movie had on them. Moore mentions one of his public‘s emails who confessed: ―I‘m Republican and I just don‘t know what to do now‖[378]. This indicates clearly that the movie raised issues that were not known to the public, and that it made them face some facts that messed up their political standpoints. This means that the movie might possibly bring them to vote for other candidates rather than Bush. Yet, Bush was reelected despite the fact that Moore‘s movie affected millions of people: ―perhaps eighty percent of the people going into Fahrenheit 9/11 are Kerry voters- but one hundred percent of the people coming out of Fahrenheit 9/11 are Kerry voters‖[379] who speaks. The quotation indicates that the movie dissuaded people from reelecting Bush. However, Bush was reelected for another presidential term. Why did Moore‘s beliefs and expectations turn into none?.

One can obviously notice that Moore integrated some sounds, music, his voice, and other people‘s voices to the whole documentary movie. Indeed, all kinds of sounds (sounds, music, and speech) incorporated in the documentary were different in terms of prominence and pitch. The latter correspond to the two domains to be reflected upon while studying sounds, as identified by Leeuwen in his semiotics of sounds theory, and which are perspective and social distance[380].

[376] Moore, M (2004) The Official Fahrenheit 9/11 Reader, Simon and Schuster Paperbacks: New York, p.xiv
[377] Ibid
[378] Ibid
[379] Ibid, p. xv
[380] Leeuwen, T (1999) *Speech, Music, Sound*, Macmillan Press: London, p. 15

Actually, the most dominant sound in the documentary movie is Moore‘s voice, as he kept commenting upon the different scenes making up his documentary movie. He let the floor to the represented participants and displays some music from time to time as well. It all depends on the message the filmmaker wants to put forward. The following are only some examples that illustrate perspective and social distance, as presented in Fahrenheit 9/11:

- When speaking about the 2000 Presidential election by the different TV channels, the immediate sound was the reporters‘ voices. The latter were somehow characterized by a high pitch which indicates a formal social distance between the reporters and the public.

- When the Afro-American members of the congress presented their objections concerning the election of Bush, their voices were the immediate sound. Their voices were marked with a high pitch voice which shows a formal social distance between the Afro-Americans and the other members of congress.

- The panic of the people, the sound of planes hitting the towers, the ambulances, and the helicopters were highlighted as the immediate sounds.

- When Bush announced waging war against Iraq, his voice was the immediate sound and it was soft with a low pitch, suggesting a personal distance between him and the audience. The personal social distance was established to make the Americans feel close to their President and trust him.

Moore forwarded the aforementioned sounds without commenting regarding their prominence. Indeed, he made them dominant to direct the audience‘s attention towards them, and avoid distracting them by including any other sounds in the background. Moore also combined foreground and background sounds in different scenes of his documentary movie. Here are some of them:

- When Bush was informed that the USA was attacked, Moore‘s voice was the immediate as it was the dominant one the audience pays attention to. Still, the

pupils and the teacher‘s voices were somehow hearable but not accentuated; they represent the background.

- When Moore contended that Bush was spending a lot of time on vacation rather than in office, a rhythmic and joyful music called _Vacation‘ sang by the Go Go‘s in 1981 was inserted. Moore‘s voice was the immediate and the song was the support as it corresponded with the point Moore was talking about (vacation).

-Another song _We gotta get out of this place‘ sang by the Animals in 1965, was incorporated in the documentary movie as a support sound to Moore‘s voice (immediate sound) while forwarding the fact that the Bin Laden‘s family left the USA when all the planes were stuck in airports and not allowed to fly.

All the sounds Moore employed in his documentary movie including his voice expressing his reflections, comments and opinions along with other people‘s testimonies and extracts of songs added to some scenes were all integrated. The purpose is to achieve specific purposes such as put into emphasis some scenes, support his claims as well as entertain and make the documentary catchy and enjoyable.

Chapter 8: Comparison of Bush's Speeches and Moore's Movie Outcomes

The interpretation of the different outcomes resulting from the scrutiny of the two corpora namely Bush‘s speeches along with Moore‘s Fahrenheit 9/11 reveals that both of them aim at achieving the same objective, which is to make people believe their discourse, stand by their side, validate and support their standpoints.

On the one hand, Bush aims at persuading the American citizens that the war on terror was the only way out from the tyranny they and the whole world were living, after the 9/11 terrorists attacks that destabilized and terrorized one of the world powers. The US president‘s speeches were all designed to make the war on Afghanistan and Iraq valid and legitimate regarding the great danger these countries represented to the USA in particular, and to the globe in general. The argument used is that the Iraqi regime had on its possession mass destruction weapons that might turn the world into a complete chaos if the government decided to use them against the countries that do not share the same world view, such as the USA that is a land of peace, tolerance and human rights as the US president repeats along several of his speeches. George W Bush emphasized the necessity of the wars against Afghanistan and Iraq because they offered shelter to Al Qaeda and terrorists that were and still are against a decent and peaceful life for all the world citizens.

On the other hand, Moore seeks to encourage people to carefully consider the war in Afghanistan and Iraq and making them realize that the wars presented as the only solution for eradicating terrorists and all kinds of threats against the USA and the world, as Bush kept repeating in his speeches were actually tricks. These tricks serve to divert people‘s attention that the real objective was to have access to the gas in the Caspian Sea and the wide Iraqi fields of oil that were strategies for making a lot of money and improving the economy of the USA that collapsed after the 9/11 terrorists attacks. Moore aims at awakening the Americans‘ spirits to consider the other side of the coin regarding the role of media which was not only to inform and entertain, but to manipulate the public opinions through presenting information going along the political party or the

government they support in order to make the public tolerate and approve the decisions.

Thus, documentary movies and political discourses are types of media which, according to Baudrillard[381] have the capacity to construct a hyper-reality that can be defined as another reality that is completely different from the current reality, which leads to the loss and disappearance of common sense reality through media devices. In other words, media create a reality called a ‗hyper-reality' which replaces the ‗actual' one, by serving the interests and profits of those who control them. In this line of thought, the two actors presented respectively a reality conforming to their own political beliefs, ideologies, religion, culture, etc. and aimed at convincing people that the realities about the war on terror they exposed were reliable and trustworthy for its proponents, but none of them was necessary the ‗truth'.

Admittedly, Bush forwarded the war on terror aiming at eradicating terrorists who constituted a worldwide menace that engendered the loss of important numbers of people, along with terrible consequences on different fields such as economy, health, education, etc. in several countries as the unique strategy to build a secure and safe territory and world.

Conversely, Moore suggested that the war on terror did not aim at getting rid of terrorists that represented a serious danger, but it was only a strategy Bush employed to have access to the gas of the Caspian Sea and the large oil Iraqi fields to earn money and make the economy increase.

The consideration of the results also showed that both George W. Bush and Michael Moore master Jonathan Charteris Black's strategies in their respective communication media, with the intention of making their audience trust the information they delivered along their discourses by shaping their opinions and making them behave the way both actors wanted. In fact, the US president wanted to make the American citizens validate and support the war on terror,

[381]Smith, R (2010) Baudrillard Dictionary, Edinburg University Press: UK, p. 200

while the filmmaker intended to persuade his audience about the uselessness of the war on terror, thus accusing Bush of taking advantage of the disastrous situation in the USA after the 9/11 attacks to make money. In doing so, Moore attempts to hinder Bush from being reelected. In this regard, the US president set forth establishing the politician‘s ethos, heightening the pathos, communicating and explaining political policies and political myth, while the filmmaker only opted for establishing the politician‘s ethos, and heightening the pathos.

On the one hand, while speaking to the US citizens in particular and the rest of the world in general, George W. Bush attempted to demonstrate that all of his decisions were ethical because they were intended to improve the circumstances the USA and the rest of the world were enduring at that time as a consequence of the terrorists‘ attacks. As a matter of fact, he promised that he and his government would prioritize the protection of American citizens through using all the means deemed necessary. He also stated that they were totally committed to rebuild the country and improve the internal issues such as labor, education, and health care after the terrorist attacks, which resulted in the death of many people and the decrease of the US economy. He argued that they were engaged in a war against Afghanistan and Iraq in order to free them from dictators that were ruling and oppressing their fellow citizens, and to secure the US territory and the entire world. He also emphasized the United States‘ resolution to put an end to the enemies of liberty, to spread peace and freedom around the world, and to protect human rights as a call of duty since the United States has always been a land of freedom and tolerance.

The way Bush presented the war on terror as the only solution to achieve peace all over the world to the Americans and the world citizens also corresponds to the notion of a ‗just war‘ theory. The latter, according to Michael Lacewing[382], suggests that wars, defined by the Oxford Dictionary as ―a situation in which two or more countries or groups of people fight against each other over

[382] Lacewing, M (2010) Philosophy for A2: Unit 3: Key Themes in Philosophy, Routledge: New York, p. 134

a period of time‖[383], can be ethically acceptable, and morally valid if the state declaring war respects the three main points making up the just war theory to the letter, specifically[384]: **1.** Jus ad bellum (the justice of resorting to war) **2.** Jus in bello (just conduct in war) **3.** Just post bellum (justice at the end of war).

The first indicates six norms rendering the war just which are as follows: the war can be a just cause only if **a.**it is meant to defend one's country, to protect others from hostile attacks or to execute a corrective punishment for a former hostility. **b.** it has a legitimate objective such as spreading peace and not to achieve a business goal through benefiting from valuable materials like oil or gas. **c.** it is publically declared to inform the citizens of the respective countries. **a.** it is the only recourse to sort out the discord between countries. **e.** it can guarantee the ending and the resolve of the situation that necessitated an armed fight**. f.** the country declaring the war ensures that the advantages surpass the disadvantages.

In this respect, Bush declared the war on terror against Afghanistan and Iraq after the 9/11 attacks that engendered the death of thousands of people including Americans and foreigners and the collapse of the US economy because he proclaimed that the terrorists would hit even harder in the future and might use mass destruction weapons which may cause a complete chaos in the US territory and in the world. This compelled him to announce publically his decision to launch the war on terror aiming at eliminating the terrorists mainly in Afghanistan and Iraq. He accused these countries to offer shelter to terrorists and Iraq to possess mass destruction weapons. The president insisted that military actions were the only way to spread peace and ensure security around the world.

The second point concerns the conduct towards the enemy by respecting six rules namely**: a.** banned weapons are not allowed to use **b.** only fighters can be attacked, civilians must be protected. **c.** the situation of the war must determine the means employed to end up the fight **d.** prisoners must be treated well because

[383] https://www.oxfordlearnersdictionaries.com/definition/english/war?q=war
[384] Lacewing, M (2010) Philosophy for A2: Unit 3: Key Themes in Philosophy, Routledge: New York, pp. 134-5

once in jail they do not represent a menace anymore**. e.** immoral behaviors such as ethnic cleansing or mass rape are prohibited. **f.** the armed forces must respect the rules no matter the way the enemy behaves.

In this regard, Bush forwarded the skills and the efficiency of the US military in battlefields and guaranteed the triumph of the USA because of the weapons they had at their disposal. He also asserted that Afghan and Iraqi civilians would be protected by the US army and that the terrorists would be the only target because the purpose lying behind the launching of the war was to ensure a peaceful and secured world, to stop the regimes from oppressing their fellow citizens, and above all to stop terrorists from attacking innocent nations.

The third point is about the end of the confrontation by ensuring the rights of the attacked country through respecting five main values which consists in: **a.** securing the rights of the targeted country**. b.** declaring peace after the end of the war as the starting was**. c.** settling peace is a must to avoid potential conflicts between the concerned countries. **d.** investigating the war to conduct trials against war crimes. **e.** rehabilitating the country that launched military actions.

In this context, in order to settle a country based on security, peace and democracy, the US president helped the Iraqi people to organize presidential elections after acknowledging the absence of mass destruction weapons and arresting Saddam Hussein considered by the USA as a dictator tyrannizing Iraqis

The US President carefully selected his words in order to provoke an emotional effect on the Americans, aiming at convincing them to accept the decisions he was about to make in the future, involving their homeland and other countries. In fact, Bush paid a tribute to the victims of the 9/11 attacks in approximately every speech he gave, signifying that he, and all the Americans were deeply touched, and he mentioned the victims several times in order to use them as an emotional reminder of what the Americans have been through. He also made reference to the 9/11 assaults that resulted in declaring the war on terror to put an end to terrorists and prevent future strikes that could have

disastrous repercussions all around the world. Bush showed confidence about the ongoing war on terror, promising triumph for the United States to comfort and relieve military families. He furthermore stated that the upcoming wars were valuable in eradicating terrorists and spreading liberty throughout the world. He also emphasized the importance of the US military troops in achieving victory and eliminating terrorist threats to forward the paramount importance of their job and to encourage and motivate them.

Along his addresses, the US President continuously endeavoured to convince the world and the US citizens in particular about the validity of all the decisions he took. He did not need their authorization, but he wanted to have the US citizens by his side, and not to be blamed if things degenerate on battlefields as it is often the case in wars. In fact, Bush talked about launching wars to get rid of terrorists all over the world early in his speeches after the 9/11 attacks considering the gravity of the circumstances. He emphasized the permanent risk menacing the world, and the need of pursuing wars against terrorists wherever they were.

In his political speeches, Bush included three distinctive myths[385], which are the myth of ‗conspiratorial enemy' which suggests the existence of an enemy planning violent strikes against a nation. ‗the valiant leader enemy myth' that is about highlighting the readiness of the political leader in confronting and sorting out the serious and dangerous issues, along with ‗the united we stand myth' which supports the idea that unity pays off and helps achieving triumph.

In this respect, Bush along his addresses kept repeating the probability of other terrorists' assaults that might target the USA and other countries cherishing freedom and peace that go against the terrorists' aspirations. He also underlined the existence of mass destruction weapons in Afghanistan and Iraq and pointed out the massacres that they might cause in the whole world. This shows the prerequisite of the war on terror to protect the Americans and the world from

[385]Black, J.C (2011), *Politicians and Rhetoric: The Persuasive Power of Metaphor.2nd Ed*, Palgrave Macmillan: UK, p. 24

terrorist‘ attacks. The US president accentuated the commitment of the USA to guarantee peace and freedom, to ensure the human rights along their work to assist nations ruled by oppressive regimes.

On the other hand, Moore wanted to convince his audience that his documentary movie was displayed for the good of American citizens, aiming at making them confront the reality of the war in Iraq that he considered veiled by the US president George W. Bush and his administration. In fact, Moore discredited Bush‘s election by claiming that the votes were manipulated to prevent, according to him, a large number of voters, mainly black Americans from voting for Al Gore. The filmmaker also argued that the victory in Florida was only achieved because George W Bush‘s brother was the senator of Florida at that period, which implies the implication of the brother in the way votes turned out. Moore formulated a serious accusation against Bush regarding the 9/11 attacks by claiming that the terrorist assaults of September were the results of turning a deaf ear to a CIA report informing about potential attacks aiming at targeting the USA. If this proves right, it becomes a serious accusation against the person in charge of ensuring security of a whole country. Moore also forwarded the different demonstrations that the families of the victims organized because they did not have any explanation about the attacks, and could not grieve their relatives, and move on to accentuate the blurriness of the 9/11 events.

Moore also insisted that the war on Afghanistan was only a distraction from the factual goals of Bush and his administration, which was to enlarge his war on terror to Iraq. The authorities took the decision to declare a war on Afghanistan with the support of a coalition so as not to stir up the Americans‘ interrogations if no action was taken against al-Qaeda, the obvious criminal. The United States has taken the opportunity to be in Afghanistan to have access to the natural gas in the Caspian Sea and has completely ignored its mission to capture the globally wanted terrorist Bin Laden. Moore claimed that Bush and his administration targeted Iraq from the onset, even though Iraq was not responsible for the 9/11 attacks. Moore argued that ending Saddam Hussein's administration because of

his dictatorship was the argument Bush used to persuade the public of the legitimacy of the war. The filmmaker also revealed that the divulgation of the existence of mass destruction weapons and the potential future terrorist attacks was a way Bush and his administration employed to scare the masses, and make the war legitimate, and necessary. Michael Moore insinuated that the USA disguised its real intentions ‗having access to the vast oil fields in the Iraqi territory' into a mission to ‗guarantee peace and security all over the globe'.

In fact, the scary atmosphere settled in the USA was the key, as Moore kept repeating. The president's aim was to control the citizens and make them accept his decisions, which corresponds to Machiavelli's[386] theory about the politics of fear. The latter advises governing authorities about the best way to reach and preserve power, and avoid any kind of protest or revolution of their populations notably by frightening their citizens. Machiavelli advises the rulers that ―Since love and fear can hardly exist together if we must choose between them, it is far better to be feared than loved if you cannot be both‖[387]. In other words, a ruler needs to be frightened more than to be loved, because popularity may vanish with the dissatisfaction of people's desires and requests. In this respect, Moore blames Bush for having created a terrifying atmosphere to maintain his ruling and have access to new territories.

Moore also argued that the divulgation of information about the Iraq war by the American media was in favour of the United States, portraying the military as heroes confronting evil for the security of the US territory and the world. The media did not display what was really occurring in the Iraqi territory such as attacking civilians. The filmmaker claimed that Saudi Arabia was guilty of the 9/11 attacks, but a lot was at stake as most of the US economy relied on Saudis' investments. Therefore, Bush and his administration preferred hiding the guilty prioritizing the business and neglecting Americans. Moore also believed that the Iraq war was just an opportunity to stimulate the US economy, and develop its business after the collapse it knew as a consequence of the 9/11 attacks. The war

[386] Machiavelli, N (1532) The Prince, Penguin Books: New York
[387] Machiavelli, N (1989) Machiavelli: The Chief Works and Others, Vol. I, Duke University Press: USA, p. 62

was not about putting an end to terrorists and improving the Iraqis‘ way of living, but it was about making money through having access to the wide oil fields.

Moore used ‗heightening the pathos‘ since he sought to move people's emotions and feelings to convince Americans about the reliability of his position on Bush and his administration, and the credibility of the ‗reality‘ he disclosed in his documentary. To this end, Moore portrayed the terrorizing scenes that took place at the World Trade Centre when the two towers were hit, and displayed the suffering of people in search of their relatives. He did not intend to bring these devastating scenes back to Americans‘ lives to twist the knife again, but wanted to pay tribute to the victims showing that he was affected. He was convinced that all the chaos that the USA endured could have been avoided if Bush did not ignore the CIA‘s alert which was a serious accusation against the US president. Likewise, Moore also emphasized the suffering of Iraqi civilians who were supposed to be preserved from Saddam Hussein‘s tyranny and the US military attacks. This means that the USA did not respect its commitment, and that saving the lives of Iraqis was not essential.

In the same context, the filmmaker also paid tribute to the U.S. military who lost their lives far from their hometown, believing that the war they were leading was legitimate and justified. Moore stated that to Bush and his peers, human lives were worthless during the Iraqi war, while having access to oil fields and making money was really worthy and was at the top of the priorities. Moore counted on Lira Lipscorn's testimony who is a mother who lost her son in the battlefield in Iraq to prove that the war in Iraq was not acceptable and that Americans were deceived. The scene shedding light on Lira was heart breaking as she read the last letter she received from her son where he indicated that he could not wait to get back home since he and his colleagues were sent there for the wrong reason. The letter was really powerful as it tackled the Iraq war in one of the military‘s words which made the letter powerful and reliable.

Considering the examination of the two corpora, the findings reveal that both of the US president George W. Bush and the filmmaker Michael Moore made

use of Berger and Luckmann‘s habitualization and legitimation in order to convince their audiences about the validity of the realities they displayed in their respective media mainly about the war on terror in Afghanistan and especially in Iraq.

In this regard, George W Bush in almost all his speeches under analysis makes reference to the Taliban, Al Qaeda, Saddam Hussein and the great danger they constituted to the whole world if they decided to attack countries that did not have the same world view as theirs. He also talks about the dictatorship Saddam Hussein was exerting on his fellow citizens who deserved a decent and safe life in their home country. He repeatedly mentions the Iraqi regime‘s possession to mass destruction weapons that could engender chaos all over the world. By the repetition of these information, the US president intends to awaken the spirits in the USA and other countries about the terrorists‘ threats they were confronting and they might confront in the future. He emphasizes the terrorists‘ menaces in order to make the Americans believe that they were exposed to a great danger that may deprive them from their loved ones, their jobs and their daily lives in general and make them trust that the war on terror was the only way out allowing them to live in a peaceful and safe land. The aforementioned render the wars against Afghanistan and Iraq legitimate and necessary to get rid of the terrorists‘ threats which involved the approval of the US president‘s decisions.

In the same context, Michael Moore intend to make his public realize that Iraq did not represent any danger on the USA or the world which entailed that the war in Iraq was not needed and they were tricked by the US president and his administration. Indeed, the filmmaker asserts the implication and responsibility of Saudi Arabia in the 9/11 terrorist attacks but the country was not accused as George W Bush and the Saudis had a tight connection especially in business that was forwarded all along the movie. He insists on the important amounts of money that the Saudis were investing in different businesses in the USA which showed the important position of the Saudis in the American territory. Moore also emphasizes the close relationship between Bush and Bandar, the ambassador

of Saudi Arabia in the USA. The filmmaker seeks to make the Americans understand that Bush was only concerned with business and earning a lot of money. Moore also puts a focus on the relationship between Bush and Al Qaeda members through displaying their visit to Texas when Bush was the senator there aiming at improving people‘s opinions towards them through knowing the regime‘s values. Moore repeats the aforementioned facts to ingrain them in Americans‘ minds and make his documentary movie valid seeking at rendering the Americans realize the hidden reasons of declaring a war against Iraq and smear the US president‘s reputation aiming at having the Americans by his side supporting his positions hoping not to see Bush reelected in the upcoming presidential elections.

The reflection on the various outcomes obtained after the scrutiny of the two corpora shows that the two actors made a particular use of information in order to promote their political beliefs, and in order to persuade the masses about the validity of their respective standpoints. This particular treatment of information refers to the notion of propaganda that is broadly defined in Harold Lasswell‘s words as follows: ―the expression of opinions or actions carried out deliberately by individuals or groups with a view to influencing the opinions or actions of other individuals or groups for predetermined ends and through psychological manipulations‖[388]. In other words, people expose their opinions concerning a particular topic and present them as facts seeking to manipulate the targeted audience in order to achieve their goals.

In this regard, George W. Bush used his speeches to set an alarming environment in America in particular and in the whole world in general, aiming at diverting their concern from all the domestic issues occurring at that time. For instance, it was necessary to divert Americans from the conspiracy theories that were raised by a group of people accusing Bush and his administration to be involved in the 9/11 attacks that could have caused the decline of Bush‘s popularity. Above all, the US president sought to make the war on terror rational

[388]Lasswell, H. D. (1928) The Function of the Propagandist, *International Journal of Ethics*. 38 (3), pp. 258–268

and legal by creating paranoia among his fellow citizens who were terrified by the eventuality of other fatal attacks. This corresponds to some of the strategies that Chomsky[389] denounced in manipulating the masses. This consists in creating problems then offering solutions, the strategy of deferring, using the emotional side more than the reflection. In this respect, George W. Bush promoted the cruelty of terrorists attacking countries that value democracy, peace, and tolerance which go against their aspirations for violence and tyranny. Bush also emphasized the existence of mass destruction weapons that were in oppressive regimes' hands that represented a great danger on many nations and the possibility of terrorist attacks anytime and anywhere were also highlighted which served the President of the United States to frighten Americans and the entire world with the view to make them accept his decisions to launch the war on terror was presented as the only solution to sort out all kinds of threats that were menacing the USA and the whole world.

Concerning the strategy of deferring, the US president insisted that the hard period the USA was going through such as the decline of the economy, was due to the terrorist attacks that destabilized everything in the country. He also asserted that by getting rid of all the terrorists, the USA would have a brighter and safer future. Along his speeches, the president also resorted to emotional reminders like frequently paying tribute to all the victims of the 9/11 terrorist attacks in order to make the Americans remember the chaos they lived on that day and the beloved ones they lost forever rendering the war on terror legitimate and necessary.

Through highlighting the fact that the US president relied on one of the propaganda strategies identified by Chomsky consisting in creating a frightening atmosphere among the citizens in order to get them to think that all the decisions Bush and his administration were taking were necessary for the protection of the USA. In fact, the filmmaker accuses Bush to have intentionally scared the US citizens about possible future terrorist attacks by repeating that Saddam Hussein

[389]Chomsky, N (1997) Media Control: The Spectacular Achievements of Propaganda, Seven Stories Press: New York, p. 23

had at his disposal mass destruction weapons aiming at turning the countries that cherish freedom and democracy such as the USA into chaos.

According to Moore, neither the USA nor other countries were threatened by the terrorists. The strategy Bush adopted was a trick to reach his objectives in having access to large oil fields without giving any explanations to his fellow citizens and other nations since he was constantly repeating that his only aim was to secure the US territory and spread peace all over the world. Moore also used one of Chomsky‘s strategies aiming at manipulating the masses which is Using the emotional side more than the reflection to catch his audience attention in order to make them consider that all the information he divulged in his documentary movie were valid and reliable. He also showed Iraqi civilians targeted by the US military despite the fact that Bush guaranteed protection to Iraqis along with the heart breaking testimony of a mother who lost her young son in Iraq and read the last letter he sent her in which he condemned Bush for sending him to a war that was not valid which I consider was the most prominent scene in the movie. He stirred people‘s emotions to convince them that the war on terror was not valid.

The interpretation of the different findings of the two examined corpora confirms all the hypotheses we formulated at the beginning of the current research in the introduction section. As a matter of fact, both actors namely the US president George W Bush and the filmmaker Michael Moore resorted to media instruments they had at their control _political speeches‘ for Bush, and the documentary movie, for Moore to promote their point of view and their position concerning the war on terror with the view to shape their audience world view and persuading them about the validity of their respective standpoints.

On one hand, Bush presents the war on terror as a noble cause seeking at securing the US territory and spreading peace all over the world. He asserts that the war on terror was the only way out to live peacefully without being afraid of potential future attacks that might happen if the USA did not declare a war against terrorists who cherish tyranny, oppression and violence. He also

designates Iraq as the core of terror and emphasizes the necessity and emergency of depriving Saddam Hussein from ruling Iraq as he was, according to Bush, a dangerous dictator who had at his possession mass destruction weapons that could be used against the countries valuing peace, tolerance and human rights.

On the other hand, Michael Moore contends that the war on terror was a trick that the US president George W Bush used to dupe the Americans. To the filmmaker, the war on terror was a way to divert Americans from Bush‘s real intentions which were having a free access to the wide oil fields and earn important sums of money. Moore argues that the war on terror was neither justifiable nor ethical as the USA and the world were not threatened by the Iraqi regime and Iraq was not responsible of the deadly and horrifying 9/11 terrorist attacks.

General Conclusion

The current study has tackled the issue of the 9/11 terrorist attacks in the USA which resulted in the loss of thousands of people and the establishment of a terrifying atmosphere in the US territory and different other countries all around the world presented as a potential target. The 9/11 attacks constituted the core of the present research, principally because they engendered a massive media coverage all over the world, bringing about the emergence of conspiracy theories which claimed the implication of the USA in the terrorist attacks that occurred on September 11th, 2001.

Our work has sought to scrutinize two distinct discourses, namely the US president George W Bush's speeches and Michael Moore's Fahrenheit 9/11 documentary movie to probe the way they presented the war on terror and the war in Iraq respectively. To reach this aim, we have relied on a semiotic analysis in order to shed light on the strategies and the rhetorical devices Bush and Moore have employed to address the war in Iraq. The objective of the research was also to strengthen the fact that reality is socially constructed to match and suit people's interests through having recourse to some strategies and instruments for persuading the masses about the reliability of the reality they display and have people's support.

The present paper started with a general introduction which was followed by two major parts theoretical and practical. The introduction has provided a general view of the topic tackled extensively in the thesis, it has drawn attention to the gap in previous research about the same topic. The semiotic analysis has permitted to focus on the way two distinct actors approached the war in Iraq. The general introduction has also listed research questions that we have attempted to answer along the investigation, it has clearly formulated the main hypotheses posited to conduct our research, and has provided a general description of the examined corpora, together with the theoretical frameworks the research was based on. It has finally provided a broad view of the outline structuring the thesis.

The first part entitled theoretical considerations comprised four chapters describing respectively the theoretical foundations upon which the work was grounded. The first chapter entitled semiotics has clarified the basics of semiotics defined as the study of signs, its origin, and has explained the two prominent semiotic theories which are the Saussurean binary theory, and the Peircean triadic theory. The chapter has also exposed Halliday‘s social semiotics along with Kress and Leeuwen‘s theory of multimodality which have also contributed highlighting important points in our corpora.

The second chapter has presented important scholars who accounted for the way reality is socially shaped and constructed like Berger and Luckmann, Jean Baudriallard and Noam Chomsky. These authors have helped disclose important issues generally kept hidden by the media, and have shed light on the ways the media are manipulated by individuals or groups of interests to impose a specific point of view on a particular issue.

The third chapter has dealt with the notion of discourse, its various types and the different strategies used to analyze discourses. Likewise, it has highlighted a number of rhetorical devices which serve not only to embellish discourse, but also to convince people, especially as far as political discourse is concerned.

The fourth chapter covered the most prominent movie genres with a particular emphasis on documentary movies that display accurate facts about people or places in order to inform rather than to entertain, along with a review of the major theories in film studies specifically, classical film theory, structuralism, semiotics of cinema, and cognitive film theory, which are all concerned with the study of movies to find out the way film producers proceed to communicate their intended messages, and figure out the effects movies may have on their audience.

The practical part was made up of three chapters, namely methodological considerations, the manner in which the reality of the war in Iraq is presented by President George W. Bush and the way, reality in Iraq is presented by Michael

Moore. The first chapter presented the corpus composed of the 18 speeches of George W Bush from September 11, 2001 corresponding to the 9/11 terrorist attacks to November 6, 2003 and Michael Moore‘s Fahrenheit 9/11 documentary movie.

It has also supplied a detailed explanation of Peirce‘s triadic theory of the sign which permits the interpretation of every sign by subjecting it to our background knowledge, context of situation, culture and many other characteristics that we considered for the interpretation of Bush‘s and Moore‘ speeches in their respective media.

Kress and Leeuwen‘s theory of multimodality more precisely, reading images has helped us interpret the visuals produced by the filmmaker Michael Moore.

Leeuwen‘s theory has permitted us to account for the way messages are transmitted via sounds and how the listeners interpret their meanings. To analyze the filmmaker‘s voice while commenting, and the songs integrated in the documentary, etc.

Jonathan Charteris-Black‘s rhetorical means for persuasion in political communication has allowed us to sort out the strategies both actors used to convince their audiences and get their support.

The second and third chapters namely, the reality of the war on Iraq as presented by President George W. Bush and the reality of the war on Iraq as presented by Michael Moore have confirm and strengthen the accuracy of the hypotheses suggested in the general introduction. The chapters corroborate the hypothesis that both actors (Bush and Moore) present the reality of the war on Iraq as shaped by their own ideologies. They also confirm that both actors (Bush and Moore) use the media devices they favour which are political speeches and the documentary movie to shape their discourse about the reality of the war on Iraq. Bush presents it as a necessity to put an end to terrorism, while Moore presents it as a pretext Bush used to invade Iraq for other purposes. In fact, when George W Bush delivered his speeches addressing Americans and the whole

world, he intended to show that all the decisions he took along with his administration were ethical aiming at improving the situation of the USA and the rest of the world.

In almost all of his speeches, the US president chose his words carefully for the sake of having an emotional impact on the citizens by often paying a tribute to the people who passed away and by expressing his sympathy and support to the American and foreign citizens who lost a beloved one as a consequence of the 9/11 attacks which necessitated the declaration of the war on terror to get rid of the terrorists and hinder other potential attacks. In his speeches, he also expressed his confidence about the war on terror guaranteeing the triumph of the US military in getting rid of the terrorists, in spreading peace all over the world and in saving Afghans and Iraqis from oppressive regimes.

The analysis has also demonstrated that the US president kept repeating that his intentions lying behind launching wars were totally valid and legitimate to make the Americans and the world citizens support and approve his decisions in case things went wrong in the confrontations between the US military and the targeted countries such as the loss of the military and citizens on battlefields. Very early in his speeches after the 9/11 attacks, Bush forwarded the necessity of putting an end to terrorism in order to spread peace and ensure human rights everywhere as he considered the situation very urgent. He wanted to prepare the Americans psychologically to the eventuality of launching wars against terrorists.

While addressing his fellow citizens, George W Bush put forth the necessity of the war on terror by resorting to three political myths namely the myth of conspiratorial enemy, the valiant leader enemy myth along with the united we stand myth[390]. In this respect, the US president insisted on the fact that the USA could be attacked again because of the values of human rights it cherishes. He emphasized the presence of mass destruction weapons in Iraq and highlighted the damages they might cause if the owners came to use them. He also asserted that

[390]Jonathan Charteris-Black (2011), *Politicians and Rhetoric: The Persuasive Power of Metaphor.2nd Ed. The* United Kingdom: Palgrave Macmillan, page 26

the USA was determined to get rid of the terrorists who represented a great danger on the whole world and called upon all nations to stand by his side in order to spread peace all over the world.

Aiming at persuading the masses to support the decisions he and his administration were about to take, notably against the Afghan and Iraqi, George W Bush employed several rhetorical devices to make his speeches appealing, impactful and eloquent. In fact, he used personal and possessive pronouns to highlight or not his direct implication in the ongoing events. He also used metaphors especially when talking about the USA and their enemies, and about peace, and about oppression or dictatorship. He also used euphemism to make his speeches catchy and persuasive. In addition to this process of persuasion George W Bush made use of two steps necessary for the construction of a social reality, consisting of habitualization and legitimation as identified by Berger and Luckmann.

To achieve this purpose, the US president referred to the Taliban, Al Qaeda, Saddam Hussein and the danger they represented to the whole world in general and to the countries cherishing peace and democracy in particular. The President also insisted on the oppression Saddam Hussein was exerting on Iraqis and his possession of mass destruction weapons that could demolish the world. He kept repeating the aforementioned points to get the masses strongly believe in the necessity of the war on terror to ensure safe and peaceful territories. This rendered the war on terror legitimate and valid as it created a frightening and paranoid atmosphere among the American citizens, persuading them that the only way out from chaos and the achievement of a brighter future was about supporting the war on terror.

On the other hand, the examination of Fahrenheit 9/11 demonstrated that the film maker Michael Moore intended to convince his audience about the reliability of the events he displayed in his documentary movie claiming that they represented the only reality of the overseas attacks that the USA launched against Afghanistan and Iraq. The analysis has equally shown that Moore‘s documentary

movie was also an attempt at preventing George W Bush‘s reelection. In this regard, Moore insisted on the non-authenticity of Bush‘s election which was achieved, according to him, by hindering an important number of voters from voting. To Moore, Bush only won the state of Florida thanks to his brother who was the senator then. Moore argued that the 9/11 terrorist attacks could have been avoided if the US president did not turn a deaf ear to the CIA alert about eventual terrorist attacks and forwarded some demonstrations of the victims‘ families asking for the truth of the 9/11 events.

Along his documentary movie, Michael Moore constantly asserts that Iraq was the target of the US president right after the 9/11 attacks, but he opted to launch the war on terror against Afghanistan first because Al Qaeda was obviously considered the guilty for everyone. Moore claimed that once the USA had access to the natural gas in the Caspian Sea, they totally forgot about their mission which was to catch Bin Laden. He also claimed that the war in Iraq was declared in order to benefit from large oil fields in the Iraqi territory and not to prevent Saddam Hussein from oppressing his fellow citizens, or using the mass destruction weapons supposed to be in his possession. The filmmaker also designated Saudi Arabia as the guilty of the 9/11 terrorist attacks but Bush and his administration decided to blame another country because the US economy was heavily dependent on the important investment of the Saudis.

In his quest of persuasion, Michael Moore targeted his audience‘s emotions in order to make his standpoints against Bush and his administration valid. To achieve his goal, the filmmaker displayed the panic and fear of people who witnessed the attacks in the World Trade Center and the engendered chaos at that time. By these scenes, he intended to pay a tribute to all the victims, and focused the fact that the 9/11 attacks could have been prevented if the CIA‘s alert was taken seriously. He emphasized the Iraqi people‘s miserable conditions who were not supposed to be targeted. He also paid a tribute to the American soldiers who passed away in a battlefield that was not legitimate in Moore‘s eyes. He

especially put forward the testimony of Lila Lipscomb the mother of a very young soldier who passed away in Iraq.

The examination of the documentary movie has indicated that Moore used habitualization and legitimation referring to two steps serving to socially construct the reality, as Berger and Luckmann[391] specified. In this respect, all along the documentary, Moore repeated several times the guiltiness of the Saudis and the fact they were not accused because of the relationship between the USA and Saudi Arabia especially in the economic field. He also kept repeating that Afghanistan was a trick to build a pipeline in the Caspian Sea to have access to Gas. Moore also insisted on the fact that Iraq was innocent and did not have at its possession mass destruction weapons threatening to destruct the world, but was targeted because of the presence of large oil fields. The repetition aimed at making the reality displayed in the documentary movie legitimate and valid.

In short, the interpretation of the different outcomes obtained after the analysis of the two corpora showed that the US president, George W Bush and the American filmmaker Michael Moore, both used media devices corresponding to their respective positions namely the political speeches and the documentary movie in order to forward their perception of the war on terror and convince their audiences about the reliability of their positions. The US president presented the war on terror along his speeches as a legitimate cause aiming at guaranteeing a safe territory and a peaceful world for the American and world citizens. He insisted that launching war on terror against countries whose regimes offer shelter to terrorists, have at their possession mass destruction weapons and oppress their citizens such as Afghanistan and Iraq in particular, is the only solution to feel safe and live without being afraid of potential terrorist attacks. Conversely, the filmmaker maintained that the objective of the war on terror was so much far from creating a peaceful and secure world, but it was only a diversion Bush resorted to in order to hide his real intentions which were accessing the large oil fields and thus making a lot of money.

[391]Berger, P and Luckmann, T (1966) *The Social Construction of Reality: A Treatise in the Sociology of Knowledge,* Penguin Books: London

The analysis has also shown that beyond the factual events illustrated by our corpora, reality in general is socially constructed via different means, especially by media, therefore raising the issue of how media to increase the awareness of people regarding the advantages and drawbacks of media. In this respect, we consider that the family and school have a crucial role in encouraging people particularly children to never take things for granted, to always question the reliability of every information communicated by the different media, and not believe that the displayed reality is the current and only one, by considering what is really happening in their surroundings and taking into consideration all the possible standpoints about one particular event.

People have to be critical of every film, documentary, video, etc. they watch to make up their judgments and have their own points of view. In fact, educational institutions have to incorporate lessons early in the academic program about the analysis of all types of discourses including political ones, movies, books, sit-coms, newspaper articles, and so on. In order to sort out the implied meanings and make the learners realize that media do not only inform but manipulate information to mould the reality the way it fits their goals and objectives.

In this regard, there are two books among many others namely George Orwell‘s 1984[392] and Aldous Huxley‘s Brave New World that we judge important to be incorporated in educational syllabi to raise students‘ awareness regarding the absence of transparency in media and their implication in the construction of reality. George Orwell‘s 1984 is a dystopian novel which means that the novel takes place in a chaotic setting showing the decline of a society because of different factors among them government repression. In fact, the fictional writing _1984‘ narrates the life of Winston Smith in Oceania. The latter witnesses different kinds of government control over the nation such as surveillance and censorship. Actually, all the information are manipulated before being communicated to the public and the inhabitants of Oceania are constantly

[392] Orwell, G (1949) Nineteen Eighty-Four, Secker & Warburg : London

watched everywhere, in the streets and their houses via telescreens set up by the governing party whose main slogan is ―WAR IS PEACE, FREEDOM IS SLAVERY, IGNORANCE IS STRENGHTH‖[393]. This clearly indicates the dictatorship par excellence of the governing party. Aldous Huxley‘s Brave New World novel is about a futuristic society called the World State where manipulation, indoctrination, and dehumanization are the dominant features. In fact, babies are conceived in artificial wombs in laboratories, which are manipulated in a way to belong to distinct groups that are Alpha, Beta, Gamma, Delta, or Epsilon. These groups are hierarchically classified Alpha on the top of the pyramid and the Epsilon on the bottom. Each group is meant to be moulded into specific people, such as the Alpha are destined to become leaders, but the Epsilon are destined to do menial work. Since the creation of the babies, there is a constant indoctrination to shape their personalities and their worldview by hypnotizing them through diffusing audios aiming at determining what is allowed, and what is not. The shaping occurs through negative reinforcements as well such as the use of electrical shocks. The aforementioned books are only two examples that may change people‘s worldview and realize how our world is socially shaped.

Further research tackling the war on Afghanistan and Iraq from other perspectives such as the situations both countries in the present time would be enriching and would probably bring further insights about the real intentions of the USA in these places. A study about the feedback of the war on terror or after the war and why not the failure of the war on terror since the Taliban have taken over in Afghanistan, other terrorist groups are still intervening in different parts of the world, media manipulation about our domestic issues, Yemen, Palestine, Russia and Ukraine would be really interesting in forwarding the core of the present research which is the social construction of reality by different actors for different purposes using different media .

[393] Orwell, G (1949) Nineteen Eighty-Four, Secker & Warburg: London, p. 6

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Appendices

Bush' Speeches

Address to the Nation on the September 11 Attacks

THE OVAL
OFFICE
WASHINGTON,
D.C.
SEPTEMBER 11,
2001

Good evening. Today, our fellow citizens, our way of life, our very freedom came under attack in a series of deliberate and deadlyterrorist acts. The victims were in airplanes, or in their offices; secretaries, businessmen and women, military and federal workers;moms and dads, friends and neighbors. Thousands of lives were suddenly ended by evil, despicable acts of terror.

The pictures of airplanes flying into buildings, fires burning, huge structures collapsing, have filled us with disbelief, terrible sadness, and a quiet, unyielding anger. These acts of mass murder were intended to frighten our nation into chaos and retreat. But theyhave failed; our country is strong.

A great people has been moved to defend a great nation. Terroristattacks can shake the foundations of our biggest buildings, but they cannot touch the foundation of America. These acts shattered steel, but they cannot dent the steel of American resolve.

America was targeted for attack because we're the brightest beacon for freedom and opportunity in the world. And no one willkeep that light from shining.

Today, our nation saw evil, the very worst of human nature. Andwe responded with the best of America — with the daring of our rescue workers, with the caring for strangers and neighbors who came to give blood and help in any way they could.

Immediately following the first attack, I implemented our government's emergency response plans. Our military is powerful,and it's prepared. Our emergency teams are working in New YorkCity and Washington, D.C. to help with local rescue efforts.

Our first priority is to get help to those who have been injured,and to take every precaution to protect our citizens at home and around the world from further attacks.

The functions of our government continue without interruption. Federal agencies in Washington which had to be evacuated today are reopening for essential personnel tonight, and will be open for business tomorrow. Our financial institutions remain strong, and the American economy will be open for business, as well.

The search is underway for those who are behind these evil acts. I've directed the full resources of our intelligence and law enforcement communities to find those responsible and to bring them to justice. We will make no distinction between the terrorists who committed these acts and those who harbor them.

I appreciate so very much the members of Congress who have joined me in strongly condemning these attacks. And on behalf of the American people, I thank the many world leaders who have called to offer their condolences and assistance.

America and our friends and allies join with all those who want peace and security in the world, and we stand together to win the war against terrorism. Tonight, I ask for your prayers for all those who grieve, for the children whose worlds have been shattered, for all whose sense of safety and security has been threatened. And I pray they will be comforted by a power greater than any of us, spoken through the ages in Psalm 23: "Even though I walk through the valley of the shadow of death, I fear no evil, for You are with me."

This is a day when all Americans from every walk of life unite in our resolve for justice and peace. America has stood down enemies before, and we will do so this time. None of us will ever forget this day. Yet, we go forward to defend freedom and all that is good and just in our world.

Thank you. Good night, and God bless America.

National Day of Prayer and Remembrance Service

THE NATIONAL CATHEDRAL
WASHINGTON, D.C.
SEPTEMBER 14, 2001

We are here in the middle hour of our grief. So many have suffered so great a loss, and today we express our nation's sorrow. We come before God to pray for the missing and the dead, and for those who love them.

On Tuesday, our country was attacked with deliberate and massive cruelty. We have seen the images of fire and ashes, and bent steel.

Now come the names, the list of casualties we are only beginning to read. They are the names of men and women who began their day at a desk or in an airport, busy with life. They are the names of people who faced death, and in their last moments called home to say, be brave, and I love you.

They are the names of passengers who defied their murderers, and prevented the murder of others on the ground. They are the names of men and women who wore the uniform of the United States, and died at their posts.

They are the names of rescuers, the ones whom death found running up the stairs and into the fires to help others. We will read all these names. We will linger over them, and learn their stories, and many Americans will weep.

To the children and parents and spouses and families and friends of the lost, we offer the deepest sympathy of the nation. And I assure you, you are not alone.

Just three days removed from these events, Americans do not yet have the distance of history. But our responsibility to history is already clear: to answer these attacks and rid the world of evil.

War has been waged against us by stealth and deceit and murder. This nation is peaceful, but fierce when stirred to anger. This conflict was begun on the timing and terms of others. It will end in

a way, and at an hour, of our choosing.

Our purpose as a nation is firm. Yet our wounds as a people are recent and unhealed, and lead us to pray. In many of our prayers this week, there is a searching, and an honesty. At St. Patrick's Cathedral in New York on Tuesday, a woman said, "I prayed to God to give us a sign that He is still here." Others have prayed for the same, searching hospital to hospital, carrying pictures of those still missing.

God's signs are not always the ones we look for. We learn in tragedy that his purposes are not always our own. Yet the prayers of private suffering, whether in our homes or in this great cathedral, are known and heard, and understood.

There are prayers that help us last through the day, or endure the night. There are prayers of friends and strangers, that give us strength for the journey. And there are prayers that yield our will to a will greater than our own.

This world He created is of moral design. Grief and tragedy and hatred are only for a time. Goodness, remembrance, and love have no end. And the Lord of life holds all who die, and all who mourn.

It is said that adversity introduces us to ourselves. This is true of a nation as well. In this trial, we have been reminded, and the world has seen, that our fellow Americans are generous and kind, resourceful and brave. We see our national character in rescuers working past exhaustion; in long lines of blood donors; in thousands of citizens who have asked to work and serve in any way possible.

And we have seen our national character in eloquent acts of sacrifice. Inside the World Trade Center, one man who could have saved himself stayed until the end at the side of his quadriplegic friend. A beloved priest died giving the last rites to a firefighter. Two office workers, finding a disabled stranger, carried her down sixty-eight floors to safety. A group of men drove through the night from Dallas to Washington to bring skin grafts for burn victims.

In these acts, and in many others, Americans showed a deep commitment to one another, and an abiding love for our country. Today, we feel what Franklin Roosevelt called the warm courage of

national unity. This is a unity of every faith, and every background.

It has joined together political parties in both houses of Congress. It is evident in services of prayer and candlelight vigils, and American flags, which are displayed in pride, and wave in defiance.

Our unity is a kinship of grief, and a steadfast resolve to prevail against our enemies. And this unity against terror is now extending across the world.

America is a nation full of good fortune, with so much to be grateful for. But we are not spared from suffering. In every generation, the world has produced enemies of human freedom. They have attacked America, because we are freedom's home and defender. And the commitment of our fathers is now the calling of our time.

On this national day of prayer and remembrance, we ask almighty God to watch over our nation, and grant us patience and resolve in all that is to come. We pray that He will comfort and console those who now walk in sorrow. We thank Him for each life we now must mourn, and the promise of a life to come.

As we have been assured, neither death nor life, nor angels nor principalities nor powers, nor things present nor things to come, nor height nor depth, can separate us from God's love. May He bless the souls of the departed. May He comfort our own. And may He always guide our country.

God bless America.

Remarks to New York Rescue Workers

MURRAY AND WEST STREETS
NEW YORK, NEW YORK
SEPTEMBER 14, 2001

CROWD: U.S.A.! U.S.A.!

THE PRESIDENT: Thank you all. I want you all to know —

Q Can't hear you.

THE PRESIDENT: I can't talk any louder.

I want you all to know that America today — that America today is on bended knee in prayer for the people whose lives were lost here, for the workers who work here, for the families who mourn. This nation stands with the good people of New York City, and New Jersey and Connecticut, as we mourn the loss of thousands of our citizens.

Q I can't hear you.

THE PRESIDENT: I can hear you. I can hear you. The rest of the world hears you. And the people who knocked these buildings down will hear all of us soon.

CROWD: U.S.A.! U.S.A.!

THE PRESIDENT: The nation sends its love and compassion to everybody who is here. Thank you for your hard work. Thank you for making the nation proud. And may God bless America.

Address to the Joint Session of the 107th Congress

UNITED STATES CAPITOL

WASHINGTON, D.C.

SEPTEMBER 20, 2001

Mr. Speaker, Mr. President Pro Tempore, members of Congress, and fellow Americans:

In the normal course of events, Presidents come to this chamber to report on the state of the Union. Tonight, no such report is needed. It has already been delivered by the American people.

We have seen it in the courage of passengers, who rushed terrorists to save others on the ground — passengers like an exceptional man named Todd Beamer. And would you please help me to welcome his wife, Lisa Beamer, here tonight.

We have seen the state of our Union in the endurance of rescuers, working past exhaustion. We have seen the unfurling of flags, the lighting of candles, the giving of blood, the saying of prayers — in English, Hebrew, and Arabic. We have seen the decency of a loving and giving people who have made the grief of strangers their own.

My fellow citizens, for the last nine days, the entire world has seen for itself the state of our Union — and it is strong.

Tonight we are a country awakened to danger and called to defend freedom. Our grief has turned to anger, and anger to resolution. Whether we bring our enemies to justice, or bring justice to our enemies, justice will be done.

I thank the Congress for its leadership at such an important time. All of America was touched on the evening of the tragedy to see Republicans and Democrats joined together on the steps of this Capitol, singing "God Bless America." And you did more than sing; you acted, by delivering $40 billion to rebuild our communities and meet the needs of our military.

Speaker Hastert, Minority Leader Gephardt, Majority Leader Daschle and Senator Lott, I thank you for your friendship, for your leadership and for your service to our country.

And on behalf of the American people, I thank the world for its outpouring of support. America will never forget the sounds of our National Anthem playing at Buckingham Palace, on the streets of Paris, and at Berlin's Brandenburg Gate.

We will not forget South Korean children gathering to pray outside our embassy in Seoul, or the prayers of sympathy offered at a mosque in Cairo. We will not forget moments of silence and days of mourning in Australia and Africa and Latin America.

Nor will we forget the citizens of 80 other nations who died with our own: dozens of Pakistanis; more than 130 Israelis; more than 250 citizens of India; men and women from El Salvador, Iran, Mexico and Japan; and hundreds of British citizens. America has no truer friend than Great Britain. Once again, we are joined together in a great cause — so honored the British Prime Minister has crossed an ocean to show his unity of purpose with America. Thank you for coming, friend.

On September the 11th, enemies of freedom committed an act of war against our country. Americans have known wars — but for the past 136 years, they have been wars on foreign soil, except for one Sunday in 1941. Americans have known the casualties of war — but not at the center of a great city on a peaceful morning. Americans have known surprise attacks — but never before on thousands of civilians. All of this was brought upon us in a single day — and night fell on a different world, a world where freedom itself is under attack.

Americans have many questions tonight. Americans are asking: Who attacked our country? The evidence we have gathered all points to a collection of loosely affiliated terrorist organizations known as al Qaeda. They are the same murderers indicted for bombing American embassies in Tanzania and Kenya, and responsible for bombing the USS Cole.

Al Qaeda is to terror what the mafia is to crime. But its goal is not making money; its goal is remaking the world — and imposing its radical beliefs on people everywhere.

The terrorists practice a fringe form of Islamic extremism that

has been rejected by Muslim scholars and the vast majority of Muslim clerics — a fringe movement that perverts the peaceful teachings of Islam. The terrorists' directive commands them to kill Christians and Jews, to kill all Americans, and make no distinction among military and civilians, including women and children.

This group and its leader — a person named Osama bin Laden — are linked to many other organizations in different countries, including the Egyptian Islamic Jihad and the Islamic Movement of Uzbekistan. There are thousands of these terrorists in more than 60 countries. They are recruited from their own nations and neighborhoods and brought to camps in places like Afghanistan, where they are trained in the tactics of terror. They are sent back to their homes or sent to hide in countries around the world to plot evil and destruction.

The leadership of al Qaeda has great influence in Afghanistan and supports the Taliban regime in controlling most of that country. In Afghanistan, we see al Qaeda's vision for the world.

Afghanistan's people have been brutalized — many are starving and many have fled. Women are not allowed to attend school. You can be jailed for owning a television. Religion can be practiced only as their leaders dictate. A man can be jailed in Afghanistan if his beard is not long enough.

The United States respects the people of Afghanistan — after all, we are currently its largest source of humanitarian aid — but we condemn the Taliban regime. It is not only repressing its own people, it is threatening people everywhere by sponsoring and sheltering and supplying terrorists. By aiding and abetting murder, the Taliban regime is committing murder.

And tonight, the United States of America makes the following demands on the Taliban: Deliver to United States authorities all the leaders of al Qaeda who hide in your land. Release all foreign nationals, including American citizens, you have unjustly imprisoned. Protect foreign journalists, diplomats and aid workers in your country. Close immediately and permanently every terrorist training camp in Afghanistan, and hand over every terrorist, and

every person in their support structure, to appropriate authorities. Give the United States full access to terrorist training camps, so we can make sure they are no longer operating.

These demands are not open to negotiation or discussion. The Taliban must act, and act immediately. They will hand over the terrorists, or they will share in their fate.

I also want to speak tonight directly to Muslims throughout the world. We respect your faith. It's practiced freely by many millions of Americans, and by millions more in countries that America counts as friends. Its teachings are good and peaceful, and those who commit evil in the name of Allah blaspheme the name of Allah. The terrorists are traitors to their own faith, trying, in effect, to hijack Islam itself. The enemy of America is not our many Muslim friends; it is not our many Arab friends. Our enemy is a radical network of terrorists, and every government that supports them.

Our war on terror begins with al Qaeda, but it does not end there. It will not end until every terrorist group of global reach has been found, stopped and defeated.

Americans are asking, why do they hate us? They hate what we see right here in this chamber — a democratically elected government. Their leaders are self-appointed. They hate our freedoms — our freedom of religion, our freedom of speech, our freedom to vote and assemble and disagree with each other.

They want to overthrow existing governments in many Muslim countries, such as Egypt, Saudi Arabia, and Jordan. They want to drive Israel out of the Middle East. They want to drive Christians and Jews out of vast regions of Asia and Africa.

These terrorists kill not merely to end lives, but to disrupt and end a way of life. With every atrocity, they hope that America grows fearful, retreating from the world and forsaking our friends. They stand against us, because we stand in their way.

We are not deceived by their pretenses to piety. We have seen their kind before. They are the heirs of all the murderous ideologies of the 20th century. By sacrificing human life to serve their radical visions — by abandoning every value except the will to power —

they follow in the path of fascism, and Nazism, and totalitarianism. And they will follow that path all the way, to where it ends: in history's unmarked grave of discarded lies.

Americans are asking: How will we fight and win this war? We will direct every resource at our command — every means of diplomacy, every tool of intelligence, every instrument of law enforcement, every financial influence, and every necessary weapon of war — to the disruption and to the defeat of the global terror network.

This war will not be like the war against Iraq a decade ago, with a decisive liberation of territory and a swift conclusion. It will not look like the air war above Kosovo two years ago, where no ground troops were used and not a single American was lost in combat.

Our response involves far more than instant retaliation and isolated strikes. Americans should not expect one battle, but a lengthy campaign, unlike any other we have ever seen. It may include dramatic strikes, visible on TV, and covert operations, secret even in success. We will starve terrorists of funding, turn them one against another, drive them from place to place, until there is no refuge or no rest. And we will pursue nations that provide aid or safe haven to terrorism. Every nation, in every region, now has a decision to make. Either you are with us, or you are with the terrorists. From this day forward, any nation that continues to harbor or support terrorism will be regarded by the United States as a hostile regime.

Our nation has been put on notice: We are not immune from attack. We will take defensive measures against terrorism to protect Americans. Today, dozens of federal departments and agencies, as well as state and local governments, have responsibilities affecting homeland security. These efforts must be coordinated at the highest level. So tonight I announce the creation of a Cabinet-level position reporting directly to me — the Office of Homeland Security.

And tonight I also announce a distinguished American to lead this effort, to strengthen American security: a military veteran, an effective governor, a true patriot, a trusted friend — Pennsylvania's

Tom Ridge. He will lead, oversee and coordinate a comprehensive national strategy to safeguard our country against terrorism, and respond to any attacks that may come.

These measures are essential. But the only way to defeat terrorism as a threat to our way of life is to stop it, eliminate it, and destroy it where it grows.

Many will be involved in this effort, from FBI agents to intelligence operatives to the reservists we have called to active duty. All deserve our thanks, and all have our prayers. And tonight, a few miles from the damaged Pentagon, I have a message for our military: Be ready. I've called the Armed Forces to alert, and there is a reason. The hour is coming when America will act, and you will make us proud.

This is not, however, just America's fight. And what is at stake is not just America's freedom. This is the world's fight. This is civilization's fight. This is the fight of all who believe in progress and pluralism, tolerance and freedom.

We ask every nation to join us. We will ask, and we will need, the help of police forces, intelligence services, and banking systems around the world. The United States is grateful that many nations and many international organizations have already responded — with sympathy and with support. Nations from Latin America, to Asia, to Africa, to Europe, to the Islamic world. Perhaps the NATO Charter reflects best the attitude of the world: An attack on one is an attack on all.

The civilized world is rallying to America's side. They understand that if this terror goes unpunished, their own cities, their own citizens may be next. Terror, unanswered, can not only bring down buildings, it can threaten the stability of legitimate governments. And you know what — we're not going to allow it.

Americans are asking: What is expected of us? I ask you to live your lives, and hug your children. I know many citizens have fears tonight, and I ask you to be calm and resolute, even in the face of a continuing threat.

I ask you to uphold the values of America, and remember why

so many have come here. We are in a fight for our principles, and our first responsibility is to live by them. No one should be singled out for unfair treatment or unkind words because of their ethnic background or religious faith.

I ask you to continue to support the victims of this tragedy with your contributions. Those who want to give can go to a central source of information, libertyunites.org, to find the names of groups providing direct help in New York, Pennsylvania, and Virginia.

The thousands of FBI agents who are now at work in this investigation may need your cooperation, and I ask you to give it.

I ask for your patience, with the delays and inconveniences that may accompany tighter security; and for your patience in what will be a long struggle.

I ask your continued participation and confidence in the American economy. Terrorists attacked a symbol of American prosperity. They did not touch its source. America is successful because of the hard work, and creativity, and enterprise of our people. These were the true strengths of our economy before September 11th, and they are our strengths today.

And, finally, please continue praying for the victims of terror and their families, for those in uniform, and for our great country. Prayer has comforted us in sorrow, and will help strengthen us for the journey ahead.

Tonight I thank my fellow Americans for what you have already done and for what you will do. And ladies and gentlemen of the Congress, I thank you, their representatives, for what you have already done and for what we will do together. Tonight, we face new and sudden national challenges. We will come together to improve air safety, to dramatically expand the number of air marshals on domestic flights, and take new measures to prevent hijacking. We will come together to promote stability and keep our airlines flying, with direct assistance during this emergency.

We will come together to give law enforcement the additional tools it needs to track down terror here at home. We will come together to strengthen our intelligence capabilities to know the plans

of terrorists before they act, and find them before they strike.

We will come together to take active steps that strengthen America's economy, and put our people back to work.

Tonight we welcome two leaders who embody the extraordinary spirit of all New Yorkers: Governor George Pataki, and Mayor Rudolph Giuliani. As a symbol of America's resolve, my administration will work with Congress, and these two leaders, to show the world that we will rebuild New York City.

After all that has just passed — all the lives taken, and all the possibilities and hopes that died with them — it is natural to wonder if America's future is one of fear. Some speak of an age of terror. I know there are struggles ahead, and dangers to face. But this country will define our times, not be defined by them. As long as the United States of America is determined and strong, this will not be an age of terror; this will be an age of liberty, here and across the world.

Great harm has been done to us. We have suffered great loss. And in our grief and anger we have found our mission and our moment. Freedom and fear are at war. The advance of human freedom — the great achievement of our time, and the great hope of every time — now depends on us. Our nation — this generation — will lift a dark threat of violence from our people and our future. We will rally the world to this cause by our efforts, by our courage. We will not tire, we will not falter, and we will not fail.

It is my hope that in the months and years ahead, life will return almost to normal. We'll go back to our lives and routines, and that is good. Even grief recedes with time and grace. But our resolve must not pass. Each of us will remember what happened that day, and to whom it happened. We'll remember the moment the news came — where we were and what we were doing. Some will remember an image of a fire, or a story of rescue. Some will carry memories of a face and a voice gone forever.

And I will carry this: It is the police shield of a man named George Howard, who died at the World Trade Center trying to save others. It was given to me by his mom, Arlene, as a proud memorial

to her son. This is my reminder of lives that ended, and a task that does not end.

I will not forget this wound to our country or those who inflicted it. I will not yield; I will not rest; I will not relent in waging this struggle for freedom and security for the American people.

The course of this conflict is not known, yet its outcome is certain. Freedom and fear, justice and cruelty, have always been at war, and we know that God is not neutral between them.

Fellow citizens, we'll meet violence with patient justice — assured of the rightness of our cause, and confident of the victories to come. In all that lies before us, may God grant us wisdom, and may He watch over the United States of America.

Address to the Nation on Operations in Afghanistan

THE TREATY ROOM OF THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON, D.C.

OCTOBER 7, 2001

Good afternoon. On my orders, the United States military has begun strikes against al Qaeda terrorist training camps and military installations of the Taliban regime in Afghanistan. These carefully targeted actions are designed to disrupt the use of Afghanistan as a terrorist base of operations, and to attack the military capability of the Taliban regime.

We are joined in this operation by our staunch friend, Great Britain. Other close friends, including Canada, Australia, Germany and France, have pledged forces as the operation unfolds. More than 40 countries in the Middle East, Africa, Europe and across Asia have granted air transit or landing rights. Many more have shared intelligence. We are supported by the collective will of the world.

More than two weeks ago, I gave Taliban leaders a series of clear and specific demands: Close terrorist training camps; hand over leaders of the al Qaeda network; and return all foreign nationals, including American citizens, unjustly detained in your country. None of these demands were met. And now the Taliban will pay a price. By destroying camps and disrupting communications, we will make it more difficult for the terror network to train new recruits and coordinate their evil plans.

Initially, the terrorists may burrow deeper into caves and other entrenched hiding places. Our military action is also designed to clear the way for sustained, comprehensive and relentless operations to drive them out and bring them to justice.

At the same time, the oppressed people of Afghanistan will know the generosity of America and our allies. As we strike military targets, we'll also drop food, medicine and supplies to the starving and suffering men and women and children of Afghanistan.

The United States of America is a friend to the Afghan people,

and we are the friends of almost a billion worldwide who practice the Islamic faith. The United States of America is an enemy of those who aid terrorists and of the barbaric criminals who profane a great religion by committing murder in its name.

This military action is a part of our campaign against terrorism, another front in a war that has already been joined through diplomacy, intelligence, the freezing of financial assets and the arrests of known terrorists by law enforcement agents in 38 countries. Given the nature and reach of our enemies, we will win this conflict by the patient accumulation of successes, by meeting a series of challenges with determination and will and purpose.

Today we focus on Afghanistan, but the battle is broader. Every nation has a choice to make. In this conflict, there is no neutral ground. If any government sponsors the outlaws and killers of innocents, they have become outlaws and murderers, themselves. And they will take that lonely path at their own peril.

I'm speaking to you today from the Treaty Room of the White House, a place where American Presidents have worked for peace. We're a peaceful nation. Yet, as we have learned, so suddenly and so tragically, there can be no peace in a world of sudden terror. In the face of today's new threat, the only way to pursue peace is to pursue those who threaten it.

We did not ask for this mission, but we will fulfill it. The name of today's military operation is Enduring Freedom. We defend not only our precious freedoms, but also the freedom of people everywhere to live and raise their children free from fear.

I know many Americans feel fear today. And our government is taking strong precautions. All law enforcement and intelligence agencies are working aggressively around America, around the world and around the clock. At my request, many governors have activated the National Guard to strengthen airport security. We have called up Reserves to reinforce our military capability and strengthen the protection of our homeland.

In the months ahead, our patience will be one of our strengths patience with the long waits that will result from tighter security;

patience and understanding that it will take time to achieve our goals; patience in all the sacrifices that may come.

Today, those sacrifices are being made by members of our Armed Forces who now defend us so far from home, and by their proud and worried families. A Commander-in-Chief sends America's sons and daughters into a battle in a foreign land only after the greatest care and a lot of prayer. We ask a lot of those who wear our uniform. We ask them to leave their loved ones, to travel great distances, to risk injury, even to be prepared to make the ultimate sacrifice of their lives. They are dedicated, they are honorable; they represent the best of our country. And we are grateful.

To all the men and women in our military — every sailor, every soldier, every airman, every coastguardsman, every Marine — I say this: Your mission is defined; your objectives are clear; your goal is just. You have my full confidence, and you will have every tool you need to carry out your duty.

I recently received a touching letter that says a lot about the state of America in these difficult times — a letter from a 4th-grade girl, with a father in the military: "As much as I don't want my Dad to fight," she wrote, "I'm willing to give him to you."

This is a precious gift, the greatest she could give. This young girl knows what America is all about. Since September 11, an entire generation of young Americans has gained new understanding of the value of freedom, and its cost in duty and in sacrifice.

The battle is now joined on many fronts. We will not waver; we will not tire; we will not falter; and we will not fail. Peace and freedom will prevail.

Thank you. May God continue to bless America.

Department of Defense Service of Remembrance at the Pentagon

THE PENTAGON

ARLINGTON, VIRGINIA

OCTOBER 11, 2001

Please be seated. President and Senator Clinton, thank you all for being here. We have come here to pay our respects to 125 men and women who died in the service of America. We also remember 64 passengers on a hijacked plane; those men and women, boys and girls who fell into the hands of evildoers, and also died here exactly one month ago.

On September 11th, great sorrow came to our country. And from that sorrow has come great resolve. Today, we are a nation awakened to the evil of terrorism, and determined to destroy it. That work began the moment we were attacked; and it will continue until justice is delivered.

Americans are returning, as we must, to the normal pursuits of life. Americans are returning, as we must, to the normal pursuits of life. But we know that if you lost a son or daughter here, or a husband, or a wife, or a mom or dad, life will never again be as it was. The loss was sudden, and hard, and permanent. So difficult to explain. So difficult to accept.

Three schoolchildren traveling with their teacher. An Army general. A budget analyst who reported to work here for 30 years. A lieutenant commander in the Naval Reserve who left behind a wife, a four-year-old son, and another child on the way.

One life touches so many others. One death can leave sorrow that seems almost unbearable. But to all of you who lost someone here, I want to say: You are not alone. The American people will never forget the cruelty that was done here and in New York, and in the sky over Pennsylvania.

We will never forget all the innocent people killed by the hatred of a few. We know the loneliness you feel in your loss. The entire

nation, entire nation shares in your sadness. And we pray for you and your loved ones. And we will always honor their memory.

The hijackers were instruments of evil who died in vain. Behind them is a cult of evil which seeks to harm the innocent and thrives on human suffering. Theirs is the worst kind of cruelty, the cruelty that is fed, not weakened, by tears. Theirs is the worst kind of violence, pure malice, while daring to claim the authority of God. We cannot fully understand the designs and power of evil. It is enough to know that evil, like goodness, exists. And in the terrorists, evil has found a willing servant.

In New York, the terrorists chose as their target a symbol of America's freedom and confidence. Here, they struck a symbol of our strength in the world. And the attack on the Pentagon, on that day, was more symbolic than they knew. It was on another September 11th — September 11th, 1941 — that construction on this building first began. America was just then awakening to another menace: The Nazi terror in Europe.

And on that very night, President Franklin Roosevelt spoke to the nation. The danger, he warned, has long ceased to be a mere possibility. The danger is here now. Not only from a military enemy, but from an enemy of all law, all liberty, all morality, all religion.

For us too, in the year 2001, an enemy has emerged that rejects every limit of law, morality, and religion. The terrorists have no true home in any country, or culture, or faith. They dwell in dark corners of earth. And there, we will find them.

This week, I have called the Armed Forces into action. One by one, we are eliminating power centers of a regime that harbors al Qaeda terrorists. We gave that regime a choice: Turn over the terrorists, or face your ruin. They chose unwisely.

The Taliban regime has brought nothing but fear and misery to the people of Afghanistan. These rulers call themselves holy men, even with their record of drawing money from heroin trafficking. They consider themselves pious and devout, while subjecting women to fierce brutality.

The Taliban has allied itself with murderers and gave them shelter. But today, for al Qaeda and the Taliban, there is no shelter. As Americans did 60 years ago, we have entered a struggle of uncertain duration. But now, as then, we can be certain of the outcome, because we have a number of decisive assets.

We have a unified country. We have the patience to fight and win on many fronts: Blocking terrorist plans, seizing their funds, arresting their networks, disrupting their communications, opposing their sponsors. And we have one more great asset in this cause: The brave men and women of the United States military.

From my first days in this office, I have felt and seen the strong spirit of the Armed Forces. I saw it at Fort Stewart, Georgia, when I first reviewed our troops as Commander-in-Chief, and looked into the faces of proud and determined soldiers. I saw it in Annapolis on a graduation day, at Camp Pendleton in California, Camp Bondsteel in Kosovo. And I have seen this spirit at the Pentagon, before and after the attack on this building.

You've responded to a great emergency with calm and courage. And for that, your country honors you. A Commander-in-Chief must know, must know that he can count on the skill and readiness of servicemen and women at every point in the chain of command. You have given me that confidence.

And I give you these commitments. The wound to this building will not be forgotten, but it will be repaired. Brick by brick, we will quickly rebuild the Pentagon. In the missions ahead for the military, you will have everything you need, every resource, every weapon, every means to assure full victory for the United States and the cause of freedom.

And I pledge to you that America will never relent on this war against terror. There will be times of swift, dramatic action. There will be times of steady, quiet progress. Over time, with patience, and precision, the terrorists will be pursued. They will be isolated, surrounded, cornered, until there is no place to run, or hide, or rest.

As military and civilian personnel in the Pentagon, you are an important part of the struggle we have entered. You know the risks

of your calling, and you have willingly accepted them. You believe in our country, and our country believes in you.

Within sight of this building is Arlington Cemetery, the final resting place of many thousands who died for our country over the generations. Enemies of America have now added to these graves, and they wish to add more. Unlike our enemies, we value every life, and we mourn every loss.

Yet we're not afraid. Our cause is just, and worthy of sacrifice. Our nation is strong of heart, firm of purpose. Inspired by all the courage that has come before, we will meet our moment and we will prevail.

May God bless you all, and may God bless America.

Address to the United Nations General Assembly

UNITED NATIONS HEADQUARTERS
NEW YORK, NEW YORK
NOVEMBER 10, 2001

Thank you. Mr. Secretary General, Mr. President, distinguished delegates, and ladies and gentlemen. We meet in a hall devoted to peace, in a city scarred by violence, in a nation awakened to danger, in a world uniting for a long struggle. Every civilized nation here today is resolved to keep the most basic commitment of civilization: We will defend ourselves and our future against terror and lawless violence.

The United Nations was founded in this cause. In a second world war, we learned there is no isolation from evil. We affirmed that some crimes are so terrible they offend humanity, itself. And we resolved that the aggressions and ambitions of the wicked must be opposed early, decisively, and collectively, before they threaten us all. That evil has returned, and that cause is renewed.

A few miles from here, many thousands still lie in a tomb of rubble. Tomorrow, the Secretary General, the President of the General Assembly, and I will visit that site, where the names of every nation and region that lost citizens will be read aloud. If we were to read the names of every person who died, it would take more than three hours.

Those names include a citizen of Gambia, whose wife spent their fourth wedding anniversary, September the 12th, searching in vain for her husband. Those names include a man who supported his wife in Mexico, sending home money every week. Those names include a young Pakistani who prayed toward Mecca five times a day, and died that day trying to save others.

The suffering of September the 11th was inflicted on people of many faiths and many nations. All of the victims, including Muslims, were killed with equal indifference and equal satisfaction by the terrorist leaders. The terrorists are violating the tenets of

every religion, including the one they invoke.

Last week, the Sheikh of Al-Azhar University, the world's oldest Islamic institution of higher learning, declared that terrorism is a disease, and that Islam prohibits killing innocent civilians. The terrorists call their cause holy, yet, they fund it with drug dealing; they encourage murder and suicide in the name of a great faith that forbids both. They dare to ask God's blessing as they set out to kill innocent men, women and children. But the God of Isaac and Ishmael would never answer such a prayer. And a murderer is not a martyr; he is just a murderer.

Time is passing. Yet, for the United States of America, there will be no forgetting September the 11th. We will remember every rescuer who died in honor. We will remember every family that lives in grief. We will remember the fire and ash, the last phone calls, the funerals of the children.

And the people of my country will remember those who have plotted against us. We are learning their names. We are coming to know their faces. There is no corner of the Earth distant or dark enough to protect them. However long it takes, their hour of justice will come.

Every nation has a stake in this cause. As we meet, the terrorists are planning more murder — perhaps in my country, or perhaps in yours. They kill because they aspire to dominate. They seek to overthrow governments and destabilize entire regions.

Last week, anticipating this meeting of the General Assembly, they denounced the United Nations. They called our Secretary General a criminal and condemned all Arab nations here as traitors to Islam.

Few countries meet their exacting standards of brutality and oppression. Every other country is a potential target. And all the world faces the most horrifying prospect of all: These same terrorists are searching for weapons of mass destruction, the tools to turn their hatred into holocaust. They can be expected to use chemical, biological and nuclear weapons the moment they are capable of doing so. No hint of conscience would prevent it.

This threat cannot be ignored. This threat cannot be appeased. Civilization, itself, the civilization we share, is threatened. History will record our response, and judge or justify every nation in this hall.

The civilized world is now responding. We act to defend ourselves and deliver our children from a future of fear. We choose the dignity of life over a culture of death. We choose lawful change and civil disagreement over coercion, subversion, and chaos. These commitments — hope and order, law and life — unite people across cultures and continents. Upon these commitments depend all peace and progress. For these commitments, we are determined to fight.

The United Nations has risen to this responsibility. On the 12th of September, these buildings opened for emergency meetings of the General Assembly and the Security Council. Before the sun had set, these attacks on the world stood condemned by the world. And I want to thank you for this strong and principled stand.

I also thank the Arab Islamic countries that have condemned terrorist murder. Many of you have seen the destruction of terror in your own lands. The terrorists are increasingly isolated by their own hatred and extremism. They cannot hide behind Islam. The authors of mass murder and their allies have no place in any culture, and no home in any faith.

The conspiracies of terror are being answered by an expanding global coalition. Not every nation will be a part of every action against the enemy. But every nation in our coalition has duties. These duties can be demanding, as we in America are learning. We have already made adjustments in our laws and in our daily lives. We're taking new measures to investigate terror and to protect against threats.

The leaders of all nations must now carefully consider their responsibilities and their future. Terrorist groups like al Qaeda depend upon the aid or indifference of governments. They need the support of a financial infrastructure, and safe havens to train and plan and hide.

Some nations want to play their part in the fight against terror,

but tell us they lack the means to enforce their laws and control their borders. We stand ready to help. Some governments still turn a blind eye to the terrorists, hoping the threat will pass them by. They are mistaken. And some governments, while pledging to uphold the principles of the U.N., have cast their lot with the terrorists. They support them and harbor them, and they will find that their welcome guests are parasites that will weaken them, and eventually consume them.

For every regime that sponsors terror, there is a price to be paid. And it will be paid. The allies of terror are equally guilty of murder and equally accountable to justice.

The Taliban are now learning this lesson — that regime and the terrorists who support it are now virtually indistinguishable. Together they promote terror abroad and impose a reign of terror on the Afghan people. Women are executed in Kabal's soccer stadium. They can be beaten for wearing socks that are too thin. Men are jailed for missing prayer meetings.

The United States, supported by many nations, is bringing justice to the terrorists in Afghanistan. We're making progress against military targets, and that is our objective. Unlike the enemy, we seek to minimize, not maximize, the loss of innocent life. I'm proud of the honorable conduct of the American military. And my country grieves for all the suffering the Taliban have brought upon Afghanistan, including the terrible burden of war. The Afghan people do not deserve their present rulers. Years of Taliban misrule have brought nothing but misery and starvation. Even before this current crisis, 4 million Afghans depended on food from the United States and other nations, and millions of Afghans were refugees from Taliban oppression.

I make this promise to all the victims of that regime: The Taliban's days of harboring terrorists and dealing in heroin and brutalizing women are drawing to a close. And when that regime is gone, the people of Afghanistan will say with the rest of the world: good riddance.

I can promise, too, that America will join the world in helping

the people of Afghanistan rebuild their country. Many nations, including mine, are sending food and medicine to help Afghans through the winter. America has air-dropped over 1.3 million packages of rations into Afghanistan. Just this week, we air-lifted 20,000 blankets and over 200 tons of provisions into the region. We continue to provide humanitarian aid, even while the Taliban tried to steal the food we send.

More help eventually will be needed. The United States will work closely with the United Nations and development banks to reconstruct Afghanistan after hostilities there have ceased and the Taliban are no longer in control. And the United States will work with the U.N. to support a post-Taliban government that represents all of the Afghan people.

In this war on terror, each of us must answer for what we have done or what we have left undone. After tragedy, there is a time for sympathy and condolence. And my country has been very grateful for both. The memorials and vigils around the world will not be forgotten. But the time for sympathy has now passed; the time for action has now arrived.

The most basic obligations in this new conflict have already been defined by the United Nations. On September the 28th, the Security Council adopted Resolution 1373. Its requirements are clear: Every United Nations member has a responsibility to crack down on terrorist financing. We must pass all necessary laws in our own countries to allow the confiscation of terrorist assets. We must apply those laws to every financial institution in every nation.

We have a responsibility to share intelligence and coordinate the efforts of law enforcement. If you know something, tell us. If we know something, we'll tell you. And when we find the terrorists, we must work together to bring them to justice. We have a responsibility to deny any sanctuary, safe haven or transit to terrorists. Every known terrorist camp must be shut down, its operators apprehended, and evidence of their arrest presented to the United Nations. We have a responsibility to deny weapons to terrorists and to actively prevent private citizens from providing

them.

These obligations are urgent and they are binding on every nation with a place in this chamber. Many governments are taking these obligations seriously, and my country appreciates it. Yet, even beyond Resolution 1373, more is required, and more is expected of our coalition against terror.

We're asking for a comprehensive commitment to this fight. We must unite in opposing all terrorists, not just some of them. In this world there are good causes and bad causes, and we may disagree on where the line is drawn. Yet, there is no such thing as a good terrorist. No national aspiration, no remembered wrong can ever justify the deliberate murder of the innocent. Any government that rejects this principle, trying to pick and choose its terrorist friends, will know the consequences.

We must speak the truth about terror. Let us never tolerate outrageous conspiracy theories concerning the attacks of September the 11th; malicious lies that attempt to shift the blame away from the terrorists, themselves, away from the guilty. To inflame ethnic hatred is to advance the cause of terror.

The war against terror must not serve as an excuse to persecute ethnic and religious minorities in any country. Innocent people must be allowed to live their own lives, by their own customs, under their own religion. And every nation must have avenues for the peaceful expression of opinion and dissent. When these avenues are closed, the temptation to speak through violence grows.

We must press on with our agenda for peace and prosperity in every land. My country is pledged to encouraging development and expanding trade. My country is pledged to investing in education and combating AIDS and other infectious diseases around the world. Following September 11th, these pledges are even more important. In our struggle against hateful groups that exploit poverty and despair, we must offer an alternative of opportunity and hope.

The American government also stands by its commitment to a just peace in the Middle East. We are working toward a day when

two states, Israel and Palestine, live peacefully together within secure and recognize borders as called for by the Security Council resolutions. We will do all in our power to bring both parties back into negotiations. But peace will only come when all have sworn off, forever, incitement, violence and terror.

And, finally, this struggle is a defining moment for the United Nations, itself. And the world needs its principled leadership. It undermines the credibility of this great institution, for example, when the Commission on Human Rights offers seats to the world's most persistent violators of human rights. The United Nations depends, above all, on its moral authority — and that authority must be preserved.

The steps I described will not be easy. For all nations, they will require effort. For some nations, they will require great courage. Yet, the cost of inaction is far greater. The only alternative to victory is a nightmare world where every city is a potential killing field.

As I've told the American people, freedom and fear are at war. We face enemies that hate not our policies, but our existence; the tolerance of openness and creative culture that defines us. But the outcome of this conflict is certain: There is a current in history and it runs toward freedom. Our enemies resent it and dismiss it, but the dreams of mankind are defined by liberty — the natural right to create and build and worship and live in dignity. When men and women are released from oppression and isolation, they find fulfillment and hope, and they leave poverty by the millions.

These aspirations are lifting up the peoples of Europe, Asia, Africa and the Americas, and they can lift up all of the Islamic world.

We stand for the permanent hopes of humanity, and those hopes will not be denied. We're confident, too, that history has an author who fills time and eternity with his purpose. We know that evil is real, but good will prevail against it. This is the teaching of many faiths, and in that assurance we gain strength for a long journey.

It is our task — the task of this generation — to provide the

response to aggression and terror. We have no other choice, because there is no other peace.

We did not ask for this mission, yet there is honor in history's call. We have a chance to write the story of our times, a story of courage defeating cruelty and light overcoming darkness. This calling is worthy of any life, and worthy of every nation. So let us go forward, confident, determined, and unafraid.

Thank you very much.

Address at The Citadel

THE CITADEL
CHARLESTON, SOUTH CAROLINA
DECEMBER 11, 2001

Thank you all very much. Please be seated. Thank you for that warm welcome. I'm glad to be back here at The Citadel.

I have come to talk about the future security of our country, in a place where I took up this subject two years ago when I was candidate for President. In September 1999, I said here at the Citadel that America was entering a period of consequences that would be defined by the threat of terror, and that we faced a challenge of military transformation. That threat has now revealed itself, and that challenge is now the military and moral necessity of our time.

So, today, I will set forth the commitments essential to victory in our war against terror.

I want to thank Major General John Grinalds for his hospitality. I want to thank the Citadel Board of Visitors, the staff, and the faculty. I understand the Governor is here. And I know my friends, the Lt. Governor, the Speaker and the Attorney General are here, and it was great to have seen them at the airport. I thank my friend, Adjutant General Stan Spears for being here.

I'm grateful that Senator Hollings and members of the South Carolina congressional delegation flew down on Air Force One. I only wish that the senior Senator was on the airplane so I could have wished him a happy 99th birthday.

But most of all, most of all, I want to say how much I appreciate being in the presence of some of America's finest, the South Carolina Corp of Cadets of Citadel.

Four days ago, I joined the men and women of the USS Enterprise to mark the 60th anniversary of Pearl Harbor. December 7th, 1941 was a decisive day that changed our nation forever. In a single moment, America's "splendid isolation" was ended. And the

four years that followed transformed the American way of war.

The age of battleships gave way to the offensive capability of aircraft carriers. The tank, once used only to protect infantry, now served to cut through enemy lines. At Guadalcanal, and Normandy, and Iwo Jima, amphibious warfare proved its worth. And by war's end, no one would ever again doubt the value of strategic air power.

Even more importantly, an American President and his successors shaped a world beyond a war. They rebuilt Europe with the Marshall Plan, formed a great alliance for freedom in NATO, and expressed the hope of collective security in the United Nations. America took the lead, becoming freedom's defender and assuming responsibilities that only we could bear.

September 11th, 2001 — three months and a long time ago — set another dividing line in our lives and in the life of our nation. An illusion of immunity was shattered. A faraway evil became a present danger. And a great cause became clear: We will fight terror and those who sponsor it, to save our children from a future of fear.

To win this war, we have to think differently. The enemy who appeared on September 11th seeks to evade our strength and constantly searches for our weaknesses. So America is required once again to change the way our military thinks and fights. And starting on October 7th, the enemy in Afghanistan got the first glimpses of a new American military that cannot, and will not, be evaded.

When I committed U.S. forces to this battle, I had every confidence that they would be up to the task. And they have proven me right. The Taliban and the terrorists set out to dominate a country and intimidate the world. Today, from their caves, it's all looking a little different. And no cave is deep enough to escape the patient justice of the United States of America.

We are also beginning to see the possibilities of a world beyond the war on terror. We have a chance, if we take it, to write a hopeful chapter in human history. All at once, a new threat to civilization is erasing old lines of rivalry and resentment between nations. Russia

and America are building a new cooperative relationship. India and the United States are increasingly aligned across a range of issues, even as we work closely with Pakistan. Germany and Japan are assuming new military roles, appropriate to their status as great democracies.

The vast majority of countries are now on the same side of a moral and ideological divide. We're making common cause with every nation that chooses lawful change over chaotic violence — every nation that values peace and safety and innocent life.

Staring across this divide are bands of murderers, supported by outlaw regimes. They are a movement defined by their hatreds. They hate progress, and freedom, and choice, and culture, and music, and laughter, and women, and Christians, and Jews, and all Muslims who reject their distorted doctrines. They love only one thing — they love power. And when they have it, they use it without mercy.

The great threat to civilization is not that the terrorists will inspire millions. Only the terrorists themselves would want to live in their brutal and joyless world. The great threat to civilization is that a few evil men will multiply their murders, and gain the means to kill on a scale equal to their hatred. We know they have this mad intent, and we're determined to stop them.

Our lives, our way of life, and our every hope for the world depend on a single commitment: The authors of mass murder must be defeated, and never allowed to gain or use the weapons of mass destruction.

America and our friends will meet this threat with every method at our disposal. We will discover and destroy sleeper cells. We will track terrorist movements, trace their communications, disrupt their funding, and take their network apart, piece by piece.

Above all, we're acting to end the state sponsorship of terror. Rogue states are clearly the most likely sources of chemical and biological and nuclear weapons for terrorists. Every nation now knows that we cannot accept — and we will not accept — states that harbor, finance, train, or equip the agents of terror. Those

nations that violate this principle will be regarded as hostile regimes. They have been warned, they are being watched, and they will be held to account.

Preventing mass terror will be the responsibilities of Presidents far into the future. And this obligation sets three urgent and enduring priorities for America. The first priority is to speed the transformation of our military.

When the Cold War ended, some predicted that the era of direct threats to our nation was over. Some thought our military would be used overseas — not to win wars, but mainly to police and pacify, to control crowds and contain ethnic conflict. They were wrong.

While the threats to America have changed, the need for victory has not. We are fighting shadowy, entrenched enemies — enemies using the tools of terror and guerrilla war — yet we are finding new tactics and new weapons to attack and defeat them. This revolution in our military is only beginning, and it promises to change the face of battle.

Afghanistan has been a proving ground for this new approach. These past two months have shown that an innovative doctrine and high-tech weaponry can shape and then dominate an unconventional conflict. The brave men and women of our military are rewriting the rules of war with new technologies and old values like courage and honor. And they have made this nation proud.

Our commanders are gaining a real-time picture of the entire battlefield, and are able to get targeting information from sensor to shooter almost instantly. Our intelligence professionals and special forces have cooperated in battle-friendly — with battle-friendly Afghan forces — fighters who know the terrain, who know the Taliban, and who understand the local culture. And our special forces have the technology to call in precision air strikes — along with the flexibility to direct those strikes from horseback, in the first cavalry charge of the 21st century.

This combination — real-time intelligence, local allied forces,

special forces, and precision air power — has really never been used before. The conflict in Afghanistan has taught us more about the future of our military than a decade of blue ribbon panels and think-tank symposiums.

The Predator is a good example. This unmanned aerial vehicle is able to circle over enemy forces, gather intelligence, transmit information instantly back to commanders, then fire on targets with extreme accuracy.

Before the war, the Predator had skeptics, because it did not fit the old ways. Now it is clear the military does not have enough unmanned vehicles. We're entering an era in which unmanned vehicles of all kinds will take on greater importance — in space, on land, in the air, and at sea.

Precision-guided munitions also offer great promise. In the Gulf War, these weapons were the exception — while in Afghanistan, they have been the majority of the munitions we have used. We're striking with greater effectiveness, at greater range, with fewer civilian casualties. More and more, our weapons can hit moving targets. When all of our military can continuously locate and track moving targets — with surveillance from air and space — warfare will be truly revolutionized.

The need for military transformation was clear before the conflict in Afghanistan, and before September the 11th. Here at the Citadel in 1999, I spoke of keeping the peace by redefining war on our terms. The same recommendation was made in the strategic review that Secretary Rumsfeld briefed me on last August — a review that I fully endorse. What's different today is our sense of urgency — the need to build this future force while fighting a present war. It's like overhauling an engine while you're going at 80 miles an hour. Yet we have no other choice.

Our military has a new and essential mission. For states that support terror, it's not enough that the consequences be costly — they must be devastating. The more credible this reality, the more likely that regimes will change their behavior — making it less likely that America and our friends will need to use overwhelming

force against them.

To build our future force, the Armed Services must continue to attract America's best people, with good pay and good living conditions. Our military culture must reward new thinking, innovation, and experimentation. Congress must give defense leaders the freedom to innovate, instead of micromanaging the Defense Department. And every service and every constituency of our military must be willing to sacrifice some of their own pet projects. Our war on terror cannot be used to justify obsolete bases, obsolete programs, or obsolete weapon systems. Every dollar of defense spending must meet a single test: It must help us build the decisive power we will need to win the wars of the future.

Our country is united in supporting a great cause — and in supporting those who fight for it. We will give our men and women in uniform every resource, every weapon, every tool they need to win the long battle that lies ahead.

America's next priority to prevent mass terror is to protect against the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction and the means to deliver them. I wish I could report to the American people that this threat does not exist — that our enemy is content with car bombs and box cutters — but I cannot.

One former al Qaeda member has testified in court that he was involved in an effort 10 years ago to obtain nuclear materials. And the leader of al Qaeda calls that effort "a religious duty." Abandoned al Qaeda houses in Kabul contained diagrams for crude weapons of mass destruction. And as we all know, terrorists have put anthrax into the U.S. mail, and used sarin gas in a Tokyo subway.

And almost every state that actively sponsors terror is known to be seeking weapons of mass destruction and the missiles to deliver them at longer and longer ranges. Their hope is to blackmail the United States into abandoning our war on terror, and forsaking our friends and allies and security commitments around the world. Our enemies are bound for disappointment. America will never be blackmailed, and we will never forsake our commitment to liberty.

To meet our new threats, I have directed my National Security Advisor and my Homeland Security Director to develop a comprehensive strategy on proliferation. Working with other countries, we will strengthen nonproliferation treaties and toughen export controls. Together, we must keep the world's most dangerous technologies out of the hands of the world's most dangerous people.

A crucial partner in this effort is Russia — a nation we are helping to dismantle strategic weapons, reduce nuclear material, and increase security at nuclear sites. Our two countries will expand efforts to provide peaceful employment for scientists who formerly worked in Soviet weapons facilities. The United States will also work with Russia to build a facility to destroy tons of nerve agent. I'll request an over-all increase in funding to support this vital mission.

Even as we fight to prevent proliferation, we must prepare for every possibility. At home, we must be better prepared to detect, protect against, and respond to the potential use of weapons of mass destruction. Abroad, our military forces must have the ability to fight and win against enemies who would use such weapons against us.

Biodefense has become a major initiative of ours. This year we've already requested nearly $3 billion additional dollars for biodefense, more than doubling the level of funding prior to September the 11th.

The attacks on our nation made it even more clear that we need to build limited and effective defenses against a missile attack. Our enemies seek every chance and every means to do harm to our country, our forces, and our friends. And we will not permit it.

Suppose the Taliban and the terrorists had been able to strike America or important allies with a ballistic missile. Our coalition would have become fragile, the stakes in our war much, much higher. We must protect Americans and our friends against all forms of terror, including the terror that could arrive on a missile.

Last week we conducted another promising test of our missile

defense technology. For the good of peace, we're moving forward with an active program to determine what works and what does not work. In order to do so, we must move beyond the 1972 Anti-Ballistic Missile Treaty, a treaty that was written in a different era, for a different enemy.

America and our allies must not be bound to the past. We must be able to build the defenses we need against the enemies of the 21st century.

Our third and final priority in the fight against mass terror is to strengthen the advantage that good intelligence gives our country. Every day I make decisions influenced by the intelligence briefing of that morning. To reach decisions, a President needs more than data and information. A President needs real and current knowledge and analysis of the plans, intentions, and capabilities of our enemies.

The last several months have shown that there is no substitute for good intelligence officers, people on the ground. These are the people who find the targets, follow our enemies, and help us disrupt their evil plans.

The United States must rebuild our network of human intelligence. And we will apply the best new technology to gather intelligence on the new threats. Sophisticated systems like Global Hawk, an unmanned surveillance plane, are transforming our intelligence capabilities. Our technological strengths produce great advantages, and we will build on them.

Our intelligence services and federal law enforcement agencies must work more closely together, and share timely information with our state and local authorities. The more we know, the more terrorist plans we can prevent and disrupt, and the better we'll be able to protect the American people.

And in all they do, our intelligence agencies must attract the best people — the best collectors, the best analysts, the best linguists. We will give them the training they need and the compensation they deserve.

There have been times here in America when our intelligence

services were held in suspicion, and even contempt. Now, when we face this new war, we know how much we need them. And for their dedication and for their service, America is grateful.

We're also grateful to you, the students of the Citadel. Your uniforms symbolize a tradition of honor and sacrifice, renewed in your own lives. Many of you will enter our military — taking your place in the war against terror. That struggle may continue for many years, and it may bring great costs. But you will have chosen a great calling at a crucial hour for our nation.

The course we follow is a matter of profound consequence to many nations. If America wavers, the world will lose heart. If America leads, the world will show its courage. America will never waver. America will lead the world to peace.

Our cause is necessary. Our cause is just. And no matter how long it takes, we will defeat the enemies of freedom.

In all that is to come, I know the graduates of the Citadel will bring credit to America, to the military, and to this great institution. In the words of your school song, you will go where you've always gone — "in the paths our fathers showed us. Peace and Honor, God and Country — we will fight for thee."

God bless.

The World Will Always Remember September 11

THE EAST ROOM OF THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON, D.C.

DECEMBER 11, 2001

A great writer has said that the struggle of humanity against tyranny is the struggle of memory against forgetting. When we fight terror, we fight tyranny; and so we remember. We remember the perfect blueness of the sky that Tuesday morning. We remember the children traveling without their mothers when their planes were hijacked.

We remember the cruelty of the murderers and the pain and anguish of the murdered. Every one of the innocents who died on September the 11th was the most important person on earth to somebody. Every death extinguished a world.

We remember the courage of the rescue workers and the outpouring of friendship and sympathy from nations around the world. We remember how we felt that day: our sadness, the surge of love for our country, our anger, and our determination to right this huge wrong.

Today, the wrong is being righted and justice is being done. We still have far to go. And many dangers lie ahead. Yet, there can be no doubt how this conflict will end. Our enemies have made the mistake that America's enemies always make. They saw liberty and thought they saw weakness. And now, they see defeat.

In time, this war will end. But our remembrance never will. All around this beautiful city are statues of our heroes, memorials, museums and archives that preserve our national experience, our achievements and our failures, our defeats and our victories.

This republic is young, but its memory is long. Now, we have inscribed a new memory alongside those others. It's a memory of tragedy and shock, of loss and mourning. But not only of loss and mourning. It's also a memory of bravery and self-sacrifice, and the love that lays down its life for a friend — even a friend whose name

it never knew.

We are privileged to have with us the families of many of the heroes on September the 11th, including the family of Jeremy Glick of Flight 93. His courage and self-sacrifice may have saved the White House. It is right and fitting that it is here we pay our respects.

In time, perhaps, we will mark the memory of September the 11th in stone and metal — something we can show children as yet unborn to help them understand what happened on this minute and on this day.

But for those of us who lived through these events, the only marker we'll ever need is the tick of a clock at the 46th minute of the eighth hour of the 11th day. We will remember where we were and how we felt. We will remember the dead and what we owe them. We will remember what we lost and what we found.

And in our time, we will honor the memory of the 11th day by doing our duty as citizens of this great country, freedom's home and freedoms defender. God bless.

STATE OF THE UNION ADDRESS TO THE 107TH CONGRESS

THE UNITED STATES CAPITOL

WASHINGTON, D.C.

JANUARY 29, 2002

Thank you very much. Mr. Speaker, Vice President Cheney, members of Congress, distinguished guests, fellow citizens: As we gather tonight, our nation is at war, our economy is in recession, and the civilized world faces unprecedented dangers. Yet the state of our Union has never been stronger.

We last met in an hour of shock and suffering. In four short months, our nation has comforted the victims, begun to rebuild New York and the Pentagon, rallied a great coalition, captured, arrested, and rid the world of thousands of terrorists, destroyed Afghanistan's terrorist training camps, saved a people from starvation, and freed a country from brutal oppression.

The American flag flies again over our embassy in Kabul. Terrorists who once occupied Afghanistan now occupy cells at Guantanamo Bay. And terrorist leaders who urged followers to sacrifice their lives are running for their own.

America and Afghanistan are now allies against terror. We'll be partners in rebuilding that country. And this evening we welcome the distinguished interim leader of a liberated Afghanistan: Chairman Hamid Karzai.

The last time we met in this chamber, the mothers and daughters of Afghanistan were captives in their own homes, forbidden from working or going to school. Today women are free, and are part of Afghanistan's new government. And we welcome the new Minister of Women's Affairs, Doctor Sima Samar.

Our progress is a tribute to the spirit of the Afghan people, to the resolve of our coalition, and to the might of the United States military. When I called our troops into action, I did so with complete confidence in their courage and skill. And tonight, thanks to them, we are winning the war on terror. The man and women

of our Armed Forces have delivered a message now clear to every enemy of the United States: Even 7,000 miles away, across oceans and continents, on mountaintops and in caves — you will not escape the justice of this nation.

For many Americans, these four months have brought sorrow, and pain that will never completely go away. Every day a retired firefighter returns to Ground Zero, to feel closer to his two sons who died there. At a memorial in New York, a little boy left his football with a note for his lost father: Dear Daddy, please take this to heaven. I don't want to play football until I can play with you again some day.

Last month, at the grave of her husband, Michael, a CIA officer and Marine who died in Mazur-e-Sharif, Shannon Spann said these words of farewell: "Semper Fi, my love." Shannon is with us tonight.

Shannon, I assure you and all who have lost a loved one that our cause is just, and our country will never forget the debt we owe Michael and all who gave their lives for freedom. Our cause is just, and it continues. Our discoveries in Afghanistan confirmed our worst fears, and showed us the true scope of the task ahead. We have seen the depth of our enemies' hatred in videos, where they laugh about the loss of innocent life. And the depth of their hatred is equaled by the madness of the destruction they design. We have found diagrams of American nuclear power plants and public water facilities, detailed instructions for making chemical weapons, surveillance maps of American cities, and thorough descriptions of landmarks in America and throughout the world.

What we have found in Afghanistan confirms that, far from ending there, our war against terror is only beginning. Most of the 19 men who hijacked planes on September the 11th were trained in Afghanistan's camps, and so were tens of thousands of others. Thousands of dangerous killers, schooled in the methods of murder, often supported by outlaw regimes, are now spread throughout the world like ticking time bombs, set to go off without warning.

Thanks to the work of our law enforcement officials and

coalition partners, hundreds of terrorists have been arrested. Yet, tens of thousands of trained terrorists are still at large. These enemies view the entire world as a battlefield, and we must pursue them wherever they are. So long as training camps operate, so long as nations harbor terrorists, freedom is at risk. And America and our allies must not, and will not, allow it.

Our nation will continue to be steadfast and patient and persistent in the pursuit of two great objectives. First, we will shut down terrorist camps, disrupt terrorist plans, and bring terrorists to justice. And, second, we must prevent the terrorists and regimes who seek chemical, biological or nuclear weapons from threatening the United States and the world.

Our military has put the terror training camps of Afghanistan out of business, yet camps still exist in at least a dozen countries. A terrorist underworld — including groups like Hamas, Hezbollah, Islamic Jihad, Jaish-i-Mohammed — operates in remote jungles and deserts, and hides in the centers of large cities.

While the most visible military action is in Afghanistan, America is acting elsewhere. We now have troops in the Philippines, helping to train that country's armed forces to go after terrorist cells that have executed an American, and still hold hostages. Our soldiers, working with the Bosnian government, seized terrorists who were plotting to bomb our embassy. Our Navy is patrolling the coast of Africa to block the shipment of weapons and the establishment of terrorist camps in Somalia.

My hope is that all nations will heed our call, and eliminate the terrorist parasites who threaten their countries and our own. Many nations are acting forcefully. Pakistan is now cracking down on terror, and I admire the strong leadership of President Musharraf.

But some governments will be timid in the face of terror. And make no mistake about it: If they do not act, America will.

Our second goal is to prevent regimes that sponsor terror from threatening America or our friends and allies with weapons of mass destruction. Some of these regimes have been pretty quiet since September the 11th. But we know their true nature. North Korea

is a regime arming with missiles and weapons of mass destruction, while starving its citizens.

Iran aggressively pursues these weapons and exports terror, while an unelected few repress the Iranian people's hope for freedom.

Iraq continues to flaunt its hostility toward America and to support terror. The Iraqi regime has plotted to develop anthrax, and nerve gas, and nuclear weapons for over a decade. This is a regime that has already used poison gas to murder thousands of its own citizens — leaving the bodies of mothers huddled over their dead children. This is a regime that agreed to international inspections — then kicked out the inspectors. This is a regime that has something to hide from the civilized world. States like these, and their terrorist allies, constitute an axis of evil, arming to threaten the peace of the world. By seeking weapons of mass destruction, these regimes pose a grave and growing danger. They could provide these arms to terrorists, giving them the means to match their hatred. They could attack our allies or attempt to blackmail the United States. In any of these cases, the price of indifference would be catastrophic.

We will work closely with our coalition to deny terrorists and their state sponsors the materials, technology, and expertise to make and deliver weapons of mass destruction. We will develop and deploy effective missile defenses to protect America and our allies from sudden attack. And all nations should know: America will do what is necessary to ensure our nation's security.

We'll be deliberate, yet time is not on our side. I will not wait on events, while dangers gather. I will not stand by, as peril draws closer and closer. The United States of America will not permit the world's most dangerous regimes to threaten us with the world's most destructive weapons.

Our war on terror is well begun, but it is only begun. This campaign may not be finished on our watch — yet it must be and it will be waged on our watch.

We can't stop short. If we stop now — leaving terror camps intact and terror states unchecked — our sense of security would

be false and temporary. History has called America and our allies to action, and it is both our responsibility and our privilege to fight freedom's fight.

Our first priority must always be the security of our nation, and that will be reflected in the budget I send to Congress. My budget supports three great goals for America: We will win this war; we'll protect our homeland; and we will revive our economy.

September the 11th brought out the best in America, and the best in this Congress. And I join the American people in applauding your unity and resolve. Now Americans deserve to have this same spirit directed toward addressing problems here at home. I'm a proud member of my party — yet as we act to win the war, protect our people, and create jobs in America, we must act, first and foremost, not as Republicans, not as Democrats, but as Americans.

It costs a lot to fight this war. We have spent more than a billion dollars a month — over $30 million a day — and we must be prepared for future operations. Afghanistan proved that expensive precision weapons defeat the enemy and spare innocent lives, and we need more of them. We need to replace aging aircraft and make our military more agile, to put our troops anywhere in the world quickly and safely. Our men and women in uniform deserve the best weapons, the best equipment, the best training — and they also deserve another pay raise.

My budget includes the largest increase in defense spending in two decades — because while the price of freedom and security is high, it is never too high. Whatever it costs to defend our country, we will pay.

The next priority of my budget is to do everything possible to protect our citizens and strengthen our nation against the ongoing threat of another attack. Time and distance from the events of September the 11th will not make us safer unless we act on its lessons. America is no longer protected by vast oceans. We are protected from attack only by vigorous action abroad, and increased vigilance at home.

My budget nearly doubles funding for a sustained strategy

of homeland security, focused on four key areas: bioterrorism, emergency response, airport and border security, and improved intelligence. We will develop vaccines to fight anthrax and other deadly diseases. We'll increase funding to help states and communities train and equip our heroic police and firefighters. We will improve intelligence collection and sharing, expand patrols at our borders, strengthen the security of air travel, and use technology to track the arrivals and departures of visitors to the United States.

Homeland security will make America not only stronger, but, in many ways, better. Knowledge gained from bioterrorism research will improve public health. Stronger police and fire departments will mean safer neighborhoods. Stricter border enforcement will help combat illegal drugs. And as government works to better secure our homeland, America will continue to depend on the eyes and ears of alert citizens.

A few days before Christmas, an airline flight attendant spotted a passenger lighting a match. The crew and passengers quickly subdued the man, who had been trained by al Qaeda and was armed with explosives. The people on that plane were alert and, as a result, likely saved nearly 200 lives. And tonight we welcome and thank flight attendants Hermis Moutardier and Christina Jones.

Once we have funded our national security and our homeland security, the final great priority of my budget is economic security for the American people. To achieve these great national objectives — to win the war, protect the homeland, and revitalize our economy — our budget will run a deficit that will be small and short-term, so long as Congress restrains spending and acts in a fiscally responsible manner. We have clear priorities and we must act at home with the same purpose and resolve we have shown overseas: We'll prevail in the war, and we will defeat this recession.

Americans who have lost their jobs need our help and I support extending unemployment benefits and direct assistance for health care coverage. Yet, American workers want more than unemployment checks — they want a steady paycheck. When America works, America prospers, so my economic security plan

can be summed up in one word: jobs.

Good jobs begin with good schools, and here we've made a fine start. Republicans and Democrats worked together to achieve historic education reform so that no child is left behind. I was proud to work with members of both parties: Chairman John Boehner and Congressman George Miller. Senator Judd Gregg. And I was so proud of our work, I even had nice things to say about my friend, Ted Kennedy. I know the folks at the Crawford coffee shop couldn't believe I'd say such a thing, but our work on this bill shows what is possible if we set aside posturing and focus on results.

There is more to do. We need to prepare our children to read and succeed in school with improved Head Start and early childhood development programs. We must upgrade our teacher colleges and teacher training and launch a major recruiting drive with a great goal for America: a quality teacher in every classroom.

Good jobs also depend on reliable and affordable energy. This Congress must act to encourage conservation, promote technology, build infrastructure, and it must act to increase energy production at home so America is less dependent on foreign oil.

Good jobs depend on expanded trade. Selling into new markets creates new jobs, so I ask Congress to finally approve trade promotion authority. On these two key issues, trade and energy, the House of Representatives has acted to create jobs, and I urge the Senate to pass this legislation.

Good jobs depend on sound tax policy. Last year, some in this hall thought my tax relief plan was too small; some thought it was too big. But when the checks arrived in the mail, most Americans thought tax relief was just about right. Congress listened to the people and responded by reducing tax rates, doubling the child credit, and ending the death tax. For the sake of long-term growth and to help Americans plan for the future, let's make these tax cuts permanent.

The way out of this recession, the way to create jobs, is to grow the economy by encouraging investment in factories and equipment,

and by speeding up tax relief so people have more money to spend. For the sake of American workers, let's pass a stimulus package.

Good jobs must be the aim of welfare reform. As we reauthorize these important reforms, we must always remember the goal is to reduce dependency on government and offer every American the dignity of a job.

Americans know economic security can vanish in an instant without health security. I ask Congress to join me this year to enact a patients' bill of rights to give uninsured workers credits to help buy health coverage, to approve an historic increase in the spending for veterans' health, and to give seniors a sound and modern Medicare system that includes coverage for prescription drugs.

A good job should lead to security in retirement. I ask Congress to enact new safeguards for 401K and pension plans. Employees who have worked hard and saved all their lives should not have to risk losing everything if their company fails. Through stricter accounting standards and tougher disclosure requirements, corporate America must be made more accountable to employees and shareholders and held to the highest standards of conduct.

Retirement security also depends upon keeping the commitments of Social Security, and we will. We must make Social Security financially stable and allow personal retirement accounts for younger workers who choose them.

Members, you and I will work together in the months ahead on other issues: productive farm policy, a cleaner environment, broader home ownership, especially among minorities, and ways to encourage the good work of charities and faith-based groups. I ask you to join me on these important domestic issues in the same spirit of cooperation we've applied to our war against terrorism.

During these last few months, I've been humbled and privileged to see the true character of this country in a time of testing. Our enemies believed America was weak and materialistic, that we would splinter in fear and selfishness. They were as wrong as they are evil.

The American people have responded magnificently, with

courage and compassion, strength and resolve. As I have met the heroes, hugged the families, and looked into the tired faces of rescuers, I have stood in awe of the American people.

And I hope you will join me — I hope you will join me in expressing thanks to one American for the strength and calm and comfort she brings to our nation in crisis, our First Lady, Laura Bush.

None of us would ever wish the evil that was done on September the 11th. Yet after America was attacked, it was as if our entire country looked into a mirror and saw our better selves. We were reminded that we are citizens, with obligations to each other, to our country, and to history. We began to think less of the goods we can accumulate, and more about the good we can do.

For too long our culture has said, "If it feels good, do it." Now America is embracing a new ethic and a new creed: "Let's roll." In the sacrifice of soldiers, the fierce brotherhood of firefighters, and the bravery and generosity of ordinary citizens, we have glimpsed what a new culture of responsibility could look like. We want to be a nation that serves goals larger than self. We've been offered a unique opportunity, and we must not let this moment pass.

My call tonight is for every American to commit at least two years — 4,000 hours over the rest of your lifetime — to the service of your neighbors and your nation. Many are already serving, and I thank you. If you aren't sure how to help, I've got a good place to start. To sustain and extend the best that has emerged in America, I invite you to join the new USA Freedom Corps. The Freedom Corps will focus on three areas of need: responding in case of crisis at home; rebuilding our communities; and extending American compassion throughout the world.

One purpose of the USA Freedom Corps will be homeland security. America needs retired doctors and nurses who can be mobilized in major emergencies; volunteers to help police and fire departments; transportation and utility workers well-trained in spotting danger.

Our country also needs citizens working to rebuild our communities. We need mentors to love children, especially children whose parents are in prison. And we need more talented teachers in troubled schools. USA Freedom Corps will expand and improve the good efforts of AmeriCorps and Senior Corps to recruit more than 200,000 new volunteers.

And America needs citizens to extend the compassion of our country to every part of the world. So we will renew the promise of the Peace Corps, double its volunteers over the next five years, and ask it to join a new effort to encourage development and education and opportunity in the Islamic world.

This time of adversity offers a unique moment of opportunity — a moment we must seize to change our culture. Through the gathering momentum of millions of acts of service and decency and kindness, I know we can overcome evil with greater good. And we have a great opportunity during this time of war to lead the world toward the values that will bring lasting peace.

All fathers and mothers, in all societies, want their children to be educated, and live free from poverty and violence. No people on Earth yearn to be oppressed, or aspire to servitude, or eagerly await the midnight knock of the secret police.

If anyone doubts this, let them look to Afghanistan, where the Islamic "street" greeted the fall of tyranny with song and celebration. Let the skeptics look to Islam's own rich history, with its centuries of learning, and tolerance and progress. America will lead by defending liberty and justice because they are right and true and unchanging for all people everywhere.

No nation owns these aspirations, and no nation is exempt from them. We have no intention of imposing our culture. But America will always stand firm for the non-negotiable demands of human dignity: the rule of law; limits on the power of the state; respect for women; private property; free speech; equal justice; and religious tolerance.

America will take the side of brave men and women who advocate these values around the world, including the Islamic

world, because we have a greater objective than eliminating threats and containing resentment. We seek a just and peaceful world beyond the war on terror.

In this moment of opportunity, a common danger is erasing old rivalries. America is working with Russia and China and India, in ways we have never before, to achieve peace and prosperity. In every region, free markets and free trade and free societies are proving their power to lift lives. Together with friends and allies from Europe to Asia, and Africa to Latin America, we will demonstrate that the forces of terror cannot stop the momentum of freedom.

The last time I spoke here, I expressed the hope that life would return to normal. In some ways, it has. In others, it never will. Those of us who have lived through these challenging times have been changed by them. We've come to know truths that we will never question: evil is real, and it must be opposed. Beyond all differences of race or creed, we are one country, mourning together and facing danger together. Deep in the American character, there is honor, and it is stronger than cynicism. And many have discovered again that even in tragedy — especially in tragedy — God is near.

In a single instant, we realized that this will be a decisive decade in the history of liberty, that we've been called to a unique role in human events. Rarely has the world faced a choice more clear or consequential.

Our enemies send other people's children on missions of suicide and murder. They embrace tyranny and death as a cause and a creed. We stand for a different choice, made long ago, on the day of our founding. We affirm it again today. We choose freedom and the dignity of every life.

Steadfast in our purpose, we now press on. We have known freedom's price. We have shown freedom's power. And in this great conflict, my fellow Americans, we will see freedom's victory.

Thank you all. May God bless.

Promoting Compassionate Conservatism

PARKSIDE HALL
SAN JOSE, CALIFORNIA
APRIL 30, 2002

Well, thank you very much for that warm welcome. I am so grateful for the Commonwealth Club and the Churchill Club for inviting me here. I appreciate you all coming, and I appreciate your hospitality.

I want to thank Dr. Gloria Duffy for her generous introduction and for her invitation. I want to thank Silvia Fernandez, who's the President of the Churchill Club, for joining the Commonwealth Club to host this event. I want to thank all the elected officials who are here. I want to thank my fellow citizens for coming.

Whenever I visit California, I'm impressed by the beauty of this state and by the spirit of the people. Because of its size, the health of the California economy influences every American. And California has got a culture of optimism and energy that touches all of us, as well. This is a vital and a vibrant place. And I'm glad to be back.

The last time I visited San Jose, Silicon Valley was still in an economic boom, and America was at peace. For many in this valley, and across our country, those times are a world away. After a recession made worse by a national emergency, we have seen some good news. Our economy is beginning to grow. Just last week, we had the good news about strong growth in the first quarter. Yet this vital region reminds us that a lot of work remains to be done.

Business investment and job creation are not what they should be. We cannot be content with one quarter's news. We cannot be complacent. My attitude is that we'll let the statisticians talk about the numbers. But so long as somebody who wants to work can't find work, that's a problem for America.

We have a great task ahead of us. We must turn our short-term recovery into long-lasting expansion that reaches every part of our country. Our economy grows when trade barriers fall. I ask the

Senate to join the United States House of Representatives in giving me what's called trade promotion authority.

It's important to be a confident country. And I'm confident in the ability of American entrepreneurs and producers to compete in the world. I'm confident that our farmers and ranchers can compete in the world. And I know American technology companies are the best in the world. And we must open new markets so they can sell to the world.

Our economy grows when the tax burden goes down, and stays down. Much of the growth we have seen this quarter is the result of consumer spending, fueled by well-timed tax deductions. To encourage growth in job creation, we must protect the lower tax rates we've enacted, and we must make them permanent. And to make sure there is economic vitality around our country, our government must control its appetite for excessive spending.

Our economy grows entrepreneurs are rewarded for their success, not hounded by regulations and needless litigation. We must enact reforms that free entrepreneurs from pointless regulation and endless litigation, and to restore trust in our economy. Corporate leaders must be held to the highest ethical standards. And, as your state knows, our economy grows when we have steady, stable and affordable sources of energy.

In Washington, we must adopt — finally adopt — a comprehensive strategy to conserve more, to produce more, and to deliver the energy that keeps our economy running. Both Houses have passed energy legislation. I expect them to get a bill to my desk soon for the good of American economy and American jobs. By acting in the above way, we confirm that the role of government is not to create wealth; the role of government is to create the conditions for economic growth.

Since I was last here, America has also accepted a great challenge in the world: to wage a relentless and systematic campaign against global terror. The security of the American people is the central commitment of the American government. We are in for a long and difficult war. It will be conducted on many

fronts. But as long as it takes, we will prevail.

In the first phase of our military operation, American and coalition forces have liberated — have liberated — the people of Afghanistan from a barbaric regime. Our Armed Forces performed with skill and success and honor. A regime has fallen. Terrorists in that country are now scattered, and the children of Afghanistan have returned to school, boys and girls. Our work in that country is not over. We are helping the Afghan people to rebuild their nation. And in every cave, in every dark corner of that country, we will hunt down the killers and bring them to justice.

We have entered the next phase of the war, with a sustained international effort, to rout out terrorists in other countries, and deny al Qaeda the chance to regroup in other places. Across the world, governments have heard this message: You're either with us, or you're with the terrorists.

And for the long-term security of America and civilization itself, we must confront the great threat of biological and chemical and nuclear weapons in the hands of terrorists or hostile regimes. We will not allow the world's most dangerous regimes to threaten America or our friends and allies with the world's most destructive weapons.

History has called us to these responsibilities, and we accept them. America has always had a special mission to defend justice and advance freedom around the world. Whatever the difficulties ahead, we are confident about the outcome of this struggle. Tyranny and terror and lawless violence will not decide the world's future. As Ronald Reagan said and as every generation of Americans has believed, the future belongs to the free.

In a time of war, we reassert the essential values and beliefs of our country. In the Civil War, Abraham Lincoln pointed toward a new birth of freedom. Leading America into global war, Franklin D. Roosevelt defined the four freedoms: freedom of speech and religion, freedom from fear and want. Whenever America fights for the security of our country, we also fight for the values of our country. In our time, we will defend the land we love and we will

act on the ideals that gave it birth.

In America, we've not always lived up to our ideals, yet we always reached for them. We believe that everyone deserves a chance, that everyone has value, that no insignificant person was ever born. We believe that all are diminished when any are hopeless. We are one people, committed to building a single nation of justice and opportunity.

America rejects bigotry. We reject every act of hatred against people of Arab background or Muslim faith. We reject the ancient evil of anti-Semitism, whether it is practiced by the killers of Daniel Pearl, or by those who burn synagogues in France.

America values and welcomes peaceful people of all faiths — Christian, Jewish, Muslim, Sikh, Hindu and many others. Every faith is practiced and protected here, because we are one country. Every immigrant can be fully and equally American because we're one country. Race and color should not divide us, because America is one country.

These American ideals of opportunity and equality come to us across the generations. And they have attracted millions from across the world. Yet there are young Americans growing up here, under this flag, who doubt the promise and justice of our country. They live in neighborhoods occupied by gangs and ruled by fear. They are entitled by law to an education, yet do not receive an education. They hear talk of opportunity and see little evidence of opportunity around them.

Every American must believe in the promise of America. And to reach this noble, necessary goal, there is a role for government. America doesn't need more big government, and we've learned that more money is not always the answer. If a program is failing to serve people, it makes little difference if we spend twice as much or half as much. The measure of true compassion is results.

Yet we cannot have an indifferent government either. We are a generous and caring people. We don't believe in a sink-or-swim society. The policies of our government must heed the universal call of all faiths to love a neighbor as we would want to be loved

ourselves. We need a different approach than either big government or indifferent government. We need a government that is focused, effective, and close to the people; a government that does a few things, and does them well.

Government cannot solve every problem, but it can encourage people and communities to help themselves and to help one another. Often the truest kind of compassion is to help citizens build lives of their own. I call my philosophy and approach "compassionate conservatism." It is compassionate to actively help our fellow citizens in need. It is conservative to insist on responsibility and on results. And with this hopeful approach, we can make a real difference in people's lives.

Compassionate conservatism places great hope and confidence in public education. Our economy depends on higher and higher skills, requiring every American to have the basic tools of learning. Every public school should be the path of upward mobility.

Yet, sadly enough, many are the dead-end of dreams. Public schools are some of the most important institutions of democracy. They take children of every background, from every part of the world, and prepare them for the obligations and opportunities of a free society. Public schools are Americans great hope, and making them work for every child is America's great duty.

The new education reforms we have passed in Washington give the federal government a new role in public education. Schools must meet new and high standards of performance in reading and math that will be proven on tests and posted on the Internet for parents and everyone to see. And we're giving local schools and teachers unprecedented freedom and resources and training to meet these goals.

It is conservative to let local communities chart their own path to excellence. It is compassionate to insist that every child learns, so that no child is left behind. By insisting on results, and challenging failure where we find it, we'll make an incredible difference in the lives of every child in America.

Compassionate conservatism offers a new vision for fighting

poverty in America. For decades, our nation has devoted enormous resources to helping the poor, with some great successes to show for it: basic medical care for those in need, a better life for elderly Americans. However, for millions of younger Americans, welfare became a static and destructive way of life.

In 1996, we began transforming welfare with time limits and job training and work requirements. And the nation's welfare rolls have been cut by more than half. But even more importantly, many lives have been dramatically improved.

One former welfare recipient here in California, happened to be a mother of a chronically-ill child and the victim of domestic violence, describes her experience upon leaving welfare. She said, "I feel like an adult again. I have my dignity back."

We need to continue to fully transform welfare in America. As Congress takes up welfare reform again in the coming weeks, we must strengthen the work requirements that prevent dependency and despair. Millions of Americans once on welfare are finding that a job is more than a source of income. It is a source of dignity. And by helping people find work, by helping them prepare for work, we practice compassion.

Welfare reform must also, wherever possible, encourage the commitments of family. Not every child has two devoted parents at home — I understand that. And not every marriage can, or should be saved. But the evidence shows that strong marriages are good for children.

When a couple on welfare wants to break bad patterns and start or strengthen a marriage, we should help local groups give them counseling that teaches commitment and respect. By encouraging family, we practice compassion.

In overcoming poverty and dependence, we must also promote the work of charities and community groups and faith-based institutions. These organizations, such as shelters for battered women or mentoring programs for fatherless children or drug treatment centers, inspire hope in a way that government never can. Often, they inspire life-changing faith in a way that government

never should.

Our government should view the good Americans that work in faith-based charities as partners, not rivals. We must provide new incentives for charitable giving and, when it comes to providing federal resources to effective programs, we should not discriminate against private and religious groups.

I urge the Senate to pass the faith-based initiative for the good of America. It is compassionate to aggressively fight poverty in America. It is conservative to encourage work and community spirit and responsibility and the values that often come from faith. And with this approach, we can change lives one soul at a time, and make a real difference in the lives of our citizens.

The same principles of compassion and responsibility apply when America offers assistance to other nations. Nearly half of the world's people still live on less than $2 a day. When we help them, we show our values, our belief in universal human dignity. We serve our interests and gain economic partners. And by helping the developing nations of the world, we offer an alternative to resentment and conflict and terror.

Yet the old way of pouring vast amounts of money into development aid without any concern for results has failed, often leaving behind misery and poverty and corruption. America's offering a new compact for global development. Greater aid contributions from America must be and will be linked to greater responsibility from developing nations.

I have proposed a 50-percent increase in our core development assistance over the next three budget years. Money that will be placed in a new Millennium Challenge Account. At the end of this three-year period, the level of our annual development assistance will be $5 billion higher than current levels.

This is a record amount of spending. And in return for these funds, we expect nations to rout out corruption, to open their markets, to respect human rights, and to adhere to the rule of law. And these are the keys to progress in any nation, and they will be the conditions for any new American aid.

It is compassionate to increase our international aid. It is conservative to require the hard reforms that lead to prosperity and independence. And with this approach, we'll make a real difference in the lives of people around the world.

Compassionate conservatism guides my administration in many other areas. Our health care policies must help low-income Americans to buy health insurance they choose, they own and they control. Our environmental policy set high standards for stewardship, while allowing local cooperation and innovation to meet those standards. Our housing programs moved beyond rental assistance to the pride and stability of home ownership. Our reforms in Social Security must allow and encourage and help working Americans to build up their own asset base and achieve independence for their retirement years.

All of these policies and all of these areas serve the same vision. We are using an active government to promote self-government. We're encouraging individuals and communities and families to take more and more responsibility for themselves, for their neighbors, for our nation. The aim of these policies is not to spend more money or spend less money; it is to spend on what works.

The measure of compassion is more than good intentions, it is good results. Sympathy is not enough. We need solutions in America, and we know where solutions are found. When schools are teaching, when families are strong, when neighbors look after their neighbors, when our people have the tools and the skills and the resources they need to improve their lives, there is no problem that cannot be solved in America.

By being involved and by taking responsibility upon ourselves, we gain something else, as well: We contribute to the life of our country. We become more than taxpayers and occasional voters, we become citizens. Citizens, not spectators. Citizens who hear the call of duty, who stand up for their beliefs, who care for their families, who control their lives, and who treat their neighbors with respect and compassion. We discover a satisfaction that is only found in service, and we show our gratitude to America and to those who

came before us.

In the last seven months, we've been tested, and the struggle of our time has revealed the spirit of our people. Since September the 11th, we have been the kind of nation our founders had in mind, a nation of strong and confident and self-governing people. And we've been the kind of nation our fathers and mothers defended in World War II; a great and diverse country, united by common dangers and by common resolve.

We in our time will defend our nation, and we will deliver our nation's promise to all who seek it. In our war on terror, we are showing the world the strength of our country, and by our unity and tolerance and compassion, we will show the world the soul of our country. May God bless America.

West Point Commencement

UNITED STATES MILITARY ACADEMY

WEST POINT, NEW YORK

JUNE 1, 2002

Thank you very much, General Lennox. Mr. Secretary, Governor Pataki, members of the United States Congress, Academy staff and faculty, distinguished guests, proud family members, and graduates: I want to thank you for your welcome. Laura and I are especially honored to visit this great institution in your bicentennial year.

In every corner of America, the words "West Point" command immediate respect. This place where the Hudson River bends is more than a fine institution of learning. The United States Military Academy is the guardian of values that have shaped the soldiers who have shaped the history of the world.

A few of you have followed in the path of the perfect West Point graduate, Robert E. Lee, who never received a single demerit in four years. Some of you followed in the path of the imperfect graduate, Ulysses S. Grant, who had his fair share of demerits, and said the happiest day of his life was "the day I left West Point." During my college years I guess you could say I was — During my college years I guess you could say I was a Grant man.

You walk in the tradition of Eisenhower and MacArthur, Patton and Bradley - the commanders who saved a civilization. And you walk in the tradition of second lieutenants who did the same, by fighting and dying on distant battlefields.

Graduates of this academy have brought creativity and courage to every field of endeavor. West Point produced the chief engineer of the Panama Canal, the mind behind the Manhattan Project, the first American to walk in space. This fine institution gave us the man they say invented baseball, and other young men over the years who perfected the game of football.

You know this, but many in America don't — George C. Marshall, a VMI graduate, is said to have given this order: "I want

an officer for a secret and dangerous mission. I want a West Point football player."

As you leave here today, I know there's one thing you'll never miss about this place: Being a plebe. But even a plebe at West Point is made to feel he or she has some standing in the world. I'm told that plebes, when asked whom they outrank, are required to answer this: "Sir, the Superintendent's dog, the Commandant's cat, and all the admirals in the whole damn Navy." I probably won't be sharing that with the Secretary of the Navy.

West Point is guided by tradition, and in honor of the "Golden Children of the Corps," I will observe one of the traditions you cherish most. As the Commander-in-Chief, I hereby grant amnesty to all cadets who are on restriction for minor conduct offenses. Those of you in the end zone might have cheered a little early. Because, you see, I'm going to let General Lennox define exactly what "minor" means.

Every West Point class is commissioned to the Armed Forces. Some West Point classes are also commissioned by history, to take part in a great new calling for their country. Speaking here to the class of 1942 — six months after Pearl Harbor — General Marshall said, "We're determined that before the sun sets on this terrible struggle, our flag will be recognized throughout the world as a symbol of freedom on the one hand, and of overwhelming power on the other."

Officers graduating that year helped fulfill that mission, defeating Japan and Germany, and then reconstructing those nations as allies. West Point graduates of the 1940s saw the rise of a deadly new challenge — the challenge of imperial communism — and opposed it from Korea to Berlin, to Vietnam, and in the Cold War, from beginning to end. And as the sun set on their struggle, many of those West Point officers lived to see a world transformed.

History has also issued its call to your generation. In your last year, America was attacked by a ruthless and resourceful enemy. You graduate from this Academy in a time of war, taking your place in an American military that is powerful and is honorable. Our war

on terror is only begun, but in Afghanistan it was begun well.

I am proud of the men and women who have fought on my orders. America is profoundly grateful for all who serve the cause of freedom, and for all who have given their lives in its defense. This nation respects and trusts our military, and we are confident in your victories to come.

This war will take many turns we cannot predict. Yet I am certain of this: Wherever we carry it, the American flag will stand not only for our power, but for freedom. Our nation's cause has always been larger than our nation's defense. We fight, as we always fight, for a just peace — a peace that favors human liberty. We will defend the peace against threats from terrorists and tyrants. We will preserve the peace by building good relations among the great powers. And we will extend the peace by encouraging free and open societies on every continent.

Building this just peace is America's opportunity, and America's duty. From this day forward, it is your challenge, as well, and we will meet this challenge together. You will wear the uniform of a great and unique country. America has no empire to extend or utopia to establish. We wish for others only what we wish for ourselves — safety from violence, the rewards of liberty, and the hope for a better life.

In defending the peace, we face a threat with no precedent. Enemies in the past needed great armies and great industrial capabilities to endanger the American people and our nation. The attacks of September the 11th required a few hundred thousand dollars in the hands of a few dozen evil and deluded men. All of the chaos and suffering they caused came at much less than the cost of a single tank. The dangers have not passed. This government and the American people are on watch, we are ready, because we know the terrorists have more money and more men and more plans.

The gravest danger to freedom lies at the perilous crossroads of radicalism and technology. When the spread of chemical and biological and nuclear weapons, along with ballistic missile technology — when that occurs, even weak states and small

groups could attain a catastrophic power to strike great nations. Our enemies have declared this very intention, and have been caught seeking these terrible weapons. They want the capability to blackmail us, or to harm us, or to harm our friends — and we will oppose them with all our power.

For much of the last century, America's defense relied on the Cold War doctrines of deterrence and containment. In some cases, those strategies still apply. But new threats also require new thinking. Deterrence — the promise of massive retaliation against nations — means nothing against shadowy terrorist networks with no nation or citizens to defend. Containment is not possible when unbalanced dictators with weapons of mass destruction can deliver those weapons on missiles or secretly provide them to terrorist allies.

We cannot defend America and our friends by hoping for the best. We cannot put our faith in the word of tyrants, who solemnly sign non-proliferation treaties, and then systemically break them. If we wait for threats to fully materialize, we will have waited too long.

Homeland defense and missile defense are part of stronger security, and they're essential priorities for America. Yet the war on terror will not be won on the defensive. We must take the battle to the enemy, disrupt his plans, and confront the worst threats before they emerge. In the world we have entered, the only path to safety is the path of action. And this nation will act.

Our security will require the best intelligence, to reveal threats hidden in caves and growing in laboratories. Our security will require modernizing domestic agencies such as the FBI, so they're prepared to act, and act quickly, against danger. Our security will require transforming the military you will lead — a military that must be ready to strike at a moment's notice in any dark corner of the world. And our security will require all Americans to be forward-looking and resolute, to be ready for preemptive action when necessary to defend our liberty and to defend our lives.

The work ahead is difficult. The choices we will face are

complex. We must uncover terror cells in 60 or more countries, using every tool of finance, intelligence and law enforcement. Along with our friends and allies, we must oppose proliferation and confront regimes that sponsor terror, as each case requires. Some nations need military training to fight terror, and we'll provide it. Other nations oppose terror, but tolerate the hatred that leads to terror — and that must change. We will send diplomats where they are needed, and we will send you, our soldiers, where you're needed.

All nations that decide for aggression and terror will pay a price. We will not leave the safety of America and the peace of the planet at the mercy of a few mad terrorists and tyrants. We will lift this dark threat from our country and from the world.

Because the war on terror will require resolve and patience, it will also require firm moral purpose. In this way our struggle is similar to the Cold War. Now, as then, our enemies are totalitarians, holding a creed of power with no place for human dignity. Now, as then, they seek to impose a joyless conformity, to control every life and all of life.

America confronted imperial communism in many different ways — diplomatic, economic, and military. Yet moral clarity was essential to our victory in the Cold War. When leaders like John F. Kennedy and Ronald Reagan refused to gloss over the brutality of tyrants, they gave hope to prisoners and dissidents and exiles, and rallied free nations to a great cause.

Some worry that it is somehow undiplomatic or impolite to speak the language of right and wrong. I disagree. Different circumstances require different methods, but not different moralities. Moral truth is the same in every culture, in every time, and in every place. Targeting innocent civilians for murder is always and everywhere wrong. Brutality against women is always and everywhere wrong. There can be no neutrality between justice and cruelty, between the innocent and the guilty. We are in a conflict between good and evil, and America will call evil by its name. By confronting evil and lawless regimes, we do not create a problem,

we reveal a problem. And we will lead the world in opposing it.

As we defend the peace, we also have an historic opportunity to preserve the peace. We have our best chance since the rise of the nation state in the 17th century to build a world where the great powers compete in peace instead of prepare for war. The history of the last century, in particular, was dominated by a series of destructive national rivalries that left battlefields and graveyards across the Earth. Germany fought France, the Axis fought the Allies, and then the East fought the West, in proxy wars and tense standoffs, against a backdrop of nuclear Armageddon.

Competition between great nations is inevitable, but armed conflict in our world is not. More and more, civilized nations find ourselves on the same side — united by common dangers of terrorist violence and chaos. America has, and intends to keep, military strengths beyond challenge, thereby making the destabilizing arms races of other eras pointless, and limiting rivalries to trade and other pursuits of peace.

Today the great powers are also increasingly united by common values, instead of divided by conflicting ideologies. The United States, Japan and our Pacific friends, and now all of Europe, share a deep commitment to human freedom, embodied in strong alliances such as NATO. And the tide of liberty is rising in many other nations.

Generations of West Point officers planned and practiced for battles with Soviet Russia. I've just returned from a new Russia, now a country reaching toward democracy, and our partner in the war against terror. Even in China, leaders are discovering that economic freedom is the only lasting source of national wealth. In time, they will find that social and political freedom is the only true source of national greatness.

When the great powers share common values, we are better able to confront serious regional conflicts together, better able to cooperate in preventing the spread of violence or economic chaos. In the past, great power rivals took sides in difficult regional problems, making divisions deeper and more complicated. Today,

from the Middle East to South Asia, we are gathering broad international coalitions to increase the pressure for peace. We must build strong and great power relations when times are good; to help manage crisis when times are bad. America needs partners to preserve the peace, and we will work with every nation that shares this noble goal.

And finally, America stands for more than the absence of war. We have a great opportunity to extend a just peace, by replacing poverty, repression, and resentment around the world with hope of a better day. Through most of history, poverty was persistent, inescapable, and almost universal. In the last few decades, we've seen nations from Chile to South Korea build modern economies and freer societies, lifting millions of people out of despair and want. And there's no mystery to this achievement.

The 20th century ended with a single surviving model of human progress, based on non-negotiable demands of human dignity, the rule of law, limits on the power of the state, respect for women and private property and free speech and equal justice and religious tolerance. America cannot impose this vision — yet we can support and reward governments that make the right choices for their own people. In our development aid, in our diplomatic efforts, in our international broadcasting, and in our educational assistance, the United States will promote moderation and tolerance and human rights. And we will defend the peace that makes all progress possible.

When it comes to the common rights and needs of men and women, there is no clash of civilizations. The requirements of freedom apply fully to Africa and Latin America and the entire Islamic world. The peoples of the Islamic nations want and deserve the same freedoms and opportunities as people in every nation. And their governments should listen to their hopes.

A truly strong nation will permit legal avenues of dissent for all groups that pursue their aspirations without violence. An advancing nation will pursue economic reform, to unleash the great entrepreneurial energy of its people. A thriving nation will respect

the rights of women, because no society can prosper while denying opportunity to half its citizens. Mothers and fathers and children across the Islamic world, and all the world, share the same fears and aspirations. In poverty, they struggle. In tyranny, they suffer. And as we saw in Afghanistan, in liberation they celebrate.

America has a greater objective than controlling threats and containing resentment. We will work for a just and peaceful world beyond the war on terror.

The bicentennial class of West Point now enters this drama. With all in the United States Army, you will stand between your fellow citizens and grave danger. You will help establish a peace that allows millions around the world to live in liberty and to grow in prosperity. You will face times of calm, and times of crisis. And every test will find you prepared — because you're the men and women of West Point. You leave here marked by the character of this Academy, carrying with you the highest ideals of our nation.

Toward the end of his life, Dwight Eisenhower recalled the first day he stood on the plain at West Point. "The feeling came over me," he said, "that the expression 'the United States of America' would now and henceforth mean something different than it had ever before. From here on, it would be the nation I would be serving, not myself."

Today, your last day at West Point, you begin a life of service in a career unlike any other. You've answered a calling to hardship and purpose, to risk and honor. At the end of every day you will know that you have faithfully done your duty. May you always bring to that duty the high standards of this great American institution. May you always be worthy of the long gray line that stretches two centuries behind you.

On behalf of the nation, I congratulate each one of you for the commission you've earned and for the credit you bring to the United States of America. May God bless you all.

Middle East Peace Process

THE ROSE GARDEN OF THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON, D.C.

JUNE 24, 2002

For too long, the citizens of the Middle East have lived in the midst of death and fear. The hatred of a few holds the hopes of many hostage. The forces of extremism and terror are attempting to kill progress and peace by killing the innocent. And this casts a dark shadow over an entire region. For the sake of all humanity, things must change in the Middle East.

It is untenable for Israeli citizens to live in terror. It is untenable for Palestinians to live in squalor and occupation. And the current situation offers no prospect that life will improve. Israeli citizens will continue to be victimized by terrorists, and so Israel will continue to defend herself.

In the situation the Palestinian people will grow more and more miserable. My vision is two states, living side by side in peace and security. There is simply no way to achieve that peace until all parties fight terror. Yet, at this critical moment, if all parties will break with the past and set out on a new path, we can overcome the darkness with the light of hope. Peace requires a new and different Palestinian leadership, so that a Palestinian state can be born.

I call on the Palestinian people to elect new leaders, leaders not compromised by terror. I call upon them to build a practicing democracy, based on tolerance and liberty. If the Palestinian people actively pursue these goals, America and the world will actively support their efforts. If the Palestinian people meet these goals, they will be able to reach agreement with Israel and Egypt and Jordan on security and other arrangements for independence.

And when the Palestinian people have new leaders, new institutions and new security arrangements with their neighbors, the United States of America will support the creation of a Palestinian state whose borders and certain aspects of its sovereignty will be

provisional until resolved as part of a final settlement in the Middle East.

In the work ahead, we all have responsibilities. The Palestinian people are gifted and capable, and I am confident they can achieve a new birth for their nation. A Palestinian state will never be created by terror — it will be built through reform. And reform must be more than cosmetic change, or veiled attempt to preserve the status quo. True reform will require entirely new political and economic institutions, based on democracy, market economics and action against terrorism.

Today, the elected Palestinian legislature has no authority, and power is concentrated in the hands of an unaccountable few. A Palestinian state can only serve its citizens with a new constitution which separates the powers of government. The Palestinian parliament should have the full authority of a legislative body. Local officials and government ministers need authority of their own and the independence to govern effectively.

The United States, along with the European Union and Arab states, will work with Palestinian leaders to create a new constitutional framework, and a working democracy for the Palestinian people. And the United States, along with others in the international community will help the Palestinians organize and monitor fair, multi-party local elections by the end of the year, with national elections to follow.

Today, the Palestinian people live in economic stagnation, made worse by official corruption. A Palestinian state will require a vibrant economy, where honest enterprise is encouraged by honest government. The United States, the international donor community and the World Bank stand ready to work with Palestinians on a major project of economic reform and development. The United States, the EU, the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund are willing to oversee reforms in Palestinian finances, encouraging transparency and independent auditing.

And the United States, along with our partners in the developed world, will increase our humanitarian assistance to relieve

Palestinian suffering. Today, the Palestinian people lack effective courts of law and have no means to defend and vindicate their rights. A Palestinian state will require a system of reliable justice to punish those who prey on the innocent. The United States and members of the international community stand ready to work with Palestinian leaders to establish finance — establish finance and monitor a truly independent judiciary.

Today, Palestinian authorities are encouraging, not opposing, terrorism. This is unacceptable. And the United States will not support the establishment of a Palestinian state until its leaders engage in a sustained fight against the terrorists and dismantle their infrastructure. This will require an externally supervised effort to rebuild and reform the Palestinian security services. The security system must have clear lines of authority and accountability and a unified chain of command.

America is pursuing this reform along with key regional states. The world is prepared to help, yet ultimately these steps toward statehood depend on the Palestinian people and their leaders. If they energetically take the path of reform, the rewards can come quickly. If Palestinians embrace democracy, confront corruption and firmly reject terror, they can count on American support for the creation of a provisional state of Palestine.

With a dedicated effort, this state could rise rapidly, as it comes to terms with Israel, Egypt and Jordan on practical issues, such as security. The final borders, the capital and other aspects of this state's sovereignty will be negotiated between the parties, as part of a final settlement. Arab states have offered their help in this process, and their help is needed.

I've said in the past that nations are either with us or against us in the war on terror. To be counted on the side of peace, nations must act. Every leader actually committed to peace will end incitement to violence in official media, and publicly denounce homicide bombings. Every nation actually committed to peace will stop the flow of money, equipment and recruits to terrorist groups seeking the destruction of Israel — including Hamas,

Islamic Jihad, and Hezbollah. Every nation actually committed to peace must block the shipment of Iranian supplies to these groups, and oppose regimes that promote terror, like Iraq. And Syria must choose the right side in the war on terror by closing terrorist camps and expelling terrorist organizations.

Leaders who want to be included in the peace process must show by their deeds an undivided support for peace. And as we move toward a peaceful solution, Arab states will be expected to build closer ties of diplomacy and commerce with Israel, leading to full normalization of relations between Israel and the entire Arab world.

Israel also has a large stake in the success of a democratic Palestine. Permanent occupation threatens Israel's identity and democracy. A stable, peaceful Palestinian state is necessary to achieve the security that Israel longs for. So I challenge Israel to take concrete steps to support the emergence of a viable, credible Palestinian state.

As we make progress towards security, Israel forces need to withdraw fully to positions they held prior to September 28, 2000. And consistent with the recommendations of the Mitchell Committee, Israeli settlement activity in the occupied territories must stop.

The Palestinian economy must be allowed to develop. As violence subsides, freedom of movement should be restored, permitting innocent Palestinians to resume work and normal life. Palestinian legislators and officials, humanitarian and international workers, must be allowed to go about the business of building a better future. And Israel should release frozen Palestinian revenues into honest, accountable hands.

I've asked Secretary Powell to work intensively with Middle Eastern and international leaders to realize the vision of a Palestinian state, focusing them on a comprehensive plan to support Palestinian reform and institution-building.

Ultimately, Israelis and Palestinians must address the core issues that divide them if there is to be a real peace, resolving all claims and ending the conflict between them. This means that the Israeli

occupation that began in 1967 will be ended through a settlement negotiated between the parties, based on U.N. Resolutions 242 and 338, with Israeli withdrawal to secure and recognize borders.

We must also resolve questions concerning Jerusalem, the plight and future of Palestinian refugees, and a final peace between Israel and Lebanon, and Israel and a Syria that supports peace and fights terror.

All who are familiar with the history of the Middle East realize that there may be setbacks in this process. Trained and determined killers, as we have seen, want to stop it. Yet the Egyptian and Jordanian peace treaties with Israel remind us that with determined and responsible leadership progress can come quickly.

As new Palestinian institutions and new leaders emerge, demonstrating real performance on security and reform, I expect Israel to respond and work toward a final status agreement. With intensive effort by all, this agreement could be reached within three years from now. And I and my country will actively lead toward that goal.

I can understand the deep anger and anguish of the Israeli people. You've lived too long with fear and funerals, having to avoid markets and public transportation, and forced to put armed guards in kindergarten classrooms. The Palestinian Authority has rejected your offer at hand, and trafficked with terrorists. You have a right to a normal life; you have a right to security; and I deeply believe that you need a reformed, responsible Palestinian partner to achieve that security.

I can understand the deep anger and despair of the Palestinian people. For decades you've been treated as pawns in the Middle East conflict. Your interests have been held hostage to a comprehensive peace agreement that never seems to come, as your lives get worse year by year. You deserve democracy and the rule of law. You deserve an open society and a thriving economy. You deserve a life of hope for your children. An end to occupation and a peaceful democratic Palestinian state may seem distant, but America and our partners throughout the world stand ready to

help, help you make them possible as soon as possible.

If liberty can blossom in the rocky soil of the West Bank and Gaza, it will inspire millions of men and women around the globe who are equally weary of poverty and oppression, equally entitled to the benefits of democratic government.

I have a hope for the people of Muslim countries. Your commitments to morality, and learning, and tolerance led to great historical achievements. And those values are alive in the Islamic world today. You have a rich culture, and you share the aspirations of men and women in every culture. Prosperity and freedom and dignity are not just American hopes, or Western hopes. They are universal, human hopes. And even in the violence and turmoil of the Middle East, America believes those hopes have the power to transform lives and nations.

This moment is both an opportunity and a test for all parties in the Middle East: an opportunity to lay the foundations for future peace; a test to show who is serious about peace and who is not. The choice here is stark and simple. The Bible says, "I have set before you life and death; therefore, choose life." The time has arrived for everyone in this conflict to choose peace, and hope, and life.

Thank you very much.

Address to the United Nations General Assembly

UNITED NATIONS HEADQUARTERS
NEW YORK, NEW YORK
SEPTEMBER 12, 2002

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 the 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 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 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 Emir of Kuwait and a

former American President. Iraq's government openly praised the attacks of September the 11th. And al Qaeda 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 two to four times the amount of biological agents it declared, and has failed to account for more than three 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 four 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 seven years deceiving, evading, and harassing U.N. inspectors before ceasing cooperation entirely. Just months after the 1991 cease-fire, 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 four years since the last U.N. inspectors set foot in Iraq, four 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.

STATE OF THE UNION ADDRESS TO THE 108TH CONGRESS

THE UNITED STATES CAPITOL

WASHINGTON, D.C.

JANUARY 28, 2003

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 two 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 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 sign 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: 92 million Americans will keep, this year, an average of almost $1,000 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 three, or five, or seven 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 senior 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, D.C.

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 also 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 care 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 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 power plants 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 forest.

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 single 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 USA 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 anti-drug 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 three 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 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 this 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. Anti-retroviral 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 five 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 man-made 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 Qaeda. They include a man who directed logistics and funding for the September the 11th attacks; the chief of al Qaeda operations in the Persian Gulf, who planned the bombings of our embassies in East Africa and the USS Cole; an al Qaeda operations chief from Southeast Asia; a former director of al Qaeda's training camps in Afghanistan; a key al Qaeda operative in Europe; a major al Qaeda 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 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.

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 Bioshield. 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 three 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 hadn'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 America 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 Qaeda. 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 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. 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 Iraqi'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 two 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.

Remarks on the Future of Iraq

WASHINGTON HILTON HOTEL
WASHINGTON, D.C.
FEBRUARY 26, 2003

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. They were about to stop me at the door, but Irving Kristol said, "I know this guy, let him in."

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 — You may remember him, the former director of my vice presidential search committee. 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 warm-up act for Allan Meltzer. But I want to congratulate Dr. Meltzer for a lifetime of achievement, and for tonight's well-deserved honor. Congratulations.

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 Qaeda. 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 politics participation, economic openness, and free trade. And from Morocco to Bahrain and beyond, nations are taking genuine steps toward politics 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 road map 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 road map and to reach that goal. Old patterns of conflict in the Middle East can be broken, if all concerned will let go of bitterness, 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.

Address to the Nation on Military Operations in Iraq

THE OVAL OFFICE

WASHINGTON, D.C.

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 fire fighters 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.

Remarks on the Freedom Agenda

UNITED STATES CHAMBER OF COMMERCE

WASHINGTON, D.C.

NOVEMBER 6, 2003

Thank you all very much. Please be seated. Thanks for the warm welcome, and thanks for inviting me to join you in this 20th anniversary of the National Endowment for Democracy. The staff and directors of this organization have seen a lot of history over the last two decades, you've been a part of that history. By speaking for and standing for freedom, you've lifted the hopes of people around the world, and you've brought great credit to America.

I appreciate Vin for the short introduction. I'm a man who likes short introductions. And he didn't let me down. But more importantly, I appreciate the invitation. I appreciate the members of Congress who are here, senators from both political parties, members of the House of Representatives from both political parties. I appreciate the ambassadors who are here. I appreciate the guests who have come. I appreciate the bipartisan spirit, the nonpartisan spirit of the National Endowment for Democracy. I'm glad that Republicans and Democrats and independents are working together to advance human liberty.

The roots of our democracy can be traced to England, and to its Parliament — and so can the roots of this organization. In June of 1982, President Ronald Reagan spoke at Westminster Palace and declared, the turning point had arrived in history. He argued that Soviet communism had failed, precisely because it did not respect its own people — their creativity, their genius and their rights.

President Reagan said that the day of Soviet tyranny was passing, that freedom had a momentum which would not be halted. He gave this organization its mandate: to add to the momentum of freedom across the world. Your mandate was important 20 years ago; it is equally important today.

A number of critics were dismissive of that speech by the

President. According to one editorial of the time, "It seems hard to be a sophisticated European and also an admirer of Ronald Reagan." Some observers on both sides of the Atlantic pronounced the speech simplistic and naive, and even dangerous. In fact, Ronald Reagan's words were courageous and optimistic and entirely correct.

The great democratic movement President Reagan described was already well underway. In the early 1970s, there were about 40 democracies in the world. By the middle of that decade, Portugal and Spain and Greece held free elections. Soon there were new democracies in Latin America, and free institutions were spreading in Korea, in Taiwan, and in East Asia. This very week in 1989, there were protests in East Berlin and in Leipzig. By the end of that year, every communist dictatorship in Central [Europe] had collapsed. Within another year, the South African government released Nelson Mandela. Four years later, he was elected president of his country — ascending, like Walesa and Havel, from prisoner of state to head of state.

As the 20th century ended, there were around 120 democracies in the world — and I can assure you more are on the way. Ronald Reagan would be pleased, and he would not be surprised.

We've witnessed, in little over a generation, the swiftest advance of freedom in the 2,500 year story of democracy. Historians in the future will offer their own explanations for why this happened. Yet we already know some of the reasons they will cite. It is no accident that the rise of so many democracies took place in a time when the world's most influential nation was itself a democracy.

The United States made military and moral commitments in Europe and Asia, which protected free nations from aggression, and created the conditions in which new democracies could flourish. As we provided security for whole nations, we also provided inspiration for oppressed peoples. In prison camps, in banned union meetings, in clandestine churches, men and women knew that the whole world was not sharing their own nightmare.

They knew of at least one place — a bright and hopeful land — where freedom was valued and secure. And they prayed that America would not forget them, or forget the mission to promote liberty around the world.

Historians will note that in many nations, the advance of markets and free enterprise helped to create a middle class that was confident enough to demand their own rights. They will point to the role of technology in frustrating censorship and central control — and marvel at the power of instant communications to spread the truth, the news, and courage across borders.

Historians in the future will reflect on an extraordinary, undeniable fact: Over time, free nations grow stronger and dictatorships grow weaker. In the middle of the 20th century, some imagined that the central planning and social regimentation were a shortcut to national strength. In fact, the prosperity, and social vitality and technological progress of a people are directly determined by extent of their liberty. Freedom honors and unleashes human creativity — and creativity determines the strength and wealth of nations. Liberty is both the plan of Heaven for humanity, and the best hope for progress here on Earth.

The progress of liberty is a powerful trend. Yet, we also know that liberty, if not defended, can be lost. The success of freedom is not determined by some dialectic of history. By definition, the success of freedom rests upon the choices and the courage of free peoples, and upon their willingness to sacrifice. In the trenches of World War I, through a two-front war in the 1940s, the difficult battles of Korea and Vietnam, and in missions of rescue and liberation on nearly every continent, Americans have amply displayed our willingness to sacrifice for liberty.

The sacrifices of Americans have not always been recognized or appreciated, yet they have been worthwhile. Because we and our allies were steadfast, Germany and Japan are democratic nations that no longer threaten the world. A global nuclear standoff with the Soviet Union ended peacefully — as did the Soviet Union. The nations of Europe are moving towards unity, not dividing into

armed camps and descending into genocide. Every nation has learned, or should have learned, an important lesson: Freedom is worth fighting for, dying for, and standing for — and the advance of freedom leads to peace.

And now we must apply that lesson in our own time. We've reached another great turning point — and the resolve we show will shape the next stage of the world democratic movement.

Our commitment to democracy is tested in countries like Cuba and Burma and North Korea and Zimbabwe — outposts of oppression in our world. The people in these nations live in captivity, and fear and silence. Yet, these regimes cannot hold back freedom forever — and, one day, from prison camps and prison cells, and from exile, the leaders of new democracies will arrive. Communism, and militarism and rule by the capricious and corrupt are the relics of a passing era. And we will stand with these oppressed peoples until the day of their freedom finally arrives.

Our commitment to democracy is tested in China. That nation now has a sliver, a fragment of liberty. Yet, China's people will eventually want their liberty pure and whole. China has discovered that economic freedom leads to national wealth. China's leaders will also discover that freedom is indivisible — that social and religious freedom is also essential to national greatness and national dignity. Eventually, men and women who are allowed to control their own wealth will insist on controlling their own lives and their own country.

Our commitment to democracy is also tested in the Middle East, which is my focus today, and must be a focus of American policy for decades to come. In many nations of the Middle East — countries of great strategic importance — democracy has not yet taken root. And the questions arise: Are the peoples of the Middle East somehow beyond the reach of liberty? Are millions of men and women and children condemned by history or culture to live in despotism? Are they alone never to know freedom, and never even to have a choice in the matter? I, for one, do not believe it. I believe every person has the ability and the right to be free.

Some skeptics of democracy assert that the traditions of Islam are inhospitable to the representative government. This "cultural condescension," as Ronald Reagan termed it, has a long history. After the Japanese surrender in 1945, a so-called Japan expert asserted that democracy in that former empire would "never work." Another observer declared the prospects for democracy in post-Hitler Germany are, and I quote, "most uncertain at best" — he made that claim in 1957. Seventy-four years ago, The Sunday London Times declared nine-tenths of the population of India to be "illiterates not caring a fig for politics." Yet when Indian democracy was imperiled in the 1970s, the Indian people showed their commitment to liberty in a national referendum that saved their form of government.

Time after time, observers have questioned whether this country, or that people, or this group, are "ready" for democracy — as if freedom were a prize you win for meeting our own Western standards of progress. In fact, the daily work of democracy itself is the path of progress. It teaches cooperation, the free exchange of ideas, and the peaceful resolution of differences. As men and women are showing, from Bangladesh to Botswana, to Mongolia, it is the practice of democracy that makes a nation ready for democracy, and every nation can start on this path.

It should be clear to all that Islam — the faith of one-fifth of humanity — is consistent with democratic rule. Democratic progress is found in many predominantly Muslim countries — in Turkey and Indonesia, and Senegal and Albania, Niger and Sierra Leone. Muslim men and women are good citizens of India and South Africa, of the nations of Western Europe, and of the United States of America.

More than half of all the Muslims in the world live in freedom under democratically constituted governments. They succeed in democratic societies, not in spite of their faith, but because of it. A religion that demands individual moral accountability, and encourages the encounter of the individual with God, is fully compatible with the rights and responsibilities of self-government.

Yet there's a great challenge today in the Middle East. In the words of a recent report by Arab scholars, the global wave of democracy has — and I quote — "barely reached the Arab states." They continue: "This freedom deficit undermines human development and is one of the most painful manifestations of lagging political development." The freedom deficit they describe has terrible consequences, of the people of the Middle East and for the world. In many Middle Eastern countries, poverty is deep and it is spreading, women lack rights and are denied schooling. Whole societies remain stagnant while the world moves ahead. These are not the failures of a culture or a religion. These are the failures of political and economic doctrines.

As the colonial era passed away, the Middle East saw the establishment of many military dictatorships. Some rulers adopted the dogmas of socialism, seized total control of political parties and the media and universities. They allied themselves with the Soviet bloc and with international terrorism. Dictators in Iraq and Syria promised the restoration of national honor, a return to ancient glories. They've left instead a legacy of torture, oppression, misery, and ruin.

Other men, and groups of men, have gained influence in the Middle East and beyond through an ideology of theocratic terror. Behind their language of religion is the ambition for absolute political power. Ruling cabals like the Taliban show their version of religious piety in public whippings of women, ruthless suppression of any difference or dissent, and support for terrorists who arm and train to murder the innocent. The Taliban promised religious purity and national pride. Instead, by systematically destroying a proud and working society, they left behind suffering and starvation.

Many Middle Eastern governments now understand that military dictatorship and theocratic rule are a straight, smooth highway to nowhere. But some governments still cling to the old habits of central control. There are governments that still fear and repress independent thought and creativity, and private enterprise

— the human qualities that make for a — strong and successful societies. Even when these nations have vast natural resources, they do not respect or develop their greatest resources — the talent and energy of men and women working and living in freedom.

Instead of dwelling on past wrongs and blaming others, governments in the Middle East need to confront real problems, and serve the true interests of their nations. The good and capable people of the Middle East all deserve responsible leadership. For too long, many people in that region have been victims and subjects — they deserve to be active citizens.

Governments across the Middle East and North Africa are beginning to see the need for change. Morocco has a diverse new parliament; King Mohammed has urged it to extend the rights to women. Here is how His Majesty explained his reforms to parliament: "How can society achieve progress while women, who represent half the nation, see their rights violated and suffer as a result of injustice, violence, and marginalization, notwithstanding the dignity and justice granted to them by our glorious religion?" The King of Morocco is correct: The future of Muslim nations will be better for all with the full participation of women.

In Bahrain last year, citizens elected their own parliament for the first time in nearly three decades. Oman has extended the vote to all adult citizens; Qatar has a new constitution; Yemen has a multiparty political system; Kuwait has a directly elected national assembly; and Jordan held historic elections this summer. Recent surveys in Arab nations reveal broad support for political pluralism, the rule of law, and free speech. These are the stirrings of Middle Eastern democracy, and they carry the promise of greater change to come.

As changes come to the Middle Eastern region, those with power should ask themselves: Will they be remembered for resisting reform, or for leading it? In Iran, the demand for democracy is strong and broad, as we saw last month when thousands gathered to welcome home Shirin Ebadi, the winner of the Nobel Peace Prize. The regime in Teheran must heed the

democratic demands of the Iranian people, or lose its last claim to legitimacy.

For the Palestinian people, the only path to independence and dignity and progress is the path of democracy. And the Palestinian leaders who block and undermine democratic reform, and feed hatred and encourage violence are not leaders at all. They're the main obstacles to peace, and to the success of the Palestinian people.

The Saudi government is taking first steps toward reform, including a plan for gradual introduction of elections. By giving the Saudi people a greater role in their own society, the Saudi government can demonstrate true leadership in the region.

The great and proud nation of Egypt has shown the way toward peace in the Middle East, and now should show the way toward democracy in the Middle East. Champions of democracy in the region understand that democracy is not perfect, it is not the path to utopia, but it's the only path to national success and dignity.

As we watch and encourage reforms in the region, we are mindful that modernization is not the same as Westernization. Representative governments in the Middle East will reflect their own cultures. They will not, and should not, look like us. Democratic nations may be constitutional monarchies, federal republics, or parliamentary systems. And working democracies always need time to develop — as did our own. We've taken a 200-year journey toward inclusion and justice — and this makes us patient and understanding as other nations are at different stages of this journey.

There are, however, essential principles common to every successful society, in every culture. Successful societies limit the power of the state and the power of the military — so that governments respond to the will of the people, and not the will of an elite. Successful societies protect freedom with the consistent and impartial rule of law, instead of selecting applying — selectively applying the law to punish political opponents. Successful societies allow room for healthy civic institutions — for

political parties and labor unions and independent newspapers and broadcast media. Successful societies guarantee religious liberty — the right to serve and honor God without fear of persecution. Successful societies privatize their economies, and secure the rights of property. They prohibit and punish official corruption, and invest in the health and education of their people. They recognize the rights of women. And instead of directing hatred and resentment against others, successful societies appeal to the hopes of their own people.

These vital principles are being applies in the nations of Afghanistan and Iraq. With the steady leadership of President Karzai, the people of Afghanistan are building a modern and peaceful government. Next month, 500 delegates will convene a national assembly in Kabul to approve a new Afghan constitution. The proposed draft would establish a bicameral parliament, set national elections next year, and recognize Afghanistan's Muslim identity, while protecting the rights of all citizens. Afghanistan faces continuing economic and security challenges — it will face those challenges as a free and stable democracy.

In Iraq, the Coalition Provisional Authority and the Iraqi Governing Council are also working together to build a democracy — and after three decades of tyranny, this work is not easy. The former dictator ruled by terror and treachery, and left deeply ingrained habits of fear and distrust. Remnants of his regime, joined by foreign terrorists, continue their battle against order and against civilization. Our coalition is responding to recent attacks with precision raids, guided by intelligence provided by the Iraqis, themselves. And we're working closely with Iraqi citizens as they prepare a constitution, as they move toward free elections and take increasing responsibility for their own affairs. As in the defense of Greece in 1947, and later in the Berlin Airlift, the strength and will of free peoples are now being tested before a watching world. And we will meet this test.

Securing democracy in Iraq is the work of many hands. American and coalition forces are sacrificing for the peace of

Iraq and for the security of free nations. Aid workers from many countries are facing danger to help the Iraqi people. The National Endowment for Democracy is promoting women's rights, and training Iraqi journalists, and teaching the skills of political participation. Iraqis, themselves — police and borders guards and local officials — are joining in the work and they are sharing in the sacrifice.

This is a massive and difficult undertaking — it is worth our effort, it is worth our sacrifice, because we know the stakes. The failure of Iraqi democracy would embolden terrorists around the world, increase dangers to the American people, and extinguish the hopes of millions in the region. Iraqi democracy will succeed — and that success will send forth the news, from Damascus to Teheran — that freedom can be the future of every nation. The establishment of a free Iraq at the heart of the Middle East will be a watershed event in the global democratic revolution.

Sixty years of Western nations excusing and accommodating the lack of freedom in the Middle East did nothing to make us safe — because in the long run, stability cannot be purchased at the expense of liberty. As long as the Middle East remains a place where freedom does not flourish, it will remain a place of stagnation, resentment, and violence ready for export. And with the spread of weapons that can bring catastrophic harm to our country and to our friends, it would be reckless to accept the status quo.

Therefore, the United States has adopted a new policy, a forward strategy of freedom in the Middle East. This strategy requires the same persistence and energy and idealism we have shown before. And it will yield the same results. As in Europe, as in Asia, as in every region of the world, the advance of freedom leads to peace.

The advance of freedom is the calling of our time; it is the calling of our country. From the Fourteen Points to the Four Freedoms, to the Speech at Westminster, America has put our power at the service of principle. We believe that liberty is the design of nature; we believe that liberty is the direction of history.

We believe that human fulfillment and excellence come in the responsible exercise of liberty. And we believe that freedom — the freedom we prize — is not for us alone, it is the right and the capacity of all mankind.

Working for the spread of freedom can be hard. Yet, America has accomplished hard tasks before. Our nation is strong; we're strong of heart. And we're not alone. Freedom is finding allies in every country; freedom finds allies in every culture. And as we meet the terror and violence of the world, we can be certain the author of freedom is not indifferent to the fate of freedom.

With all the tests and all the challenges of our age, this is, above all, the age of liberty. Each of you at this Endowment is fully engaged in the great cause of liberty. And I thank you. May God bless your work. And may God continue to bless America.

Moore's Fahrenheit 9/11 Scenes

Image 1



Image 2



Image 3

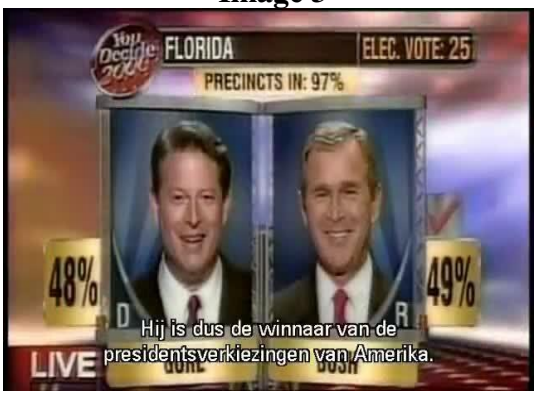


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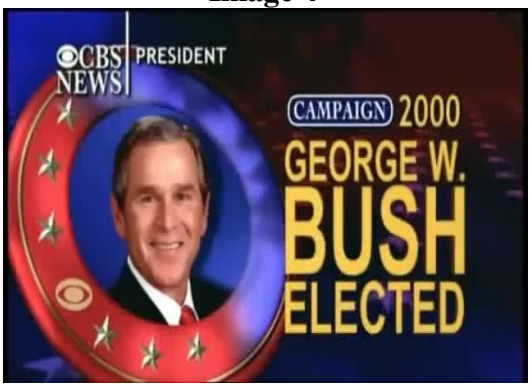


Image 29



Image 30



Image 31



Image 32



Image 5


THE PANTAGRAPH

Latest Florida recount shows Gore won election

Zelfs wanneer
meerdere onderzoeken uitwijzen

Image 6



Image 7



Image 8



Image 33



Image 34



Image 35



Image 36

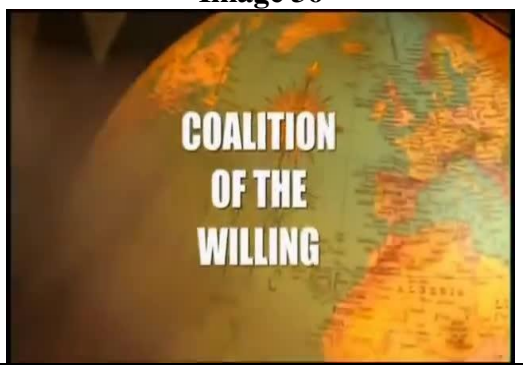


Image 9



Image 10



Image 11



Image 12

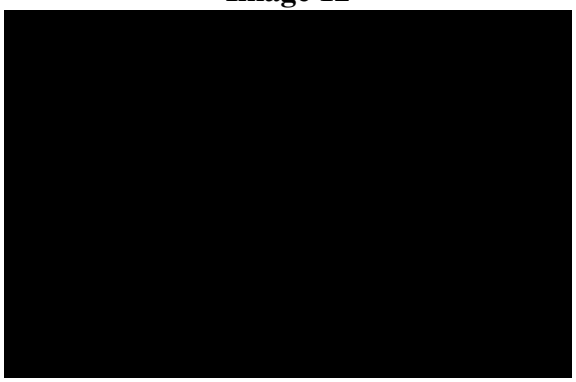


Image 37



Image 38



Image 39



Image 40



Image 13



Image 41



Image 14



Image 42



Image 15



Image 43



Image 16



Image 44



Image 17



Image 45



Image 18



Image 46



Image 19

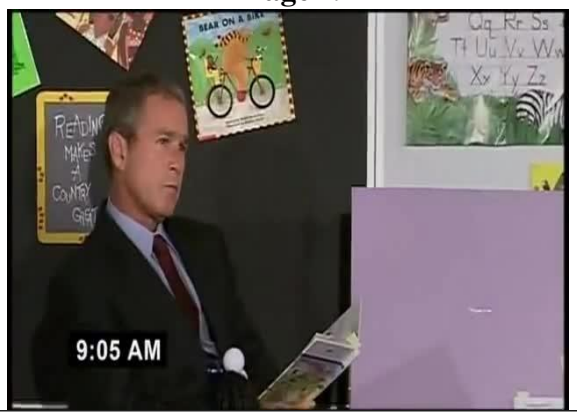


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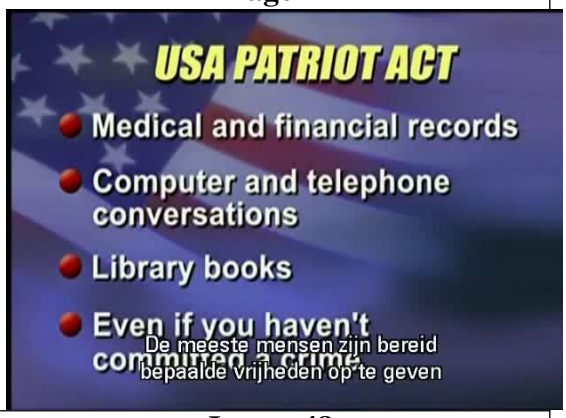


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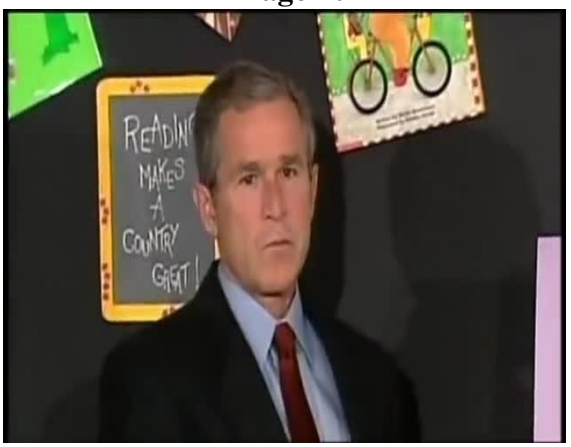


Image 48



Image 21



Image 49



Image 22



Image 50



Image 23



Image 51



Image 24



Image 52



Image 25



Image 26



Image 27



Image 28

Image 53



Image 54



Image 55



Image 56


STOP
OIL
WARS
WAR
Kills
NO WAR
FOR
Ze zijn er niet omdat ze dat willen."

Image 57


THIS FILM IS DEDICATED TO
Michael Pedersen, Brett Petriken
and all the soldiers from the Flint area
who have died in the Iraq War
Bill Weems and the 2,973 who died on 9/11/01
and the countless thousands
who have died in Afghanistan and Iraq
as a result of our actions