Modelling Self and Other

A Hybrid Approach to the Analysis of Images of Self and Other in the Radio
Addresses Delivered by the American President Before and After 9/11

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Abstract

In this thesis I propose a method for analysing the creation of images of *self* and *other* in a relatively substantial corpus in a comprehensive manner without at the same time losing sight of singular features.

I will discuss how images of self and other are used in political speech and how they form a part in the construction of cognitive discourse models in social cognition. I will then outline a hybrid approach that complements methods and findings from critical discourse analysis, which are used for a higher-level, qualitative, top-down analysis, that views the structural aspects of the texts in a broader (i.e. socio-cultural) context with elements from corpus-linguistics, used for what I term a quantitative, bottom-up analysis. Although the former is primarily used for the generation of theories and the latter is used as a means of providing evidence for these theories, it will be shown that interaction between the two approaches is bi-directional. I will address the question how social cognition can be manipulated with the deliberate creation of images of self and other, and what linguistic features can be found to be at the basis of this manipulation.

The applicability of the combined method will be demonstrated by analysing the creation of images of self and other in addresses delivered by US-president George W. Bush from January 2001 to September 2003, and their discursive function in a socio-political context.

Contents

1 Introduction

1.1 Linking Critical Discourse Analysis and Corpus Linguistics

In today's setting of the political stage, the elaborate creation of images of self and other is an indispensable technique for political success. And there is no genre where this technique could be studied more elaborately than that of political speech. The question arises, however, what is a good method to assess current political speeches. With the genre of political speech being one of the oldest genres to be studied, there are plenty of methods available. However, with recent advances in technology and the broader audience that can be reached via radio, TV and the Internet, the genre of political speech has gained in dimensionality, and the barycentre of the genre has shifted towards these media. As a result, the immediate face-to-face audience of a speaker gets less important than the mass of recipients that gain access to a speech through these technologies, and at the same time the quantity of speeches receivable by an individual grows vastly. An approach is needed that can account for the processing of political speeches by an individual and the way it affects the individual's conception of social identity and social relations. At the same time, the approach has to include the larger picture of an audience that is constituted by a vast number of different individuals and account for social cognition as a group act. And last but not least, the approach has to identify the linguistic means that are employed in political speeches to link these discursive devices to social cognition. In order to draw meaningful conclusions from such an analysis, a sufficient range of speeches has to be considered.

In the combined approach I propose, the qualitative component will provide the motivation and the thread of the proposed approach, motivate the use of linguistic means in the creation of models of self and other and relate mental models to social structures and power relationships. The

quantitative component will focus on the texts as such in more detail, assess the lexical fields used in a quantitative manner, highlight the interrelations between sets of texts and roughly position the texts within their order of discourse. Both components will serve to develop hypotheses about the texts studied on the one hand and provide validation for the hypotheses generated with the complementary component on the other hand. I argue that a combination is preferable as neither the quantitative nor the qualitative approach alone can give a full account of the processes underlying the creation of images of self and other and also the intended (manipulative) function such a creation process may entail. I propose to use methods and the attitude to political orders of discourse from critical discourse analysis as the qualitative component, and use methods and insights from corpus linguistics as the quantitative component.

Critical discourse analysis (CDA) has a wide conceptual basis. Fairclough's analytical framework (1989, 1993, 1995) covers large areas of language practice. Multiple discourses and genres are combined in the concept of *order of discourse*. Van Dijk's socio-cognitive approach (1983, 1993a, 1993b, 2002) links language practice to social cognition. However, the methods used in CDA for actual analysis tend to be of a more singular, qualitative kind. Working with a sampling paradigm can illuminate the discursive practice in selected instances of language practice, but often it is not sufficient to do the broad conceptual framework credit. This is where corpus linguistics comes in. Corpus linguistics is the subdiscipline in linguistics to make extensive use of computational analysis of corpora. It provides methods for processing large volumes of text and interpreting the numerical results.

I am convinced that these two strands of linguistics are a good choice for the qualitative and the quantitative analysis of a number of texts. Both of these fields bring with them their set of well researched and refined methods. My main endeavour in this thesis will be to integrate them into a

common framework. I argue that this integration can be done very naturally within the context of social cognition and the construction of mental models.

It is surprising, I find, that such a combination has not been researched extensively. I attribute the lack of research in this direction to a general reluctance in two comparatively young disciplines to leave the main track at an early stage. There are, of course, exceptions to this and a number of tentative attempts at a possible combination of methods from the two fields are to be found in the literature. Most notably, Hardt-Mautner (1995), in a UCREL Technical Paper, proposes a combination of CDA and Corpus Linguistics. She argues that, from the point of view of critical discourse analysis, corpus linguistics offers methods that can be used to "supplement, not replace the methods normally used in CDA. Qualitative and quantitative techniques need to be combined, not played off against each other" (Hardt-Mautner 1995, 2).

1.2 Field of Application

Initially, George W. Bush was not a president with a lot of public support. In fact, he is one of the presidents with the lowest percentage of total votes. In the course of his presidency, however, and with the events happening during it, his acceptance rose, and he won the half-elections with a considerable majority. It is not only interesting how this rise and fall of his popularity is reflected in the discursive practice of his radio addresses and speeches, but also how these practices are actually instrumental in maintaining his popular acceptance. While clearly various external events provided the circumstances for the president to gain or lose acceptance, it still is the way he reacts to it on a discursive level that actually decide whether the result is a gain or a loss. Most of all, the terror attacks of September 11, 2001, had an immense effect on Bush's politics. I will thus additionally analyse the speech given by George W. Bush in an address to the nation following the terror attack of 9/11.

I realize that the issue of 9/11 is a highly sensitive one, and that it is not easy to deal with such an event on a purely rational basis. However, even more so, it has to be analysed in an objective way, and it is of importance to point out where the tragedy of 9/11 is used for gaining political support in an illegitimate way, i.e. where it is used to form the basis of manipulation of social cognition. The same is true of other events that occurred during Bush's presidency, like the war in Afghanistan or the war against Iraq.

1.3 Outline

The rest of this work is organized as follows: Chapter 2 introduces the idea of the creation of political reality through discursive practice and the notion of images of *self* and *other*. In chapters 3 and 4, the two areas of critical discourse analysis and corpus linguistics are addressed: Chapter 3 discusses most of the theoretical framework and its position in critical discourse analysis and defines social cognition. In chapter 4 the methodological approach of the quantitative component is discussed and positioned with regard to the methods used in corpus linguistics. In chapter 5 the proposed framework is applied to the corpus of radio addresses. Chapter 6 concludes the thesis.

1.4 Notation

George W. Bush's radio addresses will be cited by "RA – " followed by the date on which the address was delivered.

2 The Creation of Political Reality

2.1 The Concept of Political Reality

Questioning what is real and what is appearance has a long tradition in human history. In the light of politics, the question gets an additional twist: "Political cognitions would seem to have a rather different epistemological status from the knowledge of the hard sciences" (Edelman 1977, 9). Political reality most often is not linked to what actually is considered to be real, but rather focuses on how social and political cognition can be affected and which strategic linguistic functions are used to achieve this. The main issue when dealing with the creation of political realities is "examining how cognitions are evoked and how they are structured whether or not they are 'realistic' in any way" (Edelman 1977, 9). "Linguistics have shared some of [these] perspectives – for instance, the critical perspective and the general epistemological stance according to which political realities are constructed in and through discourse" (Chilton and Schäffner 1997, 208). In this sense, the "real" world is not so much of importance as the established concept. An analytical approach that "aims to determine how rhetoric invites a construction and reconstruction of events and phenomena" (Gill/Whedbee 1997, 160) is favourable.

Political reality can be seen as a set of concepts, unique for each individual and defined not only by the speaker, but also by the recipient of the concepts. This set of concepts can be based on facts, pseudo-facts or even be built on dissimulation. Political realities may be created deliberately or without intent, although in the context of radio addresses, where the strategies are devised beforehand, the process of creation usually is considered very carefully and the use of associated strategic functions often happens very deliberately.

In this context, the role of the recipient is also of great importance. Political reality, i.e. a set of concepts, is perceived in a different way by

individual recipients. "The perception of such political issues resonates with observers' fears, hopes, and interests and with the role they play. How political events are perceived defines the observers as surely as he or she defines them" (Edelman 1977, 10). Gill/Whedbee (1997, 100) describe this recipient-oriented approach as follows: "Textual structures are identified, discussed, and in some cases dismantled to determine how they operate to create understandings, to sanction particular ways of viewing the world, or to silence particular people or points of view." Thus, when politicians try to persuade recipients with a certain set of concepts, they have to take into account the way this set will be received by different groups of individuals. For different groups of recipients the strategic functions used to create and convey political reality is altered.

Political reality is thus not only determined by the person constructing it, but is very much shaped by how it is perceived. The process of political perception is highly complex. "There is no 'real' perception [...] but a cognitive structure with alternative facets, possibilities, and combinations appearing as the observer encounters new situation" (Edelman 1977, 10). Political perception is internally contradictory and not stable in time. Thus an individual's perception might radically change when the individual gains new information. Because the process of political perception is so complex, it is hard to predict in individuals. However, it is possible to make valid assumptions for larger parts of the audience and how political perception will work for different groups of recipients. Political rhetors will try to adapt to whatever they deem is their primary group of recipients, and adopt a discourse that aims at creating political reality in a way consistent with the assumptions made about the target groups in the audience. "Every candidate adopts a discourse that carries within it certain claims to truth, claims about the nature of the politically relevant world." (Stuckey and Antczack 1995, 118).

2.2 Images of Self and Other

In the creation of political reality, the shaping of concepts of *self* and *other* is one of the central strategic goals of political rhetors. In an analysis of images of *self* and *other*, the purpose and function of discursive practice is crucial. I will thus not only discuss images of *self* and *other* and how they are created, but focus on why they are created and what the intended functions of these concepts are.

Public political discourse in the form of speeches has an immanently persuasive function. It aims at convincing the public of political measures taken, at winning over undecided voters, at gaining credibility and authority. This process of persuasion is done subtly and is closely related to the notions of ideology and identity. The notions of ideology and identity in political discourse are interlinked. "Political discourse is eminently ideological" (van Dijk 2002, 1) and in order to construct ideology, the concept of identity is essential. "[I]deologies are defined in terms of basic beliefs shared by the members of groups" (van Dijk 2002, 7). In order to affect and articulate basic beliefs, and thus ideology, in political speech, it is necessary to first define the group for which the beliefs are valid. The speaker has to mark the borders of the group, define its members and not only claim membership himself, but also a special position that allows him to articulate the basic beliefs.

As the audience of political speech usually is heterogeneous, the speaker, with the aim of reaching a wide range of this audience, will not be precise and singular in the construction of identity. "[P]olitical discourse is the site where politicians' multiple identities are enacted: By definition they speak as politicians, but also as conservatives and liberals, men or women, feminists or anti-feminists, racists or anti-racists, and so on." (van Dijk 2002, 7). As can be seen in this statement, dichotomous pairs are important in the establishment of this identity. In many cases, identity is created "ex

negativo" (Dörner 1993, 292). The image of *self* is created by contrasting it with the image of *other*.

An analysis of these processes must be founded in a theoretical framework of the production and the reception of political discourse.

3 Critical Discourse Analysis and Social Cognition

3.1 Defining "discourse"

"Discourse" is a term with many definitions and "integrates a whole palette of meanings" (Titscher et.al. 1998, 42), from philosophy, sociology and linguistics. Following Titscher et.al (1998), I use a working definition of discourse that is based on van Dijk's (1977, 3) general conception of discourse as text in context, "data that is liable for empiric analysis" (Titscher et.al. 1998, 44), with a focus on discourse as action and process. Thus, "discourse" is a wider term than "text": "I shall use the term *discourse* to refer to the whole process of social interaction of which a text is just a part" (Fairclough 1989, 24). Through its impact on the creation of mental models, discourse is constitutive of the cognition of reality.

3.2 Introducing Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA)

> Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) is obviously not a homogenous model,
> nor a school or a paradigm, but at most a shared perspective on doing
> linguistics, semiotic or discourse analysis.
> (van Dijk 1993b, 131)

At the basis of CDA is the aim to view language use as social practice. Language users do not operate in isolation, but in a social and cultural framework. CDA takes this social context into account and explores the links between textual structures and their function in social interaction. With the lack of a direct, one-to-one correspondence between textual structures and social functions, such an analysis is a complex one, working on multiple levels. Especially when it comes to creating and maintaining differences in power relations, the correspondence between the intricate mechanics of discursive practice and their social function is often deliberately left opaque. The aim of CDA is to provide a framework for reducing this opacity. Fairclough (1993, 135) thus defines *critical* discourse analysis as

> discourse analysis which aims to systematically explore often opaque
> relationships of causality and determination between (a) discursive

practice, events and texts, and (b) wider social and cultural structures, relations and processes; to investigate how such practices, events and texts arise out of and are ideologically shaped by relations of power and struggles over power; and to explore how the opacity of these relationships between discourse and society is itself a factor securing power and hegemony.

It is important to realize that the relationship is a bi-directional one. Not only is language use affected by its situatedness in social and cultural practice, but language use in turn has an impact on its social and cultural context. Discursive practice is constitutive of social structures, just as social structures determine discursive practice. CDA takes both directions into account and "explore[s] the tension between these two sides of language use, the socially shaped and socially constitutive" (Fairclough 1993, 134). Language is socially constitutive on different levels. A possible division (Fairclough 1993, 134-136) is between social identity, social relations and systems of knowledge and belief. An instance of language use has effects on all levels, although with different strength. I shall later point out how these levels can be interpreted in the context of social cognition and discourse models.

Titscher et.al (1998, 178) distinguish Fairclough's approach from another approach, the "discursive historical method", which focuses more on the psycho-social dimension of discourse and has Wodak and van Dijk as its main proponents. While this is a valid distinction, I will not explicitly make use of it in this thesis, and tacitly use concepts from CDA without attributing them to their strand in CDA.

3.2.1 Social Order and Order of Discourse

Actual discursive practice is the subject in the analysis of George W. Bush's radio speeches. In the context of such an analysis, the notions of *social order* and *order of discourse* are important. A social order is "a structuring of a particular social 'space' into various domains associated with various types of practice" and an order of discourse is "social order looked at from a specifically discoursal perspective – in terms of those types of practice into

which a social space is structured and which happen to be discourse types." (Fairclough 2001, 24). An order of discourse is a meta-category that groups different types of discourse and genres. We could, for instance, look at the order of discourse of White-House politics and find a variety of types of discourse, such as the internal discourse of the administration or the discourses of external commu- nications of the various depart- ments and ministries, each of which employs different genres, like speeches, memos or board meetings. On the

Figure 1 Orders of Discourse as Social Orders (adapted from Fairclough 2001, 24)

next level then we have instances of a type of discourse, i.e. actual practice of discourse.

When analysing a type of discourse, like radio addresses, it is important to link the three levels, view instances of discourse in their groups of other types of discourse and see the type of discourse in the company of different types of discourse in the appropriate order of discourse. This hierarchy of discursive elements is paralleled by the hierarchy of social elements. In each social order, we find types of social practice that is parallel in hierarchy to discourse types, just as actual discourses are parallel to actual social practices. In the framework of CDA, we interpret these parallel associations as *is-a* relationships ("an order of discourse *is a* social order"). This is illustrated in Figure 1. The vertical *consists-of* relationships could also be interpreted as *is-a* relationships, but the emphasis in this context should be on aggregation. In the critical analysis of a type of discourse it will thus be

discussed how it fits into one or more orders of discourse and how it can be seen as a type of social practice. Also, actual instances of this type of discourse will be analysed in terms of "the detailed moment-by-moment explications of how participants produce and interpret texts." (Fairclough 1993, 137). This corresponds to the three-level framework Fairclough (1993, 136) proposes for analysing a discursive event as a complex social event:

> Each discursive event has three dimensions or facets: it is a spoken or written language *text*, it is an instance of *discourse practice* involving the production and interpretation of text, and it is a piece of *social practice*.

The pronounced sociopolitical background (van Dijk 1993a, 249) we find in CDA is a useful framework for the analysis of the creation of images of self and other. The conceptions of self and other are never created in a socio-cultural vacuum. Therefore an analysis has to situate their use in the order of discourse from which they originate. For example, in the analysis of Bush's speeches, it could be examined how he draws upon traditions or digresses from them and with what function. At the basis of such an analysis lies the examination of textual features, including "generic forms [...], dialogic organization [...], cohesive relations between sentences and relations between clauses in complex sentences [...], the grammar of the clause (including questions of transitivity, mood and modality), and vocabulary" (Fairclough 1993, 136).

3.2.2 Power Elites

So far, the discussion of CDA has been focused on the relationship between groups. I will, however, eventually apply methods from CDA to the rhetoric of an individual. The key here is that Bush acts as a special member of a group.

> Some members of dominant groups and organizations have a special role in planning, decision-making and control over the relations and processes of the enactment of power. These (small) groups will here be called the *power elites*. For our discussion, it is especially interesting to

note that such elites also have special access to discourse: they are literally the ones who have the most to *say*.
(van Dijk 1993a, 255)

Furthermore, in conception Bush's radio addresses are obviously neither the product of a single speaker, nor are they spontaneous discourse. They are carefully planned discursive events that serve a defined goal.

To examine how these discursive events work, we have to see the individual in the group at the receiving end. As was detailed in the section on the creation of political reality, the creation of images of self and other is directly linked to the reception of the text by the audience. Social context is created by the processing of discourse by a multitude of recipients, and CDA focuses on the reception of discourse by groups of participants. The reception as such, however, is a highly individual process that involves the creation of specific, individual discourse models. But even though each discourse model is constructed by an individual, it is influenced by shared social perceptions. So even though there is not a single homogenous model for an audience, there is something like an intersection, a shared part of a multitude of individual models.

This concept is called *social cognition* (van Dijk 1993a, 257) and it plays an important part in CDA. "[CDA] requires true multidisciplinarity, and an account of intricate relationships between text, talk, social cognition, power, society and culture." (van Dijk 1993a, 253). In the following I will show that social cognition is the link between discourse and society, and that theories about the workings of social cognition and attempts at manipulation of social cognition underlie discursive practices that aim at creating and preserving power relations.

3.3 Social Cognition

> We argue that in order to relate discourse and society, and hence discourse and the reproduction of dominance and inequality, we need to examine in detail the role of social representations in the minds of social actors. More specifically, we hope to show that social cognition is the necessary theoretical (and empirical) 'interface', if not the 'missing link', between discourse and dominance.
> (van Dijk 1993a, 251)

Social cognition is the construction of mental representations from what is received from discursive events. In the first part of this section I will discuss the more general idea of forming representations and building mental models. I will give a brief overview on the nature of mental models in general and from the perspective of other disciplines, before discussing mental models and their role in social cognition and the comprehension of discourse in particular. In the next section, strategies of manipulation of social cognition will be addressed.

3.3.1 Mental Models

"It is [...] increasingly accepted that concrete text production and interpretation are based on so-called models, that is, mental representations of experiences, events or situations, as well as the opinions we have about them" (van Dijk 1993a, 258). "Parallel to the work in psychology and artificial intelligence about the cognitive processing of discourse a theory was developed by [Van Dijk and Kintsch (1983)] about the comprehension of discourse" (van Dijk 1987, 164).

A prominent proponent of mental models in cognitive psychology, Johnson-Laird (1980, 1983, 1989), postulates that the mind constructs and operates on models of the world in order to achieve a variety of tasks, e.g. deductive reasoning, checking of truth values and understanding and producing discourse.

> The psychological core of understanding, I shall assume, consists in your having a 'working model' of the phenomenon in your mind. If you understand inflation, a mathematical proof, the way a computer works,

DNA or a divorce, then you have a mental representation that serves as the model of an entity in much the same way as, say, a clock functions as a model for the earth's rotation.
(Johnson-Laird 1983, 2)

Mental models are not complete and are thus simpler than the things in the world that they model. This incompleteness is generally to be regarded as an advantage, as it allows for simplicity as well as abstraction. Mental models are not static. If a model lacks important features, i.e. the degree of incompleteness becomes hindering, a model can be updated – the construction of mental models is an iterative process that goes from the general to the specific. As more pieces of information become available they are gradually integrated into the current model.

There is a lot of research going on in this area, dealing with questions like the intentionality of mental models, i.e. how they can represent, mental models in the context of different tasks, the neurological foundations of mental models and many more. A good overview of these topics and a collection of related references can be found, for example, in Johnson-Laird (1989). I will mainly focus on discourse models, i.e. mental models that are constructed to represent situations conveyed by discursive events.

3.3.2 Discourse Models

Johnson-Laird (1989, 471) argues that people build models from discourse, and that this model representation coexists together with a linguistic representation. If, for example, a situation is described as "there is a table in front of the stove in my kitchen", the arrangement can be imagined even if it cannot be seen. "In short, discourse models make explicit the structure *not* of sentences but of situations as we perceive or imagine them" (Johnson-Laird 1983, 419).

There are propositions (Garnham 1981) that a mental model is the only representation formed from a text and that there is no linguistic representation (as Johnson-Laird calls it, whereas van Dijk uses the term

"textbase"[1]). However, experiments exist that provide strong evidence for two representation formats (Johnson-Laird 1989, 472). "We may conclude that there is some convergence about the general hypothesis that in addition to a semantic representation of a discourse we also need a situation model in memory, and that such a model plays an important role in such tasks as making inferences, drawing pictures, recall and recognition" (van Dijk 1987, 169). In fact, it seems that the two-fold representations might even be further divided into a three-fold representation format to include a pragmatic context model in addition to a semantic event model and representations of the text (van Dijk 2003, personal communication).

There are many theories about the actual structure of discourse models in memory. The research in this direction, although very interesting, is still somewhat speculative. For a good overview of common theories, also including approaches from cognitive psychology and artificial intelligence, see van Dijk (1987, 171) or Johnson-Laird (1983, 419-422). For my purpose the function of mental models is of more importance. There is broad agreement that mental models play a major role in social cognition as the interface between the reception of text and talk and the cognition of social structures. And as it is the aim of this thesis to analyse some of the mechanisms that underlie manipulation of social cognition, be it conscious or not, I will focus on the function of mental models and the linguistic devices that affect their functions rather than on the actual structure of mental models in memory.

> In other words, models allow us to link the personal with the social, and hence individual actions and (other) discourses, as well as their interpretations, with the social order, and personal opinions and experiences with group attitudes and group relations, including those of power and dominance.

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[1] Van Dijk initially argued for a singular, purely propositional representation format (cf. Johnson-Laird 1983, 377-382). However, in later publications, he explicitly distinguishes between textbase, i.e. linguistic representation, and model representation (van Dijk 1987, 169).

> Here we touch upon the core of CDA: that is, a detailed description, explanation and critique of the ways dominant discourses (indirectly) influence such socially shared knowledge, attitudes and ideologies, namely through their role in the manufacture of concrete models. More specifically, we need to know how specific discourse structures determine specific mental processes, or facilitate the formation of specific social representations.
> (van Dijk 1993a, 258-259)

Discourse usually conveys under-specified information and relies on the recipient to supply the details. The filling-in of such details rests on assumptions implicitly drawn by the recipient. In the above example, the table that is mentioned could be represented in the model as a table with four legs, as this is usually the case. If further information that contradicts the assumption made in the mental model becomes available, the model is updated. So if, in the above example, further information is received that states that the table has three legs, the model is altered and the representation of the table is changed. Although the construction of mental models is a highly individual process and no two models constructed from the same discourse will ever be the same, there seem to be some abstract invariant components across groups of speakers. Some of these preferred mental models seem to be basic enough to cross cultural divisions – for example, this could be the case in spatial reasoning (Knauff et.al., 1995). Others seem to depend on the socio-cultural background of the receiving group. However, it is important to realise that on a higher level there is a certain homogeneity in the construction of mental models from which specific discourse processing features can be assumed for at least a subset of a known audience. In this respect, knowing about processes at work in individual members of the audience means knowing about the group of individuals that constitutes the audience.

> Models are both personal (featuring individual knowledge, beliefs, opinions of language users) as well as social (applying general, socially shared knowledge), but each model is unique. The same person may construct a different model (=a different interpretation) of the same text tomorrow.
> [...]

> [M]any aspects of cognitive representations and processing are themselves social – such as the socially shared knowledge and other beliefs, as well as the jointly constructed social aspects of the context.
> (van Dijk 2000)

And knowing about the processes at work, and how they relate to textual structures gives a new perspective on the analysis of linguistic features.

> Models may typically involve highly personal knowledge about situations, but part of this information may also be shared by others or even by a whole sociocultural group, as is the case for important political or historical events. In other words, the episodic knowledge we have about situations may be more or less unique or general, and more or less personal or social.
> (van Dijk 1987, 162)

This plays an important role when it comes to the external manipulation of the creation of mental models. As the generation of default models, i.e. the construction of mental models in the context of underspecified information that requires the use of default assumptions, is a largely unconscious, implicit process, someone in control of a discourse can make use of this process in order to convey content on an extremely subtle basis. Also, as the construction of mental models draws on and in turn influences world knowledge, beliefs and opinions, it can be used as a means of affecting ideologies in groups of recipients.

> For our purposes, therefore, ideologies are the fundamental social cognitions that reflect the basic aims, interests and values of groups. They may (metaphorically and hence vaguely) be seen as the fundamental cognitive 'programmes' or 'operating systems' that organize and monitor the more specific social attitudes of groups and their members.
> (van Dijk 1993a, 258)

The creation of images of *self* and *other* is closely linked to the function of mental models. More specifically, in the choice of discursive structures in the creation of these images, assumptions are made (consciously or unconsciously) about how the text is going to be translated into mental models by the audience, how the situation the chosen textual features reflect

will be constructed, and how the "mechanics" of this process can be used to facilitate the construction of a specific image.

> The justification of inequality involves two complementary strategies, namely the positive representation of the own group, and the negative representation of the Others. [...] [M]odels are being expressed and persuasively conveyed that contrast US with THEM, e.g. by emphasizing 'our' tolerance, help or sympathy, and by focusing on negative social or cultural differences, deviance or threats attributed to 'them'. If such 'polarized' models are consistent with negative attitudes or ideologies, they may be used to sustain existing attitudes or form new negative attitudes.
> (van Dijk 1993a, 263).

The construction of mental models of *self* and *other* affects, and is affected, by all three of Fairclough's levels of meaning – social identity, social relations and systems of knowledge and belief. Furthermore, the ideas of order of discourse and genre are linked to the construction of mental models of self and other. Research conducted by Richardson (2003) provides a good example. He analysed political ads of the 2000 presidential election and how they draw upon common genres to legitimise or delegitimise a candidate. Hints in these ads are borrowed from popular movie genres. These hints are enough for the construction of a context model that provides the concept of the involved genre as a whole and thus implicitly links the presented candidate to more features from the genre than the trigger that is actually presented in the ad. Richardson does not explicitly use the notion of mental models in his analysis, but explains effects with the notion of "spreading activation". This idea, however, is just a level beneath mental models. The mental models and social cognition approach fits into the picture perfectly.

> It is at this point that the power of the evocation of generic conventions in campaign advertising can be seen both in terms of communication and understanding. Through spreading activation ads can communicate effectively because they draw upon preexisting memories and emotions, speeding up processing. [...] Attention to genre can also help our understanding of the substance of communication and memory by offering what is, in essence, a social parallel to these associative operations of individual cognition.
> (Richardson 2003, 34)

3.4 Manipulation of Social Cognition

3.4.1 Strategies

After having outlined the fundaments of social cognition and the concepts of mental models, I discuss in this section how groups and individuals with privileged access to discursive resources can manipulate social cognition.

> Besides the elementary recourse to force to directly control action [...], 'modern' and often more effective power is mostly cognitive, and enacted by persuasion, dissimulation or manipulation, among other strategic ways to change the mind of others in one's own interest.
> (van Dijk 1993a, 254)

While I agree with the principal tenet of this passage, I would not view the manipulation of cognition as a process of direct interaction. Social cognition of the audience rather is affected by the creation of discursive political reality, e.g. through the construction of fitting images of *self*. This process is, however, of a different quality than direct interaction. Manipulation of social cognition works on a subtle, often unconscious level (with respect to the speaker as well as the recipient) and "[...] such mind management is not always bluntly manipulative" (van Dijk 1993a, 254).

As I discussed above, the relationship between language structures and mental models of social structures is a bi-directional one. Social cognition can be seen as being situated in between the two and plays a role not only when discursive events are processed to form mental models, but also when mental models are transformed into discursive events. In the context of critical discourse analysis and power relationships, this situation can be viewed to the effect that "[d]iscursive (re)production of power results from social cognitions of the powerful, whereas the situated discourse structures result in social cognitions. That is, in both cases we eventually have to deal with relations between discourse and cognition, and in both cases discourse structures form the crucial mediating role" (van Dijk 1993a, 259). Note that the discursive structures that are involved in these processes are not a novel kind of linguistic or rhetorical devices. It is the perspective taken in analysing

them that differs from traditional analysis, because it assumes not only that mental representations are involved but also that underlying the use of specific discursive structures are theories speakers have about the construction of mental representations that these structures will effect in their audience. Van Dijk (1993a, 264) finds the following devices fundamental in the creation of models of self and other:

(a) Argumentation: the negative evaluation follows from the 'facts'
(b) Rhetorical figures: hyperbolic enhancement of 'their' negative actions and 'our' positive actions; euphemisms, denials, understatements of 'our' negative actions'
(c) Lexical style: choice of words that imply negative (or positive) evaluations
(d) Storytelling: telling above negative events as personally experienced; giving plausible details above negative features of the events
(e) Structural emphasis of 'their' negative actions, e.g. in headlines, leads summaries, or other properties of text schemata (e.g. those of news reports), transitivity structures of sentence syntax (e.g. mentioning of negative agents in prominent, topical position)
(f) Quoting credible witnesses, sources or experts, e.g. in news reports

Chilton and Schäffner (1997, 212-215) define four strategic functions that they use as an intermediate level to "link political situations and processes to discourse types and levels of discourse organization" (1997, 212). Their perspective is useful in the context of a theory of political discursive acts as affectors of social cognition, as the strategic functions are directly related to the manipulation of the construction of mental models.

Coercion

Coercion is the use of power in order to affect other people's behaviour. Apart from the use of coercive speech acts, like commands, there are more subtle forms of coercion. "Political actors also often act coercively through discourse in setting agendas, selecting topics in conversation, position the self and others in specific relationships, making assumptions about realities that hearers are obliged to at least temporarily accept in order to process the

text or talk." (Chilton and Schäffner 1997, 212). The strategic function of coercion works in two ways in terms of mental models. On the one hand it refers to the use of power to create models that achieve the function of coercion, e.g. the use of power to create a model that represents the position of the *other* in an unfavourable way. On the other hand, coercion can happen within the model. In this case the process of coercion works by crafting suitable representations, e.g. choosing representations of situations or actors in a way that presupposes certain assumptions or attributes, i.e. creating political reality implicitly and inherent in a model.

Resistance, Opposition and Protest

Chilton and Schäffner define this category as a group of strategic functions that are used by "those who regard themselves as opposing power" (1997, 212). Whereas this is an interesting category, and surely also using manipulation of social cognition, my focus is on the manipulation of social cognition by the groups and individuals that are in power. In this context, the category of resistance, opposition and protest is of less importance, but has to be kept in mind, as it can of course be addressed in the constructions of the powerful.

Dissimulation

Dissimulation is the control of the flow of information, "which is by definition a matter of discourse control" (ibid., 212). There are many possibilities how the access to information can be controlled. Access can be denied through keeping information internal, not allowing information to be spread in public. Chilton and Schäffner refer to this as "quantitative" control. On the other hand, there is "qualitative" control, which in its most extreme form is just lying, but "includes various kinds of verbal evasion and denial [...], or the commission of reference to actors. Euphemism has the cognitive effect of conceptually 'blurring' or 'defocusing' unwanted referents, be they objects or actions." (ibid, 213). Considering the creation of political reality, there are many ways of presenting actors and situations, either by holding back some

facts, or by choosing specific forms of representation. When members of the audience mentally process discursive events they are usually very good at dealing with coarse and incomplete information by making assumptions, using background knowledge or trying to complete information by implicit content. By choosing specific forms of representations, these processes can be facilitated and steered in an intended direction. Dissimulation is one of the fundamental strategies in the manipulation of social cognition, as it uses the principal mechanisms that underlie the construction of mental models.

Legitimisation and Delegitimisation

In order to be able to successfully communicate strategic functions in discursive events, the rhetor has to possess a certain degree of acceptance. This acceptance is influenced by the rhetor's social status and position, the attitudes the audience has towards the rhetor and how the rhetor is presented by third-party discursive events, like media coverage. But also in the rhetor's discourse as such a group of strategic functions can be found that aims at furthering the acceptance of the speaker with his or her audience. By legitimisation the creation of a favourable image of self is meant. "The techniques used include arguments about voters' wants, general ideological principles, charismatic leadership projection, boasting about performance and self-presentation" (ibid., 213). There are different levels of images of self. An image of self is not confined to the persona of the rhetor, but may also include groups of people associated with the rhetor, even whole nations. But the favourable presentation of the persona of the rhetor is a fundamentally important function in political speech. The construction of a mental model of self in these terms, and the conveyance of this model to the audience is always part of a discursive event of political speech.

Delegitimisation then is the "essential counterpart: others [...] have to be presented negatively, and the techniques include the use of ideas of differences and boundaries, and speech acts of blaming, accusing, insulting, etc." (ibid., 213). Delegitimisation usually is done more implicitly than

legitimisation. It is closely connected to dissimulation in the careful choice of representations for other, and the linking of negative connotations to these representations. Often this is achieved by conjoining references to *other* to lexical fields that are typically evaluated negatively by the audience. Often it can be observed that models of self and other are constructed that weigh, compare and evaluate *self* against *other* and try to achieve legitimisation of self by the delegitimisation of other.

All the strategies explained above are usually used very carefully and when they are realised in textual structures, they often work very subtly. They are employed to favour the creation of particular preferred mental models on as large a part of the audience as possible. This process is not one the rhetor can be sure of, and the skill a rhetor possesses in their usage influences the success he will have with his or her original intent and how well an intended model is communicated and to what degree its concepts are re-instantiated in the models of the audience. The concepts of rhetoric can be used to provide the parameters in which the discursive events take place and in which the strategic functions are realised. In the following section, I will discuss the rhetorical aspects of the process of modelling self and other in more detail.

3.4.2 Rhetorical Foundations

Gill and Whedbee (1997, 157) view rhetoric as "instrumental discourse" in a sense that is consistent with the mental models approach to social cognition: "it is, in one way or another, a vehicle for responding to, reinforcing or altering the understandings of an audience or the social fabric of the community" (ibid.). They give an interesting compilation of constructs in rhetorical analysis. The analytical constructs they define can be assigned to three major categories: context, reception, and textual features.

Context

Exigence is defined as "the problem or issue to which the text is addressed" (ibid., 162). In Bush's radio addresses, this parameter is flexible in time. Usually a single topic is presented in an address that often deals with events of the week before. As the addresses are delivered on a weekly basis, the radio address as such does not incite expectations on the rhetorical text. If at all, such expectations are created rather by the preceding events and how – or, indeed, if – they will be discussed in the radio address.

The *actual audience* that is addressed by the rhetor is an important aspect of the context. The actual audience are the people consuming a discursive event. This is a different conception from *implied audience*, which is the representation of recipients in the speaker's mental model of the discursive event.

The specific textual features that a text shares with others in its *genre* are revealing for the analyst, also regarding the cognitive reception of a text. "An expectation of genre establishes the rhetorical parameters of a text, determining not only its structure but also its vocabulary, syntax, argumentative moves, and narrative appeals. [...] Generic classification is one of the means by which a critic or audience member establishes the standards for evaluating a rhetorical text" (ibid, 164). Even at the beginning of a speech, the genre is guessed. To put this into the background of the creation of mental models, members of the audience process hints from the very first words of a discursive act and create a mental model with the generic parameters they extract from these hints.

"*Rhetor Credibility[:]* The authority speakers and writers possess because of their status in government or society, previous actions, or reputations for wisdom creates expectations and affects the operation of a text" (ibid., 165). This is especially important if there are conflicting pieces of information. If two such pieces are in contest for integration into a model, the piece of

information coming from the rhetor who has the higher credibility has better chances of being integrated.

Reception

Apart from the context in which a discursive event takes place, Gill and Whedbee name as important a number of conceptions that describe "what a text presents to a reader or listener by indicating the objects, events, or particular understandings that are created by a text or what a text ignores or makes absent" (1997, 166). Discourse models can be seen as the substrate in which these items are created as discourse representations.

The *rhetorical persona* that is created by the text corresponds to a mental representation that references the speaker. Analogous to the distinction in literary theory between the author and the narrator, the rhetorical persona is not to be equalled with the rhetor. However, the rhetor's credibility affects the range of rhetorical persona that he or she can create. "A rhetor who occupies the role of president of the United States has a great deal of flexibility in constructing his rhetorical person" (ibid., 166). It also has to be taken into account that the rhetor has a theory of how his or her speech is going to be received by members of the audience. In terms of social cognition and mental models this process is the formation of a meta-model: the rhetor constructs a mental model of how the audience will process the discursive event in order to form a model from it in turn. The hypotheses the rhetor bases his or her meta-model on affect the way he or she shapes the discursive events and which strategies and textual features are employed. The analytical framework proposed here takes the textual features in the text and tries to reconstruct the originally intended function and thus get an idea of the building blocks of the meta-model that lie at the heart of the discursive act.

The concept of *implied audience,* parallel to rhetorical persona, is a representation of the audience that is created by the text "and exists only inside the symbolic world of the text" (ibid., 167). In the theory of social

cognition, the symbolic world of the text is instantiated as mental models by the participants in a discursive event. Note also that representations are part of the mental model constructed by the audience and the rhetor[2] alike, but, like mental models, are unique for each individual.

"A text can present a *contextual understanding* or a particular consciousness by naming events, objects and other aspects of the context in a particular way" (ibid., 168). Gill and Whedbee concentrate on naming components of the context. I would go even further and define *contextual understanding* as how representations of the context are transported by the text, i.e. how the rhetor's mental model externalised is in textual structures, and what the hypotheses about reception are on the part of the audience that drive the rhetor to use just these textual translations.

Finally, Gill and Whedbee discuss the role of *absence* as an important rhetorical device, i.e. what is missing or silent in a text. "Every text, in focusing on some things in making some things present to an audience, at one and the same time obscures something else." (Gill and Whedbee 1997, 160). This conception is directly linked to the notion of preferred mental models. By leaving out specific pieces of information, the rhetor relies on the recipients to assume defaults in the formation of the mental model. Reasonable assumptions can be made about these defaults on the basis of traits shared by a majority of the audience. Presupposition and implicature are two constructions that are often employed to use absence in a controlled way.

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[2] Without loss of generality, I assume the audience to be a set of people, and the rhetor to be an individual. The cardinalities, of course, can vary, and just as there might be more than one rhetor, the audience may only be a single person. However, the usual and most interesting situation is reflected by my assumption. This should not obscure the fact though that a rhetorical text underlying a discursive event usually is carefully constructed by a group of people, rather than by just the individual delivering a speech. This is particularly true of George W. Bush's speech to Congress on 21 September 2001, which is analysed in section 5.5.

Textual Features

Gill and Whedbee (1997, 170-175) give a good overview of the textual features that are significant for the analytical process. In the framework I propose these features are the material that can be worked on. It should be noted that I do not propose to analyse the reception and construction of mental models in the audience by collecting empirical data from members of the audience, like conducting interviews. Even though this would be an interesting approach, I am convinced that it would be very hard to get accurate data. What I propose is to take a different perspective on a text, to analyse discursive events with the theory of social cognition and the construction of mental models in mind. I am convinced that on the part of the speaker, manipulation of social cognition is not done with an explicit theory of mental models in mind. However, the ideas are there implicitly and a critical analyst can detect their application by looking at the use of linguistic structures. In the next section I thus turn to the part of my framework that deals with what is actually accessible to external examination.

3.5 Linguistic Structures

So far, two main levels have been covered in my framework. In the upper level of social cognition, mental models are formed. This process is unconsciously known to rhetor and audience alike, or put differently: the theoretical framework explains processes present in both, rhetor and audience. Certain strategies in discourse practice are employed to affect the creation of mental representations. I discussed these strategies in the previous section. They can be viewed as a kind of intermediate level. The strategies for affecting social cognition and the construction of mental models still need linguistic realizations. They provide a categorization for linguistic devices, but do not go into detail concerning the devices themselves. The actual linguistic devices form the next lower level. Note that this is largely consistent with the approach used in discursive-historic CDA

(Titscher et.al., 192). As I stated before, the list of these devices as such is not novel, they can be found in any good book on rhetoric; so in this section I discuss only the ones that are most important to the creation of models of self and other. Some more will be introduced implicitly in the analysis of my data.

3.5.1 Presupposition and Implicature

Presupposition and implicature both work on the implicit presentation of information in a text. Their status in the framework can be viewed as an intermediate, as they are part of both, strategy and linguistic structure. Because the construction of preferred mental models relies on implicit information, they are directly related to the construction of preferred mental models. As Fairclough (1995, 5) argues, "the contrast between presence in and absence from texts is not a sharp one. In addition to (significant) absences from a text, what is 'in' a text may be explicit or implicit". Brown and Yule (1983, 27) go further and clearly attribute the phenomena to the class of strategic functions when they argue that "in using terms such as reference, presupposition, implicature and inference, the discourse analyst is describing what speakers and hearer are doing, and not the relationship which exists between one sentence or proposition and another". At the same time, there is an obvious difference between strategies like dissimulation and the use of implicature and presupposition to *achieve* dissimulation. In this case, implicature and presupposition are structures used to realize the strategic function of dissimulation. The same argument could be brought forward for other concepts that are discussed in this section. A distinction between macro-strategies and micro-strategies might be worth considering. I will not go that far and discuss these concepts here, with acknowledging their strategic functions.

Implicature

"The term 'implicature' is used by Grice (1975) to account for what a speaker can imply, suggest, or mean, as distinct from what the speaker literally says"

(Brown and Yule 1983, 31). The use of implicature is, of course, nothing unusual. Spelling out all the intended meanings in a certain context explicitly is not feasible. However, as van Dijk argues, some of the implications of a proposition used in a discursive events are explicitly given, while others are left to be inferred by the recipient. And it is this choice that the rhetor makes that is interesting for discourse analysis.

> Thus, spelling out the (cognitive) implications of a proposition expressed in the text, means to list (some of) the propositions that may be derived from this [proposition] given a relevant domain of knowledge. Such a list may be very long, and hence impractical, so that we usually spell out only those implications that are relevant in the current context. One of the elements of this context ([...] a mental model of the reader or the analyst [...]) may be our assumptions about the intentions of the speaker/writer.
> (van Dijk 2000)

The choice of orderings in a text are a means of conveying meaning by implication. When the rhetor orders words into sentences and orders the sentences to form the speech, he or she has to decide for a specific ordering, and choose one point to start from. "This point will influence the hearer/reader's interpretation of everything that follows in the discourse since it will constitute the initial textual context for everything that follows" (Brown and Yule 1983, 125). The construction of mental models is an iterative process. Additional information is integrated into the model as it becomes available and the model is modified to fit the new situation. However, this is a gradual process, and the initial, basic layout of the model, so to say, is reluctant and slow to change. "The listener can be expected to derive different implicatures from different orderings" (Levelt 1981, 91).

The basic layout of a mental model is not the only factor that matters for processing discourse, however. The initial context that is created by the beginning of a sentence is important, but there are studies that show that the same is true for the end of a sentence. In psycholinguistics these two effects are known as the "primacy" and "recency" effects. In the theory of mental models, this is consistent, as the latest step of processing integrated

the latest available piece of information into the model and modified the model in order to fit the present situation. Furthermore, different kinds of information are processed differently. Engelkamp and his colleagues, for example, conducted a variety of studies relating order-specific information and item-specific information to the performance in free recall tasks and the serial position curve, i.e. the positions at which the recall was strongest (Engelkamp 2003, Seiler 2003) . They found that there is a big difference in performance in these tasks for different kinds of items and for different lengths of lists, and for different positions. In favouring one kind of information over the other, rhetorical effects of implicature could be achieved. However, in the exploration of how different kinds of information are processed, much research still needs to be done, especially how this links to the theory of mental models, i.e. how different kinds of information, like order-information or item-specific information, are integrated into mental models.

Presupposition

There are different conceptions of presupposition. Put in formal terms, a proposition p_1 presupposes proposition p_2, if p_2 is implied by p_1 as well as by not p_1, i.e. no matter whether the recipient accepts proposition p_1, p_2 will not be challenged. Consider the following example:

> There will be no flinching in this war on terror [...].
> (George W. Bush, RA – 23 August 2003)

Let the first part in the above fragment be p_1, and let the following proposition be p_2: "There is a war on terror". No matter whether p_1, i.e. whether "there will be no flinching", is accepted or rejected, p_2 remains unchallenged.

In the connection to rhetorical analysis and social cognition, a conception of presupposition that is not as strict as the formal definition is more useful. This is the notion of pragmatic presupposition, "defined in terms of assumptions the speaker makes about what the hearer is likely to accept

without challenge" (Givon 1979, 50). To give a somewhat blunt example, consider the first two sentences of Bush's first radio address:

> A week ago today I received a great honor, and all the great responsibilities that come with it. The first order of business is education reform, and we have started strong.
> (George W. Bush, RA - 27 January 2001)

He can rely on the knowledge of his audience that he had been inaugurated as President a week before. Also, he presupposes that there *are* great responsibilities that come with the mandate of presidency. Often, presuppositions are embedded in questions:

> Why do they hate us?
> (George W. Bush, Speech Before Congress, 21 September 2001)

There are many possible answers to this question. But no matter what answer is given, the proposition "They hate us" is presupposed and is likely to be unchallenged.

For the construction of discourse models, presuppositions can be conceived of as the "set of meaning conditions of a sentence" (van Dijk 2000), i.e. what the recipient must accept as a given in order to construct a valid mental model from the sentence. For a speaker who aims at facilitating the construction of a specific mental model by the recipient, without the recipient being aware of such an intention on part of the speaker, presupposition is an important tool.

3.5.2 Lexical Meanings, Connotations and Lexical Fields

Van Dijk (2000) argues that "in the same way as propositions may have implications and presuppositions, also word meanings may have specific 'implications', often called 'connotations'" and that these are "often assigned on the basis of the cultural knowledge of the participants". Dyer (1982, 128) defines connotation from a semiotic perspective as referring to "meanings which lie beyond denotation but are dependent on it", where *denotation* is the literal meaning of a sign. She argues that "connotative readings of signs are introduced by an audience/viewer/reader beyond the literal meaning of a

sign and are activated by means of conventions or codes" (ibid.). The connotations of a word – depending on the recipient – determine how information that is conveyed by the word is represented in a mental model.

But not only the connotations of a single word are important for the construction of mental models. Also, the connotations of the words that co-occur with it are of importance, as much as their interlinking. The meanings and connotations of the company a word keeps as much as the meaning of the word itself determine the *lexical field* in which a word is used. Thus the lexical field can be seen as a micro-context on the lexical level that defines the connotative environment with which pieces of information are integrated into a mental model.

3.5.3 Metaphor

Metaphorical language, using concepts in terms of other concepts, is an important device in the conveyance of mental models. In fact, Lakoff and Johnson (1980, 3) argue that the understanding of metaphor is central to the human conceptual system as a whole:

> We have found [...] that metaphor is pervasive in everyday life, not just in language but in thought and action. Our ordinary conceptual system, in terms of which we both think and act, is fundamentally metaphorical in nature. [...] Our conceptual system [...] plays a central role in defining our everday realities. [... W]hat we think, what we experience and what we do every day is very much a matter of metaphor.

By expressing something in terms of something else, we can relate concepts. In choosing which concepts to relate to each other, and in the terms of which concepts to express a new idea, the construction of mental models on the side of the recipient can be affected to a high degree. "The very systematicity that allows us to comprehend one aspect of a concept in terms of another [...] will necessarily hide other aspects of the concept" (Lakoff and Johnson 1980, 10). It is no surprise then, that metaphorical language is important in political speech. Stuckey and Antczak (1995) analyse the

working of metaphorical language in presidential campaigns and how they relate to the creation to political reality.

> Metaphors form the basis of a candidate's interpretation of the politically relevant world, for they provide the vocabulary through which that world will be interpreted and understood. They help determine which issues are seen as relevant, and how those issues will be interpreted in light of the images the candidates try to project.
> (Stuckey and Antczak 1995, 123)

For the creation of models of *self* and *other*, the use of metaphor is an important device. Metaphorically relating concepts to the notion of *self* can be a subtle means to present a favourable image without being overly direct, i.e. leaving the final step of integration and translation between the two concepts to be performed on the side of the recipient. Consider the following fragment from one of George W. Bush's radio addresses.

> My plan does some important things for America. [...]
> But a lot of people feel as if they have been looking through the window at somebody else's party. It is time to fling those doors and windows open and invite everybody in. It is time to reward the work of people trying to enter the middle class and put some more money in their pockets at a time when they need it. My tax reduction plan does all these things, and I hope you'll support it.
> (George W. Bush, RA – 3 February 2001)

Bush argues for his tax relief plan, and talks about what *the plan* will do. He positions the recipient metaphorically at the outside of a party watching and proposes to "fling those doors open and invite everybody in" and argues that his own tax relief plan will do all these things. The metaphorical use of language here facilitates the construction of a mental model on lower-class recipients, with representations of the recipient waiting to get invited to the "party", and Bush's tax plan opening the doors to the party. The latter concept of the plan is directly linked to the representation of Bush and thus implies that Bush himself could open doors to the middle class, for anyone who wants to enter it.

4 Methods in Corpus Linguistics

For the quantitative component of the hybrid analysis, I chose methods and insights from corpus linguistics. My corpus of Bush's radio addresses is too limited to apply the full range of methods corpus linguistics has to offer. Therefore, I only use a subset of methods from corpus linguistics and do not claim to do a complete corpus linguistic analysis. This selection forms the core of the quantitative component. In this section I discuss three concepts from corpus linguistics – wordlist analysis, keyword analysis and concordance analysis.

All of the data was produced with *Wordsmith 4.0* by Michael Scott (http://www.lexically.net/wordsmith/version4/index.htm).

4.1 General

"In the relation of form and meaning, it became clear that in all cases so far examined, each meaning can be associated with a distinctive formal patterning" (Sinclair 1991, 6). Such an association cannot be assumed to be generally found on the level of single words. "No doubt, a new kind of discrete or at least discernible unit will emerge from this re-examination, possibly more abstract than the kind of unit that linguists are accustomed to" (Sinclair, 7).

In the way I propose to use corpus linguistics, it has to be made clear that these methods can only serve to provide hints derived from raw data. No final statement can be made from such an analysis, it is always the beginning and provides a rough direction and a first assessment. However, in my analyses I found these hints to be of great value for further interpretative and qualitative examination of texts. Some discipline has to be exerted during a quantitative analysis. Results drawn from a numerical analysis of a text may have the appeal of empirical validity, and often this is actually the case. There are exceptions though, and the distinction between a solid empirical basis and overinterpretation is not always clear-cut.

4.2 Wordlist Analysis

The wordlist analysis is the most basic quantitative form of assessment. It takes all the texts in the corpus and performs a word count on them. Several lists result from this number-crunching. For one thing, there is a cumulative list for all of the texts in the corpus. It lists all the words used in any of the texts of the corpus and provides statistical data on each word *w* (the terms in brackets are the headings used in the appendix):

- **Absolute frequency** (*frequency*): the number of actual occurrences of *w*
- **Relative frequency** (*%*): the ratio of occurrences of *w* to the total number of words in the corpus (multiplied by 100)
- **Absolute occurrence in number of texts** (*texts*): is the absolute number of texts in which *w* is used once or more times
- **Relative occurrence in number of texts** *(%):* is the ratio of the absolute number of texts in which *w* appears once or more times to the number of texts in the corpus

The absolute frequency is of little use in the analysis. It is the relative frequency that forms the starting point of comparative examination. This number can inform us regarding facts like how much more a certain word is used by one speaker than by another or it might be used to examine how one speaker changes his use of a certain word. This value is also interesting in comparing the frequency of use between different words and in this context it provides the basic data for the keyword analysis.

The occurrence in the number of texts is also better investigated in relative terms. With this value, clusters of usage can be identified. Whereas the *relative frequency* accounts for how often a word is used, this value shows the distribution in which it is used. A word that is used often may be used in a uniform distribution and occur in a high percentage of the texts; or it may occur in clusters, i.e. it may occur in only a small number of texts but where it occurs it is used excessively.

Apart from the cumulative list, the data is computed for each text individually. I use these individual datasets to perform diachronic analysis of the use of keywords. With this kind of analysis it is possible to identify changes in lexical usage with great exactness. Figure 2 shows the occurrence of "Iraq" as an example, plotted on a timeline of the radio addresses of president Bush, up to 29 September, 2003.
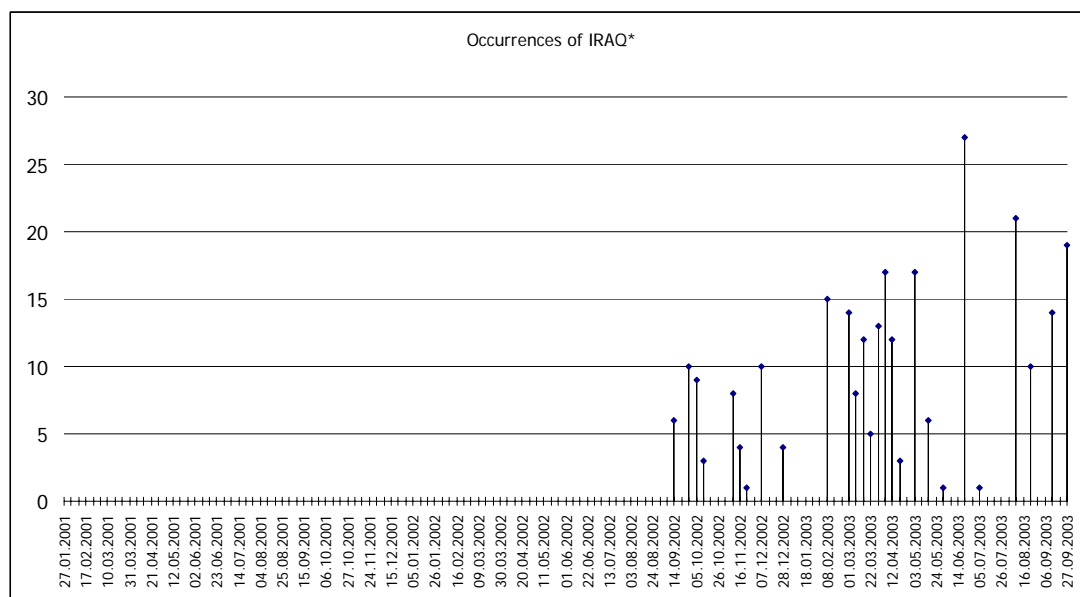
Figure 2 Occurrences of IRAQ*

Rather than the use of a single form of a lexical unit, we are interested in the numerical patterns of use of a all forms of unit of meaning. For example, we do not want to get two different numbers for the usage of "American" and "Americans", but we want to get a number summing up both of them. *Lemmas* are used to achieve this. A lemma groups an arbitrary number of lexical units. Usually we group different forms of a word in a lemma, like in the above example. It is also possible, however, to group words from a semantic fields into a lemma, for example "Americans", "America", "home country", "US", "USA". Of course such grouping entails an interpretation, and this fact has to be stated clearly. A lemma consisting of a group of words that share the same beginning is noted by the shared letters followed by a star, e.g. "America*" denotes "America", "American", "Americans", "America's", etc. Where not otherwise stated, the compare process is not

sensitive to case, and lemmas are denoted in capital letters. Groups of words that do not share the same beginning are noted with curly brackets, e.g. {AMERICA*, NATION*} matches "America", "Americans", ..., "nation", "nationwide", etc.

4.3 Keyword Analysis

In corpus linguistics, keyword analysis usually means matching a text against a list of keywords which is derived from a (usually general) corpus. I use a variant of keyword analysis in my analysis of small corpora of political speech. Rather than matching a text against a precompiled list of keywords and finding out how the text uses keywords from this list (in a quantitative sense), I try to identify words that potentially act as keywords. This approach is consistent with Hardt-Mautner's conception:

> Unlike the lexicographer, the discourse analyst working with a dedicated and thematically homogeneous corpus will rarely be interested in the complete range of forms that occur in it but will concentrate on those that are frequent and salient enough to permit making meaningful statements about the particular discourse being investigated.
> (Hardt-Mautner 1995, 8)

The data generated during the wordlist analysis provides the basis for the keyword analysis. In a first step, function words are cleared from the wordlist, and the list is sorted by descending relative frequency. The list is further pruned by removing all words for which it is possible to explain the reason for high frequency of usage purely by formality prescribed by the discursive structure of the genre. Words for which this attribution is partly possible, i.e. a fixed number of occurrences is prescribed by the structure, are adjusted in their frequency values accordingly. In my corpus of radio addresses, the form is quite regular and the compilation of the list of potential keywords fairly straightforward. Other, more homogeneous, corpora have to be analysed in generic subgroups in order to achieve this. It can be seen though, that quantitative analysis beyond mere frequency cannot be performed in a purely numerical manner but already at this stage

is subject to qualitative assessment. In fact, when the two methods are applied to a discursive event, the borders often are fluent, and at some points a number resulting from quantitative analysis will immediately be assessed qualitatively, which again might lead to another lexical unit to be examined quantitatively. In the analysis in chapter 5 this switching can be observed. As it is a hybrid approach that is proposed here, a crossover at the borders of the two components is already desirable and fruitful at this early stage.

4.4 Concordance Analysis

Any instance of language depends on its surrounding context.
(Sinclair 1995, 5)

A concordance analysis examines a word in the closer contexts in which it appears. For this purpose a table is generated for the word under inspection. Each line of the table represents an occurrence of the word in the text. The inspected word is set in the middle of each column and is accompanied to the left by the N_l words that went before it in that particular occurrence and the N_r words that were used after it. N_l and N_r are called the *horizon* of the concordance. The horizon is noted by LN_l-RN_r, e.g. 5L-5R. The concordance analysis is one of the more qualitative methods in the quantitative toolbox, as its evaluation always involves qualitative interpretation. The idea of the concordance analysis is to assess a speaker's use of certain words in context. A good beginning for the concordance analysis is provided by the keyword analysis. Such an analysis can provide evidence whether in fact the word under inspection is used as a keyword or not. The meanings with which words are used can also be assessed. Most importantly, however, the concordance analysis can give a basic apprehension of the lexical fields that surround lexical units. For example, the surroundings of references to *self* can be judged by concordance analysis of the keywords relating to *self*.

4.5 Cluster Analysis

In the concordance analysis, some groups of words will occur more often in the horizon than others. The analysis of these groups of words that occur more frequently than others is called "cluster analysis". Although many clusters may result from collocations of everyday language, cluster analysis can give hints to the idiosyncratic use of a word by a specific speaker. It can also provide evidence of the primary meaning with which a group of words is used.

4.6 Statistical Measures

Apart from the three main categories of corpus analysis, there is also a heap of numbers that is produced. This is where the quantitative component reaches the lower end of the scale, and where the analysis becomes very mathematical. Many of the numbers are not useful in the analysis of a discursive event. I will restrict the discussion here to some of the more relevant ones and show how they might be of use.

4.6.1 Type/Token Ratio

This is a measure of how many different words are used in a corpus. *Token* refers to the actual textual occurrences, i.e. the number of tokens in a text is the length of a text in words. The number of *types* is the number of *different* words used in a text. The type/token ratio (TTR) thus in a way measures the broadness of vocabulary that is used in a text. Note that this measure depends on the length of the text under inspection. A short text is much more likely to reach higher values of TTR than a long text. To account for this, in Wordsmith there is the possibility to compute the standardized TTR (STTR). For the STTR, the TTR is computed for chunks of n words of a text. The STTR is the average of the TTR of the n-sized chunks. Thus the measure is less sensitive to the length of a text.

The STTR can be used to very coarsely position a text in the set of texts of its genre. By computing the STTR for a large corpus of texts of a specific

genre and comparing it to the STTR of a single text, the vicinity of the text to the average of the genre can be assessed. The STTR can also be used, again very coarsely, to compare the broadness of vocabulary of two speakers in the same genre. However, the STTR does not include measures of deviation, so the measure has to be used very carefully and always has to be seen as what it is: a single number.

As I do not have a comprehensive corpus of radio addresses at my disposal, I computed the STTR for 6 months worth of radio addresses of former US president Bill Clinton and 6 months worth of radio addresses delivered by current US president George W Bush, just to demonstrate the limitations of the STTR single measure. Table 1 compares the radio addresses delivered in the last six months of Bill Clinton's presidency to the first six months of George W Bush' presidency. It can be seen that there is virtually no difference between the two. This might be a feature of the genre of radio addresses, or it might be specific to the last two presidents. In future work a more thorough comparison to other radio addresses in a comprehensive corpus might be interesting.

	Clinton	Bush
standardised TTR	56,12	56,08
standardised TTR basis	500	500

Table 1 Standardized Type / Token Ratio of Clinton and Bush Radio Addresses

Comparing the STTR values of George W Bush before and after 9/11 also does not yield much of a difference. For the creation of images of self and other, no conclusion can be drawn from the single number of STTR. The STTR might be useful in corpus linguistics and might have very limited applications in the rhetorical analysis, but I think that over all, a measure that compresses a whole text in a single number is just too quantitative to be of actual use.

4.6.2 Wordlength

The average length of words used in a text is another measure that might prove to be of limited usability in rhetorical analysis. Wordsmith computes this measure automatically and lists how often words of different length are used. Very tentatively speaking, George Bush seems to prefer shorter words. The longest word Wordsmith lists is a word of 22 letters "democratically-elected". It is used twice, in the radio address on 28 April 2001 and 20 October 2001. However, it is obvious that a compound word is not to be regarded as a 22-letter word. The longest non-compound word Bush uses is "accountability". There is no difference to be seen in the length of words before and after 9/11. Also, it is hard to see, how the length of words is to be associated with images of self and other.

There is a lot of statistical data to be derived from a text. However, as I have tried to point out, not all of it is useful, some of it might even be misleading. I will concentrate on the initially presented methods of corpus linguistics, and not apply number-crunching in the following analysis of George W. Bush's addresses and his construction of *self* and *other*.

5 George W. Bush's Addresses

5.1 Format

The radio addresses are delivered by the president weekly and have an average duration of 4 to 5 minutes. They follow a regular format: the president greets the audience, reports on current affairs and says what he is planning to concentrate on in the following week. Furthermore the president often focuses on one topic of interest, like tax relief, and comments on longer-term plans made in that area.

"A rhetorical text responds to or interacts with societal issues or problems, and it produces some action upon or change in the world." (Gill and Whedbee 1997, 161). The radio addresses are the president's most continuous means of communication with the public. The exigence of these addresses need not be defined in much detail – the addresses are institutionalised. For this reason, in times of crisis they often turn out to be much anticipated by the public. The radio address following the terror attacks after 9/11 thus has a special exigence, addressing the public on the attacks.

5.2 Temporal Structure

In my analysis, I divide Bush's radio addresses into two periods:

Pre9/11

Pre9/11 is the phase from the beginning of Bush's presidency to the time before the terror attacks of September 11, 2001. In these eight months, we can analyse Bush in the context of the results of presidential elections 2000, which were equally close as contested. Bush starts his presidency with the stigma of being dumb, resulting in little rhetor credibility in his speeches. He suffers from lack of popular support. Accordingly, in this period his modelling of self and other aims at legitimisation and a gain in authority and credibility.

Post9/11

The terror attack on the World Trade Center radically changed the environment and character of Bush's presidency. This is reflected in his radio addresses and in his subsequent construction of images of *self* and *other*. Generally, my aim is to show this difference in Post9/11 radio addresses (in this longer phase) to radio addresses delivered before 9/11. Looking more closely, Post9/11 can be divided into four major parts:

Trauma: a relatively short period of time immediately following the events of 9/11. In the first few days, the public is traumatized, Bush is confused is and at first not able to make a coherent statement. Beginning with his first radio address after 9/11 and peaking in Bush's speech before Congress on September 21, 2001, the confusion gives way to a clear line of argument. I conceive this speech as the vital turning point in his presidency, which marks an essential change in his presidential persona; therefore I reference it in addition to the corpus of radio addresses of this phase.

Retalation: Bush declares war against terror. In subsequent radio addresses his images of other are shaped to support this and to prepare and justify a strike against those considered responsible.

War Against Afghanistan: The US strike the Taliban in Afghanistan, who are suspected to give hiding to Osama bin Laden and his terror organization.

War Against Iraq: After a long period of provocations between Iraq and the US, Bush declares war on Iraq. The operation is code-named "Iraqi Freedom".

In my analysis I concentrate on *Trauma* and *Retaliation.* However, the latter two phases, the *war phases*, are also causally shaped by the events of 9/11 and are part of the Post9/11 period and their rhetorical preparation starts during *Retaliation*. They show the same essential changes in the creation of images of self and other that set in during the first two phases. Although my focus lies on *Trauma* and *Retaliation*, I will use the war phases

to show in an exemplary way, how the construction of images of *self* and *other* shift during the war phases and how Bush manipulates social cognition in order to legitimize warfare.

5.3 Quantitative Analysis of Direct References to Self and Other

In a first step I will use the concepts taken from corpus linguistics to examine the quantitative distribution of references to self and other before and after 9/11. The main question is not only whether a significant difference can be found, but also how strong such a difference is and in what area it can be found. This quantitative assessment will serve to guide the later qualitative examination.

Deictic references cannot be used for a quantitative assessment, as they serve too general a purpose and fluctuations in the use of deictic references might not be significantly correlated with the construction of images of self and other. This analysis will thus have to be reserved for the qualitative part. What I am going to look at here is direct references to keywords that relate to self and other.

5.3.1 Keywords in Bush's Radio Addresses

As described in section 4.3, I use a variant of the keyword analysis. Table 3 (page 54) shows the wordlist of potential keywords in the radio addresses. The left part shows the data of the 33 addresses before 9/11, the right part shows the data for 33 addresses after 9/11. Even though function words have already been deleted from the list, not every word in the list is an actual keyword. This shows that raw data have to be handled very carefully. For example, we have to take the form of the genre into account. The opening and the closing phrases are almost always the same. Bush greets his audience with "Good morning" and concludes his radio addresses with "Thank you for listening". We have to take this regular pattern into account. Thus, even though "good", "morning" or "listening" might have the numbers

of a keyword, we have to deduct the number of occurrences that are due to the opening and closing formula. After this consideration, "listening" can be dismissed as a candidate for a proper keyword, as it only occurs just as often as the closing formula. "Good" and "morning" are much weaker candidates than the data might suggest at first glance.

N	Cluster	Freq.
1	TAX RELIEF PLAN	10
2	MY TAX RELIEF	9
3	EDUCATION REFORM PLAN	4
4	PART OF MY	3
5	THE PLAN I	3
6	SENT TO CONGRESS	3
7	OF THE PLAN	3
8	MY EDUCATION REFORM	3
9	MY BUDGET PLAN	3
10	OF MY TAX	3
11	MY PLAN WILL	3

(Min. frequency: 3, words in cluster: 3, Horizons: 5L-5R)

Table 2 Cluster analysis of "plan", pre9/11

What can be seen, as reflected in the data, are the main topics Bush deals with in the time before the terror attacks. He often mentions "tax" and refers to his tax "relief". Actually "tax" is the word that he uses most often in the 33 texts. From the distribution in the texts, i.e. in how many texts "tax" is used, we can see that it is used in clusters, rather than in a uniform distribution. As the cluster analysis in Table 2 shows, "plan" most often refers to the Bush's tax relief plan, but it is also used in conjunction with education reform and referring to the "budget plan". "Education" is another big topic for Bush. Several radio addresses deal with the topic of education reform. The keyword "education" is used in nearly half of the addresses. "Health" and "medicare" then is the third block that Bush addresses as his main topics.

It is interesting to observe that pre9/11 Bush uses "Congress" in a high quantity. What is more, it is used in nearly 70% of the texts. I will give a

possible explanation for the use of congress as a keyword in the interpretative analysis.

For general references to self we can identify "America", "American", "Americans" as possible keywords. Furthermore, in some uses "country", "people", "government", "Congress" and "Washington" are also possible candidates.

In the post9/11 table, these keywords referring to self occur as well – the difference in quantity will be the subject of later analysis. In addition, we now find references that can be directly attributed to the attack on the world trade centre. In the qualitative analysis I will point out, how these references indirectly also contribute to the image of *other* that Bush forms after 9/11 and that he develops from abstract terrorist to more concrete images. Among these are "terrorists", "terrorist", "terror" and, later, "Taliban" and "Afghanistan". It can be observed in the quantitative data, how the focus of topics changes after 9/11. There are keywords relating to the terrorist attacks and to Bush's response: "war", "law", also "security" and "help". Other topical keywords of the post9/11 phase that did not occur before 9/11 but do not have a direct, causal relationship to the terror attacks include "work", "jobs", "economy". "Tax" and "education" are topics that Bush picks up again some weeks after 9/11 (cf. Figure 3).
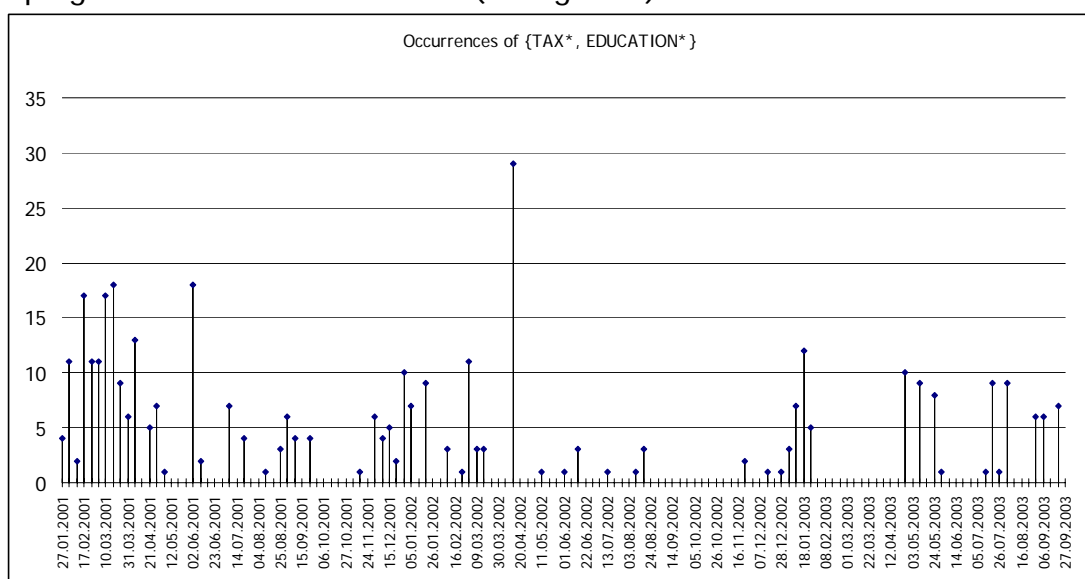
Figure 3 Occurences of {TAX*, EDUCATION*}

5.3.2 Direct References to Self and Other

The keywords that obviously contribute to the intended model of self and other occur in different quantities before and after 9/11. Table 4 and Table 5 show the difference between references to "America*" for the two phases. It can be seen that after 9/11 Bush refers to this important group of keywords more than 65% more often than he did before 9/11. As I will point out, Bush creates a much tighter image of self after 9/11. The frequent reference to "America*" is the first piece of evidence.

Similarly there is quantitative evidence for the construction of images of other. Before 9/11, Bush's use of images of other is very subtle and not directly accessible to the quantitative method. I shall argue that after 9/11, the image of other rapidly becomes more concrete. Direct references to keywords relating to other provide support for this thesis. The data for occurrences of "terror", "terrorists", "terrorism" can be seen in Table 6 and Table 7.

Figure 4 (page 56) shows a plot of occurrences of the two major groups of keywords relating to direct references of self and other and serves to illustrate the more frequent use of these keywords after 9/11. It can be seen that especially after 9/11 the quantity of references rises, peaking in nearly 25 occurrences on October 13th, 2001 . But also after that date, a significant difference can be observed compared to the references made before 9/11.

Potential Keywords pre9/11					Potential Keywords post9/11				
Word	*F.*	*%*	*T.*	*%*	*Word*	*F.*	*%*	*T.*	*%*
TAX	94	0,56	14	42,42	PEOPLE	94	0,54	27	81,82
GOOD	75	0,45	32	96,97	AMERICA	63	0,36	26	78,79
PLAN	71	0,42	22	66,67	ALL	61	0,35	25	75,76
CONGRESS	70	0,42	23	69,70	WORKERS	59	0,34	17	51,52
HELP	56	0,33	25	75,76	AMERICAN	53	0,31	20	60,61
CHILDREN	55	0,33	14	42,42	JOBS	53	0,31	17	51,52
PEOPLE	54	0,32	25	75,76	AMERICANS	52	0,30	22	66,67
EDUCATION	53	0,31	16	48,48	GOOD	51	0,29	33	100,0
AMERICANS	50	0,30	20	60,61	HELP	50	0,29	20	60,61
MONEY	48	0,28	16	48,48	TAX	50	0,29	10	30,30
RELIEF	46	0,27	15	45,45	WORK	45	0,26	24	72,73
BUDGET	43	0,26	11	33,33	TERRORISTS	42	0,24	13	39,39
FEDERAL	42	0,25	20	60,61	TRADE	40	0,23	8	24,24
GOVERNMENT	42	0,25	19	57,58	CONGRESS	39	0,23	18	54,55
REFORM	40	0,24	14	42,42	ECONOMY	38	0,22	13	39,39
ENERGY	39	0,23	8	24,24	TERRORIST	38	0,22	17	51,52
AMERICAN	38	0,23	21	63,64	WORLD	38	0,22	13	39,39
WORK	38	0,23	18	54,55	YEAR	37	0,21	16	48,48
SCHOOLS	37	0,22	9	27,27	NATIONS	36	0,21	12	36,36
THANK	37	0,22	32	96,97	NEED	36	0,21	20	60,61
MAKE	36	0,21	22	66,67	SECURITY	36	0,21	19	57,58
SHOULD	36	0,21	13	39,39	ECONOMIC	35	0,20	14	42,42
LISTENING	35	0,21	33	100,0	EDUCATION	35	0,20	9	27,27
YEAR	35	0,21	16	48,48	STATES	35	0,20	18	54,55
HOPE	34	0,20	19	57,58	TERROR	35	0,20	16	48,48
MORNING	33	0,20	31	93,94	CHILDREN	34	0,20	12	36,36
FAMILIES	30	0,18	13	39,39	COUNTRY	34	0,20	20	60,61
WEEK	30	0,18	18	54,55	MORNING	34	0,20	33	100,0
TIME	29	0,17	18	54,55	UNITED	34	0,20	15	45,45
DEBT	28	0,17	11	33,33	WAR	34	0,20	20	60,61
READING	28	0,17	7	21,21	LISTENING	33	0,19	32	96,97
WASHINGTON	28	0,17	17	51,52	TERRORISM	32	0,18	15	45,45
FAMILY	27	0,16	12	36,36	GREAT	31	0,18	18	54,55
COUNTRY	26	0,15	16	48,48	TIME	31	0,18	20	60,61
HEALTH	25	0,15	10	30,30	ENERGY	30	0,17	5	15,15
IMPORTANT	25	0,15	15	45,45	AFGHANISTAN	29	0,17	10	30,30
MEDICARE	25	0,15	6	18,18	LAW	29	0,17	15	45,45
OVER	25	0,15	15	45,45	MAKE	29	0,17	18	54,55
STATES	25	0,15	13	39,39	SENATE	29	0,17	11	33,33

Table 3 Top 40 potential keywords in 66 radio addresses before and after 9/11

Word	Freq.	%	Texts	%
AMERICA	16	0,09	14	42,42
AMERICAN	38	0,23	21	63,64
AMERICANS	50	0,30	20	60,61
AMERICA'S	8	0,05	6	18,18

Table 4 Occurrences of AMERICA* in 33 pre9/11 texts

Word	Freq.	%	Texts	%
AMERICA	62	0,35	26	78,79
AMERICAN	51	0,29	20	60,61
AMERICANS	55	0,31	22	66,67
AMERICA'S	21	0,12	14	42,42

Table 5 Occurrences of AMERICA* in 33 post 9/11 texts

Word	Freq.	%	Texts	%
TERROR	0	0	0	0
TERRORISM	0	0	0	0
TERRORIST	0	0	0	0
TERRORISTS	1	0,01	1	3,03

Table 6 Occurrences of TERROR* in 33 pre9/11 texts

Word	Freq.	%	Texts	%
TERROR	96	0,16	48	45,71
TERRORISM	63	0,11	31	29,52
TERRORIST	80	0,14	39	37,14
TERRORISTS	86	0,15	29	27,62

Table 7 Occurrences of TERROR* in 33 post9/11 texts
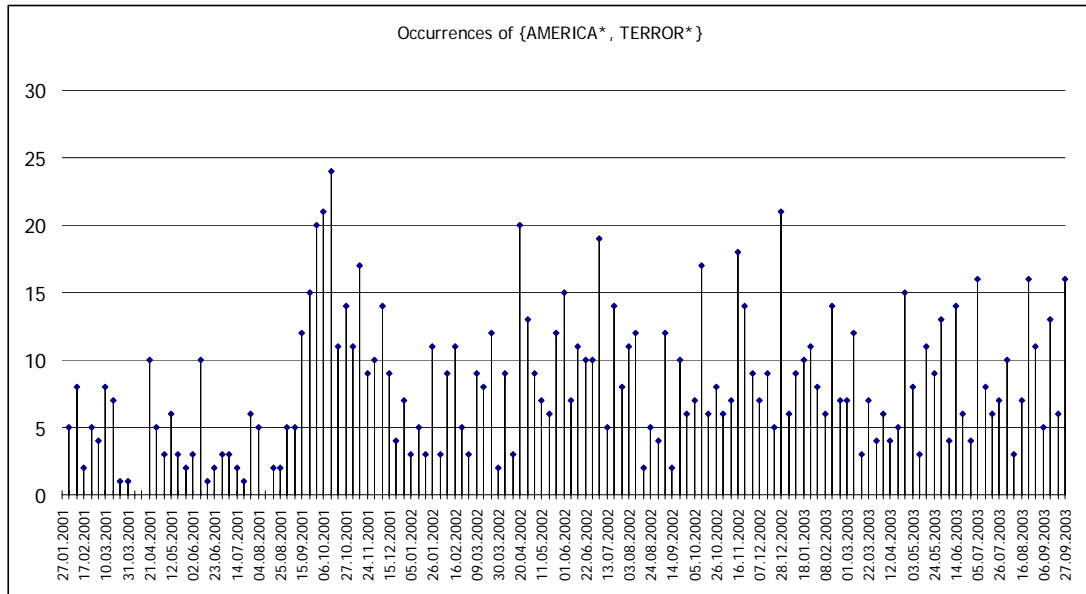
Figure 4 Occurrences of {America*, Terror*}

5.4 Qualitative Assessment of References to Self and Other

Deictic reference to self and other is a good starting point. They are an important aspect in the construction of a discourse model, and serve, in a way, to "set the stage". As Moore (1986, 63) argues, "the understanding of deictic expressions [...] requires the hearer/reader to construct a spatio-temporal viewpoint momentarily shared with his or her interlocutor".

In this section I will discuss how Bush references *self,* and what lexical fields are typically connected to these references. Generally, three levels of images of self can be distinguished in Bush's conveyed model, the image of Bush himself, the image of the Bush legislation and the image of America and its people. These levels are the same before and after 9/11, however, the lexical fields that are connected to each of these levels change. The conception of *other* changes significantly after 9/11. The references to *other* will serve as a first starting point to examine these changes.

5.4.1 Pre9/11

The 2000 presidential election had been a very close race between George W. Bush and Al Gore. There had been problems with the voting machines in several states, most prominently in the State of Florida. The electoral victory shifted several times between Bush and Gore on election day. Recounts ensued, were contested and finally stopped by the courts. When Bush was declared winner in the end, he was the legal winner of the electoral vote, but not the popular vote in one of the closest and most controversial elections in US history. Accordingly, Bush started his presidency with a lack of authority and credibility. In the period following his inauguration, Bush thus aims at creating an image of self that will improve his authority, his credibility, and his acceptance. Therefore his emphasis is on cooperation with all parties, rather than conflict. Thus he works on an inclusive image of *self* for the American public and all the members of the political institutions, cooperating to get America forward, with Bush as the man in the lead, who "gets things done" (Bush on Bush in the presidential debates in 2000).

Table 8 (page 63) shows the concordance of "I/me/my/mine" in Bush's first three radio addresses after his inauguration. Bush tries to appear as a determined newly elected president who has a clear agenda and who can't wait to implement it. The references to self are paired with words that suggest this: "I have", "I want", "I selected". Very often he refers to "my plan", "my tax relief plan", suggesting, that the new legislation will improve things considerably, that he, Bush, has made a tax relief plan that will help people. This is underlined by a frequent use of "I hope", "I believe". In the first speeches, the presentation of self is very much limited to the person of the president. He rarely acknowledges members of his cabinet, and if he does, he leaves the references fairly vague. The main focus is on the person of Bush and his solutions. A possible function of this focus might be the fact that Bush – on account of his alleged lack of intelligence – wanted to

disprove the reputation of being dependant on his counsellors and indicate that he made the real decisions.

The second aspect of the model that he conveys in the text for the conception of *self* for his audience is that of "we" as Americans, who have needs and who have "serious problems", with "I" as the newly-elected president, who knows about these needs and has solution for these problems. As can be seen in Table 9 (page 63), Bush uses these inclusive pronouns to refer to the whole of American citizens right from the beginning: "our nation", "our country", "our diplomats", "our principles". We will later see, that this inclusiveness is even stronger after 9/11, and that the conception of "we" is delimited more strongly against a more concrete (though, of course, virtual) image of other. In his first few radio addresses, Bush conveys an image of America in need: "we need", "we want", and "we must" are very frequent exhortations. And he blames the previous administration for the current dire situation. This is not done directly. Bush does not have the rhetor credibility to put forward such claims explicitly. Rather, he relies on indirectness to manipulate social cognition. Consider the following example:

> I also met this week with congressional leaders in both parties and we found a lot of agreement on the basic goals of reform. No one is content with the status quo. Most are open to new ideas. Everyone agrees at least that the problems are serious and action is urgently needed.
> (George W. Bush, RA – 27 January 2001)

Bush states that the leaders of both political parties are not content with the way things are. In the first three sentences, using implicature and presupposition, Bush conveys several statements: the situation is not good, new ideas are needed, the mistakes of the previous administration are realised, and Bush's assessment is accepted by both parties. In general this method is often used in the pre9/11 period and many radio addresses feature the previous administration as *other*. Bush aims at delegitimizing

the previous administration and stresses the problems they have left to be solved by the next administration.

Right from the beginning of his presidency, Bush argued for increased funding for, and influence of, the military sector.

> [...] I will focus on another important issue: our national security. This is the most basic commitment of America's government, and the greatest responsibility of an American President. Our nation's ideals inspire the world, but our nation's ships and planes and armies must defend these ideals and sustain allies and friends.
> [...]
> And, so, as I promised, I will announce meaningful increase in funding to improve the lives of our men and women in uniform.
> (George W. Bush, RA – 10 February 2001)

As can be seen in this example, he connects these endeavours for an increase in military support with references to American unity, to the inclusive image of self. In the model he tries to convey his image of *self* is paired on the one hand, with the notion of ideals that are inspiring to the world, but that need to be defended, and on the other hand with the means to defend these ideals. The conclusion that Bush intends the audience to draw from this model is that these means can only be achieved by increasing the funding for the military. Also, if the funding should not be increased then, in reverse, the American ideals would suffer automatically and America's prestige would be lessened.

To a certain degree, Bush succeeded with this argument. He was able to increase spending for the military, although probably not quite as much as he would have wanted. Furthermore, during the pre9/11 phase, he was not able to increase the influence of military institutions and the secret services. The model he tried to convey apparently was not received by the audience in the way he had intended it. In the post9/11 period, the situation is different. The argument remains quite the same, but post9/11 has a concrete threat that he can include in the model. In the context of post9/11 Bush's manipulation of social cognition was far more effective, and the model invoked was understood differently by the public, much more in the way he

had initially intended it. Bush was able to get an immense increase in military funding through Congress and to found the obscure institution of Homeland Security.

Bush has to balance his claim for authority with an image that he has been building up right from beginning of his presidential campaign: an image of *self* that connects him to the people of America, an image that shows that he is a part of the people. In the pre9/11 period Bush cannot just overcome this early model of *self* and replace it with a model of authority; it is too useful for him.

> To be a leader one must be of the led and yet also other. If leaders are too much "the led", they lose their claim to superiority and thus their claim to leadership; if they are too much "the other", they lose their claim to identity, and again their leadership. Candidates seeking to validate their claims to leadership must walk a constantly shifting line between identification and otherness.
> (Stuckey and Antczak 1995, 119)

It can be observed that Bush tries to gain in credibility and authority, but at the same time he tries not to alienate himself from his voters. Thus, the general tone of the radio addresses of the pre9/11 period is, considering the formality that is usual in the genre, rather informal. The wording of the radio addresses is traditionally simple, because a large audience of different social levels has to be reached. But compared to radio addresses delivered by previous presidents, Bush has a rather "conversationalist" approach. This is the consistent continuation of his presidential campaign and the strategy he followed in the presidential debates of 2000. During these debates it was obvious that Bush would not be able to win against Al Gore, who used refined language, by sounding sophisticated. Thus, Bush tried to demonstrate his being one of the people, by using a conversationalist approach.

> Conversationalization is a striking and pervasive feature of contemporary order of discourse. [...] It can be seen as a colonization of the public domain by the practices of the private domain, an opening

up of public orders of discourse to discursive practices which we can all attain rather than the elite and exclusive traditional practices.
(Fairclough 1993, 140).

The 100th day of a presidency is a traditional date for a first evaluation of the performance of a new administration. The radio address Bush delivers on 28 April 2001 has this evaluation as its topic. All three levels of *self*, the president, the administration and the American people are interlinked in the presentation of success:

> But what we are marking is not 100 days of my presidency; it is 100 days of Congress and the President working together for the American people.
> (George W. Bush, RA – 28 April 2001)

Consider the above quotation. It works well for Bush on several levels of social cognition. So far, up to the 100th day of his presidency, Bush has not gotten any of his major claims, i.e. his tax relief plan, national security and education through Congress. However, he has been reporting talks with Congress on all of these issues. He now includes Congress in the image of self, claiming that they are working together, and that it actually is not only his presidency that should be evaluated, but the work of Congress and the President. Bush relies that implicitly another statement is conveyed: the President wants to move things, he wants to accomplish something, but so far Congress has been slow to react and ratify his plans. It could be argued that actually this image of self is not really an image of self at all, but rather a hidden image of other. Or rather, on an overt level, an image of self is given, but Bush relies on the fact that in a large part of the audience a mental model will be formed that transforms it into an image of other. Bush does not use images of self and other in a purely dichotomous way before 9/11. He goes on to include Congress in his "mission" to work for the American people:

> What have we accomplished so far? I think we're making progress towards changing the tone in Washington. There's less name-calling and finger-pointing. We're sharing credit. We're learning we can make our points without making enemies.

(George W. Bush, RA – 28 April 2001)

So the main accomplishment so far has been to change the tone in Washington, i.e. to get Congress to work with the president. This favours the position of the president, the most confined image of *self*. And as soon as Congress accepts its position in a collaborative "we" with the president, things are going to get into gear. With a strong Democratic force in Congress, Bush has to stay as implicit as possible in formulating these ideas.

In conclusion, an important insight is that before 9/11 Bush works mainly on the image of *self* and tries to convey positive connotations. The image of *other* is used much more implicitly and strategically. It is employed to subtly coerce administrative bodies to cooperate with a weak president.

1 A week ago today I received a great	1 reform, and we have started
2 On Tuesday, I sent to Congress a	2 to make all of our public schools
3 this year's laws. I want to make all of	3 and achievement. Our country must offer
4 quality education. I also met this week	4 both parties, and we found a lot of
5 of the plan I am proposing. Real	5 been created. But we need more than a
6 to change. My plan respects the	6 new programs. We need a new way of
7 in Washington. I view principals,	7 way of thinking. We must go back to
8 will not change. My plan will give	8 and flexibility. We cannot expect
9 should take. I have my own plan	9 yearly testing, we do not know who
10 take. I have my own plan which	10 and who needs our help. Without
11 approaches, and I am willing to listen.	11 testing, too often we don't find failure
12 choices. And it is my duty as President	12 Testing allows us to help children
13 them. In sending my plan to Congress,	13 turns into apathy. We need to aim high,
14 plan to Congress, I ask that we act	14 to aim high, but we also need to be
15 next school year. I hope to have the	15 goal is to improve our public schools.
16 alike, and I hope to have your	16 public schools. We want them to
17 This coming week I will send to	17 At the same time, we will not continue
18 to Congress my tax relief plan. It is	18 I ask that we act before this
19 a tax cut. Under my plan, both of these	19 It will help our economy, and it is
20 tax bill entirely. My plan does some	20 a diner in one of our cities. At the table
21 percent, because I believe no one	21 For the waitress, our plan will wipe out
22 important. And my budget will do	22 now will stimulate our economy and
23 and create jobs. My plan will keep all	23 where it belongs. We will eliminate the
24 need. Above all, my plan unlocks the	24 create the jobs we need. Above all,
25 they need it. My tax reduction plan	25 important issue: our national security.
26 these things, and I hope you'll support	26 President. Our nation's ideals
27 This past week I have been making	27 the world, but our nation's ships and
28 to act quickly on my tax relief plan, so	28 ideals and sustain our allies and friends.
29 their own money. I will continue to	29 relative peace our nation enjoys
30 And next week, I will also focus on	30 the lives of our men and women
31 them. On Monday, I will travel to Fort	31 families reenlist. We need to treat
32 and their families. I want to thank them	32 careers. All our men and women
33 service and give my full support in	33 are volunteers. We must make sure
34 living. And, so, as I promised, I will	34 must make sure our military is a place
35 so, as I promised, I will announce	35 to make as we prepare for the
36 stay. On Tuesday, I will be in Norfolk,	36 matter more. And we must make sure
37 At week's end, I will meet in	37 must make sure our country, itself, is
38 State Department. I selected General	38 Colin Powell and our diplomats at the
39 charge is to help me pursue a clear,	39 acts in the world, our principles must be
40 signal the priority I place on our	40 must be certain, our intentions beyond
41 Commander-in-Chief. I want every man	41 beyond doubt, our strength be
42 to know that I respect your	42 priority I place on our military. The

Table 8 Concordance of "I/me/my/mine" from 01-01-29 to 01-02-10

Table 9 Concordance of "we/us/our" from 01-01-29 to 01-02-10

5.4.2 Post9/11 – Trauma

The phase just after 9/11 is dominated by confusion. Especially the first week, right after the terror attacks, Bush was not clear in his statements, failed to find the right register, mixed genres and generally made a confused impression. In the first few days following the attacks, it seemed that Bush was not able to handle this severe crisis. Four days after the attack, Bush delivers his first radio address. This address is much anticipated by the public as it is the first institutionalised address after hours of chaos.

> The president could not find the right words. Soon after the World Trade Center and the Pentagon were attacked on Sept. 11, he tried to articulate his response. In one week he gave more than a dozen speeches and remarks to comfort, rally and then – when he'd rallied too much -- calm the country. To some, his language seemed undisciplined. He called the terrorists ''folks'' and referred to the coming battle as a ''crusade.'' He called for ''revenge,'' called Osama bin Laden the ''prime suspect'' and asked for him
''dead or alive.'' He said ''make no mistake'' at least eight times in public remarks. When Bush didn't seem lost, he often seemed scared. When he didn't seem scared, he often seemed angry. None of this soothed the public.
(The New York Times, October 7, 2001)

1 campaign to secure our country and eradicate
2 who cheered for our country and the great
3 to these attacks on our nation. I will not settle
4 settle for a token act. Our response must be
5 to give blood, to fly our country's flag.
6 with the best that is in our country, with courage
7 we are. This is what our enemies hate and
8 attack designed to tear us apart has instead
9 has instead bound us together as a nation.
10 tragedy has come to us, and we are meeting it
11 Security Council, as we plan a comprehensive
12 and support them. We are planning a broad
13 evil of terrorism. And we are determined to see
14 and the great cause we have entered. In
15 the past few days, we have learned much
16 on the ground. Now we honor those who died,
17 and effective. We have much do to, and
18 In the past week, we have seen the
19 has come to us, and we are meeting it with the
20 America. This is who we are. This is what our
21 And this is why we will prevail. Thank you

Table 10 Concordance we/us/our, 01-09-15

When Bush delivers his first radio address after the attacks on September 15, 2001, there is no idea yet who is responsible for the attacks. In this address the search for an image of other, the image of the unnamed terrorists who planned and executed the assault is contrasted by the probing for an image of self, an image of America and its people, who can overcome this time of crisis. Bush struggles to define the attackers:

1 who believe they are invisible. Yet,
2 are invisible. Yet, they are mistaken.
3 they are mistaken. They will be exposed,
4 will be exposed, and they will discover what
5 past have learned: Those who make war
6 States have chosen their own destruction.
7 organizations and those who harbor and
8 harbor and support them. We are planning

Table 11 Concordance they/those/their/them, 01-09-15

> This is [...] a conflict with opponents who believe they are invisible. Yet they are mistaken. They will be exposed and they will discover what others in the past have learned: Those who make war against the United States have chosen their own destruction.
> (George W. Bush, RA – 15 September 2001)

Table 11 shows the concordance for deictic references associated with *other*. Bush tries to define the invisible enemy and assure the American public that the United States will expose them and bring them to justice. The lexical fields that surround images of self are associated with unity: "our country", "our nation", "our country's flag" (cf. Table 10). The audience is encouraged to make themselves part of this unity, to build a model of *self* that includes them in a unity that stands against terrorism. At the same time, it is stated that there will be more to endure. The references

1 You will be asked for your patience; for, the
2 You will be asked for your strength, because the
3 of the American people. You will be asked for your
4 conflict will not be short. You will be asked for
5 conflict will not be easy. You will be asked for your

Table 12 Concordance you/your, 01-09-15

to "you" that are made in the radio address are all collocated with "will be asked for" (cf. Table 12). With this anaphoric repetition, Bush tries to prepare the public for the strikes against terror that are to follow. He ends

his radio address with directly defining America's image of self as a strong nation:

> Great tragedy has come to us, and we are meeting it with the best that is in our country, with courage and concern for others. Because this is America. This is who we are. This is what our enemies hate and have attacked. And this is why we will prevail.
> (George W. Bush, RA – 15 September 2001)

In this last paragraph, the model the address tries to invoke – and indeed not only this address but all the radio addresses and speeches following it – is explicated. There is America on the one side, and the audience that is addressed is part of this America. This America will strike out upon the *other*, the enemies. As I shall point out, this image is sharpened in later speeches. The dichotomy is enhanced. No place is given between self and other. The abstract other, the enemy, is concretised and substituted with more palpable concepts. The starting point for this strategy is given in the radio address on 15 September 2001, but its actual definition takes place in Bush's address to the nation before Congress, about a week later. This speech is the turning point from pre9/11 to post 9/11. Like the radio addresses it was broadcast all over the nation and its main addressees was the American public. Like the radio addresses, the state of the union address is received by millions of people and thus targets a heterogeneous audience. This is the main point that distinguishes Bush's speech before Congress with the other speeches he delivered at the time, all of which targeted local, homogeneous groups. And it is the point that links the speech before Congress with the weekly radio addresses – functionally the speech before Congress can be seen as the link between the pre9/11 and the post9/11 phase. That is the reason why I include Bush's address to the nation in my analysis, even though it is not literally a radio address.

5.5 Bush's Speech before Congress

Bush's speech before Congress, on September 21, 2001, could be analysed on its own in much detail. BBC News reported that "[it] was widely seen as

the speech of George Bush's life"
(http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/world/americas/1555641.stm). I will focus on
how in this speech the strategy for the construction of images of self and
other is set for many speeches which Bush delivers after his address to
Congress. After the confused impression Bush had made the days before,
this speech was prepared meticulously, and it uses many rhetorical devices
to define clear images of self and other.

Wordlist Analysis

Again, I will start with a quantitative assessment. Table 13 shows the
wordlist analysis of Bush's speech before Congress, with words listed up to
an absolute frequency of 7. The text contains 2994 words. Keywords relating
to the conception of self and other have been highlighted in the list. As can
be seen, the use of direct and indirect references to self and other is very
high. Most of all, Bush uses "our" and "we" as deictic references to *self*,
totalling 98 uses. But there are also many direct references to the inclusive
image of *self* of all American citizens. "AMERICA*" is used 56 times.
Keywords relating to *other* are used almost as frequently, including deictic
reference, but also direct references. These direct references to *other*
already start to mould a more concrete image of other: not only "terrorists",
"terror" are often used, but also "Afghanistan", "Taliban" and "Al Qaeda".
What we can conclude from the coarse wordlist analysis is that the speech
has a primary focus on the definition of self and other. In the next step, we
will look at the lexical fields accompanying the keywords.

N	Word	Freq.	%
1	AND	141	4,71
2	THE	136	4,54
3	OF	117	3,91
4	TO	104	3,47
5	OUR	53	1,77
6	WILL	53	1,77
7	IN	50	1,67
8	A	47	1,57
9	WE	45 (52)	1,50
10	IS	40	1,34
11	NOT	37	1,24
12	FOR	29	0,97
13	ARE	28	0,94
14	HAVE	27	0,90
15	IT	26	0,87
16	THIS	26	0,87
17	I	25 (27)	0,84
18	THEY	25	0,84
19	THAT	23	0,77
20	YOU	21	0,70
21	ON	20	0,67
22	ALL	18	0,60
23	EVERY	17	0,57
24	THEIR	17	0,57
25	WITH	17	0,57
26	WORLD	17 (18)	0,57
27	AMERICA	16 (22)	0,53
28	BE	16	0,53
29	BY	16	0,53
30	#	14	0,47
31	AMERICANS	14	0,47
32	US	14	0,47
33	AT	13	0,43
34	HAS	13	0,43
35	MANY	13	0,43
36	TERRORISTS	13	0,43
37	TONIGHT	13	0,43
38	YOUR	13	0,43
39	AS	12	0,40
40	FREEDOM	12	0,40
41	OR	12	0,40
42	PEOPLE	12	0,40

N	Word	Freq.	%
43	WHAT	12	0,40
44	WHO	12	0,40
45	AN	11	0,37
46	ITS	11	0,37
47	AMERICAN	10	0,33
48	BUT	10	0,33
49	COUNTRY	10	0,33
50	FROM	10	0,33
51	TERROR	10	0,33
52	WAR	10	0,33
53	ASK	9	0,30
54	COME	9	0,30
55	GREAT	9	0,30
56	THEM	9	0,30
57	BEEN	8	0,27
58	CITIZENS	8	0,27
59	NO	8	0,27
60	STATES	8	0,27
61	TOGETHER	8	0,27
62	UNITED	8	0,27
63	CAN	7	0,23
64	MAY	7	0,23
65	OWN	7	0,23
66	SEEN	7	0,23
67	THANK	7	0,23
68	THESE	7	0,23
69	AFGHANISTAN	6	0,20
70	AGAINST	6	0,20
71	AL	6	0,20
72	AMERICA'S	6	0,20
73	BEFORE	6	0,20
74	FIGHT	6	0,20
75	MORE	6	0,20
76	ONE	6	0,20
77	THAN	6	0,20
78	WHERE	6	0,20

(the number in brackets includes derivations like "I'll" or "we're" which are not automatically united by the wordlist analysis of *Wordsmith*)

Table 13 Wordlist of Bush's Speech before Congress

Concordance analysis of lexical fields

Table 16 (page 72) shows the concordance of four major references to *self*, "we", "our", "I" and "America". As I argued before, Bush often uses a pyramidal model of *self*, "we" as Americans, including all of the people, "we" as the current government and, narrowing down to the persona of the president, "I" as the leader of the government and the American people. The lexical fields surrounding "we", which in the case of Bush's speech before Congress is most often used to include all of the American people, are filled with determination: "we will not tire", "we will not falter" and "we will not fail". "We will" to denote further action is used more than twenty times. Many of these future actions refer to actions to be taken against terrorism, e.g. "we will starve terrorists". When Bush uses the strong coupling between determinate action and references to an inclusive self of the American people, he also has to model the images of *self* to be capable of taking these actions. I will also discuss how the actions are modelled as being essential in the qualitative analysis. The creation of the attributes for the image of self can be shown at the example of the lexical fields following "our". Many of the words following the possessive reference to self include positive attributes of strength, ability and unity: "our union", "our country", "our nation", "our strengths", "our efforts", "our courage" and "our resolve". This can also be observed with the direct references to "America": "America's resolve", "America's fight", "America is determined". The idea of unity is especially important, so the references to "our" and "America" also include a lot of ideals shared by the American public: "our freedom", "our way of life", "our principles". The way Bush models the images of himself as the leader of the American people is very interesting. In the time of crises, as the president of the United States, he does not need much legitimisation to act authoritatively. From the structure of the references to "I", three blocks can be identified. First, Bush repeats thanks to everyone who has helped in the aftermath of the mayhem of 9/11. Later, he takes a demanding stance and repeats "I ask you" and variations seven times. He concludes by five

references to his determination: "I will carry", "I will not forget", "I will not rest", "I will not relent".

The images of *other* naturally concentrate on the terrorists. As in the radio address just before the speech to Congress, Bush aims at concretising the image of other and tries to link it to targets that actually can be used as a target. Judging from the quantitative analysis, the first step he seems to be taking is the equation of nameless terrorists who targeted the World Trade Center with the terror organization Al Quaeda. In a second step, he links the terrorist organization to Afghanistan and the Taliban. Table 14 shows three examples of the linking between terrorist, Al Qaeda and Afghanistan. The linking between Afghanistan and the attacks of 9/11 seems to be done very subtly and could potentially be viewed as manipulating social cognition; it will prove to be of interest in the qualitative analysis.

a collection of loosely affiliated terrorist organizations known as al qaeda they
close immediately and permanently every terrorist training camp in afghanistan and hand over
afghanistan and hand over every terrorist and every person in their support structure to

Table 14 Examples of the concretisation of "terrorist"

Before turning to the qualitative analysis, I want to point out the close vicinity between references to *self* and references to *other*. The direct references to the gradually more concrete image of *other*, "Taliban", "Al Qaeda", or "terrorists" often occur only a few words apart from references to *self*: "we see Al Qaeda", "we bring our enemies to justice", "we will starve the terrorists", "we condemn the Taliban". And indeed, the semantic space between the concepts shrinks as the speech progresses. References to other countries are pulled into the dichotomy between America on the one hand and terrorists on the other hand. Afghanistan is the first country to be

there are thousands of these terrorists in more than 60 countries they
by sponsoring and sheltering and supplying terrorists by aiding and abetting murder
they will hand over the terrorists or they will share in their fate

Table 15 Examples of concordances of "terrorists"

associated with terrorist activities. For other countries the case seems not to be that clear, and Bush actually addresses them, asking the rhetorical question to decide which side they want to be on. Bush's model does not leave any space between the two conceptions of self and other and coerces other countries into a "coalition of the willing". Table 15 shows three examples of concordances of "terrorists". Even on a lexical level, the concordances show the vicinity of different countries to the "terrorists". Bush asks these countries to decide whether they want to join the "fight against terror" or "share the fate of the terrorists". The argument Bush presents here will be subject to the qualitative analysis, as, even in the coarse quantitative concordance analysis, it seems to rely heavily on presupposition and is a likely candidate for the illegitimate manipulation of social cognition.

we have seen it	our union in the	our cause and confident
we have seen the	our union and	
we ve seen the	our grief has turned	I thank the congress
we have seen the	our enemies to justice	I thank you for
we are a country	our enemies justice	I thank the world
we bring our enemies	our communities and meet	I m so honored
we will not forget	our military speaker	I also want to
we will not forget	our country and	I announce the creation
we forget the citizens	our national anthem playing	I also announce a
we are joined together	our embassy in seoul	I agents to
we have gathered all	our own dozens	I have a message
we see al qaeda	our country americans	I ve called the
we are currently its	our country the	I ask you to
we condemn the taliban	our many muslim friends	I know many citizens
we can make sure	our many arab friends	I ask you to
we respect your faith	our enemy is a	I ask you to
we stand in their	our war on terror	I ask you to
we re not deceived	our freedoms our	I agents who
we have seen their	our freedom of religion	I ask you to
we fight and win	our freedom of speech	I ask for your
we will direct every	our freedom to vote	I ask your continued
we have ever seen	our friends they	I thank my fellow
we will starve terrorists	our command - every	I thank you
we will pursue nations	our response involves far	I know there are
we re not immune	our nation has been	I will carry this
we will take defensive	our country against terrorism	I will not forget
we have called to		I will not yield
we ask every nation	our way of life	I will not rest
we will ask and	our thanks and all	I will not relent
we will need the	our prayers and	
we re not going	our military be	America was touched on
we re in a	our principles and our	America and
we will do together	our first responsibility is	America will never forget
we face new and	our people these	America nor will
we will come together	our economy before sept	America has no truer
we will come together	our strengths today and	America thank you
we will come together	our great country	America makes the following
we will come together	our intelligence capabilities to	America counts as friends
we will come together		America is not our
we welcome two leaders	our people back to	America grows fearful
we will rebuild new	our times not	America will act and
we have suffered great	our grief and anger	America s fight
we have found our	our mission and our	America s freedom
we will rally the	our moment freedom and	America to asia to
we will not tire	our time and the	America s side
we will not falter	our nation this	America and remember why
we will not fail	our people and our	America is successful
we ll go back	our future we	America s economy and
we were and what	our efforts by	America s resolve
we were doing	our courage we	America s future is
we know that god	our lives and routines	America is determined and
we ll meet violence	our resolve must not	America thank you
	our country and those	

Table 16 Concordance analysis of references to self in Bush's Speech Before Congress

Interpretative Aspects

In order to position *self* and *other* after 9/11 Bush's speech uses a variety of rhetorical devices. What is most striking is, that all of these devices have been tailored to fit Bush's persona when he would deliver the speech. Also, most strategic functions of the speech are realized in a very subtle manner. The quantitative analysis has already shown that Bush tries to link concrete images to the abstract *other*. For this purpose, he first invokes the concept of war: "On September 11, enemies of freedom committed an act of war against our country". He then uses metaphorical language to link the image of *self* with the concept of freedom: "And night fell on a different world, a world where freedom itself is under attack". After this context is set, Bush can begin defining the image of *other*. He uses a question to introduce the first conception of the enemy, the "Al Qaeda", and to contrast this enemy to the inclusive conception of *self*, he does not pose the question himself, but lets the "Americans" formulate it: "Americans have many questions tonight. Americans are asking, 'Who attacked our country?'". The answer, of course, is "Al Qaeda". Bush then goes on to link Al Qaeda to Afghanistan and the Taliban: "The leadership of Al Qaeda has great influence in Afghanistan and supports the Taliban regime in controlling most of the country". This is the argument from which Bush later concludes to go to war in Afghanistan. The way this argument works relies on the way social cognition works. He relies on the fact that Afghanistan will be associated as the headquarters of Al Qaeda in most of the members of his audience.

Large parts of the speech are used to contrast and refine images of self and other in ever more concrete terms. The quantitative analysis has already shown the vicinity of references to self and other. In the answer to the second question that the "Americans" formulate in Bush's speech, "Why do they hate us?", the way Bush works out this opposition in close vicinity of *self* and *other* is striking: "They hate our freedoms, our freedom of religion, our freedom of speech, our freedom to vote and assemble and disagree with

each other." The positive evaluations of *self* that Bush introduced earlier here are listed to be contrasted against the image of *other*. This other is not only the terrorists, but every *other* helping the terrorists: "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." In anserwing the question of why these *others* hate *us*, Bush presents a staccato of switching references to self and other:

> 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're 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 that time, the image of *other* is not simply the terrorists of 9/11 anymore. In his speech, Bush effectively cuts the world into two categories: America and those who support its war against terror ("our friends") and those who do not support America's war against terror and thus by definition oppose America: "Every nation in every region now has a decision to make. Either you are with us or you are with the terrorists."

Bush uses this dichotomous conception of *self* and *other* to materialize a lot of the plans that he actually already had before 9/11. He now argues for increased military funding in exorbitant sums. And he announces the introduction of a new agency, the Office of Homeland Security. Before 9/11 it would have been very hard for Bush to get through Congress with such measures. Now he simply defines them as a necessity:

> 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.
> [...]
> These measures are essential. 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.

Bush can rely that most members of the audience followed his instruction for the representation of *self* and *other* in their situational mental models and he can rely that the conclusion drawn from the context of such a representation indeed yields the result of his measures being necessary. And here is something important to realize: although the rhetorical features are very elaborate with a lot of people working on Bush's speech before Congress, the content and structure seem to be largely consistent with the model Bush himself has of the situation. It seems as if he did not have to act or pretend when he argues in this way. A possible explanation is that this line of argument, this dichotomy between *self* and *other*, this binary division between good and evil, freedom and terrorism is in fact consistent with Bush's mental model. The speeches before made the impression of confusion, because Bush was not able to externalise the essence of his own model in them. For the speech before Congress, Bush and his spin doctors worked closely together so that Bush could identify with the rhetorical persona and appear convincing; and use this conviction to promote institutions and wars that had possibly been in planning long before.

5.6 Post9/11 – Retaliation: The personalization of "other"

In the post9/11 stage we experience the manipulation of social cognition that tries to gradually personalize the image of *other*. In a process reminiscent of the mechanics of metonymy, Bush gradually defines the concept. For Bush, this personalization serves an important sociopolitical function.

- In order to report military successes, a target has to be defined.
- A concrete image of a threatening *other* can more easily be referred to repeatedly.
- It makes it easier for Bush to draw an image of *self*, an inclusive *we*, of Americans who need to stand together. It also makes clear that the threat persists and that the American nation needs to unite behind their president

in order to face it. By drawing a threatening image of other, Bush is able to delegitimise critics, denouncing them as a security risk.

Bush's concretisation of the concept of *other* has an interesting interpretation in the theory of mental models. The representations used in mental models are always specific instances, never just abstract variables. Thus if Bush can only define an abstract image of *other*, this is translated into inhomogeneous instantiations by different members of the audience, as each has to interpret the abstractions according to their background knowledge. Reference to a concept with such heterogeneous realisations is hard, and the points named above would be hard to communicate. Thus for Bush it is important to come up with a concrete image of *other* in order to be able to convey the actions he is planning efficiently.

In terms of manipulation of social cognition, Bush makes good use of the dichotomy between the conception of *self* and *other*, which he has established previously. He "enlarges" the image of *other* on demand, to include political adversaries. One example here is the dichotomy between the "coalition of the willing" and the "axis of evil", relating to an extended image of *self* and *other*, respectively. Any nation not willing to fight with America, is automatically part of the group of enemies:

> "In the struggle between terrorist killers and peaceful nations, there is no neutral ground. All nations must join in confronting this threat when it arises – before the terrorists can inflict even greater harm and suffering."
> (George W. Bush, RA – 27 September 2003)

5.6.1 War Against Afghanistan

Opposing the conception of *self* is the gradually more personal conception of *other*. Right after 9/11, the Taliban and the Al Qaeda are the personalizations used by George W Bush, and he links the two conceptions to Afghanistan. Of course, this personalization has to be refreshed periodically. The chart in Figure 5 shows the uses of related keywords in Bush's radio addresses. After a strong initial phase following the terror

attacks, there are at least two peaks in which more than one of the keywords is used.
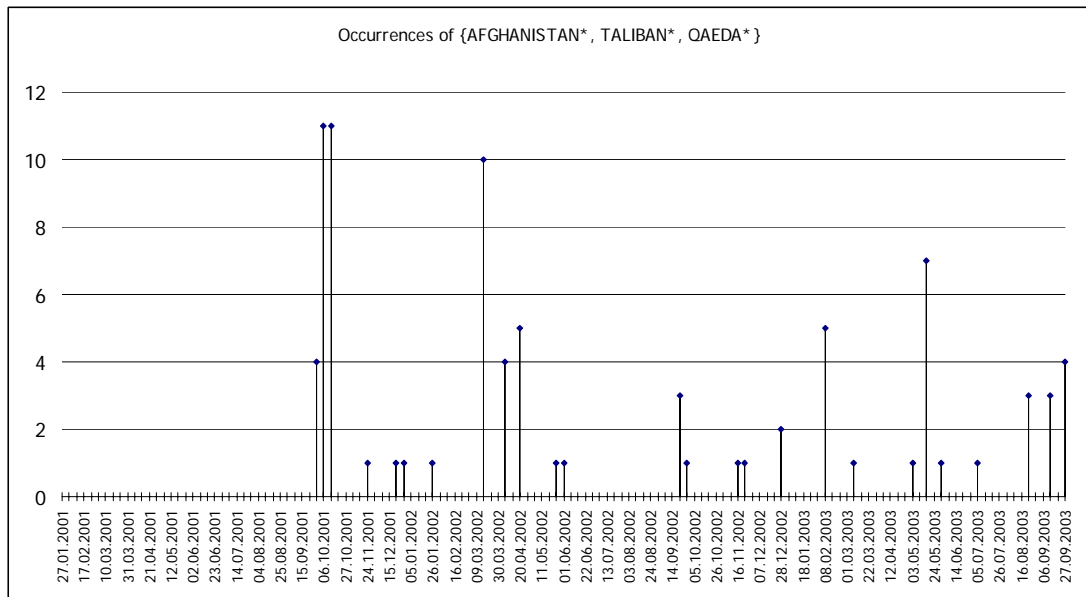
Figure 5 Occurences of {AFGHANISTAN*, TALIBAN*, QAEDA*}

The adjectives used to describe the conception of *other* also change after 9/11. For example, as reflected in the chart shown in Figure 6, "evil" is never used before 9/11, but it is used frequently in the weeks after the attacks and is used periodically afterwards. This is consistent with the personalization of *other*. Only in a personalized model of *other* can "evil" be attributed to the conception of *other*.
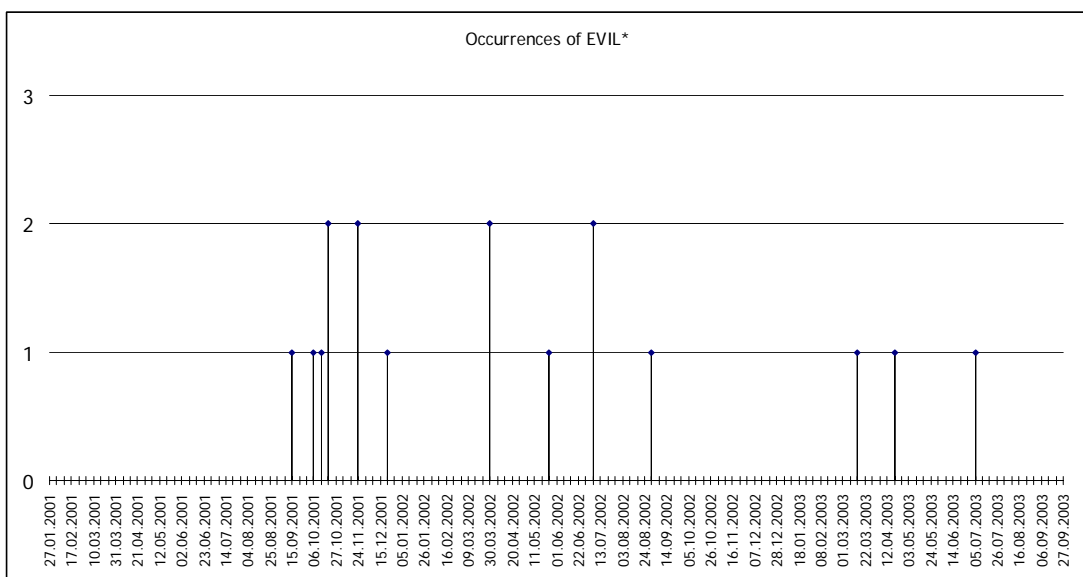
Figure 6 Occurences of EVIL*

Of course, the image of *other* does not encompass the whole population of Afghanistan. The people of Afghanistan are described as the sufferers and are modelled in a different way than the *other* of the Taliban:

> The United States respects the people of Afghanistan and we are their largest provider of humanitarian aid. But we condemn the Taliban, and welcome the support of other nations in isolating that regime.
> (George W. Bush, RA – 29 September 2001)

It is interesting to observe that although Bush aims at a personalization of other, he does not mention Osama bin Laden, the head of the terror organization Al Qaeda, even once in all of his radio addresses. A possible explanation for this is the fact that this person was trained in the US secret services and unfavourable media coverage on this point was to be avoided. Another explanation would be that with the war in Afghanistan Bush was not yet willing to go down to the level of images of *self* and *other* that were actually matching person against person, i.e. Bush against Osama bin Laden.

With the images of *self* and *other* which Bush constructed, the dichotomy between them, i.e. America and allied nations against terror, and the concretisation of the enemy, Bush is able to justify military action in Afghanistan.

5.6.2 War Against Iraq

The rhetorical devices and the manipulation of social cognition which Bush uses in preparation for justifying going to war with Iraq could be analysed at great length. In this work, I will focus on the way Bush legitimizes warfare by using the conceptions of *self* and *other* that he established earlier, and how he makes increasingly unscrupulous use of manipulation of social cognition in the development of the conflict with Iraq.

In his addresses, Bush increasingly identifies Iraq with Saddam Hussein. In his radio address on 14 September 2002, Bush argues for going to war against Iraq implicitly, but explicitly he talks about Saddam Hussein:

> These leaders have reached the same conclusion I have – that Saddam Hussein has made the case against himself.
> (George W. Bush, RA – 14 September 2002)

Starting with this radio address, Bush moves the conflict onto a personal level, between himself (and his befriended leaders) and Saddam Hussein. Figure 7 shows the increased reference to Saddam Hussein in Bush's radio addresses after 14 September 2002.
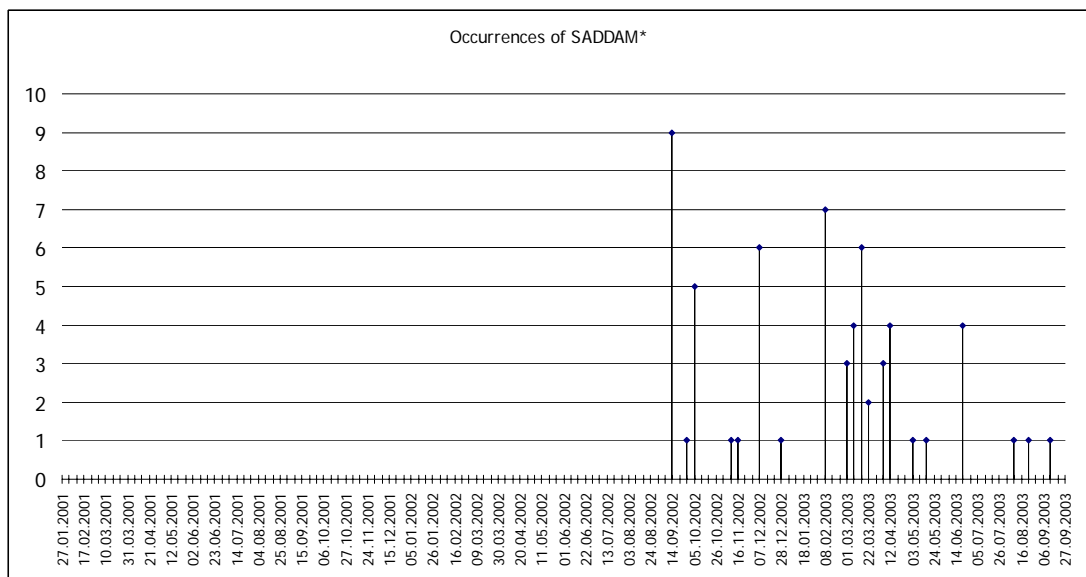
Figure 7 Occurrences of SADDAM*

Bush uses "Saddam", "Saddam Hussein" or "regime" in a very close semantic relation, e.g.

> Today this regime likely maintains stockpiles of chemical and biological agents, and is improving and expanding facilities capable of producing chemical and biological weapons. Today Saddam Hussein has the scientists and infrastructure for a nuclear weapons program, and has illicitly sought to purchase the equipment needed to enrich uranium for a nuclear weapon.
> (George W. Bush, RA – 14 September 2002)

In the ensuing months, Bush details this personalized image of *other*, using "Saddam" and "regime" interchangeably and linking both to "weapons of mass destruction". Table 17 shows the numerical analysis of the horizon (5L-5R) of occurrences of "SADDAM" in Bush's radio addresses from 14 September 2002 to 27 September 2003. It can be seen that "REGIME",

"WEAPONS" and "DISARM" occur in the direct vicinity of references to "SADDAM".

Like in the rhetoric composition that Bush used for justifying military action in Afghanistan, he is careful not to include the Iraqi people into this image-cluster of *other*. Rather, the people in Iraq are a different kind of *other*, one that is closer to the extended image of *self*, i.e. an image that is associated with "America".

N	Word	Total	Total Left	Total Right
1	SADDAM	59	0	0
2	HUSSEIN	34	1	33
3	THE	30	20	10
4	TO	28	14	14
5	OF	26	22	4
6	AND	19	4	15
7	HAS	17	4	13
8	HUSSEIN'S	16	0	16
9	A	12	4	8
10	IS	12	3	9
11	REGIME	11	5	6
12	THAT	10	10	0
13	WEAPONS	7	2	5
14	HIS	6	1	5
15	NOT	6	4	2
16	DISARM	5	2	3
17	IN	5	1	4
18	WILL	5	2	3
19	WITH	5	3	2

Table 17 Horizon analysis of "SADDAM" in Bush's radio addresses after 14 September 2002

> But America's cause is always larger than America's security. We also stand for the advance for freedom and opportunity and hope. The lives and freedom of the Iraqi people matter little to Saddam Hussein, but they matter greatly to us.
>
> (George W. Bush, RA – 1 March 2003)

In the above quotation, the positive values of "we", of "America", i.e. "freedom", "opportunity", and "hope" are brought into connection with the Iraqi people, and Bush argues that this portion of *self*, the American values, can only be transported to the Iraqi people if Saddam Hussein is defeated. Accordingly, when military action in Iraq begins on 19 March 2003, the operation is called "Iraqi Freedom". This naming is in line with the images of *self* and *other* that Bush created before. The cluster analysis of Bush's radio addresses also shows the split between the Iraqi regime and Iraqi people in references to *other*: the use of "IRAQI" in the addresses after 14 September 2002 is split into "Iraqi people" (31 references) and "Iraqi regime" (25 references). During military action in Iraq, Bush relies on the model of *self* and *other* he conveyed in the months before. The personalization of *other*,

referring to Saddam and his regime interchangeably, and the dichotomy between *self* and *other* now is extended to the military forces and contrasted to the American forces: "Saddam's death squads and enforcers" vs. "Our Special Forces and Army paratroopers", "Saddam's thugs" vs. "American Forces" (George W. Bush, RA – 15 March 2003).

In Bush's justification of the war in Iraq, he does of course use more rhetorical devices and persuasive means than those associated with images of *self* and *other*. But as this section has shown, the modelling of *self* and *other*, the personalization of both and the dissociation between the two concepts, is at the basis of Bush's war rhetoric and reveals a strategy of manipulation: the manipulation of social cognition that has been prepared and used consistently over a long period of time.

This is not to say that the war in Iraq was not justified. In fact, I do not make any statement on this issue, whether going to war in Iraq was justified or not. I do argue, however, that the *way* in which Bush justified military action in both cases, Iraq and Afghanistan, involved the use of manipulative means in social cognition.

6 Conclusion and Outlook

I have shown how a hybrid approach that combines quantitative and qualitative methods can be used to assess rhetorical events. The creation of images of *self* and *other* is a fundamental mechanism in political speech and demands the use of a comprehensive analytical framework. For the qualitative component I chose ideas from critical discourse analysis. CDA provided the theoretical framework for my analysis. The first important insight from CDA is that language practice is social practice and that the interpretation of political discursive events has to be done in a social context. With theories from CDA, I grounded the link between linguistic structures and social structures in the construction of mental models. Working top-down I showed that the conveyance of mental models is manifested in textual structures. In applying sets of strategic functions, rhetors can choose to use specific textual structures to manipulate social cognition. I argue that in analysing the textual structures that are used in a discursive event, conclusions can be drawn on the original intent and potential attempts of social cognition. A quantitative assessment of the corpus allows an initial apprehension of images of self and other on a coarse scale. The quantitative analysis provides a basic map of neural points in the texts that could then be analysed qualitatively.

In an application of this framework to a corpus of radio addresses and speeches of George W. Bush, I have shown how differently Bush creates images of *self* and *other* before and after 9/11, and how Bush uses manipulation of social cognition to use the attacks of 9/11 to further his own political goals. Based on quantitative guidance, a qualitative analysis has been used to expose the strategies and assumptions that are used in the creation of images of self and other. I have shown how the personalization of *other* is used after 9/11 to leave no room between the model of *self* and the model of *other* and how these conceptions are polarized.

I outlined a hybrid analytical framework using methods from different areas, and I showed its applicability. My analysis of Bush's radio addresses was intended as a proof of concept. Future work could and should go into a lot more detail here. Furthermore, the analytical framework should be further refined, and the components should be integrated even more. An extension to syntactical aspects, like the analysis of agency and how it links to the construction of mental models seems plausible. The implication of episodic models in addition to discourse models will be of special interest.

Future work could focus on an application of the framework to the upcoming presidential elections 2004, which, with their campaigns and debates, will provide an interesting corpus to be analysed in the perspective of critical discourse analysis and social cognition.

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Appendix A   Addresses

George W. Bush's Radio Addresses

Only the quoted addresses are included here. The complete corpus of radio addresses can be found on the attached CD-ROM.

RA – 27 January 2001

A week ago today I received a great honor, and all the great responsibilities that come with it. The first order of business is education reform, and we have started strong.

On Tuesday, I sent to Congress a package of reforms to turn last year's pledges into this year's laws. I want to make all of our public schools places of learning and high standards and achievement. Our country must offer every child, no matter what his or her background or accent, a fair start in life with a quality education.

I also met this week with congressional leaders in both parties, and we found a lot of agreement on the basic goals of reform. No one is content with the status quo. Most are open to new ideas. Everyone agrees at least that the problems are serious and action is urgently needed.

This city has heard so much talk over the years about education reform. So many different approaches have been tried. So many new programs have been created. But we need more than a few new programs. We need a new way of thinking. We must go back to the fundamentals of early reading and regular testing, local control, and accountability for results, clear incentives for excellence, and clear consequences for failure.

These are the elements of the plan I am proposing. Real reform starts by giving schools and school districts more authority and flexibility. We cannot expect schools to change unless they have the freedom to change. My plan respects the principle of local control. It does not try to run the schools from a central office in Washington. I view principals, teachers and parents as allies in reform. They are ready to raise the standards, ready to take responsibility and answer for results.

Those results must be measured by testing every child every year, in tests developed and administered by states and local districts, not the federal government. Without yearly testing, we do not know who is falling behind and who needs our help. Without yearly testing, too often we don't find failure until it is too late. Testing allows us to help children early, before frustration turns into apathy.

We need to aim high, but we also need to be realistic. Many schools, particularly those in poor neighborhoods, will need help to meet high standards. And they will have it, including a new $5 billion initiative over five years for reading instruction. The goal is to improve our public schools. We want them to succeed, and when they're willing to change, we'll give them the tools to do so.

At the same time, we will not continue to pour taxpayers' money into schools that do not teach and will not change. My plan will give every failing school a fair chance to improve, but there will be a deadline, a moment of truth when parents are given better options and their children are given a way out.

There are some honest differences of opinion in Congress about what form these options should take. I have my own plan which would help children in persistently failing schools to go to another public, private or charter school. Others suggest different approaches, and I am willing to listen. But all reform must be based on a principle: Children and parents, who have had only bad choices need better choices. And it is my duty as President to help them.

In sending my plan to Congress, I ask that we act before this summer, when schools begin planning for the next school year. I hope to have the support of Republicans and Democrats alike, and I hope to have your support, as well.

Thank you for listening.

RA – 3 February 2001

Good morning. This coming week I will send to Congress my tax relief plan. It is broad and responsible. It will help our economy, and it is the right thing to do.

Today many Americans are feeling squeezed. They work 40, 50, 60 hours a week, and still have trouble paying the electric bill and the grocery bill at the same time. At the end of a long week, they collect their paycheck, and what the federal government takes is often unfair.

Picture a diner in one of our cities. At the table is a lawyer with two children. She earns $250,000 a year. Carrying her coffee and toast is a waitress who has two children of her own. She earns $25,000 a year. If both the lawyer and the waitress get a raise, it is the waitress who winds up paying a higher marginal tax rate. She will give back almost half of every extra dollar she earns to the government.

Both of these women, the lawyer and the waitress, deserve a tax cut. Under my plan, both of these women, and all Americans who pay taxes will

get one. For the waitress, our plan will wipe out her income tax bill entirely.

My plan does some important things for America. It reduces taxes for everyone who pays taxes. It lowers the lowest income tax rate from 15 percent to 10 percent. It cuts the highest rate to 33 percent, because I believe no one should pay more than a third of their income to the federal government. The average family of four will get about $1,600 of their own money returned back to them.

There's a lot of talk in Washington about paying down the national debt, and that's good, and that's important. And my budget will do that. But American families have debts to pay, as well. A tax cut now will stimulate our economy and create jobs.

The economic news these days is troubling -- rising energy prices, layoffs, falling consumer confidence. This is not a time for government to be taking more money than it needs away from the people who buy goods and create jobs.

My plan will keep all Social Security money in the Social Security system, where it belongs. We will eliminate the death tax, saving family farms and family-owned businesses. We'll reduce the maximum rate on small business income to 33 percent, so they can help create the jobs we need. Above all, my plan unlocks the door to the middle class for millions of hardworking Americans.

The country has prospered mightily over the past 20 years. But a lot of people feel as if they have been looking through the window at somebody else's party. It is time to fling those doors and windows open and invite everybody in. It is time to reward the work of people trying to enter the middle class and put some more money in their pockets at a time when they need it.

My tax reduction plan does all these things, and I hope you'll support it. Thank you for listening.

RA – 10 February 2001

Good morning. This past week I have been making the case for tax reductions. I've asked Congress to act quickly on my tax relief plan, so that Americans can face these uncertain economic times with more of their own money. I will continue to make that case until relief has passed.

And next week, I will also focus on another important issue: our national security. This is the most basic commitment of America's government, and the greatest responsibility of an American President. Our nation's ideals inspire the world, but our nation's ships and planes and armies must defend these ideals and sustain our allies and friends.

American influence is unquestioned, but maintaining it requires work in every generation. The relative peace our nation enjoys today is not inevitable. Peace is earned by strength and strength begins with the men and women who wear the uniform. New weapons and technologies are important, but they are only as effective as the people who use them.

On Monday, I will travel to Fort Stewart, in Georgia, to meet with soldiers and their families. I want to thank them for their service and give my full support in return. They deserve the best training, the latest and best equipment, and long overdue improvements in their pay, housing and standard of living.

And, so, as I promised, I will announce meaningful increases in funding to improve the lives of our men and women in uniform.

There's an old military saying: Soldiers enlist, but families reenlist. We need to treat families well and encourage military careers. All our men and women in uniform, after all, are volunteers. We must make sure our military is a place where Americans are proud to serve, and proud to stay.

On Tuesday, I will be in Norfolk, Virginia for a tour of the Joint Forces Command and a glimpse of the next generation of military weapons. America has some big choices to make as we prepare for the challenges and dangers of modern warfare. Battles will no longer be won by size alone; stealth and speed will matter more. And we must make sure our country, itself, is protected from attack from ballistic missiles and high-tech terrorists.

At week's end, I will meet in Washington with Secretary of State Colin Powell and our diplomats at the State Department. I selected General Powell for that post, in part, because he brings a soldier's wisdom to the work of diplomacy. His charge is to help me pursue a clear, consistent and decisive foreign policy.

Whenever America acts in the world, our principles must be certain, our intentions beyond doubt, our strength be unchallenged. This is how conflicts are avoided. This is how problems are dealt with before they become crises.

Next week's trips signal the priority I place on our military. The highest honor and greatest duty of this office is to serve as Commander-in-Chief. I want every man and woman in the Armed Forces to know that I respect your service and appreciate your sacrifice.

Thank you for listening.

RA – 28 April 2001

Good morning. You have probably seen the newspaper and television stories anticipating the 100th day of my administration. Ever since Franklin Roosevelt's time, the 100th day has been a media marker. But what we are marking is not 100 days of my presidency; it is 100 days of Congress and the President working together for the American people.

What have we accomplished so far? I think we're making progress toward changing the tone in Washington. There's less name-calling and finger-pointing. We're sharing credit. We are learning we can make our points without making enemies. Bitterness and divisiveness in Washington poison the

mood of the whole country. On the other hand, a culture of respect and results in Washington can change the mood of the country for the better.

We're also moving ahead with an important legislative agenda. There were some last summer who said there's no way anyone could possibly get a tax relief plan through the Congress. Yet, the House and the Senate have now both endorsed significant tax relief and are headed toward a final vote. Tax relief is an important principle.

The federal government is taking more money than it needs out of the pockets of the people and we need to return some. Yet, tax relief is also an important part of our economic strategy. It will accelerate our economic growth and create more jobs and more opportunity.

This has nothing to do with me or my political party. It has everything to do with what is right for the country. The Senate committee responsible for education voted 20-0 in favor of a solid education reform bill. And we'll see results, too, from our initiative to welcoming charities and faith-based organizations into the work of helping Americans in need.

We're at work on a plan to increase America's energy supply in the long-term. At the same time, we are acting in a common sense way to defend our environment. We are adopting new, scientifically sensible rules to discourage emissions of lead, to protect wetlands, to reduce the amount of arsenic in drinking water, to curb dangerous pesticides and to clean the air of pollution from on-road diesel engines.

Internationally, we are building a more peaceful and open world. Our relationship with China is maturing. There will be areas where we can agree, like trade; and areas where we won't agree -- Taiwan, human rights, religious liberty. And where we disagree, I will speak frankly.

But it's just as important for us to listen as it is to speak. A week ago, I attended the Summit of the Americas in Quebec City, where I met with the democratically-elected leaders of Canada, Mexico, Central and South America and the Caribbean. We talked about how we can handle common challenges -- everything from education and the environment to drugs, energy and trade. I said my piece, and I listened, as well. That's how good neighbors behave.

In nearly 100 days, we have made a good start. But it's only a start. On a number of important issues we have laid the foundation for progress. Now we need to turn a good start and good spirit into good laws. And I urge the Congress to join me in seizing the opportunities of the next 100 days and beyond.

Thank you for listening.

RA – 15 September 2001

Good morning. This weekend I am engaged in extensive sessions with members of my National Security Council, as we plan a comprehensive assault on terrorism. This will be a different kind of conflict against a different kind of enemy.

This is a conflict without battlefields or beachheads, a conflict with opponents who believe they are invisible. Yet, they are mistaken. They will be exposed, and they will discover what others in the past have learned: Those who make war against the United States have chosen their own destruction. Victory against terrorism will not take place in a single battle, but in a series of decisive actions against terrorist organizations and those who harbor and support them.

We are planning a broad and sustained campaign to secure our country and eradicate the evil of terrorism. And we are determined to see this conflict through. Americans of every faith and background are committed to this goal.

Yesterday I visited the site of the destruction in New York City and saw an amazing spirit of sacrifice and patriotism and defiance. I met with rescuers who have worked past exhaustion, who cheered for our country and the great cause we have entered.

In Washington, D.C., the political parties and both Houses of Congress have shown a remarkable unity, and I'm deeply grateful. A terrorist attack designed to tear us apart has instead bound us together as a nation. Over the past few days, we have learned much about American courage -- the courage of firefighters and police officers who suffered so great a loss, the courage of passengers aboard United 93 who may well have fought with the hijackers and saved many lives on the ground.

Now we honor those who died, and prepare to respond to these attacks on our nation. I will not settle for a token act. Our response must be sweeping, sustained and effective. We have much do to, and much to ask of the American people.

You will be asked for your patience; for, the conflict will not be short. You will be asked for resolve; for, the conflict will not be easy. You will be asked for your strength, because the course to victory may be long.

In the past week, we have seen the American people at their very best everywhere in America. Citizens have come together to pray, to give blood, to fly our country's flag. Americans are coming together to share their grief and gain strength from one another.

Great tragedy has come to us, and we are meeting it with the best that is in our country, with courage and concern for others. Because this is America. This is who we are. This is what our enemies hate and have attacked. And this is why we will prevail.

Thank you for listening.

RA – 29 September 2001

Good morning. I want to report to you on the progress being made on many fronts in our war against terrorism. This is a different kind of war, which we will

wage aggressively and methodically to disrupt and destroy terrorist activity.

In recent days, many members of our military have left their homes and families and begun moving into a place for missions to come. Thousands of Reservists have been called to active duty. Soldiers, sailors, airmen, Marines and Coast Guardmen are being deployed to points around the globe, ready to answer when their country calls. Our military families have accepted many hardships, and our nation is grateful for their willing service.

The men and women of the Armed Forces are united in their dedication to freedom and they will make us proud in the struggle against terrorism.

International cooperation is gaining momentum. This week, I met with the Prime Ministers of two of America's closest friends: Canada and Japan. Other countries, from Russia to Indonesia, are giving strong support as the war against terrorism moves forward. America is grateful to the nations that have cut off diplomatic ties with the Taliban regime in Afghanistan, which is sheltering terrorists.

The United States respects the people of Afghanistan and we are their largest provider of humanitarian aid. But we condemn the Taliban, and welcome the support of other nations in isolating that regime.

We have also launched a strike against the financial foundation of the global terror network. Our goal is to deny terrorists the money they need to carry our their plans. We began by identifying 27 terrorist organizations, terrorist leaders and foreign businesses and charities that support or front for terrorism.

We froze whatever assets they had here in the United States, and we blocked them from doing business with people, companies or banks in our country. Many governments and financial institutions around the world are joining in this effort to starve terrorists of funding.

This week I visited the headquarters at the FBI and the CIA. Their agents and analysts have been on the case around the clock, uncovering and pursuing the enemy. In the long campaign ahead, they will need our continued support, and every necessary tool to do their work.

I'm asking Congress for new law enforcement authority, to better track the communications of terrorists, and to detain suspected terrorists until the moment they are deported. I will also seek more funding and better technology for our country's intelligence community.

This week, we also took strong steps to improve security on planes and in airports, and to restore confidence in air travel. We're providing airlines with federal grants to make cockpits more secure through measures including fortified doors and stronger locks. And we're dramatically increasing the number of federal air marshals on our planes.

Americans will have the confidence of knowing that fully equipped officers of the law are flying with them in far greater numbers. I'm also working with Congress to put federal law enforcement in charge of all bag and passenger screening at our airports. Standards will be tougher and enforced by highly trained professionals who know exactly what they're looking for. To enhance safety immediately, I've asked governors to place National Guardsmen at security checkpoints in airports.

As all these actions make clear, our war on terror will be much broader than the battlefields and beachheads of the past. This war will be fought wherever terrorists hide, or run, or plan. Some victories will be won outside of public view, in tragedies avoided and threats eliminated. Other victories will be clear to all.

Our weapons are military and diplomatic, financial and legal. And in this struggle, our greatest advantages are the patience and resolve of the American people.

We did not seek this conflict, but we will win it. America will act deliberately and decisively, and the cause of freedom will prevail. Thank you for listening.

RA – 14 September 2002

Good morning. Today I'm meeting with Italian Prime Minister Silvio Berlusconi about the growing danger posed by Saddam Hussein's regime in Iraq, and the unique opportunity the U.N. Security Council has to confront it.

I appreciate the Prime Minister's public support for effective international action to deal with this danger. The Italian Prime Minister joins other concerned world leaders who have called on the world to act. Among them, Prime Minister Blair of Great Britain, Prime Minister Aznar of Spain, President Kwasniewski of Poland. These leaders have reached the same conclusion I have -- that Saddam Hussein has made the case against himself.

He has broken every pledge he made to the United Nations and the world since his invasion of Kuwait was rolled back in 1991. Sixteen times the United Nations Security Council has passed resolutions designed to ensure that Iraq does not pose a threat to international peace and security. Saddam Hussein has violated every one of these 16 resolutions -- not once, but many times.

Saddam Hussein's regime continues to support terrorist groups and to oppress its civilian population. It refuses to account for missing Gulf War personnel, or to end illicit trade outside the U.N.'s oil-for-food program. And although the regime agreed in 1991 to destroy and stop developing all weapons of mass destruction and long-range missiles, it has broken every aspect of this fundamental pledge.

Today this regime likely maintains stockpiles of chemical and biological agents, and is improving and expanding facilities capable of producing chemical and biological weapons. Today Saddam Hussein has the

scientists and infrastructure for a nuclear weapons program, and has illicitly sought to purchase the equipment needed to enrich uranium for a nuclear weapon. Should his regime acquire fissile material, it would be able to build a nuclear weapon within a year.

The former head of the U.N. team investigating Iraq's weapons of mass destruction program, Richard Butler, reached this conclusion after years of experience: "The fundamental problem with Iraq remains the nature of the regime itself. Saddam Hussein is a homicidal dictator who is addicted to weapons of mass destruction."

By supporting terrorist groups, repressing its own people and pursuing weapons of mass destruction in defiance of a decade of U.N. resolutions, Saddam Hussein's regime has proven itself 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.

Saddam Hussein's defiance has confronted the United Nations with 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 purposes of its founding, or will it be irrelevant?

As the United Nations prepares an effective response to Iraq's defense, I also welcome next week's congressional hearings on the threats Saddam Hussein's brutal regime poses to our country and the entire world. Congress must make it unmistakably clear that when it comes to confronting the growing danger posed by Iraq's efforts to develop or acquire weapons of mass destruction, the status quo is totally unacceptable.

The issue is straightforward: We must choose between a world of fear, or a world of progress. We must stand up for our security and for the demands of human dignity. By heritage and choice, the United States will make that stand. The world community must do so, as well.

Thank you for listening.

RA – 1 March 2003

Good morning. America is determined to enforce the demands of the United Nations Security Council by confronting the grave and growing danger of Saddam Hussein and his weapons of mass destruction. This dictator will not be allowed to intimidate and blackmail the civilized world, or to supply his terrible weapons to terrorist groups, who would not hesitate to use them against us. The safety of the American people depends on ending this threat.

But America's cause is always larger than America's security. We also stand for the advance of freedom and opportunity and hope. The lives and freedom of the Iraqi people matter little to Saddam Hussein, but they matter greatly to us.

Saddam Hussein has a long history of brutal crimes, especially in time of war -- even against his own citizens. If conflict comes, he could target civilians or place them inside military facilities. He could encourage ethnic violence. He could destroy natural resources. Or, worst of all, he could use his weapons of mass destruction.

In order to minimize the suffering of Iraq's people, the United States and our coalition partners stand ready to provide vital help. We will deliver medicine to the sick, and make sure that Iraq's 55,000 food distribution sites, operating with supplies from the oil-for-food program, are stocked and open as soon a possible. We are stockpiling relief supplies, such as blankets and water containers, for one million people. We are moving into place nearly three million emergency rations to feed the hungry. The United States and Great Britain are providing tens of millions of dollars to the U.N. High Commissioner for Refugees, and to such groups as the World Food Program and UNICEF, so they will be ready 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. And we will seek to protect Iraq's natural resources from sabotage by a dying regime, and ensure they are used for the benefit of Iraq's own 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 World War II. After defeating enemies, we did not leave behind occupying armies; we left constitutions and parliaments. We did not leave behind permanent foes; we found new friends and allies.

There was a time when many said that the cultures of Japan and Germany were incapable of sustaining democratic values. They were wrong. Some say the same of Iraq today. They, too, 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.

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. Yet the security of our nation and the hopes 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.

Thank you for listening.

RA – 15 March 03

Good morning. This weekend marks a bitter anniversary for the people of Iraq. Fifteen years ago, Saddam Hussein's regime ordered a chemical weapons attack on a village in Iraq called Halabja. With that single order, the regime killed thousands of Iraq's Kurdish citizens. Whole families died while trying to flee clouds of nerve and mustard agents descending from the sky. Many who managed to survive still suffer from cancer, blindness, respiratory diseases, miscarriages, and severe birth defects among their children.

The chemical attack on Halabja -- just one of 40 targeted at Iraq's own people -- provided a glimpse of the crimes Saddam Hussein is willing to commit, and the kind of threat he now presents to the entire world. He is among history's cruelest dictators, and he is arming himself with the world's most terrible weapons.

Recognizing this threat, the United Nations Security Council demanded that Saddam Hussein give up all his weapons of mass destruction as a condition for ending the Gulf War 12 years ago. The Security Council has repeated this demand numerous times and warned that Iraq faces serious consequences if it fails to comply. Iraq has responded with defiance, delay and deception.

The United States, Great Britain and Spain continue to work with fellow members of the U.N. Security Council to confront this common danger. We have seen far too many instances in the past decade -- from Bosnia, to Rwanda, to Kosovo -- where the failure of the Security Council to act decisively has led to tragedy. And we must recognize that some threats are so grave -- and their potential consequences so terrible -- that they must be removed, even if it requires military force.

As diplomatic efforts continue, we must never lose sight of the basic facts about the regime of Baghdad.

We know from recent history that Saddam Hussein is a reckless dictator who has twice invaded his neighbors without provocation -- wars that led to death and suffering on a massive scale. We know from human rights groups that dissidents in Iraq are tortured, imprisoned and sometimes just disappear; their hands, feet and tongues are cut off; their eyes are gouged out; and female relatives are raped in their presence.

As the Nobel laureate and Holocaust survivor, Elie Wiesel, said this week, "We have a moral obligation to intervene where evil is in control. Today, that place is Iraq."

We know from prior weapons inspections that Saddam has failed to account for vast quantities of biological and chemical agents, including mustard agent, botulinum toxin and sarin, capable of killing millions of people. We know the Iraqi regime finances and sponsors terror. And we know the regime has plans to place innocent people around military installations to act as human shields.

There is little reason to hope that Saddam Hussein will disarm. If force is required to disarm him, the American people can know that our armed forces have been given every tool and every resource to achieve victory. The people of Iraq can know that every effort will be made to spare innocent life, and to help Iraq recover from three decades of totalitarian rule. And plans are in place to provide Iraqis with massive amounts of food, as well as medicine and other essential supplies, in the event of hostilities.

Crucial days lie ahead for the free nations of the world. Governments are now showing whether their stated commitments to liberty and security are words alone -- or convictions they're prepared to act upon. And for the government of the United States and the coalition we lead, there is no doubt: we will confront a growing danger, to protect ourselves, to remove a patron and protector of terror, and to keep the peace of the world.

Thank you for listening.

RA – 23 August 2003

Good morning. Earlier this week, terrorists struck the United Nations headquarters in Baghdad. The U.N. personnel and Iraqi citizens killed in the bombings were engaged in a purely humanitarian mission. Men and women in the building were working on reconstruction, medical care for Iraqis, and the distribution of food. Among the dead was Sergio Vieira de Mello, the U.N. representative for Iraq -- a good man serving an important cause.

On the same day, a terrorist in Jerusalem murdered 20 innocent people riding a bus, including five Americans. The killer had concealed under his clothing a bomb filled with metal fragments, designed to kill and injure the greatest number of people possible. Among the 110 people hurt were 40 children.

These two bombings reveal, once again, the nature of the terrorists, and why they must be defeated. In their malicious view of the world, no one is innocent. Relief workers and infants alike are targeted for murder. Terrorism may use religion as a disguise, but terrorism violates every religion and every standard of decency and morality.

The terrorists have declared war on every free nation and all our citizens. Their goals are clear. They want more governments to resemble the oppressive Taliban that once ruled Afghanistan. Terrorists commit atrocities because they want the civilized world to flinch and retreat so they can impose their totalitarian vision. There will be no flinching in this war on terror, and there will be no retreat.

From Afghanistan to Iraq, to the Philippines and elsewhere, we are waging a campaign against the terrorists and their allies, wherever they gather, wherever they plan, and wherever they act. This campaign requires sacrifice, determination and resolve, and we will see it through. Iraq is an essential front in this war. Now we're fighting terrorists and remnants of that regime who have everything to lose from the advance of freedom in the heart of the Middle East.

In most of Iraq, there is steady movement toward reconstruction and a stable, self-governing society. This progress makes the remaining terrorists even more desperate and willing to lash out against symbols

of order and hope, like coalition forces and U.N. personnel. The world will not be intimidated. A violent few will not determine the future of Iraq, and there will be no return to the days of Saddam Hussein's torture chambers and mass graves.

Working with Iraqis, coalition forces are on the offensive against these killers. Aided by increasing flow of intelligence from ordinary Iraqis, we are stepping up raids, seizing enemy weapons, and capturing enemy leaders. The United States, the United Nations, and the civilized world will continue to stand with the people of Iraq as they reclaim their nation and their future.

We're determined, as well, not to let murderers decide the future of the Middle East. A Palestinian state will never be built on a foundation of violence. The hopes of that state and the security of Israel both depend on an unrelenting campaign against terror waged by all parties in the region. In the Middle East, true peace has deadly enemies. Yet America will be a consistent friend of every leader who works for peace by actively opposing violence.

All nations of the world face a challenge and a choice. In continued acts of murder and destruction, terrorists are testing our will, hoping we will weaken and withdraw. Yet across the world, they are finding that our will cannot be shaken. Whatever the hardships, we will persevere. We will continue this war on terror until all the killers are brought to justice. And we will prevail.

Thank you for listening.

RA – 27 September 2003

Good morning. Earlier this week, I spoke to the United Nations -- which has become, like our country, a target of terrorism. In the past month, terrorists have made two bombing attacks on the U.N. headquarters in Baghdad, killing Iraqi citizens, U.N. officials, and international aid workers. On Tuesday, I conveyed the sympathy of our country for the losses of the U.N., and the gratitude of our country for the relief efforts of the U.N. in Iraq. I also expressed America's determination to fight and win the war on terror -- for the safety of our own people and for the benefit of all mankind.

The world is safer today because, in Afghanistan, our broad coalition destroyed the training camps of terrorists and removed the brutal regime that sponsored terror. The world is safer today because we continue to hunt down al Qaeda and its terrorist allies, and have captured or killed nearly two-thirds of al Qaeda's known leaders and key facilitators. The world is safer today because, in Iraq, our coalition ended a regime that cultivated ties to terror while it built weapons of mass destruction. And for the safety of the people of Iraq and of all free nations, our forces are now conducting a systematic campaign to defeat holdouts of the old regime and other terrorists who have joined them.

In the struggle between terrorist killers and peaceful nations, there is no neutral ground. All nations must join in confronting this threat where it arises -- before the terrorists can inflict even greater harm and

suffering. And all nations should stand with the people of Afghanistan and Iraq as they build a future based on freedom and democracy.

Our coalition is helping the Iraqi people to build a secure, hopeful, and self-governing nation which will stand as an example of freedom to all the Middle East. We are rebuilding more than a thousand schools, supplying and reopening hospitals, rehabilitating power plants, water and sanitation facilities, bridges and airports. We are training Iraqi police, border guards, and a new army, so that the Iraqi people can assume full responsibility for their own security. Iraq now has its own Governing Council, has appointed interim government ministries, and is moving toward elections. Iraq's new leaders are showing the openness and tolerance that democracy requires -- and also the courage. Yet every young democracy needs the help of friends. America is providing that help to Iraq, and all nations of goodwill should do their part, as well.

Our goal is a free Iraq, where the Iraqi people are responsible for their own affairs. We want Iraq's governmental institutions to be strong, and to stand the test of time. So I called on the United Nations to take up vital responsibilities in this effort. America is now working with friends and allies on a new Security Council resolution which will expand the U.N.'s role in Iraq. As in the aftermath of other conflicts, the United Nations should assist in developing a constitution, training civil servants, and conducting free and fair elections. Many U.N. members -- from the Philippines to Poland and now Germany -- have expressed their commitment to helping build a democratic and stable Iraq.

The stakes in Iraq are high, for the Middle East and beyond. If freedom and progress falter in the Middle East, that region will continue to export violence that takes lives in America and around the world. If democracy and tolerance and peace advance in that region, it will undermine the bitterness and resentment that feed terrorism. The terrorists understand this -- so they have chosen to fight against order and liberty in Iraq. They must, and they will, be defeated. And I am confident that more nations will rally to the side of the Iraqi people and help them to build a free and peaceful nation.

Thank you for listening.

Bill Clintons's Radio Addresses

Included on attached CD-ROM

George W. Bush's Speech Before Congress, 21 September 2001

Mr. Speaker, Mr. President pro tem, 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 welcome his wife, Lisa Beamer, here tonight.

We have seen the state of our union in the endurance of rescuers working past exhaustion. We've 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. I'm so honored the British prime minister has crossed an ocean to show his unity with America. Thank you for coming, friend.

On Sept. 11, 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 some of the murderers indicted for bombing American Embassies in Tanzania and Kenya, and responsible for bombing the U.S.S. 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 radicalbeliefs 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 teaching of Islam. The terrorists' directive commands them to kill Christians and
Jews, to kill all Americans and make no distinctions 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 they 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're 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, 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.

Now, this war will not be like the war against Iraq a decade ago, with the 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're 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. 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 F.B.I. 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 service 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're 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 ofinformation - libertyunites.org - to find the names of groups providing direct help in New York, Pennsylvania and Virginia. The thousands of F.B.I. 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 Sept. 11 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 to find them before they strike. We will come together to take active steps to 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: Gov. 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 the 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, will 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. It is my reminder of lives that ended and a task that does not end.

I will not forget the wound to our country and 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. Thank you.