

THE PEOPLE'S DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF ALGERIA  
MINISTRY OF HIGHER EDUCATION AND SCIENTIFIC RESEARCH  
ABDERRAHMANE MIRA UNIVERSITY OF BEJAIA  
FACULTY OF ARTS AND LANGUAGES  
DEPARTMENT OF ENGLISH



**George W. Bush “Global War on Terror” Speech:  
A Critical Discourse Analysis**

A Dissertation Submitted in Partial Fulfilment of the  
Requirements for a **Master's Degree in Linguistics**

**Candidates:**

Miss. Amel Madani  
Miss. Radia Isddiken

**Supervisor:**

Assist. Prof. Sofiane Mammeri

**Academic Year: 2018 / 2019**



## **Dedication**

During the realisation of this work, I am sincerely thankful to many persons to whom I owe a great debt of gratitude and respect. And no words can be enough to describe my immense thankfulness and appreciation.

I dedicate this work to my parents who were the first who supported me during my entire life. Their precious words, encouragement, devotion and their psychological help made me strong to follow the research process.

My sweet lovely sister **Kahina** who is always creating an atmosphere of enjoyment and always providing me with a comfortable atmosphere and motivates me to carry on my research process; her love pushes me to succeed.

My dearest brothers **Meziane** and **Bilal** who are always giving me help and courage to succeed and never lose hope and they help me to be self-confident. I am really thankful for having them in my life.

My adorable cousin **Ahmed** who never lets me alone and always supports me and gives me the courage to carry on and succeed throughout my studies and in my research.

My whole family who were motivating me and supporting me from my first steps in research by pushing me to carry on until I succeed.

My best friend **Sylia** who is an amazing and precious gift from Allah; she is the one whom I can rely on for everything. She is a wonderful person who is supporting me in all domains.

My lovely friend **Radia** whom I will never forget and I will never regret knowing her. She is a golden person with whom I shared beautiful moments at University and during our joint research.

Finally, I dedicate this thesis to all my friends and every single person who supported me throughout the whole process.

*Amel*



## **Dedication**

Every challenging work needs self efforts as well as guidance of elders especially those who were very close to my heart. I am really grateful to dedicate my thesis to all people who offered me with unwavering support during my studies.

I dedicate my research work to my beloved parents who have always been a source of my inspiration to go along with my research study. Besides, their love, encouragement and prayers make me able to get such success in undertaking my higher studies and facing the eventualities of life with enthusiasm.

I also dedicate this work to my lovely sisters **Nora, Sabrina, Soria, and Naima** who play an important role during my personal life and my studies. They provide me with precious pieces of advice and a great support in producing my thesis. I am strongly appreciating their sincerity and motivation that helped me to complete my research work.

My adorable brothers **Zahir, Sofiane, Morad, Makhlouf and Mustapha** who have never left my side especially with their words of encouragement that pushed me to be more confident in what I do. I am immensely grateful to have them in my life.

And, to my dearest fiancé **Mohamed** who gives me much interests and who always provides me with an immense support in every academic and personal endeavour in my life. Moreover, he is the one who gives me the courage to never give up and go along with my thesis. His encouragement and support have inspired me to finish this research.

Besides, my best friends **Nadia, Khelidja, and Samra** who are always by my side especially during my research work. They create an atmosphere full of enjoyment which helps me to be more relaxed and comfortable. I really appreciate their presence in my life and to all the beautiful moments we share together. Accordingly, I dedicate my thesis to all my friends who support me during my research study.

Finally, I dedicate this thesis to sweetest friend **Amel** who I truly appreciate and respect. I am so grateful to know her and to have this precious opportunity to work with her. She is a unique person with a beautiful smile that brings motivation during our research work.

***Radia***



## **Acknowledgement**

There are times when silence speaks so much more loudly than words of praise to only as good as belittle a person, whose words do not express, but only put a veneer over true feelings which are gratitude at this point of time.

First and foremost, we are truly appreciative and grateful to Allah who provided us with enough patience and health to complete our research study successfully.

We would like to express our sincere gratitude to our supervisor, Mr. Sofiane Mammeri, for his continuous support, motivation, and immense Knowledge. Moreover, we would like to thank him for his insightful comments, encouragement and guidance that helped us all the time to our research and writing of this thesis. We are immensely appreciating his support which was helping us to conduct this research.

In addition to our supervisor, we would like to express our special thanks of gratitude and respect to our examiner Miss. Soraya Arib and the chair of the examining committee Mr. Belkacem Outemzabet, as well as all our teachers in the department of English.

We must express our very profound gratitude to our parents for their love, prayers and for supporting and encouraging us spiritually throughout writing this thesis. This accomplishment would not have been possible without them.

Also, a special thank to our friends, we would like to thank them a lot for all the beautiful moments we shared together. They helped us a lot in many ways and encouraged us to go further in our thesis. Thus, this is what we are most grateful for.

Finally, we would like to express our deep and sincere gratitude to everyone who supported and encouraged us to finish our research paper. We are thankful to everyone for the keen interest shown to complete this thesis successfully; and for their dynamism, sincerity and motivation that have deeply inspired us to work harder in our research thesis.

## Abstract

On September the 05th, 2006, at Washington D.C., “*Global War on Terror*” speech was delivered by the American president George W. Bush. In this speech, Bush seeks to remind the American nation about the 9/11 events. The present study tackles the ideological strategies embedded in his discourse relying on Van Dijk Model (2006). The aim of this study is to find out the ideological strategies through shedding light on different discursive strategies mainly positive self-presentation and negative other-presentation strategies found in Van Dijk Model (2006). The results reveal that those ideological strategies are well expressed in Bush’s discourse. Besides, Bush uses polarization in his use of “US” vs. “THEM”. Moreover, the results reveal that Van Dijk Model is suitable and applicable for the analysis of this speech since our assumptions are accepted and confirmed. To conclude, we observed that Bush uses more negative terms to express his conservative ideology towards his enemies. Accordingly, Bush’s speech is mainly featured by social inclusion and exclusion, battle, conservatism and humanism. Then, we made an overview of the logic of Islamophobia since Bush mentioned Islam as a religion and the fear of Americans towards Extremist Muslims. Thus, we contributed to the study by examining Islamophobia in our present study.

**Key Words:** Critical Discourse Analysis, Ideology, Van Dijk Model (2006), George W. Bush, Global War on Terror, Islamophobia.

## Table of Contents

Dedication.....	I
Acknowledgements.....	III
Abstract.....	IV
Table of Content.....	V
List of Abbreviations.....	VIII
List of Figures.....	VIII
List of Tables.....	VIII
<b>General Introduction.....</b>	<b>01</b>
1. Statement of the Problem.....	01
2. Questions of the Study.....	02
3. Assumptions of the Study.....	02
4. Purpose of the Study.....	02
5. Significance of the Study.....	03
6. Organization of the Study.....	03
<b>Chapter One: Theoretical Background.....</b>	<b>04</b>
<b>Introduction.....</b>	<b>04</b>
<b>Section One: Introducing Discourse Studies.....</b>	<b>04</b>
1.1. What is Discourse Analysis? .....	04
1.2. Elements of Discourse Analysis.....	06
1.3. Ideology and Political Discourse.....	11
1.4. Socio-cognitive Discourse Studies.....	12
1.5. Media Discourse and Terrorism.....	13
<b>Section Two: Critical Discourse Analysis &amp; Presidential Speeches.....</b>	<b>15</b>
1.6. What is Critical Discourse Analysis? .....	15
1.7. The Origins of Critical Discourse Analysis.....	19
1.8. Critical Discourse Analysis & Politics.....	20
1.9. Pragmatics & Critical Discourse Analysis.....	21

1.10 A Theoretical Framework for the Critical Discourse of Ideologically Driven Discourses.....	23
1.11. Literature Review.....	27
<b>Section Three: Introducing the Theoretical Model of Our Study.....</b>	<b>32</b>
1.12. Van Dijk Life & Works.....	32
1.13. Van Dijk Socio-cognitive Interpretation of Context.....	33
1.14. Summary of Van Dijk Model (2006).....	34
<b>Conclusion.....</b>	<b>37</b>
<b>Chapter Two: Research Methods, Analysis, &amp; Discussion of the Findings</b>	
<b>Introduction.....</b>	<b>38</b>
<b>Section One: Research Methods.....</b>	<b>38</b>
2.1. Research Methods.....	38
2.2. Text (Corpus) of the Study.....	39
2.3. Data Analysis Procedures.....	39
<b>Section Two: Analysis &amp; Discussion of the Findings.....</b>	<b>40</b>
2.2.1. Positive Self-Presentation in Bush’s Discourse.....	42
2.2.1.1. Meaning Level.....	43
2.2.1.2. Form Level.....	46
2.2.1.3. Action Level.....	49
2.2.2. Negative Other-Presentation in Bush’s Discourse.....	50
2.2.2.1. Meaning Level.....	50
2.2.2.2. Form Level.....	54
2.2.2.3. Action Level.....	55
2.3. Personal and Possessive Pronouns.....	56
2.4. The Logic of Islamophobia.....	57
2.4.1. Dimensions of Islamophobia.....	59
2.4.1.1. Private Islamophobia.....	59

2.4.1.2. Structural Islamophobia.....	59
2.4.1.3. Dialectal Islamophobia.....	60
<b>Section Three: Conclusions, Limitations, and Suggestions for Further Research.....</b>	<b>63</b>
2.5. Conclusions of the Study.....	63
2.6. Limitations of the Study.....	65
2.7. Suggestions for Further Research.....	65
<b>Conclusion.....</b>	<b>66</b>
<b>General Conclusion.....</b>	<b>67</b>
<b>References.....</b>	<b>68</b>
<b>Abstract in French (Résumé).....</b>	<b>73</b>
<b>Abstract in Tamazight (Agzul).....</b>	<b>74</b>
<b>Appendix 01: A Short Biography of George W. Bush.....</b>	<b>75</b>
<b>Appendix 02: The Script of President George W. Bush Discusses GLOBAL WAR ON TERROR.....</b>	<b>76</b>

## List of Abbreviations

- DA** : Discourse Analysis
- CL**: Critical Linguistics
- CDA** : Critical Discourse Analysis
- SFL**: Systematic Functional Linguistics
- SCDS**: Socio-Cognitive Discourse Studies
- U.S.** : United States
- 9/11**: September 11<sup>th</sup>, 2001
- 3D**: Three Dimensional
- §**: Paragraph

## List of Figures

- Figure 01** : Elements of Discourse Analysis.....10
- Figure 02** : Fairclough Framework (1995).....24
- Figure 03**: An Adopted Version of Van Dijk Model (2006) of Analysis.....35

## List of Tables

- Table 01**: Van Dijk (1997) Categories of CDA Studies.....25
- Table 02**: Elements of Leeuwen (1996) Framework.....27
- Table 03**: Van Dijk's Ideological Square (1998).....34
- Table 04**: The Positive Terms Frequency used by Bush.....46
- Table 05**: The Negative Terms Frequency used by Bush.....53
- Table 06**: Frequency of Occurrence of Personal Pronouns.....57
- Table 07**: Frequency of Occurrence of Possessive Pronouns.....57



## General Introduction

A good politician is the one who knows how to use political language in order to deliver his message to his listeners and readers in an effective way. This language can be considered as a powerful tool that can be used to gain support in need and in moments of crisis. This research paper is an attempt to use Critical Discourse Analysis as a tool to study President W. Bush's speech "*Global War on Terror*" which was delivered on September 5<sup>th</sup>, 2006 in Washington, D.C. Noteworthy, this speech is taken from the "White House Archive".

Accordingly, this discourse analytical study did not rise at random since it seeks to answer many significant research questions that we have mentioned just below. The present study is not a political analysis of Bush's achievement or career as a president. We believe that there are more qualified experts to do so. Yet, this paper employs Critical Discourse Analysis focusing on the subject of terrorism. Hence, in simple terms, Terrorism is the threat or use of violence for political, religious or ideological purposes designed to influence the attitudes and behaviour of a group or to achieve objectives that are otherwise unattainable (Turner, Switzer and Redden, 1996).

Although speeches on terrorism have been part of the American politics for a long time now, they seem to become more popular with ex-presidents Bush and Obama, since 2001, as a result of the 9/11 attacks on the World Trade Centre in New York, seeing itself as probably the freest, decent and most powerful society in existence (D'Souza, 2006).

In our research study, we attempt to critically analyze George W. Bush "*Global War on Terror*" speech from a Critical Discourse Analysis perspective. To do so, we have adopted an analytical framework which is the Van Dijk Model (2006). Hence, we have selected this model since our main objective is not only to observe the linguistic features of Bush's speech, but also to pinpoint the main ideological strategies used. Besides, we have chosen to use Van Dijk Model since it goes with Critical Discourse Analysis which is a multi-disciplinary approach. Accordingly, we believe that this approach provided us with a clear perception of how to proceed with an eye to analyse Bush's political speech.

### 1. Statement of the Problem

Recently, a large number of scholars and researchers have made contributions in the field of critical discourse analysis. They have been conducting them in order to analyze political speeches from different perspectives. Each research work attempts to analyze

different aspects. Thus, our interest fell on analyzing one of the presidential speeches of George W. Bush that discusses “*Global War on Terror*” with an eye to understand how he uses language to defend and argument his ideologies through his linguistic, political opinions and ideological background as expressed in his speech. Also, to persuade his audience and make them believe in his ideas. Hence, our study’s main objective is to critically analyze the presidential speech “*Global War on Terror*” delivered by the American president George W. Bush. As researchers in Linguistics, we attempt to investigate the discourse and the ideological strategies found in the speech.

## **2. Questions of the Study**

The present study attempts to answer the following questions:

- What are the main ideological strategies used by Bush in his *Global War on Terror*’s speech?
- Can the elements of Van Dijk Model be applied to critically analyze the speech?
- How does George W. Bush imply Islamophobia in his speech and how it is discussed throughout the speech?

## **3. Assumptions of the Study**

In our research, we have asked three crucial and basic questions which constitute the core of our research. We have tried to suggest pre-answers. But, it is very important to know that these assumptions can be true or false. In other words, the results of our study will show whether our assumptions are true or false. Accordingly, here are the assumptions of our study:

- First of all, we believe that Bush used several ideological strategies.
- Second, we suppose that Van Dijk Model (2006) can be applied to critically analyze Bush’s speech.
- Third, we assume that George W. Bush refers to Islamophobia as the fear of Islam. However, we also assume that he logically distinguished between al-Qaeda terrorists and straight friendly Muslims.

## **4. Purpose of the Study**

A politician should have the ability to use the power of words while delivering his message to convince his audience. This ability comes through the use of political discourse, rhetoric, and skilful language that impresses and inspires the audience and wins their trust.

This is why language is considered as a bridge between people. Accordingly, our research is concerned with the ideology and investigates the ideological strategies embedded in the discourse delivered by the president George W. Bush. Besides, it aims to sort out how Bush distinguished between al-Qaeda terrorists and friendly straight Muslims in the logic of Islamophobia.

## **5. Significance of the Study**

This research paper is significant for the following reasons:

First, the speech under study suits the framework of critical discourse analysis. Second, to the best of our knowledge, there is no previous attempt to analyze “*Global War on Terror*” speech using Van Dijk Model (2006). Third, the findings of the research showed the ideological strategies that feature Bush’s speech. Fourth, we attempted to show how Bush refers to Islamophobia throughout his speech.

## **6. Organization of the Thesis**

The present study is divided into two chapters which are the theoretical chapter and the practical chapter. These chapters are preceded by a general introduction and followed by a general conclusion. First of all, we started our research study with an introduction to explain the subject of our thesis and the main points we wanted to investigate and the main objective we wanted to reach. Then, the first chapter is further divided into three sections. The first section deals with Discourse Studies in general; the second section deals with Critical Discourse Analysis in particular since our research work is based on CDA perspective. Hence, this section is followed by a selection of some previous studies which is all about the literature review. The third section presents a summary of the analytical framework of Van Dijk Model (2006) that we adopted to analyze the corpus of our study. Moreover, the second chapter is also further divided into three main sections. The first one deals with research methods that we selected in order to analyze our corpus; thus, it is a mixed-method. The second section deals with the analysis and discussion of the findings relying on the Van Dijk Model (2006). In addition to this, our own contribution to the research consists of making reference to the logic of Islamophobia. The third section summarized all the results of our research study in the conclusions, limitations and suggestions for further research. Finally, we have a general conclusion which summarizes the whole thesis.

# Chapter One

## Theoretical Background

This chapter is concerned with the important aspects of the theoretical background of our study. It is divided into three main sections that explore several points respectively related to discourse analysis, critical discourse analysis, and Van Dijk Model (2006). In the first section, we introduce discourse analysis as our field of research. In the second one, we define and explore Critical Discourse Analysis (henceforth, CDA) because our present analytical study focuses firmly on Bush's ideological strategies. Finally, in the third section, we introduce Van Dijk Model (2006) of CDA that we want to apply in the analysis of Bush's selected speech.

### Section One: Introducing Discourse Studies

In this section, we focus mainly on introducing Discourse Analysis. Yet, we want to develop different important ideas related to this field of research. Thus, these significant ideas can sufficiently help the reader understand our research work.

#### 1.1 What is Discourse Analysis?

In the following section, and all along this thesis, we will see the term discourse used several times. But what does it mean? The term discourse analysis has in recent decades penetrated many disciplines. It was first introduced by Zellig Harris in 1952, as a way of defining the study of connected written and spoken language (Paltridge, 2012). According to Duszak and Fairclough (2008), the field of Discourse Analysis (DA) is a relatively new one within the wider academic discipline of linguistics. Recently, it is a separate field in itself; it owes a lot to those linguists and researchers who lead to the current development of discourse analysis.

At its base, Discourse Analysis is the academic study of language as a form of social interaction. As such, DA is cross-disciplinary and, as Johnstone (2002) notes, DA researchers may situate their work within linguistic departments or other departments in the humanities and social sciences. Similarly, their research questions may be linguistic or socio-cultural. Besides, many linguists from different scopes are concerned with identifying regularities and patterns of language. However, in the case of discourse analysts, as Nunan 1993 asserts, "*the*

*ultimate aim of discourse analysts is both to show and to interpret the relationship between these regularities and the meanings and purposes expressed through discourse”* (Nunan, 1993, p. 7).

To begin with, discourse analysis was primarily concerned with spoken language and the discipline does have its roots in the analysis of the spoken rather than written word. Accordingly, Crystal (1987, p.116) argues that discourse analysis is the study of ‘naturally occurring spoken language’ and this is placed in contrast to text analysis. In other words, discourse analysis is the interpretation of the spoken language with no reference to text analysis. However, Paltridge (2012) claims that discourse analysis deals with structures and patterns of language across texts, taking into consideration the social and cultural contexts in which they are used. In simple words, discourse analysis is concerned with the description of the spoken and the written language in relation to the context in which they are used. Similarly, Chimombo and Roseberry (1998) argue that the primary purpose of DA is to provide a deeper understanding and appreciation of texts and how they become meaningful to their users.

Schiffrin, Tannen, and Hamilton (2001) state that Discourse Analysis is a rapidly growing and evolving field. That is to say, it is defined differently in various fields and disciplines. Thus, Discourse studies are considered to be multidisciplinary, and therefore it can be said that they cross the linguistics borders into different and varied domains, as Van Dijk (2002) notes in the following passage cited in Alba-Juez (2009):

...Discourse analysis for me is essentially multidisciplinary and involves linguistics, poetics, semiotics, psychology, sociology, anthropology, history, and communication research. What I find crucial though is that precisely because of its multi-faceted nature, this multidisciplinary research should be integrated. We should devise theories that are complex and account both for the textual, the cognitive, the social, the political and the historical dimension of discourse. (Van Dijk, 2002, p. 10)

Furthermore, according to Nunan (1993), Discourse analysis involves the study of language in use. For him, the analysis of discourse involves the analysis of language in use. Moreover, discourse analysis is concerned with *“the study of the relationship between language and the contexts in which it is used”* (McCarthy, 1991, p. 5). In other words, discourse analysis implicates a relationship between language and the contexts with an eye to interpret and to comprehend language use within its specific context. As Brown and Yule (1983) explain, discourse analysis cannot be restricted to the description of linguistic

forms independent of the purposes or functions which those forms are designed to serve in human affairs.

According to what is mentioned above, we may notice that the notion of discourse analysis seems to be complex to define since it is considered as a multidisciplinary study. So, one may ask himself what does the word discourse mean by itself.

Etymologically, the word “discourse” dates back to the 14<sup>th</sup> century. It is taken from the Latin word “discursus” which means a “conversation” (McArthur, 1996). Besides, Van Dijk (1997c) points out that the term *discourse* is commonly used to refer to a particular form of language use (eg: public speeches) or more generally to spoken language or ways of speaking such as the discourse of former President Ronald Reagan. Simply, discourse is a form of language use. However, discourse analysts try to go deeper with such common-sense definition since it is still vague. Moreover, they added some other essential components in this concept, namely who uses language, how, why and when. (Van Dijk 1997c, p. 3)

According to Van Dijk (1997a, p.2), DA has three main dimensions: 1) language use, 2) the communication of beliefs (cognition), 3) and interaction in the social situations. So, the coexistence of these dimensions urges the necessity to analyze discourse from a multidisciplinary perspective.

## **1.2 Elements of Discourse Analysis**

In discourse analysis, there are different important concepts that give sense to texts, and build up a strong relationship between different units. Therefore, these concepts help all linguists from different disciplines to analyze the discourse whether it is spoken or written. As researchers in linguistics, and since our field of study is discourse analysis, we choose these following key elements: context, coherence, background knowledge, differences between spoken and written language.

### **1.2.1 Context**

There is no explicit theory of context since it is used by different scholars with a wide variety of meanings. However, this notion can be briefly defined by various linguists who proposed different viewpoints. From a practical point of view, Blommaert (2005, p. 251) proposes to define context as “*the totality of conditions under which discourse is being produced, circulated and interpreted.*” And for Jones (2004, p.25), he prefers to talk

about context as “*an individual’s environment of communicative possibilities.*” Some other linguists choose to define the context in a more specific point of view. For Van Dijk (1997) he takes context to be “*the mental models and representations speakers use to make their contribution appropriate to the situation in which they find themselves.*” He also defined it as the structure of all properties of the social situation that are relevant for the production or the reception of discourse (Van Dijk 1997, p.19). Moreover, he states that context plays an important role in the description and explanation of text and talk. That is, context helps both speakers and hearers determine the interpretation of discourse.

### **1.2.1.1 Types of Context**

From what we have said previously, it is obvious that context is an important element in discourse analysis. Accordingly, Nunan (1993, pp.7-8) claims that context refers to the situation giving rise to the discourse, and within which the discourse is embedded. According to him, there are two different types of context. The first of these is the linguistic context which is the language that surrounds or accompanies the piece of discourse under analysis. In other words, it means the analysis of language within context. The second is the non-linguistic or experiential context in which the discourse takes place. In simple words, it means the use of language in a specific situation. Moreover, it includes the type of communicative event such as joke, story, lecture, greeting or conversation; the topic; the purpose of the event; the setting including location, time of day, season of year and physical aspects of the situation; participants and the relationships between them; and the background knowledge and assumptions underlying the communicative event. (Nunan, 1993, p.7-8)

### **1.2.2 Coherence**

Coherence is considered as an important concept in discourse studies. It helps people to establish a sense of what they hear and read. That is, why they should have a deep look to its meaning and its importance that will help them to construct and interpret discourse, in a way to understand the conveyed meaning from any spoken or written discourse successfully. Hence, many linguists have different insights toward coherence, and they defined it differently. According to Van Dijk (1977, p. 96), coherence is “*a semantic property of discourse, based on the interpretation of each individual sentence relative to the interpretation of other sentences.*” That is, coherence is based on each meaning of the sentence which is related to meanings of other sentences. According to Crystal (1985, p. 53), coherence is “*the main principle of organization which is assumed to account for the*

*underlying functional connectedness of a piece of spoken or written language.*” That is to say, Crystal (1985) wanted to highlight that coherence is a useful concept in discourse analysis which helps to organize ideas to form connectedness in a successful manner. Another definition of coherence proposed by Reinhart (1980 as cited in Yuan Wang & Minghe Guo, 2014, pp. 460-465), coherence is composed of the semantic and grammatical connectedness between discourse and context. In simple words, Reinhart (1980 as cited in Yuan Wang & Minghe Guo, 2014, pp. 460-465) explained that coherence is the meaning and the structure that connect between discourse and context. Accordingly, he argues that coherence comprises three elements which are as follows: connectedness, consistency, and relevance.

- **Connectedness:** means that sentences in a text are interconnected with each other in semantics and grammar. Reinhart (1980 as cited in Yuan Wang & Minghe Guo, 2014, pp. 460-465)
- **Consistency:** refers to the fact that there is no contradiction between the propositions expressed by these sentences and they are true to a certain extent. Reinhart (1980 as cited in Yuan Wang & Minghe Guo, 2014, pp. 460-465)
- **Relevance:** means that a text should be related to the context, the sentences in a text should be related to each other and the sentences should all be related to the general topic of the text. Reinhart (1980 as cited in Yuan Wang & Minghe Guo, 2014, pp. 460-465)

Through Reinhart (1980 as cited in Yuan Wang & Minghe Guo, 2014, pp. 460-465) definition and according to the three elements that he developed, he stated that coherence is related to cohesion. Yet, cohesion is also an important concept in discourse analysis which enables people to a better understanding of the meaning that exists within the text. Accordingly, Halliday and Hasan (1976) explained in their book entitled *“Cohesion in English”* that *“this concept is a semantic one; it refers to relations of meaning that exist within the text, and that defines it as a text.”* In other words, a text is better conceived as a unit of meaning.

### **1.2.3 Background Knowledge**

Background knowledge means the ideas we know about the world, and that assist us in the interpretation of discourse (Nunan, 1993, p. 67). Besides, Nunan (1993) explains that

having background knowledge is truly important in understanding what is communicated. Accordingly, he stated:

Most native speakers have no trouble comprehending the grammatical structures and vocabulary items...Despite this, they have a great deal of trouble understanding what the text is all about, and even greater difficulty in providing an oral or written summary. (Nunan 1993, p. 68)

So, background knowledge needs to be taken into account since it helps us to interpret and comprehend discourse.

Also, Nunan (1993, p. 69) said that “*there is more to comprehending discourse than knowing the words.*” From this insight, attempts came to provide theoretical models which can help our knowledge of the world guides our efforts to comprehend discourse (Nunan, 1993). And among the theoretical models, there are two theories which are well known.

- **Frame Theory:** this theory suggests that human memory consists of sets of stereotypical situations, or ‘frames’, which are constructed out of our past experiences (Nunan, 1993). This means that this theory gives us a framework that helps us to make sense of new experiences.
- **Schema Theory:** it was coined since 1932 by the psychologist Bartlett in his classic study of how human memory works; it is like frame theory, but schema theory suggests that the knowledge we carry in our heads is organized into interrelated patterns (Nunan, 1993, p. 71). This means that this theory relies on our previous knowledge in which we call back to construct the new knowledge.

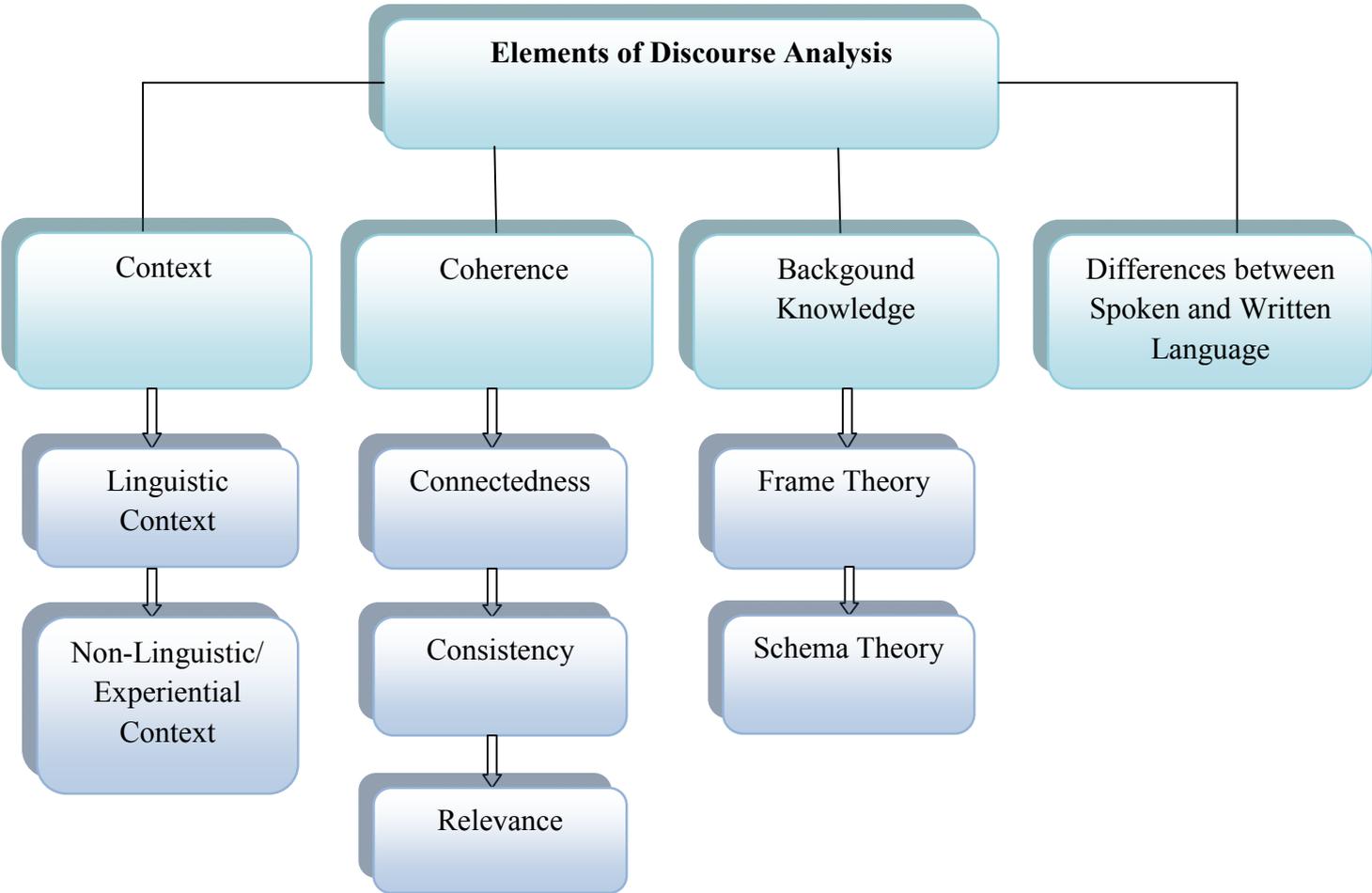
#### 1.2.4 Differences between Spoken and Written Language

We have chosen to speak about spoken and written language because they are essential in discourse and communication. This concept is studied by different linguists, among them Halliday (1985b) who deeply gave a linguistic analysis about spoken and written language. According to Nunan (1993), “*Although spoken language emerged before written language, written texts are much more than merely talk written down.* That is to say, spoken language emerged first than written language but written language is highly valued than the spoken one.

In this respect, Halliday (1985b) claimed that writing emerged in societies as a result of cultural changes which created new communicative needs. It means that

variations of cultures inside societies obliged people to create a new way of communication which is writing the language.

According to Nunan (1993, pp.8-9), spoken and written languages perform a similar range of broad functions. That is, they are used to get things done to provide information, and to entertain. He also argued that context plays its role differently from spoken language to written language. He illustrated that in the case of information, most people in other cities or countries used written language to communicate with each other, to exchange information. Thus, written language is more appropriate between people who are far from each other. Furthermore, according to Nunan (1993), written language has certain features that are generally not shared by the spoken language. Written language tends to consist of clauses that are internally complex, whereas with the spoken language the complexity exists in which clauses are joined together. That is, linguistically speaking, written language is more complex than the spoken language.



**Figure 01:** Elements of Discourse Analysis

### **1.3 Ideology and Political Discourse**

Since we are working in the field of discourse analysis and our objective is to find the ideological strategies embedded in Bush's speech which is a political address, we have to shed light on ideology and what political discourse is. Besides, we attempt to shed light on the connection between them.

#### **1.3.1 Ideology**

The notion of ideology is too fuzzy and abstract; it is defined from many perspectives. Van Dijk (2006, p. 116) stated that the theory of ideologies are some kind of belief systems. This theory needs a cognitive component that is properly accounted for the notions of belief systems which are dealt with in contemporary cognitive science. Besides, he pointed that these beliefs are socially shared by the members of social groups (Van Dijk 2006, p. 116). In other words, Van Dijk (2006) argued that ideologies consist of social representations that define the social identity of a group.

As it is stated above, ideology is widely defined and used in many domains. Therefore, one needs first to know that this term is first coined by the French philosopher Destutt de Tracy in order to denote a new discipline that would study 'ideas': idéologie as cited by Van Dijk (2004). Destutt as cited in Van Dijk (2011) defined ideologies as the fundamental beliefs of a group in its members. Later, from Engels interpretation of the Marxist approach, ideology carried out a negative connotation which is "False Consciousness" (Van Dijk, 2011). In other words, false consciousness is a term that is used by Marxist economists and philosophers to describe a specific state of mind which prevents a person from recognizing the injustice of their current situation. Accordingly, Van Dijk (1998, p. 97) explained that false consciousness used to denote ignorance of the real social facts such as specific social arrangements, policies or practices.

According to Van Dijk (2006), ideologies:

Have been defined as foundational beliefs that underlay the shared social representations of specific kinds of social groups. These representations are in turn the basis of discourse and other social practices. It has also been assumed that ideologies are largely expressed and acquired by discourse, that is, by spoken or written communicative interaction. (Van Dijk, 2006, pp. 120-121).

In other words, we have understood that ideology is related to three main dimensions which are cognition, society, and discourse. Cognition refers to peoples' beliefs shared by the members of a group. Society means that what kind of groups in which

they represent and share their beliefs. And, Discourse is important in ideology since it influences people daily texts and talks, and how ideological discourse is understood.

### **1.3.2 Political Discourse**

Every politician should respect the transcribed speech written by spins who writes political speeches in order to be faithful and to obtain the attention of the audience. As Charteris-Black (2005) argues, successful speakers, especially in political contexts, need to appeal to attitudes and emotions that are already within the listeners. It means that a public speaker should be skilful enough while delivering his/her political speech in a way to gain his/her listeners' emotions and voice. As far as our thesis is concerned, we deal with a political discourse as a corpus of the study, but what does this term mean?

According to Graber (1981- as cited in Gastil, 1992, p. 469), political discourse is “*when political actors, in and out of government, communicate about political matters for political purposes*”. In simple words, political discourse is taken to mean a discourse which is written by spins and delivered by political actors. For instance, politicians, elections candidates, civil servants, policy advisors, etc.

### **1.3.3 The Relationship between Ideology and Political Discourse**

There is a close relationship between discourse, ideology, and politics, in the sense that politics is usually discursive as well as ideological, and ideologies are largely reproduced by text and talk (Van Dijk, 2006). That is to say, ideologies are the beliefs that groups share within a society, and those beliefs reproduced by text and talk since they are part of the discourse and they constitute political discourse. Thus, politicians should take into account the ideologies of their audience while delivering their political speeches with an eye to be more persuasive. Hence, the relationship between ideology and political discourse is complimentary.

Accordingly, Van Dijk (2006) states that in politics, ideologies specifically play a role to define political systems, and political practices, etc, and these are reproduced by political discourse.

## **1.4 Socio-cognitive Discourse Studies**

As we have cited before, we are working in the field of discourse analysis. Hence, in the theoretical background, it is really important to mention all its major concepts for a better understanding. Moreover, discourse studies as we have already said are widely defined and used by various scholars and linguists. For instance, Van Dijk (2009)

described discourse as a socio-cognitive interface for the discursive interaction of relationships between the mind and society. Thus, we opted to speak about socio-cognitive since it is an important approach in discourse studies.

According to Van Dijk (2016- as cited in Flowerdew and Richardson, 2018, p.28), the socio-cognitive approach makes a clear fundamental role of mental representations and shows the structures of discourse itself. It means that the socio-cognitive approach is a way that helps these structures of discourse to be described only in terms of cognition notions mainly those of information, beliefs, and knowledge of participants. He also argued that “*socio-cognitive discourse studies include a cognitive interface between discourse and society.*” Accordingly, he said that socio-cognitive discourse studies (SCDS) relate discourse structures to social structures via a complex socio-cognitive interface. In other words, SCDS is a complex dimension that is used with an eye to relate between discourse structures and social structures. Moreover, Van Dijk (2009) states that social cognition is the beliefs or social representations that people share with others of their groups or community (Van Dijk, 2009). Thus, social cognition then is defined as the shared social representations which include knowledge, attitudes, ideologies, values, and norms.

Accordingly, (Burr, 2003; and Parker, 1998- as cited in Van Dijk, 2018), “A socio-cognitive approach to discourse is a particular application of a more general theory or philosophy of social constructionism, which holds that social and political ‘reality’ are constructions of social members” (p.28)

In other words, the socio-cognitive approach to discourse represents the theory or philosophy of social constructions and these social constructions belong to social members.

## **1.5 Media Discourse and Terrorism**

As we have already mentioned, our research work is based on the analysis of a political speech which is Bush’s “*Global War on Terror*” speech. Our analysis is based on a corpus analysis, but since our speech is political we have to mention media because it has a tremendous role while discussing the issue of terror. So, in this concern, we have to refer to media discourse, and media during the era of terror.

### **1.5.1 Media Discourse**

As mentioned above, our speech is political and it has a lot to do with media since the latter deals with publically driven discourses. So, we have to mention what media discourse is. Nowadays, media is the most efficient method for politicians to deliver their

messages. For Van Dijk (1995), elite groups have privileged and controlled access to many forms of talk and text and this is especially true for media discourses. He also points to the fact that journalists will interview politicians, ask for their opinions, and position them as major actors in stories. According to Van Dijk (1995), if elite groups control the media, they are in a position to be very powerful, but if the elites rely on the media in order to exercise power, then it is the media that has considerable power (Van Dijk, 1995). More explicitly, the media should not be treated purely monolithically for the ease of fitting a certain narrative into a theory of media influence.

According to Macarro (2002, p. 13), *“as individuals, we are all influenced, our opinions shaped, reinforced and altered by our exposure to the media.”* In other terms, media discourse is not only made for politicians in order to express their ideas, opinions, and messages but also it is made for all individuals who are really curious to know about all the last news which are represented in television and newspapers. Thus, the media helps them to flourish their ideas and to be more informative individuals. As O’Keeffe (2006) argued, media discourse is a broad term which can refer to a totality of how reality is represented in broadcast and printed media from television to newspaper.

### **1.5.2 Media and Terrorism**

As we have cited above, media discourse is an important tool for politicians to deliver their political speeches. Moreover, it is important to note that media discourse plays a crucial role within public discourse especially when it comes to talk about terror. Thus, Terrorism is a salient topic for Media worldwide. So, let us see how researchers looked at terrorism as a term and as an event, and how they related it to media.

Jackson (2007) defines ‘terrorism’ as *“a strategy or tactic of political violence that can be, and frequently is, employed by both state and non-state actors and during times of war and peace”*. In similar words, this term is referred to as a strategy of violence and a very notorious symbol that encompassed fear, and international intervention (Kellner, 2004). Hence, the meaning of terrorism expanded from a tactic to also mean an idea, a lifestyle, and ultimately, a condition of the world. Furthermore, news reports contributed to this broad definition of terrorism as a condition (Altheide, 2004). Therefore, Terrorism, as a matter of discourse, became an institutionalized disclaimer (e.g. ‘we all know how the world has changed since 9/11’), a term or phrase that documents a general (rather than a specific) situation and conveys a widely shared meaning (Hewitt and Stokes, 1975).

In the same path, Seib (2004) said that media is the substance of the events and institutions that journalists must cover. In other words, in media, it is necessary to know how to cover a subject in order to make it more informative for people. Thus, journalists need to prepare themselves for real media. However, as it is cited in *The Handbook of Terrorism and the Media*, Marthoz (2017, p.32) argued that the media cannot accomplish their mission of general interest if they do not enjoy the freedom to inform. This freedom can be suspended for a certain time in specific cases where there are genuine security risks. In simple words, dealing with media discourse has to do with freedom; journalists need to find that space of freedom in order to be more informative about any subject matter. Besides, we have mentioned that with media discourse the subject of terrorism started to be studied deeply. Thus, these studies helped individuals easily to find out what is exactly meant by terrorism. According to Marthoz (2017, p.32), the term terrorism is a subject that is strictly regulated by law because of the dangers it poses and its significant political sensitivity. He also said that during the first moments of a terrorist act, the media are often the first source of information for citizens, well before the public authorities are able to take up the communication (Marthoz, 2017, p. 27). Here, we come to a general idea that media is the first source of information during the first moments of a terrorist act. Hence, media shed light to a real representation of such political issue which is terrorism. As such, no study of public discourse as a whole would be complete without an analysis of media texts.

## **Section Two: Critical Discourse Analysis & Presidential Speeches**

The approach of this research work is critical discourse analysis; so, it is of great importance to introduce it and show its emergence and development. Thus, in this section, we discuss Critical Discourse Analysis by shedding light on the essential concepts and the contributions of the leading theorists such as Van Dijk, Fairclough and Wodak.

### **1.6. What is Critical Discourse Analysis?**

Since the scope of the present study is the critical discourse analysis of George W. Bush political discourse “*Global War on Terror*”, it is quiet important to explain first critical discourse analysis and define it according to different discourse analysts and perspectives.

### 1.6.1. The “Critical” in CDA

CDA believes that discourse practices (text-talk-visual) should not be taken as a donation. In fact, it is always non-neutral and embedded in a social context. Hence, three interpretations of the term *critical* are found in the literature of CDA. First, the intention of the analyst is actually that decides the theoretical framework of CDA. For instance, if one wants to uncover the hidden power relations, inequality, injustice, discrimination, etc, embedded in the society through discourse, one has to apply socio-cognitive approach and related framework to deal with the issue. In CDA, ‘critical’ is usually taken to mean studying and taking issue with how dominance and inequality are reproduced through language use (Wodak 2009; Van Dijk 2001; Jørgensenm & Phillips 2002; Rogers 2004). The second possible interpretation of the term *critical* in CDA is an attempt to describe, interpret and explain the relationship between the form and function of language in discourse and why and how certain pattern are privileged over others. CDA is *critical* of how unequal language use can achieve ideological purposes. Accordingly, ideologies are representations of aspects of the world which contribute to establishing and maintaining relations of power, domination, and exploitation. In other words, language use reflects inequality (e.g. ‘man and wife’ as opposed to ‘husband and wife’). Therefore, CDA argues that sustained use of such unequal representations does ideological work because it implicitly affirms inequitable social processes where the marginal and relatively powerless are misrepresented by the powerful (O’Halloran 2001; Rogers 2004). The third possible interpretation of the term *critical* in CDA is to locate social pathology from the discourse and describe, interpret, explain and propose socio-political action as a cure to the society (Jørgensenm & Phillips, 2002). This is also called as critical language awareness. Hence, CDA is ‘critical’ in the sense that it aims to reveal the role of discursive practice in the maintenance of the social world. (Jørgensenm & Phillips 2002; Rogers 2004).

### 1.6.2. The “Discourse” in CDA

There is a difference between discourse as a general concept and discourse under the framework of CDA. Hence, as we all know, the term discourse refers to spoken or written language which is necessary for our understanding and facilitates communication. However, critical discourse analysts defined the term discourse otherwise than the general concept. Accordingly, Gee (1990) & Sampson (1980) argued that CDA systematically interprets discourses with the help of various approaches by keeping in view socio-political and

economic contexts. In other words, according to them, CDA consistently explains discourses relying on different approaches taking into consideration socio-political and economic contexts.

### **1.6.3. The “Analysis” in CDA**

The “analysis in CDA” refers to three stages: description, interpretation, and explanation of the discourse. First, in the description stage, the text is described as rigorously and as comprehensively as possible related to the analytical focus and the key descriptive tool used in CDA for this purpose is Systematic Functional Linguistics (SFL) (Young, 2004). In other words, according to Young (2004) we understand that (SFL) is an important tool that helps to interpret how the text may lead the reader to different discourses in different situations language use, for instance, a political speech, a chat between strangers at a bus station, or a debate on Twitter, etc. Second, in the interpretation stage, the focus is hypothesizing the cognition of readers/listeners in order to know how they might mentally interact with the text. Accordingly, Fairclough (1995) refers to this as ‘processing analyses’. Critique in this stage points out the misrepresentation or a cognitive problem in the discourse (Chouliaraki & Fairclough, 1999). In simple words, some significant information is absent from a particular text, which leads the reader to either being misled or not being fully apprised of the most relevant facts. Besides, this stage also seeks to show how wider social and cultural contexts and power relations within them might shape the interpretation of a text (Chouliaraki & Fairclough, 1999). Finally, in the explanation stage, CDA critically explains connections between texts and discourse circulating in the wider social and cultural context, the ‘socio-cultural practice’. Besides, the critique here involves showing how the ‘ideological function of the misrepresentation need help’ in sustaining existing social arrangements’ (Chouliaraki and Fairclough 1999 cited in O’Halloran 2001).

### **1.6.4. Critical Discourse Analysis**

Before the emergence of critical discourse analysis, there was a focus on a critical tradition applied in the social analysis. Through time, this approach of CDA emerged to shed light on the relationships between discourse and different social elements.

Accordingly, Fairclough (2012) argues:

Critical discourse analysis (CDA) brings the critical tradition of social analysis into language studies and contributes to critical social analysis a particular focus on discourse and on relations

between discourse and other social elements (power relations, ideologies, institutions, social identities, and so forth). (p. 09)

Accordingly, critical linguistics is also called Critical Discourse Analysis. It first originated in Britain in 1980s when the work *Language and Control* was published by Fowler, Hodge, Kress, and Trew in 1979.

In other words, Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) is a type of discourse analytical research that primarily studies the way social power abuse, dominance, and inequality are enacted, reproduced, and resisted by text and talk in the social and political context. With such dissident research, critical discourse analysts take an explicit position and thus want to understand, expose, and ultimately resist social equality (Van Dijk, 1985).

The foundations of CDA have been developed by critical linguists and theorists since the 1980s, thanks to the works of the British sociolinguist Norman Fairclough, has gained a lot of attention. Fairclough (1995) defines CDA as follows:

By critical discourse analysis I mean discourse analysis which aims to systematically explore often opaque relationships of causality and determination between (a) discursive practices, 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 (Fairclough, 1995, pp. 132-3)

Another prominent figure in the field of CDA is Van Dijk. He asserts that:

Critical discourse analysis has become the general label for a special approach to the study of text and talk, emerging from critical linguistics, critical semiotics and in general from a socio-politically conscious and oppositional way of investigating language, discourse, and communication (Van Dijk, 1995, p. 17)

From this claim, CDA can be understood as an interdisciplinary approach to the study of discourse. This approach is said to be interdisciplinary because it employs different interdisciplinary techniques and tools to analyze texts and discover to which extent they can represent the world, social identities, and social relationships. Van Dijk (1995) explains deeply this idea, he says:

Critical discourse analysis is a special approach in discourse analysis which focuses on the discursive conditions, components and consequences of power abuse by dominant (elite) groups and institutions. It examines patterns of access and control over contexts, genres, text, and talk, their properties, as well as the

discursive strategies of mind control. It studies discourse and its functions in society and the ways society, and especially, forms of inequality, are expressed, represented, legitimated or reproduced in text and talk (Van Dijk, 1995, p. 24).

### 1.7. The Origins of Critical Discourse Analysis

Since our main concern is critical discourse analysis, we believe that it is important to look at its origins. So, here is what different linguists said about the origins of CDA.

The philosophical and linguistic bases on which CDA is grounded are certain branches of social theory and earlier discourse analysis, text linguistics and interactional sociolinguistics. Some proponents of CDA are influenced by Marx's critique of the capitalist exploitation of the working class, his historical dialectical method, his definition of ideology as the superstructure of civilisation (Marx & Engels, 2001 as cited in Fairclough & Graham, 2002), and his notion of language as "product, producer, and reproducer of social consciousness" (Fairclough & Graham, 2002, p. 201). Also, some draw on Althusser's (1971) conception of *interpellation*, which describes the way individuals can be aware of themselves as a constructed subject within the discourse on their becoming part of someone's utterances. Likewise, Gramscian *hegemony* (1971) influenced a lot of CDA scholars. According to him, it formulates the idea that power can be exercised and can achieve domination not only through repressive coercion, oppression, and exploitation but also through the persuasive potential of discourse, which leads to consensus and complicity (Gramsci, 1971).

According to previous research done in the field of critical discourse analysis, and as cited in Jäger & Maier (2009), Habermas (1981) is frequently cited by CDA writers. His key contribution to the theory of communicative action is the notion of *validity claims*, which, according to him, are universally presupposed in all discourses. He further maintains that language can be used either strategically or in a manner oriented to understanding. In the latter, validity claims can be challenged and defended in a communication situation that is free from coercion, is only based on rational argument; and permits access to all who are affected by the discourse. These characteristics are absent from the strategic use of language; it is to challenge the strategic use of language that CDA pays attention to. However, Foucault (1972) as cited in Jäger & Maier (2009), in contrast to Marx and Habermas, thinks that consciousness determines the social production process. Despite contesting the existence of an autonomous subject, he believes in the individual's

involvement in the practical realization of power relations. Discourses are produced by all individuals, then, especially those who have the right to use all resources (Jäger & Maier, 2009).

In the late 1970s, the University of East Anglia nursed a new trend of analysis, as linguists and literary theorists were interested in linguistic choice in the literature (Fowler, 1986). Later on, they would focus on other texts of relevance in the public sphere, especially the mass media. This did not mean only a terminological change (i.e. from *linguistic criticism* to *critical linguistics*). The new label, which is sometimes taken as synonymous with CDA, implied a new attitude in academe: the scholar's commitment against social injustice. The East Anglia School proposed Hallidayian linguistics for the analysis of news texts (Hodge & Kress, 1993). In other words, language as social semiotic, the three meta-functions, and transitivity and modality became staples in this new discipline. Furthermore, Chomsky's *Generative Grammar* (1957) was also appropriated since one of its main concerns is describing the implications of syntactic transformations. Thus, passivisation and nominalization have been the focal point of a number of CDA works.

### **1.8. Critical Discourse Analysis & Politics**

As researchers, we believe that it is necessary to place George W. Bush "*Global War on Terror*" speech in the framework of critical discourse analysis since it is political discourse. Thus, pieces of discourse are highly constructed by political speeches. Moreover, the main subject of CDA is public speeches especially political speeches and it aims at exploring the relationships among language, ideology, and power. That is why, as researchers in linguistics, and since our concern is critical discourse analysis, we think that it is really important to relate critical discourse analysis to politics. The reason behind this is that CDA is naturally sharing ground with politics and political actors, and a great deal of work in the field has been devoted to political discourse (Filtrado-Llamas & Boyd, 2018).

Generally speaking, critical discourse analysis attempts to deconstruct covert ideology which is "hidden" in the text. According to Fowler et al. (1979), what is more, interesting to the present discussion is political discourse analysis, which in Europe can be traced back to critical linguistics, one of the first disciplines to focus on the relationship between language and ideology. In other words, CL is a quite important discipline which

helps us to understand the relationship that exists between language and ideology. Besides, we can understand that CDA is considered as a way of analyzing, interpreting and studying political speeches critically in order to see how it influences or it is influenced by society.

Accordingly, Van Dijk (1998) claims that political discourse analysis is about both political discourse and it is also regarded as a critical enterprise. The focal point here is that we believe it is really important to link critical discourse analysis to politics. Since the speech we have chosen deals with politics and it is delivered by the American president George W. Bush who is a successful politician and who tried to deliver his political ideas in a very simple and plain way to his audience. Besides, Fowler (2009, p. 273) said that critical linguistics tried to reveal instances of misrepresentation and/or discrimination in public discourse through a process of “defamiliarization and conscious-raising.” As we have stated before, CDA is used to interpret, analyze and study political speeches. Hence, critical analysis and politics are complementary and interrelated.

### **1.9. Pragmatics & Critical Discourse Analysis**

As novice researchers in linguistics and in the field of discourse analysis, we believe that tackling the relationship between pragmatics and critical discourse analysis is very important. In this concern, Alba-Juez (2009, p.46) assumes that it would be impossible to analyze any discourse without having a solid basic knowledge of pragmatic phenomena and the ways in which they work and interact.

To start with, it is believed that some of the definitions of pragmatics are almost identical to some of the definitions of discourse analysis, which may push us to think that the concerns of both fields of study are almost the same. For Alba-Juez (2016), Pragmatics is not the same as discourse analysis; however, it is an indispensable source of Discourse Analysis which shares some common ground with it, but differs in method and scope.

Originally, pragmatics was introduced by Charles Morris (1938, pp. 6-7) as the study of the relation between signs and their users. Since then, many other linguists and specialists continued to conceptualize this branch of linguistics. Broadly speaking, pragmatics is defined differently by various linguists. For instance, O’Keeffe, Clancy and Adolphs (2011) claimed that pragmatics is often used in linguistic research to refer to the study of the interpretation of meaning. In other words, it means that pragmatics is concerned with the interpretation of meaning and how language is used in context.

Moreover, Kasper (1993) defined pragmatics as “*the study of people’s comprehension and production of linguistic action in context*” (p. 03). In simple words, it studies people’s understandings of utterances and how they can produce and interpret them in a specific situation.

As we have mentioned before, critical discourse analysis attempts to deconstruct covert ideology which is “hidden” in the text. Speaking about this, pragmatics has been valuable both theoretically and methodologically for the critical analysis of discourse (Polyzou, 2018). That is to say, pragmatics and CDA have different scopes but they complete one another. Accordingly, Fairclough (2001, p. 131) stated that the usefulness of pragmatics for critical analysis has been explicitly acknowledged, for example, in relation to ideological aspects of speech acts. Accordingly, Fairclough (2001, pp. 7-8) criticized pragmatics, in particular, the Anglo-Saxon tradition primarily associated with the works of Austin (1962) on speech acts and Grice (1975) on implicature. Through this criticism, he revolves two main points:

- He argues that pragmatics does not take into account the conditions and power imbalances of the social world, and instead postulates an ideal, smooth communicative situation (Fairclough, 2001, pp. 7-8).
- He finds problematic the theorization of the participants of communicative events, which “*understates the extent to which people are caught up in, constrained by, and indeed derives their individual identities from social conventions*” (Fairclough, 2001, pp. 7-8).

Besides, Polyzou (2018) said that when Fairclough revolved two significant points of pragmatics, both Austin (1962) and Grice (1975) have been working on the norms of communication. Thus, this limited description made Fairclough (2001) suggest that pragmatics often appears to describe discourse as it might be in a better world, rather than discourse as it is (p. 08). In addition to this, Grice (1975) suggested two interpretations that help to understand Fairclough’s criticism: the first is considering the Cooperative Principle and the Maxims as an ideal aim, and the second as a cognitive reality which influences discourse processing in specific ways by generating implicatures (Polyzou, 2018). The main point here is that the maxims are directions towards a successful communication. So, critical discourse studies would be more concerned with this communication. Hence, through what Alba-Juez (2016) already said, we understand that pragmatics and CDA have totally different

scopes but they share an objective which is the uses of language; and more specifically, the interpretation of language.

### **1.10. A Theoretical Framework for the Critical Discourse of Ideologically Driven Discourses**

Ideology has been intensively exploited across a variety of disciplines including history, philosophy, political economy, anthropology. In linguistics, more specifically, the study of language as a social phenomenon cannot be excluded from this enumeration. However, researchers and scholars are united in the belief that the concept of ‘ideology’ is quite a nuisance, since it has been used in a multitude of ways in the two hundred years of its existence.

In this respect, Bloommaert (2005) stated:

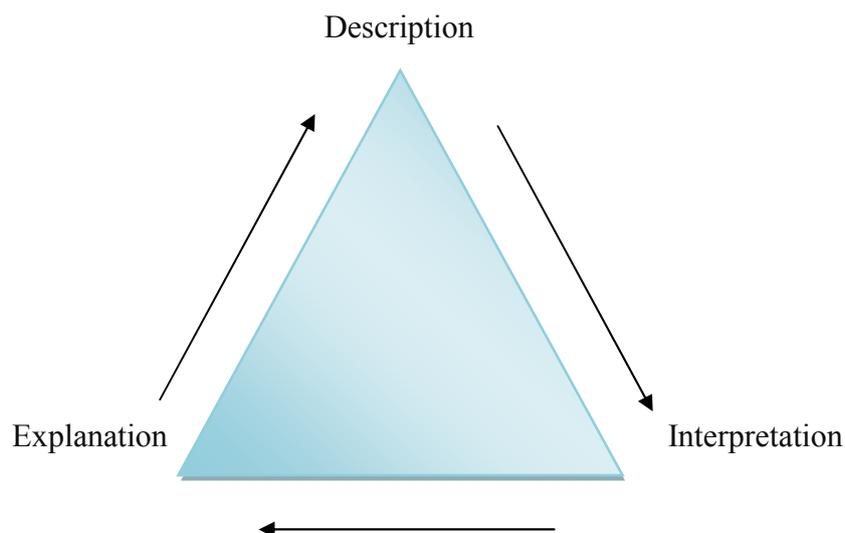
Few terms are badly served by scholarships as the term ideology, and soon as anyone enters the field of ideology studies, he or she finds him/herself in a morass of contradictory definitions, widely varying approaches to ideology, and huge controversies over terms, phenomena, or models of analysis (Bloommaert, 2005, p. 158).

#### **1.10.1. CDA Framework by Fairclough (1989)**

Fairclough is considered to have contributed to the field of CDA most significantly. His model may be the core section of the entire field of CDA because he was the first to create a theoretical framework, which provided guidelines for future CDA research. His belief that language is an irreducible part of social life is the main part of his framework. The dialectic relation between language and social reality is realized through social events (texts), social practices (orders of discourse) and social structures (Fairclough, 2003). Moreover, Fairclough attempts to uncover ideological and power patterns in texts in his research method of analysis. He is among the few CDA scholars who define the relationship between power and language (social power and ideology) in his research (Fairclough, 1989). Hence, Fairclough (1995) provides a three dimensional framework for the analysis of text and discourse: 1) The linguistic *description* of the formal properties of the text. 2) The *interpretation* of the relationship between texts and interaction. Lastly, 3) The *explanation* of the relationship between interaction and social context. Thus, Fairclough’s (1989) analysis has gone beyond the “what” of the text description towards the “how” and “why” of the text interpretation and explanation. Besides, there are certain

underlying assumptions behind certain selections of discourse. These assumptions are never value-free and innocent; rather, they are ideologically driven and motivated. By studying the forms of the language, we can discover the social processes and also the specific ideology embedded in them.

Fairclough's framework (1995) of CDA is highlighted in the following figure that we have adopted:



**Figure 2:** Fairclough Framework (1995)

### 1.10.2. CDA Framework by Hodge and Kress (1993)

The dichotomous categorization of “euphemism” and “derogatory” is the milestone of the explanations provided in this framework. According to Hodge and Kress (1993), the main focus of a particular vocabulary item will be on its origin of classification, schemes, and semantically significant relations such as synonymy, antonymy, and hyponymy, relational values and expressive values. To come up with the detection devices for manipulation of realities and ideologies in a text by the application of euphemistic and derogatory terms, Hodge and Kress's (1993) model treating “language and ideology” has been the main criterion. It is a “syntagmatic model” made up of the assumptions regarding the interaction of the language, thought, ideology and the classification system which consists of “actions” and “relations”. In this framework, actional models represent the perceived relationships in the physical world. They are divided more specifically into “transactive” and “non-transactive”. According to Hodge & Kress (1993), transactives are structures in which there are two entities or objects related by means of a verbal process. In

this category, one of the entities affects another one. One causes the action and the other is affected by that action. Whereas non-transactives are structures in which only one entity is related to a process. In this case, it is not clear whether the entity is actor or affected. Relational models encompass “equative” and “attributive” sections. They are concerned with the classificatory and evaluative systems of the language. Equative models create relations between nouns while attributive models bring about relations between nouns and qualities. Also, Relationals indicate the consequence of mental activities, and suggest judgments, comments... etc. Hence, Euphemistic and derogatory words belong to the relational part of this framework and are used as detection devices for recognizing the manipulation of realities and ideas. Ideology, according to Hodge and Kress (1993), involves a systematically organized presentation of reality. The application of different euphemistic or derogatory terms leads to different presentations of realities and therefore ideologies.

### 1.10.3. CDA Framework by Van Dijk (1997)

Van Dijk’s (1997) framework has provided some illustrations of the categories that he believes to be important in doing CDA studies. He asserts that the main point of the analysis is to show how various ideologies are expressed in various kinds of structures. There are many of such categories so we make a small selection as described in the table below:

**Table 1:** Van Dijk (1997) Categories of CDA Studies

<b>Categories</b>	<b>Explanation</b>
Actor Description (Meaning)	Our ideologies will determine the way actors are described in discourse. Accordingly, we can easily point out our good things and their bad things.
Categorization (Meaning)	People tend to categorize others based on their social affiliation, race, ethnicity, etc.
Disclaimers (Meaning)	Disclaimers mean denying our bad things. They are the ideological base of positive self-presentation and negative other-presentation strategy.

Euphemism (Rhetorical, Meaning)	Euphemistic devices are used to beautify the social facts that may be offensive to the members of a community.
Hyperbole (Rhetoric)	Hyperboles are semantic rhetorical devices for enhancing and exaggerating meaning.
Polarization (Meaning)	In categorizing people in in-group (self/us) and out-group (others/them) the expression of polarized cognitions are very prevalent.
Presupposition (Meaning)	Presuppositions are mostly used to presuppose the truth when they are not established.
Victimization (Meaning)	Telling bad stories about nations, in order to focus on their bad characteristics is the consequence of in-groups and out-groups of polarization.

Accordingly, Van Dijk (2001) states that textbooks are ideologies embedded in the curriculum. He claims that enforcing hegemony and dominance over the community is achieved by “controlling discourse.”

#### **1.10.4. CDA Framework by Van Leeuwen (1996)**

Leeuwen’s (1996) social actors are influenced by the policies and decisions of powerful organizations which either include or exclude them from the centers of power. He explains the principal ways in which social actors can be represented in discourse. In this view, CDA is the impact of power structures on the production and/or reproduction of knowledge and its effect on identity and subjectivity of the members of the community. Indeed, this is language and discourse in relation to production, reproduction dissemination, and interpretation of knowledge in line with researchers’ arrangement. Hence, Leeuwen’s (1996) framework consists of the following main elements that are presented in the following table:

**Table 2:** Elements of Leeuwen (1996) Framework

<b>Elements</b>	Exclusion	Inclusion	Impersonalized Social Actors
<b>Explanation</b>	Suppression, back-grounding	Activisation vs. Passivization; Genericisation vs. Specification; Individualization; Assimilation; Indetermination “anonymous”; determination; nomination and categorization; functionalization and identification.	Abstraction, Objectivation.

### 1.11. Literature Review

According to Van Dijk (1998, p.352), Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) studies the way social power abuse, dominance and inequality are enacted, reproduced and resisted by text and talk in the social and political context. Many linguists gave much importance on CDA. That’s why numerous studies have been investigated mainly on analyzing Presidential speeches and debates. Accordingly, we summarized some reviewed related studies and presented chronologically as follows:

Bayram (2010) examines the impact of identity and linguistic background in Prime Minister Erdogan’s political discourse and ideological components of his speech. He used Fairlough’s assumptions to critical discourse analysis to analyze a discourse of political speech by the Turkish Prime Minister Erdogan during the debate of the World Economic Forum in Davos in January 2009. Bayram noted in his research paper that the study of language attitudes is one of the most important topics in the social psychology of language. Accordingly, his study aims to discuss the realization of power by means of language use in a political environment. The results of his study show that attitudes towards language can be positive or negative which are coming from issues such as social or cultural background, power and status. Also, the results show that Erdogan used language as a powerful social tool to present his characteristics. His attitude and linguistic behavior were the reflection of a particular social group and this attitude of this particular group towards him was positive. So, this attitude towards language may help one to understand himself and his abilities better within a society and also may help to evaluate others and their influences more correctly.

Kamalu & Agangan (2011) conduct a critical analysis on the speech of the President Goodluck Jonathan's declaration of his candidacy for his party's presidential primaries. They used a qualitative approach to analyze the text in order to identify the meaning potential of the rhetorical strategies they deployed in the speech and to pinpoint the ideology they encode. Besides, they employed critical discourse analysis and systemic functional linguistics to discover the underlying ideology and persuasive strategies used by the president in his declaration speech. The main findings of this study reveal out that the president Jonathan uses a conscious unfolding of various rhetorical strategies with an eye to articulate an alternative ideology for the Nigerian nation. Moreover, they showed that the president makes use of variety of persuasive strategies like appeal to ethno-religious sentiments and reconstruction of childhood experiences to manipulate the conscience of his party and other Nigerians. Furthermore, their study showed the unfolding use of delegitimization strategies to impend over the unwanted groups like criminals and corrupt individuals. More specifically, the president uses the positive-face strategies to project his identity and the negative-face strategies to threaten the opposition.

Gadalla (2012) explores the ideological strategies in Barack Obama's Cairo Speech through the use of Van Dijk Model (1998, 2006). He applied this model to analyze a discourse in that political speech with an eye to find out its ideologies and to evaluate the adequacy of this model in analyzing political speeches. The results of this study concluded that Van Dijk's ideological square theoretically has no mistakes concerning the ideological analysis of political speeches, but his practical model needs a lot of additions and modifications. The results also show that Obama used a lot of strategies in his political speech. That's why he mainly selects two major ideological strategies in which he expresses positive self-presentation and negative other-presentation. While he is using positive presentation strategy, he is emphasizing good properties and actions of himself and his nation. Moreover, he uses active voice to stress the good deeds of America. Besides, Obama employed narrative style to draw a nice picture of his country. Concerning rhetorical style, he used a lot of repetitions in order to point out good deeds of his country. Furthermore, Gadalla claims that Van Dijk Model is theoretically perfect in helping to analyze political speeches, but his practical model needs a lot of modifications and conditions. Among these modifications Gadalla suggested that adopting the term 'general' to label the general level of discourse, integrating the term 'granularity' and the term 'level' into 'description'. Concerning the additions he suggested including the term 'occasion' as a strategy of context,

‘assertion or denial’ as a strategy of local meanings, the term ‘intertextuality’ as a structure of meaning, and ‘sentential topicalization/ de-topicalization’ as a strategy of syntax structures. Moreover, he suggested including ‘stress’ as a strategy of sound structures and ‘narrative illustration/ no storytelling’ as a strategy of format structures. He has also mingled "disclaimers" under a new strategy called "avoidance". Even so, he suggested one of the most important structures of form which is ‘rhetoric’.

Sipra & Rachid (2013) critically analyze the speech of Martin Luther King “I Have a Dream” in a Socio-Political Perspective. They used the analytical framework of Fairclough 3D Model (1992) to analyze and interpret the first 31 lines containing 648 words. Moreover, they analyzed the whole speech on the basis of three aspects in a broader macro and micro levels. Besides, their study explicates the terms such as social, cultural and political inequalities in the light of text and framework. The main findings of this study show that Fairclough’s approach at first gives a description of linguistic features used in the speech. Secondly, it tries to interpret the relation of that speech with the interaction. Thirdly, it explains the link of interaction with the broader socio-political variables. To conclude, their analysis revealed that in the speech, Martin Luther King frequently makes use of certain textual and stylistic devices with an eye to achieve some specific purposes. Hence, they pointed out that his speech is syntactically well-organized with frequent repetitions. Also, they noted that King expressively succeeds in identifying between the powerful and oppressed due to the use of metaphors and other rhetorical devices. Thus, they found out that his speech successfully highlights on the institutionalized social inequalities.

Skënderi (2014) conducts a critical analysis of the political discourse of the Balkan politicians. The research paper examines the way the Balkans sign their identity in the discourse fragments and if there is any common Balkan identity that is constructed. Also, there is a wide range number of inclusive pronoun ‘we’ than the number of exclusive pronoun ‘them’. The results of this study concluded that the European Integration agenda has eased the ethnic tones and the conflicts in the Balkans region. Moreover, politicians through their speeches, they tended to form different political reality in the region in order to sign a common Balkan identity. Besides, to do so, they employed syntactic transformations in order to have ‘politically correct’ discourse and they used same metaphoric scenarios in their discourse fragments to express solidarity.

Ogunmuyiwa (2015) explores the discursive positioning of corruption by two successive Nigerian presidents Umaru Musa Yar'Adua and Goodluck Jonathen. He used their two official speeches mainly made between (2007) and (2013) as data. Indeed, in his analysis of the two speeches, he relied on Halliday's system of Transitivity (1978, 1985, 1993) and he also relied on Fairclough's three-tier analytical framework based on critical discourse analysis (1989, 1992, 1995). The findings of his research study assert that these two Nigerian presidential speeches disclose their commitment to fighting corruption. Moreover, the instruments of language can be used tactically absolve themselves from corruption. To conclude, Ogunmuyiwa (2015) analyzed and interpreted all the grammatical concepts of transitivity by the use of critical discourse frameworks of description, interpretation and explanation presented by Fairclough. Besides, he noted that this framework enables him to know that the discourse of corruption featured in both speeches. Furthermore, he showed that these two Nigerian presidents refer to corruption differently using various linguistic resources to highlight or to reduce responsibility. So, he successfully showed that the linguistic frameworks can study leadership attitude to corruption in general.

Awan & Yahia (2016) critically analyze the discourse of Ahmad Ali's Novel entitled "Twilight in Delhi". In their analysis, they relied on the analytical model of Fairclough's three dimensions of discursive practices to uncover the hidden cultural ideologies mainly those which distinguish eastern to western focusing from that Novel. Moreover, their study discusses critical discourse analysis and its application on novels. Besides, they analyzed the speech in order to find out the different aspects of novel. The findings of this study reveal that strategies of critical discourse analysis can also be applied to the analysis of various novels and its application shed lights different aspects of the real life. So, Awan & Yahia (2016) show that CDA is a very successful technique that helps to illustrate cultural differences and their effects on society. To conclude, their research study brings to light the fact that the people who live in the divertive cultural environment will have to face multi-dimensional problems which affect their personal and social life.

Al Maghlouth (2017) investigates on critical discourse analysis by examining the discourse on social change in women-related posts on Saudi English- language blogs written between 2009 and 2012. These posts discuss a number of reformative measures that took place during that period with an eye to allow for greater women's empowerment in Saudi Arabia. This research is conducted by putting emphasis on the socio-cognitive approach as a main framework for the analysis. Besides, for data analysis, this research has a sample of

forty posts which is collected relying on five different topics: women in politics, women and the driving ban, women in non-traditional work environments, women and sports, and gender segregation. Hence, by using a three-leveled analysis, the posts at hand have been examined from textual, inter-textual and socio-cognitive perspectives. The textual level consists of four linguistic parameters: social actor representation, process type analysis, evaluation and metaphor. The inter-textual levels target intertextuality and interdiscursivity while the socio-cognitive level ties in all these descriptive findings to offer interpretations and insight into relevant mental representations. As to the findings of this research, they show a clash between the use of grammar and lexis, with social actor representation and process types often suggesting distinct mental representations from those transferred through evaluation and metaphor. The detailed analysis of this research shows that representing the clash between supporters of change and their opponents appears to be the central focus, even at the expense of women and their representation in discourse.

Shakoury (2018) investigates the critical discourse analysis of Iranian presidents' addresses to the United Nations general assembly (2006-2007). This thesis relies on Van Dijk Model of political discourse analysis. Besides, it examines the linguistic features in eight addresses of Iranian Presidents, Hassan Rouhani and Mahmoud Ahmadinejad, to the United Nations General Assembly. Shakoury described in his study the micro-level text analysis with a macro-analysis. More importantly, he focused on positive self-presentation and negative other-presentation. The results reveal that President Rouhani uses more discursive devices such as '*consensus*', '*illustration*', '*hyperbole*' and '*polarization*'; whereas, president Ahmedinejad uses more frequently '*lexicalization*', and '*vagueness*'. The comparison of both speeches at macro-level shows that Rouhani relied more on '*positive self-presentation*' and Ahmedinejad relied on '*negative other-presentation.*' The results of this study also demonstrate that both presidents transfer distinct points of view on most topics covered in the eight UNGA addresses although their ideological stances on a few topics, such as world Zionism and the occupation of Palestine, seem quite similar.

Hence, we, Madani & Isddiken (2019), analyze George W. Bush "*Global War on Terror*" speech (2006) from a Critical Discourse Analysis perspective relying on Van Dijk Model (2006). The purpose of our study is to find out the ideological strategies embedded in Bush's discourse. Thus, this research attempts to investigate the different ideological strategies used by Bush to put emphasis on his good things in addition to the bad things of his enemies. Noteworthy, the previous works we have selected investigate in the field of critical

discourse analysis. As similar to our present study, they have applied different models in their analysis. There are those who relied only on one model, and others who relied on more than one. Besides, the one who used Van Dijk Model did not focus on the subject of terrorism. However, as our contribution in the present study, we analyze “*Global War on Terror*” speech from a CDA perspective relying on Van Dijk Model (2006) to find out the ideological strategies embedded in the speech. A study that we believe is not yet done before.

### **Section Three: The Van Dijk Model (2006) of Critical Discourse Analysis**

Since we are working in the field of critical discourse analysis on a political discourse, and aiming to find out the ideological strategies that are embedded in George W. Bush “*Global War on Terror*” speech, we adopt Van Dijk Model (2006) for the analysis. Thus, it is important to refer to Van Dijk as a theorist, linguist, and discourse analyst and say who this figure is. Accordingly, we present Teun A. Van Dijk with reference to his major works in the field of critical discourse analysis. Hence, after mentioning who is Van Dijk, his works, and his eclectic model, we should take into account his socio-cognitive interpretation of context because for Van Dijk context is more than what people usually refer to.

#### **1.12. Van Dijk Life & Works**

Under the name of Teun Adrianus Van Dijk, our discourse analyst was born on May 7<sup>th</sup>, 1943 in Naaldwijk, the Netherlands. Currently, he is about 75 years old. Van Dijk is a scholar in the fields of text linguistics, discourse analysis and critical discourse analysis (CDA). Van Dijk was the professor of discourse studies at the University of Amsterdam until 2004, and he is at present a professor at Pompeu Fabra University, Barcelona. He received degrees in French language and literature at the Free University of Amsterdam (1962-1967), and in Theory of Literature (1967-1968). Then, he received a doctorate in linguistics from the University of Amsterdam in 1972. He also studied in Strasbourg, Paris, and Berkeley. His early research was about the linguistic study of literature but soon changed to the development of "text grammars" and discourse pragmatics. Then, he took an academic position at the University of Amsterdam, from 1968 to 1980, as a lecturer of literary studies. After that, he taught discourse studies at the University of Amsterdam from 1980 to 2004. Since 1999, he was a professor in Barcelona at Pompeu Fabra University (Van Dijk, 2015). After earning an honorific doctorate, he was invited to give lectures and conferences in many foreign countries, especially in Latin America. After earlier work on generative poetics, text grammar, and the psychology of text processing, his work since 1980 takes a more critical

perspective and deals with discursive racism, news in the press, ideology, knowledge, and context. He is the author of several books in most of these areas, and he edited *The Handbook of Discourse Analysis* (4 vols., 1985), the introductory book *Discourse Studies* (2nd edition, 2011) as well as *The Study of Discourse* (5 vols., 2007). He founded 6 international journals, namely *Poetics*, *Text* (now *Text & Talk*), *Discourse & Society*, *Discourse Studies*, *Discourse & Communication* and *Discurso & Sociedad*. His last monographs in English are *Ideology* (1998), *Racism and discourse in Spain and Latin America* (2005), *Discourse and Power* (2008), *Discourse and Context* (2008), *Society and Discourse* (2009), and *Discourse and Knowledge* (2014). His last edited books are *Racism at the Top* (2000) (with Ruth Wodak), *Discourse Studies* (5 vols., 2007), *Discourse Studies* (2nd ed., 2011) and *Discourse and Racism in Latin America* (2009).

### **1.13. Van Dijk's Socio-Cognitive Interpretation of Context**

The notion of context seems to be vague to define because each linguist has his own way of perceiving it. As it is cited in Goodwin and Duranti (1992, p. 2), context is “*notoriously hard to define.*” Since our current study is in the field of critical discourse analysis and it relies on Van Dijk Model (2006), it is truly important to mention Van Dijk's perception of context. Thus, we have chosen to present Van Dijk's socio-cognitive view of the context and its role in discourse analysis. According to Van Dijk (2005), context is “*the cognitive, social, political, cultural and historical environments of discourse.*” As we have mentioned above, a context for Van Dijk is more than what people usually refer to. Moreover, he has two theoretical volumes where he deeply discussed and presented context in discourse and cognition for instance *Society and Discourse* (2009). In other words, how social contexts influence *Text and Talk* (2009). Also, *Discourse and Context* (2008). In his book *Society and Discourse* (2009), Van Dijk explained that when speaking or referring to some focal event or phenomenon, the term context is used in many titles and contents of many books and articles mainly in the social sciences. In addition to this, he also explained that context is a selection of the discursively relevant properties of the communicative situation (Van Dijk, 2009). In other words, he means that those properties of the communicative situation have an influence on discourse production and comprehension, as well as the context has a control on the selection and variation of, for instance, topics, lexicon, syntax or pronouns (Van Dijk, 2009). However, he further shows that context is limited to those properties of the communicative situation and he said that context is as “*the relevant properties of social situations.*” It means that he stipulates the first idea that the selections of properties of the communicative situation

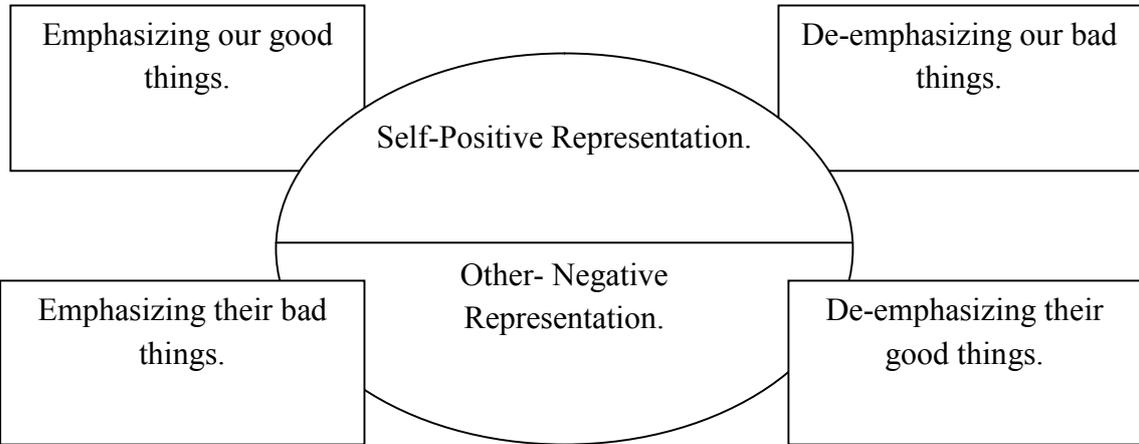
are relevant for discourse and he argued that those properties of social situations do not influence discourse (Van Dijk, 2009). In this sense, if there is a relationship between discourse and social situations, all people in the same social situations will probably speak in the same way. Besides, Van Dijk (2009) discussed also in his book “*Context Models*” which is a notion of mental model that fits the requirements of the theory of context. Hence, contexts are also mental models that are subjective and they represent personal experiences. As an important point, he argues that within the framework of such a socio-cognitive model theory, we can now confirm that contexts are some (part of) a social situation, but rather a subjective mental model of such situation (Van Dijk, 2009).

**1.14. Summary of Van Dijk Model (2006)**

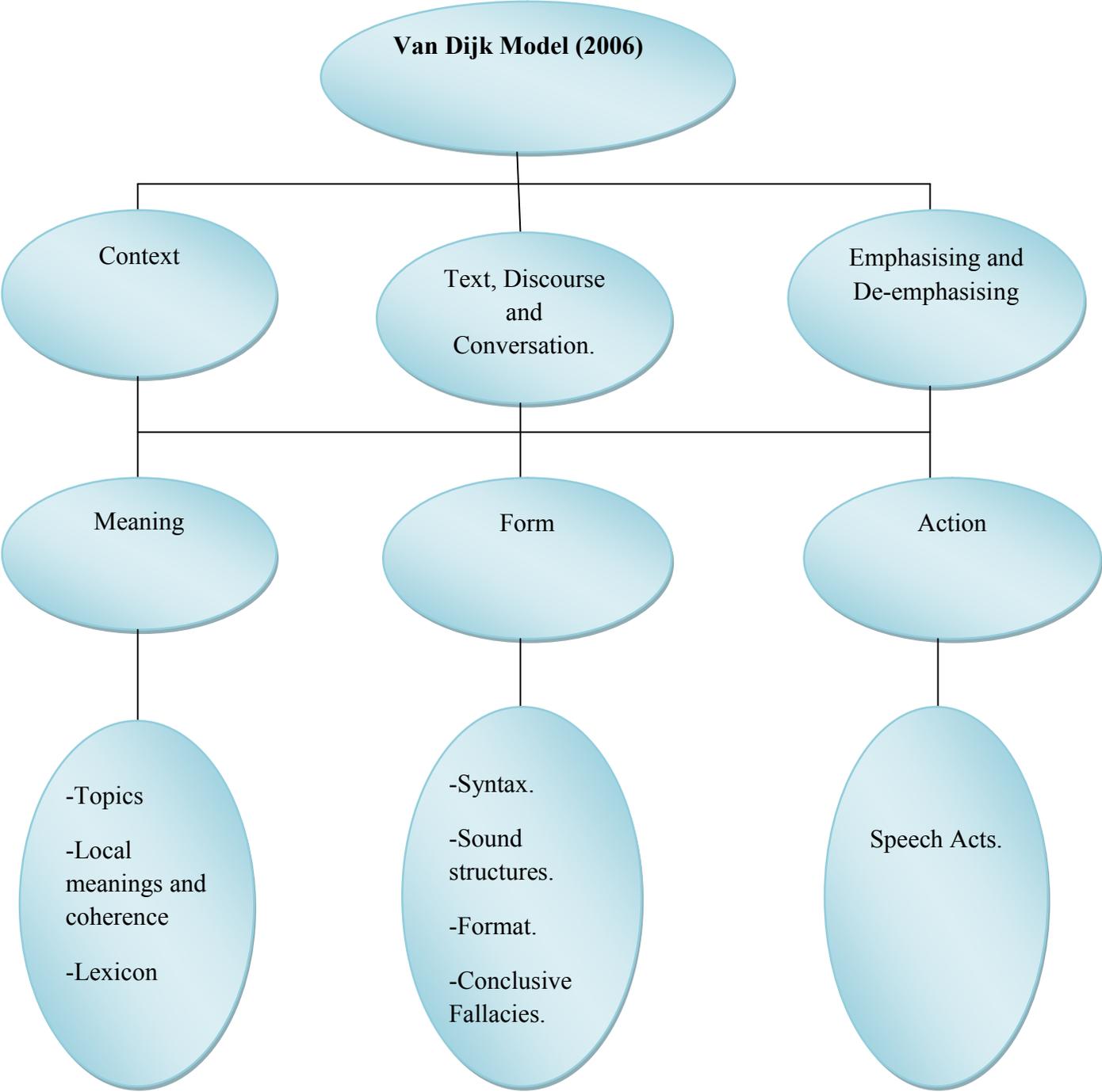
To carry on our present study, we apply Van Dijk Model (2006) since it is one of the most influential approaches in critical discourse analysis to study different speech acts, discursive strategies used in the discourse in order to determine the power, dominance, inequalities, and ideologies that are embedded in “*Global War on Terror*” speech.

Since we are working on a political speech, we necessarily need to point out all the ideological strategies that are used in the speech. More importantly, when doing the analysis of these ideological discourses, it is also necessary to rely on Van Dijk’s evaluative structure called “*Ideological Square*.” He organized his conceptual square into four possibilities shown in the following table:

**Table 03:** Van Dijk's Ideological Square (1998)



This ideological Square is highlighted in the eclectic model presented by Van Dijk (2006) that we adopted into the following figure:



**Figure 03:** An adopted version of Van Dijk Model of Analysis (2006)

As it is shown in the adopted version of Van Dijk Model (2006), the first part introduces discourse structures that represent context components which are considered truly important in discourse analysis. Flowerdew (2018) stated that discourse studies are concerned

with the study of the interaction of text and context. In other words, text and context are basic structures of discourse studies, where text influences context and context influences text. As cited in Van Dijk (2008), “*Text and context are generally constructed to be in a “mutually reflective” relationship.*” So, context is treated in this model because of its importance and its influence on speakers and participants. Also, it contains the ideologies that speakers produce in their speeches.

Furthermore, Van Dijk Model (2006) also treated text, discourse and the conversation in which four possibilities form a conceptual square; they are the Emphasising of our good things, and their bad things, as well as the De-emphasising of our bad things, and their good things (Van Dijk, 2006). Hence, this is called an overall strategy used to determine the positive presentation of the things or the actions of the US and the negative presentation of the things or the actions of THEM. Also, Van Dijk presented in his eclectic model three main levels of analysis which are: Meaning, Form, and Action.

First, he discussed the meaning level in which he stated different elements among them local meanings and topics. He argued that topics (semantic macrostructures) select and/or change positive/ negative topics about Us/ Them (Van Dijk, 2006). Concerning local meanings, Van Dijk (2006) stated that Positive/ Negative Meanings for Us/ Them are as follow:

- **Manifestation:** Explicit Vs. Implicit.
- **Precision:** Precise Vs. Vague.
- **Granularity:** Detailed/ fine Vs. Broad/ rough.
- **Level:** General Vs. Specific/ detailed.
- **Modality:** We/ They Must/ Should...
- **Evidentiality:** We have the truth Vs. They are misguided.
- **Local Coherence:** based on biased models.
- **Disclaimers** (denying our bad things): ‘We are not racists, but...’

Second, concerning the form, Van Dijk discussed structures and strategies as he cited: “*All variable phonological, lexical or syntactic forms may thus be controlled by the underlying representations.*” (Van Dijk, 2006).

Third, Van Dijk discussed in his model action that deals with speech act, communicative acts and interaction strategies. He presented them as follow:

- *Speech acts* that presuppose Our/ Their Good/ Bad things such as promises, accusations, etc (Van Dijk, 2006).
- *Interaction strategies and communicative acts* that imply Our/ Their Good/ Bad things such as Cooperation, agreement, etc (Van Dijk, 2006).

## **Conclusion**

In the theoretical background, we have introduced discourse studies. Thus, we found that it is defined differently by various scholars. Hence, we came to conclude that it is a multidisciplinary which deals with many disciplines. Moreover, we have introduced critical discourse analysis which is our main concern. After having a sufficient theoretical background about it, we came to conclude that the CDA analyzes discourses to sort out the ideologies embedded. Besides, it is not used for the sake of criticizing. Finally, we have introduced our analytical model which is the Van Dijk Model (2006) in which our analysis is based.

## Chapter Two

### Research Methods, Analysis, & Discussion of the Findings

#### Introduction

This chapter is divided into three sections. The first section is concerned with the explanation of research methods and procedures that we apply throughout the present study. Besides, we introduce the corpus of our study which is the President's Bush "*Global War on Terror*." Moreover, the second section deals with the analysis of the present corpus relying on Van Dijk Model (2006) of CDA. Furthermore, we end this section with an explanation of data analysis and discussion of the findings which demonstrate our procedure while analysing the present discourse. Finally, the third section aims at drawing some conclusions of our study, explaining the limitations that we have faced while conducting this research, and suggesting some important points that may be of help for further research.

#### Section One: Research Methods

##### 2.1. Research Methods

The present research aims at studying and critically analyzing the presidential speech of Bush in order to point out the main ideological strategies he used. Hence, we attempt to describe how he speaks and what characterizes his talk which helps him to defend his political ideas. Thus, as researchers in linguistics, we think that the suitable method to adopt is mixed method; both qualitative and quantitative methods. Moreover, since our present study is a descriptive research which is in fact based on mixed methods, we believe that this is the most effective and appropriate way of investigating and analyzing our corpus which is a political speech, "*Global War on Terror*." Thus, we use the qualitative method in order to identify the ideological strategies embedded in the speech, and we use the quantitative method to count the number of some repeated pronouns, words, phrases and sentences represented in tables. Furthermore, we believe that the use of mixed methods in our present study leads to valid and strong results at the end of our research work.

## 2.2. Corpus of the Study

As researchers in linguistics, we believe that it is truly important to select an effective and appropriate method to analyze our corpus of the study and to gather data to answer our research questions. That is to say, to answer the research questions, we should first gather data which is an important step in any research work. Yet, the corpus of our study is the full official transcript of “*Global War on Terror*” speech which is delivered by the American president George W. Bush on September 5<sup>th</sup>, 2006 at Washington, D.C. In this speech, Bush discusses the subject of terrorism and the 9/11 attacks. In other words, he reminds his country of the painful and terrible moments they witnessed during those bloody attacks. Furthermore, this speech discusses the strategy used with an eye to defeat terrorists and for combating terrorism. Basically, this speech is comprised of thirteen pages and fifty paragraphs. Besides, the transcript of our speech is found in the “White House Archive”. Also, our choice of the text is not taken randomly but with motivation and selection. In other words, we find the present speech a salient and important corpus to analyse from CDA perspective because it adheres pertinently to the discourse of ideology.

## 2.3. Data Analysis Procedures

Since our interest falls within the scope of Discourse Studies, we opted for Critical Discourse Analysis as a field of research and the perspective to analyze the discourse of Bush. This field of study contains a number of approaches and methods that can be applied as procedures to analyze data. Yet, it is quite important to know that these models are applied differently by various researchers for several reasons. That is to say, in order to analyze any given discourse, one should pay attention to the purpose of his research and the degree of applicability and pertinence of a given model.

Having in hand the official transcript of George W. Bush “*Global War on Terror*” speech that took place on September 5<sup>th</sup>, 2006 at Washington D.C., we proceed to a critical extensive reading in order to identify its structure and its schemata. Then, we move to use Van Dijk Model (2006) as a framework for our analysis. Basically, we select the most important examples in the speech for each step in Van Dijk Model with an eye to avoid repetitions and have a more reliable research. Then, we attempt to discuss the findings critically. Besides, since Bush in his speech refers to a number of terrorists as violent Sunni extremists, we find that it is important to end this chapter talking about the logic of Islamophobia which means having the fear from Islam and Muslims.

To the best of our knowledge, the present speech has not been analysed previously using the Van Dijk Model (2006). In other words, Bush ideological strategies in CDA have not been studied before. Thus, as researchers in the domain of Discourse Analysis, we believe that the different elements of Van Dijk Model (2006) can be of great help in conducting critical discourse analysis to identify the ideological strategies featuring Bush's speech. Particularly, we eager to show that this model is successfully applicable to analyse the speaker's ideological strategies.

## **Section Two: Analysis & Discussion of the Findings**

The present section is concerned with the application of Van Dijk Model (2006) on George W. Bush "*Global War on Terror*" speech that took place on September 5<sup>th</sup>, 2006 at Washington, D.C. Thus, as novice researchers in the field of Critical Discourse Analysis, we want to understand and discover Bush's ideological strategies. Therefore, we seek to apply Van Dijk Model (2006) to discover whether the selected model can be successfully applied to analyse the speaker's ideology.

Accordingly, before applying Van Dijk Model (2006), we would like to have first an overview about the whole speech. So, in his speech, George W. Bush starts thanking and welcoming the diversity as follows: "*Thank you all very much...Thank you for being here...Thank you for joining us here today.*" He honors and appreciates the Americans and all the civilized nations that stand together to defend the American freedom and defeat the terrorists. He also reminds them about the September 11<sup>th</sup>, 2001 terrorist attacks that happened five years before the delivery of "*Global War on Terror*" speech. Moreover, when Bush mentions the 9/11 attacks, he describes the painful memories that they had at that day. Accordingly, he says:

*"We remember the horror of watching planes fly into the World Trade Center, and seeing the towers collapse before our eyes. We remember the sight of the Pentagon, broken and in flames. We remember the rescue workers who rushed into burning buildings to save lives, knowing they might never emerge again..."* (§. 05)

From this quotation, we observe that America is still remembering the frustrating moments that were experienced during the war of 9/11. This is well exemplified when Bush tells them that the terrorist danger is real and present. Hence, he says: "*Five years after our nation was attacked, the terrorist danger remains*" (§. 07). Moreover, Bush adds that the terrorists did not attack Americans only, but they went beyond this. Thus, he says: "*They've*

*killed the innocent in Europe and Africa and the Middle East, in Central Asia and the Far East, and beyond*” (§. 06). He also says: *“We’re a nation at war”* (§. 07). This means that America is still facing the enemy. However, Bush asserts that America and her allies fight against terrorists before they will carry out. Accordingly, he says:

*“Together with our coalition partners, we’ve removed terrorist sanctuaries, disrupted their finances, killed and captured key operatives, broken up terrorist cells in America and other nations, and stopped new attacks before they’re carried out.”* (§. 07)

Also, in his speech, the president Bush tells the presents that even though Americans lived hard times, they learned a great deal about their enemies’ strategy, hateful ideology, ambitions and this was from their documents, videos, and audio recordings. Accordingly, he says: *“We’ve also learned a great deal about the enemy we face in this war. We’ve learned about them through videos and audio recordings, and letters and statements they’ve posted on websites”* (§. 08). Thus, Bush has a clear insight about what the terrorists believe, what they intend to do and how they intend to accomplish it. Besides, in the same speech, Bush refers to the terrorists who attacked the American nation as men without conscious but not madmen. This is exemplified as follows: *“The terrorists who attacked us on September the 11<sup>th</sup>, 2001, are men without conscience\_ but they’re not madmen”* (§. 10). These madmen kill in the name of a specific ideology and beliefs, as said in the speech: *“They kill in the name of a clear and focused ideology, a set of beliefs that are evil, but not insane”* (§. 10). Besides, the terrorists of al-Qaeda are referred to as violent Sunni extremists. In addition to this, they reject tolerance since they have a radical vision of Islam. More importantly, Al-Qaeda terrorists refer to the 9/11 attacks in another vein, as Osama Bin Laden says the 9/11 attacks are: *“a great step towards the unity of Muslims and establishing the Righteous...[Caliphate]”* (§. 10). Furthermore, Bush mentions that al-Qaeda used a strategy to carry on their attacks across the world to defeat America. However, Bush confirms that he will not allow this to happen. So, he says: *“Today we’re releasing a document called the “National Strategy for Combating Terrorism”* (§. 37). He believes that using this strategy, America will be free again. Furthermore, the persuasive sentences used in the speech give us a clear insight of Bush’ way of thinking and the ideology he belongs to. Therefore, Van Dijk (2006) stated that ideologies are beliefs that are shared by members of a social group (Van Dijk, 2006). So, it is important to identify Bush social group. Hence, the president George W. Bush belongs to the Republican Party. All the members who belong to this party are well known for being conservative and their politics are mainly characterized by economic, liberalism, fiscal, social

conservatism and federalism. Thus, this Republicans' ideology has a strong way of arguing and persuading the public, and Bush is a part of this social group.

All along the speech, he strongly emphasizes on the idea of liberalism and the victory against the enemy. Five years after the 9/11 attacks, all what he wants to accomplish is to make the American nation free and safe again, in addition to promoting freedom, liberty and security all over the world. Accordingly, he says:

- a. *"... the only way to secure our nation is to change the course of the Middle East. So America has committed its influence in the world to advancing freedom and liberty and democracy..."* (§. 45)
- b. *"We strongly support the voices of tolerance...in the Muslim world...And we're standing with the leaders of Iraq's unity government as they work to defeat the enemies of freedom..."* (§. 45)
- c. *"By helping freedom succeed in Iraq, we will help America, and the Middle East, and the world become more secure."* (§. 45)

According to Bush' sentences, it is affirmed that he is from the Republican party which is known by conservative ideology; it is all about Americans' freedom and security and nothing less than the victory against terrorism. Moreover, the analysis of the present speech reveals that the president George W. Bush used two ideological strategies: Positive self-presentation and negative other-presentation. Therefore, we are going to analyze these two main ideological strategies used by Bush in the following subsections. Accordingly, in the theoretical part, we mentioned the Van Dijk's Ideological Square which is an evaluative structure and it is organized into two main ideological strategies mentioned before. Thus, we are going to look first at the positive self-presentation embedded in Bush' speech and then the negative other-presentation in the following sub-sections.

### **2.2.1. Positive Self-Presentation in Bush's Discourse**

While reading *"Global War on Terror"* discourse, we notice that Bush used positive-self presentation strategy all along his speech. He emphasised very well the good things of his country which demonstrate his ideology as well as emphasizing the bad things of his enemies. Thus, the "US" represents the innocent victim caused by terrorists; they are identified as the courageous and brave people; whereas the "THEM" represents the evil and violence. All of this will be exemplified in the following subsections about the three main levels of analysis in Van Dijk Model (2006). That is, the first level deals with the meaning level which demonstrates the semantic macro structures of the text, the local meanings, coherence, and lexicon. The second level deals with the form level which discusses structures and strategies.

And the third level deals with the action level which explains speech acts, communicative acts and interaction strategies.

### 2.2.1.1. Meaning Level

The American president George W. Bush ‘*Global War on Terror*’ Speech is one of the most influencing and comprehensive speeches from that time until nowadays, and it is a step forwards the evolving of the U.S. approach to defeat al Qaeda. When reading Bush’ speech, we notice that it deals with various ideas concerning the 9/11 attacks which is the main topic discussed all along the speech. These 9/11 attacks are considered to be not only acts of terror but also acts of war. This war is the only considerable option to respond to the attacks and defeat terrorism. In addition to this, this war is considered to be a lengthy one. Hence, Afghanistan and the Taliban regime are the first enemies in this war. Thus, Bush has deeply highlighted the real issues and struggles happening in America at that time. However, all along the speech, Bush showed successfully his positive self-description and described his standing and reaction towards his country, by showing that he is aiming to promote freedom in America and in the whole world. Accordingly, Bush said:

- a. *“I appreciate the Board of Directors who are here, and the leaders who have given me this platform from which to speak.”* (§. 01)
- b. *“Your presence here reminds us that we’re engaged in a global war against an enemy that threatens all civilized nations.”* (§. 02)
- c. *“I’m proud to be your Commander-in-Chief.”* (§. 01)
- d. *“May God bless you in your recovery.”* (§. 04)

When we read the speech, we clearly notice that Bush’s first sentences are full of emotions and feelings; especially when he thanked everybody and the civilian nations for standing with America to defeat terrorists; thus, he says: *“ And today the civilized world stands together to defend our freedom”* (§. 02). Also, he talked about 9/11 attacks and all the horrible moments that America lived at that time. So, he reminds them by saying: *“Next week, America will mark the fifth anniversary of September the 11<sup>th</sup>, 2001 terrorist attacks”* (§. 05). However, Bush refers to the 9/11 attacks in a courageous way because in his speech he said even though our nation is attacked we learned a lot due to this. This is shown when Bush states: *“In the five years since our nation was attacked, we’ve also learned a great deal about the enemy we face in this war”* (§. 08). He positively introduced his ideas, goals and strategy for defeating Al Qaeda. Also, he discussed the strategy they used to defeat terrorism in five

main points. The first one is to impede the terrorist's attacks before they occur. The second one is to work with the civilian nation to stop terrorists' weapons of mass destruction. The third one is to refuse terrorists support sanctuary. The fourth one is to prevent terrorists from taking control of any nation. The last point is to promote freedom across the Middle East by making change of its rule of law to undermine terrorists' ability to recruit new followers and respect for human rights. Besides, he strongly believed that by successfully helping Iraq to be free, they will help America, the Middle East, and the whole world become more secure. Furthermore, Bush's discourse is clearly cohesive and coherent since he went from one idea to another logically and chronologically.

Besides, Bush makes use of positive lexical components in his speech with an eye to describe his presidency and his country. He does that from the beginning of the speech until the end. For instance, we find this in:

*a. "And that is why we must not, and we will not, give the enemy victory in Iraq by deserting the Iraqi people" (§. 23). (Positive Self-Representation)*

*b. "We're on the offensive, and we will not rest, we will not retreat, and we will not withdraw from the fight, until this threat to civilization has been removed" (§. 27). (Positive Self-Representation)*

In (a) and (b), Bush's discourse expresses requirement to fight against the enemy and he tried to make the American people feel the victory that everyone wanted including himself. And, he proclaimed how much powerful America is by saying: *"We're on the offense against the terrorists on every battlefield\_ and we'll accept nothing less than complete victory"* (§. 07).

Accordingly, he clearly stated that America is forceful enough to defeat terrorists. It means that America will not stop fighting until they remove the threat from the county. Besides, Bush says:

*c. "By coming together, we will roll back this grave threat to our way of life" (§. 50). (Positive Self-Representation)*

*d. "We will help the people of the Middle East claim their freedom, and we will leave a safer and more hopeful world for our children and grandchildren" (§. 50). (Positive Self-Representation)*

In (c) and (d), he used the personal pronoun "we" which stands for the administration and general public. All along his speech, he used it in order to have positive and closeness relationship with the American people and to show for them that this country is for all the Americans (not for the enemy). In addition to this, he employed the adverbial "together" to

give an atmosphere of dedication and togetherness with other countries, precisely the civilized nation, to join them to help people from the Middle East to take back their freedom so as America will be free and safe again. Furthermore, he highlighted the adverb “together” when meaning that being united for whatever is the situation makes dreams come true; and for him, the dream is to bring back the safety for their children and grandchildren.

More importantly, Bush utilized the personal pronoun “I” in the first paragraphs and along his speech to show his proud of being their leader and for standing among them by saying:

*a. “I’m honored to stand with the men and women of the Military Officers Association of America” (§. 01). (Positive Self-Representation)*

*b. “I am pleased also to stand with members of the diplomatic corps, including many representing nations that have been attacked by al-Qaeda and its terrorist allies since September the 11<sup>th</sup>, 2001” (§. 02). (Positive Self-Representation)*

Accordingly, Bush confessed and asserted clearly the greatness and bright image of his Military members and diplomatic corps in a valuable way. Besides, he honored them for their great job and services they did in order to put America in a very vigorous position among countries.

Another important point expressed in the meaning level is “disclaimers” where Bush used them to reject his bad things.

*a. “Now, I know some of our country hear the terrorists’ words, and hope that they will not, or cannot, do what they say” (§. 26). (De-emphasizing our bad things)*

*b. “History teaches that underestimating the words of evil and ambitious men is a terrible mistake” (§. 26). (De-emphasizing our bad things)*

*c. “America did not seek this global struggle, but we’re answering history’s call with confidence and a clear strategy” (§. 37). (De-emphasizing our bad things)*

We can understand from these sentences that the President Bush denies the bad things of himself as well as the bad things of his country. In sentence (a), he truly wants his country to refuse and deny every word produced from the enemy. In sentence (b), he is making a reference to history by duplicating his words in first sentence (a) to reject and deny the bad things of himself and his country. In sentence (c), he manages to deny what America really look for by giving another good reason for their struggling and fighting.

As we can see, we have highlighted all the positive lexical structures used by the president George W. Bush in his speech and we find that he used 110 direct positive terms to describe himself and his country. Accordingly, the following table reveals the different positive terms used.

**Table 4:** The positive Terms Frequency Used by Bush

Subject	Positive Terms	Frequency
Bush (himself)	Thank/s (11), please (1), kind (1), honored (1), appreciate (3), proud (4), pleased (1), hope/ful (12), bless (2), brave (1), great (7), president (4),	48
America/ Americans	Together (10), freedom (15), secure (4), peace/ful (5), victory (5), protect (2), glory (1), liberty (3), security (4), sovereignty(1), independence (1), justice (1), powerful (1), safe (4), tolerance (2), democracy (3)	62
Total		110

### 2.2.1.2. Form Level

After finishing with meaning level, in this part, we attempt to shed light on the form level presented in George W. Bush discourse. So, we notice that Bush’s Speech includes different syntactic structures that describe him and his country. These structures are used to highlight the positive power of Bush and America. They are illustrated as follows:

*a. “We remember the brave passengers who charged the cockpit of their hijacked plane, and stopped the terrorists from reaching their target and killing more innocent civilians” (§. 05).*

*b. “Together, these documents and statements have given us clear insight into the mind of our enemies\_ their ideology, their ambitions, and their strategy to defeat us” (§. 08).*

In (a) Bush demonstrates the good actions that his country does at that period, i.e., during the 9/11 attacks. He reminds them about their courage and the sacrifices they made to help innocent people survive. Likewise, in (b) Bush highlights the importance of gathering and unifying efforts mainly at war. The latter are considered among the important steps which help them to reach the enemies' strategy. So, here he is exposing what America can really do in order to stop the attacks and win the war:

a. *"I'm not going to allow this to happen and no future American President can allow it either"* (§. 37).

b. *"We'll continue to work closely with our allies to find a diplomatic solution"* (§. 34).

c. *"America will not bow down to tyrants"* (§. 33).

In the above statements, Bush shows how the American values are strong. He expresses his conservative ideology by emphasising on strong and positive values of himself and his country. Besides, he states that whatever the situation is complicated, he will never give up for giving the victory to enemies. By these statements, he manages to show the entire world that America will fight until the end in order to establish a better safe world.

In addition to the syntactic structures, we observe the use of the active voice with an eye to show Bush's good actions like in:

*"I'll explain the strategy we're pursuing to protect America..."* (§. 09)

In the above sentence, Bush attempts to explain the strategy to use to protect America. This is considered as a good action towards his country. And, during the whole speech, George W. Bush repeated several forms in order to express his intention and to put emphasis on important points he wants to accomplish. For instance, Bush repeated these statements:

a. *"Thank you all..."* (§. 01)

The above statement is repeated several times in different forms at the beginning of the speech with an eye to express respect and appreciation to the present people while delivering the speech in addition to those civilized nations who took important roles during the 9/11 attacks to defeat terrorists.

b. *"We remember..."* (§. 05)

George W. Bush repeated the above statement in order to make his people remember the events of the 9/11 attacks and the terrible moments they passed at that time. He used this statement to show that at each anniversary, Americans remember what happened on September the 11<sup>th</sup>, 2001. As far as this speech is concerned, the fifth anniversary of September the 11<sup>th</sup>, 2001 is marked a week after the delivery of this speech. Thus, in Bush words: *“As this day approaches, it brings with it a flood of painful memories”* (§. 05).

Concerning the argumentation structures, Bush argued with a confirmative statement that he will fight the enemy and protect the American citizens in order to promote freedom in America since he is their Commander in-Chief. Accordingly, he says:

*a. “I’m not going to allow this to happen and no future American president can allow it either”* (§. 37).

Furthermore, George W. Bush Speech is characterized by the use of rhetorical devices. In this way, Bush as a president persuades his people effectively and appropriately.

*b. “...we provide great health care to those who wear the uniform”* (§. 04).

The above statement stands for a metonymy in which those who wear the uniform refer to the military corps.

*c. “The anger of Muslims may reach an explosion point soon”* (§. 33).

The above statement stands for Hyperbole since it is an exaggerated statement. In a similar vein, Muslims are human beings; thus, even though they are angry, they will not explode.

*d. “...we’re answering history’s call with confidence and a clear strategy”* (§. 37).

This statement carries out a personification in which a humankind activity is given to a non-human thing. It expresses that the president and his allies will use a specific strategy with an eye to promote freedom in America and the whole world.

*e. “...We’ve learned about them....We’ve learned about them...”* (§. 08)

Bush uses here parallelism in which both sentences are grammatically similar.

*f. “We see a day when people across the Middle East have governments...We see a day when across this region citizens...And we see a day when all the nations of the Middle East...”* (§. 49)

In (f), the sentence expresses a Tricolon (repetition) since Bush lists three things about the Middle East future situation. Thus, he introduced them by repeating the same phrase “We see a day.” He did so with an eye to have audience’ attention and help them understand the coming situation in the Middle East.

*g. “...by defeating the terrorists on the battlefield, and defeating their hateful ideology in the battle of ideas” (§. 09)*

This sentence stands for a hyperbole since Bush clearly used an exaggerated phrase which is “the battle of ideas”. Thus, Bush used it in order to explain the strategy he and his allies are going to pursuit to fight and struggle terrorist’ hateful ideology and this is not only on the battlefields but also with ideas.

### **2.2.1.3. Action Level**

According to Van Dijk framework (2006), Action Level deals with speech acts in which we are going to discover how George W. Bush makes use of them to express his greetings, promises as well as his political strategies in order to convince his audience. As we all know, speech acts are an important part of communication. So, the use of those speech acts adds powerful images of himself, his country, and his strategy which is to defeat Terrorists. For instance, here are some excerpts of Bush Discourse:

*a. “We’ve given our law enforcement and intelligence professionals the tools they need to stop the terrorists in our midst” (§. 39)*

*b. “We created the terrorist Surveillance Program to monitor the communications between al-Qaeda commanders abroad and terrorist operatives within our borders” (§. 39)*

*c. “Together, we pledge we’ll continue to work together to stop the world’s most dangerous men from getting their hands on the world’s most dangerous weapons” (§. 41)*

*d. “The experience of September the 11<sup>th</sup> made clear, in the long run, the only way to secure our nation is to change the course of the Middle East” (§. 45)*

*e. “I’m not going to allow this to happen and no future American President can allow it either” (§. 37)*

In all the statements above, Bush gave us an obvious image to what he and his allies have done to rescue not only America but also all the world from terrorist. He promised his country to continue fighting against the enemy to stop their attacks and their hateful ideology. To do that, he explained well to his public how to do it and how any future American president can do it. Importantly, he provided them with a strategy which they should all know

about and they should all follow in order to save America and bring back freedom to it. In all along his speech, he showed his Republican's ideology which calls for liberty. So, here are some other excerpts of his communicative acts:

*a. "We see a day when across this region citizens are allowed to express themselves freely, women have full rights, and children are educated and given the tools necessary to succeed in life" (§. 49)*

*b. "...We will help America, and the Middle East, and the world become more secure" (§. 45)*

In Bush communicative acts, he promised American citizens as well as people across the Middle East with freedom and with better life.

*c. "This time, we're not waiting for our enemies to gather in strength" (§. 48)*

Also, in this statement he made another promise saying that he will not let the enemy strengthen their force to attack America again. For instance, Bush said:

*a. "We'll continue to work closely with our allies to find a diplomatic solution" (§. 34)*

*b. "we will help the people of the Middle East claim their freedom, and we will leave a safer and more hopeful world for our children and grandchildren" (§. 50)*

In the above statements, Bush promises to work with American allies to find a solution to defeat terrorists and promote freedom in America. He also promises to help people all over the world in order to have a safer world for generations to come.

### **2.2.2. Negative Other-Presentation in Bush' Discourse**

According to Van Dijk in his Ideological Square, negative other presentation is demonstrated through other's negatives. Thus, it is simply used to emphasize the bad actions done by the opponents and de-emphasize their good actions.

#### **2.2.2.1. Meaning Level**

At the meaning level, Bush illustrated the bad sides of his enemies, the terrorists. He does this with an eye to shed light on their negative actions. For instance:

*a. "We remember the cold brutality of the enemy who inflicted this harm on our country\_ an enemy whose leader, Osama bin Laden, declared the massacre of nearly 3,000 people that day..." (§. 05). (Negative Other-Presentation)*

Bush used this sentence to call back the viciousness of terrorists who attacked America on the 9/11. Precisely, he refers to their leader, Osama bin Laden, and says that he committed unforgettable crime at that day. In addition to this, Bush says that al-Qaeda and terrorists continue to attack across the world. Here is an example that shows their roughness offense:

*b. "They've killed the innocent in Europe and Africa and the Middle East, in Central Asia and the Far East, and beyond" (§. 06). (Negative Other-Presentation)*

In this statement, Bush states that the enemies attempt to carry out their crimes and spread their hateful ideology across the world. He also mentioned that these al-Qaeda terrorists and all who share their hateful ideology are called "violent Sunni Extremists", who hope to establish what they call a "Caliphate". For instance:

*a. "These al-Qaeda terrorists and those who share their ideology are violent Sunni extremists. They're driven by a radical and perverted vision of Islam that rejects tolerance, crushes all dissent, and justifies the murder of innocent men, women and children in the pursuit of political power" (§. 10). (Negative Other-Presentation)*

*b. "They hope to establish a violent political utopia across the Middle East, which they call a "Caliphate\_ where all would be ruled according to their hateful ideology" (§. 10). (Negative Other-Presentation)*

So, Bush shows that these Sunni extremists hope to rule the Middle East, the whole world according to their detestable and criminal ideology. Moreover, Bush declares that they have built a corrupted vision of Islam in which they can easily justify their brutality and take the lives of millions of innocent people away. Accordingly, Bush said in the following excerpts:

*a. "The goal of these Sunni extremists is to remake the entire Muslim world in their radical image" (§. 13). (Negative Other-Presentation)*

*b. "These radicals have declared their uncompromising hostility to freedom" (§. 14). (Negative Other-Presentation)*

*c. "There will be continuing enmity until everyone believes in Allah. We will not meet [the enemy] halfway. There will be no room for dialogue with them" (§. 14). (Negative Other-Presentation)*

In the above excerpts, Bush gives us a clear vision about the enemy and what they really wanted to accomplish. He said that their radical image rejects any dialogue with those who are called "infidels" as he stated in the following example:

*"In pursuit of their imperial aims, these extremists say there can be no compromise or dialogue with those they call "infidels"\_ a category that*

*includes America, the world's free nations, Jews, and all Muslims who reject their extreme vision of Islam*" (§. 13). (Negative Other-Presentation)

As we have said before, these extremists' main objective is to widespread their hateful ideology and they will not stop their offense until they remake the Muslim World in their radical image. In addition to this, they will not stop their enmity until everyone believes in Allah and in case they didn't accomplish their longing they prefer death than living with "infidels". Accordingly, Bush illustrated by quoting the words of Osama Bin Laden saying that:

*"Death is better than living on this Earth with the unbelievers among us"* (§. 13). (Negative Other-Presentation)

Another important point that Bush discussed is as follows:

*a. "Still other captured documents show al-Qaeda's strategy for infiltrating Muslim nations, establishing terrorist enclaves, overthrowing governments, and building their totalitarian empire"* (§. 15). (Negative Other-Presentation)

*b. "Through this strategy, al-Qaeda and its allies intend to create numerous, decentralized operating bases across the world, from which they can plan new attacks, and advance their vision of a unified, totalitarian Islamic state that can confront and eventually destroy the free world"* (§. 16). (Negative Other-Presentation)

In the two sentences above, Bush claims that this al-Qaeda and its allies made a strategy in order to establish their undemocratic empire and make the Muslim nation and the whole world in it. Besides, Bush points out that they used this strategy to plan new attacks and consolidate an illiberal Islamic state that can easily destroy the free world. However, Bush clarifies that they can realise their vision only if they destroy their biggest obstacle which is the United States of America. Accordingly, he says:

*"These violent extremists know that to realize this vision, they must first drive out their main obstacle that stands in their way\_ the United States of America"* (§. 17). (Negative Other-Presentation)

So, these violent extremist had a plan which is driving out America from their way. Hence, Bush explains to his public what they are hoping to accomplish and he states that in the following two examples:

*"... hoping that the American people will grow tired of casualties and give up the fight"* (§. 17). (Negative Other-Presentation)

*"These terrorists hope to drive America and our coalition out of Afghanistan, so they can restore the safe haven they lost when coalition forces drove them out five years ago"* (§. 21). (Negative Other-Presentation)

In the above examples, Bush demonstrates that al-Qaeda's real vision aims at terrorizing the American people in order to give up and stop fighting. Besides, it aims at making the American government stop their battle against Afghanistan.

Still, Bush highlights another important point which is as follows:

*a. "...we also face the threat posed by Shia extremists, who are learning from al-Qaeda, increasing their assertiveness, and stepping up their threats" (§. 30). (Negative Other-Presentation)*

*b. "The Shia and Sunni extremists represent different faces of the same threat... but both they seek to impose a dark vision of violent Islamic radicalism across the Middle East" (§. 35). (Negative Other-Presentation)*

As we have seen before, Bush explained very well the goals of Sunni extremists, their radical ideology and violent vision across the "infidels". In addition to this, he mentioned another group which is called the Shia extremists who have the same goals as Sunni extremists. They both seek to bring together an undemocratic Islamic state across the Middle East and widespread their hateful and roughness ideology in order to destroy the free world.

To move to the negative lexical terms that Bush used in his speech, we have selected the following:

**Table 5:** The Negative Terms Frequency Used by Bush

Described Person	Negative Terms	Frequency
Bush (himself)	Hateful (4), enemy (18), disgrace (1), massacre (1), fight (6), dangerous (7), deny (6), mortal (1), evil (4), hostility (3)	51
Al-Qaeda Terrorists (the enemy)	terrorist/s (61), war (14), attack/s (14), painful (1), horror (1), collapse (3), broken (2), brutality (1), harm (1), kill/ed (10), plot/s (3), threat/s (12), violent (7), evil (4), totalitarian (5), horrific (1), beating (2), assassination (1), bombing (3), destruction (8), arrest (1), murder (6), destroy (3), terror (8), terrorize (1), misery (1), humiliation (1), struggle (6), jihad (1), tyranny (4),, blast (1), tyrants	194

	(1), terrorism (3), battle (3)	
Total		245

### 2.2.2.2. Form Level

As far as the form level is concerned, we can see that Bush represented his enemies in his discourse through the use of negative representations. Also, we can notice the use of rhetoric to emphasize the other negative or bad things in Bush discourse.

*a. “The whole world is an open field for us” (§. 11)*

This statement carries out a metaphor which conveys the meaning of having the capacity to own the whole world.

*b. “We remember the cold brutality of the enemy who inflicted this harm on our country” (§. 05)*

The above statement also stands for a Hyperbole since Bush exaggerated by adding the term cold to ‘brutality’ which is in itself enough to express the enemies’ hateful ideology.

*c “...victory and glory or misery and humiliation” (§. 21)*

The above sentence is expressing synonymy and antonymy. This sentence is said by Osama bin Laden with an eye to show that the war can be either won or lost.

*d. “Osama bin Laden has written that the ‘defeat of... American forces in Beirut’ in 1983 is proof America does not have the stomach to stay in the fight” (p. 20)*

This statement stands for an idiomatic expression “have the stomach” since it conveys the meaning that America does not have the courage and determination to carry out the war.

*e. “Bin Laden and his terrorist allies have made their intentions as clear as Lenin and Hitler before them” (§. 27)*

In (e), Bush used an analogy to highlight the intentions in which Bin Laden & his allies and Lenin & Hitler are alike.

*f. “...in undermining fragile democracies, like Iraq...” (§. 35)*

This sentence stands for a personification in which a humankind activity is given to a non-human thing. In other words, democracies cannot be fragile whereas human beings can be since they have feelings and emotions rather than other creatures.

g. *“...Death to America will remain...Death to America”* (§. 32)

In (g), Bush claims that terrorist Nasrallah repeated this form in order to show his hateful ideology towards America.

h. *“We’ve witnessed their ability to change their methods and their tactics with deadly speed...”* (§. 46)

Also, in the above sentence, Bush used an oxymoron “deadly speed” in which he combined between two contradictory words. Hence, he used it in order to attract his audience’s attention and encourage them to think deeply about a specific idea.

i. *“...where anger and resentment grew...”* (§. 44)

This statement carries out a personification in which a human quality is attributed to a non-living thing. That is, Bush used it to show that the lack of freedom in the Middle East helped the enemy to widespread their radicalism over the country.

### **2.2.2.3. Action Level**

At the action level, we are going to examine how the president George W. Bush makes use of speech acts of both promises and accusations with an eye to express other’s negatives. Thus, the use of these speech acts described all the bad things and actions of his enemy.

Accordingly, Bush says:

a. *“Under the rule of the Taliban and al-Qaeda, Afghanistan was a totalitarian nightmare\_ a land where women were imprisoned in their homes, men were beaten for missing prayer meetings, girls could not go to school, and children were forbidden the smallest pleasures like flying kites”* (§. 12)

b. *“Al-Qaeda aims at creating pressure from the American people on the American government to stop their campaign against Afghanistan”* (§. 19)

In (a) and (b), Bush employed a speech act which expresses accusations to show his negative perception of al-Qaeda. Through these accusations, he shows that the Taliban and al-Qaeda have bad actions since they imposed their hateful ideology and made Afghanistan a nightmare land that imprisoned people in their radical empire. Thus, Bush asserts that al-Qaeda wanted to drive out American government to stop fighting against Afghanistan.

c. *“They reject the possibility of peaceful coexistence with the free world”*  
(§.13)

d. *“And they’re targeting America’s financial centers and economic infrastructure at home, hoping to terrorize us and cause our economy to collapse”* (§. 17)

e. *“...they would blackmail the free world, and spread their ideologies of hate, and raise a mortal threat to the American people”* (§. 36)

In (c), (d) and (e), Bush used these speech acts in which he accused the Sunni extremists of rejecting any compromises with ‘infidels’ to bring peace and freedom to the world. Also, they wanted to widespread their dark vision and hateful ideology. Accordingly, he uses these accusations to show the whole world that these violent extremists wanted to terrorize American citizens and destroy America’s economy. Besides, Bush says:

a. *“America did not seek this global struggle, but we’re answering history’s call with confidence and clear strategy”* (§. 37)

b. *“The enemy is living under constant pressure, and we intend to keep it that way\_ and this adds to our security”* (§. 38)

Bush expresses in (a) and (b) a promise which he says that they are making suitable and powerful strategy in which they will fight the enemy and make them living under pressure until they will have better life security.

c. *“...we’ll stop the terrorists from taking control of Iraq, and establishing a new safe haven from which to attack America and the free world”* (§. 43)

d. *“...we’re confronting them before they gain the capacity to inflict unspeakable damage on the world, and we’re confronting their hateful ideology before it fully takes root”* (§. 48)

Besides, we can understand from these two communicative acts that are used as a promise of defeating terrorists’ attacks against not only America but also against the free world. Thus, Bush promises America to stop their hateful ideology and to build up a new safe world.

### **2.3. Personal and Possessive Pronouns**

With the extensive reading of “*Global War on Terror*” speech, we notice that Bush used a great deal of the personal pronoun “we”, the possessive pronoun “our”, and the pronoun “us” with an eye to show togetherness among Americans and with his allies. Besides, he used the personal pronoun “they”, the possessive pronoun “their”, and the pronoun “them” to emphasis the bad deeds of his enemies. This is clearly shown in these tables.

**Table 6:** Frequency of Occurrence of Personal Pronouns

<b>Personal Pronouns</b>	<b>Frequency</b>
<b>I</b>	19
<b>We</b>	99
<b>Us</b>	16
<b>They</b>	56

**Table 7:** Frequency of Occurrence of Possessive Pronouns

<b>Possessive Pronouns</b>	<b>Frequency</b>
<b>Our</b>	43
<b>Their</b>	63

The above tables represent the frequency of the personal pronouns and the possessive pronouns that Bush used all along his speech in order to refer to his allies and his enemies. Using personal pronouns shows the intimacy and closeness to his nation. Thus, Bush employed a great number of the pronouns “we” and “us”, in addition to the possessive pronoun “our”. Moreover, by referring to the enemies, Bush used the personal pronoun “they” and the possessive pronoun “their”.

#### **2.4. The Logic of Islamophobia**

Generally speaking, public speeches often make reference to religion. Hence, as a political discourse, Bush refers in his speech to different religions, mainly Islam. Thus, he refers to terrorists who attacked the free world as violent Sunni extremists. Therefore, he did so to express his ideology against them. These terrorists who attacked America have marked painful memories in the minds of Americans. Besides, Americans and all those who were attacked by al-Qaeda terrorists are afraid of them since their ideology stands for terrorizing and defeating the free world. As Bush cited in his speech “*Global War on Terror*”, “*They’re driven by a radical and perverted vision of Islam that rejects tolerance, crushes all dissent, and justifies the murder of innocent men, women and children in the pursuit of political power*” (§. 10). From the words of Bush, we understand that these terrorists are driven by a radical, violent, and extremist vision of Islam. Thus, people all around the world are afraid of them and this fear reached the extent of phobia. Hence, we refer to them as Islamophobs.

Accordingly, as researchers, history and the literature teach us that Islamophobia is regarded as a phenomenal issue which existed before the 9/11 events. Therefore, understanding Islamophobia requires different definitions by various scholars, linguists, and researchers which help us to have a clear insight on what Islamophobia really means. Hence, according to Beydoun (2018), Islamophobia is defined as the presumption that Islam is inherently violent, alien, and unassimilable; a presumption driven by the belief that expressions of Muslim identity correlate with a propensity for terrorism (Beydoun, 2018, p.28). In simple words, he hypothesized that Islam is originally violent and cannot be assimilated. This hypothesis is driven by the belief that the identity of Muslims is consistent with the tendency of terrorism belief. Moreover, according to Ramberg (2004), Islamophobia can be defined as:

*The fear of or prejudiced view point towards Islam, Muslims and matters pertaining to them. Islamophobia is not a new phenomenon but we know that today many Muslim communities in Europe are experiencing an increasingly hostile environment towards them characterised by suspicion, deep-rooted prejudice, ignorance, and, in some cases, physical and verbal harassment. Whether it takes the shape of daily forms of racism and discrimination or more violent forms, Islamophobia is a violation of human rights and a threat to social cohesion (Ramberg, 2004, p. 06).*

In other words, Ramberg (2004) defines Islamophobia as the fright of Islam, Muslims and all what is in relation to them. He states that it is not a new phenomenon since it existed long time ago. Nowadays, it is clear since many Muslim communities are experiencing an environment which is opposed to them with all kinds of ignorance, physical and verbal harassment. Thus, he explains Islamophobia as violation of human identity and discrimination of their beliefs.

Furthermore, Trust (1997, p.1) defines Islamophobia as “a useful shorthand way of referring to dread or hatred of Islam—and, therefore, to fear or dislike of all or most Muslims”. Simply, he points out that from the term Islamophobia we can easily understand that it refers to the fright, detestation, terror, and hostility to Islam and Muslims.

## 2.4.1. Dimensions of Islamophobia

In his book entitled “*American Islamophobia*”, Beydoun (2018) stated three main dimensions of Islamophobia which are as follows: Private Islamophobia, Structural Islamophobia, and Dialectical Islamophobia. They are briefly discussed as follows:

### 2.4.1.1. Private Islamophobia

According to Beydoun (2018), private Islamophobia is all the violent, dread and hatred actions targeting Muslims by specific actors implicitly linked to the state. Accordingly, he defined private Islamophobia as “*the fear, suspicion, and violent targeting of Muslims by private actors. These actors could be individuals or institutions acting in a capacity not directly tied to the state*” (Beydoun, 2018, p. 32). Besides, through Beydoun’s (2018) definition of private Islamophobia, we can understand that the private actors can be individuals or institutions that are not directly related to the state.

Moreover, Beydoun (2018, p. 33) provided us with a clear example of private Islamophobia which is “Craig Hicks’s murder of the three Muslim American students in Chapel Hill.” Accordingly, we have been able to relate this example to the speech we analyse by providing another sentence that describes private Islamophobia. Hence, Bush says: “*...slaughtering huge numbers of innocent Muslim men and women around the world*” (§. 46). So, Bush’s sentence demonstrates that private Islamophobia is clearly present and practiced.

### 2.4.1.2. Structural Islamophobia

According to Beydoun (2018) structural Islamophobia is:

*The fear and suspicion of Muslims on the part of government institutions and actors. This fear and suspicion are manifested and enforced through the enactment and advancement of laws, policy, and programming built upon the presumption that Muslim identity is associated with a national security threat (Beydoun, 2018, p. 36).*

In simple words, Beydoun explains Structural Islamophobia as the fear of Muslims by the government. This fear is manifested through a legislation made on the hypothesis that the identity of Muslims is related to a national security threat. Besides, Beydoun (2018, p. 37) said that structural Islamophobia is manifested by historic policy and state action against Islam and Muslims; and most visibly today, by the abundant laws, policies, and programs enacted to police Muslims during the protracted war on terror. That is to say, he claimed that

structural Islamophobia displayed by significant plans and strategies against Islam and Muslims, but today, it is displayed by liberal laws and programs with an eye to protect Muslims, especially during war on terror that lasts years. Hence, we can quote an example from the speech we analyse; *“We’re taking the side of democratic leaders and moderates and reformers across the Middle East”* (§. 45). Thus, Bush is strongly with the idea of protecting the Middle East and developing liberty and democracy in that Muslim World.

### **2.4.1.3. Dialectal Islamophobia**

As far as Dialectal Islamophobia is concerned, according to Beydoun (2018), it is the process by which structural Islamophobia shapes, reshapes, and endorses views or attitudes about Islam and Muslim subjects inside and outside of America’s borders (Beydoun, 2018, p. 40). Simply, Beydoun explains dialectal Islamophobia as the method by which structural Islamophobia forms, reforms and accepts positions about Islam and Muslim subjects within and outside the boundaries of America.

After having a clear insight into the meaning of Islamophobia and its dimensions, we move to cite some authentic examples used by Bush in his *“Global War on Terror”* speech in order to analyse what his sentences express. Hence, this can help us to discover his point of view towards Muslims before and after the 9/11.

Accordingly, Bush says:

*a. “I’ll discuss how the enemy has adapted in the wake of our sustained offensive against them, and the threat posed by different strains of violent Islamic radicalism”* (§. 09)

*b. “This Caliphate would be a totalitarian Islamic empire encompassing all current and former Muslim lands, stretching from Europe to North Africa, the Middle East, and Southeast Asia”* (§. 11)

*c. “...they can plan new attacks, and advance their vision of a unified, totalitarian Islamic state that can confront and eventually destroy the free world”* (§. 16)

*d. “These violent extremists know that to realize this vision, they must first drive out the main obstacle that stands in their way\_ the United States of America”* (§. 17)

*e. “...Some of these groups are made up of “homegrown” terrorists, militant extremists who were born and educated in Western nations, were indoctrinated by radical Islamists or attracted to their ideology, and joined the violent extremist cause”* (§. 29)

From the above selected examples, we can understand that Bush refers to Islamophobia by expressing the negative feelings he has towards extremist Muslims or terrorists. In (a), Bush says that he will discuss the threats posed by violent Islamic radicalism across the free world. In (b), and (c) he talks about the Caliphate saying that he would build a totalitarian Islamic empire that stretches a large number of Muslim nations across the world. Besides, this totalitarian empire can destroy the free world. In (d), Bush says that these violent extremists are willing to accomplish their goals but before doing so, they want to destroy what is standing in their way. That is, the United States of America. In (e), Bush says that the radical Islamists he refers to as terrorists were born in Western nations and joined violent extremist cause.

*a. "There will be continuing enmity until everyone believes in Allah" (§. 14)*

*b. "Still other captured documents show al-Qaeda's strategy for infiltrating Muslim nations, establishing terrorist enclaves, overthrowing governments, and building their totalitarian empire" (§. 15)*

*c. "Al-Qaeda and its allies intend to create numerous, decentralized operating bases across the world, from which they can plan new attacks, and advance their vision of a unified, totalitarian Islamic state that can confront and eventually destroy the free world" (§. 16)*

*d. "In pursuit of their imperial aims, these extremists say there can be no compromise or dialogue with those they call "infidels" a category that includes America, the world's free nations, Jews and all Muslims who reject their extreme vision of Islam. They reject the possibility of peaceful coexistence with the free world" (§. 13)*

From the above sentences, we can understand that Bush discussed "Islamophobia" by referring to terrorists' hateful ideology and their violent Islamic radicalism. Through the above examples, Bush explained well what al-Qaeda terrorists wanted to achieve, and what are their beliefs. Specifically, in (a), (b) and (c), Bush explains that the enemies will continue their evil work until everyone believes in Allah. These al-Qaeda terrorists and their allies intend to have a number of bases all over the world, so they will be able to plan their attacks and have control over the free world. Besides, in (d), Bush gives us a clear insight about the terrorist's main strategy to defeat the free world and their dark vision to establish undemocratic Islamic state which can help them to confront and destroy the free world.

Moreover, Bush, as cited in his speech "Global War on Terror", adds that:

*a. "This Shia strain of Islamic radicalism is just as dangerous, and just as hostile to America, and just as determined to establish its brand of hegemony across the broader Middle East" (§. 30)*

*b. "Our hostility to the Great Satan [America] is absolute...Regardless of how the world has changed after 11 September, Death to America will remain our reverberating and powerful slogan: Death to America" (§. 32)*

*c. "Each strain of violent Islamic radicalism would be emboldened in their efforts to topple moderate governments and establish terrorist safe havens" (§.35)*

During 9/ 11 attacks, America experienced damage, pain, terror, fright and death of nearly 3,000 people. Bush and his allies assert that it was the terrorists who attacked them at that day. As we can quote: *"And we saw the consequences on September the 11<sup>th</sup>, when the terrorists brought death and destruction to our country"* (§. 44). According to his speech, mainly to the above examples, he called them violent Islamic radicalism since their basic ideology stands for unifying the Muslim world and establishing it according to their radical, violent and extremist image. Besides, Bush argued that this event made American citizens quiet afraid and terrorized from all the Muslims. Thus, these Americans are called Islamophobes.

Furthermore, Bush utilizes the above sentences to convince his people and his nation about what he has already explained before that the terrorists wanted to defeat America and destroy it. In addition to this, he notes that terrorists' hostility remains great and dangerous against America, and the only idea they have is to bring death and destruction to the country. Thus, they wanted to establish terrorist's new safe havens.

Besides, we have seen in our corpus that Bush had a completely negative vision against terrorists' ideology and their violent Islamic radicalism that we have mentioned several times before. However, we can also say that Bush limited his vision by not all the Muslims are terrorists and Islam' religion is not radical. Hence, here is some of Bush' sentences:

*d. "We strongly support the voices of tolerance and moderation in the Muslim world" (§. 45)*

*e. "We've seen that it's the terrorists who have declared war on Muslims, slaughtering huge numbers of innocent Muslim men and women around the world" (§.46)*

*f. "We know what the terrorists believe, we know what they have done, and we know what they intend to do" (§. 47)*

According to the above examples (d), (e) and (f), Bush supports the voices of the entire Muslim world which allow us to understand that he is with straight Muslims and not

against. Indeed, he discovered their fidelity and he learnt much about their ideology, tactics and beliefs. Hence, he has seen that those terrorists themselves proclaim war on Muslims. Thus, they killed many innocent Muslims around the world.

### **Section Three: Conclusions, Limitations, and Suggestions for Further Research**

The application of Van Dijk Model (2006) has helped us to understand Bush's use of ideological strategies. Therefore, in this section, we provide a set of conclusions of our research. Moreover, it is true that we have applied the selected model and analysed our speech successfully, but it is quite important to mention some limitations. Besides, our analysis of Bush's ideological strategies has helped us to suggest some ideas for further research.

#### **2.5. Conclusions of the Study**

As novice researchers, we modestly believe that we have successfully applied Van Dijk Model (2006) with an eye to analyze George W. Bush "*Global War on Terror*" speech and draw strong conclusions and results. Likewise, it is quite important to manifest that we have asked three significant questions that are directly related to the kernel of our research work that is discovering Bush's ideological strategies. Moreover, we have proposed three pre-answers to present our assumptions. First of all, we have assumed that Bush uses various ideological strategies. That is, ideology cannot be removed from his speeches. So, from our extensive and frequent reading of the speech, and according to our analysis, we can confirm the validity of our first assumption. In simple words, the application of Van Dijk Model (2006) has helped us to know that Bush used a number of ideological strategies. Besides, this confirms the validity of our second assumption where we supposed that Van Dijk Model (2006) can be applied to critically analyse Bush's speech. Moreover, Bush implements some of the rhetoric in his speech to attract his listeners, influence their thinking, and put emphasis on some points. Moreover, he wants to accomplish and persuade the Americans and his allies. In other words, Bush uses rhetorical devices in addition to ideological strategies in order to persuade and win the trust of his audience. Thus, this confirms the validity and truth of our third assumption.

Accordingly, since our assumptions are confirmed, it is quite important to mention the conclusions we have reached after analysing "*Global War on Terror*" speech. As a result, Bush uses a great deal of strategies throughout his discourse to accomplish his political aims. These strategies incorporate his ideological representation which is reflected in positive self-

presentation and negative other-presentation. To make reference to the ideological polarization, Bush has used discursive tactics represented in the use of 'US' vs. 'THEM.' Regarding the positive self-presentation strategy, Bush emphasises the good things of himself and his country; whereas, in negative other-presentation strategy, he emphasises others' bad things and their bad strategy. Moreover, he selects positive matters and lexical terms to put himself in the highest regard, in addition to his country, and his plans. Besides, he uses disclaimers or denials to reject bad and negative things in himself, his plans, and his country. In addition to this, he depends on the syntactic structures to highlight the positive image of himself, his country and his strategy. Also, he employs active voice to put emphasis on his good actions for his country America. Concerning the rhetorical structures, Bush employs a number of repetitions of his good actions. Furthermore, the action level which embodies the use of speech acts of promise to create a good image about Bush himself. Therefore, Bush's ideologies of liberalism, fiscal, social conservatism, and federalism are revealed by his discursive tactics. Concerning the negative other-presentation strategy, Bush emphasised two distinct tactics: he shed lighted on the bad actions of his opponents and America's opponents and de-emphasised others' good actions. Besides, he employs negative terms to represent his emulators and emphasised their negative actions. In the meaning level, Bush repeated many times the bad actions of his opponents and emulators. In order to do this, he used rhetorical devices. Nevertheless, we observed at the action level that Bush uses communicative and speech acts of accusation to show the bad image of his enemies as well as to denote their hateful ideology. Therefore, Bush's ideologies as a republican are clearly shown.

Accordingly, through our analysis of the corpus we have noticed that Bush' speech carries communicative acts that are ideologically expressed. Hence, those communicative acts are said to be used for the manipulation and control of the audience's unanimity. The latter are used in a way that Bush's speech is mainly featured by social inclusion and exclusion, family, battle, and humanism. Besides, he used them to make his discourse mighty. Also, we have used rhetorical analysis by identifying repetitions, metaphors..., etc. Besides, all along the speech, Bush uses personal and possessive pronouns. Using these pronouns, he shows intimacy towards his allies, and expresses his negative views against his enemies. In addition to the use of pronouns, Bush uses positive and negative terms. Besides, we have noticed that Bush used negative terms more than positive ones.

Moreover, since Islam and Muslims are quite discussed in the speech by referring to the terrorists as being Sunni extremists and to their violent Islamic radicalism, we opted for a

short overview of the logic of Islamophobia while making reference to what has been said in the speech.

After having analysed George W. Bush “*Global War on Terror*” speech relying on Van Dijk Model (2006), we have produced the following conclusions

- George W. Bush uses positive self-presentation and negative other-presentation.
- Bush uses polarization ‘US’ vs. ‘THEM’
- Bush uses repetitions to stress ‘Our’ good and ‘Their’ bad actions.
- Bush’s discourse embodies ideologies of conservatism.
- Bush’s discourse is characterized by the use of social inclusion and exclusion..., etc.
- The manner how Bush talks makes reference to his enthusiasm to protect human rights, and protecting the American nation.
- We could successfully apply Van Dijk Model (2006) in the analysis. Thus, it is a relevant and suitable model for such studies. Hence, the questions of the present study are all answered.
- Finally, the assumptions of the present study are all accepted and confirmed.

## **2.6. Limitations of the Study**

It is quite important to note that our study is limited to only one political speech entitled “*Global War on Terror*”. Besides, our study is based on Van Dijk Model (2006) only. As any researcher, we faced some difficulties during our study. Among these difficulties we noticed the lack of books of CDA in our library which pushed us to look for references elsewhere. Moreover, we faced time constraint to complete our research work. Yet, one should know that these limitations push us to work harder and carry on our investigation to make our research work successful and valid.

## **2.7. Suggestions for Further Research**

As researchers, we have applied Van Dijk Model (2006) to analyse George W. Bush “*Global War on Terror*” speech; mainly his ideological strategies. Besides, we drew strong and valid conclusions about Bush’s use of ideology and the characteristics that feature his speech. Most importantly, our present research is a Discourse Analysis study that helped us to suggest some interesting ideas for further research. These new insights are as follows:

- We have applied Van Dijk Model (2006) to analyse one speech of Bush (i.e. *Global War on Terror*); so, others can apply it to analyse more than one or two speeches.
- Looking for another model that can be applied to analyse Bush's ideological strategies and compare it to the one of Van Dijk (2006) in terms of applicability and validity and strength of results.
- Other researchers can use Van Dijk Model (2006) to conduct a comparative study between Bush's ideology and other presidents' ideologies.
- Future researchers can use two models of other scholars that can be applied to analyze Bush's ideological strategies.

To conclude, the ideas cited above are just humble ideas that we suggest to help those who want to conduct research in Discourse Analysis. Besides, we think that our suggestions can be transformed into interesting research topics.

## **Conclusion**

In the practical chapter, we have applied our analytical model Van Dijk (2006) with an eye to analyse our corpus "*Global War on Terror*" speech. We came to conclude that this model is successfully applicable to critically analyse the ideologies that are our main objective.

## General Conclusion

In the present study, we have been able to critically analyze George W. Bush “*Global War on Terror*” speech that took place on September the 05<sup>th</sup>, 2006 in Washington D.C. In this speech, Bush seeks to remind Americans about the 9/11 events. Besides, the use of Van Dijk Model (2006) guided us to discover that Bush speech is full of ideologies meanwhile it helped us to sort out those main ideological strategies in his discourse. Thus, those strategies carry out positive self-presentation and negative other-presentation, as mentioned in Van Dijk Model (2006). Similarly, Bush expressed himself through the use of polarization symbolized in his use of “US” vs. “THEM”. More specifically, Bush makes use of “US” to refer to his enthusiasm to protect human rights, and protecting the American nation. However, he makes use of “THEM” to refer to his enemies and their hateful ideology. We have been able to apply the Van Dijk Model (2006) that consists of three main levels of analysis: Meaning, Form, and Action in both positive self-presentation and negative other-presentation. Besides, we have successfully reached to analyze all the aspects presented in the Van Dijk Model (2006). Thus, we came to conclusion that Van Dijk Model is applicable for our corpus which is “*Global War on Terror*”. Accordingly, it is applicable for political speeches especially when they are approached from a critical discourse analysis perspective. Hence, the questions of the present study are all answered and the assumptions are all confirmed. Moreover, through our analysis, we noticed that Bush uses more negative terms rather than positive ones because he wanted to put emphasis on the bad actions of his enemies. In addition to this, Bush’s speech is mainly featured by social inclusion and exclusion, battle, conservatism and humanism. Since Bush speech makes reference to religion, Islam and Muslims are quite discussed in the speech. Therefore, we contributed to the study by dealing with the logic of Islamophobia. Accordingly, we noticed that Bush refers to Islamophobia as the fear of Islam. However, he logically distinguished between al-Qaeda terrorists and straight friendly Muslims. Furthermore, it is quite important to mention that our speech is limited to one speech “*Global War on Terror*” only and it is based on Van Dijk Model (2006) only. Noteworthy, as any researcher, we faced some difficulties in which we can mention the lack of references and the lack of books of critical discourse analysis in our library.

## References

- Alba-Juez, L. (2009). *Perspectives on Discourse Analysis: Theory and Practice*. Newcastle Upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing.
- Alba-Juez, L. (2016). Discourse Analysis and Pragmatics: Their Scope and Relation. *Russian Journal of Linguistics*, 20 (4), 43—55.
- Al Maghlouth, S.H. (2017). *A Critical Discourse Analysis of Social Change in Women-related Posts on Saudi English-Language Blogs Posted between 2009 and 2012*. (Unpublished Doctoral Dissertation, University of Lancaster, UK).
- Altheide, D.L. (2004). Consuming Terrorism. *Symbolic Interaction*, 27, 289–308.
- Althusser, L. (1971). *Ideology and Ideological State Apparatuses: Notes towards an Investigation*. NY: Monthly Review Press.
- Austin, J. L. (1962). *How to do things with words*. Oxford: Clarendon.
- Awan, A, G. & Yahia, M. (2016). Critical Discourse Analysis of Ahmad Ali's Novel "Twilight in Delhi". *Institute of Southern Punjab*. 28(2), 2047-2052.
- Bayram, F (2010). Ideology and Political Discourse: A Critical Discourse Analysis of Erdogan's Political Speech. *ARECLS*, 7, 23-40.
- Beydoun, A. K. (2018). *American Islamophobia: Understanding the Roots and Rise of Fear*. California: California University Press.
- Biography*. (2019). *George Walker Bush*. Retrieved from: <http://www.biography.com>
- Blommaret, J. (2005). *Discourse. A Critical Introduction*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Brown, G. & G. Yule (1983). *Discourse Analysis*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Charteris-Black, J. (2005). *Politicians and Rhetoric: The Persuasive Power of Metaphor*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Chimombo, M. & Roseberry, R. L. (1998), *The Power of Discourse: An Introduction to Discourse Analysis*. Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.
- Chomsky, N. (1957). *Syntactic Structures*. The Hague: Mouton.
- Chouliaraki, L., & Fairclough, N. (1999). *Discourse in Late Modernity: Rethinking Critical Discourse Analysis*, Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.
- Crystal, D. (1985). *A Dictionary of Linguistics and Phonetics*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Crystal, D. (1987). *The Cambridge Encyclopedia of Language*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- D'Souza, D (2006) *What's so great about America?* Retrieved from <http://www.wisdomworld.info/dinesh-dsouza>
- Duszak, A. & Fairclough, N. (2008). *Krytyczna analiza dyskursu: Interdyscyplinarne podejście do komunikacji społecznej*. [Critical discourse analysis: An interdisciplinary approach to communication]. Kraków: Universitas.
- Fairclough, N. (1989). *Language and power*. Longman, UK.

- Fairclough, N. (1995). *Critical discourse analysis*. London: Longman.
- Fairclough, N. (2001). *Language and Power*. London: Longman.
- Fairclough, N. & Graham, P. (2002). "Marx as a Critical Discourse Analyst: The Genesis of a Critical Method and its Relevance to the Critique of Global Capital." *Estudios de Sociolingüística*, 3,1, 185-229.
- Fairclough, N. (2003). *Analysing Discourse: Textual Analysis for Social Research*. London: Routledge.
- Fairclough, N. (2012). Critical Discourse Analysis. In J. P. Gee & M. Handford (1<sup>st</sup> ed.), *The Routledge Handbook of Discourse Analysis* (pp. 9-20). UK: Routledge.
- Filardo, L, L & Boyd, M, S. (2018). Critical Discourse Analysis and Politics. In John Flowerdew and John E. Richardson. (Eds.). *The Handbook of Critical Discourse Studies*. (pp.312- 327). USA: Routledge.
- Flowerdew, J. (2018). Critical Discourse Studies and Context. In John Flowerdew and John E. Richardson. (Eds.). *The Handbook of Critical Discourse Studies*. (pp. 165- 178). USA: Routledge.
- Fowler, R., Hodge, R., Kress, G., & Trew, T. (1979). *Language and Control*. London: Routledge.
- Fowler, R. (1986). *Linguistic Criticism*. Oxford: OUP.
- Fowler, R. (2009). Notes on critical linguistics. In J. E. Joseph (ed.). *Language and Politics. Major Themes in English Studies*. (pp. 271-282). London: Routledge.
- Gadalla, H.A. (2012). Ideological Strategies in Barack Obama's. *Bulletin of the Faculty of Arts*, 41,9-45.
- Gastil, J. (1992). Undemocratic Discourse: A Review of Theory and Research on Political discourse. *Discourse and Society* 1, 3, 469-500.
- Gee, J. P. (1990). *Social linguistics and literacies: Ideology in discourses*. London: The Falmer Press.
- Goodwin, C. and Duranti, A. (1992). Rethinking context: An introduction. In A. Duranti and C. Goodwin (eds.). *Rethinking context: Language as an interactive phenomenon*. (pp.1-42.) Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Gramsci, A. (1971). *Selections from the Prison Notebooks*. London: Lawrence & Wishart.
- Grice, H.P. (1975). Logic and Conversation. In P. Cole and J. Morgan (Eds.). *Syntax and semantics: 3: Speech acts*, (pp. 41-58). New York: Academic Press.
- Halliday, M.A.K., & Hasan, R. (1976). *Cohesion in English*. London: Longman.
- Halliday, M.A.K. (1985b). *Spoken and Written Language*. Victoria: Deakin University Press.
- Hewitt, J.P. & Stokes, R. (1975). Disclaimers. *American Sociological Review*, 40, 1-11.
- Hodge, R., and G. Kress. (1993). *Language as Ideology*. London: Routledge.

- Jackson, R. (2007) The Core Commitments of Critical Terrorism Studies. *European Political Science*, 6(3), 244–51.
- Jäger, S. and Florentine, M. (2009). “Theoretical and Methodological Aspects of Foucauldian Critical Discourse Analysis and Dispositive Analysis.” In Ruth Wodak and Michael Meyer, (Eds). *Methods of Critical Discourse Analysis*. (pp. 34-61). London: Sage.
- Johnstone, B. (2002). *Discourse Analysis*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Jones, R. H. (2004). The problem of context in computer-mediated communication. In P. Levine & R. Scollon (Eds.), *Discourse and Technology: Multimodal Discourse Analysis* (pp. 20–33). Washington, DC: Georgetown University Press.
- Jørgensen, M & Phillips, L. (2002). *Discourse Analysis as Theory and Method*, New Delhi: Sage.
- Kamalu, I. & Agangan, R. (2011). *A Critical Discourse Analysis of goodluck Jonathan’s declaration of interest in the PDP presidential primaries*. Language and Society, Research Committee 25 of the International Sociological Association. University of Ibadan, Nigeria.
- Kasper, G. (Editor) (1993). *Interlanguage Pragmatics*. NC: Oxford University Press.
- Kellner, D. (2004). Media Propaganda and Spectacle in the War on Iraq: A Critique of U.S. Broadcasting Networks. *Cultural Studies: Critical Methodologies*, 4, 329–38.
- Macarro, S.A. (2002). *Windows on the World: Media Discourse in English*. Valencia: University of Valencia Press.
- Marthoz, J-P. (2017). Media on the Front Lines. In Marthoz. (Ed.). *A Handbook of Terrorism and the Media*. (pp. 27-32). France: UNESCO
- McArthur, T. (1996). *The Oxford Companion to the English Language*. Oxford University Press.
- McCarthy, M. (1991). *Discourse Analysis for Language Teachers*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Morris, C. (1938). *Foundations of the theory of signs*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Nunan, D. (1993). *Introducing Discourse Analysis*. Penguin Books.
- Ogunmuyiwa, H, O. (2015). A Critical Discourse Analysis of Corruption in Presidential Speeches. *International Journal for Innovation Education and Research*. 3, 12.
- O’Halloran, KA. (2001). Critical Discourse Analysis. In J, Simpson (Ed.). *The Routledge Handbook of Applied Linguistics*. (pp. 445-459). New York: Routledge.
- O’keeffe, A. (2006). *Investigating Media Discourse*. UK: Routledge.
- O’Keeffe, A; Clancy, B; & Adolphs, S. (2011). *Introducing Pragmatics in Use*. USA: Routledge.
- Paltridge, B. (2012). *Discourse Analysis: An Introduction*. London: Continuum.
- Polyzou, A. (2018). Pragmatics and critical discourse studies. In John Flowerdew and John E. Richardson. (Eds.). *The Handbook of Critical Discourse Studies*. (pp. 195- 214). USA: Routledge.

- Ramberg, I. (2004). *Islamophobia and its Consequences on Young People*. Hungary: Hungary Press.
- Rogers, R. (2004). Critical Approaches to Discourse Analysis in Educational Research. In Rogers. (Ed.). *An Introduction to Critical Discourse Analysis in Education*. (pp. 1-18). New York: Lawrence Erlbaum.
- Sampson, G. (1980). *School of Linguistics: Competition and Evaluation*. London: Longman.
- Schiffrin, D., Tannen, D., & Hamilton, H.E. (Eds.). (2001). *The Handbook of Discourse Analysis*. USA: Blackwell Publishers.
- Seib, P. (2004). *Beyond the Front Lines: How the News Media Cover a World Shaped by War*. New York, Palgrave Macmillan.
- Shakoury, K. (2018). *Critical Discourse Analysis of Iranian Presidents' Addresses to the United Nations General Assembly (2007-2016)*. (Unpublished Master's Thesis) University of Saskatchewan, Saskatoon.
- Sipra, M, A. & Rachid, A. (2013). Critical Discourse Analysis of Martin Luther King's Speech in Socio-Political Perspective. *Advances in Language and Literary Studies*. V 4, 1.
- Skënderi, E. (2014). *A Critical Analysis of the Political Discourse* (Unpublished Master's Thesis) University of Bergen, Norway.
- Trust. R. (1997). *Islamophobia: A Challenge for Us All*. London: Runnymede Trust.
- Turner, M. J., Switzer, K., & Redden, C. (1996). *American government: Principles and practices*. USA: Glencoe/ McGraw-Hill.
- Van Dijk, T.A. (1977). *Text and Context. Explorations in the Semantics and Pragmatics of Discourse*. New York: Longman.
- Van Dijk, T.A. (1985). *A Handbook of Discourse Analysis*. London: Academic Press Limited.
- Van Dijk, T.A. (1995). Aims of Critical Discourse Analysis. *Japanese Discourse*, 1(1), 17-27.
- Van Dijk, T.A. (1995). Power and the News Media. In David Paletz (Ed.), *Political Communication and Action*. Cresskill: Hampton Press, pp. 9-36.
- Van Dijk, T.A. (1997). *Discourse as Structure and Process of Discourse Studies: A multidisciplinary introduction. Volume I*. London: SAGE Publications.
- Van Dijk, T.A. (1997). *Discourse Studies. A Multidisciplinary Introduction*. London: Sage.
- Van Dijk, T.A. (1997a). *Discourse Studies: A multidisciplinary introduction: Vol 1. Discourse as Structure and Process*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Van Dijk, T.A. (1997c). The Study of Discourse. In T.A. Van Dijk (Ed.), *Discourse Studies: A Multidisciplinary Introduction: Vol.1. Discourse as Structure and Process* (pp. 1- 34). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Van Dijk, T.A. (1998). Towards a Theory of Context and Experience Models in Discourse Processing. In H. Van Oostendorp., & S. Goldman (Eds.) *The Construction of Mental Models during Reading*. Hillsdale, NJ: Erlbaum.
- Van Dijk, T. A. (1998). *Ideology. A Multidisciplinary Study*. London: Sage.

- Van Dijk, T. A. (2001). Critical Discourse Analysis. In Schiffrin, Tannen, & Hamilton. (Eds.). *The Handbook of Discourse Analysis*. (pp. 352-371). Oxford: Blackwell.
- Van Dijk, T. A. (2001). Multidisciplinary CDA. In Wodak, R., & M. Meyer. (Eds.) *Methods of Critical Discourse Analysis*. (pp. 95- 120). Great Britain: SAGE Publications.
- Van Dijk, T.A. (2004). Politics, Ideology and Discourse. In Ruth Wodak. (Ed.). *Encyclopedia of Language and Linguistics*. (pp. 728- 740). University: Pompeu Fabra, Barcelona.
- Van Dijk, T. A. (2005). Contextual knowledge management in discourse production: A CDA perspective. In R. Wodak., & P. Chilton (Eds.), *A New Agenda in (critical) Discourse Analysis*, (pp. 71-100) Amsterdam: Benjamins.
- Van Dijk, T.A. (2006). Ideology and Discourse Analysis. *Journal of Political Ideologies*, pp. 115-140. Retrieved from: <http://www.discourses.org>
- Van Dijk, T.A. (2008). *Discourse and Context: A Sociocognitive Approach*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Van Dijk, T. A. (2009). Critical Discourse Studies: A Sociocognitive Approach. In R. Wodak and M. Meyer (Eds.) *Methods of Critical Discourse Analysis* (pp. 62-86). London: Sage.
- Van Dijk, T.A. (2009). Introducing Discourse Analysis. In Alba-Juez. (Ed.). *Perspectives on Discourse Analysis: Theory and Practice*. (pp. 05- 17). UK: Cambridge Scholars Publishing.
- Van Dijk, T. A. (2009). *Society and Discourse: How Context Controls Text and Talk*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Van Dijk, T.A. (2011). *Discourse and Ideology*. Retrieved from: <http://www.discourses.org>
- Van Dijk, T. A. (2015). *Short Curriculum Vitae Teun A. van Dijk*. Retrieved from: <http://www.discourses.org>
- Van Dijk, T.A. (2018). Sociocognitive Discourse Studies. In John Flowerdew & John E. Richardson (Eds.), *The Routledge Handbook of Critical Discourse Studies*. (pp. 26-43) London: Routledge.
- Van Leeuwen, T. (1996). The Representation of Social Actors in Discourse. In Caldas-Coulthard, C. R., & Coulthard, M. (Eds.), *Texts and Practices: Readings in Critical Discourse Analysis*. (pp. 32-70). London: Routledge.
- Wang, Y., & Gue, M. (2014). A Short Analysis of Discourse Coherence. *Journal of Language Teaching and Research*, 5(2), pp. 460-465.
- Wodak, R., de Cillia, R., Reisigl, M., & Liebhart, K. (2009). *The Discursive Construction of National Identity*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.
- Young, L., & Harrison, C. (2004). *Systemic Functional Linguistics and Critical Discourse Analysis: Studies in Social Change*. London: Continuum.

### (Abstract in French) Résumé

Le 05 Septembre 2006, à Washington D.C, le président Américain George W. Bush a présenté le discours '*Global War on Terror*'. Dans ce discours, Bush a l'objectif de rappeler à la population Américaine la tragédie du 11 Septembre. Notre recherche s'intéresse à décoder les stratégies idéologiques qui se trouvent à l'intérieure de ce discours en suivant le modèle d'analyse de Van Dijk (2006). L'objectif de cette étude est de déchiffrer les stratégies idéologiques, et d'éclaircir les différentes stratégies discursives, spécifiquement des stratégies d'une présentation positive de sois même et des stratégies d'une présentation négative des autres, dégagées dans le model de Van Dijk (2006). Les résultats obtenus révèlent que ces stratégies idéologiques sont bien exprimées dans le discours de Bush. En outre, Bush utilise la polarisation dans son utilisation de « Nous », «Eux ». De plus, les résultats révèlent que le modèle de Van Dijk est approprié et applicable à l'analyse de ce discours puisque nos hypothèses sont acceptées et confirmées. Pour conclure, nous avons observé que Bush utilise plus de termes négatifs pour exprimer son idéologie conservatrice envers ses ennemis. En conséquence, le discours de Bush est principalement caractérisé par l'inclusion et l'exclusion sociale, la bataille, le conservatisme et l'humanisme. Nous avons ensuite passé à l'examination de la logique de l'islamophobie puisque Bush a mentionné l'islam en tant que religion et la peur des Américains envers les musulmans extrémistes. Ainsi, nous avons enrichie notre étude en examinant l'islamophobie dans le discours de Bush.

**Mots-clés:** Analyse Critique du Discours, Idéologie, Modèle de Van Dijk (2006), George W. Bush, 9/11, Islamophobie.

### (Abstract in Tamazight) Agzul

Ass n 05 Ctember 2006, yefka-d uselway n Marikan George W .Bush yiwen n yinaw di Washington D.C s uzmel ‘*Global War on Terror*’. Degyinaw-a, iswi n Bush d asmekti n ugdudamarikani s twayit n 11 Ctember. Anadi-nney yerza asufey n tsetratijiyin tsnaktanin i yellan dixel n yinaw-a s uɣfar n tmudemt n Van Dijk (2006). Iswi n tezrawt-a d asegi n tsetratijiyin tsnaktanin d usefreh n tsetratijiyin yemxalafen yerzan inaw, lada tistratijiyin yerzan asisen n yiman s wudem yufraren d tsetratijiyin n usisen n wiyad elahsab n tmudemt n Van Dijk (2006). Igemmad iyer nessawed, seknen-d dakken tissetratijiyin-a tsnaktanin ttwasenfalint-d akken ilaq deg yinaw n Bush. Am Wakken dayen, Bush deg yinaw-is akken ad d-yejbed imdanen, yessemres imqimen « Nekni » d « Nutni ». Rnu yer waya, igemmaɣ skanen-d dakken tamudemt n Van Dijk twulem i usnas deg tesledt n yinaw-a imi turdiwin -nney ttwaqbalent rnu ttwawekdent. Yer taggara, nga tamawt dakken Bush yessemras atas n wawalen n diri akken ad d-yessenfali yef tedyulujit-is tamedttarfut i yesa mgal icenga-ines. Ilmend n waya, inaw n Bush yufrar-d lada s usekcem d usufey imetti, amennuy, titturfit d telsanit. Syin akkin, needda yer usekyed n tmezzult n teslamufubit imi Bush yebder-d tasredt n lislam d tugdi n yimarikaniyen seg yimselmen imetturfa. Am waken dayen i nesbuher tazrawt-nney s usekyed n teslamufubit deg yinaw n Bush.

**Awalen n teldayt:** Tasledt tazyant n yinaw, tasnakta, tamudemt n Van Dijk (2006), George W. Bush, 09/11, taslamufubit.

## **Appendix 01: A Short Biography of George W. Bush**

George W. Bush was the 43<sup>rd</sup> U.S. President; he was born in July 6<sup>th</sup>, 1946 in New Haven, Connecticut. He is the eldest of six children of George Herbert Walker Bush and Barbara Pierce Bush. He was raised in a family which was involved in Business and Politics since 1950's. Besides, his father was a businessman, diplomat, vice president and former president of the United States. In 1948, George H.W. Bush moved his family to Texas. Then, in 1961 they moved to Houston where George W. Bush was sent to Phillips Academy in Massachusetts. There, he was a fair student and was known for his reputation as a trouble maker. Despite this, his family helped him to enter Yale University in 1964. Bush was a popular student at Yale where he became the president of Delta Kappa Epsilon Fraternity. Also, he became a member of Yale's Secretive Skull and Bones Society. Two weeks before his graduation, Bush enlisted in the Texas Air National Guard. Though the Guard unit had a long waiting list, Bush was accepted through the help of a family friend. Hence, as a second lieutenant, he earned his fighter pilot certification in June 1970. Accordingly, after his Guard duty, he carried on his education at Harvard Business School where he earned Masters of Business Administration degree in 1975. Then, he returned to Texas and started his own Business working in oil and gas firms. At backyard barbeque, Bush met Laura Welch who became his wife on November 5<sup>th</sup>, 1977. In 1981, the couple enjoyed the arrival of twin daughters Barbara and Jenna.

In 1988, Bush moved his family to Washington D.C. to work on his father's bid for the White House. He decided to run for governor of Texas as a Republican after his father's re-election loss to Bill Clinton in 1992. After that, Bush won the election and became the first governor of Texas. In 1999, Bush started his quest for the presidency and he won the election as a Republican U.S. president. Two years after his election, America faced a threat from al-Qaeda Terrorists in September 11<sup>th</sup>, 2001. Bush and his administration brought back safety to America and the free world by forming a comprehensive strategy with the creation of the Homeland Security Department, the Patriot Act, and the Authorization of Intelligence. He also built international coalitions in order to destroy al-Qaeda and other terrorist organizations in Afghanistan. On March 20<sup>th</sup>, 2003, he initiated the war in Iraq. In 2004, George W. Bush ran for a second term election and he won. During this second term, he pushed for immigration reform which led to have many criticisms from many conservatives. During his presidency, he brought many positive changes to America. (Biography, 2019)

## **Appendix 02: PRESIDENT GEORGE W. BUSH DISCUSSES GLOBAL WAR ON TERROR**

September 5, 2006

Washington, D.C.

Thank you all very much. (Applause.) Thank you all. Please be seated. General Hendrix, thank you for the invitation to be here. Thanks for the kind introduction. I'm honored to stand with the men and women of the Military Officers Association of America. I appreciate the Board of Directors who are here, and the leaders who have given me this platform from which to speak. I'm proud to be here with active members of the United States military. Thank you for your service. I'm proud to be your Commander-in-Chief. (Applause.)

I am pleased also to stand with members of the diplomatic corps, including many representing nations that have been attacked by al-Qaeda and its terrorist allies since September the 11th, 2001. (Applause.) Your presence here reminds us that we're engaged in a global war against an enemy that threatens all civilized nations. And today the civilized world stands together to defend our freedom; we stand together to defeat the terrorists; and were working to secure the peace for generations to come.

I appreciate my Attorney General joining us today, Al Gonzales. Thank you for being here. (Applause.) The Secretary of Homeland Security, Michael Chertoff, is with us. (Applause.) Three members of the United States Senate — I might say, three important members of the United States Senate — Senate President Pro Tem Ted Stevens of Alaska. Thank you for joining us, Senator. (Applause.) Chairman of the Appropriations Committee, Senator Thad Cochran of Mississippi. (Applause.) The Chairman of the Armed Services Committee, John Warner of Virginia. (Applause.)

I thank Norb Ryan, as well, for his leadership. I do appreciate all the folks that are at Walter Reed who have joined us today. I'm going to tell the parents of our troops, we provide great health care to those who wear the uniform. I'm proud of those folks at Bethesda and Walter Reed — are providing you the best possible care to help you recover from your injuries. Thank you for your courage. Thank you for joining us here today. May God bless you in your recovery. (Applause).

Next week, America will mark the fifth anniversary of September the 11<sup>th</sup>, 2001 terrorist attacks. As this day approaches, it brings with it a flood of painful memories. We remember the horror of watching planes fly into the World Trade Center, and seeing the towers collapse before our eyes. We remember the sight of the Pentagon, broken and in flames. We remember the rescue workers who rushed into burning to save lives, knowing they might never emerge again. We remember the brave passengers who charged the cockpit of their hijacked plane, and stopped the terrorists from reaching their target and killing more innocent civilians. We remember the cold brutality of the enemy who inflicted this harm on our country—an enemy whose leader, Osama bin Laden, declared the massacre of nearly 3,000 people that day—I

quote—"an unparalleled and magnificent feat of valor, unmatched by any in humankind before them."

In five years since our nation was attacked, al-Qaeda and terrorists it has inspired have continued to attack across the world. They've killed the innocent in Europe and Africa and the Middle East, in Central Asia and the Far East, and beyond. Most recently, they attempted to strike again in the most ambitious plot since the attacks of September the 11th—a plan to blow up passenger planes headed for America over the Atlantic Ocean.

Five years after our nation was attacked, the terrorist danger remains. We're a nation at war—and America and her allies are fighting this war with relentless determination across the world. Together with our coalition partners, we've removed terrorist sanctuaries, disrupted their finances, killed and captured key operatives, broken up terrorist cells in America and other nations, and stopped new attacks before they're carried out. We're on the offense against the terrorists on every battlefield—and we'll accept nothing less than complete victory. (Applause.)

In the five years since our nation was attacked, we've also learned a great deal about the enemy we face in this war. We've learned about them through videos and audio recordings, and letters and statements they've posted on websites. We've learned about them from captured enemy documents that the terrorists have never meant for us to see. Together, these documents and statements have given us clear insight into the mind of our enemies—their ideology, their ambitions, and their strategy to defeat us.

We know what the terrorists intend to do because they've told us—and we need to take their words seriously. So today I'm going to describe—in the terrorists' own words, what they believe... what they hope to accomplish, and how they intend to accomplish it. I'll discuss how the enemy has adapted in the wake of our sustained offensive against them, and the threat posed by different strains of violent Islamic radicalism. I'll explain the strategy we're pursuing to protect America, by defeating the terrorists on the battlefield, and defeating their hateful ideology in the battle of ideas.

The terrorists who attacked us on September the 11th, 2001, are men without conscience—but they're not madmen. They kill in the name of a clear and focused ideology, a set of beliefs that are evil, but not insane. These al-Qaeda terrorists and those who share their ideology are violent Sunni extremists. They're driven by a radical and perverted vision of Islam that rejects tolerance, crushes all dissent, and justifies the murder of innocent men, women and children in the pursuit of political power. They hope to establish a violent political utopia across the Middle East, which they call a "Caliphate"—where all would be ruled according to their hateful ideology. Osama bin Laden has called the 9/11 attacks—in his words—"a great step towards the unity of Muslims and establishing the Righteous... [Caliphate]."

This caliphate would be a totalitarian Islamic empire encompassing all current and former Muslim lands, stretching from Europe to North Africa, the Middle East, and Southeast Asia. We know this because al-Qaeda has told us. About two months ago, the terrorist Zawahiri—he's al-Qaeda's second in command—declared that al-Qaeda intends to impose its rule in "every land that was a home for Islam, from [Spain] to Iraq. He went on to say, "The whole world is an open field for us."

We know what this radical empire would look like in practice, because we saw how the radicals imposed their ideology on the people of Afghanistan. Under the rule of the Taliban and al-Qaeda, Afghanistan was a totalitarian nightmare—a land where women were

imprisoned in their homes, men were beaten for missing prayer meetings, girls could not go to school, and children were forbidden the smallest pleasures like flying kites. Religious police roamed the streets, beating and detaining civilians for perceived offenses. Women were publicly whipped. Summary executions were held in Kabul's soccer stadium in front of cheering mobs. And Afghanistan was turned into a launching pad for horrific attacks against America and other parts of the civilized world—Including many Muslim nations.

The goal of these Sunni extremists is to remake the entire Muslim world in their radical image. In pursuit of their imperial aims, these extremists say there can be no compromise or dialogue with those they call "infidels"—a category that includes America, the world's free nations, Jews, and all Muslims who reject their extreme vision of Islam. They reject the possibility of peaceful coexistence with the free world. Again, hear the words of Osama bin Laden earlier this year: "Death is better than living on this Earth with the unbelievers among us."

These radicals have declared their uncompromising hostility to freedom. It is foolish to think that you can negotiate with them. (Applause.) We see the uncompromising nature of the enemy in many captured terrorist documents. Here are just two examples: After the liberation of Afghanistan, coalition forces searching through a terrorist safe house in that country found a copy of the al-Qaeda charter. This charter states that "there will be continuing enmity until everyone believes in Allah. We will not meet [the enemy] halfway. There will be no room for dialogue with them." Another document was found in 2000 by British police during an anti-terrorist raid in London—a grisly al-Qaeda manual that includes chapters with titles such as "Guidelines for Beating and Killing Hostages." This manual declares that their vision of Islam "does not... make a truce with unbelief, but rather confronts it." The confrontation... calls for... the dialogue of bullets, the ideals of assassination, bombing, and destruction, and the diplomacy of the cannon and machine gun."

Still other captured documents show al-Qaeda's strategy for infiltrating Muslim nations, establishing terrorist enclaves, overthrowing governments, and building their totalitarian empire. We see this strategy laid out in a captured al-Qaeda document found during a recent raid in Iraq, which describes their plans to infiltrate and take over Iraq's western Anbar Province. The document lays out an elaborate al-Qaeda governing structure for the region that includes an Education Department, a Social Services Department, a Justice Department, and an "Execution Unit" responsible for "Sorting out, Arrest, Murder, and Destruction."

According to their public statements, countries that have—they have targeted stretch from the Middle East to Africa, to Southeast Asia. Through this strategy, al-Qaeda and its allies intend to create numerous, decentralized operating bases across the world, from which they can plan new attacks, and advance their vision of a unified, totalitarian Islamic state that can confront and eventually destroy the free world.

These violent extremists know that to realize this vision, they must first drive out the main obstacle that stands in their way—the United States of America. According to al-Qaeda, their strategy to defeat America has two parts: First, they're waging a campaign of terror across the world. They're targeting our forces abroad, hoping that the American people will grow tired of casualties and give up the fight. And they're targeting America's financial centers and economic infrastructure at home, hoping to terrorize us and cause our economy to collapse.

Bin Laden calls this his "bleed-until-bankruptcy plan." And he cited the attacks of 9/11 as evidence that such a plan can succeed. With the 9/11 attacks, Osama bin Laden says, "al-Qaeda spent \$500,000 on the event, while America... lost—according to the lowest

estimate—\$500 billion... Meaning that every dollar of al-Qaeda defeated a million dollars” of America. Bin Laden concludes from this experience that "America is definitely a great power, with... unbelievable military strength and a vibrant economy, but all of these have been built on a very weak and hollow foundation." He went on to say, "Therefore, it is very easy to target the flimsy base and concentrate on their weak points, and even if we're able to target one-tenth of these weak points, we will be able [to] crush and destroy them."

Secondly, along with this campaign of terror, the enemy has a propaganda strategy. Osama bin Laden laid out this strategy in a letter to the Taliban leader, Mullah Omar, that coalition forces uncovered in Afghanistan in 2002. In it, bin Laden says that al-Qaeda intends to "[launch]," in his words, "a media campaign... to create a wedge between the American people and their government." This media campaign, bin Laden says, will send the American people a number of messages, including "that their government [will] bring them more losses, in finances and casualties." And he goes on to say that "they are being sacrificed... to serve... the big investors, especially the Jews." Bin Laden says that by delivering these messages, al-Qaeda "aims at creating pressure from the American people on the American government to stop their campaign against Afghanistan."

Bin Laden and his allies are absolutely convinced they can succeed in forcing America to retreat and causing our economic collapse. They believe our nation is weak and decadent, and lacking in patience and resolve. And they're wrong. (Applause.) Osama bin Laden has written that the "defeat of... American forces in Beirut" in 1983 is proof America does not have the stomach to stay in the fight. He's declared that "in Somalia... the United States [pulled] out, trailing disappointment, defeat, and failure behind it." And last year, the terrorist Zawahiri declared that Americans "know better than others that there is no hope in victory. The Vietnam specter is closing every outlet."

These terrorists hope to drive America and our coalition out of Afghanistan, so they can restore the safe haven they lost when coalition forces drove them out five years ago. But they've made clear that the most important front in their struggle against America is Iraq—the nation bin Laden has declared the "capital of the Caliphate." Hear the words of bin Laden: "I now address... the whole... Islamic nation: Listen and understand... The most... serious issue today for the whole world is this Third World War... [that] is raging in [Iraq]." He calls it "a war of destiny between infidelity and Islam." He says, "The whole world is watching this war," and that it will end in "victory and glory or misery and humiliation." For al-Qaeda, Iraq is not a distraction from their war on America—it is the central battlefield where the outcome of this struggle will be decided.

Here is what al-Qaeda says they will do if they succeed in driving us out of Iraq: The terrorist Zawahiri has said that al-Qaeda will proceed with "several incremental goals. The first stage: Expel the Americans from Iraq. The second stage: Establish an Islamic authority or emirate, then develop it and support it until it achieves the level of Caliphate... The third stage: Extend the jihad wave to the secular countries neighboring Iraq. And the fourth stage: ...the clash with Israel."

These evil men know that a fundamental threat to their aspirations is a democratic Iraq that can govern itself, sustain itself, and defend itself. They know that given a choice, the Iraqi people will never choose to live in the totalitarian state the extremists hope to establish. And that is why we must not, and we will not, give the enemy victory in Iraq by deserting the Iraqi people. (Applause.)

Last year, the terrorist Zarqawi declared in a message posted on the Internet that democracy "is the essence of infidelity and deviation from the right path." The Iraqi people disagree. Last December, nearly 12 million Iraqis from every ethnic and religious community turned out to vote in their country's third free election in less than a year. Iraq now has a unity government that represents Iraq's diverse population—and al-Qaeda's top commander in Iraq breathed his last breath. (Applause.)

Despite these strategic setbacks, the enemy will continue to fight freedom's advance in Iraq, because they understand the stakes in this war. Again, hear the words of bin Laden, in a message to the American people earlier this year. He says: "The war is for you or for us to win. If we win it, it means your defeat and disgrace forever."

Now, I know some of our country hear the terrorists' words, and hope that they will not, or cannot, do what they say. History teaches that underestimating the words of evil and ambitious men is a terrible mistake. In the early 1900s, an exiled lawyer in Europe published a pamphlet called "What Is To Be Done?"—in which he laid out his plan to launch a communist revolution in Russia. The world did not heed Lenin's words, and paid a terrible price. The Soviet Empire he established killed tens of millions, and brought the world to the brink of thermonuclear war. In the 1920s, a failed Austrian painter published a book in which he explained his intention to build an Aryan super-state in Germany and take revenge on Europe and eradicate the Jews. The world ignored Hitler's words, and paid a terrible price. His Nazi regime killed millions in the gas chambers, and set the world aflame in war, before it was finally defeated at a terrible cost in lives.

Bin Laden and his terrorist allies have made their intentions as clear as Lenin and Hitler before them. The question is: Will we listen? Will we pay attention to what these evil men say? America and our coalition partners have made our choice. We're taking the words of the enemy seriously. We're on the offensive, and we will not rest, we will not retreat, and we will not withdraw from the fight, until this threat to civilization has been removed. (Applause.)

Five years into this struggle, it's important to take stock of what's been accomplished—and the difficult work that remains. Al-Qaeda has been weakened by our sustained offensive against them, and today it is harder for al-Qaeda's leaders to operate freely, to move money, or to communicate with their operatives and facilitators. Yet al-Qaeda remains dangerous and determined. Bin Laden and Zawahiri remain in hiding in remote regions of this world. Al-Qaeda continues to adapt in the face of our global campaign against them. Increasingly, al-Qaeda is taking advantage of the Internet to disseminate propaganda, and to conduct "virtual recruitment" and "virtual training" of new terrorists. Al-Qaeda's leaders no longer need to meet face-to-face with their operatives. They can find new suicide bombers, and facilitate new terrorist attacks, without ever laying eyes on those they're training, financing, or sending to strike us.

As al-Qaeda changes, the broader terrorist movement is also changing, becoming more dispersed and self-directed. More and more, we're facing threats from locally established terrorist cells that are inspired by al-Qaeda's ideology and goals, but do not necessarily have direct links to al-Qaeda, such as training and funding. Some of these groups are made up of "homegrown" terrorists, militant extremists who were born and educated in Western nations, were indoctrinated by radical Islamists or attracted to their ideology, and joined the violent extremist cause. These locally established cells appear to be responsible for a number of attacks and plots, including those in Madrid, and Canada, and other countries across the world.

As we continue to fight al-Qaeda and these Sunni extremists inspired by their radical ideology, we also face the threat posed by Shia extremists, who are learning from al-Qaeda, increasing their assertiveness, and stepping up their threats. Like the vast majority of Sunnis, the vast majority of Shia across the world reject the vision of extremists—and in Iraq, millions of Shia have defied terrorist threats to vote in free elections, and have shown their desire to live in freedom. The Shia extremists want to deny them this right. This Shia strain of Islamic radicalism is just as dangerous, and just as hostile to America, and just as determined to establish its brand of hegemony across the broader Middle East. And the Shia extremists have achieved something that al-Qaeda has so far failed to do: In 1979, they took control of a major power, the nation of Iran, subjugating its proud people to a regime of tyranny, and using that nation's resources to fund the spread of terror and pursue their radical agenda.

Like al-Qaeda and the Sunni extremists, the Iranian regime has clear aims: They want to drive America out of the region, to destroy Israel, and to dominate the broader Middle East. To achieve these aims, they are funding and arming terrorist groups like Hezbollah, which allow them to attack Israel and America by proxy. Hezbollah, the source of the current instability in Lebanon, has killed more Americans than any terrorist organization except al-Qaeda. Unlike al-Qaeda, they've not yet attacked the American homeland. Yet they're directly responsible for the murder of hundreds of Americans abroad. It was Hezbollah that was behind the 1983 bombing of the U.S. Marine barracks in Beirut that killed 241 Americans. And Saudi Hezbollah was behind the 1996 bombing of Khobar Towers in Saudi Arabia that killed 19 Americans, an attack conducted by terrorists who we believe were working with Iranian officials.

Just as we must take the words of the Sunni extremists seriously, we must take the words of the Shia extremists seriously. Listen to the words of Hezbollah's leader, the terrorist Nasrallah, who has declared his hatred of America. He says, "Let the entire world hear me. Our hostility to the Great Satan [America] is absolute... Regardless of how the world has changed after 11 September, Death to America will remain our reverberating and powerful slogan: Death to America."

Iran's leaders, who back Hezbollah, have also declared their absolute hostility to America. Last October, Iran's President declared in a speech that some people ask—in his words—"whether a world without the United States and Zionism can be achieved... I say that this... goal is achievable." Less than three months ago, Iran's President declared to America and other Western powers: "open your eyes and see the fate of pharaoh... if you do not abandon the path of falsehood... your doomed destiny will be annihilation." Less than two months ago, he warned: "The anger of Muslims may reach an explosion point soon. If such a day comes... [America and the West] should know that the waves of the blast will not remain within the boundaries of our region." He also delivered this message to the American people: "If you would like to have good relations with the Iranian nation in the future... bow down before the greatness of the Iranian nation and surrender. If you don't accept [to do this], the Iranian nation will... force you to surrender and bow down."

America will not bow down to tyrants. (Applause.)

The Iranian regime and its terrorist proxies have demonstrated their willingness to kill Americans—and now the Iranian regime is pursuing nuclear weapons. The world is working together to prevent Iran's regime from acquiring the tools of mass murder. The international community has made a reasonable proposal to Iran's leaders, and given them the opportunity to set their nation on a better course. So far, Iran's leaders have rejected this offer. Their choice is increasingly isolating the great Iranian nation from the international community,

and denying the Iranian people an opportunity for greater economic prosperity. It's time for Iran's leader to make a different choice. And we've made our choice. We'll continue to work closely with our allies to find a diplomatic solution. The world's free nations will not allow Iran to develop a nuclear weapon. (Applause.)

The Shia and Sunni extremists represent different faces of the same threat. They draw inspiration from different sources, but both seek to impose a dark vision of violent Islamic radicalism across the Middle East. They oppose the advance of freedom, and they want to gain control of weapons of mass destruction. If they succeed in undermining fragile democracies, like Iraq, and drive the forces of freedom out of the region, they will have an open field to pursue their dangerous goals. Each strain of violent Islamic radicalism would be emboldened in their efforts to topple moderate governments and establish terrorist safe havens.

Imagine a world in which they were able to control governments, a world awash with oil and they would use oil resources to punish industrialized nations. And they would use those resources to fuel their radical agenda, and pursue and purchase weapons of mass murder. And armed with nuclear weapons, they would blackmail the free world, and spread their ideologies of hate, and raise a mortal threat to the American people. If we allow them to do this, if we retreat from Iraq, if we don't uphold our duty to support those who are desirous to live in liberty, 50 years from now history will look back on our time with unforgiving clarity, and demand to know why we did not act.

I'm not going to allow this to happen—and no future American President can allow it either. America did not seek this global struggle, but we're answering history's call with confidence and a clear strategy. Today we're releasing a document called the "National Strategy for Combating Terrorism." This is an unclassified version of the strategy we've been pursuing since September the 11th, 2001. This strategy was first released in February 2003; it's been updated to take into account the changing nature of this enemy. This strategy document is posted on the White House website—whitehouse.gov. And I urge all Americans to read it.

Our strategy for combating terrorism has five basic elements:

First, we're determined to prevent terrorist attacks before they occur. So we're taking the fight to the enemy. The best way to protect America is to stay on the offense. Since 9/11, our coalition has captured or killed al-Qaeda managers and operatives, and scores of other terrorists across the world. The enemy is living under constant pressure, and we intend to keep it that way—and this adds to our security. When terrorists spend their days working to avoid death or capture, it's harder for them to plan and execute new attacks.

We're also fighting the enemy here at home. We've given our law enforcement and intelligence professionals the tools they need to stop the terrorists in our midst. We passed the Patriot Act to break down the wall that prevented law enforcement and intelligence from sharing vital information. We created the Terrorist Surveillance Program to monitor the communications between al-Qaeda commanders abroad and terrorist operatives within our borders. If al-Qaeda is calling somebody in America, we need to know why, in order to stop attacks. (Applause.)

I want to thank these three Senators for working with us to give our law enforcement and intelligence officers the tools necessary to do their jobs. (Applause.) And over the last five years, federal, state, and local law enforcement have used those tools to break up terrorist cells, and to prosecute terrorist operatives and supporters in New York, and Oregon, and

Virginia, and Texas, and New Jersey, and Illinois, Ohio, and other states. By taking the battle to the terrorists and their supporters on our own soil and across the world, we've stopped a number of al-Qaeda plots.

Second, we're determined to deny weapons of mass destruction to outlaw regimes and terrorists who would use them without hesitation. Working with Great Britain and Pakistan and other nations, the United States shut down the world's most dangerous nuclear trading cartel, the AQ Khan network. This network had supplied Iran and Libya and North Korea with equipment and know-how that advanced their efforts to obtain nuclear weapons. And we launched the Proliferation Security Initiative, a coalition of more than 70 nations that is working together to stop shipments related to weapons of mass destruction on land, at sea, and in the air. The greatest threat this world faces is the danger of extremists and terrorists armed with weapons of mass destruction—and this is a threat America cannot defeat on her own. We applaud the determined efforts of many nations around the world to stop the spread of these dangerous weapons. Together, we pledge we'll continue to work together to stop the world's most dangerous men from getting their hands on the world's most dangerous weapons. (Applause.)

Third, we're determined to deny terrorists the support of outlaw regimes. After September the 11th, I laid out a clear doctrine: America makes no distinction between those who commit acts of terror, and those that harbor and support them, because they're equally guilty of murder. Thanks to our efforts, there are now three fewer state sponsors of terror in the world than there were on September the 11th, 2001. Afghanistan and Iraq have been transformed from terrorist states into allies in the war on terror. And the nation of Libya has renounced terrorism, and given up its weapons of mass destruction programs, and its nuclear materials and equipment. Over the past five years, we've acted to disrupt the flow of weapons and support from terrorist states to terrorist networks. And we have made clear that any government that chooses to be an ally of terror has also chosen to be an enemy of civilization. (Applause.)

Fourth, we're determined to deny terrorist networks control of any nation, or territory within a nation. So, along with our coalition and the Iraqi government, we'll stop the terrorists from taking control of Iraq, and establishing a new safe haven from which to attack America and the free world. And we're working with friends and allies to deny the terrorists the enclaves they seek to establish in ungoverned areas across the world. By helping governments reclaim full sovereign control over their territory, we make ourselves more secure.

Fifth, we're working to deny terrorists new recruits, by defeating their hateful ideology and spreading the hope of freedom—by spreading the hope of freedom across the Middle East. For decades, American policy sought to achieve peace in the Middle East by pursuing stability at the expense of liberty. The lack of freedom in that region helped create conditions where anger and resentment grew, and radicalism thrived, and terrorists found willing recruits. And we saw the consequences on September the 11th, when the terrorists brought death and destruction to our country. The policy wasn't working.

The experience of September the 11th made clear, in the long run, the only way to secure our nation is to change the course of the Middle East. So America has committed its influence in the world to advancing freedom and liberty and democracy as the great alternatives to repression and radicalism. (Applause.) We're taking the side of democratic leaders and moderates and reformers across the Middle East. We strongly support the voices of tolerance and moderation in the Muslim world. We're standing with Afghanistan's elected government against al-Qaeda and the Taliban remnants that are trying to restore tyranny in that country.

We're standing with Lebanon's young democracy against the foreign forces that are seeking to undermine the country's sovereignty and independence. And we're standing with the leaders of Iraq's unity government as they work to defeat the enemies of freedom, and chart a more hopeful course for their people. This is why victory is so important in Iraq. By helping freedom succeed in Iraq, we will help America, and the Middle East, and the world become more secure.

During the last five years we've learned a lot about this enemy. We've learned that they're cunning and sophisticated. We've witnessed their ability to change their methods and their tactics with deadly speed—even as their murderous obsessions remain unchanging. We've seen that it's the terrorists who have declared war on Muslims, slaughtering huge numbers of innocent Muslim men and women around the world.

We know what the terrorists believe, we know what they have done, and we know what they intend to do. And now the world's free nations must summon the will to meet this great challenge. The road ahead is going to be difficult, and it will require more sacrifice. Yet we can have confidence in the outcome, because we've seen freedom conquer tyranny and terror before. In the 20th century, free nations confronted and defeated Nazi Germany. During the Cold War, we confronted Soviet communism, and today Europe is whole, free and at peace.

And now, freedom is once again contending with the forces of darkness and tyranny. This time, the battle is unfolding in a new region—the broader Middle East. This time, we're not waiting for our enemies to gather in strength. This time, we're confronting them before they gain the capacity to inflict unspeakable damage on the world, and we're confronting their hateful ideology before it fully takes root.

We see a day when people across the Middle East have governments that honor their dignity, and unleash their creativity, and count their votes. We see a day when across this region citizens are allowed to express themselves freely, women have full rights, and children are educated and given the tools necessary to succeed in life. And we see a day when all the nations of the Middle East are allies in the cause of peace.

We fight for this day, because the security of our own citizens depends on it. This is the great ideological struggle of the 21st century—and it is the calling of our generation. All civilized nations are bound together in this struggle between moderation and extremism. By coming together, we will roll back this grave threat to our way of life. We will help the people of the Middle East claim their freedom, and we will leave a safer and more hopeful world for our children and grandchildren.

God bless. (Applause.)

Source: White House Archive

<http://georgewbush-whitehouse.archives.gov/news/releases/2006/09/20060905-4.html>