American Political Rhetoric

A study of selected speeches by George W. Bush

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ABSTRACT

The topic of this study is American political rhetoric. The aim is to see if and how President of the United States of America, George W. Bush uses different semantic devices, such as metaphors and anaphors, as well as religious and historical symbols in his speeches and to see if those devices and symbols follow the tradition of American political rhetoric. In order to do this, eight speeches made by the President have been selected for analysis. The speeches all concern the war on Iraq and worldwide terrorism and also the issue of peace in the Middle East. The addresses have been analyzed and metaphors, anaphors and religious and historical symbols have been found. From the results of this study, the conclusion can be drawn that the President deliberately uses devices and symbols that follow the line of traditional American political rhetoric.
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1 Introduction

1.1 Background

The United States of America is a country with a unique political rhetorical tradition. It is of interest for this study to know where that tradition comes from in order to understand the rhetorical devices used by politicians and their speechwriters, and to understand the rhetoric of today’s America. American politicians often talk about America as “a beacon of hope for the rest of the world” (Lejon 1994:41) and the American people believe that it is their mission to fight for global freedom and peace and to help those who suffer. This idea dates back to the time when the first settlers arrived in the country. They were Christian Protestants who had left England to be able to practice their religion freely. There were different branches of Christianity at that time and one of them is Puritanism. The Puritans are well known for their witch hunts many hundred years ago, but what is truly fascinating with these people is how they looked upon themselves: “Anglicans and Puritans both exhibited the sense of destiny, of being the chosen people, of special mission” (Lejon 1994:14), or as Hans Kohn puts it “a people roused and stirred to its innermost depths, feelings upon its shoulders the mission of history, of being chosen to do great things” (Lejon 1994:15). As mentioned earlier, the idea that the American people is the direct hands of God imbues the whole of the American society of today and is a part of the set of values that Americans live by. The thought that the American people are the chosen people and the direct hands of God have penetrated their society and can be seen everywhere, e.g. in the National Anthem, the Star Spangled Banner:

Blest with vict’ry and peace, may the Heav’n-rescued land
Praise the power that hath made and preserved us a nation
Then conquer we must, when our cause it is just
And this be our motto, “In God is our Trust”
And the Star Spangled Banner in triumph shall wave
O’er the land of the free and the home of the brave

They are also present in the Pledge of Allegiance:
I pledge allegiance to the flag of the United States of America
and to the republic for which it stands, one nation under God,
indivisible, with liberty and justice for all

The phrase *under God* was added by President Dwight D. Eisenhower in 1954. He argued that: “in this way we are reaffirming the transcendence of religious faith in America’s heritage and future; in this way we shall constantly strengthen those spiritual weapons which forever will be our country’s most powerful resource in peace and war”. The following year the Congress made the decision that the phrase *In God We Trust* should be put on every coin and every bill. In 1956 the same phrase became the motto of the country (Lejon 1994:35). Hart states that "[c]ongressional invocations, convention benedictions, Memorial Day services, military chaplaincies, and much else remind Americans daily that they are doing the special work of the Lord and that America is truly a redeemer nation" (Hart 1999:136). Since the religious values and beliefs are deeply rooted in American society it is important for the speechwriters to include them in public addresses in order to make it possible for politicians to sell their messages.

1.2 Aim
The purpose of this essay is to study and explore how the President of the United States of America, George W Bush, uses rhetorical and semantic devices as well as religious values and symbols of history when addressing the American people and the rest of the world, and to see if these devices follow the line of the American political rhetorical tradition. The essay will identify rhetorical and semantic devices and religious and historical symbols in President Bush’s speeches and seek to explain why these elements in particular are used.

1.3 Method and material
Speeches made by President Bush on eight different occasions constitute the material of this study. They all concern the war on Iraq, the war on terrorism and the issue of peace in the Middle East. The speeches have been collected from The White House homepage. President Bush’s chief speechwriter, Michel Gerson, has supervised them all.

In chapter one the history of rhetoric, American values and American political rhetoric are accounted for. Chapter two gives a presentation of different rhetorical and semantic devices. In chapter three religious and historical symbols are dealt with. In
chapter four the selected speeches will be analyzed by using the devices mentioned above.

2 History

It is of great importance to understand the history of rhetoric in order to understand the rhetorical devices that will be investigated in this study. The art of rhetoric was invented around 400 B.C. by the Greeks. The Greek community had courts where all free men could argue for their case. Some men were more successful than others, and those who observed them noted this. It was believed that some men were born with a talent for argument, but any man could learn how to be a great speaker. All they had to do was to follow a set of simple rules and practice them. These men worked as professional speechwriters, rhetors, and they also started to teach the art of rhetoric. Greeks such as Plato, Sophocles and Aristotle are all known for their works on rhetoric. Ever since the birth of rhetoric there has been a discussion whether it is morally right to teach people how to purposefully convince others, because it is indeed true that a good orator can convince people with untrue information. Aristotle made the statement that it is not the rhetoric in itself that is immoral, but it can be used for both good and bad purposes (Cassirer 1997:21-32). The interesting thing about rhetoric is that it is still today the same as it was in the day of Aristotle. The same rules are followed and practiced by those who wish to persuade others or make them believe in what they are trying to say. Aristotle, among others, stated that a speech should consist of three different parts: ethos, pathos and logos. Ethos is the character of the speaker and Aristotle said that the ethos of the speaker has to be demonstrated in performing the speech; it cannot spring from the speaker’s authority or good name established earlier, that is, good intentions, character and reliability should be evident in the speech (Cassirer 1997:31). Baird did a lot of research in the field of rhetoric and he was particularly interested in the dilemma of ethics. He saw the close relationship between rhetoric and politics and believed that “democracy functions through talk; rhetorical criticism and theory are therefore essential for raising the standards and practices of rhetoric”. In Speech Criticism, together with Lester Thonssen he commented on the relationship between rhetoric, politics and ethics:
If politics- in its turn, rhetoric- is associated with the means of getting things done, it is imperative that ethics, which deals with ends and the relative values of what is achieved, be reunited with the political art. Rhetoric, as the intermediary between will to action and the achievement of the result, must accordingly be conceived as both a political and an ethical instrument (Enos 1996:64).

The second part of a speech is referred to as pathos. Pathos means ‘feeling’ or ‘sympathy’ and is the part of a speech where the speaker tries to arouse a certain feeling in a crowd. According to Cassirer this part of the speech is especially important in political and legal speeches, when there is a jury or a public opinion that needs to be convinced and reassured. The last of the three parts that constitutes a speech is logos, which can be translated into ‘reason’. It can be described as the part where the speaker tries to structure the speech so that it makes sense to the listeners.

During the centuries that followed after the invention of rhetoric, it became a part of the education that young Greek men acquired. When the Roman Empire took over Greece, the Romans continued in the footsteps of the Greeks, and they too became skilled speakers and continued to develop and refine the art of rhetoric (Cassirer 1997:51-2).

Since American political rhetoric is the focus of this study, it will be defined and the history of it will be accounted for. According to Enos (1996), political rhetoric can be defined by six different elements:

1. It is a strategic symbolic action
2. It is produced in response to a perceived exigency
3. It is designed to be addressed to particular audiences
4. It is oriented within a context of public governance
5. It is pragmatic and ritualistic in function within that context
6. It is grounded in an historical tradition of practice

The first component states that political rhetoric is a symbolic action. This means that the speech or address of a distinct agent (which can be a single politician, a certain group or institution) is based on consideration and investigation, intentionally planned and structured and reflects the agent’s motive. The second component refers to the fact that rhetoric is at all times situational. The third component is very straightforward. Every orator needs to know whom he or she will be addressing in order to sell his or hers message. The statement in element number four involves public governance, which is ”the creation, enforcement, and legitimation of laws and institutions that regulate the
distribution of resources and responsibilities in a community or other social activities” (Enos 1996:540). Issues that are likely to have an effect on the welfare of a community are often subject to public governance. Special forums and spaces are made so the members of the community can debate the issues and make their voices heard. The fifth component is concerned with the achievement of practical effects of symbolic action. Speakers use realistic political rhetoric in order to persuade audiences to take specific actions related to the process of public governance. An example of pragmatic use of political rhetoric is campaigning speeches. The last component mentions a well-stated fact, namely that politics and rhetoric are closely linked (Enos 1996:539-541).

Ever since America was liberated from England, the nation has had its own unique political tradition. An example of early American political rhetoric is the famous Gettysburg Address which was made by Abraham Lincoln:

> [...] But, in a larger sense, we can not dedicate- we can not consecrate- we can not hallow- this ground. [...] that we highly resolve that these dead shall not have died in vain- that this nation, under God, shall have a new birth of freedom- and that government of the people, by the people, for the people, shall not perish from the earth

(www.showcase.netins.net/web/creative/Lincoln/speeches/Gettysburg.htm).

Note the phrase *under God*, which we have already seen in *The Pledge of Allegiance*. More recent examples include President John F. Kennedy’s words “Ask not what your country can do for you, but what you can do for your country” and his famous speech “Ich bin ein Berliner”. Ronald Reagan is another great example of a politician who uses God and religion in his addresses: “We have spoken up for freedom. We’re determined to keep America a beacon of hope to the rest of the world and to return her to her rightful place as a champion of peace and freedom among the nations on Earth” (Lejon 1994:41). There is no doubt that the presidents of the United States of America have relied on and turned to the religious values of the American people, as well as the history of the nation and rhetorical and semantic devices when addressing the public. It is also true that they have been doing so ever since the presidency first was formed. In the following chapter rhetorical and semantic devices will be presented and discussed.
3 Semantic and Rhetoric Devices

There are many different kinds of semantic devices that are used within the practice of rhetoric. Those that will be discussed in this chapter constitute only a small part of them. The most common semantic device is metaphor, which is a trope, a figure of speech. Another powerful tool widely used within the practice of rhetoric is repetition. One form of repetition that will be dealt with in this chapter is anaphora.

3.1 Metaphor

Metaphors are the oldest tropes or figures of speech. Aristotle talks about metaphors in *Rhetoric*, where he says, "prose writers should pay specially careful attention to metaphors" (Enos 1996:438). There are almost as many different definitions of metaphors as there are metaphors. Talbot and Atkinson (2003:320) define a metaphor as:

> the attributor of a quality to something to which it is not literally applicable; e.g. an icy stare. For critical language study, metaphors are important because they are ideologically loaded and can be powerful rhetorical devices, particularly when their metaphorical nature is not immediately obvious.

Within the group of metaphors there is a broad division between live and dead metaphors. A live metaphor is a phrase that is not part of our everyday use of language, so when we hear it we now that it is a metaphor, e.g. *there are black holes in the economy*. A dead metaphor is a phrase or a word that was once a live metaphor, but it has become so frequently used that it has become part of our everyday language, e.g. *a helping hand* (Malmkjaer 2002:351). Johannesson explains the term metaphor in this way: “[t]he metaphor, the simile and the allegory are comparisons of things that normally live in different worlds” (1996:130, my translation). Edelman (1998) gives yet another explanation of what a metaphor is and what its purpose is: "Metaphors, other tropes, and ambiguity encourage people in disparate social situations to define themselves, other, and the conditions of their lives through a spectacle that normally rationalizes those conditions” (Edelman 1988:103). Oxford Advanced Learner’s Dictionary (2000) defines a metaphor as: “a word or phrase used in an imaginative way to describe sb/sth else, in order to show that the two things have the same qualities and to make the description more powerful, for example *She has a heart of stone*.”
3.2 Anaphora

Anaphora is a form of the rhetorical device *repetition*. The term refers to when the same word or phrase begins a sentence or a phrase. In the early days of rhetoric, analysts recognized its function of force and emphasis. In *Encyclopedia of Rhetoric and Composition* the following definition of anaphora is given:

Critical discourse analysis incorporates this tradition by relating the use of anaphora in spoken and written text to the enactment of socially constituted power and to the exercise of domination. […]

The term anaphora is used to designate any linguistic element that has the same referent as the element that precedes it. This referential tie may be within the same clause, in sequential clauses, or over greater distance: That is, anaphora involves reference to any element that has already been established in the discourse. The anaphoric element may be an exact repetition; it may be a synonym or paraphrase, it may be a personal pronoun substituted for a prior noun or noun phrase; it may be an epithet; or it may be a form of do or do it substituted for a prior predicate (Enos 1996:10)

3.3 Religious and Historical Symbols

As mentioned in chapter one, America’s rhetorical tradition depends heavily on religion and the victorious past of the nation. These two things are often intertwined in the addresses and sometimes it can be hard to decide whether it is a religious or historical symbol. Religious symbols often appear as the mentioning of God and the special mission he has placed upon the shoulders of the American nation. Historical symbols often refer to the first settlers and the liberation from Britain, the American Civil War, the Vietnam War, the World Wars, and more recently the wars in the Middle East.

4 Presentation

For this study eight speeches made by President Bush were selected to see if and how he uses the devices described in the previous chapter. The speeches date from the terrorist attack on September 11, 2001, to the capture of Saddam Hussein on December 13, 2003. Most of the speeches were given in 2003. The speeches vary in length; speeches one and three are shorter than the other six.
4.1 Speech 1: Statement by the President in His Address to the Nation (September 11, 2001)

Metaphors:
1. A great people has been moved to defend a great nation.
2. Terrorist attacks can shake the foundations of our biggest buildings but they cannot touch the foundation of America.
3. These attacks shattered steel, but they cannot dent the steel of American resolve.
4. …we’re the brightest beacon for freedom and opportunity in the world.
5. And no one will keep that light from shining.

Anaphora:
1. Today, our fellow citizens, our way of life, our very freedom came under attack in a series of deliberate and deadly terrorist attacks.
2. …and we responded with the best of America, with the daring of the rescue workers, with the caring for strangers and neighbors…

Religious and Historical symbols:
1. And I pray they will be comforted by a power greater than any of us, spoken through the ages in Psalm 23: “Even though I walk through the valley of the shadow of death, I fear no evil, for You are with me”
2. America has stood down enemies before, and we will do so this time.
3. Yet, we go forward to defend freedom and all that is good and just in our world.
4. God bless America.

4.2 Speech 2: Address to a Joint Session of Congress and the American People (September 20, 2001)

Metaphors:
1. A world where freedom itself is under attack.
2. They are heirs of all the murderous ideologies of the 20th century.
3. …in history’s unmarked grave of discarded lies.
4. This is civilization’s fight.
5. Freedom and fear are at war.
6. Freedom and fear, justice and cruelty, have always been at war, and we know that God is not neutral between them.
7. Our nation, this generation will lift a dark threat of violence from our people and our future.

Anaphora:

1. We have seen it in the courage of passengers, who rushed terrorists to save others on the ground, passengers like an exceptional man named Todd Beamer. And would you please help me to welcome his wife, Lisa Beamer, here tonight. We have seen the state of our Union in the endurance of rescuers, working past exhaustion. We have seen the unfurling of flags, the lighting of candles, the giving of blood, the saying of prayers, in English, Hebrew and Arabic. We have seen the decency of a loving and giving people who have made the grief of strangers their own.
2. Whether we bring our enemies to justice, or bring justice to our enemies, justice will be done.
3. We will not forget South Korean children gathering to pray outside our embassy in Seoul, or the prayers of sympathy offered at a mosque in Cairo. We will not forget moments of silence and days of mourning in Australia and Africa and Latin America. Nor will we forget the citizens of 80 other nations who died with our own.
4. Americans have known wars, but for the past 136 years, they have been wars on foreign soil, except for one Sunday in 1941. Americans have known the casualties of war, but not at the center of a great city on a peaceful morning. Americans have known surprise attacks- but never before on thousands of civilians.
5. The enemy of America is not our many Muslim friends; it is not our many Arab friends.
6. They want to overthrow existing governments in many Muslim countries, such as Egypt, Saudi Arabia, and Jordan. They want to drive Israel out of
the Middle East. They want to drive Christians and Jews out of vast regions of Asia and Africa.

7. This is the world’s fight. This is the civilization’s fight. This is the fight of all who believe in progress and pluralism, tolerance and freedom.

8. I ask you to live your lives and hug your children. I know many citizens have fears tonight, and I ask you to be calm and resolute, even in the face of a continuing threat. I ask you to uphold the values of America, and remember why so many have come here. We are in a fight for our principles, and our first responsibility is to live by them. No one should be singled out for unfair treatment or unkind words because of their ethnic background or religious faith. I ask you to continue to support the victims of this tragedy with your contributions. Those who want to give can go to a central source of information, libertyunites.org, to find the names of groups providing direct help in New York, Pennsylvania, and Virginia.

The thousands of FBI agents who are now at work in this investigation may need your cooperation, and I ask you give it. I ask for your patience, with the delays and inconveniences that may accompany tighter security; and for your patience in what will be a long struggle. I ask your continued participation and confidence in the American economy.

9. We will come together to improve air safety, to dramatically expand the number of air marshals on domestic flights, and take new measures to prevent hijacking. We will come together to promote stability and keep our airlines flying, with direct assistance during this emergency. We will come together to give law enforcement the additional tools it needs to track down terror here at home. We will come together to strengthen our intelligence capabilities to know the plans of the terrorist before they act, and find them before they strike. We will come together to take active steps that strengthen America’s economy, and put our people back to work.

10. We will not tire, we will not falter, and we will not fail.

11. I will not yield; I will not rest; I will not relent
Religious and Historical symbols:

1. …the saying of prayers, in English, Hebrew and Arabic
2. All of America was touched in the evening of the tragedy to see Republicans and Democrats joined together on the steps of this Capitol, singing “God Bless America”.
3. …or the prayers of sympathy offered at a mosque in Cairo.
4. Americans have known wars, but for the past 136 years they have been wars on foreign soil, except for one Sunday in 1941.
5. Many will be involved in this effort, from FBI agents to intelligence operatives to the reservists we have called to active duty. All deserve our thanks, and all have our prayers.
6. I ask you to uphold the values of America.
7. …Please continue praying for the victims of terror and their families, for those in uniform, and for our great country. Prayer has comforted us in sorrow, and will help strengthen us for the journey ahead.
8. Great harm has been done to us. We have suffered great loss. And in our grief and anger we have found our mission and our movement. Freedom and fear are at war. The advance of human freedom the great achievement of our time, and the great hope of every time, now depends on us. Our nation, this generation, will lift a dark threat of violence from our people and our future. We will rally the world to this cause by our efforts, by our courage.
9. Even grief recedes with time and grace.
10. Fellow citizens, we’ll meet violence with patient justice, assured of the rightness of our cause, and confident of the victories to come. In all that lies before us, may God grant us wisdom, and may He watch over the United States of America.
4.3 Speech 3 President Bush Addresses the Nation (March 19, 2003)

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

Religious and Historical symbols:
1. I know the families of our military are praying that all those who serve will return safely and soon. Millions of Americans are praying with you for the safety of your loved ones and for the protection of the innocent. For your sacrifice, you have the gratitude and respect of the American people.

4.4 Speech 4: President Bush Addresses United Nations General Assembly (September 23, 2003)

Metaphors:
1. …the center of New York became a battlefield, and a graveyard, and the symbol of an unfinished war.
2. The Iraqi people are meeting hardships and challenges, like every nation that has set out on the path of democracy.
3. …a moral law that stands above men and nations…

Anaphora:
1. Those who target relief workers for death have set themselves against all humanity. Those who incite murder and celebrate suicide reveal their contempt for life, itself. They have no place in any religious faith; they have no claim on the world’s sympathy; and they should have no friends in this chamber.
2. Events during the past two years have set before us the clearest of divides: between those who seek order, and those who spread chaos; between those...
who work for peaceful change, and those who adopt the methods of gangsters; between those who honor the rights of man, and those who deliberately take the lives of men and women and children without mercy or shame.

3. The Security Council was right to be alarmed. The Security Council was right to demand that Iraq destroy its illegal weapons and prove that it had done so. The Security Council was right to vow serious consequences if Iraq refused to comply.

4. Across Iraq, life is being improved by liberty. Across the Middle East, people are safer because an unstable aggressor as been removed from power. Across the world, nations are more secure because an ally of terror has fallen.

5. The old regime built palaces while letting schools decay, so we are rebuilding more than a thousand schools. The old regime starved hospitals of resources, so we have helped to supply and reopen hospitals across Iraq. The old regime built up armies and weapons, while allowing the nation’s infrastructure to crumble, so we are rehabilitating power plants, water and sanitation facilities, bridges and airports.

6. Both assert that human beings should never be reduced to objects of power or commerce, because their dignity is inherent. Both require- both recognize a moral law that stands above men and nations, which must be defended and enforced by men and nations. And both point the way to peace, the peace that comes when all are free.

Religious and Historical symbols:

1. May God bless you all.

4.5 Speech 5: President Bush Announces Major Combat Operations in Iraq Have Ended (May 1, 2003)

Metaphors:

1. In the images of falling statues, we have witnessed the arrival of a new era.
Anaphora:

1. *We* have difficult work to do in Iraq. *We’re* bringing order to parts of that country that remain dangerous. *We’re* pursuing and finding leaders of the old regime, who will be held to account for their crimes. *We’ve* begun the search for hidden chemical and biological weapons and already know of hundreds of sites that will be investigated. *We’re* helping to rebuild Iraq, where the dictator built palaces for himself, instead of hospitals and schools. And *we* will stand with the new leaders of Iraq as they establish a government of, and for the Iraqi people.

2. *Any* person, organization, or government that supports, protects, or harbors terrorists is complicit in the murders of the innocent, and equally guilty of terrorist crimes. *Any* outlaw regime that has ties to terrorist groups and seeks or possesses weapons of mass destruction is a grave danger to the civilized world, and will be confronted.

3. …*Every* name, *every* life is a loss to our military, to our nation, and to the loved ones who grieve.

Religious and Historical symbols:

1. The character of our military through history, the daring of Normandy, the fierce courage of Iwo Jima, the decency and idealism that turned enemies into allies, is fully present in this generation.

2. Our commitment to liberty is America’s tradition—declared at our founding; affirmed in Franklin Roosevelt’s Four Freedoms; asserted in the Truman Doctrine and in Ronald Reagan’s challenge to an evil empire.

3. When freedom takes hold, men and women turn to the peaceful pursuit of a better life. American values and American interests lead in the same direction: We stand for human liberty.

4. Yet we pray, in God’s time, their reunion will come.

5. In the words of the prophet Isaiah, “To the captives, ‘come out,’ and to those in darkness, ‘be free.’”

6. May God bless you all, and may God continue to bless America.
4.6 Speech 6: President Bush Presses for Peace in the Middle East (May 9, 2003)

Metaphors:
1. The bitterness of that region can bring violence and suffering to our own cities.
2. A time of historic opportunity has arrived.
3. In the face of harsh repression, Iranians are courageously speaking out for democracy and the rule of law and human rights.
4. Repression of that kind practiced by Saddam Hussein and the Taliban is not the wave of the future.
5. If the Palestinian people take concrete steps to crack down terror, continue on a path of peace, reform and democracy, they and all the world will see the flag of Palestine raised over a free and independent nation.
6. All sides of this conflict have duties.
7. …instead of settling the accounts of the past.
8. To seize this moment…

Anaphora:
1. *Freedom has advanced* because the desire for liberty and justice is found in every human heart. And the men and women of the Muslim world, one-fifth of all humanity, share this hope of liberty. *Freedom has advanced* because it is a way to lift millions out of poverty and improve their lives, *Where freedom is* denied, people live in isolation and stagnation. *Where freedom is* welcome, people in every culture can flourish. *And freedom is advanced* in our time because at crucial moments brave men and women have worked and sacrificed for it.
2. *When terrorists* and tyrants resist and attack freedom, they are resisting and attacking the hopes of Muslims everywhere. *When terrorists* go on mission of suicide and murder, they defile the high ethical teaching of Islam, itself.
3. *The way forward* in the Middle East is not a mystery, it is a matter of will and vision and action. *The way forward* depends on serving the interests of the living, instead of settling the accounts of the past.
Religious and Historical symbols:

1. Because of the ideals and resolve of this nation, you and I will not live in an age of terror. We will live in an age of liberty.
2. May God bless you, and may God continue to bless America.

4.7 Speech 7: President Addresses the Nation (September 7, 2003)

Metaphors:

1. Since America put out the fires of September the 11th, and mourned our dead, and went to war, history has taken a different turn.
2. We are rolling back the terrorist threat to civilization, not on the fringes of its influence, but at the heart of its power.
3. Everywhere that freedom takes hold, terror will retreat.
4. They want to shake the will of the civilized world.
5. Now they must rise to the responsibilities of a free people and secure blessings of their own liberty.
6. We have learned that terrorist attacks are not caused by the use of strength; they are invited by the perception of weakness.
7. “…in the eyes of a hungry people everyday here. They are starved for freedom and opportunity.”

Anaphora:

1. They know that a free Iraq will be free of them, free of assassins, and torturers, and secret police. They know that as democracy rises in Iraq, all of their hateful ambitions will fall like the statues of the former dictator.
2. Some of the attackers are members of the old Saddam regime, who fled the battlefield and now fight in the shadows. Some of the attackers are foreign terrorists, who have come to Iraq to pursue their war on America and other free nations.
3. They have ambushed American and British service members, who stand for freedom and order. They have killed civilian aid workers of the United Nations, who represent the compassion and generosity of the world. They have bombed the Jordanian embassy, the symbol of a peaceful Arab
country. And last week they murdered a respected cleric and over a hundred Muslims at prayer, bombing a holy shrine and a symbol of Islam’s peaceful teachings.

4. *They want* us to leave Iraq before our work is done. *They want* to shake the will of the civilized world.

5. *We* are grateful for their skill and courage, and for their acts of decency, which have shown America’s character to the world. *We* honor the sacrifice of their families. And *we* mourn every American who has died so bravely, so far from home.

6. *We’ve* been tested these past 24 months, and dangers have not passed. Yet Americans are responding with courage and confidence. *We* accept the duties of our generation. *We* are active and resolute in our own defense. *We* are serving in freedom’s cause- and that is the cause of all mankind.

Religious and Historical symbols:

1. America has done this kind of work before. Following World War II, we lifted up the defeated nations of Japan and Germany, and stood with them as they built representative governments.

2. Thank you, and may God continue to bless America.

**4.8 Speech 8 President Bush Addresses the Nation on the Capture of Saddam Hussein (December 14, 2003)**

Metaphors:

1. A hopeful day has arrived.

2. The operation was based on the superb work of intelligence analysts who found the dictator’s footprints in a vast country.

3. We still face terrorists who would rather go on killing the innocent than accept the rise of liberty in the heart of the Middle East.

Anaphora:

1. The capture of this man was crucial to the rise of a free Iraq. It marks the end of the road *for* him, and *for* all who bullied and killed in his name.
For the Baathist holdouts largely responsible for the current violence, there will be no return to the corrupt power and privilege they once held. For the vast majority of Iraqi citizens who wish to live as free men and women, this event brings further assurance that the torture chambers and the secret police are gone forever.

Religious and Historical symbols:
1. May God bless the people of Iraq, and may God bless America.

5 Analysis

5.1 Metaphors
In speech 1 the metaphors are used to evoke certain feelings among the listeners, such as patriotism: *A great people has been moved to defend a great nation*, where the phrase *A great people* refers to the Americans. The word *great* is used together with people in order to encourage and tell the people that they have been strong in the past and that that strength is still part of them. The metaphors are also used to ask the people for confidence in the country and its government; *Terrorist can shake the foundations of our biggest building but they cannot touch the foundation of America*. It is also used to encourage the people as well as to comfort them. The metaphors in speech 2 are purposefully used to make the people want to seek revenge on the terrorists, no matter the cost: *Al Qaeda is to terror what the mafia is to crime*. By using metaphors such as the previous one, the President is cleverly creating images of long-lasting threats and the kind of control the mafia has in the United States. The President also uses metaphors to bring courage to his soldiers, and make them feel proud about their task; *Our nation, this generation will lift a dark threat of violence from our people and our future*. The words *will lift a dark threat of violence* creates an image of proud soldiers fighting for the right cause and saving their people. The world will never forget the terrorist attacks of September 11, and President Bush uses that in speech 4, where he creates a powerful, disturbing image of the attacks: *...the center of New York became a battlefield, and a graveyard, and the symbol of an unfinished war*. This one can also be said to refer to the Gulf War or even the war against terrorism (*and the symbol of an unfinished war*). It can also be said that the metaphor is used to make people want war. In speech 5, the first
metaphor symbolizes the falling of Saddam Hussein and his reign and the beginning of a
democratic Iraq; In the images of falling statues, we have witnessed the arrival of a new
era. In speech 6 the President once again uses a metaphor to refer to September 11: The
bitterness of that region can bring violence and suffering to our own city. In another
metaphor of the same speech the President states that it does not matter where the
terrorists are currently hiding, wherever they are is where the war will be: America is
fighting grave threats wherever they may gather. In speech 7, we find yet another
connection to September 11 and to the importance of the great mission the Americans
have taken on: Since America put out the fires of September the 11th, and mourned our
dead, and went to war, history has taken a different turn. This metaphor creates a clear
image of airplanes crashing into World Trade Center, how the towers collapsed and the
destruction that followed. Another metaphor in the same speech also refers to the attack:
We are fighting that enemy in Iraq and Afghanistan today so that we do not meet him
again on our streets, in our own cities. This metaphor could also be said to be an attempt
by the President to justify the war. In the last of the eight speeches we find a metaphor
used for the purpose of encouraging people to be aware of the fact that dangers have not
passed, and that those dangers are likely to come from Iraq; We still face terrorists who
would rather go on killing the innocent than accept the rise of liberty in the heart of the
Middle East.

5.2 Anaphora
The first anaphora of the first speech is used in combination with the pronoun “our” to
create a feeling of belonging and togetherness among the citizens and at the same time
emphasize the message of how serious the attacks are. In the second speech we find an
anaphora referring to the past of the nation; Americans have known wars, but for the
past 136 years, they have been wars on foreign soil, except for one Sunday in 1941.
Americans have known the casualties of war, but not at the center of a great city on a
peaceful morning. Americans have known surprise attacks, but never before on
thousands of civilians. The Sunday mentioned in this passage is the Sunday when
Japanese soldiers attacked Pearl Harbor. This passage could be used to make people
remember that the nation has managed to cope with surprise attacks in the past, and that
people should have confidence in their leaders. Another anaphora reinforces that
thought: We will not tire, we will not falter, and we will not fail. These lines are
intentionally used to encourage the citizens. In speech 3 the anaphora is used to emphasize and reinforce the message given before in previous speeches, that the people should be brave and trust their leaders: “My fellow citizens, the dangers to our country and the world will be overcome. We will pass through this time of peril and carry on the work of peace. We will defend our freedom. We will bring freedom to others and we will prevail”. This anaphora also mentions the special mission of the American people, to bring peace and freedom to other countries, and to fight for what they believe is right. The anaphors of speech 4 are mostly concerned with creating an image of Saddam Hussein as a mean dictator who has let his own country decay, and at the same time creating an image of the United Stated as a bright, helpful and good hearted nation:

The old regime built palaces while letting schools decay, so we are rebuilding more than a thousand schools. The old regime starved hospitals of resources, so we have helped to supply and reopen hospitals across Iraq. The old regime built up armies and weapons, while allowing the nation’s infrastructure to crumble, so we are rehabilitating power plants, water and sanitation facilities, bridges and airports

The intention with these images could be to make the rest of the world positive towards the war waged on Iraq. In speech 5 we find an anaphora with the same message:

We have difficult work to do in Iraq. We’re bringing order to parts of the country that remain dangerous. We’re pursuing and finding leaders of the old regime, who will be held to account for their crimes. We’ve begun the search for hidden chemical and biological weapons and already know of hundreds of sites that will be investigated. We’re helping to rebuild Iraq, where the dictator built palaces for himself, instead of hospitals and schools. And we will stand with the new leaders of Iraq as they establish a government of, and for the Iraqi people

Note the similarities in the two anaphors. The main use of anaphora in speech 6 is to promote the ideas and beliefs of peace and freedom: ”Freedom has advanced because the desire for liberty and justice is found in every human heart. And the men and women of the Muslim world, one-fifth of all humanity, share this hope of liberty. Freedom has advanced because it is a way to lift up millions out of poverty, and improve their lives.
Where freedom is denied, people live in isolation and stagnation. Where freedom is welcome, people in every culture can flourish. And freedom is advanced in our time because at crucial moments brave men and women have sacrificed for it”. The last sentence could be a mark of respect to the soldiers of the Armed Forces. President Bush uses the anaphors in speech 7 to build up an opinion against soldiers of the old regime in Iraq: “They have ambushed American and British service members, who stand for freedom and order. They have killed civilian aid workers of the United Nations, who represent the compassion and generosity of the world. They have bombed the Jordanian embassy, the symbol of a peaceful Arab country. And last week they murdered a respected cleric and over a hundred Muslims at prayer, bombing a holy shrine and a symbol of Islam’s peaceful teachings”. The President also uses anaphoras to encourage the public. In the anaphora that follows, he also refers back to history, to the mission of America:

We’ve been tested these past 24 months, and dangers have not passed. Yet Americans are responding with courage and confidence. We accept the duties of our generation. We are active and resolute in our own defense. We are serving in freedom’s cause, and that is the cause of all mankind.

In this anaphora he also refers to the Gulf War, and probably the air war in Kosovo, which were both relatively passive wars in contrast with the current war on terrorism. The anaphora in speech 8 is about the capture of Saddam Hussein, President Bush makes a point of showing how evil the former dictator was and how right he and his administration were to wage war on him:

The capture of this man was crucial to the rise of a free Iraq. It marks the end of the road for him, and for all who bullied and killed in his name. For the Baathist holdouts largely responsible for the current violence, there will be no return to the corrupt power and privilege they once held. For the vast majority of Iraqi citizens who wish to live as free men and women, this event brings further assurance that the torture chambers and the secret police are gone forever.

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To sum up, it can be said that President Bush uses anaphoras purposefully to make his messages more powerful. There are two different main messages, the encouragement message and the justifying message. In the speeches we find a total of 33 anaphoras, all intentionally used to emphasize and reinforce the President’s messages.

5.3 Religious and Historical symbols

In speech 1 the religious and historical symbols are used for two reasons: for reassurance: *And I pray they will be comforted by a greater power than any of us, spoken through the ages in Psalm 23: “Even though I walk through the valley of the shadow of death, I fear no evil, for You are with me”*, and for the promise of a strong nation seeking vengeance: *Yet, we go forward to defend freedom and all that is good and just in our world*. The President knew at the time that he was going to talk to an entire nation in shock and therefore chose his words carefully to comfort his people, but also to urge the American nation to support the war on terrorism. In speech 2 we find symbols that are used to unite the people: *All of America was touched in the evening of the tragedy to see Republicans and Democrats joined together on the steps of this Capitol, singing “God Bless America,”* and to bring forth the courage of the people, especially the soldiers: *The hour is coming when America will act, and you will make us proud. /---/ I ask you to uphold the values of America*. The President continues on the path of encouragement in speech 3: *Every nation has chosen to bear the duty and share the honor of serving in our common defense. To all the men and women of the United States Armed Forces now in the Middle East, the peace of a troubled world and the hopes of an oppressed people now depend on you. That trust is well placed.* Here the President also turns to patriotism when he states that it is an honor to serve the nation. As America is one of the most patriotic nations in the world, it is not hard to understand his choice of words when the situation is taken into consideration. In speech 5 we find additional symbols of history, patriotism and heroism: *The character of our military through history, the daring of Normandy, the fierce courage of Iwo Jima, the decency and idealism that turned enemies into allies is fully present in this generation. /---/ Our commitment to liberty is America’s tradition- declared at our founding; affirmed in Franklin Roosevelt’s Four Freedoms; asserted in the Truman Doctrine and in Ronald Reagan’s challenge to an evil empire*. To remind the nation of what it has accomplished in the past is a way for the President to show that he has confidence in his people. A
symbol in speech 6 supports that thought: *Because of the ideals and resolve of this nation, you and I will not live in an age of terror. We will live in an age of liberty.* A symbol from speech 7 is a sign of how President Bush glorifies the war, it is also an attempt to make his soldiers realize the importance of the mission they are about to take on: *The Americans who assume great risk overseas understand the great cause they are in.* In the last speech we find a symbol that is present in all Presidential addresses; *May God bless the people of Iraq, and may God bless America.* Here he includes Iraq, an assumed gesture of good will. In all, the religious symbols mentioned and pointed out in chapter 4 are used by the President to indicate and reinforce the idea that the American people have been chosen by God to do great things for the world. In this case, the President argues heavily that the cause of America is to liberate the oppressed people of Iraq, defending freedom and seek revenge for the terrorist attacks in 2001. The historical symbols found in the speeches are used to create images of a proud and victorious nation and those images are used to give hope and faith to the people.

### 6 Summary and Conclusion

The aim of this study was to find out how George W Bush, the President of the United States of America, uses different rhetorical and semantic devices, religious values and symbols of history in his public addresses. In chapter one, a brief background of American political rhetoric has been accounted for. The aim was also to identify the different devices, explain why they were being used and to see if they followed the line of American political rhetoric. Chapter two contains information about the history of rhetoric and chapter three describes semantic and rhetoric devices, anaphors and metaphors, as well as it explains the religious and historical symbols that have been investigated in the present study.

In order to conduct the study, eight different public addresses, all concerning the same topic were chosen as subject for the study. The topic is the war on terrorism, the war on Iraq and the issue of peace in the Middle East region. The speeches have been analyzed on the basis of metaphors, anaphors, religious and historical symbols. In chapter four a presentation of the results of all the speeches is given. The results are analyzed in chapter five.
The results of this study demonstrate how President Bush consciously uses devices such as metaphors and anaphors as well as religious and historical symbols in his speeches. In the speeches metaphors and anaphors as well as religious and historical symbols can be found. In addition to that, all the devices and symbols follow within the line of American political rhetoric. From the results it becomes evident that the President relies heavily on American patriotism. In order to reinforce his intents of waging war on both Iraq and terrorism worldwide and peace in the Middle East, he appeals to the patriotism of the American people by using anaphors, metaphors, religious and historical symbols. For instance, the President repeatedly uses phrases and words that refer to God and the special mission of the American people. It can be argued that the President does this in order to justify his own actions to wage war on Iraq and Afghanistan, and at the same time get the support from the American people. All semantic and rhetorical devices as well as religious and historical symbols are used by the President for the same purpose: to emphasize and reinforce the message that urges Americans to seek revenge and wage war. In addition to this, the President also puts forth a message that states that it is America’s cause to fight for peace in the Middle East.

Patriotism is closely linked to American tradition of political rhetoric, which in turn is deeply rooted in American society, a fact that the President is well aware of, and a fact that he uses in his speeches to get his will done. With the intention of appealing to patriotism among Americans, he uses devices and symbols that follow the tradition of American political rhetoric. Since these traditions are so intimately bound to the American people the President obviously knows that it is the strongest tool to use when the intention is to put messages across to the American people.
Works cited or referred to

Primary source
http://www.whitehouse.gov [2003-10-16]

Secondary sources
Good evening. Today, our fellow citizens, our way of life, our very freedom came under attack in a series of deliberate and deadly terrorist acts. The victims were in airplanes, or in their offices; secretaries, businessmen and women, military and federal workers; moms and dads, friends and neighbors. Thousand of lives were suddenly ended by evil, despicable acts of terror. The pictures of airplanes flying into buildings, fires burning, huge structures collapsing, have filled us with disbelief, terrible sadness, and a quiet, unyielding anger. These acts of mass murder were intended to frighten our nation into chaos and retreat. But they have failed; our country is strong. A great people have been moved to defend a great nation. Terrorist can shake the foundations of our biggest buildings, but they cannot touch the foundation of America. These acts shattered steel, but they cannot dent the steel of American resolve. America was targeted for attack because we’re the brightest beacon for freedom and opportunity in the world. And no one will keep that light from shining. Today, our nation saw evil, the very worst of human nature. And we respond with the best of America- with the daring of our rescue workers, with the caring for strangers and neighbors who come to give blood and help in any way they could. Immediately following the first attack, I implemented our government’s emergency response plans. Our military is powerful, and it’s prepared. Our emergency teams are working in New York City and Washington D.C. to help with local rescue efforts. Our first priority is to get help to those who have been injured, and to take every precaution to protect our citizens at home and around the world from further attacks. The functions of our government continue without interruption. Federal agencies in Washington which had to be evacuated today are reopening for essential personnel tonight, and will be open for business tomorrow. Our financial institutions remain strong, and the American economy will be open for business, as well. The search is underway for those who are behind these evil acts. I’ve directed the full resources of our intelligence and law enforcement communities to find those responsible and to bring them to justice. We will make no distinction between the terrorist who committed these acts and those who harbor them. I appreciate so very much the members of the Congress who have joined me in strongly condemning these attacks. On behalf of the American people, I thank many world leaders who have called to offer their condolences and assistance. America and our friends and allies join with all those who want peace and security in the world, and we stand together to win the war against terrorism. Tonight, I ask for your prayers for all those who grieve, for the children whose world have been shattered, for all whose sense of safety and security has been threatened. And I pray you will be comforted by a power greater than any of us, spoken through the ages in Psalm 23: “Even though I walk through the valley of the shadow of death, I fear no evil, for You are with me.” This is a day when all Americans from every walk of life unite in our resolve for justice and peace. America has stood down enemies before, and we will do so this time. None of us will ever forget this day. Yet, we go forward to defend freedom and all that is just and good in our world.

Thank you. Good night, and God bless America.
Mr. Speaker, Mr. President Pro Tempore, members of Congress, and fellow Americans.

In the normal course of events, Presidents come to this chamber to report on the state of the Union. Tonight no such report is needed. It has already been delivered by the American people. We have seen it in the courage of the passengers, who rushed terrorist to save others on the ground- passengers like an exceptional man named Todd Beamer. And would you please help me to welcome his wife, Lisa Beamer, here tonight. We have seen the state of our Union in the endurance of rescuers, working past exhaustion. We have seen the unfurling of flags, the lighting of candles, the giving of blood, the saying of prayers- in English, Hebrew and Arabic. We have seen the decency of a loving and giving people who have made the grief of strangers their own. My fellow citizens, for the last nine days, the entire world has seen for itself the state of our Union- and it is strong. Tonight we are a country awakened to danger and called to defend freedom. Our grief has turned to anger, and anger to resolution. Whether we bring our enemies to justice, or bring our justice to our enemies, justice will be done. I thank the Congress for its leadership at such an important time. All of America was touched on the evening of the tragedy to see Republicans and Democrats joined together on the steps of this Capitol, singing “God Bless America”. And you did more than sing; you acted, by delivering $40 billion to rebuild our communities and meet the needs of our military. Speaker Hastert, Minority Leader Gephardt, Majority Leader Daschle and Senator Lott, I thank you for your friendship, for your leadership and for your service to our country. And on the behalf of the American people, I thank the world for its outpouring of support. America will never forget the sounds of our National Anthem playing at Buckingham Palace, on the streets of Paris, and at Berlin’s Brandenburg Gate. We will not forget South Korean children gathering to pray outside our embassy in Seoul, or the prayers of sympathy offered at a mosque in Cairo. We will not forget moments of silence and days of mourning in Australia and Africa and Latin America. Nor will we forget the citizens of 80 other nations who died with our own: dozens of Pakistanis; more than 130 Israelis; more than 250 citizens of India; men and women from El Salvador, Iran, Mexico and Japan; and hundreds of British citizens. America has no truer friend than Great Britain. (Applause.) Once again, we are joined together in a great cause- so honored the British Prime Minister has crossed an ocean to show his unity of purpose with America. Thank you for coming, friend. On September the 11th, enemies of freedom committed an act of war against our country. Americans have known wars- but for the past 136 years they have been wars on foreign soil, except for one Sunday in 1941. Americans have known the casualties of war- but at the center of a great city on a peaceful morning. Americans have known surprise attacks- but never before on thousands of civilians. All of this was brought upon us in a single day- and night fell on a different world, a world where freedom itself is under attack. Americans have many questions tonight. Americans are asking: Who attacked our country? The evidence we have gathered all points to a collection of loosely affiliated terrorist organizations known as al Qaeda. They are the same murderers indicted for bombing American embassies in Tanzania and Kenya, and responsible for bombing the USS Cole. Al Qaeda is to terror what the mafia is to crime. But its goal is not making money; its goal is remaking the world- and imposing its radical beliefs on people everywhere. The terrorist practice a fringe form of Islamic extremism that has been rejected by Muslim scholars and the vast
majority of Muslim clerics- a fringe movement that perverts the peaceful teachings of Islam. The terrorists’ directive commands them to kill Christians and Jews, to kill all Americans, and make no distinction among military and civilians, including women and children. This group and its leader- a person named Osama bin Laden- are linked to many other organizations in different countries, including the Egyptian Islamic Jihad and the Islamic Movement of Uzbekistan. There are thousands of these terrorists in more than 60 countries. They are recruited from their own nations and neighborhoods and brought to camps in places like Afghanistan, where they are trained in the tactics of terror. They are sent back to their homes or sent to hide in countries around the world to plot evil and destruction. The leadership of al Qaeda has great influence in Afghanistan and supports the Taliban regime in controlling most of that country. In Afghanistan, we see al Qaeda’s vision for the world. Afghanistan’s people have been brutalized- many are starving and many have fled. Women are not allowed to attend school. You can be jailed for owning a television. Religion can be practiced only as their leaders dictate. A man can be jailed in Afghanistan if his beard is not long enough. The United States respects the people of Afghanistan- after all we are currently the largest source of humanitarian aid- but we condemn the Taliban regime. It is not only repressing its own people, it is threatening people everywhere by sponsoring and sheltering and supplying terrorists. By aiding and abetting murder, the Taliban regime is committing murder. And tonight, the United States of America makes the following demand on the Taliban: Deliver to United States authorities all the leaders of al Qaeda who hide in your land. Release all foreign nationals, including American citizens, you have unjustly imprisoned. Protect foreign journalists, diplomats and aid workers in your country. Close immediately and permanently every terrorist training camp in Afghanistan, and hand over every terrorist, and every person in their support structure, to appropriate authorities. Give the United States full access to terrorist training camps, so we can make sure they are no longer operating. These demands are not open to negotiation or discussion. The Taliban must act, and act immediately. They will hand over the terrorist, or they will share in their fate. I also want to speak tonight directly to Muslims throughout the world. We respect your faith. It’s practiced freely by many millions of Americans, and by millions more in countries that America counts as friends. Its teachings are good and peaceful, and those who commit evil in the name of Allah blaspheme the name of Allah. The terrorists are traitors to their own faith, trying, in effect, to hijack Islam itself. The enemy of America is not our many Muslim friends; it is not our many Arab friends. Our enemy is a radical network of terrorists, and every government that supports them. Our war on terror begins with al Qaeda, but it does not end there. It will not end until every terrorist group of global reach has been found, stopped and defeated. Americans are asking, why do they hate us? They hate what we see right here in this chamber- a democratically elected government. Their leaders are self-appointed. They hate our freedoms- our freedom of religion, our freedom of speech, our freedom to vote and assemble and disagree with each other. They want to overthrow existing governments in many Muslim countries, such as Egypt, Saudi Arabia and Jordan. They want to drive Israel out of the Middle East. They want to drive Christians and Jews out of vast regions of Asia and Africa. These terrorists kill not merely to end lives, but to disrupt and end a way of life. With every atrocity, they hope that America grows fearful, retreating from the world and forsaking our friends. They stand against us, because we stand in their way. We are not deceived by their pretenses to piety. We have seen their kind before. They are the heirs of all the murderous ideologies of the 20th century. By sacrificing human life to serve their radical visions- by abandoning every
value except the will to power- they follow in the path of fascism, and Nazism, and totalitarianism. And they will follow that path all the way, to where it ends: in history’s unmarked grave of discarded lies. Americans are asking: How will we fight and win this war? We will direct every resource at our command- every means of diplomacy, every tool of intelligence, every instrument of law enforcement, every financial influence, and every necessary weapon of war- to the disruption and to the defeat of the global terror network. This war will not be like the war against Iraq a decade ago, with a decisive liberation of territory and a swift conclusion. It will not look like the air war above Kosovo two years ago, where no ground troops were used and not a single American was lost in combat. Our response involves far more than instant retaliation and isolated strikes. Americans should not expect battle, but a lengthy campaign, unlike any other we have seen. It may include dramatic strikes, visible on TV, and covert operations, secret even in success. We will starve terrorists of funding, turn them one against another, drive them from place to place, until there is no refuge or no rest. And we will pursue nations that provide aid or safe haven to terrorism. Every nation, in every region, now has a decision to make. Either you are with us, or you are with the terrorists. From this day forward, any nation that continues to harbor or support terrorism will be regarded by the United States as a hostile regime. Our nation has been put on notice: We are not immune from attack. We will take defensive measures against terrorism to protect Americans. Today, dozens of federal departments and agencies, as well as state and local governments, have responsibilities affecting homeland security. These efforts must be coordinated at the highest level. So tonight I announce the creation of a Cabinet-level position reporting directly to me- the Office of Homeland Security. And tonight I also announce a distinguished American to lead this effort, to strengthen American security: a military veteran, an effective governor, a true patriot, a trusted friend- Pennsylvania’s Tom Ridge. He will lead, oversee and coordinate a comprehensive national strategy to safeguard our country against terrorism, and respond to any attacks that may come. These measures are essential. But the only way to defeat terrorism as a threat to our way of life is to stop it, eliminate it, and destroy it where it grows. Many will be involved in this effort, from FBI agents to intelligence operatives to the reservists we have called to active duty. All deserve our thanks, and all have our prayers. And tonight, a few miles from the damaged Pentagon, I have a message for our military: Be ready. I’ve called the Armed Forces to alert, and there is a reason. The hour is coming when America will act, and you will make us proud. This is not, however, just America’s fight. And what is at stake is not just America’s freedom. This is the world’s fight. This is civilization’s fight. This is the fight of all who believe in progress and pluralism, tolerance and freedom. We ask every nation to join us. We will ask, and we will need, the help of police forces, intelligence services, and banking systems around the world. The United States is grateful that many nations and many international organizations have already responded- with sympathy and with support. Nations from Latin America, to Asia, to Africa, to Europe, to the Islamic world. Perhaps the NATO Charter reflects best the attitude of the world: An attack on one is an attack on us all. The civilized world is rallying to America’s side. They understand that if this terror goes unpunished, their own cities, their own citizens may be next. Terror, unanswered, can not only bring down buildings, it can threaten the stability of legitimate governments. And you know what- we’re not going to allow it. Americans are asking- What is expected of us? I ask you to live your lives, and hug you children. I know many citizens have fears tonight, and I ask you to be calm and resolute, even in the face of a continuing threat. I ask you to uphold the values of America, and remember why so many have come here. We are in a fight for our
principles, and our first responsibility is to live by them. No one should be singled out for unfair treatment or unkind words because of their ethnic background or religious faith. I ask you to continue to support the victims of this tragedy with your contributions. Those who want to give can go to a central source of information, libertyunites.org, to find the names of groups providing direct help in New York, Pennsylvania and Virginia. The thousands of FBI agents who are now at work in this investigation may need your cooperation, and I ask you give it. I ask for your patience, with the delays and inconveniences that may accompany tighter security; and for your patience in what will be a long struggle. I ask your continued participation and confidence in American economy. Terrorists attacked a symbol of American prosperity. They did not touch its source. America is successful because of the hard work, and creativity, and enterprise of our people. These were the true strengths of our economy before September 11th, and they are our strengths today. And finally, please continue praying for the victims of terror and their families, for those in uniform, and for our great country. Prayer has comforted us in sorrow, and will help strengthen us for the journey ahead. Tonight I thank my fellow Americans for what you have already done and for what you will do. And ladies and gentlemen of the Congress, I thank you, their representatives, for what you have already done and for what we will do together. Tonight, we face new and sudden national challenges. We will come together to improve air safety, to dramatically expand the number of air marshals on domestic flights, and take new measures to prevent hijacking. We will come together to promote stability and keep our airlines flying, with direct assistance during this emergency. We will come together to give law enforcement the additional tools it needs to track down terror here at home. We will come together to strengthen our intelligence capabilities to know the plans of terrorists before they act, and find them before they strike. We will come together to take active steps that strengthen America’s economy, and put our people back to work. Tonight we welcome two leaders who embody the extraordinary spirit of all New Yorkers: Governor George Pataki, and Mayor Rudolph Giuliani. As a symbol of America’s resolve, my administration will work with Congress, and these two leaders, to show the world that we will rebuild New York City. After all that has passes- all the lives taken, and all the possibilities and hope that died with them- it is natural to wonder if America’s future is one of fear. Some speak of an age of terror. I know there are struggles ahead, dangers to face. But this country will define our times, not be defined by them. As long as the United Stated of America is determined and strong, this will not be an age of terror; this will be an age of liberty, here and across the world. Great harm has been done to us. We have suffered great loss. And in our grief and anger we have found our mission and our movement. Freedom and fear are at war. The advance of human freedom- the great achievement of our time, and the great hope of every time- now depends on us. Our nation- this generation- will live a dark threat of violence from our people and our future. We will rally the world to this cause by our efforts, by our courage. We will not tire, we will not falter, and we will not fail. It is my hope that in the months and years ahead, life will return almost to normal. We’ll go back to our lives and routines, and that is good. Even grief recedes with time and grace. But our resolve must not pass. Each of us will remember what happened that day, and to whom it happened. We’ll remember the moment the news came- where we were and what we were doing. Some will remember an image of a fire, or a story of rescue. Some will carry memories of a face and voice gone forever. And I will carry this: It is the police shield of a man named George Howard, who died at the World Trade Center trying to save others. It was given to me by his mom, Arlene, as a proud memorial to her son. This is my reminder of lives that
ended, and a task that does not end. I will not forget this wound to our country or those who inflicted it. I will not yield; I will not rest; I will not relent in waging this struggle for freedom and security for the American people. The course of this conflict is not known, yet its outcome is certain. Freedom and fear, justice and cruelty, have always been at war, and we know that God is not neutral between them. Fellow citizens, we’ll meet violence with patient justice- assured of the rightness of our cause, and confident of the victories to come. In all that lies before us, may God grant us wisdom, and may He watch over the United States of America.

Thank you.

Speech 3: President Bush Addresses the Nation, March 19, 2003

My fellow citizens, at this hour, American and coalition forces are in the early stages of military operations to disarm Iraq, to free its people and to defend the world from grave danger. On my orders, coalition forces have begun striking selected targets of military importance to undermine Saddam Hussein’s ability to wage war. These are opening stages of what will be a broad and concerted campaign. More than 35 countries are giving crucial support- from the use of naval and air bases, to help with intelligence and logistics, to the deployment of combat units. Every nation in this coalition has chosen to bear the duty and share the honor of serving in our common defense. To all the men and women of the United States Armed Forces now in the Middle East, the peace of a troubled war and the hopes of an oppressed people now depend on you. That trust is well placed. The enemies you confront will come to know your skill and bravery. The people you liberate will witness the honorable and decent spirit of American military. In this conflict, America faces an enemy who has no board of conventions of war or rules of morality. Saddam Hussein has placed Iraqi troops and equipment in civilian areas, attempting to use innocent men, women and children as shields for his own military- a final atrocity against his people. I want Americans and all the world to that coalition forces will make every effort to spare innocent civilians from harm. A campaign on the harsh terrain of a nation as large as California could be longer and more difficult than some predict. And helping Iraqis achieve a united, stable and free country will require our sustained commitment. We come to Iraq with respect for its citizens, for their great civilization and for the religious faiths they practice. We have no ambition in Iraq, except to remove a threat and restore control of that country to its own people. I know that the families of our military are praying that all those who serve will return safely and soon. Millions of Americans are praying with you for the safety of your loved ones and for the protection of the innocent. For your sacrifice, you have the gratitude and respect of the American people. And you can know that our forces will be coming home as soon as their work is done. Our nation enters this conflict reluctantly- yet, our purpose is sure. The people of the United States and our friends and allies will not live at the mercy of an outlaw regime that threatens the peace with weapons of mass murder. We will meet that threat now, with our Army, Air Force, Navy, Coast Guard and Marines, so that we do not have to meet it later with armies of fire fighters and police and doctors on the streets of our cities. Now that conflict has come, the only way to limit its duration is to apply decisive force. And I assure you, this will not be a campaign of half measures, and we will accept no outcome but victory.
My fellow citizens, the dangers to our country and the world will be overcome. We will pass through this time of peril and carry on the work of peace. We will defend our freedom. We will bring freedom to others and we will prevail.

May God bless our country and all who defend her.


Mr. Secretary General; Mr. President; distinguished delegates; ladies and gentlemen:

Twenty-four months ago- and yesterday in the memory of America- the center of New York City became a battlefield, and a graveyard, and the symbol of an unfinished war. Since that day, terrorists have struck in Bali, Mombassa, in Casablanca, in Riyadh, in Jakarta, in Jerusalem- measuring advance of their cause in the chaos and innocent suffering they leave behind. Last month, terrorists brought their war to the United Nations itself. The U. N. headquarters in Baghdad stood for order and compassion- and for that reason, the terrorists decided it must be destroyed. Among the 22 people who were murdered was Sergio Vieira de Mello. Over the decades, this good and brave man from Brazil gave help to the afflicted in Bangladesh, Cyprus, Mozambique, Lebanon, Cambodia, Central Africa, Kosovo, and East Timor, and was aiding the people of Iraq in their time of need. America joins you, his colleagues, in honoring the memory of Senor Vieira de Mello, and the memory of all who died with him in the service of the United Nations. By the victims they choose, and by the means they use, the terrorists have clarified the struggle we are in. Those who target relief workers for death have set themselves against all humanity. Those who incite murder and celebrate suicide reveal their contempt for life, itself. They have no place in any religious faith; they have no claim on the world’s sympathy; and they should have no friends in this chamber. Events during the past two years have set before us the clearest of divides: between those who seek order, and those who spread chaos; between those who work for peaceful change, and those who adopt the methods of gangsters; between those who honor the rights of man, and those who deliberately take the lives of men and women and children without mercy or shame. Between these alternatives there is no neutral ground. All governments that support terror are complicit in a war against civilization. No government should ignore the threat of terror, because to look the other way gives terrorists the chance to regroup and recruit and prepare. And all nations that fight terror, as if the lives of their own people depend on it, will earn the favorable judgment of history. The former regimes of Afghanistan and Iraq knew these alternatives, and made their choices. The Taliban was a sponsor and servant of terrorism. When confronted, that regime chose defiance, and that regime is no more. Afghanistan’s President, who is here today, now represents a free people who are building a decent and just society; they’re building a nation fully joined in the war against terror. The regime of Saddam Hussein cultivated ties to terror while it built weapons of mass destruction. It used those weapons in acts of mass murder, and refused to account for them when confronted by the world. The Security Council was right to be alarmed. The Security Council was right to demand that Iraq destroy its illegal weapons and prove that it had done so. The Security Council was right to vow serious consequences if Iraq refused to comply. And because there were consequences, because a coalition of nations acted to defend the peace, and the credibility of the United Nations, Iraq is free, and today we are joined by representatives of a liberated country.
Saddam Hussein’s monuments have been removed and not only his statues. The true monuments of his rule and his character - the torture chambers, and the rape rooms, and the prison cells for innocent children - are closed. And as we discover the killing fields and mass graves of Iraq, the true scale of Saddam’s cruelty is being revealed. The Iraqi people are meeting hardships and challenges, like every nation that has set out on the path of democracy. Yet their future promises lives of dignity and freedom, and that is a world away from the squalid, vicious tyranny they have known. Across Iraq, life is being improved by liberty. Across the Middle East, people are safer because an unstable aggressor has been removed from power. Across the world, nations are more secure because an ally of terror has fallen.

Our actions Afghanistan and Iraq were supported by many governments, and America is grateful to each one. I also recognize that some of the sovereign nations of this assembly disagreed with our actions. Yet there was, and there remains, unity among us on the fundamental principles and objectives of the United Nations. We are dedicated to the defense of our collective security, and to the advance of human rights. These permanent commitments call us to great work in the world, work we must do together. So let us move forward.

The United Nations has been a friend of the Afghan people, distributing food and medicine, helping refugees turn home, advising on a new constitution, and helping to prepare the way for nationwide elections. NATO has taken over the U.N.-mandated security force in Kabul. American and coalition forces continue to track and defeat al Qaeda terrorists and remnants of the Taliban. Our efforts to rebuild that country go on. I have recently proposed to spend an additional $1.2 billion for the Afghan reconstruction effort, and I urge other nations to continue contributing to this important cause. In the nation of Iraq, the United Nations is carrying out vital and effective work every day. By the end of 2004, more than 90 percent of Iraqi children under age five will have been immunized against preventable diseases such as polio, tuberculosis and measles, thanks to the hard work and high ideals of UNICEF. Iraq’s food distribution system is optional, delivering nearly a half-million tons of food per month, thanks to the skill and expertise of the World Food Program. Our international coalition in Iraq is meeting with its responsibilities. We are conducting precision raids against terrorists and holdouts of the former regime. These killers are at war with the Iraqi people. They have made Iraq the central front in the war on terror, and they will be defeated. Our coalition has made sure that Iraq’s former dictator will never again use weapons of mass destruction. We are interviewing Iraqi citizens and analyzing records of the old regime to reveal the full extent of its weapons programs and its long campaign of deception. We’re training Iraqi police and border guards and a new army, so the Iraqi people can assume full responsibility for their own security. At the same time, our coalition is helping to improve the daily lives of the Iraqi people. The old regime built palaces while letting schools decay, so we are rebuilding more than a thousand schools. The old regime starved hospitals of resources, so we have helped to supply and reopen hospitals across Iraq. The old regime built armies and weapons, while allowing the nation’s infrastructure to crumble, so we are rehabilitating power plants, water and sanitation facilities, bridges and airports. I proposed to Congress that the United States provide an additional funding for our work in Iraq, the greatest financial commitment of its kind since the Marshall Plan. Having helped to liberate Iraq, we will honor our pledges to Iraq, and by helping the Iraqi people build a stable and peaceful country, we will make our own countries more secure. The primary goal of our coalition in Iraq is self-government for the people of Iraq, reached by orderly and democratic process. This
process must unfold according to the needs of Iraqis, neither hurried, nor delayed by the
wishes of other parties. And the United Nations can contribute greatly to the cause of
Iraqi self-government. America is working with friends and allies on a new Security
Council resolution, which will expand the U.N.’s role in Iraq. As in the aftermath of
other conflicts, the United Nations should assist in developing a constitution, in training
civil servants, and conducting free and fair elections. 

Iraq now has a Governing Council, the first truly representative constitution in that
country. Iraq’s new leaders are showing the openness and tolerance that democracy
requires, and they’re also showing courage. Yet every young democracy needs the help
of friends. Now the nation of Iraq needs and deserves our aid, and all actions of goodwill
should step forward and provide that support.

The success of a free Iraq will be watched and noted throughout the region. Millions will
see that freedom, equality, and material progress are possible at the heart of the Middle
East. Leaders in the region will face the clearest evidence that free institutions and open
societies are the only path to long-term national success and dignity. And a transformed
Middle East would benefit the entire world, by undermining the ideologies that export
violence to other lands. Iraq as a dictatorship had great power to destabilize the Middle
East; Iraq as a democracy will have great power to inspire the Middle East. The advance
of democratic institutions in Iraq is setting an example that others, including Palestinian
people, would be wise to follow. The Palestinian cause is betrayed by leaders who cling
to power by feeding old hatreds and destroying the good work of others. The Palestinian
people deserve their own state and they will gain that state by embracing new leaders
committed to reform, to fighting terror, and to building peace. All parties in the Middle
East must meet their responsibilities and carry out the commitments they made at Aqaba.
Israel must work to create the conditions that will allow a peaceful Palestinian state to
emerge. And Arab nations must cut off funding and other support for terrorist
organizations. America will work with every nation in the region that acts boldly for the
sake of peace. A second challenge we must confront together is the proliferation of
weapons of mass destruction. Outlaw regimes that possess nuclear, chemical and
biological weapons- and the means to deliver them- would be able to use blackmail and
create chaos in entire regions. These weapons could be used by terrorists to bring sudden
disaster and suffering on a scale we can scarcely imagine. The deadly combination of
outlaw regimes and terror networks and weapons of mass murder is a peril that cannot
be ignored or wished away. If such a danger is allowed to fully materialize, all words, all
protests, will come too late. Nations of the world must have the wisdom and the will to
stop grave threats before they arrive. One crucial step is to secure the most dangerous
materials at their source. For more than a decade, the United States has worked with
Russia and other states of the former Soviet Union to dismantle, destroy, or secure
weapons and dangerous materials left over from another era. Last year in Canada, the G8
nations agreed to provide up to $20 billion- half of it from the United States- to fight this
proliferation risk over the next 10 years. Since then, six additional countries have joined
the effort. More are needed, and I urge other nations to help us meet this danger. We’re
also improving our capability to interdict lethal materials in transit. Through our
Proliferation Security initiative, 11 nations are preparing to search planes and ships,
trains and trucks carrying suspect cargo, and to seize weapons or missile shipments that
raise proliferation concerns. These nations have agreed on a set of interdiction
principles, consistent with legal- current legal authorities. And we’re working to expand
the Proliferation Security Initiative to other countries. We’re determined to keep the
world’s most destructive weapons away from all our shores, and out of the hand of the common enemies. Because proliferators will use any route or channel that is open to them, we need the broadest possible cooperation to stop them. Today, I ask the U.N. Security Council to adopt a new anti-proliferation resolution. This resolution should call on all members of the U.N. to criminalize the proliferation of weapons—weapons of mass destruction, to enact strict export controls consistent with international standards, and to secure any and all sensitive materials within their own borders. The United States stands ready to help any nation draft these new laws, and to assist in their enforcement. A third challenge we share is a challenge to our conscience. We must act decisively to meet the humanitarian crises of our time. The United States has begun to carry out the Emergency Plan for AIDS Relief, aimed at preventing AIDS on a massive scale, and treating millions who have the disease already. We have pledged $15 billion over five years to fight AIDS all around the world. Our country is acting to save lives from famine, as well. We’re providing more than $1.4 billion in global emergency food aid, and I’ve asked our United States Congress for $200 million for a new famine fund, so we can act quickly when the first signs of famine appear. Every nation on every continent should generously add their resources to the fight against disease and desperate hunger. There’s another humanitarian crisis spreading, yet hidden from view. Each year, an estimated 800,000 to 900,000 human beings are bought, sold or forced across the world’s borders. Among them are hundreds of thousands teenage girls, and others as young as five, who fall victim to the sex trade. This commerce in human generates billions of dollars each year—much of which is used to finance organized crime. There’s a special evil in the abuse and exploitation of the most innocent and vulnerable. The victims of sex trade see little of life before they see the very worst of life—an underground of brutality and lonely fear. Those who create these victims and profit from their suffering must be severely punished. Those who patronize this industry debase themselves and deepen the misery of others. And governments that tolerate this trade are tolerating a form of slavery. This problem has appeared in my own country, and we are working to stop it. The PROTECT Act, which I signed into law this year, makes it a crime for any person to enter the United States, or for any citizen to travel abroad, for the purpose of sex tourism involving children. The Department of Justice is actively investigating sex tour operators and patrons, who can face up to 30 years in prison. Under the Trafficking Victims Protection Act, the United States is using sanctions against governments to discourage human trafficking. The victims of this industry also need help from members of the United Nations. And this begins with clear standards and the certainty of punishment under laws of every country. Today, some nations make it a crime to sexually abuse children abroad. Such conduct should be a crime in all nations. Governments should inform travelers of the harm this industry does, and the severe punishments that will fall on its patrons. The American government is committing $50 million to support the good work of organizations that are rescuing women and children from exploitation, and giving them shelter and medical treatment and the hope of a new life. I urge other governments to do their part. We must show new energy in fighting back an old evil. Nearly two centuries after the abolition of the transatlantic slave trade, and more than a century after slavery was officially ended in its last strongholds, the trade in human beings for any purpose must not be allowed to thrive in our time. All the challenges I have spoken of this morning require urgent attention and moral clarity. Helping Afghanistan and Iraq to succeed as free nations in a transformed region, cutting off the avenues of proliferation, abolishing modern forms of slavery—these are the kinds of great tasks for which the United Nations was founded. In each case, careful discussion is
needed, and also decisive action. Our good attentions will be credited only if we achieve good outcomes. As an original signer of the U.N. Charter, the United States is committed to the United Nations. And we show that commitment by working to fulfill the U.N.’s stated purposes, and give meaning to its ideals. The founding documents of the United Nations and the founding documents of America stand in the same tradition. Both assert that human beings should never be reduced to objects of power or commerce, because their dignity is inherent. Both require—both recognize a moral law that stands above men and nations, which must be defended and enforced by men and nations. And both point the way to peace, the peace that comes when all are free. We secure that peace with our courage, and we must show that courage together.

May God bless you all. (Applause.)


Thank you all very much. Admiral Kelly, Captain Card, officers and sailors of the USS Abraham Lincoln, my fellow Americans: Major combat operations in Iraq have ended. In the battle of Iraq, the United States and our allies have prevailed. And now our coalition is engaged in securing and reconstructing that country. In this battle, we have fought for the cause of liberty, and for the peace of the world. Our nation and our coalition are proud of this accomplishment—yet, it is you, the members of the United States military, who achieved it. Your courage, your willingness to face danger for your country, and for each other, made this day possible. Because of you, the tyrant has fallen, and Iraq is free. Operation Iraqi Freedom was carried out with a combination of precision and speed and boldness the enemy did not expect, and the world has not seen before. From distant bases or ships at sea, we sent planes and missiles that could destroy an enemy division, or strike a single bunker. Marines and soldiers charged to Baghdad across 350 miles of hostile ground, in one of the swiftest advances of heavy arms in history. You have shown the world the skill and the might of the American Armed Forces. This nation thanks all the members of our coalition who joined in a noble cause. We thank the Armed Forces of the United Kingdom, Australia, and Poland, who shared the hardships of war. We thank all the citizens of Iraq who welcomed our troops and joined in the liberation of their own country. And tonight, I have a special word for Secretary Rumsfeld, for General Franks, and for all the men and women who wear the uniform of the United States: America is grateful for a job well done. The character of our military through history—the daring of Normandy, the fierce courage of Iwo Jima, the decency and idealism that turned enemies into allies—is fully present in this generation. When Iraqi civilians looked into the faces of our servicemen and women, they saw strength and kindness and goodwill. When I look at the members of the United States military, I see the best of our country, and I’m honored to be your Commander-in-Chief. In the images of falling statues, we have witnessed the arrival of a new era. For a hundred years of war, culminating in the nuclear age, military technology was designed and employed to inflict casualties on an ever-growing scale. In defeating Nazi Germany and imperial Japan, Allied forces destroyed entire cities, while enemy leaders who started the conflict were safe until the final days. Military power was used to end a regime by breaking a nation. Today, we have the greater power to free a nation by breaking a dangerous and aggressive regime. With new tactics and precision weapons, we can achieve military objectives without directing violence against civilians. No
device of man can remove the tragedy from war; yet it is a great moral advance when the
guilty have far more to fear from war than the innocent. In the images of celebrating
Iraqis, we have also seen the ageless appeal of human freedom. Decades of lies and
intimidation could not make the Iraqi people love their oppressors or desire their own
enslavement. Men and women in every culture need liberty like they need food and
water and air. Everywhere that freedom arrives, humanity rejoices; and everywhere that
freedom stirs, lets tyrants fear. We have difficult work to do in Iraq. We’re bringing
order to parts of that country that remain dangerous. We’re pursuing and finding leaders
of the old regime, who will be held to account for their crimes. We’ve begun the search
for hidden chemical and biological weapons and already know of hundreds of sites that
will be investigated. We’re helping to rebuild Iraq, where the dictator built palaces for
himself, instead of hospitals and schools. And we will stand with the new leaders of Iraq
as they establish a government of, by, and for the Iraqi people. The transition from
dictatorship to democracy will take time, but it is worth every effort. Our coalition will
stay until our work is done. Then we will leave, and we will leave behind a free Iraq.
The battle of Iraq is one victory in a war on terror that began on September the 11, 2001-
and still goes on. That terrible morning, 19 evil men- the shock troops of a hateful
ideology- gave America and the civilized world a glimpse of their ambitions. They
imagined, in the words of one terrorist, that September the 11th would be the “beginning
of the end of America”. By seeking to turn our cities into killing fields, terrorists and
their allies believed that they could destroy this nation’s resolve, and force our retreat
from the world. They have failed. In the battle of Afghanistan, we destroyed the Taliban,
many terrorists, and the camps where they trained. We continue to help the Afghan
people lay roads, restore hospitals, and educate all of their children. Yet we also have
dangerous work to complete. As I speak, a Special Operations task force, led by the 82nd
Airborne, is on the trail of the terrorists and those who seek to undermine the free
government of Afghanistan. America and our coalition will finish what we have begun.
From Pakistan to the Philippines to the Horn of Africa, we are hunting down al Qaeda
killers. Nineteen months ago, I pledged that the terrorists would not escape the patient
justice of the United States. And as of tonight, nearly one-half of al Qaeda’s senior
operatives have been captured or killed. The liberation of Iraq is a crucial advance in the
campaign against terror. We’ve removed an ally of al Qaeda, and cut off a source of
terrorist funding. And this much is certain: No terrorist network will gain weapons of
mass destruction from the Iraqi regime, because the regime is no more. In these 19
months that changed the world, our actions have been focused and deliberate and
proportionate to the offense. We have not forgotten the victims of September the 11th-
the last phone calls, the cold murder of children, the searches in the rubble. With those
attacks, the terrorists and their supporters declared war on the United States. And war is
what they got. Our war against terror is proceeding according to principles that I have
made clear to all: Any person involved in committing or planning terrorist attacks
against the American people becomes an enemy of this country, and a target of
American justice. Any person, organization, or government that supports, protects, or
harbors terrorists is complicit in the murder of the innocent, and equally guilty of
terrorist crimes. Any outlaw regime that has ties to terrorist groups and seeks or
possesses weapons of mass destruction is a grave danger to the civilized world- and will
be confronted. And anyone in the world, including the Arab world, who works and
sacrifices for freedom has a loyal friend in the United States of America. Our
commitment to liberty is America’s tradition-declared at our founding; affirmed in
Franklin Roosevelt’s Four Freedoms; asserted in the Truman Doctrine and in Ronald
Reagan’s challenge to an evil empire. We are committed to freedom in Afghanistan, in Iraq, and in a peaceful Palestine. The advance of freedom is the surest strategy to undermine the appeal of terror in the world. Where freedom takes hold, hatred gives way to hope. Where freedom takes hold, men and women turn to peaceful pursuit of a better life. American values and American interests lead in the same direction: We stand for human liberty. The United States upholds these principles of security and freedom in many ways- with all the tools of diplomacy, law enforcement, intelligence, and finance. We’re working with a broad coalition of nations that understand the threat and our shared responsibility to meet it. The use of force has been- and remains- our last resort. Yet all can know, friend and foe alike, that our nation has a mission: we will answer threats to our security, and we will defend the peace. Our mission continues. Al Qaeda is wounded, not destroyed. The scattered cells of the terrorist network still operate in many nations, and we know from daily intelligence that they continue to plot against free people. The proliferation of deadly weapons remains a serious danger. The enemies of freedom are not idle, and neither are we. Our government has taken unprecedented measure to defend the homeland. And we will continue to hunt down the enemy before he can strike. The war on terror is not over; yet it is not endless. We do not know the day of final victory, but we have seen the turning of the tide. No act of the terrorist will change our purpose, or weaken of resolve, or alter their fate. Their cause is lost. Free nations will press on to victory. Other nations in history have fought in foreign lands and remained to occupy and exploit. Americans, following a battle, want nothing more than to return home. And that is your direction tonight. After the service in Afghan- and Iraqi theaters of war- after 100,000 miles, on the longest carrier deployment in recent history, you are homeward bound. Some of you will see new family members for the first time- 150 babies were born while their fathers were on the Lincoln. Your families are proud of you, and your nation will welcome you. We are mindful, as well, that some good men and women are not making the journey home. One of those who fell, Corporal Jason Mileo, spoke to his parents five days before his death. Jason’s father said, “He called us from the center of Baghdad, not to brag, but to tell us he loved us. Our son was a soldier.” Every name, every life is a loss to our military, to our nation, and to the loved ones who grieve. There’s no homecoming for these families. Yet, we pray, in God’s time, their reunion will come. Those we lost were last seen on duty. Their final act on this Earth was to fight a great evil and bring liberty to others. All of you- all in this generation of our military- have taken up the highest calling of history. You’re defending your country, and protecting the innocent from harm. And wherever you go, you carry a message of hope- a message that is ancient and ever new. In the words of the prophet Isaiah, “To the captives, ‘come out’,- and to those in darkness, ‘be free’”. Thank you for serving our country and our cause. May God bless you all, and may God continue to bless America.


Thank you all very much. Thank you, all. President Sorensen and Governor Sanford; members of the South Carolina congressional delegation and state officials; members of the faculty, trustees, the families, distinguished guests. And the members of the Class of 2003. Thank you for the warm welcome to this great state and to this fine university. I’m honored to be with you on graduation day as you all become proud alumni of the University of South Carolina. I work every day with a distinguished graduate of USC- I brought him along this afternoon: White House Chief of Staff, Andrew Card, of the
Class of 1971. Andy is a superb public servant and an honorable man. His loyalty to this university runs deep and sometimes he gets carried away. I don’t mind the chicken finger Wednesdays at the White House. I don’t even mind his shag-dancing in the West Wind. But it’s a little too much when Andy shows up on the day of the Clemson game dressed as “Cocky.” I am so thankful for the invitation to be the speaker this afternoon. When I arrived, I heard an old boy standing outside, he said, we’re honored to have the President speaking with us today, it’s almost as good as last year, when Lou Holtz was the speaker. Today marks a great achievement for this graduating class. You’ve out your talents to good use, you’re seeing the rewards of your hard work, congratulations to each one of you. I also congratulate the men and women who gave their best to this and every class, the fine professors of the University of South Carolina. And I join the graduates in thanking the people whose love and sacrifice made this day possible, the parents of the graduates of the Class of 2003. Forty-six years ago, Senator John F. Kennedy came to this campus to address the graduating class of 1957. He spoke of the great problems of that time, including, he said, “untangling the strife-ridden, hate-ridden Middle east.” In the decades since, that strife and hate sometimes seem like a distant tragedy, having little to do with America. After September 11th, 2001, your generation and our whole country knows better. In an age of global terror and weapons of mass destruction what happens in the Middle East greatly matters to America. The bitterness of that region can bring violence and suffering to our own cities. The advance of freedom and peace in the Middle East would drain this bitterness and increase our own security. So today I want to discuss with you a great goal for this nation. We will use our influence and idealism to replace old hatreds with new hopes across the Middle East. A time of historic opportunity has arrived. A dictator in Iraq has been removed from power. The terrorists of that region are now seeing their fate, the short, unhappy life of the fugitive. Reformers in the Middle East are gaining influence, and the momentum of freedom is growing. We have reached a moment of tremendous promise, and the United States will seize this moment for the sake of peace. The future of peace requires the defeat of terror. So America and a large coalition of nations are waging a global and unrelenting war against terrorists. And we are winning. In the battle of Afghanistan, we destroyed one of the most oppressive regimes on earth, and we destroyed many of the terrorists it harbored. Across six continents, America, and our friends and allies have been hunting down the terrorists one by one and bringing them to justice. And in the battle of Iraq, we faced a regime that aided terrorists, armed itself with weapons of mass destruction to threaten the peace, and persecuted its own people. And today, that regime is no more. During these 20 months, the world has seen the resolve of the American people. And the world has seen the power and the skill and the bravery of American armed forces. Our men and women in uniform have acted with courage and decency, in the proudest traditions of this nation. And our nation is grateful. And for those of you who are going into the ROTC, you will be entering a military that will remain second to none. Our nation is strong. Our greatest strength is that we serve the cause of liberty. We support the advance of freedom in the Middle East, because it is our founding principle, and because it is in our national interest. The hateful ideology of terrorism is shaped and nurtured and protected by oppressive regimes. Free nations, in contrast, encourage creativity and tolerance and enterprise. And in those free nations, the appeal of extremism withers away. Free governments do not build weapons of mass destruction for the purpose of mass terror. Over time, the expansion of liberty throughout the world is the best guarantee of security throughout the world. Freedom is the way to peace. Some believe that democracy in the Middle East is unlikely, if not impossible. They argue that the
people of the Middle East have little desire for freedom or self-government. These same arguments have been heard before in other times, about other people. After World War II, many doubted that Germany and Japan, with their histories of autocratic rule and aggressive armies, could ever function as free and peaceful societies. In the Cold War we were told that imperial communism was permanent and the Iron Curtain was there to stay. In each of these cases— in Germany, in Japan, in Eastern Europe and in Russia—the skeptics doubted, then history replied. Every milestone of liberty over the last 60 years was declared impossible until the very moment it happened. The history of the modern world offers a lesson for the skeptics: do not bet against the success of freedom. Freedom has advanced because the desire for liberty and justice is found in every human heart. And the men and women of the Muslim world, one-fifth of all humanity, share this hope of liberty. Freedom has advanced because it is a way to lift millions out of poverty and improve their lives. Where freedom is denied, people live in isolation and stagnation. Where freedom is welcome, people in every culture can flourish. And freedom is advanced in our time because at crucial moments brave men and women have worked and sacrificed for it. And the United States has taken their side. This is how dissidents and political prisoners became the leaders of newly free countries. And this is how former enemies became loyal friends of the United States. The Middle East presents many obstacles to the advance of freedom. And I understand that this transformation will be difficult. Recently, a group of 30 Arab scholars issued a report describing a freedom deficit in Arab countries, citing in particular a lack of human rights and poor education. They also identified the social oppression of women as a major barrier to progress. And they are correct. No society can succeed and prosper while denying basic rights and opportunities to the women of their country. For all the challenges, we also see hopeful signs of change. About half of all the Muslim people live under democratic rule in nations from Turkey to Indonesia. The governments of Bahrain and Morocco have held recent and free elections. And Jordan will hold elections next month. The people of Qatar have approved a new constitution guaranteeing basic freedoms. Crown Prince Abdullah of Saudi Arabia has proposed a new Arab charter calling for internal reform and enhanced political participation in nations of that region. And in Iran, the desire for freedom is stirring. In the face of harsh repression, Iranians are courageously speaking out for democracy and the rule of law and human rights. And the United States strongly supports their aspirations for freedom. Those who feed hatred want to create a fault line between the east and west. Yet, in the growing desire for freedom throughout the Muslim world, there is no clash of civilizations. When terrorists and tyrants resist and attack freedom, they are resisting and attacking the hopes of Muslims everywhere. When terrorists go on missions of suicide and murder, they defile the high ethical teachings of Islam, itself. Their true ambition is to dominate and control and remake whole societies in their own cruel image. Repression of the kind practiced by Saddam Hussein and the Taliban is not the wave of the future. Free people, not tyrants or murderers, will set the course of history. Freedom is taking hold in Afghanistan and Iraq—countries of more than 50 million newly liberated people, countries building for themselves the institutions of self-government. And our nation has special responsibilities for these countries, responsibilities we will keep. In Afghanistan, American and our allies are helping to build roads and train police and rebuild schools. This summer, at town hall meetings across the country, Afghans will discuss the working draft of a new constitution. And in the fall, a national assembly will convene to ratify the constitution of a free and democratic Afghanistan. The Afghan people face continued struggles in rebuilding their government and the nation. But the days when women were beaten in the streets and
executed on soccer fields are over. In Iraq, we are restoring electricity and water and providing medicines and supplies and removing the thugs who threaten the peace and order of the country. Iraq citizens have conducted two major conferences to discuss their country’s future and place themselves on the path of self-government. Soon, Iraqis from every ethnic group will choose members of an interim authority. The people of Iraq are building a free society from the ground up, and they are able to do so because the dictator and his regime are no more. America is working with governments and reformers throughout the Middle East. We are strengthening ties through our Middle East partnership initiative. As a further step, Secretary Powell and Trade Representative Zoellick will meet with regional leaders in Jordan next month to discuss an agenda of economic and political and social progress. Progress will require increased trade, the engine of economic development. The combined GDP of all Arab countries is smaller than that of Spain. Their peoples have less access to the Internet than the people of Sub-Saharan Africa. The Arab world has a great cultural tradition, but is largely missing out on the economic progress of our time. Across the globe, free markets and trade have helped defeat poverty, and taught men and women the habits of liberty. So I propose the establishment of a U.S.- Middle East free trade area within a decade, to bring the Middle East into an expanding circle of opportunity, to provide hope for the people who live in that region. We will work with our partners to ensure that small and mid-sized businesses have access to capital, and support efforts in the region to develop central laws on property rights and good business practices. By replacing corruption and self-dealing, with free markets and fair laws, the people of the Middle East will grow in prosperity and freedom. Making the most of economic opportunities will require broader and better education, especially among women who have faced the greatest disadvantages. We will work to improve literacy among girls and women building on similar efforts in Afghanistan, and Morocco, and Yemen. We’ll provide resources for the translation of early reading books into Arabic and donate those books to primary schools in the region. And, ultimately, both economic success and dignity depend on the rule of law and honest administration of justice. So America will sponsor, with the government of Bahrain, a regional forum to discuss judicial reforms. And I’m pleased that Supreme Court Justice Sandra Day O’Connor has agreed to lead this effort. As trade expands and knowledge spreads to the Middle East, as women gain a place of equality and respect, as the rule of law takes hold, all peoples of that region will see a new day of justice and a new day of prosperity. For generations, one of the most tragic problems in the Middle East has been the conflict in the Holy Land. Yet, now, with a liberated Iraq, with new leadership for the Palestinian people, with efforts of leaders like President Murabak and Crown Prince Abdallah, the hope of peace is renewed. If the Palestinian people take concrete steps to crack down on terror, continue on a path of peace, reform and democracy, they and all the world will see the flag of Palestine raised over a free and independent nation. All sides of this conflict have duties. Israel must take tangible steps now to ease the suffering of Palestinians and to show respect for their dignity. And as progress is made toward peace, Israel must stop settlement activity in the occupied territories. Arab nations must fight terror in all forms, and recognize and state the obvious once and for all: Israel has a right to exist as a Jewish state at peace with its neighbors. The way forward in the Middle East is not a mystery, it is a matter of will and vision and action. The way forward depends on serving the interests of the living, instead of settling the accounts of the past. To seize this moment, I am sending Secretary Powell to the Middle East, to call all the parties to their responsibilities. Secretary Powell leaves on his mission tonight. He carries with him my personal commitment:
America will work without tiring to achieve two states, Israel and Palestine, living side by side in security and prosperity and in peace. You are living in an historic time for our country. When America was attacked some 20 months ago, many thought that an age of terror had arrived. Yet, the world has seen something very different. America is fighting grave threats wherever they may gather. We’re determined to help build a Middle East that grows in hope, instead of resentment. Because of the ideals and resolve of this nation, you and I will not live in an age of terror. We will live in an age of liberty. I wish each of you well in the careers and lives that await you. I thank for the invitation, for the honorary degree, and for the privilege of sharing this proud day with the University of South Carolina, Class of 2003. May God bless you, and may God continue to bless America. Thank you very much.

Speech 7: President Addresses the Nation. September 7th, 2003.

Good evening. I have asked for this time to keep you informed of America’s actions in the war on terror. Nearly two years ago, following deadly attacks on our country, we began a systematic campaign against terrorism. These months have been a time of new responsibilities, and sacrifice, and national resolve and great progress. America and a broad coalition acted first in Afghanistan, by destroying the training camps of terror, and removing the regime that harbored Al Qaeda. In a series of raids and actions around the world, nearly two-thirds of al Qaeda’s known leaders have been captured or killed, and we continue on al Qaeda’s trail. We have exposed terrorist front groups, seized terrorist accounts, taken new measures to protect our homeland, and uncover sleeper cells inside the United States. And we acted in Iraq, where the former regime sponsored terror, possessed and used weapons of mass destruction, and for 12 years defied the clear demands of the United Nations Security Council. Our coalition enforced these international demands in one of the swiftest and most human military campaign in history. For a generation leading up to September the 11th, 2001, terrorists and their radical allies attacked innocent people in the Middle East and beyond, without facing a sustained and serious response. The terrorists became convinced that free nations were decadent and weak. And they grew bolder, believing that history was on their side. Since America put out the fires of September the 11th, and mourned our dead, and went to war, history has taken a different turn. We have carried the fight to the enemy. We are rolling back the terrorist threat to civilization, not on the fringes of its influence, but at the heart of its power. This work continues. In Iraq, we are helping the long suffering people of that country to build a decent and democratic society at the center of the Middle East. Together we are transforming a place of torture chambers and mass graves into a nation of laws and free institutions. This undertaking is difficult and costly- yet worthy of our country, and critical to our security. The Middle East will either become a place of progress and peace, or it will be an exporter of violence and terror that takes more lives in America and in other free nations. The triumph of democracy and tolerance in Iraq, in Afghanistan and beyond would be a grave setback for international terrorism. The terrorists thrive on the support of tyrants and the resentments of oppressed peoples. When tyrants fall, and resentment gives way to hope, men and women in every culture reject the ideologies of terror, and turn to the pursuits of peace. Everywhere that freedom takes hold, terror will retreat. Our enemies understand this. They know that a free Iraq will be free of them- free of assassins, and torturers, and secret police. They know that as democracy rises in Iraq, all of their hateful ambitions will fall like the statues of the former dictator. And that is why, five months after we liberated Iraq, a collection of
killers is desperately trying to undermine Iraq’s progress and throw the country into chaos. Some of the attackers are members of the old Saddam regime, who fled the battlefield and now fight in the shadows. Some of the attackers are foreign terrorists, who have come to Iraq to pursue their war on America and other free nations. We cannot be certain to what extent these groups work together. We do know they have a common goal—reclaiming Iraq for tyranny. Most, but not all, of these killers operate in one area of the country. The attacks you have heard and read about in the last few weeks have occurred predominantly in the central region of Iraq, between Baghdad and Tikrit—Saddam Hussein’s former stronghold. The north of Iraq is generally stable and is moving forward with reconstruction and self-government. The same trends are evident in the south, despite recent attacks by terrorist groups. Though their attacks are localized, the terrorists and Saddam loyalists have done great harm. They have ambushed American and British service members—who stand for freedom and order. They have killed civilian aid workers of the United Nations—who represent the compassion and generosity of the world. They have bombed the Jordanian embassy—the symbol of a peaceful Arab country. And last week they murdered a respected cleric and over a hundred Muslims at prayer—bombing a holy shrine and a symbol of Islam’s peaceful teachings. This violence is directed is not only against our coalition, but against anyone in Iraq who stands for decency, and freedom and progress. There is more at work in these attacks than blind rage. The terrorists have a strategic goal. They want us to leave Iraq before our work is done. They want to shake the will of the civilized world. In the past, the terrorists have cited the examples of Beirut and Somalia, claiming that if you inflict harm on Americans, we will run from a challenge. In this, they are mistaken. Two years ago, I told the Congress and the country that the war on terror would be a lengthy war, a different kind of war, fought on many fronts in many places. Iraq is now the central front. Enemies of freedom are making a desperate stand there— and there they must be defeated. This will take time and require sacrifice. Yet we will do what is necessary, we will spend what is necessary, to achieve this essential victory in the war on terror, to promote freedom and make our own nation more secure. America has done this kind of work before. Following World War II, we lifted up the defeated nations of Japan and Germany, and stood with them as they built representative governments. We committed years and resources to this cause. And that effort has repaid many times over in three generations of friendship and peace. America today accepts the challenge of helping Iraq in the same spirit— for their sake, and our own. Our strategy in Iraq has three objectives: destroying the terrorists, enlisting the support of other nations for a free Iraq and helping Iraqis assume responsibilities for their own defense and their own future. First, we are taking action against the terrorists in the Iraqi theater, which is the surest way to prevent future attacks on coalition forces and the Iraqi people. We are staying on the offensive, with a series of precise strikes against enemy targets increasingly guided by intelligence given to us by Iraqi citizens. Since the end of major combat operations, we have conducted raids seizing many caches of enemy weapons and massive amount of ammunition, and we have captured or killed hundreds of Saddam loyalists and terrorists. So far, of the 55 most wanted former Iraqi leaders, 42 are dead or in custody. We are sending a clear message: anyone who seeks to harm our soldiers can know that our soldiers are hunting for them. Second, we are committed to expanding international cooperation in the reconstruction and security of Iraq, just as we are in Afghanistan. Our military commanders in Iraq advise me that the current number of American troops— nearly 130,000 is appropriate to their mission. They are joined by over 20,000 service members from 29 other countries. Two multinational divisions, led by the British and...
the Poles, are serving alongside our forces- and in order to share the burden more broadly, our commanders have requested a third multinational division to serve in Iraq. Some countries have requested an explicit authorization of the United Nations Security Council before committing troops to Iraq. I have directed Secretary of State Colin Powell to introduce a new Security Council resolution, which would authorize the creation of a multinational force in Iraq, to be led by America. I recognize that not all of our friends agreed with our decision to enforce the Security Council resolutions and remove Saddam Hussein from power. Yet we cannot let past differences interfere with present duties. Terrorists in Iraq have attacked representatives of the civilized world, and opposing them must be the cause of the civilized world. Members of the United Nations now have an opportunity- and the responsibility- to assume a broader role in assuring that Iraq becomes a free and democratic nation. Third, we are encouraging the orderly transfer of sovereignty and authority to the Iraqi people. Our coalition came to Iraq as liberators and we will depart as liberators. Right now Iraq has its own Governing Council, comprised of 25 leaders representing Iraq’s diverse people. The Governing Council recently appointed cabinet ministers to run governments departments. Already more than 90 percent of towns and cities have functioning local governments, which are restoring basic services. We’re helping to train civil defense forces to keep order, and an Iraqi police service to enforce the law, a facilities protection service, Iraqi border guards to help secure the borders, and a new Iraqi army. In all these roles, there are now some 60,000 Iraqi citizens under arms, defending the security of their own country, and we are accelerating the training of more. Iraq is ready to take the next steps toward self-government. The Security Council resolution we introduce will encourage Iraq’s Governing Council to submit a plan and a timetable for the drafting of a constitution and for free elections. From the outset, I have expressed confidence in the ability of the Iraqi people to govern themselves. Now they must rise to the responsibilities and secure the blessings of their own liberty. Our strategy in Iraq will require new resources. We have conducted a thorough assessment of our military and reconstruction needs in Iraq, and also in Afghanistan. I will soon submit to Congress a request for $87 billion. The request cover ongoing military and intelligence operations in Iraq, Afghanistan and elsewhere, which we expect will cost $6 billion over the next year. This budget request will also support our commitment to helping the Iraqi and Afghan people rebuild their own nations, after decades of oppression and mismanagement. We will provide funds to help them improve security. And we will help them to restore basic services, such as electricity and water, and to build new schools, roads, and medical clinics. This effort is essential to the stability of those nations, and therefore, to our own security. Now and in the future, we will support our troops and we will keep our word to the more than 50 million people pf Afghanistan and Iraq. Later this month, Secretary Powell will meet with representatives of many nations to discuss their financial contributions to the reconstruction of Afghanistan. Next month, he will hold a similar funding conference for the reconstruction of Iraq. Europe, Japan and states in the Middle East all will benefit from the success of freedom in these two countries, and they should contribute to that success. The people of Iraq are emerging from a long trial. For them, there will be no going back to the days of the dictator, to the miseries and humiliation he inflicted on that good country. For the Middle East and the world, there will be no going back to the days of fear, when a brutal and aggressive tyrant possessed terrible weapons. And for America, there will be no going back to the era before September the 11th, 2001- to false comfort in a dangerous world. We have learned that terrorist attacks are not caused by the use of strength; they are invited by the perception of weakness. And the surest way
to avoid attacks on our own people is to engage the enemy where he lives and plans. We are fighting that enemy in Iraq and Afghanistan today so that we do not meet him again on our own streets, in our own cities. The heaviest burden in our war on terror fall, as always, on the men and women of our Armed Forces and our intelligence services. They have removes gatherings of threats to America and our friends, and this nation takes great pride in their incredible achievements. We are grateful for their skill and courage, and for their acts of decency, which have shown America’s best character to the world. We honor the sacrifice of their families. And we mourn every American who has died so bravely, so far from home. The Americans who assume great risk overseas understand the great cause they are in. Not long ago I received a letter from a captain in the 3rd Infantry Division in Baghdad. He wrote about his pride in serving a just cause, and about the deep desires of Iraqis for liberty. “I see it,” he said, “in the eyes of a hungry people every day here. They are starved for freedom and opportunity.” And he concluded, “I just thought you’d like a note from the ‘front lines of freedom.’” That Army captain, and all of our men and women serving in the war on terror, are on the front lines of freedom. And I want each of them to know, your country thanks you, and your country supports you. Fellow citizens: We’ve been tested these past 24 months, and the dangers have not passed. Yet Americans are responding with courage and confidence. We accept the duties of our generation. We are active and resolute in our own defense. We are serving in freedom’s cause- and that is the cause of all mankind. Thank you and may God continue to bless America.

Speech 8: President Bush Addresses the Nation on the Capture of Saddam Hussein December 14th, 2003.

Good afternoon. Yesterday, December the 13th, at around 8:30 p.m. Baghdad time, United States military forces captured Saddam Hussein alive. He was found near a farmhouse outside the city of Tikrit, in a swift raid conducted without casualties. And now the former dictator of Iraq will face the justice he denied to millions. The capture of this man was crucial to the rise of a free Iraq. It marks the end of the road for him, and for all who bullied and killed in his name. For the Baathist holdouts largely responsible for the current violence, there will be no return to the corrupt power and privilege they once held. For the vast majority of Iraqi citizens who wish to live as free men and women, this event brings further assurance that the torture chambers and the secret police are gone forever. And this afternoon, I have a message for the Iraqi people: You will not have to fear the rule of Saddam Hussein ever again. All Iraqis who take the side of freedom have taken the winning side. The goals of our coalition are the same as your goals- sovereignty for your country, dignity for you great culture, and for every Iraqi citizen, the opportunity for a better life. In the history of Iraq, a dark and painful era is over. A hopeful day has arrived. All Iraqis can now come together and reject violence and build a new Iraq. The success of yesterday’s mission is a tribute to our men and women now serving in Iraq. The operation was based on the superb work of intelligence analysts who found the dictators footprints in a vast country. The operation was carried out with skill and precision by a brave fighting force. Our servicemen and women and our coalition allies have faced many dangers in the hunt for members of the fallen regime, and in their effort to bring hope and freedom to the Iraqi people. Their work continues, and so do the risks. Today, on behalf of the nation, I thank the members of our Armed Forces and I congratulate them. I also have a message for all Americans: The capture of Saddam Hussein does not mean the end of violence in Iraq. We still face
terrorists who would rather go on killing the innocent than accept the rise of liberty in the heart of the Middle East. Such men are a direct threat to the American people, and they will be defeated. We’ve come to this moment through patience and resolve and focused action. And that is our strategy moving forward. The war on terror is a different kind of war, waged capture by capture, cell by cell, and victory by victory. Our security is assured by our perseverance and by our sure belief in the success of liberty. And the United States of America will no relent until the war is won. May God bless the people of Iraq, and may God bless America. Thank you.