

Language, Meaning, and World Politics
—The Language of the Bush Administration and the Iraq War—

Jisheng Sun

Fellow 2006-2007

Weatherhead Center for International Affairs

Harvard University

Disclaimer

The opinions expressed by the author in this paper are her personal view and do not represent those of China Foreign Affairs University, Chinese government or the Weatherhead Center of International Affairs.

Contents

Introduction	1
1. The Choice of the Topic and Its Significance	1
2. Research Design	3
I. Language, Meaning, and Politics	5
1. The Linguistic Turn of Western Philosophy	5
2. The Influence of the Linguistic Turn of Western Philosophy	5
3. Meaning and Politics	7
4. Language and Politics	9
II. Language and International Relations	12
1. The Linguistic Turn of International Relations and Its Significance	12
2. Language and International Relations Theory Development	13
III. The Analysis Model of Language Construction	18
1. Discourse Level	18
2. Lexical Level	21
3. Syntactic Level	23
IV. The Social Linguistic Construction of the Iraq War (I)	26
1. Social Background	26
2. The Social Linguistic Construction of the War	30
V. The Social Linguistic Construction of the Iraq War (II)	47
1. Social Background	47
2. The Social Linguistic Construction of the War	48
VI. The Social Linguistic Construction of the Iraq War (III)	60
1. Social Background	60
2. The Social Linguistic Construction of the War	61
Conclusion	79
Figures	82

Introduction

1. The Choice of the Topic and Its Significance

The paper begins from the puzzle of the Iraq War. On March 19, 2003, the George W. Bush administration started the conflict by launching Operation Iraqi Freedom. This decision was made for the following reasons: 1) Iraq had weapons of mass destruction (WMD) and was trying to buy aluminum tubing from other countries to enrich uranium in order to develop nuclear weapons; 2) Saddam Hussein had a secret relationship with Osama Bin Laden; and 3) Iraq was an imminent threat to the United States. Therefore, preemptive measures had to be taken immediately for the sake of U.S. security. The decision to launch the operation was also made in the belief that Saddam had oppressed his people for many years and that the United States should liberate the Iraqis. So far, this war has lasted more than four years and has had wide-ranging impacts on the United States, Iraq, the Middle East, and the whole world as well.

This war was very successfully sold. Before the conflict started, more than 70 percent of the U.S. public supported it.¹ Seventy-nine percent of the Democrats and 95 percent of the Republicans thought Saddam possessed WMD, and about half of the Americans thought Saddam was personally involved in 9/11.² To date, numerous Iraqis have died during the war. By June 2007, more than 3,500 American soldiers had been killed.³ At \$450 billion, the cost of the war has also been enormous, and some economists have calculated that the total, direct and indirect, could exceed \$2 trillion.⁴ The United States did not find any WMD in Iraq, however; nor did it find any proof of a connection between Saddam and Bin Laden. Thus, the threat from Iraq is not as urgent for the United States as was described before the war. The people of Iraq also did not

¹ Gary C. Jacobson, "Public Opinion and the War in Iraq," (paper prepared to deliver at the 2006 Annual Meeting of the American Association, Philadelphia, August 30th-September 3, 2006), Copyright by the American Political Science Association, p.7.

² Ibid., pp.15-16.

³ "The U.S. soldiers killed in Iraq reaches 3555," <http://www.sina.com.cn>, June 23, 2007, from <http://news.sina.com.cn/w/2007-06-23/234213296139.shtml>

⁴ Peter W. Galbraith, *The End of Iraq: How American Incompetence Created a War without End*, New York: Simon and Schuster, 2007, p.12.

get the kind of life promised by the Bush administration. Instead, they are worrying about their security all the time.

The support rate of the U.S. public also keeps declining. Before the 2007 State of the Union Address, the support rate for President Bush was only 33 percent, the lowest point since he took office.¹ Sixty-one percent of Americans believe that the Iraq War is not worth fighting, and nearly 70 percent think it will be almost impossible for the United States to win this war.² Just as political scientists John J. Mearsheimer and Stephen Walt have pointed out in their article, the war in Iraq is unnecessary.³ Linguist Sandra Silberstein has also said that terrorism is a kind of criminal act and it is not necessary to respond to it with war.⁴

Then how did the Bush administration construct the necessity, legitimacy, urgency, and morality of this war? Why did the U.S. public support the war so positively before it broke out? As Gary C. Jacobson, professor of Political Science at the University of California, San Diego, said, the war was based more on rhetoric than on evidence.⁵ Also, during the more than four years of war, how did the Bush administration inform people of the war and its effects? Obviously, during the whole process, language has played a very important role. Language helps shape the identity of Saddam, the Iraqi regime, the United States, the Iraqis, etc., and this gives these concepts new meanings in the specific context. These new meanings and identities help support the relevant U.S. policy.

From the standpoint of the development of international relations,⁶ language has been given more and more attention during the past twenty years. It is postpositivism that brought the issue of language and the use of linguistic practices to the forefront of the discipline. The postpositivist interest in language began in the 1980s, when it was referred to as a rhetorical or linguistic turn in international relations.⁷ So far, the research concerning language in

¹ Yang Qingchuan, Pan Shaoyun, "Polling shows that the supporting rate for President Bush reaches the lowest," <http://news.xmnext.com/world/opinion/2007/01/23/137180.html>.

² Ibid.

³ John J. Mearsheimer and Stephen Walt, "An Unnecessary War," *Foreign Policy*, Vo.134, No. 1. 2003, pp.51-59.

⁴ Sandra Silberstein, *War of Words: Language, Politics and 9/11*, London and New York: Routledge, 2003, pp.14-15.

⁵ Gary C. Jacobson, "Public Opinion and the War in Iraq," p.14.

⁶ International Relations refers to the academic discipline, while international relations refers to a domain of social activity.

⁷ Francois Debris ed., *Language, Agency and Politics in a Constructed World*. NY: M.E. Sharp, 2003. p.ix.

international relations has been mainly in constructivism and poststructuralism and now has gone much further and become more concrete than when it first started. The general view among researchers in this field is that language is not only an instrument for communication; it can also help to construct reality. That is to say, language has ontological meaning. Besides, language is also epistemologically significant, and a country's foreign policy and world politics can be inferred from the relevant language.

Nowadays, with further interaction and interdependence between and among countries, more and more dialogues at different levels are being conducted, and all of them need to be done through language. Language can not only represent reality but also can help to construct identity, rules, and context. To some degree, it can even constrain people's ways of thinking and thus influence their behavior. Therefore, research on the language in international relations can not only help further understanding of the different phenomena and puzzles in the world; it can also provide some helpful suggestions for foreign policymakers.

2. Research Design

This paper takes the Iraq War as its study case to focus on the language in international relations. Through this research, it is hoped that a better understanding of language, meaning, identity, and foreign policy will be obtained. This paper will attempt to put forward a rough model for language analysis in international relations. The research has been conducted mainly through text analysis, combined with qualitative and quantitative methodology.

President George W. Bush's speeches from September 2002 to the end of midterm elections in November 2006 have been the main texts for analysis. The chief reason for choosing this period is that from September 2002, the Bush administration began to mobilize for the war on a large scale. By the end of the midterm elections in 2006, the U.S. public support for both the president himself and the war was continuing to decline, and one of the main reasons for this was Iraq War. Accordingly, in this election, the Republicans lost both the Senate and the House of Representatives. In some sense, it can be said that this is an indication of the failure of Bush's

Iraq policy. By January 2007, about 60 percent of the Americans thought that the Democrats could do a better job in Iraq than the Republicans.¹

In choosing the analyzed texts, three general criteria were followed: 1) that there was clear articulation of identities and policies; 2) the texts were widely read and attended to; and 3) they had formal authority to define a political position.² Speeches by the president of the United States roughly meet all three criteria. From the standpoint of agency, different people's language has different language force, and thus the constructive result is different. Usually, the language of national leaders is more influential than that of the common folk, especially when something new, such as 9/11, happens. Their language in some sense can educate people and shape public understanding and opinion. This kind of language is likely to develop into a dominant discourse in the society and thus is easier to be accepted by the public. The dominant discourse can help to justify the relevant policy and action on the part of the government. From this standpoint, the president is the most typical subject for analysis in view of his social position, authority, resources, and agency.

The speeches chosen for analysis were those delivered as monologues by President Bush to the whole nation, the world (such as the United Nations [UN]), and particular professional groups such as the military, the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI), and the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA), and college students. In order to ensure their authenticity, accuracy, and authoritativeness, the speeches are all taken from the governmental Web sites, mainly the Archive of Renewal in Iraq and the National Security Archive.³

¹ Yang Qingchuan, Pan Shaoyun, "Polling shows that the supporting rate for President Bush reaches the lowest," <http://news.xmnext.com/world/opinion/2007/01/23/137180.html>.

² Lene Hansen, *Security as Practice: Discourse Analysis and the Bosnian War*, London and New York: Routledge: Taylor and Francis Group, 2006, p.85.

³ <http://www.whitehouse.gov/infocus/nationalsecurity/archive.html>,
<http://www.whitehouse.gov/infocus/iraq/archive.html>.

I. Language, Meaning, and Politics

1. The Linguistic Turn of Western Philosophy

Western philosophy has undergone three development periods, namely the ontological period, the epistemological period, and philosophy of language. In different periods, what people care about and focus on is different. The first period focused on what this world is made of, the second period on how people can know the world, and the third on language itself.

In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, with people's focus turning to language, the philosophy of language came into being. Subsequently people began to rethink the meaning of language, communication and understanding, and the essence of language. This linguistic turn is considered to have begun from the Austrian philosopher Ludwig Wittgenstein. In his later work *Philosophical Investigation*, he put forward the language game theory, which says that language use is just like game playing and thus more attention should be paid to analyzing the pragmatic function of language, i.e., language in daily use. According to Wittgenstein, language can not only provide a label for objects, but language use is also a kind of action, which can construct reality.¹ His viewpoints actually provided a starting point for many later scholars and theorists in this field.

2. The Influence of the Linguistic Turn of Western Philosophy

The linguistic turn of Western philosophy, with its emphasis on the role of language, the meaning created by language, the performative and communicative role of language, etc., has influenced many social sciences. Language constructivism also received a great deal of inspiration from this.

First, language is advanced to ontological status. During the ontological and epistemological period of Western philosophy, language was considered only a kind of tool to view the world, express people's thinking, and describe the world. Before the nineteenth century,

¹ Wang Jianping, *Philosophy of Language*, Central Party School Press, 2003, pp.157-174.

people believed that research on language and on thinking was the same thing. Then after the emergence of philosophy of language, people began to think more about the role of language. German philosopher Martin Heidegger held that people's thinking is language.¹ His British colleague Bertrand Russell believed that the difference between human beings' language and the other animal's language is that our language can not only express and transmit meaning; it can also be used to deal with the relations between human beings and the world.² In his early thinking, Wittgenstein held that language can show us the world, label the world, and represent reality. This picture view of language greatly influenced the development of positivism. Later, however, Wittgenstein's views changed greatly, to saying that language use is a kind of game and language games can construct social reality through the rules generated through language.³

The world we are facing is constructed by language. Language has ontological meaning. If this view is accepted, then people should pay more attention to the language used in world politics. Therefore, language game theory, with its focus on the ontological meaning of language, has pushed the development of language constructivism. People's views on language changed from the label view to the constructivism view.

Second, language is performative and social. Language is the most basic tool for people to communicate with one other. Just because of the communicative role of language, language has a social function. These, in turn, helped to bring the pragmatic school of philosophy of language to the fore. This school emphasized the constructive role of language. Therefore, during communication, language can be used deliberately. The significance of language is that it can be used in a special way within a specific social context. With this as the guidance, language game theory, speech act theory, structural linguistics, semantics, pragmatics, etc. all developed within this period. The linguistic turn of international relations was also influenced by these theories. Take the speech act theory developed by philosophers John Searle and J.L. Austin as an example. Both Searle and Austin thought that the most basic function of language is that it can perform things: speaking is doing. The whole language process is a process of communication. Based on

¹ Wang Jianping, *Philosophy of Language*, p.5.

² *Ibid.*, pp.5-9.

³ *Ibid.*, pp.157-174.

speech act theory, Nicholas Onuf, a scholar of international relations, developed rule-oriented constructivism: speech acts can develop into social rules, bringing constructivism into international relations.¹ Another scholar of international relations, Friedrich V. Kratochwil, also developed norm-oriented constructivism on the basis of speech act theory.²

Third, meaning is intersubjective. With philosophy of language, the view that meaning is objective was altered. Instead, it came to be believed that meaning is created during the course of the interaction between the social contexts and, therefore, is an intersubjective matter. Meaning is gradually constructed in practice. Language is a kind of subjective interpretation, and the basis for interpretation is context. For example, in different social contexts, people's understanding of "earthquake" is different. Some cultures just take it as a natural phenomenon, while others may believe it is the wrath of God.³ For some social phenomena such as totems, the difference in interpretation is even greater. In such cases, people's understanding is mainly influenced by their prior experience. All in all, people's understanding of the world, what they think about it, and what they hope it to be, will influence this world directly. Language has no fixed meaning, and the meaning language helps to create thus is a relative concept and originates from practice. On the other hand, language has representational force. It can strengthen a certain meaning and can weaken it as well, or even make it disappear in society. This process is also greatly constrained by the context, which provides a frame and gives special meaning to the actors, the material objective, and also the action. Therefore, not only the intersubjectivity of meaning should be learned, but also more attention should be paid to the social context.

3. Meaning and Politics

Politics are closely related with meaning. Politics in some sense involve the process of creating, maintaining, and changing meaning.

¹ See Nicholas G. Onuf, *World of Our Making: Rules and Rule in the Social Theory and International Relations*, University of South Carolina Press, 1989.

² Friedrich V. Kratochwil, *Rules, Norms, and Decisions on the Conditions of Practical and Legal Reasoning in International Relations and Domestic Affairs*, Cambridge [England] and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1989.

³ K. M. Fierke, *Changing Games, Changing Strategies: Critical Investigation in Security*, Manchester University Press, 1998, p.24.

First, a good politician should have the ability to control meanings in the society. He should be able to create meaning. Definition, which is to explain and define, is frequently a topic for discussion. It is often an effective way to construct meaning. Through definition, an actor can set up a specific meaning within the group, and, most importantly, this meaning will be helpful to justify his relevant actions. After 9/11, for instance, President Bush responded quickly as follows: “The deliberate and deadly attacks which were carried out yesterday against our country were more than acts of terror. They were acts of war... Freedom and democracy are under attack.”¹ In this way, President Bush actually set up the context for his subsequent actions, a framework that helped justify the wars against the Taliban and Saddam Hussein. Meanwhile, this definition also aided him in mobilizing U.S. and world public opinion.

In addition to proper definitions, many people also use metaphors to create meanings. The good point about metaphors is that they can make use of vivid and simple language and draw on familiar things to help explain the unfamiliar. Sometimes people also use analogies to create meaning. Different analogies might result in different feelings. As for the current Iraq War, if an analogy to the Vietnam War is used, people are very likely to think that the United States is in a real quagmire.

Politics are also a process of controlling shared meaning. Politicians will try to create a structure for shared meaning so that people can expect the same response about a certain event. If there is an unexpected response, it means there are some problems with the rules and restrictions related with the meaning. In such a case, people should change the structure. For a society, meaning is not always fixed; it might change with the context. For instance, in China before the 1950s, having more land was a symbol of being wealthy. In the 1950s and 1960s, however, because of the change of the society, having land became a negative symbol.

Second, the process of creating meaning is also a process that uses resources. People can construct the world on the basis of their needs and resources, including political, economic,

¹ George W. Bush, Remarks by the President In Photo Opportunity with the National Security Team, September 12, 2001, <http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2001/09/20010912-4.html>.

status, information, coercive, and organizational.¹ Different resources may play different roles in this process. For instance, political resources may help to construct legitimacy and authority; status resources may help to produce power. A good leader should have the ability to use these resources to shape responses from the public and thus construct specific meaning in the society. Thus, success in politics is closely related with one's skillful use of the resources available.

Third, meaning creation is full of competition. Politics, defined as the deliberate effort to control shared meaning, becomes an arena of ceaseless conflict in which the contenders struggle to impose their respective meanings upon one another.² Therefore, if a leader wants to impose a certain meaning upon others, he will surely have competition from other meanings. When the shared meaning is stable, the competition will be weak. When the shared meaning is tenuous, however, and a new meaning needs to be established, the competition will become intense. In this case, the actor needs to use different ways to ensure his success, such as informing and educating people, coercing, instructing, and directing. If people can accept a certain meaning and internalize it, that is the final success. It is important for the actor to make good use of social context to construct meaning, which is then more likely to be accepted. For instance, when President Bush tried to mobilize for the war against Saddam, he made use of the concepts that are most likely to arouse responses from the U.S. public such as freedom, democracy, and religion.

4. Language and Politics

Language and politics cannot be separated completely.

First, language is one aspect of politics. As a very basic part of social activity, as Wittgenstein has said, language not only represents reality, but is also a kind of practice, through which so-called reality can be changed into real existence. That is, people change the things they have talked about into reality.³ This indicates that social meaning can exist only after people

¹ Peter C. Sederberg, *The Politics of Meaning: Power and Explanation in the Constitution of Social Reality*, Tucson: The University of Arizona Press, 1984, p.66-69.

² *Ibid.*, p.56.

³ Janice Bially Mattern, *Ordering of International Politics: Identity, Crisis, and Representational Force*, New York: Routledge,

have communicated about it; otherwise, its existence has no meaning. Human beings, thus, invented language to represent the world they have sensed. It can be said that people construct the world they have observed through the use of language. They create language, and language constructs the reality as well as the social world of human beings. In other words, the social world is defined and described by language. Language constructs who we are, what we should do, and what kind of life we can have. For world politics, the power of language lies in the fact that language can define and describe new things, describe rules and norms, and praise or denigrate certain actions. The performative and constructive function of language gives language a strong political sense and thus becomes an important part of politics. The actors can choose the language in light of their communicative intent so that they can better make use of the power of language to construct certain reality.

Second, language can help politicians better realize their agency and the construction of reality. Every country in the world should try to get involved in this construction process. The relation between language and politics and also the influence of language have been talked about for millennia. Aristotle, for instance, once said that human beings are political animals and can achieve their political intentions through the acquisition and use of language.¹ Politicians can use language to define rules, create and maintain certain identities, and even construct new “realities.” That is to say, politicians can use language to change the existing reality. This is an important part of their agency.

Third, language is also an important factor for politicians to legitimate their rule. Politicians exist in a social and political environment, and legitimacy is crucial to them. They need to explain their actions and make them acceptable to the public. In some sense, it can be said that politics are also a conflicting process for legitimacy. In order to construct and maintain legitimacy, politicians are often very sensitive to the language they use, which is important for the construction of the meaning system that is appropriate for the legitimacy of their actions.

2005, p.92.

¹ Nichola Woods, *Describing Discourse: A Practical Guide To Discourse Analysis*, London: Hodder Education, 2006, p.51.

Besides, the constructed system can also help them to obtain support and cooperation from the public as well as from their counterparts.¹

So from all the above, it can be seen that meaning is closely related with politics. On the other hand, meaning is created with the interaction in the society through language. Therefore, in the study of world politics, language is also a vital component.

¹ Frank Schimmelfennig, *The EU, NATO and the Integration of Europe Rules and Rhetoric*, Cambridge University Press, 2003, p.208.

II. Language and International Relations

1. The Linguistic Turn of International Relations and Its Significance

Although the linguistic turn of Western philosophy has influenced many subjects, the effect of the linguistic turn of international relations has been relatively slower and later.

As for international relations theories, after the three famous debates (realist-idealist, scientific-traditional, neo-liberalism and neo-realism), realism, liberalism, and constructivism became the three theoretical pillars. During this process, the role of language has almost been marginalized. In many theories, language has been neglected. Both realism and liberalism seldom have language in their research agenda. Language at most is a tool for people to achieve their interests. After constructivism began to develop in the late 1980s and early 1990s, the structural constructivism represented by Alexander Wendt brought ideational factors into his theory and emphasized the importance of interaction for forming national identity and interest. In his theory; however, the actor does not speak: language is not taken into consideration. As described above, international relations is a social subject and language is a very important aspect of it. If language is not taken into account, a great deal will be overlooked.

The linguistic turn of international relations started from the 1980s, mainly in constructivism and poststructuralism. In 1989, after several years of effort, several key books were published in this field, including Onuf's *World of Our Making*, Kratochwil's *Rules, Norms and Decisions*, and Derian and Shapiro's *International/Intertextual Relations*, which was referred to as the "1989 Spirit."¹ Later in 1990, *International Studies Quarterly* published a special issue, which further established the linguistic turn in international relations.²

After Onuf published his *World of Our Making*, he set up the "Miami International Relations Group" with his colleagues and continued research in this field. From 1998, they began to publish their International Relations in a Constructed World series. Subsequently, further

¹ Francois Debris ed., *Language, Agency and Politics in a Constructed World*, p.ix.

² *Ibid.*, p.ix.

relevant research was conducted, and language-oriented constructivism began to show great vitality in international relations.

The linguistic turn of international relations can better reflect the features of international relations as a subject of social science. By focusing on language, international relations can be considered from a new perspective. Furthermore, through this perspective, very naturally, more attention will be paid to the individuals who use the language. Traditionally, international relations has often taken nation as the key actor while neglecting individuals. Therefore, when focusing on language, individuals' agency can be brought back to the research agenda of international relations to bridge the gap between international relations theories and foreign policy practice. The linguistic turn of international relations can also help scholars in this field to learn from other specialties such as linguistics, philosophy of language, and psychology. This kind of interdisciplinary approach can lead to a more comprehensive understanding of world politics.

2. Language and International Relations Theory Development

After the linguistic turn of international relations, IR scholars conducted relevant research from different perspectives and have achieved a considerable amount. So far, the relevant research has been conducted mainly in the following four areas.

The first is the rule-oriented constructivism of Onuf. Onuf, the pioneering scholar in this field, first introduced constructivism into international relations. He got a great deal of inspiration from Austin and Searle's speech-act theory. He reconstructed the international relations theory by bringing the speech acts to the center of the discipline. For him, the actors and the society mutually construct. In this process, language plays a crucial role. Language is performative and social. Different speech acts, mainly assertive speech acts, directive speech acts, and commissive speech acts, can develop into different rules, such as instructive rules, directive rules, and commissive rules. These rules together can generate the rule in society. With different proportions of these rules, the features of the rule of the society will be different.¹ In this way,

¹ As for the detail of his theory, see Nicholas G. Onuf: *World of Our Making: Rules and Rule in the Social Theory and*

there is not much difference between domestic and international society. The key point is the rules. On this basis, there are usually three kinds of rules in a society: hegemony, hierarchy, and heteronomy.

The second one is K.M Fierke and language games. Fierke's research is mainly influenced by Wittgenstein's language games and, with language games as the theoretical guidance, she also did quite a few case studies in this field.¹ According to Fierke, rules are the most important factors for a game. On the one hand, rules can constrain the actor's behavior and action; on the other hand, rules also construct the game. Besides, the language should be interpreted in the real context. The language constructs the rules, the rules shape the context, and the context further decides the meaning of the involved objects, action, behavior, etc. More specifically, the actors set up the rules during the course of their interaction, which constructs the game itself, the players, and the relevant actions. In this process, a number of things are related to language. For example, when something is named, the rules and the game are also constructed. Calling 9/11 a terrorist attack instead of a clash of civilizations, then, will create different results. With different naming, very naturally different actions should ensue.

Another common use of language to set up the game is metaphor. When good relations between countries are described, the metaphors "marriage" and "honeymoon" will be different. According to language games, when the context is clear, the meaning related to the context is also clear and stable, such as during the cold war. When the context is not sufficiently clear, however, people should pay more attention to the interpretation of the context. Another important point about language games is that people should pay more attention to the changes of one game

International Relations.

¹ K.M.Fierke, "Multiple Identities, Interfacing Games: The Social Construction of Western Action in Bosnia," *European Journal of International Relations*, Vol. 4, No.2, 1996, pp. 467-497; *Changing Games, Changing Strategy: Critical Investigation in Security*; "Dialogues of Manoeuvre and Entanglement: NATO, Russia and the CEECs," *Millennium: Journal of International Studies*, Vol. 28, No. 3, 1998, pp27-52; "Besting the West: Russia's Machiavella Strategy," *International Feminist Journal of Politics*, Vol. 3, No. 1, 1999, pp. 403-34; K.M. Fierke and Antje Winer, "Constructing Institutional Interests: The EU and NATO," *Journal of European Public Policy*, Vol. 6, No. 5, 1999, pp. 721-742; "Logics of Force and Dialogue: The Iraq/UNSCOM Crisis as Social Construction," *European Journal of International Relations*, Vol. 6, No. 3, 2000, pp. 467-497; K. M. Fierke and Michael and Nicholson, "Divided by a Common Language: Formal and Constructivist Approaches to Games," *Global Society*, Vol.15, No. 1, 2001, pp.7-25; "Links across the Abyss: Language and Logic in International Relations," *International Studies Quarterly*, Vol. 46, No. 3, 2002, pp.331-354.

to another. Just as Fierke has asserted, the end of the cold war was mainly because of the change of the context, which changed the game completely.¹

The third area of the research is Janice Bially Mattern and social linguistic constructivism. Mattern develops her theory by combining language, identity, and the world order.² She takes language and identity as the core for understanding the world order and the creation of international institutions.³ In her theory, the main concepts related with language are language power and representational force. She begins from the relations between identity and the world order. The shared identity that is “we-ness” can help to maintain the trust between countries and thus maintain the world order. When the shared “we-ness” encounters problems, however, such as with the relations between the United States and the United Kingdom during the Suez Crisis, what will the world order be? Mattern puts forward the argument that, during crisis, identity is also a source of stable relations.⁴ Identity, however, is the result of social linguistic construction. In a crisis, the power of language needs to be used to anchor the original identity and, therefore, impose order on disorder. During this process, the representational force of language is very important. The main content of representational force is phrase and links. To analyze how a certain narrative constructs reality, the focus should be on the linking. There are different kinds of links, and the main forms are tolerance, terror, and exile. The latter two are more effective than the first. During a crisis, therefore, the actor can make use of them to secure the “we-ness” between the players, force the other side to give up the phrases and narration under dispute, and impose order on disorder. Therefore, her theory can also be called the power politics of identity. This might be a good combination point for realism and constructivism.⁵

Last is Jeniffer Milliken, Lene Hansen, and poststructural discourse analysis. In addition to the constructivism mentioned above, poststructuralism is another school that focuses on

¹ For details, see K. M. Fierke, *Changing Games, Changing Strategy: Critical Investigation in Security*.

² For details of her theory, see Janice Bially Mattern, “The difference that Language-Power Makes: Solving the Puzzle of Suez Crisis”, in *Language, Agency, and Politics in a Constructed World*, ed. Francois Debrix; *Ordering of International Politics: Identity, Crisis, and Representational Force*.

³ Brian McCormack, “Uncovering the Source of International Order”, *International Studies Review*, Vol. 7 Issue 3, 2005, p.500.

⁴ Phrase refers to the words or word sequences used to support the reality and links is the mechanism which links the phrases into a certain context.

⁵ J. Samuel Barkin, “Realist Constructivism”, *International Studies Review*, Vol. 5, No.3, 2003.

language. Milliken's and Hansen's language view is strongly influenced by Foucault, Derrida, etc. To poststructuralism, language is ontologically significant; it is only through the construction of language that things such as objects, subjects, states, living beings, and material structures are given meaning and endowed with a certain identity.¹ Therefore, language is much more than a medium or a tool, but a kind of social and political practice. The use of language can form a meaning system and a dominant discourse in the society. Sometimes, this dominant discourse can construct knowledge and even common sense. One of the most important topics in poststructuralism is the mutual relationship among language, discourse, identity, and policy. According to their view, language can represent things and help form identity, which foreign policy always relies on. Meanwhile, identity is produced and reproduced through the representation of foreign policy. Identity is relational, discursive, political and social.² In short, identity and policy are mutually constructed through language.

One important point about identity is that it is formed through a self-other relationship, which is accomplished through differentiation and linking of language. With comparison and linking through language, identity can be presented and constructed more easily. Identity is also closely related to national security. A country's sense of security too is a process of identity construction, such as whether a country feels safe or not or how it feels about itself and other countries. When a nation feels threatened, the threat is often represented as very urgent. Therefore, for national identity, there should also be the identity of self as well as the identity of the other. Sometimes, there are several "selves" and several "others." When analyzing texts, attention should be paid to the language used to construct such identities. If there is frequent repetition of certain language about an identity, this identity is likely to become a dominant discourse, which will directly influence foreign policymaking.

From all of the above, it can be seen that, although the focus is on the different aspects of language, these scholars do have things in common, i.e., language is an inescapable part of international relations and is crucial in shaping the contemporary outlook of world politics.

¹ Lene Hansen, *Security as Discourse: Discourse Analysis and the Bosnian War*, p.19.

² *Ibid.*, p.12.

Language can represent, produce, and construct identity and social reality. On the other hand, most of this research concentrates on the general illustration of the role of language and is subjective analysis. According to Wittgenstein, however, the meaning of language depends on the actual use of language. The focus should be on the meaning of the language in daily use. Therefore, for international relations, research on the actual use of language in practice will be of great help in understanding current world politics.

Then, based on these previous studies, this paper aims to put forward a rough model to be used in analyzing the language in world politics, which, in turn, will lead to a better understanding of how actors make use of language to construct “reality.”

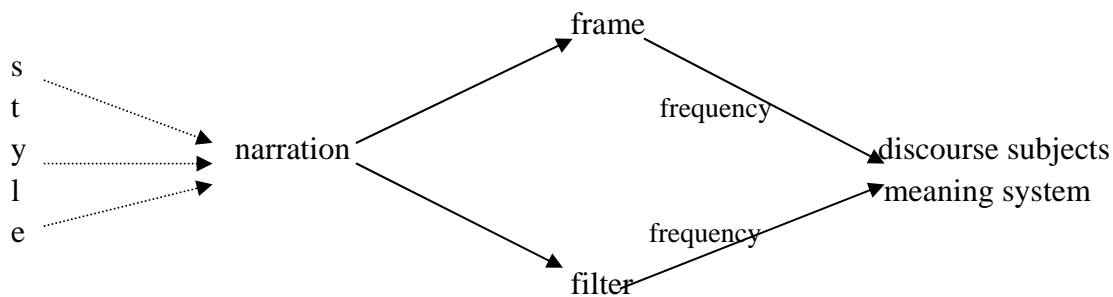
III. The Analysis Model of Language Construction

As can be seen, then, it is apparent that certain language can develop into dominant discourse, which constructs identities. Identities and foreign policy, in turn, can construct and reinforce one another. How do the actors carry out their constructive intentions, however, and in what way do they construct the meaning system? On the basis of previous research, this paper puts forth the hypothesis that actors work on three levels: the discourse level, the lexical level, and the syntactic level.

1. Discourse Level

At the discourse level, the focus is mainly on what has been talked about and how the actors narrate the discussion. In other words, what is the main content and style as shows in Graph 1.

Discourse Level



Graph 1. Discourse Analysis

1.1. Narrative content

It is widely known that there are many different aspects of any event that occurs. Thus, the content of the narration or the specific details chosen to talk about will frame a meaning

system around such an event. The narration content influences the information that the audience can get from the speaker, and, in this case, the discourse actually does the filtering for the audience. During this content-choosing process, some issues are emphasized, some are mentioned briefly, and some are neglected. In this sense, it is also an excluding process, which directly influences people's understanding. Gradually, some meaning, after being emphasized frequently, will become fixed; meanwhile, some other meaning might disappear. After 9/11, for instance, the frequent language about a terrorist attack and the war between freedom and terror soon silenced other discourse about such topics as America's Middle East policy or unequal global development.¹ In this way, President Bush framed the meaning system after 9/11: America was the beacon and world defender of freedom and democracy, while terrorists, the Taliban, and the Al-Qaeda were the enemies of freedom. The message to the world became "either you are with the terrorists or with us."

The development of a dominant discourse is related to the frequency with which it is cited. Therefore, from the narration content of the discourse, a quantitative method can be used to determine the main discourse content of a certain period. By figuring out the main discourse, it can also be ascertained how the subjects of the discourses are linked together to form the special meaning system.² Once a certain discourse is formed, even when the actor does not list all the details, people can still think of the relevant content. This was the case with President Bush's discourse about Saddam before the Iraq War. After a half year of selling of the war, when people saw the word Saddam, they very easily linked him with WMD, terrorists, threat, tyranny, etc.

1.2. Narrative style

Another issue that should be analyzed is the narrative type of the text. According to literary theorists, from the ancient Greeks on, all narratives are emplotted in predictable fashion. They are constructed according to a certain narrative type: romance, tragedy, comedy, satire.³

¹ David Ryan, "Framing September 11: Rhetorical Device and Photographic Opinion," *European Journal of American Culture*, Vol.23, No.1, 2004, p. 19.

² Lene Hansen, *Security as Practice: Discourse Analysis and the Bosnian War*, p. 38.

³ Eric Kingmar, "Inter-textual Relations: The Quarrel Over the Iraq War as a Conflict between Narrative Types," *Cooperation and*

Even with the same facts, different narration types might create different results. Romance is a type of adventure or love story, in which there is a hero and an enemy. The other people are either with the hero or the enemy. The world is just divided into two simple parts. Although the hero needs to overcome enormous difficulties, in the end he can defeat his enemy. As for international relations, romance is the narrative preferred by idealists and world-improvers of all kinds.¹ People believe that evil will be defeated and that this is also God's will. Romance is a good choice for politicians and social elites. They say they have the responsibility to defeat evil and hope people can stand with them. This is also a good way to legitimate their actions. After 9/11, for instance, President Bush adopted a very typical romance narration: he would lead freedom-loving people and countries to defeat the terrorists, who are evil, cruel and dark. Justice will prevail.

In tragedy, on the contrary, there is always a tragic hero who rebels against the established order and is finally destroyed. In international relations, realism is this way. Under an anarchic state, insecurity is always the main theme. States will do everything they can to prepare for war, and individuals or states who want to try to change this will surely fail.

Comedy refers to a performance or writing that makes us laugh.² There are often comic errors and misunderstanding. Eventually though, after considerable difficulty, there is always a happy ending. Comedy is often the choice of reform-minded institution-builders.³ For them, the problems of the world are mainly caused by misunderstanding; therefore, people should find proper ways to solve these problems, such as rules and institutions. People should not destroy their enemies; instead, they should try to have a discourse with them and convince them to change. For instance, before the Iraq War, many European countries such as Germany and France were opposed to the war against Saddam, with Germany asserting that there should be more engagement with the Muslim world in order to discourage terrorism.

Conflict: Journal of the Nordic International Studies Association, Vol.41, No 4, 2006, pp. 404-407.

¹ Ibid., p.405.

² Eric Kingmar, "Inter-textual Relations: The Quarrel Over the Iraq War as a Conflict between Narrative Types," p.406.

³ Ibid.

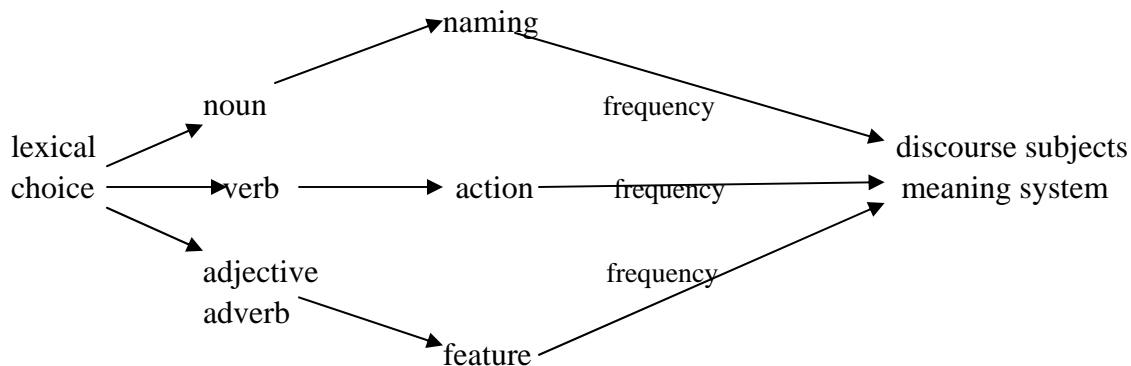
Satire usually lampoons the established social order, and its main aims are subversive rather than constructive. For international politics, antiwar protesters often chose satire, which is totally different from romance, which portrays wars as the way to lead to victory. For instance, when people were protesting against the Iraq War, they often use rumors or exaggerations for the purpose of satire, such as that Bush family had links with Bin Laden's.¹

Therefore, with the choice of narration content and narrative type, the actors can form a general discourse around the subjects they want to talk about and can roughly frame a meaning system through the discourse. The narrative type will then be a helpful way to construct certain results and emotions.

2. Lexical Level

Words are the most basic unit to form meaning. Careful choice of words is also a part of the strategy and tactics for politicians and is an important part of political discourse. The choice of words is the crucial factor in defining the situation and shaping identity, which, in turn, gives special meaning to the objects, subjects, and actions involved. At the lexical level, predicate analysis is mainly used to analyze the relevant nouns, verb, adjectives, etc. as shown in Graph 2.

Lexical Level



Graph 2. Lexical Analysis

¹ Eric Kingmar, "Inter-textual Relations: The Quarrel Over the Iraq War as a Conflict between Narrative Types," p.410.

On the basis of the narration content, the main subjects of the texts can be ascertained. Then the focus can be on the special lexical selection for the main subjects. When analyzing the words applied to a certain identity, predicate analysis can be used first.¹ This focuses on the language practices of predication, mainly the nouns, adjectives, verbs, and adverbs applied to the nouns, which are often the main subjects or identity of the texts. Through this process, the noun or the subject of the texts is constructed into a particular sort of thing with special features defined by the adjectives, verbs, etc. Meanwhile, this predication process also distinguishes the subject from the other subjects or relates it with them. For instance, after 9/11, the main subject of Bush's discourse was terrorists, described frequently as evil, hateful, cruel, attackers, etc., drawn in sharp contrast to America. Predicate analysis not only examines the construction of a discourse system; it is also a process of empirical study and abstraction.² When doing predicate analysis, attention also needs to be paid to those words that represent the differentiation between two main identities of "self" and "other."

Another important aspect of the lexical level is the choice of new words. In international relations, new phenomena and events are often encountered. But for the same event, different naming or a different choice of words will create different results. The chosen language actually also constructs the relevant game. In the Iraq War, for instance, the U.S. government always uses the word "liberate," while most of the time the Iraqis use the word "occupy" or "invade." The sense these words carry is different. In his 2002 State of the Union address, President Bush called Iraq, Iran, and North Korea "the Axis of Evil." This is not only a simple name, but also justifies the actions that the U.S. government can take concerning these countries.

People can also use means such as metaphors and analogies. In this way, they can make use of the relations between things and employ familiar items to construct the meanings of new ones. When President Bush talks about terrorism, for instance, he uses analogies to totalitarianism and Nazism. When warning people of the nuclear threat of Iraq, Bush and Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice often use the words "mushroom cloud." This is a very vivid

¹ About details of predicate analysis, see Jennifer Milliken, "The Study of Discourse in Interpretational Relations: A Critique of Research and Methods," *European Journal of International Relations*, Vol. 5, No. 2, 1999.

² *Ibid.*, p.234.

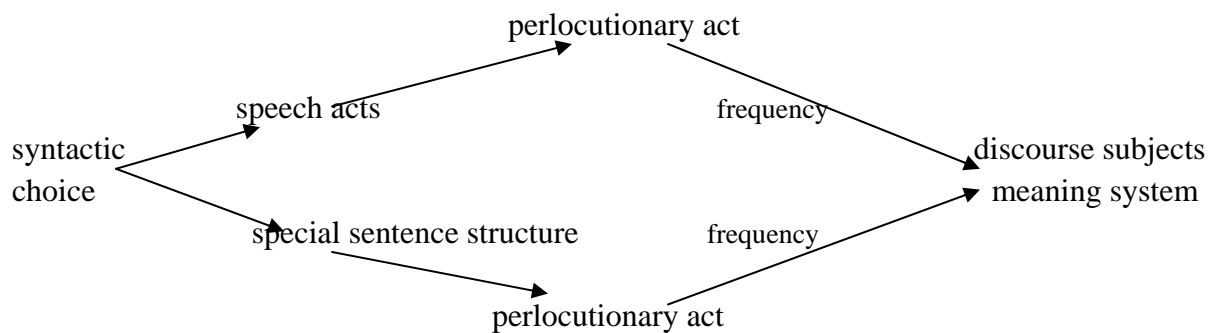
term and it is very likely to lead the audience to think of the image and the danger of Iraqi nuclear weapons.

At the lexical level, the frequency of certain words is also important. The more a special word is used, the more its meaning is emphasized. For instance, before the Iraq War, the Bush administration often used the word “possibility” of further attacks. Therefore, the implication was that no one could afford the price of not taking action. After 9/11, the most frequently used words in Bush’s discourse are terrorism, evil, freedom, etc. The recurrent use of these words plays a very important role in constructing the special meaning system.

3. Syntactic Level

When using the language, syntactic rules are usually followed to put the words together to achieve a certain purpose. According to theories of semantics and pragmatics, different syntactic forms will influence the meaning expressed by the sentence. At syntactic level, speech acts and the choice of special sentence structure are analyzed as shown in Graph 3.

Syntactic Level



Graph 3. Syntactic Analysis

For the syntactic level, the first thing that needs to be investigated is the form of the speech act. As mentioned before, according to Austin and Searle, speaking is doing and every single utterance should be treated as a communicative action. Austin divides speech acts into

three categories: locutionary, illocutionary, and perlocutionary.¹ Searle further develops them into five, namely assertive, directive, commissive, expressive, and declaration.² Different speech acts may have different intentions and may produce different illocutionary and perlocutionary effects. Among them, Searle thinks that perlocutionary acts are the most important. Bach and Harnish further divide perlocutionary acts into four types: constative, directive, commissive, and acknowledgements. Constatives can be further divided into assertive, predicative, informative, retrodictive, descriptive, ascriptive, informative, confirmative, retractive, assentive, dissentive, disputive, responsive, suggestive, and suppositive.³ When analyzing texts, it can be seen what kind of speech act the speaker uses for the main subjects of the texts. The choice of the specific forms of speech acts can help actors better carry out their constructive intention. After 9/11, for example, President Bush used a lot of assertives and informatives to describe the terrorists in order to construct a special identity for them, and this further helped him to legitimize his subsequent actions.

Besides speech acts, special forms of sentences should be analyzed. The speaker can use antithesis, for instance, to emphasize the differences between the subjects of the texts; or poetic language to replace a simple narration. Such sentences will be very helpful in creating certain emotions. For example, when describing his doctrine after 9/11, Bush said: “If you harbor a terrorist you’re just as guilty as the terrorist; if you provide safe haven to a terrorist, you’re just as guilty as the terrorist; if you fund a terrorist, you’re just as guilty as a terrorist.”⁴ When describing the terrorists’ ideology, he said: “Like the ideology of communism, our new enemy teaches that innocent individuals can be sacrificed to serve a political vision.... Like the ideology of communism, our new enemy pursues totalitarian aims.... Like the ideology of communism, our new enemy is dismissive of free peoples, claiming that men and women who live in liberty are weak and decadent...”⁵ Also, politicians often use political slogans in their speeches. By the

¹ Wang Jianping, *Philosophy of Language*, p. 8.

² Onuf, *World of Our Making*, p.87.

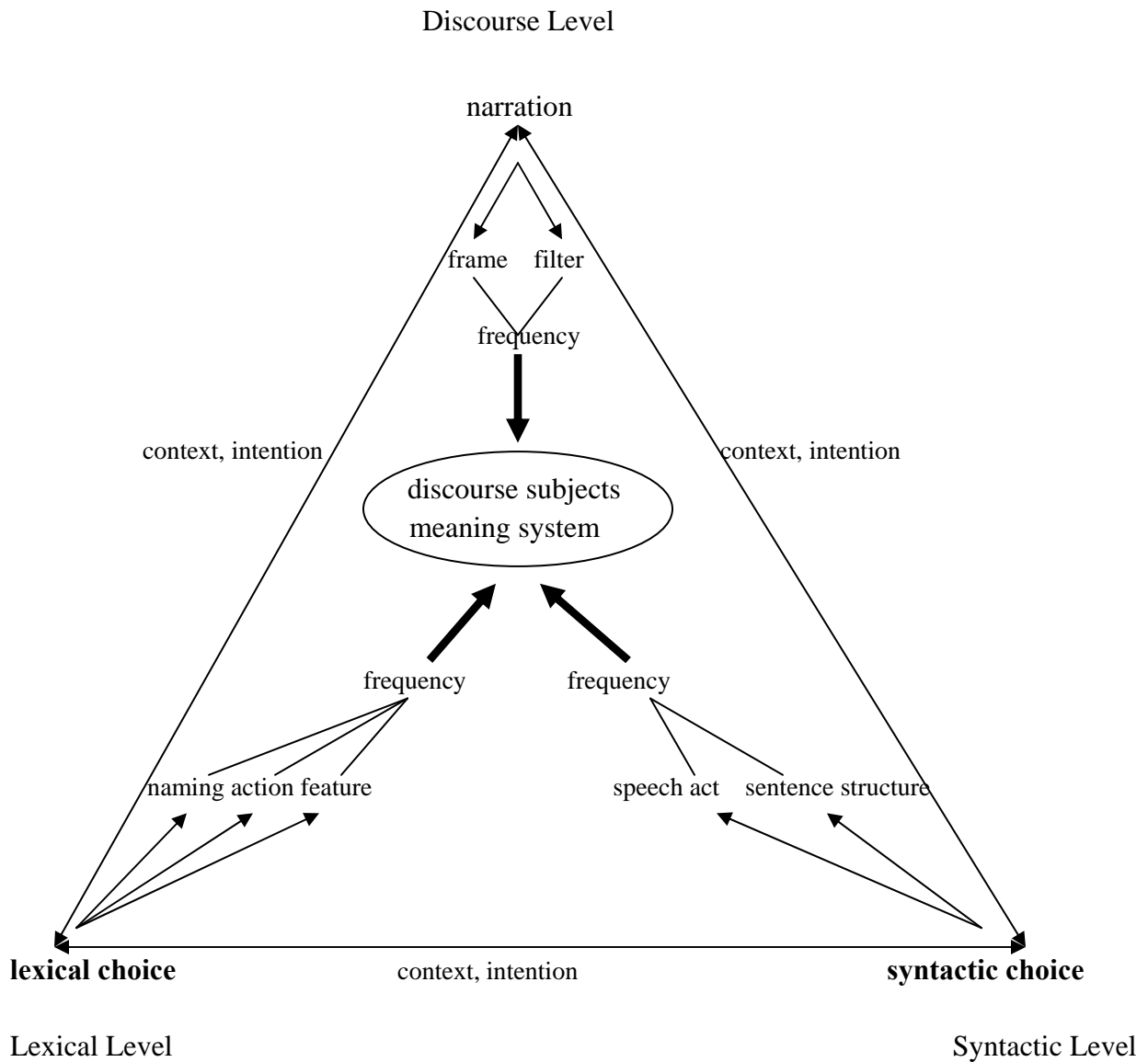
³ For details of speech acts, see Kent Bach, Robert M. Harnish, *Linguistic Communication and Speech Acts*, Cambridge: MIT Press, 1979.

⁴ George. W. Bush, President Thanks CIA, September 26, 2001, <http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2001/09/20010926-3.html>.

⁵ George. W. Bush, President Discusses War on Terror at National Endowment for Democracy, October 6, 2005,

frequent use of slogans, the actor can encourage people and mobilize support. For example, when President Bush talks about the war, a very frequent slogan is: “We will prevail.”

Although we have divided this analysis model into three levels, in actual practice, they work together for the construction of identities, context, meaning systems, and the world politics as shown in Graph 4.



Graph 4. The Analysis Model of Language

IV. The Social Linguistic Construction of the Iraq War (I)

The First Period (September 11, 2002-March 17, 2003)

This paper aims to take the ongoing Iraq War as a study case and to figure out the important ways actors construct identity, meaning, and policy through language. We will analyze the real language President Bush has used from September 2002 to November 2006. Altogether, we have collected 91 speeches, which are divided into three periods. The first period (September 11, 2002-March 17, 2003) includes 25 speeches; the second period (March 19-December 14, 2003) 28 speeches; and the third period (December 14, 2003-November 2006) 38 speeches.

Any choice of language and the construction of meaning are based on the relevant meaning in prior context. Actors generally carry out their communicative intention in a certain social and linguistic context. The context and the prior language provide a background for both the speaker and the audience. Therefore, to analyze the special language, the social context of the language has to be ascertained. As Mattern has said, identity is not only a social construction, but a social linguistic construction.¹ The linguistic aspect and social background are both important for the construction process. Therefore, before looking at the language of each period, the social background of the language first needs to be considered.

1. Social Background

The most important speech in this period is the 2002 State of the Union Address. Although the Bush administration began to plan the Iraq War not long after 9/11, it was from this address that people began to notice the language about Iraq through the concept of the Axis of Evil.² Bush wanted to use his first State of the Union address after 9/11 to shape public opinion.³ He also wanted to set forth new games and directions for his foreign policy. First, he presented

¹ For details, see Janice Bially Mattern, *Ordering of International Politics: Identity, Crisis, and Representational Force*.

² George W. Bush, President Delivers State of the Union Address, January 29, 2002, <http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2002/01/20020129-11.html>.

³ Bob Woodward, *Plan of Attack*, New York: Simon and Schuster, 2004, p.85.

the concept of the Axis of Evil—Iran, North Korea and Iraq. The Axis of Evil was created by combining the Evil Empire of the Cold War and the Axis of Powers of World War II. Although three countries were mentioned, Bush used more language on Iraq, bringing Iraq to the agenda of U.S. foreign policy. Charles Krauthammer, columnist for *The Washington Post*, commented that this was a bold address, that Iraq was what the speech was about, and that the speech was just short of a declaration of war.¹

In this address, Bush also put forward a preemptive and preventive strategy. He wanted to use 9/11 to reshape U.S. foreign policy, expressing clearly that it was very urgent for the United States to eliminate the threat posed by terrorism and regimes that were seeking WMD. Such discourse appeared quite often in the Bush administration in 2002. Rice, speaking at the Conservative Political Action Conference, said: “We must not and we will not wait on events while dangers gather, and we will use every tool at our disposal to meet this grave global threat.”² On June 1, Bush made another important speech at West Point, changing the American foreign policy into a doctrine of “preventive war,” which is using war to stop a war.³ In this way, Bush clarified the concrete measures for dealing with the Axis of Evil. Then on August 26, at the Veterans of Foreign Wars 103rd National Convention, Vice President Dick Cheney said: “We realize that wars are never won on the defensive. We must take the battle to the enemy.”⁴ Such discourse of preventive policy laid the groundwork and provided justification for the invasion of Iraq later on.

After 9/11, the Bush administration also began to talk more about the value of freedom and democracy, which, according to Rice, is something that had never been emphasized by a U.S. president before.⁵ This is a very important discourse, with freedom and democracy being taken as an ideology. It can also help to construct the identity of “self” and “other.” Terrorism is the complete opposite of freedom and democracy. This is also a discourse not likely to be

¹ Bob Woodward, *Plan of Attack*, p.95.

² Condoleezza Rice, National Security Advisor Speaks at Conference, February 1, 2002, <http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2002/02/20020201-6.html>.

³ Bob Woodward, *State of Denial*, New York: Simon and Schuster, 2006, p.371.

⁴ Richard B. Cheney, Vice President Speaks at VFW 103rd National Convention, August 26, 2002, <http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2002/08/20020826.html>.

⁵ Bob Woodward, *Plan of Attack*, p.93.

deconstructed. Later on, it continued to echo throughout the war against the Taliban and Iraq. After America failed to find WMD in Iraq as a good excuse for the war, building freedom and democracy was mentioned even more frequently.

From the summer of 2002, the Bush administration began large-scale mobilization for the war, mainly focusing on Iraq's WMD and the urgent threat from Iraq. In the first half the year, the language focus of the Bush administration was terrorism; then, starting that summer, the language shifted to construct Saddam's special identity and his threat to the United States. In the first half of 2002, the Bush administration's language about Iraq's WMD was very careful, indicating merely that Iraq was seeking to develop WMD. But later on the tone became much more certain. On June 1 at West Point, Bush said: "When the spread of chemical and biological and nuclear weapons, along with ballistic missile technology...when that occurs, even weak states and small groups could attain a catastrophic power to strike great nations."¹ Then Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld declared in Kuwait in June 2002: "They have them, and they continue to develop them, and they have weaponized chemical weapons."² In August at the 103rd VFW Convention, Cheney said: "There is no doubt that Saddam Hussein now has WMD. There is no doubt he is amassing them to use against our friends, against our allies, and against us."³ Cheney's certainty about WMD also constrained Bush's language. Then from September, almost every time Bush made a speech, WMD was mentioned, and Iraq was an urgent threat to the United States.

The main message was that Saddam not only had WMD, but that he also had used them in the past. If the United States did not take action, America would be attacked with WMD, even with nuclear weapons. On September 6, in an interview with CNN, Rice said: "We don't want the smoking gun to be a mushroom cloud."⁴ On September 14, Bush even mentioned an exact time. "Should his regime acquire fissile material, it would be able to build a nuclear weapon

¹ George W. Bush, President Bush Delivers Graduation Speech at West Point, June 1, 2002, <http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2002/06/20020601-3.html>.

² Jake Tapper, "The hyping of Saddam's WMD," <http://dir.salon.com/story/news/feature/2003/06/18/wmd/index.html?pn=1>.

³ Richard B. Cheney, Vice President Speaks at VFW 103rd National Convention, Remarks by the Vice President to the Veterans of Foreign Wars 103rd National Convention, <http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2002/08/20020826.html>.

⁴ "Top Bush officials push case against Saddam," September 8, 2002 Posted: 8:46 PM EDT (0046 GMT), <http://archives.cnn.com/2002/ALLPOLITICS/09/08/iraq.debate/>.

within a year.”¹ The tone then is becoming stronger and stronger. On October 17, Bush made a speech in Cincinnati clearly outlining the threat of Iraq: “The threat from Iraq stands alone...because it gathers the most serious dangers of our age in one place. Iraq’s WMD are controlled by a murderous tyrant who has already used chemical weapons to kill thousands of people.”² Although then Secretary of State Colin Powell had been opposed to the war against Iraq, finally he also bought the case. In February 2003, he made a long speech at the United Nations, providing a good deal of professional explanation of the threat from Iraq and its WMD³; this address had a strong influence all over the world. In fact, Iraq’s WMD threat and its urgency was much exaggerated. The Bush administration later explained that this was due to a mistake in intelligence.

Domestically, if the president wants to start a war, he has to get support from the Congress. From September 2002, the administration began to work on the Congress, with the CIA preparing the National Intelligence Estimate, asserting the continuous development of Iraq’s WMD and that Iraq had chemical and biological weapons, the means to deliver them, and was reconstituting its nuclear program. This report was more certain than all the previous reports, exaggerating the alarming findings, while minimizing internal doubts about them and presenting opinion as fact.⁴ Finally, in October, Congress passed the authorization resolution (77:23 in the Senate and 296:133 in the House): if necessary, the United States could use military force to disarm Saddam. The Bush administration also tried to persuade the United Nations Security Council of the correctness of his course. On September 12, 2002, Bush specifically made a speech about Iraq at the UN General Assembly, describing in detail why Iraq was an urgent threat to the United States and the world. On November 8, the UN Security Council passed Resolution 1441 offering Iraq “a final opportunity to comply with its disarmament obligations” that had been set out in several previous resolutions. In this way, Bush could always say that the

¹ George W. Bush, President Discusses Growing Danger posed by Saddam Hussein's Regime: Radio Address by the President to the Nation, September 14, 2002, <http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2002/09/20020914.html>.

² George W. Bush, President Bush Outlines Iraqi Threat, October 7, 2002, <http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2002/10/20021007-8.html>.

³ Colin Powell, U.S. Secretary of State Colin Powell Addresses the UN Security Council, February 5, 2003, <http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2003/02/20030205-1.html>.

⁴ Thomas E. Ricks, *Fiasco: the American Military Adventure in Iraq*, New York: the Penguin Press, 2006, p.52.

whole world and the permanent members of the UN Security Council also thought Saddam should be disarmed. Later on, when the Iraq War came under increasing fire, Bush often explained that this was also the decision of the UN Security Council, thus passing some of the responsibility to them.

From all these aspects, it can be said that the Bush administration really did well in selling the war as the following details will show.

2. The Social Linguistic Construction of the War

2.1. Discourse level

Following the rough proposed analysis model in the last part, we will analyze the discourse level of the texts according to the narration content and narrative type.

2.1.1. Narrative content

Using the 25 speeches collected for this period, we extracted the main discourse content according to their frequency. Based on the quantitative analysis, the most frequent discourse content in this period was as follows:¹

First, Saddam must comply with the UN resolution and get rid of all his WMD. Out of the 25 speeches in this period, nineteen mentioned this. As to the mobilization for the Iraq War, Bush often emphasized that the U.S. action was based on the will of the UN Security Council. This is one of the reasons that the Bush administration tried to persuade the UN to pass Resolution 1441. During this period, Bush often said such things as: “I reminded them that for 12 long years the United Nations has asked Saddam to disarm because he’s dangerous. We went and got another resolution almost four months ago, unanimously approved by the Security Council, which said, clearly, Saddam, you must disarm.”² “On November 8th, the Security Council

¹ As for the details of the narrative content, see Figure 1.

² George W. Bush, President Announces Framework to Modernize and Improve Medicare, March 4, 2003, <http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2003/03/20030304-5.html>.

unanimously passed Resolution 1441, finding Iraq in material breach of its obligations, and vowing serious consequences if Iraq did not fully and immediately disarm.”¹

During this period, Bush often emphasized that Saddam had violated past UN resolutions many times, indicating that he would do the same thing again. For instance: “He has broken every pledge he made to the United Nations and the world since his invasion of Kuwait was rolled back in 1991.... Saddam Hussein has violated every one of these sixteen resolutions...not once, but many times.”² “For more than a decade, the regime has answered Security Council resolutions with defiance, bad faith and deception.”³ Bush also emphasized that, if Saddam did not disarm himself, he had to bear the consequences by himself. If the UN did not carry out the responsibility, the United States would take action. That is to say, the Iraq War was a reluctant choice of the United States forced by Saddam. “If war is forced upon us...and I say ‘forced upon us,’ because use of the military is not my first choice.”⁴ “The United States does not desire military conflict, because we know the awful nature of war. Our country values life and we will never seek war unless it is essential to security and justice.... If, however, the Iraqi regime persists in its defiance, the use of force may become unavoidable.”⁵

Second, Saddam had WMD. In Bush’s discourse, the main focus was WMD. Saddam not only had them, but also had the means to deliver and use them. Besides, he had used them in the past, and it was quite possible that he would use them again. On the other hand, Saddam maintained a long-simmering hatred towards the United States. Therefore, if America neglected the threat of Iraq’s WMD, the result would be disastrous. In this way, WMD links Saddam and Iraq with U.S. security. In this period, this was mentioned in nineteen speeches. The tone escalated from less certain to quite confirmative. “Today this regime likely maintains stockpiles

¹ George W. Bush, President Says Saddam Hussein Must Leave Iraq Within 48 Hours , March 17, 2003, <http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2003/03/20030317-7.html>.

² George W. Bush, president Discusses Growing Danger posed by Saddam Hussein's Regime, September 14, 2002, <http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2002/09/20020914.html>.

³ George W. Bush, president Bush Discusses Iraq with Congressional Leaders, September 26, 2002, <http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2002/09/20020926-7.html>.

⁴ George W. Bush, President Bush Discusses Faith-Based Initiative in Tennessee, February 10, 2003, <http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2003/02/20030210-1.html>.

⁵ George W. Bush, President: Iraqi Regime Danger to America is "Grave and Growing", October 5, 2002, <http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2002/10/20021005.html>.

of chemical and biological agents, and is improving and expanding facilities capable of producing chemical and biological weapons.”¹ The word used here is “likely.” By 2003, the tone is totally different. “Today, the gravest danger in the war on terror, the gravest danger facing America and the world, is outlaw regimes that seek and possess nuclear, chemical, and biological weapons.”² “The Iraqi regime has acquired and tested the means to deliver weapons of mass destruction.”³ “Saddam Hussein has chemical weapons programs, and the means to use them. Saddam Hussein has a biological weapons program, and the means to deliver those weapons.”⁴

While emphasizing Iraq had WMD, Bush also used a good deal of language to construct the special identity of Saddam as an extreme “other,” totally different from the American “self.” This is why Iraq’s WMD is different from that of the other countries. Iraq’s WMD is controlled by Saddam, who is a tyrant, the enemy of the United States, student of Stalin and Hitler, and, above all, has a history of using WMD on his neighbors and his own people. This is the new meaning of Iraq’s WMD. In the collected speeches, nine mentioned Saddam’s oppression of the Iraqis. “Iraqi refugees tell us how forced confessions are obtained...by torturing children while their parents are made to watch. International human rights groups have catalogued other methods used in the torture chambers of Iraq: electric shock, burning with hot irons, dripping acid on the skin, mutilation with electric drills, cutting out tongues, and rape.”⁵ “Saddam Hussein has made Iraq into a prison, a poison factory, and a torture chamber for patriots and dissidents. Saddam Hussein has the motive and the means and the recklessness and the hatred to threaten the American people.”⁶ Saddam has the history of using WMD and he could use them again or give or sell them to terrorists. “Saddam Hussein has a long history of reckless

¹ George W. Bush, President Discusses Growing Danger posed by Saddam Hussein's Regime, September 14, 2002, <http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2002/09/20020914.html>.

² George W. Bush, President Delivers "State of the Union", January 28, 2003, <http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2003/01/20030128-19.html>.

³ George W. Bush, President Bush: "World Can Rise to This Moment", February 6, 2003, <http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2003/02/20030206-17.html>.

⁴ George W. Bush, President Salutes Sailors at Naval Station Mayport in Jacksonville, February 13, 2003, <http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2003/02/20030213-3.html>.

⁵ George W. Bush, President Delivers "State of the Union", January 28, 2003, <http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2003/01/20030128-19.html>.

⁶ George W. Bush, President Bush: "World Can Rise to This Moment", February 6, 2003, <http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2003/02/20030206-17.html>.

aggression and terrible crimes.”¹ “Iraq’s weapons of mass destruction are controlled by a murderous tyrant who has already used chemical weapons to kill thousands of people.”²

Therefore, because of Saddam’s unique features, the United States could not wait for the danger to materialize. The urgency of the threat resulted in the necessity and urgency of the Iraq War. “If we know Saddam Hussein has dangerous weapons today...and we do...does it make any sense for the world to wait to confront him as he grows even stronger and develops even more dangerous weapons?”³ “In this century, when evil men plot chemical, biological, and nuclear terror, a policy of appeasement could bring destruction of a kind never before seen on this earth.”⁴

Third, Saddam has connection with terrorists. Sixteen speeches mention this. The social background of the Iraq War is American society after 9/11. By connecting Saddam and terrorists, Saddam’s WMD took on new meaning: Saddam might sell or give WMD to terrorists, who can launch more serious attacks on the United States with those WMD. In Bush’s language, on one hand, he talked about the connection between Saddam and terrorists in a general way. “Saddam Hussein’s regime continues to support terrorist groups and to oppress its civilian population.”⁵ “Iraq has longstanding ties to terrorist groups, which are capable of and willing to deliver weapons of mass death.”⁶ On the other hand, Bush talked a lot about the connection between Saddam and al-Qaeda and, in this way, used people’s memories of 9/11 to better mobilize the U.S. public. “We know that Iraq and the al-Qaeda terrorist network share a common enemy...the United States of America. We know that Iraq and al-Qaeda have had high-level contacts that go back a decade. Some al-Qaeda leaders who fled Afghanistan went to Iraq.... We’ve learned that Iraq has trained al-Qaeda members in bomb-making and poisons and deadly gases. And we know

¹ George W. Bush, War on Terror: President's Radio Address, March 8, 2003, <http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2003/03/20030308-1.html>.

² George W. Bush, President Bush Outlines Iraqi Threat, October 7, 2002, <http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2002/10/20021007-8.html>.

³ Ibid.

⁴ George W. Bush, President Says Saddam Hussein Must Leave Iraq Within 48 Hours, March 17, 2003, <http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2003/03/20030317-7.html>.

⁵ George W. Bush, President Discusses Growing Danger posed by Saddam Hussein's Regime: Radio Address by the President to the Nation, September 14, 2002, <http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2002/09/20020914.html>.

⁶ George W. Bush, President: Iraqi Regime Danger to America is "Grave and Growing": Radio Address by the President to the Nation, October 5, 2002, <http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2002/10/20021005.html>.

that after September the 11th, Saddam Hussein's regime gleefully celebrated the terrorist attacks on America."¹

Fourth, the threat from Iraq is very urgent and the United States cannot wait; sixteen speeches mentioned this. During this period, Bush used a lot of time-related language to construct the urgency of dealing with the emerging threat of Iraq. No one, he implied, can afford not to take action. "The dangers we face will only worsen from month to month and from year to year. To ignore these threats is to encourage them. And when they have fully materialized it may be too late to protect ourselves and our friends and our allies."² "If the Iraqi regime is able to produce, buy, or steal an amount of highly enriched uranium a little larger than a single softball, it could have a nuclear weapon in less than a year."³ "And according to the British government, the Iraqi regime could launch a biological or chemical attack in as little as 45 minutes after the order is given."⁴ The urgency in Bush's language implied a kind of terror that no one could afford to neglect or deny.

Fifth, the Iraq War is closely related with the war on terror. Again, sixteen speeches mentioned this. When Bush tries to sell the war, he also puts it in an antiterrorism context. America stands for freedom, and terrorists hate that. This is also a very wise language choice for Bush. Later on when the U.S. excuses for the Iraq War were not approved, Bush's language could naturally turn to ideology: terror and freedom. "In fighting a war on terror, we are determined to oppose every source of catastrophic harm that threatens our country, our friends, and our allies."⁵ "We have the responsibility to defend the American people against the threats of a new era. We have a responsibility to win the first war of the 21st century. And we're working hard to win that war."⁶ "But America's cause is always larger than America's security. We also

¹ George W. Bush, President Bush Outlines Iraqi Threat: Remarks by the President on Iraq, October 7, 2002, <http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2002/10/20021007-8.html>.

² George W. Bush, President Bush Discusses Iraq with Congressional Leaders: Remarks by the President on Iraq, September 26, 2002, <http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2002/09/20020926-7.html>.

³ George W. Bush, President Bush Outlines Iraqi Threat, October 7, 2002, <http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2002/10/20021007-8.html>.

⁴ George W. Bush, Remarks by the President on Iraq, September 26, 2002, <http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2002/09/20020926-7.html>.

⁵ George W. Bush, President Pleased with UN Vote, November 8, 2002, <http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2002/11/20021108-1.html>.

⁶ George W. Bush, President Announces Framework to Modernize and Improve Medicare, March 4, 2003,

stand for the advance of freedom and opportunity and hope. The lives and freedom of the Iraqi people matter little to Saddam Hussein, but they matter greatly to us.”¹

Sixth, the United States promised a bright future for the Iraqis. Eight speeches mention this. When Bush made a construct of the Iraq War, his language created several identities: the Iraqis and Saddam are totally against each other and Saddam is the Iraqis’ enemy. Only by overthrowing Saddam can the Iraqis have a better life. Bush used a lot of language to make promises to the Iraqis so as to gain more moral support for the war. He said, for example, that the Iraqis had been oppressed by Saddam for a long time. If Saddam’s rule is ended, he continued, the situation would change. “The Iraqi people cannot flourish under a dictator that oppresses them and threatens them. Gifted people of Iraq will flourish if and when oppression is lifted.”² “Iraq is a land rich in culture, resources, and talent. Freed from the weight of oppression, Iraq’s people will be able to share in the progress and prosperity of our time.”³ In addition, Bush made many promises to help the Iraqis build a better future instead of occupying Iraq. “America has never sought to dominate, has never sought to conquer. We’ve always sought to liberate and to free. Our desire is to help Iraqi citizens find the blessings of liberty within their own culture and their own traditions.”⁴ “When Iraq has a government committed to the freedom and well-being of its people, America, along with many other nations, will share a responsibility to help Iraq reform and prosper. And we will meet our responsibilities. That’s our pledge to the Iraqi people.”⁵ “Rebuilding Iraq will require a sustained commitment from many nations, including our own: we will remain in Iraq as long as necessary, and not a day more.”⁶

Other main points of the speeches are: 1) the United States should change its security view; 2) Iraq is a threat to the Middle East; 3) Saddam nurses hatred towards the United States;

<http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2003/03/20030304-5.html>.

¹ George W. Bush, President's Radio Address, March 1, 2003,

<http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2003/03/20030301.html>.

² George W. Bush, President Signs Iraq Resolution, October 16, 2002,

<http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2002/10/20021016-1.html>.

³ George W. Bush, President Bush Outlines Iraqi Threat, October 7, 2002,

<http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2002/10/20021007-8.html>.

⁴ George W. Bush, President Signs Iraq Resolution, October 16, 2002,

<http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2002/10/20021016-1.html>.

⁵ Ibid.

⁶ George W. Bush, President Discusses the Future of Iraq, February 26, 2003,

<http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2003/02/20030226-11.html>.

and 4) Iraq is developing nuclear capacity. Through these accounts, the main discourse was set up and the meaning system was almost fixed even before the war began: Saddam is an urgent threat and must be dealt with; otherwise, America will be attacked at some time by WMD, which might be even more serious than 9/11. Therefore, America must take preemptive action to deal with the threat.

2.1.2. Narrative type

During this period, Bush's main narrative type was romance and comedy. Previously in this paper, we have mentioned that different narrative types reflect the speaker's different beliefs and may achieve different effects upon the listener, which might, in turn, influence the appropriateness and legitimacy of the action to be taken. During this period, Bush's typical narrative style was romance. The negative hero was Saddam, who was represented as a threat. More specifically, Saddam is a tyrant, possessing and producing chemical and biological weapons, even nuclear weapons. He had launched war against his neighbor without warning and continued to oppress and torture his own people. Therefore, for the security of the Americans and the world and for world justice, the United States must deal with the threat. It is also the will of God. The positive hero, of course, is the United States which stands for freedom, justice, and the liberation of the Iraqis. Besides, in Bush's language, the world is simply divided into two parts, and the other countries have to choose which side they are on. "We must choose between a world of fear or a world of progress."¹ "But you've got to know that, in this war against terror, the doctrine stands that says either you're with us or you're with the terrorists."² In this way, support of the war against terrorists becomes the support of the Iraq War.

In this romance, the justice of the U.S. side will defeat their enemy. "We will plan carefully; we will act with the full power of the United States military; we will act with allies at our side, and we will prevail."³ "Today, at the dawn of a new century, America is still the leader

¹ George W. Bush, President Discusses Growing Danger posed by Saddam Hussein's Regime, September 14, 2002, <http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2002/09/20020914.html>.

² George W. Bush, Remarks by the President in Louisiana Welcome, December 3, 2002, <http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2002/12/20021203-4.html>.

³ George W. Bush, President Bush Outlines Iraqi Threat, October 7, 2002,

in freedom's cause.... And in freedom's cause, we will prevail.”¹ “We have the responsibility to defend the American people against the threats of a new era. We have a responsibility to win the first war of the 21st century. And we're working hard to win that war.”² This kind of narrative style is also related with American culture and U.S. history, e.g., seeking freedom and democracy in the pioneering era, the competition with the “evil” former Soviet Union, adventurous exploration of outer space, etc. This kind of adventurous spirit is often talked about in U.S. discourse. Bush's narration style is also the kind that is most likely to arouse people's emotions.

On the other hand, there were also some comic moments when Bush talked about Iraq. Although Iraq is a threat, Iraq per se does not have problems; the main problem is Saddam. Therefore, when Saddam is overthrown, Iraq will be full of hope and opportunity. “We believe the Iraqi people are deserving and capable of human liberty. And when the dictator has departed, they can set an example to all the Middle East of a vital and peaceful and self-governing nation.”³ “America is a friend to the people of Iraq. Our demands are directed only at the regime that enslaves them and threatens us. When these demands are met, the first and greatest benefit will come to Iraqi men, women and children.... The long captivity of Iraq will end, and an era of new hope will begin.”⁴ In fact, in Europe there were also comic narrations about Saddam. More specifically, although Saddam is a tyrant, the world can still change him. The international community can use military and economic sanctions. With concerted efforts, if Saddam can be persuaded to give up his WMD, he may also begin a new era.

2.2. Lexical level

As mentioned above, the lexical choice for the main subjects of the discourse is very important. Through the chosen words, the subjects' identity as well as their meaning can be framed. Before the Iraq War, Iraq was the main subject, but it includes several identities. One

<http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2002/10/20021007-8.html>.

¹ George W. Bush, President Salutes Sailors at Naval Station Mayport in Jacksonville, February 13, 2003,

<http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2003/02/20030213-3.html>.

² George W. Bush, President Announces Framework to Modernize and Improve Medicare, March 4, 2003,

<http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2003/03/20030304-5.html>.

³ George W. Bush, President Says Saddam Hussein Must Leave Iraq Within 48 Hours, March 17, 2003,

<http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2003/03/20030317-7.html>.

⁴ George W. Bush, President Bush Outlines Iraqi Threat, October 7, 2002,

<http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2002/10/20021007-8.html>.

was Saddam and the Iraqi regime, which was quite similar to terrorists, and the other was the Iraqis. The opposite identity was the United States standing for freedom, democracy, and the civilized world. The Iraqis are on this side. All these identities are divided into “we” and “they.” Predicate analysis can be used to see how these identities are represented and constructed and how different they are. This kind of differentiation also provides the legitimacy for the war. Through such analysis, it can be seen that the identity of the United States mainly stays the same after 9/11, while Saddam is given new identities: tyrant, dictator, etc, with WMD.

2.2.1. Saddam and the Iraqi regime

When characterizing Saddam, while frequently emphasizing his possessing WMD, supporting terrorism, hating America, and oppressing his people, Bush tended to construct Saddam with an identity of evil, cruelty, danger, and deception.¹ In this period, Saddam was the most important subject. Saddam was called a dictator 47 times and a tyrant nine times. These words project the image of cruelty. Other terms included master of disguise and delay, wealthy patron and protector of terrorists, and student of Stalin.

The main adjectives used to describe these nouns are evil, brutal, ruthless, cruel, homicidal, murderous, aggressive, violent, dangerous, lawless, addicted to WMD, and adept at delay.

The main nouns used to describe Saddam’s actions and behavior are threat to peace, massive and sudden horror, ties to terrorism, bad faith, systematic rape, threat and danger, war, misery, torture, terrible crimes, brutal crimes, and unrelenting hostility toward the United States.

Besides the above nouns, the main verbs used for his action are very evocative. They include breaks pledges, does not tell the truth, plays hide and seek, violates, oppresses, represses, commits genocide, kills, invades, occupies, controls, attacks, intimidates, tortures, hates, deceives, denies, blackmails, delays, mocks, harbors, strikes without warning, uses WMD,

¹ The words are all collected from speeches of this period.

gasses his own people, is linked to terrorist group, aids and provides haven to terrorists, and continues his nuclear program.

There also some derivative nouns from the above verbs such as reckless aggression, defiance, brutality, hatred for America, contempt, and deception.

The Iraq government is called an outlaw regime, with an emphasis on its being illegal, cruel, deceptive, dangerous, etc. “Regime,” however, means a particular system of government and is derogative.¹ The U.S. government often uses this word to describe the governments of countries of which it disapproves, such as North Korea and Iraq. This word appears 144 times during this period. “Outlaw” means to declare something not legal or not socially accepted.² Some others expressions, such as torture chamber, arsenal of terror, and power of tyranny, are used to refer to the Iraqi government.

The main nouns and nominal phrases are illegal regime, grave and gathering danger, serious and growing threat, defiance of UN resolutions, long-standing and continuing ties with terrorists, bad faith, deception, illicit trade, aggression, ploys, delays, and reckless ambition and miscalculation..

The main verbs and verbal phrases associated with WMD are maintain stockpiles of chemical and biological agents, improve and expand facilities to produce chemical and biological weapons, pursue WMD, possess WMD, seek nuclear bombs, and to give or sell weapons to terrorists. Those related to terrorism are support terrorist groups, shelter and support terrorism, and share a common enemy with al-Qaeda. Those used to describe the actions and behavior of the Iraq government are suppress its civilian population, intimidate, terrorize, torture, spread discord and violence, violate, practice terror on its own people, blackmail, mass murder, etc.

2.2.2. Terrorists

¹ *Longman Dictionary of English Language and Culture*, Beijing: The Commercial Press, 2004, p.1463.

² a person who has broken the laws of society and now lives outside the society; to declare something not legal or not socially acceptable. For explanation, see *Longman Dictionary of English Language and Culture*, p.1250.

Terrorists are not the main subject of this period as was the case immediately after 9/11. Since September 2002, this is replaced by Saddam and Iraq. It is terrorism, however, that links Saddam, WMD, and the Iraq War. This also matches the terrorism discourse after 9/11. As for terrorism, the language is the continuation of that after 9/11. The main nouns are cold-blooded killers, ruthless killers, enemy, thugs, Hitler, terrorism, communism, sick ideology, false ideology, a kind of new enemy, and shadowy terrorist networks..

The relevant verbs and verbal phrase are also those used after 9/11. One kind is to describe the actions and behavior of terrorists after 9/11. They are: carry out cold-blooded attacks, commit murder, harm, target the innocent, do not value innocent life, send youngsters to suicidal death, dominate the weak, intimidate the world, hate our love of freedom, harm the country, etc. The other kind is used to describe the progress of the war against terrorism: on the run, lurch around, hide in caves, get inside caves, hide in the recesses, etc. Some verbs are also used to match the discourse that Saddam might give WMD to terrorists such as seek biological and chemical weapons, not hesitate to use those weapons, and commit murder on a massive scale.

From the above analysis, it can be seen that the words used for Saddam and the Iraq government are very similar. Many lexical choices are almost the same. Some words for terrorists such as killers and murderers are also used to describe Saddam and the Iraq government. The lexical choice for Saddam, however, is somewhat richer. These words are emotionally strong and play a very important role in constructing the identity of Saddam and the relevant meaning. The three identities, which are Saddam, Iraqi government and terrorists together form the identity of “other” for this period.

2.2.3. The United States

The representation of the U.S. identity is just the opposite of Iraq. The main naming noun is liberator. The United States is represented as a great country, a blessed country, etc.

The other nouns are mainly just cause, justice, freedom, hope, opportunity, responsibility, security, human dignity, human rights, belief, peace, leadership, leader, and obligation.

The verbs related to freedom are love freedom, give freedom, defend human liberty, sacrifice for the liberty of strangers, etc. Those related with peace are defend peace, long for peace, seek peace, strive for peace, not desire military conflict, spare innocent life, lead the world to peace, lead the world to a better day, defeat the aggressive tyranny, etc. Some verbs are used to emphasize that America is taking action for the world, such as act in the interests of the world, seek the support of the world, give hope to others, give strength to others, act with allies, and value life. Those related to terrorism are refuse to live in fear, making progress, mean what he says, stay on the hunt, smoke them out of the caves, bring them to justice, etc. There are also some other verbs to describe the quality of the United States such as win, liberate, help, sacrifice, love, protect, exercise power without conquest, etc.

The adjectives used to describe America and the Americans are great, mighty, good, finest people, kind, generous, moral, strong, resolute, tough, powerful, united, honorable, compassionate, vulnerable to attack, etc.

2.2.4. The language power of some special lexical choices

In this period, Bush uses some words with very strong language power, just like the “terror” discussed before. One is the “possibility” of attack. If the United States does not take action, it could be attacked like 9/11. Besides using the exact word, he often uses the specific modal verbs to describe possibility such as “could” and “would.” “These regimes could use such weapons for blackmail, terror, and mass murder. They could also give or sell those weapons to terrorist allies, who would use them without the least hesitation.”¹ “One of the greatest dangers we face is that weapons of mass destruction might be passed to terrorists, who would not hesitate to use those weapons.”² “These regimes could use such weapons for blackmail, terror, mass murder. They could also give or sell those weapons to terrorist allies who would use them without the least bit of hesitation.”³

¹ George. W. Bush, President Delivers "State of the Union", January 28, 2003, <http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2003/01/20030128-19.html>.

² George. W. Bush, President Bush: "World Can Rise to This Moment", February 6, 2003, <http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2003/02/20030206-17.html>.

³ George. W. Bush, President Salutes Sailors at Naval Station Mayport in Jacksonville, February 13, 2003,

As for WMD, the Bush administration uses the words “hide” and “conceal.” This is a proposition that, within a short time period, cannot be falsified. Within several months of starting the war, although WMD were not found, people can just say they have not been found yet. Sometimes, they even can say that concealed WMD might have been secretly transmitted to other countries.

2.3. Syntactic level

2.3.1. Speech acts

From the above lexical choices, it can be seen that the words used for Saddam, the Iraq government, and the United States are the richest. They are the main subjects of this period. Therefore, at the syntactic level, the speech acts used for these subjects can be analyzed.

For Saddam, through our analysis, the main speech acts used are constatives and directives. Constatives are mainly used to represent information about the world, expressing the speaker’s beliefs and intentions, hoping that the audience can also accept and form the same opinion, and, meanwhile, that the audience will realize the consequences of neglecting them. In this period, the intention of Bush’s speeches is to construct a threatening identity for Saddam and the Iraq regime as well as the consequences of not dealing with them.

As mentioned above, constatives can be further divided into several categories. In this period, Bush mainly uses retrodictive, assertive, informative, and suppositive speech. Retrodictive speech acts are mainly used to represent Saddam’s actions and behavior in the past in order to let people know what kind of person he is and why he is a threat to the United States. For example: “Saddam Hussein has violated every one of these 16 resolutions...not once, but many times.”¹ “For 11 long years, he has deceived and denied.”² “He has ordered chemical

<http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2003/02/20030213-3.html>.

¹ George W. Bush, President Discusses Growing Danger posed by Saddam Hussein's Regime, September 14, 2002 , <http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2002/09/20020914.html>.

² George W. Bush, Remarks by the President in Louisiana Welcome, December 3, 2002, <http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2002/12/20021203-4.html>.

attacks on Iran and on more than 40 villages in his own country.”¹ Assertive speech acts are used to encourage the audience to accept the speaker’s view. For example: “He’s a threat and he’s a danger.”² “He can’t stand America, he can’t stand our friends, he can’t stand our allies.”³ “Saddam Hussein is a homicidal dictator who is addicted to weapons of mass destruction.”⁴ Informative speech acts are used to give the audience information and help them to form a certain view. For instance: “The dictator of Iraq has got weapons of mass destruction.”⁵ “He has secretly attempted to obtain materials needed to produce nuclear weapons.”⁶ Suppositive speech acts are used to remind people of the consequences if the United States neglects the threat of Saddam and thus creates a kind of terror. For example: “If Iraq gains even greater destructive power, nations in the Middle East would face blackmail, intimidation or attack.”⁷ “If Iraq’s dictator is permitted to acquire nuclear weapons, he could resume his pattern of intimidation and conquest and dictate the future of a vital region.”⁸

The other main speech acts used on Saddam are directives. These serve as orders and emphasize that they must be followed by the subject. In this period, the focus is that Saddam must obey Resolution 1441 and, in this way, the United States can say the war is Saddam’s choice and is being forced upon the United States. “Must” is often used in the directives in this period. For example: “This dictator must be disarmed.”⁹ “And all the United Nations resolutions against his brutality and support for terrorism must be enforced.”¹⁰ “Iraq must end its support for

¹ George W. Bush, President Bush Outlines Iraqi Threat, October 7, 2002, <http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2002/10/20021007-8.html>.

² George W. Bush, Remarks by the President in Terrell for Senate and Louisiana Republican Party Luncheon, December 3, 2002, <http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2002/12/20021203-3.html>.

³ George W. Bush, President Announces Framework to Modernize and Improve Medicare, March 4, 2003, <http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2003/03/20030304-5.html>.

⁴ George W. Bush, President Bush Outlines Iraqi Threat, October 7, 2002, <http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2002/10/20021007-8.html>.

⁵ George W. Bush, President Discusses Taking Action to Strengthen Small Businesses, January 22, 2003, <http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2003/01/20030122-4.html>.

⁶ George W. Bush, President Salutes Sailors at Naval Station Mayport in Jacksonville, February 13, 2003, <http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2003/02/20030213-3.html>.

⁷ George W. Bush, President Signs Iraq Resolution, October 16, 2002, <http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2002/10/20021016-1.html>.

⁸ George W. Bush, President Pleased with UN Vote, November 8, 2002, <http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2002/11/20021108-1.html>.

⁹ George W. Bush, President: Iraqi Regime Danger to America is "Grave and Growing", October 5, 2002, <http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2002/10/20021005.html>.

¹⁰ Ibid.

terrorism. It must cease the persecution of its civilian population.”¹ “Saddam Hussein and his sons must leave Iraq within 48 hours.”²

The United States is another important subject in this period. Bush uses numerous commissive speech acts during this time to make promises not only to the Americans, but also to the Iraqis. The promises to the Americans are mainly about the war on terror and to inform the people that the U.S. government will do its best to protect them. For example: “We have an obligation to our children and our children’s children to do everything we can to make sure the homeland is secure.”³ “Whatever action is required, whenever action is necessary, I will defend the freedom and security of the American people.”⁴ The promises to the people of Iraq are mainly that the United States will go to Iraq to liberate the nation instead of conquering and occupying and will help Iraq build a better country. This is an important aspect in justifying the war to the Iraqis and the world. For example: “The United States and our allies will help the Iraqi people rebuild their economy, and create the institutions of liberty in a unified Iraq at peace with its neighbors.”⁵ “We will liberate the people of Iraq from a cruel and violent dictator.”⁶ “We will remain in Iraq as long as necessary, and not a day more.”⁷

Another kind of speech act used for the United States is constatives, mainly informatives, and assertives. Informative speech acts are most often used to define the United States, to emphasize U.S. identity and the significance and progress of the war on terror. For example: “We’re doing everything we can in Washington to protect our soil.”⁸ “We’re under threat

¹ George W. Bush, President Bush Outlines Iraqi Threat, October 7, 2002, <http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2002/10/20021007-8.html>.

² George W. Bush, President Says Saddam Hussein Must Leave Iraq Within 48 Hours, March 17, 2003, <http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2003/03/20030317-7.html>.

³ George W. Bush, Remarks by the President in Louisiana Welcome, December 3, 2002, <http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2002/12/20021203-4.html>.

⁴ George W. Bush, President Delivers "State of the Union", January 28, 2003, <http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2003/01/20030128-19.html>.

⁵ George W. Bush, President Bush Outlines Iraqi Threat, October 7, 2002, <http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2002/10/20021007-8.html>.

⁶ George W. Bush, President Meets with Small Business Owners in Georgia, February 20, 2003, <http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2003/02/20030220-2.html>.

⁷ George W. Bush, President Discusses the Future of Iraq, February 26, 2003, <http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2003/02/20030226-11.html>.

⁸ George W. Bush, President Calls for Strengthened and Reformed Medicare Program, January 29, 2003, <http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2003/01/20030129-4.html>.

because of terrorists who don't value life like we value life in America."¹ Assertive speech acts are also very common in this period and are used to express the attitude and determination of the United States. For example: "Americans seek peace in the world."² "Americans are a free people, who know that freedom is the right of every person and the future of every nation."³

Bush also chooses some directives to create the responsibility of the United States to deal with the threat and the U.S. sense of commission to overthrow Saddam. For example: "We must choose between a world of fear, or a world of progress."⁴ "We must act before the dangers are upon us."⁵ "We must not be fooled by the ways of the past."⁶

2.3.2. Special sentence structure

The most common sentence structure is parallel sentences, mainly used for Saddam, to strengthen the emotional sense and make people realize Saddam's threat to the United States and the world more clearly. For instance: "He used weapons of mass destruction on his neighbors and he used weapons of mass destruction on his own citizens. He's a man who has professed hate to America, as well as our friends and allies. He's a man who has got terrorist ties, a man who helps train terrorists. He's a threat and he's a danger."⁷ "Saddam Hussein's refusal to comply with the demands of the civilized world is a threat to peace, and it's a threat to stability. It's a threat to the security of our country. It's a threat to the security of peace-loving people everywhere."⁸ "In a free Iraq, there will be no more wars of aggression against your neighbors, no more poison

¹ George W. Bush, President Discusses Taking Action to Strengthen Small Businesses, January 22, 2003, <http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2003/01/20030122-4.html>.

² George W. Bush, Radio Address by the President to the Nation, December 7, 2002, <http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2002/12/20021207.html>.

³ George W. Bush, President Delivers "State of the Union", January 28, 2003, <http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2003/01/20030128-19.html>.

⁴ George W. Bush, President Discusses Growing Danger posed by Saddam Hussein's Regime, September 14, 2002, <http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2002/09/20020914.html>.

⁵ George W. Bush, President Delivers "State of the Union", January 28, 2003, <http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2003/01/20030128-19.html>.

⁶ George W. Bush, President Discusses Taking Action to Strengthen Small Businesses, January 22, 2003, <http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2003/01/20030122-4.html>.

⁷ George W. Bush, Remarks by the President in Terrell for Senate and Louisiana Republican Party Luncheon December 3, 2002, <http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2002/12/20021203-3.html>.

⁸ George W. Bush, President Bush Discusses Priorities with Nation's Governors, February 24, 2003, <http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2003/02/20030224-1.html>.

factories, no more executions of dissidents, no more torture chambers and rape rooms.”¹ “If conflict comes, he could target civilians or place them inside military facilities. He could encourage ethnic violence. He could destroy natural resources. Or, worst of all, he could use his weapons of mass destruction.”²

In this period, Bush frequently uses slogans in his speeches. Some of them are just a continuation of the language after 9/11. For instance, about the Bush doctrine, “You are either with us or with terrorists.”³ Another one is used to describe the influence of 9/11 and to encourage people to be optimistic. “Out of the evil done to America will come great good.”⁴ When emphasizing preventive strategy, he often says, “We’ve got to deal with him before it is too late.”⁵

To sum up, from the analysis of the language of this period, the construction focus during this time is the evil, cruel, and dangerous identity of Saddam and his threat to America and the civilized world. The opposite of this is the United States. The identity construction of this period is very successful, and it is one of the reasons why the war had a support rate of more than 70 percent before it started.

¹ George W. Bush, President Says Saddam Hussein Must Leave Iraq Within 48 Hours, March 17, 2003, <http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2003/03/20030317-7.html>.

² George W. Bush, President's Radio Address, March 1, 2003, <http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2003/03/20030301.html>.

³ George W. Bush, President Discusses Taking Action to Strengthen Small Businesses, January 22, 2003, <http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2003/01/20030122-4.html>.

⁴ George W. Bush, Remarks by the President in Louisiana Welcome, December 3, 2002, <http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2002/12/20021203-4.html>.

⁵ George W. Bush, President Delivers "State of the Union", January 28, 2003, <http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2003/01/20030128-19.html>.

V. The Social Linguistic Construction of the Iraq War (II)

The Second Period (March 19-December 14, 2003)

1. Social Background

After the United States launched the war on April 9, 2003, the coalition forces arrived Baghdad and Saddam's statue was pulled down. Then, on April 14, the Pentagon declared that the main battle was over and Saddam had been toppled. Generally speaking, this period was successful for the United States. The United States, however, did not retain the fruits of success because of the lack of a clear plan for post-Saddam Iraq. Consequently, the nation soon descended into looting, chaos, and disorder. It also fell into a power vacuum after Saddam's rule. The situation was worsened after then head of the Coalition Provisional Authority Paul Bremer's dismissal of the Iraq forces and de-Baathification. Soon Iraq had to confront sectarian conflicts and even civil war. Saddam was captured on December 13, 2003. But the United States seemed even further from complete success in the war. Violence and attacks keep increasing, and the security of soldiers and Iraqi civilians are much more challenged. The U.S. government also faces the embarrassment of the detainee-abuse scandal.

Meanwhile, the reasons for launching the war are far from being proved. America failed to find WMD in Iraq. Saddam did not have a direct connection with Al-Qaeda, and he was very far from achieving nuclear weapons. As for the Iraqis, although they are freed from Saddam's rule, they do not have the kind of life that the U.S. government had promised them. Not long after Saddam's capture, people began to worry about their security, and everything else has become a luxury in their life.

Although it has come across many problems in Iraq, the Bush administration is very reluctant to change and still uses the language used before the war. As Hansen has said, identity

and policy are mutually constructed.¹ The language in this period also influences the policy, which, in turn, strengthens the identity.

2. The Social Linguistic Construction of the War

2.1. Discourse level

2.1.1. Narrative content

Before the war, Bush's discourse focus is on the necessity, legitimacy, and urgency of the war. After the war began, it shifted to the effectiveness of the war. The main narration content is informing people of the progress of the war and the contrast between Saddam's era and the postwar period. Meanwhile, because of the failure of finding WMD or a connection between Saddam and Bin Laden, Bush began to turn more to the war on terror. Following the language of the mobilization period, Bush continued to construct a bright and promising future for the Iraqis. According to the statistics of the speeches of this period, the details of the main discourse content are as follows:²

First, Bush continues to promise a bright future for the Iraqis so as to mobilize support for the war. Twenty-one speeches mention this. This is a continuation of the language used before the war. Furthermore, coalition forces will leave when the work is done. For example: "Coalition forces will help maintain law and order, so that Iraqis can live in security. We will respect your great religious traditions, whose principles of equality and compassion are essential to Iraq's future. We will help you build a peaceful and representative government that protects the rights of all citizens. And then our military forces will leave. Iraq will go forward as a unified, independent and sovereign nation that has regained a respected place in the world."³ "We are helping to rebuild Iraq, where the dictator built palaces for himself, instead of hospitals and

¹ For details, see Lene Hansen, *Security as Practice: Discourse Analysis and the Bosnian War*.

² As for the details of the narration content of this period, see Figure 2.

³ George W. Bush, President's Message to the Iraqi People, April 10, 2003, <http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2003/04/20030410-2.html>.

schools for the people. And we will stand with the new leaders of Iraq as they establish a government of, by and for the Iraqi people.... Our coalition will stay until our work is done, then we will leave...and we will leave behind a free Iraq.”¹ Although Bush made very good promises to the Iraqis, they seldom came true. They have to face violence every day. This is one of the reasons that Iraqis are not friendly to America, which did not even realize its most basic promise to them.

Second, Bush keeps on informing people of the progress of the war in order to show that America is on the way to success and all is going well. Again, 21 speeches mention this. In this way, the war can be better supported. On the other hand, a good deal of language is devoted to praising U.S. soldiers, who are suffering extreme sacrifices. For example, about the progress of the war: “Thanks to our fighting forces, the regime that once terrorized all of Iraq now controls a small portion of that country. American and coalition troops have continued a steady advance, and are now less than 50 miles from Baghdad.”² “Major combat operations in Iraq have ended. In the battle of Iraq, the United States and our allies have prevailed.”³ “Yesterday, December the 13th, at around 8:30 p.m. Baghdad time, United States military forces captured Saddam Hussein alive.”⁴ A lot of passages are used to praise the U.S. soldiers. For example: “Over the last week the world has witnessed the skill and honor and resolve of our military in the course of battle. We have seen the character of this new generation of American armed forces. We’ve seen their daring against ruthless enemies and their decency to an oppressed people.”⁵ “People of this country take pride in your victories, and we share in your losses.... Our country has a tradition as well. No one who falls will be forgotten by this grateful nation.”⁶

¹ George W. Bush, President's Radio Address, May 3, 2003, <http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2003/05/20030503.html>.

² George W. Bush, President Discusses Iraqi Freedom Progress in Radio Address, March 29, 2003, <http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2003/03/20030329.html>.

³ George W. Bush, President Bush Announces Major Combat Operations in Iraq Have Ended, May 1, 2003, <http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2003/05/20030501-15.html>.

⁴ George W. Bush, President Bush Addresses Nation on the Capture of Saddam Hussein, December 14, 2003, <http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2003/12/20031214-3.html>.

⁵ George W. Bush, President Rallies Troops at MacDill Air Force Base in Tampa, March 26, 2003, <http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2003/03/20030326-4.html>.

⁶ George W. Bush, President Discusses Operation Iraqi Freedom at Camp Lejeune, April 3, 2003, <http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2003/04/20030403-3.html>.

Third, America and the coalition forces are trying their best to help the people of Iraq, in sharp contrast with Saddam's troops. Twenty speeches mention this. This discourse also relates closely to the reasons why the Bush administration started the war: to liberate the oppressed Iraqis. For example: "American forces and our allies are treating innocent civilians with kindness and showing proper respect to soldiers who surrender."¹ "We have sent teams of people over to Iraq to make sure that they have adequate food. We're restoring electricity. We're making sure the hospitals are full of medicine and staffed with people to help the people of that country."² "And they can see the difference between those who are attacking their country and those who are helping to build it."³

Fourth, the cause of freedom is frequently emphasized, with fifteen speeches making note of this. After 9/11, the United States defined itself as the leader of the free world. The discourse of freedom never stops and at different periods different content is stressed. In this period, more is emphasized about the Iraqis' desire for freedom and that freedom is God's gift to all human beings. For example: "The freedom you defend is the right of every person and the future of every nature. The liberty we prize is not America's gift to the world; it is God's gift to humanity."⁴ "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, let tyrants fear."⁵ "We believe that freedom is the right of every person. We believe that freedom is the hope of every culture. We believe that freedom is the future of every nation in the Middle East."⁶

¹ George W. Bush, President Discusses Operation Iraqi Freedom at Camp Lejeune, April 3, 2003, <http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2003/04/20030403-3.html>.

² George W. Bush, President Gives Iraq Update to Workers of Tank Plant in Lima, Ohio, April 24, 2003, <http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2003/04/20030424-6.html>.

³ George W. Bush, President Bush Discusses Iraq in Veterans Day Address, November 11, 2003, <http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2003/11/20031111-10.html>.

⁴ George W. Bush, President Rallies Troops at MacDill Air Force Base in Tampa, March 26, 2003, <http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2003/03/20030326-4.html>.

⁵ George W. Bush, President Bush Announces Major Combat Operations in Iraq Have Ended, May 1, 2003, <http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2003/05/20030501-15.html>.

⁶ George W. Bush, President Bush Discusses Iraq in Veterans Day Address, November 11, 2003,

The other main content of discourse in this period includes the certainty that the United States will win, changes among the Iraqis, Saddam's oppression of the Iraqis, the U.S. preventive policy, the description of the attacks, and information about the coalition forces.

2.1.2. Narrative type

The narration of this period is a combination of romance and comedy. For romance, American and coalition soldiers have become the positive heroes of this period and both the Americans and Iraqis are grateful to them as they stand for the justice in the world. On the other hand, Saddam and his soldiers are the opposite, in sharp contrast with the positive heroes. For example: "The contrast could not be greater between the honorable conduct of our liberating force and the criminal acts of the enemy."¹ "These are war criminals, and they'll be treated as war criminals. In stark contrast, the citizens of Iraq are coming to know what kind of people we have sent to liberate them."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 Freedom is God's gift to all human beings and should be enjoyed by all. For example "The freedom you defend is the right of every person and the future of every nature."⁴ "As people throughout Iraq celebrate the arrival of freedom, America celebrates with them. We know that freedom is the gift of God to all mankind, and we rejoice when others can share it."⁵

As noted before, according to the format of romance, the positive heroes always win. This is also the case for Bush's discourse. For example: "Against this enemy, we will accept no

<http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2003/11/20031111-10.html>.

¹ George W. Bush, President Discusses Iraqi Freedom Progress in Radio Address, March 29, 2003,

<http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2003/03/20030329.html>.

² George W. Bush, Operation Iraqi Freedom, April 5, 2003, <http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2003/04/20030405.html>.

³ George W. Bush, President Bush Addresses United Nations General Assembly, September 23, 2003,

<http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2003/09/20030923-4.html>.

⁴ George W. Bush, President Rallies Troops at MacDill Air Force Base in Tampa, March 26, 2003,

<http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2003/03/20030326-4.html>.

⁵ George W. Bush, Operation Iraqi Freedom, April 12, 2003, <http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2003/04/20030412.html>.

outcome but complete and final victory.”¹ “We will prevail. We will win because our cause is just. We will win because we will stay on the offensive. And we will win because you’re part of the finest military ever assembled.”² “We will stay the course.”³

The comedy is mainly about Iraq and the Iraqis. Due to the Iraq War, the Saddam regime is abolished and Iraq is described as full of celebration and hope. Iraqis are described as good and gifted people who deserve a good life. When Saddam is overthrown, they are celebrating the arrival of freedom and democracy. For example: “Hundreds of kids were swarming us and kissing us.”⁴ “As people throughout Iraq celebrate the arrival of freedom, America celebrates with them.”⁵ “The fall of that statue in Baghdad marked the end of a nightmare for the Iraqi people, and it marked the start of a new day of freedom.”⁶

2.2. Lexical level

In Bush’s discourse this is a period of victory and his language matches that used in the mobilization period. Since the war has started, Bush needs to inform people of the effectiveness of the war and the state of the Iraqis. Therefore, one major identity is U.S. soldiers and coalition forces and Iraqis who stand with America. The other major identity is Saddam and his soldiers. With the violence and attacks increasing in the summer, later on terrorists are also part of this “other” identity.

2.2.1. The United States and coalition forces

In Bush’s discourse, the United States and coalition forces become the symbol of the United States. In particular, the U.S. soldiers’ identity “self” has formed a stark contrast with Saddam’s regime and forces “other.” Calling U.S. soldiers liberators is the means to justify the

¹ George W. Bush, President Discusses Iraqi Freedom Progress in Radio Address, March 29, 2003, <http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2003/03/20030329.html>.

² George W. Bush, President Bush Meets with Troops in Iraq on Thanksgiving, November 27, 2003, <http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2003/11/20031127.html>.

³ George W. Bush, President Addresses Top Priorities: Economic & National Security, October 9, 2003, <http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2003/10/20031009-9.html>.

⁴ George W. Bush, Operation Iraqi Freedom, April 12, 2003, <http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2003/04/20030412.html>.

⁵ Ibid.

⁶ George W. Bush, President Bush Outlines Progress in Operation Iraqi Freedom, April 16, 2003, <http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2003/04/20030416-9.html>.

legitimacy of the war as well as to mobilize more support. Altogether, “liberator,” “liberate,” and “liberation” are used 46 times. This is the discourse of the U.S. government. Many Iraqis, however, see it as occupation or invasion.¹

The lexical choices for U.S. soldiers mainly construct a positive image for them and emphasize the difference between them and the Iraqi regime. They mainly focus on the gratitude toward the Americans, their help toward the Iraqis, and their professional ability and skills. The nouns related to their attributes are mainly resolve, honor, valor, humanity, great humanity, kindness, might, heroism, courage, great courage, compassion, decency, bravery, boldness, strength, daring, goodness, patriotism, gratitude, and respect. The nouns about the professional military level are skill, great skill, speed, precision, highest level, excellence, our best, professionalism, victory, and glory. The adjectives are generally kind, respectful, great, mighty, good, focused, unwavering, strong, determined, brave, daring, decent, honorable, creative, advanced, steady, powerful, and humane.

The main verbs are disarm, respect, remove a threat, liberate, help, prevail, aid, spare, defend, defend the American people, spare innocent civilians, maintain, value, and advance the universal hope of freedom.

2.2.2. Saddam’s force and other enemies

As the opposite pole from the U.S. soldiers, Saddam’s forces are called war criminals. There are also some other similar phrases such as dictator’s army, war crimes, and criminal acts. Saddam’s forces are described as cruel, immoral, and even killers of the innocent civilians. Although violence and attacks began early, Bush did not mention them until July. The U.S. enemy has still more names such as terrorists, thugs, extremists, Saddam loyalists, attackers, and Baathists. Bush also emphasizes that they attack not only the U.S. and coalition soldiers, but also those standing for decency, freedom, and progress in Iraq.

¹ Larry Diamond, “What Went Wrong In Iraq,” *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 83, Issue 5, 2004.

The words used to describe them are very negative and derogative. The nouns are mainly atrocity, no morality, criminal acts, cowards, and no rules of law. The adjectives used to describe them are generally evil, the most desperate, and ruthless. The main verbs used to describe their actions are kill, brutalize, terrorize, murder, do harm, force, kill the innocent, maximize civilian casualties, use innocent men as shields, scatter, and harbor and support terrorists.

The language for the Iraq government continues the discourse during the war mobilization period. The Iraq government is described as an outlaw regime, brutal regime, oppressive regime, dangerous regime, cruelest regime, doomed regime, a dying regime, brutal regime, one of the cruelest regimes, violent criminal gang, sponsor of terror, etc. Iraq's rule is portrayed as tyranny, theocratic rule, brutal dictatorship, secret police, corruption, horror, nightmare, Iraqis' enemy, etc. Iraq is depicted as evil, squalid, vicious tyranny, unstable aggressor, prison to its people, haven for terrorists, ally of terrorist groups, arsenal of weapons, torture chambers, mass grave, possessed WMD, etc.

The main verbs are terrorize, assassinate, rule by fear and torture, rule by terror and treachery, harbor and support terrorists, suppress human rights, defy the just demands of the UN and the world, cultivate ties to terror, wage war with the Iraqi people, indoctrinate youth, and teach hatred.

From the analysis above, the lexical density for Iraqi forces and governments is very high, showing that they are the focus of this period. Their identity is constructed as evil and cruel and they often terrorize, kill, murder, harm, etc., completely the opposite of the United States.

2.2.3. Iraqis: The oppressed people

In Bush's discourse, Iraqis are given an identity totally different from the Iraq government, Iraq, and Saddam. In this period, on one hand, they are oppressed by Saddam; on the other, they are good and talented people, and they have a strong desire for freedom. This fits the Bush discourse that the United States will liberate the Iraqis and give them freedom. Iraqis stand on the side of the U.S. soldiers. Besides being oppressed people, the Iraqis are described as good and gifted, suffering, long-suffering, proud people, the heirs of a great civilization, volunteers, talent, a shield for the dictator's army, etc. The main adjectives are grateful, responsible, and capable of self-government.

Words related with freedom are want freedom, yearn for liberty, welcome freedom, celebrate the arrival of freedom, appeal of human freedom, embrace democracy, be starved for freedom and opportunity, resent oppression, etc. Iraqis' relations with U.S. soldiers are described as very good, such as help in the effort, cooperate, work closely with our troops, help Marines, restore, have our pledge, etc.

Words related with their lives are live in a nightmare, fear, etc.

Thus, it can be seen that the identity of Iraqis is a component of "self" during this period.

2.2.4. Terrorists

Terrorists are not the main subjects of this period, especially before May. But since it is terrorists that connect the Iraq War and the United States, terrorism does not disappear from the discourse. After the attacks and violence appear, Bush explains that they are conducted by terrorists and Saddam loyalists, who want to restore Saddam's rule. They are represented as the opposite of the civilized world.

The nouns used for them are mainly hateful ideology, radical ideology, murderous ideology, totalitarian ideology, fascism, communism, bitterness and terror, tyranny and murder, enemies of freedom, threat to peace, and committed killers.

The main verbs are fail, lost, plot, target the innocent, attack, rejoice in the murder of innocents, attack, reject, defile, hate, plot, cannot be appeased, and pursue war.

The description of terrorists mostly carries on the language after 9/11, without noticeable changes.

2.3. Syntactic level

2.3.1. Speech acts

In this period, as noted above, the two main identities are Saddam's forces and the American and coalition forces. Besides, the identity of "self" also includes the Iraqis, while "other" includes terrorists.

The speech acts used for U.S. soldiers and coalition forces are mainly constatives and acknowledgements. The key constatives used include informative, assertive, retrodictive, confirmative, and predictive. Informative speech acts are mainly used to inform people of the progress of the war and shapes people's confidence in the war. For example: "American and coalition forces are steadily advancing against the regime of Saddam Hussein."¹ "Our military is making good progress in Iraq; yet this war is far from over."² The retrodictive speech acts are also used to inform people of recent events in the war. For example: "In the last week, the world has also seen the nature of the young men and women who fight on our behalf."³ "We have sent teams of people over to Iraq to make sure that they have adequate food."⁴ Assertive and confirmative speech acts are used to describe the character of the U.S. soldiers. For example: "In Iraq today, our military is focused and unwavering."⁵ "Our armed services have performed

¹ George W. Bush, Operation Iraqi Freedom, April 5, 2003, <http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2003/04/20030405.html>.

² George W. Bush, President Rallies Troops at MacDill Air Force Base in Tampa, March 26, 2003, <http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2003/03/20030326-4.html>.

³ George W. Bush, President Discusses Iraqi Freedom Progress in Radio Address, March 29, 2003, <http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2003/03/20030329.html>.

⁴ George W. Bush, President Gives Iraq Update to Workers of Tank Plant in Lima, Ohio, April 24, 2003, <http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2003/04/20030424-6.html>.

⁵ George W. Bush, President Rallies Troops at MacDill Air Force Base in Tampa, March 26, 2003, <http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2003/03/20030326-4.html>.

brilliantly in Operation Iraqi Freedom.”¹ “Our armed forces are skilled and powerful and humane.”² Predictive speech acts are used to create confidence in the war and promote the significance of the war. For example: “Our victory will mean the end of a tyrant who rules by fear and torture.”³ “Our victory will remove a sponsor of terror, armed with weapons of terror.”⁴

Acknowledgements used for the U.S. soldiers mainly include condolences and thanks. Speech acts of thanks are used to show Americans’ gratitude towards the soldiers. For instance: “For your daily effort, for your professionalism, and for your patriotism, I thank you on behalf of the people of the United States.”⁵ “We thank you for your service, we’re proud of you, and America stands solidly behind you.”⁶ Condolences are also offered quite often for the U.S. soldiers. For example: “We will never forget the men and women who have fallen in service to America.”⁷ “Some of the bravest have been lost to us and to their families. Some of the best have not returned home. And we will never forget their sacrifice.”⁸ “For their families, this is a terrible sorrow, and we pray for their comfort. For the nation, there is a feeling of loss, and we remember and we honor every name.”⁹

For the enemies such as Saddam’s forces, the speech acts are constative, mainly retrodictive, assertive and informative. Retrodictive speech acts are used to tell people what the enemies such as Saddam’s forces have done recently. For example: “They have killed Iraqi citizens who welcome coalition troops.”¹⁰ “Over the last several days, the world has watched as

¹ George W. Bush, President Discusses Operation Iraqi Freedom at Camp Lejeune, April 3, 2003, <http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2003/04/20030403-3.html>.

² George W. Bush, President Bush Discusses Iraq in Veterans Day Address, November 11, 2003, <http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2003/11/20031111-10.html>.

³ George W. Bush, President Updates America on Operations Liberty Shield and Iraqi Freedom, March 31, 2003, <http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2003/03/20030331-4.html>.

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ George W. Bush, President's Message to America's Military and Their Families, April 14, 2003, <http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2003/04/20030414-3.html>.

⁶ George W. Bush, President Bush Meets with Troops in Iraq on Thanksgiving, November 27, 2003, <http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2003/11/20031127.html>.

⁷ George W. Bush, President's Message to America's Military and Their Families, April 14, 2003, <http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2003/04/20030414-3.html>.

⁸ George W. Bush, President Gives Iraq Update to Workers of Tank Plant in Lima, Ohio, April 24, 2003, <http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2003/04/20030424-6.html>.

⁹ George W. Bush, President Bush Discusses Iraq in Veterans Day Address, November 11, 2003, <http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2003/11/20031111-10.html>.

¹⁰ George W. Bush, President Discusses Operation Iraqi Freedom at Camp Lejeune, April 3, 2003, <http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2003/04/20030403-3.html>.

the regime of Saddam Hussein began passing into history.”¹ “In the last few months, the adversary has changed its composition and method, and our coalition is adapting accordingly.”² Assertive speech acts are used to define the enemy’s action. For example: “These are war criminals and they will be treated like war criminals.”³ “In this conflict, America faces an enemy who has no regard for conventions of war or rules of morality.”⁴ Informative speech acts are used to let people share information. For example: “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.”⁵ “The terrorists and the Baathists hope to weaken our will.”⁶ “They have made Iraq the central front in the war on terror.”⁷

2.3.2. Special sentence structure

In this period, Bush also uses a lot of parallel sentences. For example: “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.”⁸ “Free societies do not nurture bitterness, or the ideologies of terror and murder. Free societies are founded on the belief that every life has equal value. Free societies turn the creative gifts of men and women towards progress and the betterment of their own lives.”⁹ “We are dispatching teams across Iraq to assess the critical needs of the Iraqi people. We’re clearing land mines. We’re working with Iraqis to recover artifacts, to find the hoodlums who ravished the National Museum of Antiquities in Baghdad.... We’re working toward an Iraq where, for the first time ever, electrical power is reliable and widely

¹ George W. Bush, Operation Iraqi Freedom, April 12, 2003, <http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2003/04/20030412.html>.

² George W. Bush, President Bush Discusses Iraq in Veterans Day Address, November 11, 2003, <http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2003/11/20031111-10.html>.

³ George W. Bush, President Discusses Operation Iraqi Freedom at Camp Lejeune, April 3, 2003, <http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2003/04/20030403-3.html>.

⁴ George W. Bush, President Bush Addresses the Nation, March 19, 2003, <http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2003/03/20030319-17.html>.

⁵ Ibid.

⁶ George W. Bush, President's Radio Address, November 1, 2003, <http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2003/11/20031101.html>.

⁷ George W. Bush, President Bush Addresses United Nations General Assembly, September 23, 2003, <http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2003/09/20030923-4.html>.

⁸ George W. Bush, President Bush Addresses the Nation, March 19, 2003, <http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2003/03/20030319-17.html>.

⁹ George W. Bush, President Bush Outlines Progress in Operation Iraqi Freedom, April 16, 2003, <http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2003/04/20030416-9.html>.

available.... We're working to make Iraq's drinking water clean and dependable.... We're working to give every Iraqi access to immunizations and emergency treatment, and to give sick children and pregnant women the health care they need.... We're working to improve Iraqi schools by funding a back-to-school campaign that will help train and recruit Iraqi teachers, provide supplies and equipment, and bring children across Iraq back into clean and safe schools.”¹

In this period, the slogans are also a continuation of the first period, such as slogans for victory. For example: “Our nation is strong.”² “We will win.”³ “We will prevail.”⁴ “We will accept no outcome but victory.”⁵ This is only a wish on the part of America, but, in fact, in this period, the United States is more like a loser, and the U.S. government is not sure how to achieve the final victory. Also during this period, Bush has to emphasize the result of the war, which is closely related with U.S. security. Bush often says: “America is more secure today.”⁶ As for Saddam, it is mainly about WMD. “Saddam is no longer threatening America with weapons of mass destruction.”⁷ But this is not true. Saddam did not have WMD and Saddam did not affect U.S. security. On the contrary, now, the U.S. government also faces security challenges from Iran and North Korea, whose nuclear programs underwent rapid development during this period. Meanwhile, they also challenged the world's non-proliferation regime.

¹ George W. Bush, President Discusses the Future of Iraq, April 28, 2003, <http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2003/04/20030428-3.html>.

² George W. Bush, President Bush Outlines Progress in Operation Iraqi Freedom, April 16, 2003, <http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2003/04/20030416-9.html>

³ George W. Bush, President Bush Meets with Troops in Iraq on Thanksgiving, November 27, 2003, <http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2003/11/20031127.html>

⁴ George W. Bush, President Rallies Troops at MacDill Air Force Base in Tampa, March 26, 2003, <http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2003/03/20030326-4.html>

⁵ George W. Bush, President Bush Addresses the Nation, March 19, 2003, <http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2003/03/20030319-17.html>

⁶ George W. Bush, President Gives Iraq Update to Workers of Tank Plant in Lima, Ohio, April 24, 2003, <http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2003/04/20030424-6.html>

⁷ Ibid.

VI. The Social Linguistic Construction of the Iraq War

The Third Period (December 14, 2003-November 2006)

1. Social Background

Although America captures Saddam on December 13, 2003, there is no peace or security expected by the U.S. government. In 2004, the United States is not successful at all, not being able to provide the Iraqis security. At the same time, the U.S. soldiers cannot see the possibility of withdrawing from Iraq. With the so-called political progress of Iraq, the violence and insurgency keeps increasing and so do U.S. and Iraqi civilian casualties. As a result, the war is questioned even more than before.

With the failure to find WMD or a connection between Saddam and Bin Laden, the United States has to provide more explanation for the war and adjust its language accordingly. For instance, about WMD, they are more likely to use the relevant activities related with WMD.¹ According to the new explanation, it is an intelligence problem as well as that Saddam lied that he had WMD.²

The security situation in Iraq keeps worsening, and the violent attacks just increase day by day. Iraqis are becoming more and more disappointed with America. For instance, in April 2004, 55 percent of the Iraqis say that the presence of U.S. soldiers makes things more dangerous.³ The components and methods of the insurgency also change. In 2004, there were 24,496 attacks, while in 2005, the corresponding number reached 34,131.⁴ In 2005, it seems that Iraq is embroiled in civil war and involving other elements such as Saddam royalists and terrorists.

Although Iraq has made some political progress, such as the transfer of sovereignty, the election of the national assembly, and the constitution, the United States still faces serious

¹ Bob Woodward, *State of Denial*, p.277.

² *Ibid.*, p.279.

³ Thomas E. Ricks, *Fiasco: The American Military Adventure in Iraq*, p.327.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p.414.

challenges in Iraq. The U.S. government is forced to adjust its strategies involving the building and training of Iraq security forces as well as informing and persuading the public. Around the end of 2005, the Bush administration begins to talk about the Iraq victory strategy. Meanwhile, in order to further justify the war, Bush begins to advocate democratic peace, saying that the war is an ideological struggle. A democratic Iraq will be very important for peace in the Middle East and the world. In his second inauguration speech, Bush says that the security of the United States depends on the spread of the freedom in the world. Therefore, the Iraq War is not only about WMD; it is also about building democracy and freedom in Iraq.

2. The Social Linguistic Construction of the War

2.1. Discourse level

This period is very challenging for the Bush administration. And from Bush's language, it can be seen that this period is different from the two that preceded it. In the former two periods, the speeches are usually not specifically about the Iraq War and the war on terror. These topics are often talked about in combination with other issues such as the U.S. economy and medical care. In this period, however, especially during 2005 and 2006, Bush makes many speeches just focusing on Iraq and the war on terror. The speeches are long, and the content is quite focused. From summer 2005 to spring 2006, among the 41 speeches collected by this paper, there are ten specifically about the war on terror and the Iraq War. By spring 2006, the Iraq War has lasted three years. Between January 2006 and May 2006, there are six long speeches about the U.S. victory strategy, the progress of the war, and the features of the enemies. From these specific speeches, the weight of the Iraq War for the Bush administration and the focus of its language can also be seen.

2.1.1 Narrative content

Through a quantitative analysis of the speeches of this period, the main narrative contents are as follows:¹

First, freedom and democracy in Iraq are very important. Thirty speeches mention this. The decision makers often face a situation in which what really happens is different from what they have said before. Meanwhile, they cannot change their policy completely. In such cases, from the standpoint of language, the speaker can try to be silent about the discrepancies and move the discourse to other topics. Before the war, one of the main discourses is about WMD. With the failure to find WMD, however, people began to question that fairly extensively. So in this period, Bush's language begins to turn more to the importance of freedom and democracy, more specifically democratic peace. That gives a new meaning to the war: for the sake of U.S. security in the future, the United States needs to spread freedom and democracy in the world and Iraq is a central front to do that. That is to say, even if Iraq does not have WMD and has no direct connection with Al-Qaeda, the United States still needs to overthrow Saddam. Therefore, freedom and democracy are emphasized quite often in this period. For example: "As the greater Middle East increasingly becomes a place where freedom flourishes, the lives of millions in that region will be bettered, and the American people and the entire world will be more secure."² "The rise of a free and self-governing Iraq will deny terrorists a base of operation, discredit their narrow ideology, and give momentum to reformers across the region. This will be a decisive blow to terrorism at the heart of its power, and a victory for the security of America and the civilized world."

Democratic countries are peace-loving and will not go to war with each other. In this period, in order to explain this argument, Bush often takes Japan and Germany as examples and puts forward a peace strategy. For example: "Our strategy for peace has three commitments: First, we are defending the peace by taking the fight to the enemy.... Second, we're protecting the peace by working with friends and allies and international institutions to isolate and confront

¹ As for the details of the narrative content, see Figure 3.

² George W. Bush, President Bush Discusses Iraq in Saturday Morning Radio Address, April 10, 2004, <http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2004/04/20040410.html>.

terrorists and outlaw regimes.... Third, we are extending the peace by supporting the rise of democracy, and the hope and progress that democracy brings, as the alternative to hatred and terror in the broader Middle East.”¹ “We’ve done this kind of work before; we must have confidence in our cause. In World War II, the free nations defeated fascism and helped our former adversaries, Germany and Japan, build strong democracies – and today, these nations are allies in securing the peace. In the Cold War, free nations defeated communism, and helped our former Warsaw Pact adversaries become strong democracies.”²

Iraq is the central front of the U.S. global war on terror. Bush tries to emphasize that America cannot fail; otherwise, the United States and the world will be more dangerous. For example: “The return of tyranny to Iraq would be an unprecedented terrorist victory, and a cause for killers to rejoice. It would also embolden the terrorists, leading to more bombings, more beheadings, and more murders of the innocent around the world.”³ “It’s important for Americans to understand the stakes in Iraq. A free Iraq will be an ally in the war on terror. A free Iraq will be a partner in the struggle for peace and moderation in the Muslim world. A free Iraq will inspire democratic reformers from Damascus to Tehran, and send a signal across the broader Middle East that the future belongs not to terrorism but to freedom. A free Iraq will show the power of liberty to change the world.”⁴

Second, Iraq is making enormous political progress, and Iraqis are also changing greatly. Twenty-seven speeches mention this. One important thing for Bush is to construct a new Iraq identity after Saddam’s rule. This is the best way to demonstrate the effectiveness of the Iraq War: a new Iraq is marching towards democracy and freedom, and Iraqis are totally different than they were during Saddam’s rule. For example: “In contrast, the elected leaders of Iraq are proving to be strong and steadfast. By any standard or precedent of history, Iraq has made incredible

¹ George W. Bush, President Bush Discusses Progress in the War on Terror, July 12, 2004, <http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2004/07/20040712-5.html>.

² George W. Bush, President Discusses War on Terror and Upcoming Iraqi Elections, December 12, 2005, <http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2005/12/20051212-4.html>.

³ George W. Bush, President Outlines Steps to Help Iraq Achieve Democracy and Freedom, May 24, 2004, <http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2004/05/20040524-10.html>.

⁴ George W. Bush, President Bush Discusses Global War on Terror, April 10, 2006, <http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2006/04/20060410-1.html>.

political progress...from tyranny, to liberation, to national elections, to the writing of a constitution, in the space of two-and-a-half years.”¹ “Today, seven in 10 Iraqis say their lives are going well; nearly two-thirds expect things to improve even more in the next year. The vast majority of Iraqis prefer freedom with intermittent power to life in the permanent darkness of tyranny and terror. Iraqis are optimistic about the future, and their optimism is justified.”²

Third, America and coalition forces have a clear goal, strategy, and plan in Iraq. Twenty-two speeches mention this. With the worsening situation in Iraq, more and more people begin to question the plan and strategy. In this period, Bush also takes informing and explaining the situation to them as one language focus. For example, as for the goal in Iraq, he says: “A little over a year ago, I spoke to the nation and described our coalition’s goals in Iraq. I said that America’s mission in Iraq is to defeat an enemy and give strength to a friend...a free, representative government that is an ally in the war on terror, and a beacon of hope in a part of the world that is desperate for reform.”³ “Our goal is victory, and victory will be achieved when the terrorists and Saddamists can no longer threaten Iraq’s democracy, when the Iraqi security forces can provide for the safety of their own citizens, and when Iraq is not a safe haven for terrorists to plot new attacks against our nation.”⁴

While emphasizing the goal, Bush also summarizes the strategy into three fundamentals, namely, politics, economy, and security and, more specifically, into five steps. For example: “To achieve victory over such enemies, we are pursuing a comprehensive strategy in Iraq. Americans should have a clear understanding of this strategy. So today, we’re releasing a document called the ‘National Strategy for Victory in Iraq.’”⁵ “Our strategy in Iraq has three elements. On the political side, we know that free societies are peaceful societies.... And on the economic side,

¹ George W. Bush, President Discusses War on Terror at National Endowment for Democracy, October 6, 2005, <http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2005/10/20051006-3.html>.

² George W. Bush, President Addresses Veterans of Foreign Wars on the War on Terror, January 10, 2006, <http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2006/01/20060110-1.html>.

³ George W. Bush, President Addresses Nation, Discusses Iraq, War on Terror, June 28, 2005, <http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2005/06/20050628-7.html>.

⁴ George W. Bush, President Discusses War on Terror and Upcoming Iraqi Elections, December 12, 2005, <http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2005/12/20051212-4.html>.

⁵ George W. Bush, President Outlines Strategy for Victory in Iraq, November 30, 2005, <http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2005/11/20051130-2.html>.

we're helping the Iraqis rebuild their infrastructure, reform their economy, and build the prosperity that will give all Iraqis a stake in a free and peaceful Iraq..."¹ "There are five steps in our plan to help Iraq achieve democracy and freedom. We will hand over authority to a sovereign Iraqi government, help establish security, continue rebuilding Iraq's infrastructure, encourage more international support, and move toward a national election that will bring forward new leaders empowered by the Iraqi people."²

Meanwhile, Bush also emphasizes flexibility in carrying out the strategy to reach the goals. For example: "We have a strategy that allows us to be flexible and to adapt to changing circumstances. We've changed the way we train the Iraqi security forces. We have changed the way we deliver reconstruction assistance in areas that have been cleared of terrorist influence. And we will continue to be flexible, and make every necessary change to prevail in this struggle."³ "Our strategy in Iraq is clear, our tactics are flexible and dynamic; we have changed them as conditions required and they are bringing us victory against a brutal enemy."⁴

Fourth, what kinds of attacks are going on in Iraq? Twenty speeches cover this. Not long after Baghdad was taken, violence and attacks keep increasing. The components of the attacks are very complicated. But in Bush's discourse, terrorism is talked about quite a lot, which makes people feel that most of the attacks are conducted by terrorists. In 2003 and early 2004, attacks are not the main subject. In April 2004, Bush just said: "As the June 30th date for Iraqi sovereignty draws near, a small faction is attempting to derail Iraqi democracy and seize power. In some cities, Saddam supporters and terrorists have struck against coalition forces."⁵ "On the ground in Iraq, we have serious and continuing challenges. Illegal militias and remnants of the regime, joined by foreign terrorists, are trying to take by force the power they could never gain

¹ George W. Bush, President Outlines Strategy for Victory in Iraq, November 30, 2005, <http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2005/11/20051130-2.html>.

² George W. Bush, President Outlines Steps to Help Iraq Achieve Democracy and Freedom, May 24, 2004, <http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2004/05/20040524-10.html>.

³ George W. Bush, President's Radio Address, October 21, 2006, <http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2006/10/20061021.html>.

⁴ George W. Bush, President Outlines Strategy for Victory in Iraq, November 30, 2005, <http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2005/11/20051130-2.html>.

⁵ George W. Bush, President Bush Discusses Iraq in Saturday Morning Radio Address, April 10, 2004, <http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2004/04/20040410.html>.

by the ballot.”¹ From May 2004, Bush begins to mention insurgence. While explaining why the enemies launch the attacks, Bush says: “They fight because they know that the survival of their hateful ideology is at stake. They know that as freedom takes root in Iraq, it will inspire millions across the Middle East to claim their liberty, as well. And when the Middle East grows in democracy and prosperity and hope, the terrorists will lose their sponsors, lose their recruits, and lose their hopes for turning that region into a base for attacks on America and our allies around the world.”² Although in 2006 many people say that Iraq is developing towards a civil war, Bush does not accept that, stating that: “This cruelty and carnage has led some to question whether Iraq has descended into civil war. Our commanders and our diplomats on the ground in Iraq believe that’s not the case.”³

On the other hand, he also emphasizes that it is what the terrorists want to do. “Now these enemies have launched a new effort. They have embarked on a bloody campaign of sectarian violence, which they hope will plunge Iraq into a civil war.”⁴ Finally, Bush explains the enemy as: “A clear strategy begins with a clear understanding of the enemy we face. The enemy in Iraq is a combination of rejectionists, Saddamists, and terrorists. The rejectionists are by far the largest group. These are ordinary Iraqis, mostly Sunni Arabs, who miss the privileged status they had under the regime of Saddam Hussein...and they reject an Iraq in which they are no longer the dominant group.”⁵ From August 2006, Bush makes a series of speeches talking about the features of the enemy.

Fifth, America is helping to build and train the Iraqi security forces and they are making good progress. Twenty speeches mention this. From 2004, America has to rebuild the Iraqi security forces, which also becomes one of the main strategies in Iraq. This process is not that smooth, however. At the very beginning, the new Iraqi forces are very weak and are far from the

¹ George W. Bush, President's Radio Address, May 1, 2004, <http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2004/05/20040501.html>.

² George W. Bush, President Addresses Nation, Discusses Iraq, War on Terror, June 28, 2005, <http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2005/06/20050628-7.html>.

³ George W. Bush, President Bush Addresses American Legion National Convention, August 31, 2006, <http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2006/08/20060831-1.html>.

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ George W. Bush, President Outlines Strategy for Victory in Iraq, November 30, 2005, <http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2005/11/20051130-2.html>.

U.S. goal. But starting in the spring of 2004, it becomes one of the main thrusts of Bush's language. For example: "We want Iraqi forces to gain experience and confidence in dealing with their country's enemies."¹ "It is essential that Iraq gain the means of self-defense. So we're now leading an international effort to train new Iraqi security forces. You see, there are now 200,000 Iraqis on duty or in training in various branches of the Iraqi security operations."² In Bush's discourse, the progress is very good, although it is not. For example: "We have continued our efforts to equip and train Iraqi security forces. We made gains in both the number and quality of those forces."³ "The growing size and increasing capability of the Iraqi security forces are helping our coalition address a challenge we have faced since the beginning of the war..."⁴ On November 30, when Bush explains the Iraq victory strategy, there is a part specifically focused on the importance of Iraqi forces and how America along with Iraqi leaders are making efforts to improve the security and reconstruction of Iraq.⁵

Sixth, the war on terror is also an ideological struggle. Seventeen speeches touch on this. Starting in 2002, Bush often describes terrorism as an ideology standing against freedom and says that the war on terror is not only a military conflict, but an ideological struggle. Iraq is the central front of the struggle. For instance: "The murderous ideology of the Islamic radicals is the great challenge of our new century. Yet, in many ways, this fight resembles the struggle against communism in the last century"⁶ "The war we fight today is more than a military conflict; it is the decisive ideological struggle of the 21st century."⁷

In addition to the above, the main focus in this period also includes the argument that America cannot create a timetable to withdraw from Iraq, descriptions of the U.S. preventive

¹ George W. Bush, President Outlines Steps to Help Iraq Achieve Democracy and Freedom, May 24, 2004, <http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2004/05/20040524-10.html>.

² George W. Bush, President Bush Salutes Soldiers in Fort Lewis, Washington, June 18, 2004, <http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2004/06/20040618-1.html>.

³ George W. Bush, President Addresses Nation, Discusses Iraq, War on Terror, June 28, 2005, <http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2005/06/20050628-7.html>.

⁴ George W. Bush, President Meets with Generals Abizaid and Casey, Discusses War on Terror, September 28, 2005, <http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2005/09/20050928.html>.

⁵ George W. Bush, President Outlines Strategy for Victory in Iraq, November 30, 2005, <http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2005/11/20051130-2.html>.

⁶ George W. Bush, President Discusses War on Terror at National Endowment for Democracy, October 6, 2005, <http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2005/10/20051006-3.html>.

⁷ George W. Bush, President Bush Addresses American Legion National Convention, August 31, 2006, <http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2006/08/20060831-1.html>.

strategy as well as the difficulties the United States faces in Iraq, and the necessity to overthrow Saddam. Some of these are a continuation of the previous language; some are building for the future so that the U.S. public can better accept what the government has been doing.

2.1.2. Narrative type

The narration of this period is still romance, mainly emphasizing that the war on terror is a decisive ideological struggle.

There is a clear line between the two sides: “On one side are those who believe in freedom and moderation...the right of all people to speak, worship, and live in liberty. On the other side are those driven by tyranny and extremism...the right of a self-appointed few to impose their fanatical views on all the rest.”¹ When describing the differences, Bush also uses the Cold War as an analogy such as: “Today’s war on terror is like the Cold War. It is an ideological struggle with an enemy that despises freedom and pursues totalitarian aims. Like the Cold War, our adversary is dismissive of free peoples, claiming that men and women who live in liberty are weak and decadent...and they lack the resolve to defend our way of life. Like the Cold War, America is once again answering history’s call with confidence...and like the Cold War, freedom will prevail.”²

Meanwhile, in this period, Bush still uses the Bush doctrine to divide the world: “We made it clear to all nations, if you harbor terrorists, you’re as guilty as the terrorists, you’re an enemy of the United States, and you will be held to account.”³ “I laid out a doctrine, and it said, if you harbor a terrorist, you’re equally as guilty as the terrorists.”⁴ At the same time, Bush also emphasizes the different beliefs of the two sides: “We’re in an ideological struggle. It’s very important for the students here to understand that there is an enemy which has an ideology, and

¹ George W. Bush, President's Radio Address, September 2, 2006, <http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2006/09/20060902.html>.

² George W. Bush, President Bush Discusses Global War on Terror, April 10, 2006, <http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2006/04/20060410-1.html>.

³ George W. Bush, President's Radio Address, September 2, 200, <http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2006/09/20060902.html>.

⁴ George W. Bush, President Discusses Global War on Terror at Kansas State University, January 23, 2006, <http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2006/01/20060123-4.html>.

they're driven by an ideology. They make decisions based upon their view of the world, which is the exact opposite of our view of the world.”¹

Another point of the narration still emphasizes that the United States will win. “We did not ask for this war, but we're answering history's call with confidence...and we will prevail.”² “This generation will do its duty as well. We will defeat the terrorists everywhere they make their stand, and we will leave a more hopeful world for our children and our grandchildren.”³

2.2. Lexical level

In this period, one of the important aims of the language is to define the violence and attacks. Thus, a new identity of the enemy is created. This new enemy is constructed to have nothing to do with the Iraqis, and the attacks are conducted by terrorists and remnants of the Saddam regime. In this way, these attacks will not destroy the reasons for the United States to launch the war: to liberate the oppressed Iraqis. The grateful Iraqis are not supposed to attack the liberating soldiers. Therefore, Bush uses a lot of language to describe the attackers: who the enemies are and why they attack U.S. soldiers, etc. Besides, because of the failure to find WMD or a connection between Saddam and Bin Laden, as well as the deteriorating security in Iraq, Bush emphasizes more that Iraq is the central front of the war on terror, which is not only a military conflict, but also an ideological struggle. Winning this ideological struggle is the historical mission of this generation. In this period, a good deal of language is devoted to differentiating between the two ideologies.

2.2.1. The two ideologies

The differentiation between the two ideologies is freedom versus enslavement, life versus death, civilization versus horror. On one side is the evil terrorists with narrow ideology; on the

¹ George W. Bush, President Discusses Global War on Terror at Kansas State University, January 23, 2006, <http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2006/01/20060123-4.html>.

² George W. Bush, President's Radio Address, September 2, 2006, <http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2006/09/20060902.html>.

³ George W. Bush, President's Radio Address, October 21, 2006, <http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2006/10/20061021.html>.

other side is the freedom symbolized by the United States. Therefore, the focus is on the differences among freedom, democracy, and terrorism. Besides, free and democratic countries love peace. In this way, the future of the United States is connected with the Iraq War.

For the U.S. standing for freedom and life, the main nouns selected are democracy, freedom, liberty, ideology of light, civilization, life, hope, progress, justice, prosperity, moderation, reconciliation, defender of freedom, reconstruction, determination, resolve, dignity of life, tolerance, freedom, and conscience.

Verbs are mainly have the right to worship; have the right to speak; advance freedom; encourage reform and democracy; fight on the side of liberty; fight against terrorism; put an end to the kidnappings, beheadings and suicide bombings; love life; value life; stand with the Iraqis; change enemies into allies; transform societies; and lay the foundation for peace.

The language used to describe terrorists is very radical, mainly enemies of freedom, thugs, murderers, killers, ruthless killers, and most lethal group. Their ideology is described as murderous ideology, narrow ideology, totalitarian ideology, dark ideology of hatred and fear, ideology of hate, the ideology of communism, share the same ideology as the terrorists who struck the United States on 9/11, poisonous philosophy, opposite world view, etc. Their ideology is analogized as a war on civilization, tyranny, radicalism, extremism, barbarism, Islamic radicalism, militant Jihadism, Islamo-fascism, successors to fascists, Nazis, communists, etc.

The other relevant nouns are usually acts against humanity and without conscience, fanaticism, death, slavery, mortal danger, bitterness, resentment, terror, hopelessness, repression, deception, hatred, destruction, and savage acts of violence.

The main adjectives used to describe them are evil, great evil, dark, dim, dismal, despicable, desperate, relentless, more vicious, more brutal, and dismissive of free people.

The main verbs used to depict their behavior and actions are murder, terrorize, control, and blackmail. They hate freedom, despise freedom, reject tolerance, export terror, despise all dissidents, attack civilians, rejoice in suicide, pursue totalitarian aims, etc. Their purpose is to demoralize our people, divide us, weaken our will, shake our resolve, force us to leave, etc. In

Iraq they incite murder, celebrate death, conduct high-profile attacks, are at war with the Iraqis, etc.

Through the description of the two sides, the war on terror is construed to be a conflict with a strong ideological sense. Also, in this period, sometimes the enemy is generalized or the terrorists and the insurgents are combined into one identity. For instance: “The terrorists and insurgents have used IEDs to kill Iraqi children playing in the streets, shoppers at Iraqi malls, and Iraqis lining up at police and army recruiting stations.”¹

2.2.2. Attacks

One of the important points in this period is to define the attacks and violence in Iraq. In Bush’s discourse, the new enemy is described as evil as terrorists, as cruel as Saddam, and they are the enemy of Iraqi people, the free and civilized countries in this world. In this period, Bush makes quite a few speeches focusing on the attacks. It also shows that this is a key problem for the U.S. government in this period.

The definition of the violent attackers in this period mainly includes thugs, murderers, Saddam supporters, Saddam loyalists, remnants of the regime, Saddamists, terrorists, enemies, terrorist enemies, illegal militias, other militants joined by foreign terrorists, foreign fighters, violent extremists, insurgents, rejectionists, fascists, Nazis, and communists. The other relevant nouns are most often ideology of darkness, murderous ideology, extremism, imposition of their fanatic views on all the rest, tyranny, resentment, anger, despair, against humanity, misery, humiliation, and oppression.

What these enemies mainly do is to incite civil war, turn to weapons of fear, conduct high-profile attacks, hate freedom, reject tolerance, despise all dissidents, export terror, kill the innocent, sow anger, hatred and despair, deny political and religious freedom, exploit Islam to serve a violent political vision, kill indiscriminately, intimidate the world, and enslave entire nations.

¹ George W. Bush, President Discusses Freedom and Democracy in Iraq, March 13, 2006, <http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2006/03/20060313-3.html>.

The main adjectives are indiscriminate and ruthless.

From the above analysis, it can be seen that the lexical choice is very similar to the language used for terrorists after 9/11.

2.2.3. The new Iraqi government

In this period, another important identity is the new Iraqi government. After Saddam is overthrown, the U.S. government promises that they will let the Iraqis govern themselves and help Iraq build a democratic government, which will be the model for Middle East. From the summer of 2003, the U.S. government began to plan to return sovereignty to Iraq and on June 28, 2004 formally did so. After that, in Bush's discourse, Iraq begins to make rapid progress in their political process. The new Iraqi government and the new Iraqi forces become part of the "we," which stands against the enemy "they." On the other hand, the Iraqi government is also what the U.S. government has been trying to help.

The new Iraqi government is described as very advanced and totally different from the former Iraqi regime. The nouns used to describe it mainly include full sovereignty, free society, modern Iraq, unified and lasting democracy, unified government, democratic government, beacon of hope, good institution, democratic constitution, and the most progressive, democratic constitution in the Arab world. The features of the new Iraqi government include freedom of speech, freedom of assembly, freedom of religion, equal justice of law, a free and stable Iraq, a peaceful Iraq, inclusive democratic institutions, free elections, women's rights, the dawn of a new age in Arab life, and an impartial system of justice. The new Iraqi government is described as the hope, aspiration of the freedom-loving people, representing all Iraqis, full support, strong ally, democracy, transparent, respect human rights and dignity, etc.

On the other hand, Bush uses a lot of language for the new Iraqi leaders, such as they are friends, allies in the war on terror, and partners in the struggle for peace and moderation. They are described as strong, steadfast, determined, courageous, able, wise, committed, having leadership, showing great courage, and taking some important steps forward.

Iraqi security forces are described as growing in size and capability, making great strides, performing effectively, fighting bravely, providing security, etc. Meanwhile, they are often portrayed along with the U.S. forces, such as: “Working side by side with Iraqi forces, we recently launched a major new campaign to end the security crisis in Baghdad.”¹ “Coalition and Iraqi forces have been conducting focused operations to bring security to Baghdad. Side by side, Iraqi and American forces are operating in the city’s most violent areas to disrupt al-Qaeda, capture enemy fighters, crack down on IED makers, and break up death squads.”²

The real fact is that the new Iraqi government and the new Iraqi security forces are not as strong and capable as described in Bush’s discourse. In fact, one of the main reasons for the worsening security situation is that the new Iraqi government is not a strong government and the new Iraqi security forces also have some problems as mentioned before. Bush’s language about them on one hand aims to lead the public opinion to believe in the effectiveness of the Iraq War and on the other hand also points out the direction of U.S. policy.

2.3. Syntactic level

2.3.1. Speech acts

From the above analysis, it can be seen that those conducting the violent attacks, the new Iraqi government, and the United States are the main subjects of this period.

For the United States, the free ideology and free cause it stands for, the speech acts used are mainly constatives and commissives. The constatives mainly include informative, retrodictive, and predictive. Informative speech acts aim to inform the public and shape their opinion. For example: “We’re helping to build Iraqi forces that can take responsibility for security.”³ “There are five steps in our plan to help Iraq achieve democracy and freedom.”⁴

¹ George W Bush, President's Radio Address, September 2, 2006, <http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2006/09/20060902.html>.

² George W Bush, President's Radio Address, October 21, 2006, <http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2006/10/20061021.html>.

³ George W. Bush, President Bush Reaffirms Commitments in Iraq, May 10, 2004, <http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2004/05/20040510-3.html>.

⁴ George W. Bush, President Outlines Steps to Help Iraq Achieve Democracy and Freedom, May 24, 2004,

Assertive speech acts can help emphasize the speaker's view so that it can be accepted by the public. For example: "We believe that freedom can advance and change lives in the greater Middle East, as it has advanced and changed lives in Asia, and Latin America, and Eastern Europe, and Africa."¹ "Free nations are peaceful nations."² "Yet this war is more than a military conflict; it is the decisive ideological struggle of the 21st century."³ Retrodictive speech acts are employed here to recall the relevant content of 9/11 and thus use language about that event to support the Iraq War. For example: "America's determination to actively oppose the threats of our time was formed and fixed on September the 11th, 2001."⁴ "We have followed this strategy...defending the peace, protecting the peace and extending the peace...for nearly three years."⁵ Predictive speech acts are used to foresee the future, especially that of the new Iraq. For example: "As the greater Middle East increasingly becomes a place where freedom flourishes, the lives of millions in that region will be bettered, and the American people and the entire world will be more secure."⁶ "The rise of a free and self-governing Iraq will deny terrorists a base of operation, discredit their narrow ideology, and give momentum to reformers across the region."⁷

Commissives are used to mobilize support for the war as more and more people begin to question the conflict along with the worsening security situation in Iraq. Besides, commissives can also help to build people's confidence in the war. On one hand, the commissives are for the Iraqis. For example: "We would help Iraqis hold free elections by January 2005."⁸ "We will stand by them until they have established a free nation that can govern itself, sustain itself, and

<http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2004/05/20040524-10.html>.

¹ George W. Bush, President Outlines Steps to Help Iraq Achieve Democracy and Freedom, May 24, 2004,

<http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2004/05/20040524-10.html>.

² George W. Bush, Presidents Remarks in Ask President Bush Event, August 5, 2004,

<http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2004/08/20040805-8.html>

³ George W. Bush, President's Radio Address, September 2, 2006,

<http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2006/09/20060902.html>.

⁴ George W. Bush, President Bush Discusses Progress in the War on Terror, July 12, 2004,

<http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2004/07/20040712-5.html>.

⁵ Ibid.

⁶ George W. Bush, President Bush Discusses Iraq in Saturday Morning Radio Address, April 10, 2004,

<http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2004/04/20040410.html>.

⁷ George W. Bush, President Outlines Steps to Help Iraq Achieve Democracy and Freedom, May 24, 2004,

<http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2004/05/20040524-10.html>.

⁸ George W. Bush, President Addresses Nation, Discusses Iraq, War on Terror, June 28, 2005,

<http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2005/06/20050628-7.html>

defend itself.”¹ “We will train Iraqi security forces and help a newly elected government meet the needs of the Iraqi people.”² Meanwhile, Bush also uses quite a lot of commissives about the Americans. For example: “We will defeat the terrorists everywhere they make their stand, and we will leave a more hopeful world for our children and our grandchildren.”³ “We will not allow the terrorists to dictate the future of this century...so we will defeat them in Iraq.”⁴

For the new enemy such as terrorists and the remnants of the Saddam regime, the speech acts are mainly constatives, more specifically informatives, retrodictives, and assertives. Informative speech acts are used to explain the attacks and violence in Iraq. For example: “Illegal militias and remnants of the regime, joined by foreign terrorists, are trying to take by force the power they could never gain by the ballot.”⁵ “Some of the violence you see in Iraq is being carried out by ruthless killers who are converging on Iraq to fight the advance of peace and freedom.”⁶ Retrodictive speech acts are used first to describe what the enemy has done in the past. For example: “The actions of our enemies over the last few weeks have been brutal, calculating, and instructive.”⁷ “Yet the terrorists have made it clear that Iraq is the central front in their war against humanity.”⁸ Retrodictive speech acts are also used to recall 9/11. For example: “That day we learned that vast oceans and friendly neighbors are no longer enough to protect us.”⁹ “September the 11th changed our country; it changed the policy of our government.”¹⁰ Assertive speech acts are used to define the enemy, so that the public can better know them. For

¹ George W. Bush, President's Radio Address, October 15, 2005, <http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2005/10/20051015.html>.

² George W. Bush, President's Radio Address, October 29, 2005, <http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2005/10/20051029.html>.

³ George W. Bush, President's Radio Address, October 21, 2006, <http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2006/10/20061021.html>.

⁴ George W. Bush, President Bush Addresses American Legion National Convention, August 31, 2006, <http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2006/08/20060831-1.html>.

⁵ George W. Bush, President's Radio Address, May 1, 2004, <http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2004/05/20040501.html>.

⁶ George W. Bush, President Addresses Nation, Discusses Iraq, War on Terror, June 28, 2005, <http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2005/06/20050628-7.html>.

⁷ George W. Bush, President Outlines Steps to Help Iraq Achieve Democracy and Freedom, May 24, 2004, <http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2004/05/20040524-10.html>.

⁸ George W. Bush, President Discusses War on Terror and Rebuilding Iraq, December 7, 2005, <http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2005/12/20051207-1.html>.

⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰ George W. Bush, President Discusses Iraqi Elections, Victory in the War on Terror, December 14, 2005, <http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2005/12/20051214-1.html>.

example: “The terrorists can kill the innocent, but they cannot stop the advance of freedom.”¹ “The murderous ideology of the Islamic radicals is the great challenge of our new century.”² “The terrorists in Iraq share the same ideology as the terrorists who struck the United States on September the 11th.”³ Predictive speech acts are used to build people’s confidence in winning the war. For example: “They [the terrorists] will fail, because the Iraqi people will not accept a return to tyranny.”⁴ “We’ll help them confront this barbarism, and we will triumph over the terrorists’ dark ideology of hatred and fear.”⁵ “Victory will come when the terrorists and Saddamists can no longer threaten Iraq’s democracy...”⁶

2.3.2. Special sentence structure

In this period, Bush’s choice of sentence structure is similar to that of the previous periods. He often uses antithesis and parallel sentences. The form of the language does not change much, although the content does.

There are numerous parallel sentences in this period. For example: “It’s one that doesn’t respect human dignity. It’s an ideology that doesn’t believe in the freedom to worship. It’s an ideology that doesn’t respect the role and rights of women in society. It’s an ideology that has no hope. The way to defeat that ideology is with an ideology of light.”⁷ “It’s a good thing that the demands of the United Nations were enforced, not ignored with impunity. It is a good thing that years of illicit weapons development by the dictator have come to an end. It is a good thing that the Iraqi people are now receiving aid, instead of suffering under sanctions. And it is a good

¹ George W. Bush, President Addresses Nation, Discusses Iraq, War on Terror, June 28, 2005, <http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2005/06/20050628-7.html>.

² George W. Bush, President Discusses War on Terror at National Endowment for Democracy, October 6, 2005, <http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2005/10/20051006-3.html>.

³ President Outlines Strategy for Victory in Iraq, November 30, 2005, <http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2005/11/20051130-2.html>

⁴ George W. Bush, President Bush Salutes Soldiers in Fort Lewis, Washington, June 18, 2004, <http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2004/06/20040618-1.html>.

⁵ George W. Bush, President Discusses Hurricane Katrina, Congratulates Iraqis on Draft Constitution, August 28, 2005, <http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2005/08/20050828-1.html>.

⁶ President Outlines Strategy for Victory in Iraq, November 30, 2005, <http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2005/11/20051130-2.html>.

⁷ George W. Bush, President Bush Visits Troops in Iraq, June 13, 2006, <http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2006/06/20060613-2.html>.

thing that the men and women across the Middle East, looking to Iraq, are getting a glimpse of what life in a free country can be like.”¹

Bush also uses a lot of parallel sentences about the Iraqi regime. For example: “This was a regime that tortured children in front of their parents. This was a regime that invaded its neighbors. This is a regime that had used chemical weapons before.... This is a regime which gave cash rewards to families of suicide bombers. This is a regime that sheltered terrorist groups. This is a regime that hated America.”²

When describing a free Iraq and the victory, Bush says “Victory will come when the terrorists and Saddamists can no longer threaten Iraq’s democracy, when the Iraqi security forces can provide for the safety of their own citizens, and when Iraq is not a safe haven for the terrorists to plot new attacks against our nation.”³ “A free Iraq will be an ally in the war on terror. A free Iraq will be a partner in the struggle for peace and moderation in the Muslim world. A free Iraq will inspire democratic reformers from Damascus to Tehran, and send a signal across the broader Middle East that the future belongs not to terrorism but to freedom. A free Iraq will show the power of liberty to change the world.”⁴

In this period, one of the important language points is about the training of the Iraq security forces, and it is also reflected in the president’s speeches. For example, Bush says: “As the Iraqis stand up, we will stand down.”⁵ When Bush explains to people that the United States cannot create a withdrawal timetable, he says: “If we leave, they will follow us.”⁶ When the Iraq War is questioned by more and more people, Bush says: “We will lay the foundation of peace for the generations to come.”⁷ When talking about the stand in the war on terror, Bush says: “If you

¹ George W Bush, President Bush Reaffirms Resolve to War on Terror, Iraq and Afghanistan, March 19, 2004, <http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2004/03/20040319-3.html>.

² George W Bush, President Bush Salutes Soldiers in Fort Lewis, Washington, June 18, 2004, <http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2004/06/20040618-1.html>.

³ George W Bush, President's Radio Address, March 18, 2006, <http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2006/03/20060318.html>.

⁴ George W Bush, President Bush Discusses Global War on Terror, April 10, 2006, <http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2006/04/20060410-1.html>.

⁵ George W Bush, President Addresses Nation, Discusses Iraq, War on Terror, June 28, 2005, <http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2005/06/20050628-7.html>

⁶ George W Bush, President Bush Addresses American Legion National Convention, August 31, 2006 , <http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2006/08/20060831-1.html>

⁷ George W Bush, President Outlines Strategy for Victory in Iraq, November 30, 2005,

harbor terrorists, you are as guilty as terrorists.”¹ These slogans are used quite often and the content of this kind of language is also an important task of this period of the war.

<http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2005/11/20051130-2.html>.

¹ Ibid.

Conclusion

From all the above, it can be seen that language is a powerful force that politicians can use. When analyzing the language that is used, some general patterns can be seen.

According to the research hypothesis, the use of language can be analyzed from three levels: the discourse level, the lexical level, and the syntactic level.

At the discourse level, for the study case of President Bush's language concerning the Iraq War, the narrative style does not change much in different periods. Most of the time, Bush uses romance and comedy: the world is divided into two parts. One side is the "we" of justice, light, hope, and opportunity represented by the United States, and the other side is the "they" of evil, darkness, and cruelty represented by the terrorists or enemy. "We" hold that freedom is the gift of God to all human beings and "we" will surely win in this war. Comedy is often used to describe the future of a new Iraq. The discourse content at different periods, however, varies a lot. This is closely related with the speaker's intention, as well as the social and political context. In different periods, some of the content is frequently repeated, and some is mentioned very briefly or even eliminated altogether. After certain repetition, the relevant content will form a meaning system and the "irrelevant" content will disappear from the discourse.

At the lexical level, the language also changes and plays a very important role. On the one hand, actors can choose continuation of the former language and, on the other hand, they can also choose new language to name or define new things, which helps to construct a new language game. In this project, the construction focus in light of lexical density of the subjects can be seen. For example, during the period of selling the Iraq War, the words used to describe Saddam are very rich. During the third period, the United States fails to prove that Iraq has WMD or a connection with Bin Laden. Thus, Bush's discourse turns more to the terrorists, and the words for terrorists and enemy are the richest. The opposite is the case for descriptions of freedom and democracy, which the United States stands for. This just reflects the structure of

language and the differentiation of identity represented through language. This chosen language serves to support foreign policy.

At the syntactic level, we mainly analyze speech acts, special sentence structure, and political slogans. For speech acts, no matter whether the sentence is about “we” or “they,” the most important speech act is constative, which can lead the audience understand the information and accept the speaker’s view. Among constatives, the most commonly used are assertives, informatives, retrodictives, predictives, and suppositives. Besides constatives, the actors also often choose other speech acts according to the situation. For example, Bush uses quite a few commissives for the U.S. government, acknowledgements for U.S. soldiers, and directives for Saddam.

According to our analysis, the sentence structure of Bush’s speeches does not change much and the style is relatively stable. Thus, it can be said that the sentence structure is roughly related to the speaker’s style. In his speeches, Bush uses many parallel and antithetical sentences. Political slogans are what politicians often use. They are brief, frequently applied, and easy to memorize.

Besides the above three levels of language use, it is also seen that the choice of special language is very important. It will form a special meaning system and exert great influence on world politics. The U.S. language of terrorists hating U.S. freedom and democracy after 9/11 provides a moral foundation for the war in Iraq and Afghanistan. The language for the urgency of Saddam’s threat successfully constructed the necessity and morality of the Iraq War. There are also many other important language choices concerning the Iraq War such as the ideological struggle between terror and freedom and 9/11 as a war against the civilized world. On the other hand, it can also be seen that the use of language is not limitless, and it is constrained by the social and political environment. Through the analysis of this project, it is observed that the use of language is often influenced by the previous language. Therefore, when choosing the language, politicians can also make good use of the previous language. They can combine the new context

with the previous language games and thus give new identity and new meaning to the subjects involved.

The construction of meaning through language is also related with the time period. Usually, when something new has occurred, such as after 9/11, before the Iraq War broke out, or the insurgents during the war, the constructive role of the politician's language is strong. It is easier for the actor to realize his agency. During these periods, the public does not know much about the new thing and they do not have many judgments of their own; therefore, their opinion is likely to be led. After 9/11, for instance, the Bush administration believes this is a good opportunity to shape the public. Therefore, after 9/11, terrorism, freedom and war become the dominant discourse. Later these concepts even get objectified and form a fixed meaning system: we need to fight against terrorism; otherwise, U.S. freedom and security will be seriously threatened.

Language cannot function well all the time. Political language does not always reflect the exact truth. Just as President Abraham Lincoln noted in 1864, "You cannot always fool your people."¹ If people always hear clichés, they are likely to get bored and inured to them. For instance, right after 9/11, when the U.S. government says something is related with the war against terrorists, it is likely to be accepted by the public. After four years of the Iraq War, however, with time passing and the influence of the media, people get more information and are likely to form their own opinion. Although the U.S. government still talks about the global war against terror, the public has already become tired of the language. In such a case, actors should use other ways to solve the problem.

¹ Nichola Woods, *Describing Discourse: A Practical Guide To Discourse Analysis*, p.52.

Figure 1. Narrative Content (I): The first period (September 11, 2002-March 17, 2003)

1. Saddam has and is developing WMD.
2. Saddam has used WMD and will use them again.
3. Saddam has the ability to produce nuclear weapons and is trying to do so.
4. Saddam has connections with and is supporting terrorists.
5. Saddam might give or sell WMD to terrorists.
6. Saddam has violated UN resolutions many times.
7. Saddam must be disarmed; otherwise, the United States will take action.
8. Saddam is a tyrant and has been oppressing his people.
9. Saddam hates the United States.
10. Saddam wants to control and rule the Middle East.
11. The war on terror is about freedom and democracy and is related to world peace and progress.
12. Progress of the war on terror.
13. The threat the United States is facing is growing day by day.
14. The U.S. promise to the Iraqis.
15. The change of the U.S. security view.

	Date	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15
1	09.14.02	*		*	*		*		*			*		*		
2	09.26.02	*		*	*	*	*		*					*		
3	10.05.02	*	*		*			*	*					*	*	
4	10.07.02	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*			*	*	*
5	10.12.02							*								
6	10.16.02	*		*	*		*	*			*			*	*	
7	11.08.02	*					*	*			*	*			*	
8	11.09.02							*								
9	12.03.02	*	*					*				*	*			*
10	12.03.02	*	*		*			*		*		*	*	*		*
11	12.07.02						*	*						*		
12	01.22.03	*				*	*	*				*			*	*
13	01.28.03	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*		*	*	*	*	*	
14	01.29.03				*			*			*	*		*		*
15	02.06.03	*			*	*	*	*						*		
16	02.10.03	*			*	*	*	*	*	*		*		*	*	*
17	02.13.03	*	*	*	*	*	*	*				*	*		*	*
18	02.20.03	*					*	*	*			*		*	*	*
19	02.24.03							*					*	*		*
20	02.26.03	*			*			*	*		*	*	*	*	*	
21	02.26.03				*		*	*			*	*	*	*		*
22	03.01.03	*	*			*			*		*	*			*	
23	03.04.03	*	*		*			*		*		*	*	*		
24	03.08.03	*			*		*	*				*	*			
25	03.17.03	*	*		*	*	*					*			*	
Total		19	9	6	16	9	15	21	9	4	8	16	9	16	12	10

Note: * means the speech has mentioned the content

Figure 2. Narrative Content (II): The second period (March 19-December 14, 2003)

1. Changes among the Iraqis.
2. Saddam's oppression of the Iraqis.
3. The evil doings of Saddam's forces.
4. The U.S. help to the Iraqis.
5. The progress of the war on terror.
6. The progress of rebuilding in Iraq.
7. Pre-emptive policy and the necessity of overthrowing Saddam.
8. The progress of the Iraq War.
9. The praise of and gratitude toward U.S. soldiers.
10. Descriptions of the attacks.
11. Promises to the Iraqis.
12. Relations with the coalition forces.
13. Description of the future.
14. The cause of freedom.

	Date	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14
1	03.19.03			*					*	*		*		*	
2	03.22.03			*					*	*		*	*	*	
3	03.25.03		*		*				*	*				*	
4	03.26.03			*	*			*	*	*		*	*	*	*
5	03.29.03			*	*				*	*				*	
6	03.31.03			*		*		*	*	*		*		*	
7	04.03.03			*	*			*	*	*				*	
8	04.05.03			*	*			*	*			*			
9	04.10.03				*				*			*			
10	04.12.03	*	*		*					*		*			*
11	04.14.03									*					*
12	04.15.03				*	*				*		*			*
13	04.16.03	*			*	*		*	*	*		*		*	
14	04.24.03	*	*		*				*	*		*		*	*
15	04.28.03	*	*		*		*					*		*	*
16	05.01.03				*	*			*	*		*	*		*
17	05.03.03				*	*			*			*	*		
18	07.01.03		*	*		*				*	*	*		*	*
19	09.07.03				*	*	*	*	*		*	*	*	*	
20	09.12.03				*	*	*	*	*	*	*		*		*
21	09.23.03		*		*		*	*	*		*	*			
22	10.09.03				*	*	*	*	*	*			*		*
23	10.18.03	*	*		*		*					*		*	
24	11.01.03						*		*		*	*			*
25	11.06.03	*			*		*				*	*		*	*
26	11.11.03	*			*	*	*		*	*	*		*		*
27	11.27.03	*					*		*	*	*	*		*	*

28	12.14.03					*			*	*	*	*			*
Total		8	7	8	20	11	10	9	21	19	9	21	8	15	15

Note: * means the speech has mentioned the content

Figure 3. Narrative Content (III): The third period from December 14, 2003-November 2006)

1. The goal and strategy of the Iraq War.
2. The progress of training the Iraq security forces.
3. The importance of democracy in the world.
4. The importance of Iraqi democracy and U.S. security.
5. The ideological struggle of the 21st century.
6. The general description of terrorists.
7. The essence of the war on terror.
8. 9/11 and the preemptive policy.
9. The United States cannot create a schedule for withdrawal.
10. The description and definition of the attacks.
11. The U.S. promise to the Iraqis.
12. The aid of the international community to the new Iraq.
13. The challenges of the United States in Iraq.
14. Description of the Iraqi government.
15. Praise of U.S. soldiers.
16. The necessity of overthrowing Saddam.
17. There is no middle ground.
18. The current action of the coalition forces.
19. The changes in Afghanistan.
20. The effort of the international community.
21. The relation between the Iraq War and the war on terror.
22. The goal of the enemy.

	Date	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22
1	03.19.04			*			*	*										*	*	*	*	*	
2	04.10.04				*						*	*				*			*				*
3	05.01.04	*			*						*					*	*						
4	05.10.04	*	*		*											*	*		*				
5	05.24.04	*	*	*	*	*	*				*				*	*			*		*	*	
6	06.18.04	*	*	*	*		*	*	*						*	*	*	*	*	*	*		*
7	07.12.04	*		*					*								*			*	*		
8	08.05.04	*		*	*		*	*	*								*	*		*			
9	03.29.05		*	*	*										*								
10	06.28.05	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*		*	*	*			*		*		
11	08.28.05					*	*				*	*			*								
12	09.28.05	*	*												*								
13	10.06.05				*	*	*	*	*		*				*	*			*				*
14	10.15.05				*	*									*							*	
15	10.29.05				*	*									*	*						*	*
16	11.30.05	*	*		*	*	*	*	*	*	*		*	*	*	*						*	
17	12.07.05	*	*	*	*		*	*		*	*	*			*	*			*				*
18	12.12.05	*	*	*	*	*	*	*			*	*		*	*		*				*	*	
19	12.14.05	*	*	*	*		*		*	*	*	*		*	*	*	*		*			*	*
20	12.18.05	*					*			*					*	*	*		*				
21	01.10.06	*	*		*				*		*	*			*	*							

22	01.23.06	*		*		*	*		*		*	*		*		*	*	*		*	*		
23	03.11.06		*		*					*			*	*									
24	03.13.06	*	*		*	*	*			*			*	*	*				*				
25	03.18.06				*		*							*		*						*	
26	03.22.06	*	*	*	*	*	*		*					*	*	*		*		*		*	
27	04.06.06	*	*	*	*	*	*		*		*	*		*	*	*	*		*		*		
28	04.10.06		*	*	*	*	*		*					*		*	*						*
29	04.22.06				*								*	*	*								
30	05.22.06	*		*						*				*									*
31	06.08.06		*		*								*	*									*
32	06.10.06						*			*			*		*								
33	06.13.06		*	*	*	*			*			*		*	*	*						*	
34	06.17.06		*		*						*		*	*	*								
35	08.31.06	*		*	*	*	*		*	*				*	*	*	*		*	*	*		
36	09.02.06	*	*		*	*			*	*	*						*						
37	09.23.06				*	*																	
38	10.21.06	*			*					*	*			*									*
Total		22	20	17	30	17	20	8	14	7	20	12	2	12	27	21	15	9	10	9	7	12	10

Notes: * means the speech has mentioned the content.