



# "We're a peaceful nation"

WAR RHETORIC AFTER SEPTEMBER 11

Brigitte Mral

SPECIAL FEATURE | 2004:5



SWEDISH EMERGENCY  
MANAGEMENT AGENCY

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## **"We're a peaceful nation"**

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Brigitte Mral

Title: "We're a peaceful nation" – War rhetoric after September 11

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Cover photo: Wearing a flight suit, U.S. President George W. Bush walks with NFO Lt. Ryan Phillips to board an S-3 Viking, to fly out to the aircraft carrier USS Abraham Lincoln from Naval Air Station North Island, in San Diego, May 1, 2003. Bush was flying out to greet the 5,000 sailors aboard the Lincoln as they return home from the war in Iraq.  
Mike Blake/Reuters/Scanpix.

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# SEMA's preface

When an extreme and revolutionary event takes place, people want decisions and demand that politicians speak to them. This is not a new phenomenon. A national crisis demands that politicians show leadership by explaining what has happened and showing resolution. They have to say what will be done to restore order in the chaos. Their actions must be understandable and dressed in linguistic attire.

Rhetoric, with its classical roots, is used to convince the public. It is also used to analyse the events. And this is important to understand because every day, especially in times of war and crisis, we receive messages that are sent to convince us.

After September 11, leaders like George W. Bush and Tony Blair spoke to their citizens and political assemblies about the need to go to war. The enemy was neither a country nor a military power. It was an enemy with no place of abode that acted via a “network”. This situation was entirely new, and the task

of using language to convince people about what should be done was major. The speeches have been included in an appendix.

Brigitte Mral, Professor of Rhetoric at the Department of Humanities, Örebro University, has researched and written books on rhetoric. In this book, she analyses the role that rhetoric and propaganda played in the period from September 11, 2001 up until the Iraq War. Analysing how threat scenarios are communicated is important for society's emergency management, and the reason why SEMA initiated this study of rhetoric and propaganda.

The Swedish Emergency Management Agency (SEMA) is tasked with strengthening society's emergency management capabilities. This is implemented by developing crisis communication and crisis management methods. SEMA also conducts open source intelligence, research and studies, and compiles results in these areas. This analysis is one of SEMA's thematic studies.

*Henrik Olinder*

Principal Administrative Officer, Crisis Communication  
Swedish Emergency Management Agency



**Figure.** *US President George W. Bush and US Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld tour the impact area at the Pentagon on September 12, 2001. PHOTO: PAUL J. RICHARDS/AFP*

# Preface

*"Words and pictures are dangerous and we should really fear them."*<sup>1</sup>

The terrorist attacks in New York on September 11, 2001 led the world into a new and frightening epoch of global uncertainty. In times of crisis like these, when people have to be mobilised or at least motivated into accepting joint counteractions, intensive rhetorical campaigns are also launched. People must be persuaded that their government is right. Successful actions and strategies may help to convince them. But in the beginning, and at each critical point along the way, strategists have to motivate their actions through argumentation, interpretation and visions; in other words, with rhetoric. Words are needed to legitimise the actions of military and political leaders, in this case the 'war on terrorism.'

This study highlights the rhetorical devices that were used during the two

military operations that were a direct consequence of the events on September 11, which President George W. Bush sometimes refers to as the 'battle of Afghanistan' and the 'battle of Iraq'.<sup>2</sup> The purpose is to create a better understanding of the war strategists' efforts to define our world. In his speech to Congress on September 20, 2001, Bush says: "... this country will define our times, not be defined by them."<sup>3</sup> In this study, we will look at how the military leaders define reality. European countries have reacted very differently to the Anglo-American alliance's interpretation of events, especially the American interpretation and its military consequences. The Swedish Government has adopted a wait-and-see policy, also in regard to actions in Iraq in the spring of 2003, which were criticised by the UN. However, in principle, both politicians and the media have accepted the dominating interpretation. We have been subject to a major propaganda offensive,

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1. Kurt Johannesson, professor em. in rhetoric, Expressen, October 25, 2001

2. E.g. Bush's speech on May 1, 2003 <http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2003/05/iraq/20030501-15.html>

3. <http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2001/09/20010920-8.html>

and the rapid tempo of events gave us little time to reflect over the contents in the descriptions. This study is an attempt to reflect on what leaders have told us about the state of the world in the three years following September 11: the words, pictures and narratives that have been used to convince us. The aim of this study is not to be wise after the event but to encourage reflection, and strengthen our resilience to propaganda campaigns.

The source material consists of some of the hundreds of speeches that were made to explain and motivate the actions of both the USA and the UK. A quick look at the speech material confirms that the key concepts, value words and metaphors, i.e. symbolic descriptions of the events, were consciously created. Some of these will be analysed here to show how propaganda reduces the definition of reality to a few simple antagonisms: black and white images, easy to understand, easy to digest, and practical – especially for the media.

*Brigitte Mral*

Professor of Rhetoric, University of Örebro

In principle, this study follows two series of events: firstly, the period of time directly after September 11, 2001 and the acts of war in Afghanistan, and secondly, the period of time around the Iraq War in 2003. Both periods generated a number of important concepts, and the significance of these will be analysed separately and progressively in order to create a deeper understanding of how propagandists try to create a new conception of reality. The study presents some central speeches and rhetorical situations in chronological order, and an analysis of recurring rhetorical themes and particularly vague concepts and metaphors. We will not focus on the argumentation, but on the actual choice of words in the speeches of US President George W. Bush, and to a certain extent UK Prime Minister Tony Blair and US Secretary of State Colin Powell. The study begins with a few reflections on the concepts of rhetoric and propaganda.

INTRODUCTION:

# Rhetoric in times of crisis

*"We're a peaceful nation. Yet, as we have learned, so suddenly and so tragically, there can be no peace in a world of sudden terror. In the face of today's new threat, the only way to pursue peace is to pursue those who threaten it. We did not ask for this mission, but we will fulfill it."*

GEORGE W. BUSH, OCTOBER 7, 2001

The events of September 11 were inconceivably tragic. In order to understand them, politicians and journalists formulated a long line of descriptions: disaster, tragedy, massacre, terror attack, war, etc. Each concept expresses a perception of reality, from fateful accident, to criminal act and military operation. However, they do not constitute a helpless groping for explanation; they are instructions for dealing with the reality and the threat. The Bush Administration quickly chose metaphors that described the USA as

a country at war, where there would be winners and losers: "Make no mistake about it: underneath our tears is the strong determination of America to win this war. And we will win it."<sup>4</sup>

According to traditional rhetorical theory, our perception of something depends on how it is denoted. Names and concepts create our perception of reality and govern our actions to a major extent. Since September 11, we have been living in what has been described as a state of war with new dimensions, a 'war on terrorism'. A state of war that has periodically produced almost daily attempts to convince us of its justification through the use of words. This was particularly evident in the lead up to and implementation of military operations in Afghanistan in autumn, 2001, and in Iraq in spring, 2003. Launching an attack on another country is always a tricky business, whether you choose to call it war or use euphemisms such as conflict, action or peacekeeping operation. But regard-

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4. <http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2001/09/20010915-4.html>

less of the description and whether the attack appears justified or not, military aggression means sending our sons and daughters on a highly dangerous mission. It means draining the financial resources of an already strained federal budget, and risking equally insurmountable damage in the form of human suffering and environmental pollution. Motivating this has always required major efforts in order to convince the population that war is justified.

Big events sometimes call for big words. In times of crisis, Swedish politicians are also expected to become skillful rhetoricians, to describe events so that we can understand them and lead us into the future. But Swedes are suspicious of passionate, emotional rhetoric, and sceptical of big words. We are not used to politicians coming out at all odd times of the day to speak to the people. The Prime Minister rarely appears as the interpreter of the Swedish Parliament, or the Swedish people for that matter. We usually judge the American way of handling public language as excessive, emotional and full of religious terms. And this is also why we tend to underestimate the significance of what is said. We do not take it seriously; we consider it 'mere rhetoric', or empty content – and usually miss the real meaning and implications. Our unfamiliarity with linguistic analyses means that we often underestimate the power of images and

concepts, especially when they are vague and ambiguous. A cornerstone of this study is that the speeches, no matter how twisted they sometimes seem to us, express exactly what is meant; they are not 'mere rhetoric', they are a description of the reality that will determine how politics will be conducted and should be understood. For if we see the speeches as mere wordy desktop products, we are underestimating the power of constantly repeated assertions and vague but powerful terms and phrases.

This 'war on terrorism' has seen an accumulation of ambiguous but strong value words. There are plenty of 'God's terms' and 'Devil's terms', according to Richard M. Weaver's modern rhetorical theory.<sup>5</sup> He refers to positively and negatively charged words, usually arranged in pairs of opposites: freedom – fear; civilisation – barbarism; war – peace. This ongoing war has generated an abundance of big words and emotionally charged images. Events have been interpreted in value words and metaphors that sometimes remind us of what George Orwell in his gloomy utopia, *Nineteen Eighty-Four*, refers to as 'Newspeak', where war becomes peace, attacks becomes 'pre-emptive defence', military invasion becomes 'change of regime', occupation becomes 'humanitarian intervention'. This distortion of language is by no means a new phenomenon. Manipulation and lies

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5. Weaver (1985), Ch. IX, see also Hart (1997), p. 159f

have always constituted a basic ingredient in warfare. And those in power have always endeavoured to explain and defend complex and controversial decisions with cosmetic euphemisms. The question today, however, should be how democratic communities ought to relate to this deliberate misdirection of public opinion and openly manipulative impact. One response would be to develop our sensitivity to deceptive rhetorical gimmicks and verbal tricks. We do not necessarily need to oppose military action in order to demand straightforward and honest language in a crisis situation. A democratic society is based on rational dialogue. When democratic countries go to war, we should be able to demand an open account of why the war is legitimate, instead of settling for what is referred to in English literature as ‘perception management’<sup>6</sup>, i.e. persuasion or indoctrination with any available means, including deception, to create and recreate our feelings, motives and objective reasoning. Of course the war has been debated, in the media and on the streets. But as in any other historically comparable period, political leaders have conducted a one-sided, black and white, opinion-forming campaign that should be unacceptable in democratic communities.

From a rhetorical perspective, this so-called war on terrorism constitutes a unique period. Never before have so

many speeches been made during or after events of war as during the period following September 11. The Gulf War and NATO’s military operations in the Balkans, to compare with some other recent events of war, were also speech-intensive, but not to the same extent as we have and still are witnessing here. The media’s intensive and more or less critical monitoring of the events do not always benefit the war strategists and are always an unpredictable factor. One way of controlling public opinion is to avoid the media altogether by making direct speeches from rostrums, and broadcasting speeches via the Internet. This latter method is a relatively new rhetorical strategy that gained momentum during the actual period, and has gone largely unnoticed by the media. The idea behind this strategy is to prevent journalists from interpreting events and let leaders ‘speak’ directly to the people at the first possible opportunity. Political and military leaders, especially in the US, work aggressively to maintain this preferential right of interpretation by constantly defining and redefining the course of events. The speeches also target journalists, and are written so that specifically striking formulations can be lifted directly into headings and articles. And thanks to the Internet, these speeches can also be printed, read, seen and heard by anyone who wants to, whenever they want to. Almost all public statements issued

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6. Rampton & Stauber (2003), p. 5f

by President Bush and his staff are published on the White House website.<sup>7</sup> This open accounting of everything that has been officially said creates a certain impression of credibility. But the main purpose of the White House in publishing these speeches is to counteract the media's description of reality and give its own definition.

Politicians use words to define our world according to their own political, economic and military interests. And we are often receptive to these sometimes quite simple explanations. Political scientist, Murray Edelman, claims that in times of instability people want someone to straighten out their confused reality and give it meaning: "People who are anxious and confused are eager to be supplied with an organized political order – including simple explanations of the threats they fear – and with reassurance that the threats are being countered."<sup>8</sup> This is where propaganda comes in. Propaganda is quite simply the active influencing of opinion: a simplified form of rhetoric that is used to steer our ideas and feelings towards a specific goal. This can take place with or without our conscious consent. In times of war, reality is so threatening and polarised that one-sided messages are often welcomed because they smooth the contours of a confused situation.

In times of instability, especially war, interpretations of reality are enormously central. The events of September 11 caused great instability in both America and the rest of the world, and as one commentator writes: "it became apparent within hours on September 11, 2001, that communicating with the public is as important a mission as an American commander in chief has during wartime".<sup>9</sup> The 'war on terrorism' that immediately began was not aimed at calming nerves. War is always a tricky business; the government has to convince the people that war is necessary, and unite the nation in order to implement the project. In an analysis of British and American propaganda during WWI, Harold D. Lasswell described the purpose of propaganda in 1927:

"No government could hope to win without a united nation behind it, and no government could have a united nation behind it unless it controlled the minds of its people. The civilians had to be depended upon to supply recruits for the front and for the war industries. The sacrifices of war had to be borne without complaints that spread dissension at home and discouragement in the trenches."<sup>10</sup>

Political theorist Lasswell will be quoted several times throughout this study, as American and British war

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7. <http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/>

8. Edelman (1971), p. 65

9. Dubose, et al. (2003), p. 201

10. Lasswell (1927), p. 10

rhetoric at the beginning of this 21st century seems in principle to follow the map charted by Lasswell eighty years ago. The goal of propaganda is thus to steer and control people's thoughts, and its technicians are well tried and obviously still successful.

Propaganda is an age-old device, used for the first time by the Roman Catholic Church, when it built the organisation *Congregatio de propaganda fide* or 'Congregation for the Evangelization of Peoples' in 1622. Propaganda's means for influencing political opinions were developed into a power factor by the British and Americans during WWI, and later became a normal ingredient in public opinion formation in times of crisis. In general language terms, propaganda is not always negative. In Swedish, for example, the verb 'propagera' is fairly neutral in value. In rhetorical research, however, and from an ethical perspective, propaganda is seen as the counterpart of classical rhetoric. Ever since the time of Aristotle, the task of rhetoric has been to make a good argument more convincing and to vaccinate citizens against the misuse of demagogues' linguistic and emotional appeals, i.e. propaganda. Ethically confrontational propaganda theorists such as Stanley B. Cunningham see propaganda as pseudo communication or falsification:

"While propaganda is universally regarded as a 'form of communication', it really is something much less than that. Certainly propaganda mimics and exploits communication structures and processes. However, because propaganda declines so markedly from benign conditions of trust, truthfulness, and understanding that normally figure in communicative acts and that we routinely expect in our manifold exchanges, it really deserves to be described as 'counterfeit or pseudocommunication.'"<sup>11</sup>

And Cunningham claims that the only real countermeasure for propaganda is the ethical values of classical eloquence. Rhetoric in its original form can thus be seen as a means of defending oneself from the attempts of propagandists. Rhetoric provides analytical tools for maintaining a critical view of manipulative communication. This refers to all propaganda, even 'positive' propaganda.

In the meantime, propaganda is difficult to both define and assess, and there are many theories. The Belgian philosopher and rhetoric scholar, Michel Meyer, defines the difference between rhetoric and propaganda as follows:

"Whatever its form, rhetoric deals with the problematic and the questionable. /.../ Manipulation and propaganda proceed as if the questions they were dealing with were solved. In contrast, *positive rhetoric* exhibits the questions

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11. Cunningham (2002), p. 177f

and puts forth arguments in favor of or against the chosen solution.”<sup>12</sup>

In democracies, communication is defined as an ongoing dialogue between different voices. You could also say that ‘positive rhetoric’ is deliberative, i.e. it considers different views and is aimed at opinion exchanges and joint reconsideration. This is rarely seen in a war situation, however, because the stakes of deviating opinions are considered too high. Propaganda, or negative rhetoric, takes its place, i.e. rhetoric that benefits the sender more than the recipient, or, as propaganda analysts Garth Jowett and Victoria O’Donnell write:

“The propagandist wants to promote his or her own interests or those of an organization – sometimes at the expense of the recipients, sometimes not. The point is that the propagandist does not regard the well-being of the audience as a primary concern.”<sup>13</sup>

War propaganda presumes war, ongoing or planned. The USA defined the events surrounding September 11 as a state of war. This was neither a logical nor an obvious interpretation of the situation, but all the same it was made. In this particular war, propaganda was important because resistance to the war was great, and motives for invading another country were hard to

find. The main objective, finding and destroying terrorists, was and is diffuse because no one knew who they were or where they were. There is also a great deal of controversy over whether the invasions of Afghanistan and Iraq were justified. In the subsequent national crisis however, the main objective of the Bush Administration was to show resolution, and reclaim the nation’s self-esteem. Because of the uncertainties surrounding the various military operations, it became necessary to explain, or disguise, with a rhetoric that preferably did not allow objections. What arguments appeared unobjectionable? Three principal lines of argument can be identified:

- Evil/terrorism must be combated
- Dictatorship must be converted to democracy
- The oppression of women must end

This last argument seems at first absurd, because you cannot go to war with a country because it oppresses women. But nonetheless, this very blurred emotional argument was produced whenever the war enterprise seemed especially doubtful. Argumentation is rarely 100% logical; it usually consists of both facts and emotions, and the propaganda usually alternated between threats and salvation.

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12. Meyer (1994), p. 155

13. Jowett & O’Donnell (1992), s. 32

# The rhetorical introduction after September 11

The “war on terrorism” was declared after the terror attacks of September 11. This traumatic situation called for strong leadership; leadership that few people thought President Bush was capable of establishing. The story of how Bush ‘discovered rhetoric’<sup>14</sup> is also the story of how a new rhetorical programme is created in a situation that required a reassessment of reality. Before the terrorist attacks, President Bush was known for his rhetorical weakness. Even though some of his speeches had been favourably received, he had not generally reached any oratorical heights. The media mocked him openly and several websites were (and are) devoted to his quotations, or ‘Bushisms’.<sup>15</sup> So, when disaster struck and a trusted statesman was required, there was no great confidence in his capacity to lead the nation. For security reasons, he spent most of the first day at Air Force One. Visually interesting

are the pictures from the White House that show him and his staff wearing bomber jackets, as if ready to go to war: a rhetorically effective dress

**Figure.** *President George W. Bush makes a statement about the ongoing investigation of the recent acts of terrorism in New York and Washington, at Camp David September 15, 2001. Vice President Dick Cheney (L) and Secretary of State Colin Powell (R) look on.*  
PHOTO: WILLIAM PHILPOTT/REUTERS



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14. Zarefsky (2004)

15. See, e.g., [www.bushisms.com](http://www.bushisms.com)

code.<sup>16</sup> Bush only issued a short statement on that day. During a stopover at an air base, he said:

“Make no mistake: The United States will hunt down and punish those responsible for these cowardly acts. /.../The resolve of our great nation is being tested. But make no mistake: we will show the world that we will pass this test. God bless.”<sup>17</sup>

This message was perceived as powerless, and he was also called a coward for hiding for half the day. David Frum, one of Bush’s speechwriters, comments on the unfortunate choice of setting for the speech:

“Air force bases do not come equipped with television studios, so the president was obliged to record his message in a bare room over a herky-jerky digital connection. He looked and sounded like the hunted, not the hunter.”<sup>18</sup>

We will never know exactly what was said behind the scenes, but a reasonably reliable source of background information on the Bush Administration’s rhetorical strategy is the various Bush-supporting columnists who admiringly joke about the geniality of the administration and the speechwriters. David Frum is one of these, and his basically positive and optimistic attitude reveals a great deal about the events.

It took exactly 12 hours before Bush presented a more prepared speech, after intensive and joint formulation efforts. Presidential speeches are always a result of collaboration between the President and a whole staff of speechwriters and political analysts, also known as the ‘White House communications shop’ and described by some other columnists: “This is where Rove, Bartlett, Gerson and Hughes really earned their stripes./.../ Bush’s communication team had never been more invaluable. They were not making policy in Afghanistan, but they were helping the president craft every formal utterance he made on the war – as the whole world looked on.”<sup>19</sup>

Without conferring with either the Secretary of State (Colin Powell), the Secretary of Defense (Donald Rumsfeld) or the Vice President (Dick Cheney), President Bush and his speechwriters had already on the first day begun to formulate what would soon be known as the ‘Bush doctrine’: “We will make no distinction between the terrorists who committed these acts and those who harbor them.”<sup>20</sup> Even the National Security Advisor, Condoleezza Rice, wondered whether a far-reaching policy declaration like this was appropriate for a speech aimed at consoling a shaken nation. *Washington Post* journalist,

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16. See, e.g., <http://www.whitehouse.gov/president/response/>

17. All quotations from President Bush’s speeches are from <http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/>

18. Frum (2003), p. 119

19. Dubose, Reid & Cannon (2003), p. 204f

20. Appendix 1

Bob Woodward, a more critical observer, writes: “he wanted to go on television and be tough, show some resolve but also find some balance – be comforting, demonstrate that the government was functioning and show the nation that their president had made it through.”<sup>21</sup>

Otherwise, the speech recalls the pictures broadcast continuously that day of the collapsed towers, which are defined as an attempt to create disorder, but also, remarkably enough, retreat: “These acts of mass murder were intended to frighten our nation into chaos and retreat.” But retreat from what? To judge from a metaphor coined shortly afterwards, to ‘spread the light of freedom all over the world’: “America was targeted for attack because we’re the brightest beacon for freedom and opportunity in the world. And no one will keep that light from shining.”

The task of a speaker is to assess the rhetorical situation, and to identify and meet its demands and limitations. In this situation, there was obviously a need for the President to console the population and show reflection. Instead, he opted for offensive but vague war metaphors, which signalled determination, but also lack of direction.

But the key concepts have now been established, i.e. war, freedom, hunting and evil: “Today, our nation saw evil, the very worst of human nature.”

These themes, particularly ‘war’ and ‘evil’, define the situation as an intangible threat, and they would be endlessly repeated. But what do they really mean, what associations and feelings are they designed to evoke?

## ‘War’ theme

Defining the situation as war was an instinctive reaction to the events. “We are at war!” was reportedly Bush’s first spontaneous reaction when he was informed of the attack.<sup>22</sup> At the same time, war is a very useful definition if a government wants to create a framework for action, because a state of war is a state of emergency with plenty of scope for extraordinary measures. The situation obviously resembled war. A foreign aggressor had attacked the USA on its own territory and many people were dead or injured. But other important features were missing: there was no declaration of war; the attack was not military, it did not come from another state, and the USA, in turn, had never formally declared war on another state. The event could just as easily be defined as a massacre, for example, a criminal act of grotesque proportions, of course, but nevertheless an action that could be handled by the (international) police. UK Prime Minister Tony Blair was considerably more careful with his definitions. In a statement

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21. Woodward (2003), p. 30

22. Zarefsky (2004), p. 139; Frum (2003), p. 141f; Woodward (2002), p. 15f

on September 12, he uses the word 'attacks' and speaks of 'tragedy'. To a direct question from a journalist about whether he wanted to speak about a state of war, he answers evasively rather than affirmatively. Two days later, he speaks about the "hideous and foul events", "an act of wickedness", "act of infamy" and "outrage".<sup>23</sup> The term that Tony Blair generally uses for the terrorist attacks is "menace". So according to Blair, the terrorists are malicious, but not a foreign power that has declared war. And neither does he describe his own planned actions as war; they are simply actions.

By claiming that you are at war, i.e. that the terrorists have declared war, extraordinary measures become legitimate and they should not be questioned by patriotic citizens. A state of emergency is established, which customarily allows the breaching of laws in peacetime. Political decisions need no longer be communicated publicly, as President Bush claimed shortly after the attacks:

"This is an administration that will not talk about how we gather intelligence, how we know what we're going to do, nor what our plans are. When we move, we will communicate with you in an appropriate manner. We're at war. There has been an act of war declared upon America by terrorists, and we will respond accordingly. And

I appreciate very much the American people understanding that. As we plan, as we put our strategy into action, we will let you know when we think it's appropriate."<sup>24</sup>

But it appears as though the war was also convenient for some other American government interests. According to Bob Woodward, Bush said on September 11: "This is a great opportunity," meaning thereby that this was a chance to improve relations with superpowers like Russia and China. "We have to think of this as an opportunity."<sup>25</sup>

The whole state of war after September 11 has been titled 'War on Terrorism'. This is equally as vague as 'War on Poverty', coined by Lyndon B. Johnson during the 1960s, or the 'War on Drugs', which was the Reagan administration's initiative.<sup>26</sup> Terrorism, poverty and drugs are all fuzzy concepts and the inflationary use of 'war' depicts the world as a place where social problems will be solved by using violence. In actual fact, the phrase 'war on terrorism' is another example of 'double talk'. It alludes to the custom of saying 'war' for events that are not war at all – where there can never be a final victory. For as media analysts Rampton and Stauber write: "Drug use, poverty, disease and terrorism have all existed for a very long time, and they're not going to disappear simply

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23. <http://www.number-10.gov.uk/output/page10.asp>

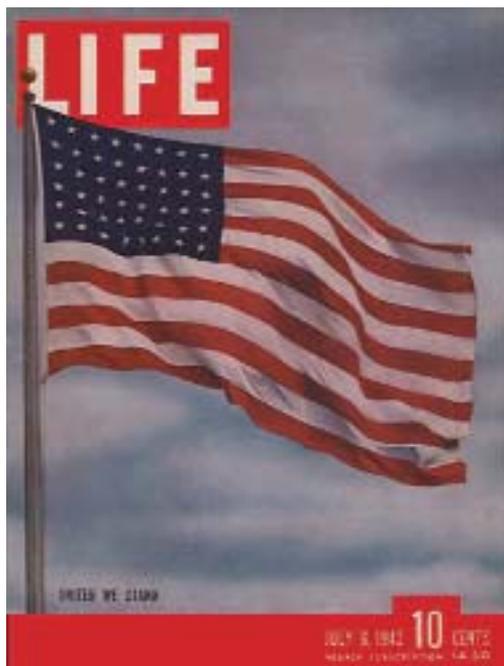
24. Press conference, 16/09/01

25. Woodward (2002), p. 32

26. Glover (2002), p. 207ff

because some politician declares war against them. Instead, what usually happens is that these wars develop permanent bureaucracies that drain resources and issue periodic exhortations to the public as a way of compensating for the fact that victory is nowhere in sight.”<sup>27</sup>

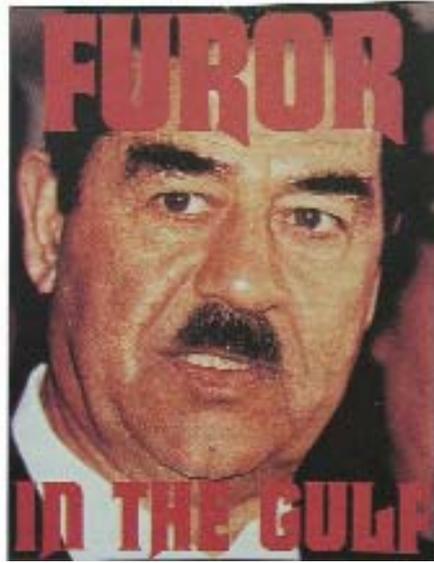
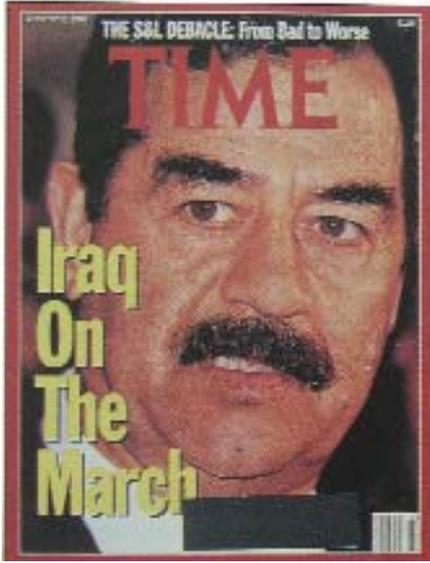
Labelling these events as ‘war’ was a rhetorical choice with several consequences. War demands national unity, which is immediately expressed in demonstrations of solidarity, with flags, prayers and other patriotic acts, for example – and an absence of critical illumination. As rhetoric scholar David Zarefsky points out, the total acceptance of war metaphors gave “place only for the rhetoric of approval and support”. Writer and debater Susan Sontag wrote: “Under the slogan United We Stand the call to reflectiveness was associated with dissent, dissent with lack of patriotism”.<sup>28</sup> United We Stand is an element of war thinking that recalls WWII in particular, when the slogan was frequently used in combination with intensive exposure of the American flag, also a central phenomenon after September 11. Another central feature of this unity thinking is that it limits the debate; criticism is a peacetime luxury. War thinking demands an acceptance of changed priorities and immediate military mobilisation.



**Figure.** In July 1942, the National Publishers Association and the US Treasury Department introduced a campaign where around 500 magazines would feature the American flag on their covers and the words “United we stand”. This would show their loyalty and support for the war on Independence Day. One of these was Life magazine. Following the terror attacks on September 11, 2001, “United We Stand” once again proved a successful rallying point for the public.

27. Rampton & Stauber (2003), p. 128

28. Susan Sontag, “Real Battles and Empty Metaphors” in: New York Times, 10/09/2002, p. A 31, quoted in Zarefsky (2004), p. 140



## 'Evil' theme

In his book on propaganda, Harold D. Lasswell writes under the heading of 'Satanism' that the enemy should be described as demoralised and arrogant. The enemy nation should appear contemptuous, scornful and cruel: "Any nation who began the War and blocks the peace is incorrigible, wicked and perverse."<sup>29</sup> In WWI, the combatant nations, i.e. the French, Germans, British and Americans, outbid each other in depicting the cruelty of their opponents. In today's propaganda, the people of a nation are not portrayed as cruel and inferior, but their leaders are described in satanic terms. During the last war

**Figure.** In *Time Magazine* on August 13 (left) and *The New Republic* on September 3, 1990 the same picture of Saddam Hussein appears on the front page. *The New Republic* gives Saddam Hussein a Hitler moustache and the text: **FUROR IN THE GULF**

against Saddam Hussein, he was painted as the new Hitler. George Bush Senior only ever used his first name, 'Saddam', and stressed the first syllable, which was both humiliating and conjured up images of another prince of darkness.<sup>30</sup> The people are described as victims, even friends, or at least we are their friends, in this case the Afghan people. It is the people who will be liberated from the tyrants; the enemy is clear and

29. Lasswell (1927), p. 77

30. Karlberg & Mral (1998), p. 76

specific. Anyone on the tyrant's side is also an enemy and must be combated. The difficulty of distinguishing between friend and foe in the heat of the battle is suddenly logical and reasonable. 'Collateral damage', i.e. unintentional damage to civilians and civilian targets, is regrettable but unavoidable.

In this case, the alleged enemies and terrorists, bin Laden and Saddam Hussein, were easy to identify as threatening and murderous. Previous experience made it easy to characterise them as evil. But what is meant by evil?

There are several different views of evil.<sup>31</sup> According to one theory, evil is in all people. Agatha Christie, for example, often develops her intrigue upon an evil person/power, which is the invisible hand behind the evil deed. This 'existential' view sees evil as something unchangeable that must be exterminated.

Another view is 'structural', i.e. that there is no irrational power called evil. The actions that we call evil, according to this definition, are the result of complex social and psychological circumstances that, in principle, can be corrected. The Swedish legal system is based on this view. Another example is the Truth and Reconciliation Commission's working method in South Africa. Offenders rarely see themselves as evil; their actions are the result of revenge for injustice, a divine mission, or other twisted or perverse motives.

From a Christian perspective, the Old Testament maintains an existential approach to good and evil: "eye for eye, tooth for tooth" (Exodus 21-24). While the New Testament, adopts a structural view: "Father, forgive them, for they know not what they do" (Luke 23-34).

The Bush Administration seems in principle to proceed from the individual, existential approach, with roots in the Old Testament, even though Bush usually seems to prefer quoting the New Testament. The individual strategy is considerably more useful for propaganda purposes. Propaganda aims to simplify reality in order to present clear action alternatives.

Already in the first sentences of his speech on September 11, Bush uses the word 'evil' to describe the terrorist attacks: "evil, despicable acts of terror". Some sentences later, he switches to an existential description: "Today, our nation saw evil, the very worst of human nature." Bush anchors this concept of evil in his first speech in a biblical quotation: "Even though I walk through the valley of the shadow of death, I fear no evil, for You are with me" (Psalms 23:4).

Thus, he gives the 'war on terrorism' a Biblical tone: a just war.

On September 14, Bush makes a speech that is described by one of his speechwriters as 'perfect'<sup>32</sup>. He delivers this speech in the Washington National Cathedral and chooses a priestly address.

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31. For a more detailed study of concepts, see Rediehs (2002), p. 65ff

32. Frum (2003), p. 137, Appendix 2

The main theme, of course, is sorrow for the victims, but he quickly declares that the USA will revenge the attacks, and his tone is clearly warlike. According to speechwriter, David Frum, he had not previously expressed a clear desire for revenge or wrath in his speeches: "When he spoke off-the-cuff, he again paraphrased the commandment of Romans 12:21: 'Be not overcome by evil, but overcome evil with good'".<sup>33</sup> But in this 'perfect' speech, he says:

"... our responsibility to history is already clear: to answer these attacks and rid the world of evil. War has been waged against us by stealth and deceit and murder. This nation is peaceful, but fierce when stirred to anger."

Frum, who applauds Bush's rhetorical capacity, comments on Bush's characterisation of the terrorists as the 'evil ones' in the light of American's religious mentality: "In a country where almost two-thirds of the population believes in the existence of the devil, Bush was identifying Osama bin Laden and his gang as literally satanic."<sup>34</sup>

In later speeches, the idea of evil people becomes even more explicit. Two days later, on September 16, Bush develops the idea that evil is tied to human nature: "We've been warned there are evil people in this world. We've been warned so vividly and we'll be alert. Your government is alert. The governors and mayors are alert that evil folks still lurk out there." (Appendix 3) And at a

press conference one month after the attacks, he declares: "I think it's essential that all moms and dads and citizens tell their children we love them and there is love in the world, but also remind them there are evil people." These evil people, personified by Saddam Hussein and Osama bin Laden not only kill but enjoy it: "They kill thousands of innocent people and then rejoice about it," he says at the same press conference. By painting both of evil's main representatives and the people who protect them, in this case the Taliban in Afghanistan, it becomes totally legitimate to eliminate the enemy through any available means. There is no room for reflection or consideration; the picture of the enemy is clear and the response is obvious. And the enemy is often defined as a cowardly beast of prey that hides and has to be hunted. A frequently used metaphor was therefore 'hunting'.

## 'Hunting' theme

Already in the first speech after the attacks, Bush formulates the task with these words: "Make no mistake: The United States will hunt down and punish those responsible for these cowardly acts." And opponents were also defined as cowardly, 'unmanly', and therewith fair game. As mentioned earlier, even speechwriter David Frum used the 'hunting' metaphor to characterise

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33. Frum (2003), p. 136f

34. Frum (2003), p. 140

Bush's profile on September 11: "He looked and sounded like the hunted, not the hunter."<sup>35</sup> The 'hunting' metaphor was used by Bush himself at the press conference on September 15: "We will smoke them out of their holes; we will get them running and we'll bring them to justice." And, at the same press conference:

"They will try to hide, they will try to avoid the United States and our allies – but we're not going to let them. They run to the hills; they find holes to get in. And we will do whatever it takes to smoke them out and get them running, and we'll get them. Listen, this is a great nation; we're a kind people. None of us could have envisioned the barbaric acts of these terrorists. But they have stirred up the might of the American people, and we're going to get them, no matter what it takes."

In a speech on September 16, Bush says: "... the American people should know that my administration is determined to find, to get them running and to hunt them down, those who did this to America." And a little later: "The leader of Pakistan /.../ has agreed with our requests to aid our nation to hunt down, to find, to smoke out of their holes the terrorist organization that is the prime suspect."

How are these words related to the everyday use of 'hunting'? Hunting is a sport; animals are hunted. Hunting can possibly be a way of gathering food, but people are normally not the prey. Hunting is a means of finding food, not people. To make the metaphor work, the opponents must be dehumanised and reduced to animals, sly beasts of prey that hide in holes. The opponent's cowardice complements the hunting metaphor:

"The American people are used to a conflict where there was a beachhead or a desert to cross or known military targets. That may occur. But right now we're facing people who hit and run. They hide in caves. We'll get them out."

The basic idea is that Americans are used to following the laws of war on open combat, but not to sly enemies who hide. Americans are not cowards. During the Afghanistan War, people in the White House carried red, white and blue plastic cards around their necks with the words: "These colors don't run."<sup>36</sup> And on September 16, Bush said: "We're a nation that can't be cowed by evil-doers." The hunting metaphor combined with cowardice characterises the enemy as unmanly, sly, fair game.

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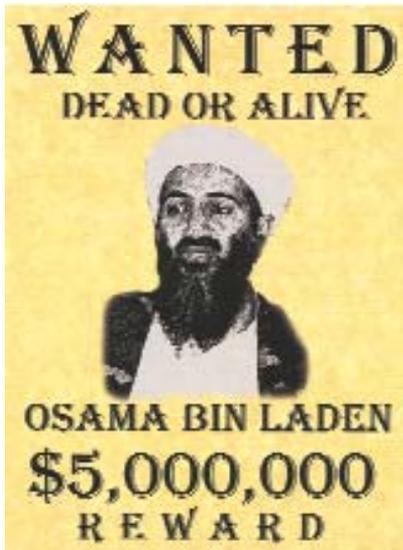
35. Frum (2003), p. 119

36. Frum (2003), p. 116

SEPTEMBER 14, 2001:

## The Ground Zero speech

There were concerns for how Bush would handle the number of public appearances, and speechwriters worked furiously. In the week following the terror attacks, he uttered a few rash statements: he called the terrorists ‘folks’, hardly a suitable term for an



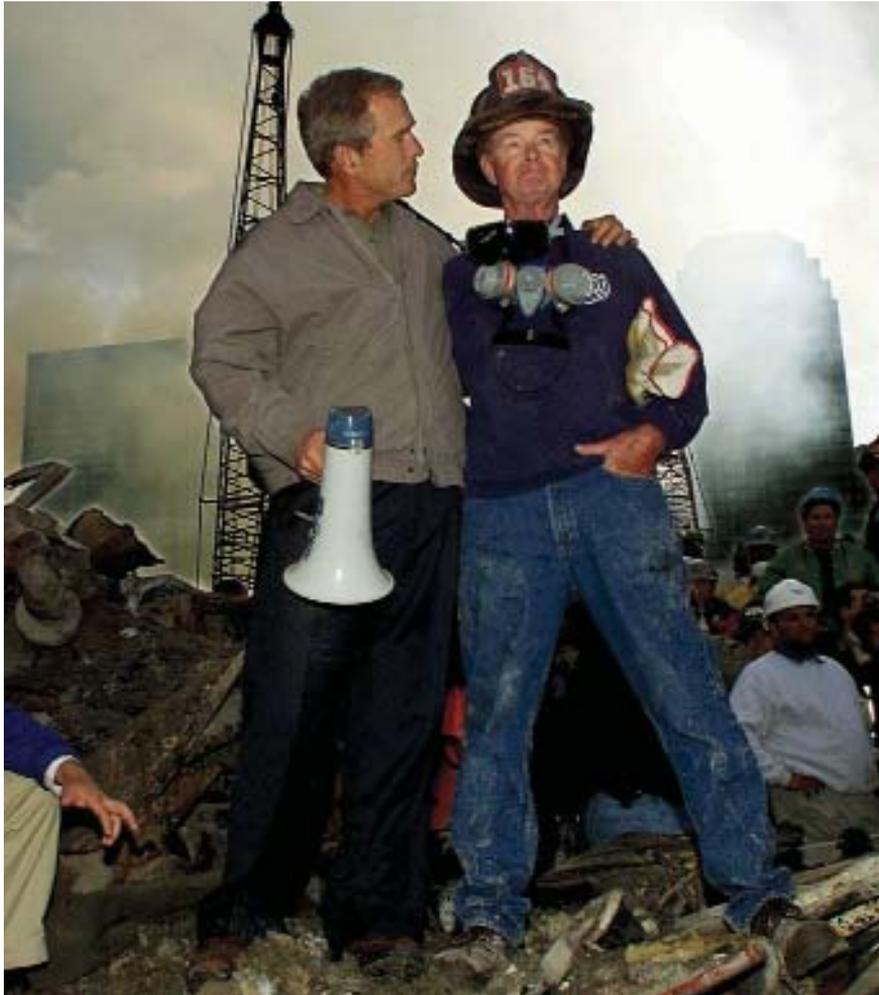
aggressor. He spoke of crusades, for example, in the press conference on September 16 – a mistake that he later attempts to repair by saying that Muslims as a group were not responsible. Like the sheriff in an old western movie, he said he wanted Osama bin Laden ‘dead or alive’. This language was considered immature and his father and others advised him to tone down the rhetoric.<sup>37</sup> As Bob Woodward writes: “The widely felt view that he was a light-weight, unconcerned with details, removed, aloof and possibly even ignorant would have to be dispelled. He had much work to do.”<sup>38</sup>

According to many, the Ground Zero speech marked the turning point, a four-minute statement where Bush showed his talent for making a spontaneous assessment of what the situation required. This ability, known in rhetoric as *kairos*, is the art of using the right word at the right time, or respectively to create the actual situation. He

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37. Zarefsky (2004), p. 138f

38. Woodward (2003), p. 37



had not intended to speak; he arrived in a simple windcheater (which could also be interpreted as a rhetorical feature): “Bush had gone there to look, and make a show of support to the rescue workers at the site.”<sup>39</sup> But he was asked

**Figure.** President George W. Bush puts his arms around firefighter Bob Beckwith in front of the World Trade Center debris during a tour of the devastation, Friday, September 14, 2001. Bush is standing on a burned fire truck. PHOTO: DOUG MILLS/AP

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39. Dubose, Reid & Cannon (2003), p. 206

to say a few words with a poorly-functioning megaphone; a scene that is described as:

“The president climbed atop a burned-out fire truck where he joined a retired New York fireman named Bob Beckwith, one of the volunteers who’d responded to the attack. Beckwith tried to get down, but Bush put his arm around him, motioning him to stay. /.../

‘Thank you all,’ Bush began. ‘I want you all to know...’

CAN’T HEAR YOU! One of the workers shouted from the crowd. ‘I can’t talk any louder,’ Bush protested before starting again. ‘America today is on bended knee in prayer for the people whose lives were lost here, ...’

‘I CAN’T HEAR YOU,’ came another voice from the crowd.

Bush looked briefly taken aback. But then, his arm still around the aging fireman’s shoulder, he shouted back through his bullhorn in a scene aired around the world.

‘I can hear you. The rest of the world hears you. And the people who knocked these buildings down will hear all of us soon.’<sup>40</sup>

This scene is central, because Bush demonstrates his own rhetorical talent, which lies not in formulations but in his ability to use people and the scene

to achieve his rhetorical aims: his clothes, the situation, the physical environment and the physical closeness to loaded symbols, in this case a voluntary fire fighter. One could also assume that the scene had been arranged. But it is no less effective for media purposes if so few explanations are needed to send a visual message so effectively. Bush’s clever response in this crucial situation was perceived as spontaneous, and marked a new era in the assessment of his leadership abilities.

Over the next few days, Bush and his staff tried to repair his earlier mistakes with some lofty speeches aimed at distinguishing between Islam and terrorism, for example, but neither he nor his advisers felt that rhetorical demands had been met. Presidential adviser Karen P. Hughes said that Bush told her: “This is a defining moment. We have an opportunity to restructure the world toward freedom, and we have to get it right.”<sup>41</sup>

In the weeks that followed September 11, confidence in Bush’s leadership abilities was low. But September 20 was set as the date for his address to the nation, an extraordinary opportunity. This was the deciding moment for his role as supreme commander, in a situation of great uncertainty throughout most of the world.

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40. Dubose, Reid & Cannon (2003), p. 206f

41. Quoted in Zarefsky (2004), p. 139

SEPTEMBER 20, 2001:

## "Freedom and fear are at war"

The scene and background for the speech, as well as a suitable environment for the speaker are all important from a rhetorical perspective. The scene of the speech on September 20 was once again well chosen. Bush's Chief Strategist, Karl Rove, also known as 'Bush's Brain'<sup>42</sup>, decided that Bush would deliver his important speech at a session of Congress rather than in the Oval Office. This would strengthen Bush's position as a speaker and leader after his previous blunders. Bush would speak more effectively to an audience than to a camera lens, claimed Rove. A ceremonial 'Address to the nation' also guarantees that all members of Congress, even opponents, will appear supportive. Another reason for not choosing the Oval Office was its association with the presidential speeches of the Cold War, which focused more on actions that had already been carried out rather than a request for permission to act in the future. And this was not a

Cold War; the scene would be arranged to resemble WWII:

"So he suggested that Bush revert to older forms and speak not from his solitary desk, but from the rostrum from which Woodrow Wilson and Franklin Roosevelt asked for their declarations of war and Harry Truman announced the Truman doctrine. It was a brilliant idea."<sup>43</sup>

A speech should always be judged from the speaker's position. Speeches are made when there is a need to address a problem both verbally and publicly. Primarily: what objections does the speaker want to address? The task here was to inspire trust and show capability, to establish a credible presidential role, to be the strong man that many people wanted. And Bush acts offensively. He begins by praising the American people who have joined up behind the rescue workers and worked together to unite the nation: "My fellow citizens, for the last nine days,

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42. Moore & Slater (2003); Dubose (2003)

43. Frum (2003), p. 135f

the entire world has seen for itself the state of our Union – and it is strong.” (Appendix 4) In rhetoric, this is known as *delectare*, i.e. capturing the public’s attention by pleasing them and building a rapport between the speaker and the listeners. Then he immediately lifts the process to an abstract value level by using vague terms and phrases that are difficult to object to: “Tonight we are a country awakened to danger and called to defend freedom. /.../ Freedom and fear are at war.” The latter assertion, relatively incomprehensible but still weighty, is used on the website as a heading for the speech.

By redefining the events in this way, Bush shifts the focus away from the events at hand towards more universal, everlasting values. He stresses his point with unclear and slightly cryptic formulations: “Whether we bring our enemies to justice, or bring justice to our enemies, justice will be done.”

But what does justice mean? Justice is one of the most central words in Bush’s rhetoric, and one of the most traditional American values.<sup>44</sup> In Sweden, we associate ‘justice’ with courts that send people to gaol. In the USA, especially in Bush’s own state of Texas, murderers are sentenced not only to jail but to capital punishment. So every time Bush uses the word ‘justice’, we should also understand that the evildoers could be eliminated. At the press conference on September 16,

he said that the USA is a constitutional nation but that other laws will now apply: “We’re a nation of law, a nation of civil rights. We’re also a nation under attack. And the Attorney General will address that in a way that I think the American people will understand.” Shortly before that, in reference to reactions from Pakistan, India and Saudi Arabia, he had said: “They know my intentions are to find those who did this, find those who encouraged them, find them who house them, find those who comfort them, and bring them to justice.” He continues to emphasize by persisting with these repetitions: “I will keep my focus to make sure that not only are these brought to justice, but anybody who’s been associated will be brought to justice. Those who harbor terrorists will be brought to justice.” As he is referring to terrorism, this can be interpreted as a death sentence, either by bringing them to court or using weapons on them somewhere else. This phrase implies that the USA will be police, prosecutor, judge and executioner all in one.

In his speech on September 20, he lets this ‘war’ appear as something quite extraordinary; a war that calls for extraordinary measures: “Not one battle but a lengthy campaign...” But while he depicts a long and dangerous battle, the sacrifices required of the American people appear to be relatively small. He calls for ‘business as usual’; that people

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44. Hart (1997), 238 ff

resume their everyday lives, regardless of increased security measures. As rhetoric scholar David Zarefsky points out, the speech breathes optimism and determination, two qualities required of a leader in a crisis situation. The leader should show that he is in control and knows what has to be done. But this is also a genuine preparedness speech: the battle, though long, will be won; the terrorists will end “in history’s unmarked grave of discarded lies”; the USA will be a liberator: “Our nation, this generation, will lift the dark threat of violence from our people and our future. We will rally the world to this cause by our efforts, by our courage.” Once again, the USA has a historic mission to liberate the world. Once again, it is the chosen country that will carry out its mission determinedly and successfully. He ends the speech by saying: “We will not tire, we will not falter and we will not fail”, which is a direct reference to Winston Churchill’s words in a radio address on February 9, 1941: “We shall not fail or falter; we shall not weaken or tire... Neither the sudden shock of battle nor the long-drawn trials of vigilance and exertion will wear us down. Give us the tools and we will finish the job.”<sup>45</sup> By minimising the action alternatives in this crisis situation, the speech offers no choice but to accept the interpretation.

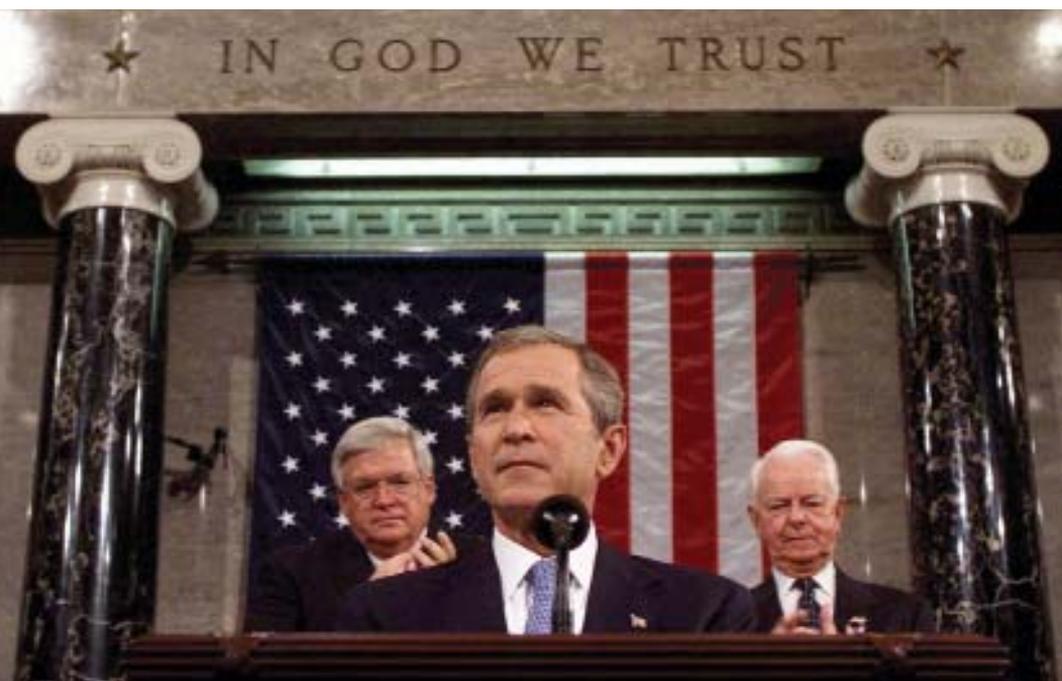
The speech is full of references to basic American values: besides being the chosen country, America stands for justice, freedom, traditional family values, and it acts with God’s blessing: “Freedom and fear, justice and cruelty, have always been at war. And we know that God is not neutral between them.” Once again we see the Old Testament approach to good and evil. Black and white differences; a simple concept of the world. George W. Bush has deep roots in the American political tradition known as ‘civil religion’. This concept is a combination of politics and religion where America is seen as a new Israel and God’s chosen country.<sup>46</sup> Like the late Ronald Reagan and George Bush Senior before him, President Bush stressed the need for prayer and an unwavering Christian faith. But Bush’s religious language seems more genuine than most former presidents because he is personally religious and can give his rhetoric a certain amount of credibility. He can also build his rhetoric on the elevated nature of his own position. When an American politician becomes president he becomes a type of high priest.

The forty-minute long speech, which as usual was interrupted several times by applause, contains an abundance of concrete details and some carefully chosen, vague value concepts. President Bush formulates the questions

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45. BBC radio broadcast, Feb 9, 1941

46. For more information about “civil religion”, see Lejon, Kjell O.U. (1994)



**Figure.** *US President George W. Bush, with Speaker of the House Dennis Hastert (Left) and Robert Byrd (Right), addresses a Joint Session of Congress, 20 September 2001 in the House Chamber in the US Capitol in Washington, DC. PHOTO: WIN MCNAMEE/PRESSENS BILD*

that people want to ask – “Americans are asking...” – and then gives some answers and explanations: who the terrorists are, why they hate America, how the war will be fought and won, and what is expected of the American people.

In practice, the speech is a declaration of war against the Taliban regime and a preparedness speech requesting support from both the country and the

rest of the world. By claiming that not only America but also the whole of the civilised world was the target of the attack, he is implicitly demanding that world’s support. But his request for help and support is not formulated as an appeal, it is a threat: “Every nation in every region now has a choice to make. Either you are with us, or you are with the terrorists.” In other words, he is not asking for help but demanding that all nations enter a coalition. And he repeats three times that the terrorists will be hunted and eliminated globally with “every necessary weapon of war”.

If we refrain from dismissing this as ‘mere rhetoric’, what Bush is saying, in

principle, is that the USA is prepared to ignore international conventions, including international rules of warfare, and respond in whatever way it feels justified based on a threat scenario that will not be revealed in its entirety – and use any type of weapon considered necessary to win.

This speech was given to a session of Congress, the USA's democratic assembly, but can hardly be described as a deliberative democratic speech, i.e. a speech that invites debate. He does not say: "We must discuss counter measures for this critical situation," or: "Let us show how democracy is superior to terrorism by making careful and joint decisions." The speech is prescriptive and dogmatic, stresses authority and allows no objections.

The US media described this speech as a major success for the President. He did what most Americans obviously considered appropriate in the situation, specifically to show his credibility as a crisis leader. As a columnist in the New York Times wrote the next day: "Mr. Bush rose to the occasion, finding at times the eloquence that has eluded him in the past." Other columnists also waxed lyrical, recalling the speeches of both Abraham Lincoln and Winston Churchill, and wrote that Bush had now finally acted 'presidential'.<sup>47</sup>

Religious themes were central in the rhetoric directly after the attacks. It was now important to tone down the reli-

gious antagonism, yet still define the upcoming actions as a divine mission.

But the theme that is most central to the war rhetoric, and any other type of rhetoric, is 'freedom'.

## 'Freedom' theme

Freedom is generally one of the most important themes in rhetorical argumentation, as probably no one will ever have any objections. The goal of all political rhetoric is to create a common ground for future action. If the recipient can be persuaded that freedom is threatened, it will be easier to find support for the countermeasures. 'Freedom' and its somewhat more formal synonym 'Liberty' are also central value words in American rhetoric, and one of the most commonly used concepts in President Bush's statements. 'Freedom' was already the keyword in the first speech on September 11, combined with light and dark religious metaphors:

"America was targeted for attack because we're the brightest beacon for freedom and opportunity in the world. And no one will keep that light from shining. /.../ Our country is strong. And our cause is even larger than our country. Ours is the cause of human dignity; freedom guided by conscience and guarded by peace. This ideal of America is the hope of all mankind. That hope drew millions to this harbor.

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47. Discussed by Zarefsky (2004)

That hope still lights our way. And the light shines in the darkness. And the darkness will not overcome it.”

In his speech on September 20, Bush uses the words ‘freedom’ and ‘free’ thirteen times. Exactly what is meant by freedom is not clear; the term is unspecified but obviously powerful. The speech is published on the White House website under the quote: ‘Freedom at War with Fear’ – but what does this really mean? Freedom is suddenly a sole agent that finds itself at war. And what is meant by fear? Fear is not an accepted opposite value for freedom. Fear is a kind of lack of freedom, but who is responsible for that fear? Does he mean that the terrorists are afraid? They obviously aren’t. But the expression sounds good and resolute. It appears as a maxim, a general truth, and constitutes a kind of elevation of the actual events.

Bush frequently uses ‘freedom’ in his war rhetoric, especially in the trademark that evolves for the war on terrorism. For the first few days, the trademark was ‘infinite justice’, but this was immediately rejected by Christian, Jewish and Muslim groups. Only God can administer infinite justice they said, which made the suggestion sound blasphemous. On Tuesday September 25, the Secretary of Defense, Donald Rumsfeld, presented the new trademark: Operation Enduring Freedom.

This obviously described a response that would take a long time. Rumsfeld said, “this is not a quick fix... It’ll take years, I suspect.”<sup>48</sup>

War missions must be sold like products and this is done by giving them code names. This began in WWI, when German general staff gave their operations names like the ‘Archangel’ and ‘Valkyrie’: fateful victory names that would inspire hope and morale. But these code names were not intended for the general public; they were practical, internal mission names. Carefully planned propaganda concepts were not used until public support was required in advance. The invasion of Panama in 1989 was called ‘Just Cause’; the period after the invasion was called ‘Promoting Liberty’.<sup>49</sup>

Freedom and America are almost synonymous in the ‘war on terrorism’; in principle freedom is launched as the USA’s mission, as in a speech on October 30, 2001: “Anyone who sets out to destroy freedom must eventually attack America, because we’re freedom’s home”. And the speech that Bush made on May 1, 2003 contains the triumphant lines:

“We are committed to freedom in Afghanistan, in Iraq, and in a peaceful Palestine. The advance of freedom is the surest strategy to undermine the appeal of terror in the world. Where freedom takes hold, hatred gives way to

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48. <http://special.scmp.com/waronterrorism/comment/ZZZOZXEP1SC.html>

49. Lars Schmidt, “Kriget säljs in med mördande reklam” (The war is sold with murderous advertising), *Dagens Nyheter* 29/09/02



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

This central theme of ‘freedom’ is further emphasised by a photo page on the White House website, ‘Photos of Freedom’, where American soldiers appear as liberators and benefactors.<sup>50</sup>

50. <http://www.whitehouse.gov/infocus/iraq/photoessay/essay1/01.html>

OCTOBER 7, 2001:

## The Afghanistan War speech

On October 6, Bush makes a speech to mark the beginning of military operations in Afghanistan. Despite the prevailing state of shock after September 11 and vociferous demands for revenge, protests against a military solution to the crisis have become increasingly insistent. Bush initially emphasizes how the 'world' stands behind the action: "We are supported by the collective will of the world." (Appendix 5) The action is otherwise defined as a 'mission': "Your mission is defined; your objectives are clear; your goal is just." A mission is something that comes from above, something that demands sacrifices, something honourable. 'War' is only used once in the speech, to denote everything that will be done to stop terrorism and, interestingly enough, it includes both peaceful and military means:

"This military action is a part of our campaign against terrorism, another front in a war that has already been joined through diplomacy, intelligence, the freezing of financial assets and the arrests of known terrorists by law enforcement agents in 38 countries."

In this mixed bag, the concepts are vague and diluted, as if they go without saying. He consistently refers to friends and friendship between all those helping to fight against terrorism. Other recurring positive value words are 'peace' (5 times) and of course, 'freedom'. George W. Bush explains 'Enduring Freedom' in the war speech on October 7, 2001:

"The name of today's military operation is Enduring Freedom. We defend not only our precious freedoms, but also the freedom of people everywhere to live and raise their children free from fear."

Thus the act of war is portrayed as defence rather than attack, in the customary manner of glossing over hostilities. It is presented as a peace project rather than an act of war:

"I'm speaking to you today from the Treaty Room of the White House, a place where American Presidents have worked for peace. We're a peaceful nation. Yet, as we have learned, so suddenly and so tragically, there can be no peace in a world of sudden terror. In the face of today's new threat, the only way to pursue peace is to pursue those

who threaten it. We did not ask for this mission, but we will fulfill it.”

The choice of scenery is also interesting here, and obviously so important that it is commented upon in the speech. Peace treaties had been signed with Romania, Italy and Hungary in the Indian Treaty Room, for example, and John F. Kennedy signed the test ban treaty here in 1963. But the most important event, at least according to the White House website, was that the UN Charter was signed here.<sup>51</sup> This setting underlines the peacetime nature of the action. Yet Bush is uncommonly clear about what the military operations will deal with. Paraphrases are always interesting because they reveal the true implications of what is said, and a number of paraphrases appear in the introduction (author’s emphases):

“On my orders, the United States military has begun *strikes* against al Qaeda terrorist training camps and military installations of the Taliban regime in Afghanistan. These *carefully targeted actions* are *designed to disrupt* the use of Afghanistan as a terrorist base of operations, and to *attack* the military capability of the Taliban regime.”

Strikes, actions, attack, etc. but only against military targets. Criticism, and concern for the war’s civilian victims was addressed and met with promises of help:

“At the same time, the oppressed people of Afghanistan will know the generosity of America and our allies.

As we strike military targets, we’ll also drop food, medicine and supplies to the starving and suffering men and women and children of Afghanistan. The United States of America is a friend to the Afghan people ...”

Concern for the civilian population becomes an increasingly prominent theme the longer the actions are delayed, and conditions for women, in particular, are brought more and more to the forefront.

## ‘Oppression of women’ theme

*“The enemy is atrociously cruel and degenerate in his conduct of the war. /.../ Stress can always be laid upon the wounding of women, children, old people, priests and nuns, and upon sexual enormities, mutilated prisoners and mutilated non-combatants.”<sup>52</sup>*

The ‘Help’ theme became more acute as civilian victims became increasingly visible. In a speech on November 8, President Bush emphasises the war’s humanitarian side:

“Throughout this battle, we adhere to our values. Unlike our enemy, we respect life. We do not target innocent civilians. We care for the innocent people of Afghanistan, so we continue to provide humanitarian aid, even

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51. <http://www.whitehouse.gov/history/ceobtour/indian-treaty.html>

52. Lasswell (1927), p. 81f

while their government tries to steal the food we send.

When the terrorists and their supporters are gone, the people of Afghanistan will say with the rest of the world, ‘Good riddance.’”<sup>53</sup>

But when critical voices could not be silenced and television pictures of human suffering became more urgent, the previously mentioned third main argument, the ‘oppression of women’ was produced. Not by Bush and Blair, but by their wives.

On November 17, 2001 Laura Bush took her husband’s place in front of the radio microphone and made a speech to the nation in the President’s place.<sup>54</sup> This event was remarkable for at least two reasons. Firstly, a First Lady had

never held the traditional Saturday Address before, and secondly, Laura Bush had kept an extremely low political profile throughout the six months of her husband’s presidency. The speech was headed the ‘Taliban’s War Against Women and Children’ and came about six weeks after the USA had begun bombing Afghanistan. It also came some days after pictures of children’s bodies, victims of US bombings, had been cabled out all over the world and encouraged even more people to question the acts of war.

Laura Bush’s speech is an emotional description of the Taliban regime’s oppression of women and children where she claims, for example, that children “aren’t allowed to fly kites; their mothers face beatings for laughing out loud”, and that “the Taliban threaten to pull out women’s fingernails for wearing nail polish.” Laura Bush’s speech gives the impression that the battle against terrorism is primarily a battle for women’s rights and dignity: “I hope Americans will join our family in working to insure that dignity and opportunity will be secured for all the women and children of Afghanistan.” The



**Figure.** First Ladies Cherie Blair (Left) and Laura Bush (Right) sit together to listen to President George W. Bush and Prime Minister Tony Blair conduct a joint press conference in the Rose Garden of the White House on April 16, 2004. PHOTO: PAUL J. RICHARDS/AFP

53. <http://www.september11news.com/PresidentBushAtlanta.htm>

54. Appendix 6

Taliban regime wages a war against women and children while American families fight to save them. In Laura Bush's description, the war is a family affair – the conclusion being that she, a wife and mother, is entitled to express an opinion.

Two days later, Cherie Blair, who is otherwise rarely involved in her husband's politics, delivered a speech against the Taliban regime's oppression of women from 10 Downing Street. The speech follows the same theme and paints more or less the same pictures as Laura Bush's speech, including the drastic example of drawn out fingernails.<sup>55</sup> She begins by emphasising her own efforts for human rights and the equality of women during her career as a lawyer “and certainly in the last four years alongside Tony since he became Prime Minister”. Both speeches were described by a somewhat surprised media as a new feature in the campaign against the Taliban regime and for American and NATO's actions in Afghanistan, a link in the new ‘feminism’ that had now entered the propaganda.<sup>56</sup>

Mrs Bush and Mrs Blair are not the first ‘First Ladies’ (if we can use the expression for a British Prime Minister's wife) to become involved in their husbands' politics. Take Hillary Clinton and Eleanor Roosevelt for example. But neither a First Lady nor a Prime Minister's wife is a democratically elected politician. They can be assigned an

influential role if it suits a political strategy, however. And apart from the fact that Mrs Bush and Mrs Blair's concern for the women of Afghanistan was probably genuine, they were also the only ones who could express an opinion in this manner. It would have sounded very strange coming from the President or Prime Minister, even though they later returned to the theme repeatedly.

The ‘Women’ theme was discussed by the speechwriters prior to the ‘victory speech’ after the Afghanistan War: Bush's State of the Union Address on January 29, 2002. But the ‘Women’ theme had served its purpose for the time being. Neither was it one of the five ‘key priorities’ that the Bush Administration, led by Condoleezza Rice, had listed after the presidential election in 2000. One of these priorities was, however, “to deal decisively with the threat of rogue regimes and hostile powers, which is increasingly taking the forms of the potential for terrorism and the development of weapons of mass destruction (WMD)”.<sup>57</sup> In his State of the Union Address in 2002, Bush now mentions ‘weapons of mass destruction’, and accuses North Korea, Iran and Iraq, in that order, of possessing these and equates these three countries to an ‘axis of evil’. We can now move on to the second chain of events, the preparation and implementation of action in Iraq.

55. <http://www.pm.gov.uk/default.asp?pageid=5376>

56. See, e.g., *Aftonbladet*, 18/11/2001: “Bush och Putin – nyblivna feminister” (Bush and Putin – new feminists)

57. Frum (2003), p. 226

JANUARY 29, 2002:

## State of the Union

On January 29, 2002 Bush delivered his annual address to the nation, a speech that was in principle a victory speech following the main military operations in Afghanistan. (Appendix 7) In actual fact, this speech is a key vision speech for the continued 'war on terrorism', because the central phrase 'axis of evil' provides a focus for the future. Bush characterised Iran, Iraq and North Korea as:

“an axis of evil, arming to threaten the peace of the world. By seeking weapons of mass destruction, these regimes pose a grave and growing danger. They could provide these arms to terrorists, giving them the means to match their hatred. They could attack our allies or attempt to blackmail the United States. In any of these cases, the price of indifference would be catastrophic.”<sup>58</sup>

This metaphor obviously alludes to the Axis powers, primarily Germany, Italy and Japan, which fought against the Allies, i.e. Britain, France, USA and

USSR, during the Second World War. The 'axis of evil' is of course a misleading term, because it presumes a coalition of states when in fact two of them (Iran and Iraq) have been bitter enemies for decades and furthermore, have never been aligned with the third state, North Korea.

But propaganda images function at emotional rather than logical level, and a threat scenario was needed. It is interesting to note how this scenario developed. David Frum, the previously quoted speechwriter, tells how some months before the speech was to be held, chief speechwriter Mike Gerson asked him to find a motivation for the war: “Can you sum up in a sentence or two our best case for going after Iraq?” Frum did not want to refer to Saddam's cruelty over the past ten years, because the next question would be why the first attack on Iraq in 1991 was never finished. Neither could he refer to Saddam's alleged murder attempt on George Bush Senior, as that would

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58. <http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2002/01/20020129-11.html>

seem too personal for starting a war. He knew there was no proven link between Saddam and the attacks on September 11. But President Bush needed an argument to link the two together. The answer was to go back in history and find a similar event, specifically Pearl Harbor. Japan had been ruthless and unpredictable, and so was Saddam. And an even greater attack was possible if Saddam aligned with other countries in the same type of axis as Japan, Italy and Germany; it was just that Frum wanted to align Saddam with the terrorists, not with another country. This was introduced in later revisions of the speech. Condoleezza Rice wanted to go back to the 'Weapons of Mass Destruction' theme, for example, and wondered which other states had these weapons, e.g. Iran and, remarkably enough, North Korea:

"It was attempting to develop nuclear Weapons, it had a history of reckless aggression, and it too had been cosseted by the United States in the recent past and needed to feel a stronger hand."<sup>59</sup>

Frum's use of language here is striking in regard to the American identity: North Korea had been 'cosseted' and needed a firmer hand.

Frum called his creation the 'axis of hatred', in connection with Bush's earlier 'Hate' theme. Gerson wanted instead to use Bush's religious language, which led to the 'axis of evil':

"North Korea is a regime arming with missiles and weapons of mass destruction, while starving its citizens. Iran aggressively pursues these weapons and exports terror, while an unelected few repress the Iranian people's hope for freedom. Iraq continues to flaunt its hostility toward America and to support terror. The Iraqi regime has plotted to develop anthrax, and nerve gas, and nuclear weapons for over a decade."

A classical three-part argumentation, where the strongest card, Iraq, comes last. By including the other two threats and linking them, one of them certainly appears to be more menacing than if Iraq alone is the enemy. And all three are connected by that vague but alarming word 'evil'.

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59. Frum (2003), p. 238

OCTOBER 7, 2002:

## The Cincinnati speech

After Bush's State of the Union Address on January 29, 2002, the Iraq issue was relatively quiet, but after a visit by Tony Blair on the first anniversary of September 11, the preparedness rhetoric gained momentum, i.e. an almost six-month effort to make the Iraq War credible with progressively enhanced threat scenarios.

The Iraq War in 2003 was preceded by a long series of preparedness speeches. Throughout the entire autumn of 2002, Bush painted the major threats that Iraq posed to the USA, a threat scenario that was as vague as it was alarming. The 'Iraq' theme had already been integrated into the 'war on terrorism' rhetoric after September 11, however, when Donald Rumsfeld, amongst others, wondered whether America shouldn't start there. In actual fact, the Pentagon had already been planning military operations in Iraq before the attacks on the World Trade Center (WTC). And when Bush realised that the attack on the WTC provided a

good opportunity for improving the USA's global influence, Rumsfeld was more specific, as Woodward, who attended a large number of meetings in the UN Security Council, states:

"Before the attacks, the Pentagon had been working for months on developing a military option for Iraq. /.../ Any serious, full-scale war on terrorism would have to make Iraq a target – eventually. Rumsfeld was raising the possibility that they could take advantage of the opportunity offered by the terrorist attacks to go after Saddam immediately."<sup>60</sup>

Bush's political advisers, led by Karl Rove, were obviously convinced that Saddam was a simple and straightforward enemy. James Moore and Wayne Slater, two more or less Bush-supporting commentators, describe Iraq's construction as an enemy in the following way, based on Rove's actions and reasoning:

"We are good. Iraq is bad. We love freedom. They do not. A clear, accessible message for an electorate too busy to

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60. Woodward, (2002), p. 49

read deeper into the story. The language must not be bloody. It's regime change. Not war. Clean and antiseptic. More of a procedure than a battle."<sup>61</sup>

In a radio speech on October 5, President Bush describes the threat from Saddam Hussein as "grave and growing" and two days later, he makes a speech in Cincinnati that will be analysed in detail here because it holds some obvious connections with the speech made by Bush Senior at the beginning of the Gulf War.<sup>62</sup> The setting is interesting, and has been carefully chosen. Bush stands in front of a world map with the USA in the middle. The Internet page has the Iraqi flag, a map of Iraq and the heading, 'Denial and deception'. The title of the speech is: 'President Bush Outlines Iraqi Threat'. Bush begins by speaking about "a great threat to peace, and America's determination to lead the world in confronting that threat". (Appendix 8)

The entire speech then builds upon an ostensible dialogue with the American people, in the form of detailed answers to all the questions that people probably want to ask. He presents the main themes in a quick disposition:

"Many Americans have raised legitimate questions: about the nature of the threat; about the urgency of action – why be concerned now; about the link between Iraq developing weapons of terror, and the wider war on terror."

And he ensures his listeners that the questions have been "broadly and fully" discussed by his administration. "And tonight, I want to share those discussions with you." He wants to create an impression of competence, reflection and total openness. The first question, about the nature of the threat, is answered by describing Saddam Hussein as the ultimate dictator. He and his regime are described in the following terms:

- murderous tyrant
- invaded and brutally occupied a small neighbor
- unrelenting hostility toward the United States
- merciless nature of its regime
- homicidal dictator

The second and probably most relevant question about the urgency of action is answered by saying: "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 stronger and develops even more dangerous weapons?" But on what basis does he support this claim, which we now know to be untrue? Apart from repeating, "we know", which refers to information from intelligence sources without evidence, he quotes the comments of UN weapons inspectors. One argument is 'guilt by association' and allegations of co-operation between Iraq and al-Qaeda: "We

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61. Moore & Slater, (2003), p. 287

62. See analysis in Karlberg & Mral (1998), pp. 69–79

know that Iraq and the al Qaeda terrorist network share a common enemy – the United States of America”.

The question of urgency is addressed twice in the speech, which indicates the weight of this objection. The second time he uses an effective and later recurring metaphor, the ‘smoking gun’, together with the ‘mushroom cloud’:

“Facing clear evidence of peril, we cannot wait for the final proof – the smoking gun – that could come in the form of a mushroom cloud. /.../ we have every reason to assume the worst, and we have an urgent duty to prevent the worst from occurring.”

The image of the mushroom cloud was already a part of the official discourse before September 11 and was also used by the National Security Advisor, Condoleezza Rice, when she appeared on CNN on September 8, 2002: “The problem here is that there will always be some uncertainty about how quickly he can acquire nuclear weapons. But we don’t want the smoking gun to be a mushroom cloud.”<sup>63</sup>

The chic combination of a western symbol for the wicked deeds that have already taken place and the Cold War’s nuclear icon is visually strong; thus, easy to remember and a good media gimmick. The threat scenario in the Cincinnati speech is built almost exclusively on the concept of ‘weapons of mass destruction’. This term is used, with some variations, 32 times throughout the speech and provides a platform

for the Iraq argumentation. Let’s look at what this expression really means.

## ‘Weapons of Mass Destruction’ theme

In order to understand the meaning of vague concepts, the best clues are sometimes found in their encyclopaedia definitions. According to the Swedish encyclopaedia Nationalencyklopedin, ‘weapons of mass destruction’ is

“a generic term for *nuclear weapons* as well as *biological, chemical* and *radiological weapons*, defined in a UN resolution in 1948. Subsequently, some forms of environmental influence with the aim of inflicting harm on another nation have been added. The concept thus comprises a number of technically disparate, and in part hypothetical, types of weapons or methods, and the word is especially used in political contexts” [transl.].

Weapons of mass destruction are thus a vague concept, alarming but weakly defined. They constitute a powerful and threatening concept, and are obviously never used for one’s own weapon production but for enemy arsenals.

According to BBC News e-cyclopedia, the FBI’s definition of weapons of mass destruction (WMD) also includes conventional explosives: “A weapon crosses the WMD threshold when the consequences of its release overwhelm local

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63. Quoted by Ben Fritz on <http://www.spinsanity.org/>

responders.” The same encyclopaedia also commented on the actual choice of words: “WMD has had a mass impact of its own. Its recent ubiquity has earned it a place on Lake Superior State University’s famed list of ‘misused, overused and generally useless’ words.”<sup>64</sup>

The concept is used in the speeches after September 11, before the Afghanistan War. At a press conference on October 11, 2001, one month after the disaster, and in reference to the high level of preparedness for new attacks, Bush explains:

“We received knowledge that perhaps an al Qaeda operative was prepared to use a crop duster to spray a biological weapon or a chemical weapon on American people. And so we responded /.../ We knew full well that in order for a crop duster to become a weapon of mass destruction would require a retrofitting, and so we talked to machine shops around where crop dusters are located.”

The concept was used particularly frequently in conjunction with the anthrax episode in autumn, 2001. A number of letters containing anthrax bacteria created a global fear of new terror attacks, this time with biological weapons. Five people in the USA were infected and died, and large numbers of other people were infected. The spreading of anthrax was immediately linked to al-Qaeda and intensified war preparations. But after a few weeks, when it

became apparent that the bacteria had originated in American laboratories, and when an employee at the army’s institute for infectious diseases was later detained for the crime, the news quickly died down. The events left their mark, however. Sociologist, Danielle R. Egan, claims that the anthrax panic, however well founded it may have been, also distracted attention from the war in Afghanistan:

“The use of the term ‘weapon of mass destruction’ in the discourse of Anthrax is the ultimate illusion, the ultimate way of producing a cultural panic and blindness to the massive contradiction between Anthrax /.../ and the repeated dropping of ten-ton bombs on Afghanistan. The contradiction in logic is so obvious, but so obscured. How can a bacterium that a simple sixty-day course of the antibiotic Cipro can cure be viewed as more threatening than the continual air raids in Afghanistan?”<sup>65</sup>

Egan’s comparison is of course misleading, not only because the threats are directed in the opposite direction (anthrax at the Western World, bombs at Afghanistan) but also because if the anthrax bacteria was widely spread, it would not be easily combated with antibiotics. However, war rhetoric welcomed the concrete meaning that both anthrax and the ‘discursively produced panic’ gave to the vague concept of ‘weapons of mass destruction’.

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64. <http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/uk/2744411.stm>

65. Egan (2002), p. 8

FEBRUARY 5, 2003:

## Colin Powell's speech to the UN

Exactly how welcome is indicated in US Secretary of State Colin Powell's speech on February 5, 2003, where he presented the now highly contended 'facts' about Iraq's possession of weapons of mass destruction. (Appendix 9) He presented his address more than one week before both UN weapons inspectors, Dr Blix and Dr ElBaradei, presented their preliminary results, which were generally expected to be negative. Powell's speech should be seen as an attempt to counteract these experts' opinions in advance, and anticipate any other protests against the war plans. The speech was long, one hour and 15 minutes, and packed with figures, quotations and photo evidence. Powell claims two purposes with his speech: firstly, to support what he calls the "core assessments made by Dr Blix and Dr ElBaradei", specifically that Iraq had neither complied with its disarmament obligations nor provided any new information about weapons of mass destruction. The inspectors' other point, that they had not found any signs of such weapons, is not named.

And for his other purpose, Powell provides some new information:

"...to share with you what the United States knows about Iraq's weapons of mass destruction as well as Iraq's involvement in terrorism, which is also the subject of Resolution 1441 and other earlier resolutions."

This assertion is now problematic because it raises the question of why the inspectors were not given this information. Powell addresses any objections here by saying, "...we are providing all relevant information we can to the inspection teams for them to do their work."

The actual production of evidence is also interesting in terms of his argumentative technique. The evidence constitutes an overabundance of examples, facts, pictures, quotations and assertions that evoke credibility by their sheer number. We will not evaluate the degree of truthfulness in these claims; we will look at their actual rhetorical form. Powell bases his entire argumentation on UN Security Council Resolution 1441, which he defines in the

following manner: “The purpose of that resolution was to disarm Iraq of its weapons of mass destruction. /.../ Resolution 1441 gave Iraq one last chance, one last chance to come into compliance or to face serious consequences.”

His whole, long speech is an attempt to prove that Iraq has not complied with its obligations. The production of evidence only indicates that weapons of mass destruction may exist (and as many later commented, that evidence was weak). His basic thesis is that Iraq has not co-operated and will therefore have “to face serious consequences”. Powell refers to Resolution 1441 no less than 19 times.

The speech was published on the White House website under the heading, ‘Iraq – denial and deception’ and the page presents all the evidence in the form of graphics, slides and a video webcast.<sup>66</sup> Powell presents 45 examples of visual ‘evidence’ to support his argumentation. According to classical rhetorical theory, examples, concrete and simple images, quotations and narratives always provide the most effective evidence. Seeing and hearing with your own ears and eyes holds the strongest evidentiary value. Thereto comes the speaker’s own credibility: the ethos that he brings with him, and the ethos he creates as he speaks.

A speaker’s ethos can be described as a combination of his own credibility in terms of authority, merits and status

and the credibility that he manages to create in the actual situation. Colin Powell’s credibility as the US Secretary of State, a potential presidential candidate and an experienced, high-ranking military officer, etc. is high. But as the situation is so sensitive: the planned actions are highly questioned by some members of the UN assembly and proof that Iraq constitutes an imminent threat is almost non-existent, Powell has to use both his personal qualities and his performance to reclaim the credibility of the Bush Administration.

The video recording of the speech allows us to review both the text and the performance, and Powell’s body language is interesting. Powell emphasises his words with gestures, pauses and voice variations that show indignation. He stresses specific words by gesticulating, moving his hands rhythmically and banging on the table. He does not merely read a text; he projects his own ethos, and uses his whole body to project his assurance and deep conviction that the evidence is well founded. Giving credibility to one’s own convictions is essential for convincing an audience, and body language is an effective method for stressing the meaning of words.

His remarks are full of rhetorical devices: rhetorical questions, emphasis, irony, indignation, accumulated threat scenarios, ostensible exactness and vague claims. Thirty-two times Powell claims, “we know...”, sometimes with-

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66. <http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2003/02/20030205-1.html>

out specifying any source, sometimes mentioning “human sources”, sometimes claiming “human sources who are in a position to know facts”. Names are only given in exceptional cases.

The slides and their interpretations constitute the strongest evidence. In a war situation, we should not expect rational, logical and truth-seeking argumentation. But it is useful to compare at least some of Powell’s arguments with a rational and logical ideal. Ideally, we should not engage in fallacies, logical false conclusions and non-objectivity.<sup>67</sup> Without entering into the complexities of a logical argumentation analysis, we can still benefit from its definition of non-objectivity. Philosopher Arne Naess has listed some deviations from the objectivity ideal in terms of biased accounts, ambiguities, descriptions and hasty conclusions.<sup>68</sup> Powell provides some textbook examples of these and other fallacies. One of his first items of ‘proof’ that Saddam Hussein has not attempted to disarm is the recording of a brief conversation between an alleged officer from the Republican Guard headquarters and an officer in the field. After playing the conversation with an American translation, he reads it aloud himself, deliberately and dramatically:

“Let me pause again and review the elements of this message:

– ‘They’re inspecting the ammunition you have, yes.’

– ‘Yes.’

– ‘For the possibility there are forbidden ammo.’

– ‘For the possibility there is by chance forbidden ammo?’

– ‘Yes.’

– ‘And we late you a message yesterday to clean out all of the areas, the scrap areas, the abandoned areas. Make sure there is nothing there.’”

Not only does he emphatically repeat the relatively lightweight message that has already been played, he also distorts it. In the translation, the second last sentence is: “And we sent you a message to inspect the scrap areas and abandoned areas.” Powell, however, says all areas and not only to ‘inspect’ but also to ‘clean out’. The original could just as easily be interpreted as officers in the field who want to check whether anything has been left in the scrap areas, which is a reasonable request given the situation. According to Powell, however, it constitutes a deliberate attempt to hide ammunition. In fallacy terms, this would be defined as both a biased account and a deliberate misquotation. Together with the final comment in the conversation i.e. that the officers will destroy the message so that no one will see it, Powell draws the following conclusion:

“...they don’t want that message seen, because they were trying to clean up the area to leave no evidence behind of the presence of weapons of mass destruction. And they can claim that nothing was there. And the inspectors

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67. For more information about fallacies in Swedish, see Sigrell (2001), Ch. 4

68. Naess (1992), pp. 101-115

can look all they want, and they will find nothing.

This effort to hide things from the inspectors is not one or two isolated events, quite the contrary. This is part and parcel of a policy of evasion and deception that goes back 12 years, a policy set at the highest levels of the Iraqi regime.”

His entire argumentation is based on the premises that the opponent is wrong because he is silent: ‘I am right because you cannot prove me wrong.’

A fallacy that runs through the entire speech is the threat argument. The most obvious and astonishing example appears in the middle of his speech, when Powell arrives at the anthrax theme. He holds up a small pipe with some powder in it and says:

“Less than a teaspoon of dry anthrax, a little bit about this amount – this is just about the amount of a teaspoon – less than a teaspoon full of dry anthrax in an envelope shut down the United States Senate in the cases of 2001. This forced several hundred people to undergo emergency medical treatment and killed two postal workers just from an amount just about this quantity that was inside of an envelope.

Iraq declared 8,500 liters of anthrax, but UNSCOM estimates that Saddam Hussein could have produced 25,000 liters. If concentrated into this dry form, this amount would be enough to fill tens upon tens upon tens of thousands of teaspoons. And Saddam Hussein has not verifiably accounted for even one teaspoon-full of this deadly material.



**Figure.** US Secretary of State Colin Powell holds up a vial that he said could contain anthrax as he presents evidence of Iraq's alleged weapons programs to the United Nations Security Council Wednesday, February 5, 2003. PHOTO: ELISE AMENDOLA/AP

We can only hope that there were no anthrax bacteria in this pipe, but we have to study his formulation carefully to ensure that he did not, in fact, claim that. The obscurity is hardly co-incidental. We recognise the classic demand for *evidentia*, a presentation of exact and striking details. The figures are supposedly exact, yet at the same time vague: one teaspoon, yet “tens upon tens upon tens of thousands of teaspoons”. They seem authentic and are, in fact, credible because Colin Powell invests his entire ethos in the evidentiary presentation. As previously mentioned, Powell already has high credibility as a military officer and a politician, and when he presents these items of ‘proof’ so emphatically,

why should we mistrust them? But war propaganda relies on people having short memories. And in this situation, who can remember statements made several years ago?

Powell himself should have been aware that even if he did not deliberately lie, his information was dubious, because already in February, 2001 in reference to the USA's successful sanctions against Iraq and Saddam Hussein, he said: "He has not developed any significant capability with respect to weapons of mass destruction. He is unable to project conventional power against his neighbors."<sup>69</sup>

We now have a case where one propaganda claim rules out another. In 2001, he wanted to ensure Iraq's neighbours that America had the situation under control, that air strikes and sanctions had worked, and were motivated because they had prevented the development of weapons of mass destruction. Two years later, this was no longer the 'truth'.

That weapons of mass destruction were an excuse is obvious to us today, but no one expressed this as clearly as Deputy Defence Secretary Paul Wolfowitz. On May 28, 2003, in an interview with Wolfowitz that was published in *Vanity Fair*, a magazine for teenage girls (!), he claims that weapons of mass destruction were never the main reason for the US invasion of Iraq:

"For bureaucratic reasons, we settled on one issue, weapons of mass destruction, because it was the one reason everyone could agree on."

The UN weapons inspectors' work has always been problematic for the US Government. In his "victory speech" on May 1, 2003 Bush implies that it was completely useless, and that the search for weapons of mass destruction would start now: "We've begun the search for hidden chemical and biological weapons and already know of hundreds of sites that will be investigated." It would seem that the UN weapons inspectors' work had never taken place.

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69. <http://www.state.gov/secretary/rm/2001/933.htm>, see also <http://www.cbsnews.com/stories/2003/09/28/iraq/main575469.shtml>

FEBRUARY 15, 2003:

## Tony Blair's speech

On February 14, the UN's inspectors, Blix and ElBaradei, presented their report to the UN, and the next day, enormous anti-Iraq war rallies were held all around the world. Around one million people took to the streets in Rome and London alone.<sup>70</sup> That same day, Tony Blair gave a speech at Labour's spring conference or, to be exact, at Labour's local government, women's and youth conferences, SECC, Glasgow.<sup>71</sup> After a short prelude to confirm Labour's role in government and the importance of making tough decisions to defend the country's shared values, he plunges into the 'Iraq' theme. This speech has been titled "I want to solve the Iraq issue via the United Nations" and he uses these exact words. But during his speech, he subjects the UN to a condition: "Yes, let the United Nations be the way to deal with Saddam. But let the United Nations mean what it says; and do what it means." He refers back to

WWII and the League of Nations' opportunity and responsibility to prevent an invasion of Abyssinia: "In the early days of the fascist menace, it had the duty to protect Abyssinia from invasion. But when it came to a decision to enforce that guarantee, the horror of war deterred it. We know the rest. The menace grew; the League of Nations collapsed; war came." The threat scenario is that if we miss this occasion and do not act now, the situation will only worsen, just like it did then. The Abyssinia example is just one of several parallels with WWII that appear in the war propaganda. A threat scenario fallacy that is both a biased and audacious use of a historic analogy. What really happened was that Italy invaded Abyssinia, and the League of Nations could have intervened if both the UK and France had not opposed this action. However, they wanted to try and reach an acceptable solution with Mussolini. So even though Tony Blair holds the

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70. See, e.g., Dagens Nyheter 16/02/03

71. <http://www.labour.org.uk/tbglasgow/>, Appendix 10

League of Nations responsible for WWII, it was in fact the UK and France that initiated the events that would then lead up to WWII. The later compliancy with Germany (Munich Pact) by Prime Minister Neville Chamberlain provides the background for Tony Blair's actions. He did not want to repeat Chamberlain's mistake. You do not negotiate with a tyrant; you inflict a military defeat.

The rhetorical situation is of course critical. Millions of people are at that very moment demonstrating on the streets against his conviction that war is necessary. A manifestation that is probably the largest ever held in the UK. Blair uses the following two lines of argumentation to address the protests:

1. He does not want a war: "Every time I have asked us to go to war, I have hated it." – but claimed that the strategy was successful in both Kosovo and Afghanistan.
2. It is more morally justifiable to remove Saddam than not to do so: "The moral case against war has a moral answer: it is the moral case for removing Saddam."

His second line of argumentation constitutes a direct attack on the peace movement for what Blair claims is short sightedness and irresponsibility. He describes war opponents as emotional people who certainly hate the war and probably do not like Saddam but who do not care about Saddam's victims, which he illustrates with an abundance

of concrete, alternatively vague figures: "There will be no march for the victims of Saddam, no protests about the thousands of children that die needlessly every year under his rule, no righteous anger over the torture chambers which if he is left in power, will be left in being."

By comparing incomparable quantities, he stretches the figures to exorbitant limits:

"But as you watch your TV pictures of the march, ponder this:

If there are 500,000 on that march, that is still less than the number of people whose deaths Saddam has been responsible for.

"If there are one million, that is still less than the number of people who died in the wars he started."

This is a very effective way to illustrate the number of victims and at the same time, accuse his opponents of improvidence. He supports his argument by reading an e-mail and letter from two exiled Iraqis, a man and a woman, who criticise the war opponents: "He says the principle of opposing war by the public is received warmly by Iraqis for it reveals the desire of people to avoid suffering. But he says it misses the point – because the Iraqi people need Saddam removed as a way of ending their suffering." This is a classical rhetorical device, i.e. using personal experiences and anecdotes to argue a case; presenting an emotional argument that is difficult to oppose. In other words, the war is portrayed as the lesser of two evils. War advocates are portrayed as having higher moral standards than war opponents.

But the fact is that while Bush refrains from making any comments on the demonstrations, Blair accepts them as a legitimate expression of opinion: “What brings thousands of people out in protests across the world? /.../ It is a right and entirely understandable hatred of war. It is moral purpose, and I respect that.” At the same time, he insinuates that the demonstrators would not go

out onto the streets for all the victims that a non-action would bring. He accuses the war protestors of being callous, while the pending war is portrayed as a humanitarian action; a confusion of ideas that once again reverts back to George Orwell’s ‘double talk’: “Ridding the world of Saddam would be an act of humanity. It is leaving him there that is in truth inhumane.”

MARCH 16, 2003:

## Summit meeting in the Azores

An invasion of Iraq had been on the cards for more than six months and time was now running out because of soaring summer temperatures, etc., etc. Protests against the pending war were large-scale and global. The goal of war propaganda, wherever possible, was to describe the operation as something other than war.

The statement issued by the ‘Trans Atlantic Coalition’, i.e. George W. Bush, Tony Blair and the Spanish Prime Minister José Maria Aznar, at their summit meeting in the Azores on March 16, 2003, just two days before the war starts, must be described as a classic example of new Orwellian language. At the press conference, Aznar claimed that they had not come to the Azores to make a declaration of war. Neither does the three leaders’ statement deal with the war but what will happen after the war. After once again painting Saddam Hussein as the root of all evil and holding him responsible for all negative consequences, the coalition’s future actions are portrayed as one single major humanitarian operation:

“We envisage a unified Iraq with its territorial integrity respected. All the Iraqi people – its rich mix of Sunni and Shiite Arabs, Kurds, Turkomen, Assyrians, Chaldeans, and all others – should enjoy freedom, prosperity, and equality in a united country. We will support the

**Figure.** British Prime Minister Tony Blair, Left, with Spanish Prime Minister Jose Maria Aznar, Second from left, US President George W. Bush and Portugese Prime Minister Jose Durao Barroso, Right, speak to the media at the Lajes joint US/Portuguese air force base in the Azores Sunday March 16, 2003 after a summit to discuss the crisis in Iraq. PHOTO: STEFAN ROUSSEAU/AP



Iraqi people's aspirations for a representative government that upholds human rights and the rule of law as cornerstones of democracy."<sup>72</sup>

War always brings instability and unknown consequences. The international community did not support the action, and considered it a high-risk venture. Thus, one of the rhetorical tasks in this situation was to maintain the opposite, to make the coalition appear a reliable player. This is done by focusing on collaboration: "we plan to work in close partnership with international institutions, including the United Nations; our Allies and partners; and bilateral donors". Security is a keyword, once again a contrast to the threat of weapons of mass destruction: "Any military presence, should it be necessary, will be temporary and intended to promote security and elimination of weapons of mass destruction;..."

Rhetoric analyst Lennart Hellspång describes this propaganda technique as disguise, created with lies, indefiniteness, euphemisms and abstraction.<sup>73</sup>

The lies about weapons of mass destruction require no further comment. Indefiniteness is when actions are described in vague terms such as "if conflict occurs", "military presence, should it be necessary..." Euphemisms are when pending action is described as humanitarian, i.e. creating the vision of a better world after a 'conflict'. And abstraction is when the action is

described as 'commitment', or when the planned military aggression is redefined as a peace mission.

## 'Helpfulness' theme

That the coalition is coming to help is a recurring theme in all of the war rhetoric after September 11. Being helpful and generous is part of the American identity<sup>74</sup> and as such, a rewarding theme when attempting to legitimise the acts of war or balance the acts of aggression. Even before the war in Afghanistan on October 6, 2001, Bush emphasised the generosity of America in its actions:

"Even as we fight evil regimes we are generous to the people they oppress. Following World War II, America fed and rebuilt Japan and Germany, and their people became some of our closest friends in the world."

Although not all Germans and Japanese would agree with this statement, it describes the American identity upon which Bush builds his reasoning. America does not want war, it wants peace; the American people do not want to fight, they want to help. The planned action is only violent by way of exception and enforcement. In his speech at the start of the war on October 8, 2001, Bush once again underlined the friendly intentions behind the military operations:

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72. <http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2003/03/20030316-1.html>

73. Hellspång (1992), p. 220ff

74. Hart (1997), p. 238f



“At the same time, the oppressed people of Afghanistan will know the generosity of America and our allies. As we strike military targets, we will also drop food, medicine and supplies to the starving and suffering men and women and children of Afghanistan.”

On October 30, 2001, during a blazing Afghan War, he affirms: “We

are a generous people, a thoughtful people who hurt, and share the sadness when people lose their life or when people are hurt. /.../ We have shown in difficult times that we’re not just a world power, that we’re a good and kind and courageous people.”

Under the ‘Photo Essays’ link on the White House website, there are two more links under the ‘Photos’ and ‘Timelines’ subheadings: ‘Helping others’, which mainly deals with humanitarian operations for Afghan children, and ‘Helping those in need’, which lists speeches addressing aid responses. Both of these links deal almost exclusively with Afghanistan, and with women and children. There are similar photos under the Iraq links, with children receiving help from American soldiers: the women and children are well dressed, healthy, happy and grateful. The American soldiers look like Messianic deliverers.<sup>75</sup>

This same theme, that the main purpose of the military operations is helpfulness, is also mentioned in the speech delivered just before the Iraq War.

75. <http://www.whitehouse.gov/infocus/iraq/photoessay/essay6/>

MARCH 19, 2003:

## George W. Bush's speech before the invasion of Iraq

On March 19, Bush makes a speech to mark the commencement of military operations in Iraq. (Appendix 12) This time he speaks in the Oval Office, in the same place that George Bush Senior announced the start of the Gulf War. There are two family photos on the windowsill behind him, one of his daughters, and one of his wife and the dog.

In the introduction to his speech, Bush defines the military action as “operations to disarm Iraq, to free its people and to defend the world from grave danger.” Big words, full of undertones and associations. ‘Operations’ reminds us of the Gulf War’s careful and clinical warfare. Disarming someone will probably involve the use of violence, but it is a peacekeeping measure; Iraq is the only military tyrant here, and the population will soon ‘be liberated’; so the whole action is about defence, the whole world will be defended. The war is a humanitarian operation:

“I want Americans and all the world to know that coalition forces will keep every effort to spare innocent civilians from harm. /.../. And helping Iraqis

achieve a united, stable and free country will require our sustained commitment. We come to Iraq with respect for its citizens, for their great civilization and for the religious faiths they practice. We have no ambition in Iraq, except to remove a threat and restore control of that country to its own people.”

The word ‘war’ figures twice in connection with Saddam Hussein: to prevent him from starting a war, and because he does not respect war conventions. And to really underline the threats at hand, ‘weapons of mass destruction’ have become ‘weapons of mass murder’. The cruelty theme appears again here:

“In this conflict, America faces an enemy who has no regard for conventions of war or rules of morality. Saddam Hussein has placed Iraqi troops and equipment in civilian areas, attempting to use innocent men, women and children as shields for his own military – a final atrocity against his people.”

As this speech is mainly directed at the troops, we should interpret this statement to mean that civilian areas are also legitimate targets – if the enemy

is suspected of hiding there. That the enemy disguises itself refers once again to the cowardice theme. American troops are described, however, with terms such as 'skill and bravery' and 'honorable and decent spirit'. The coalition's actions are described as military operations but also with concepts including: 'striking selected targets of military importance', 'broad and concerted campaign', 'common defense', 'remove a threat', 'decisive force'. They are clean, well organised and just.

The war is portrayed as inevitable: "Now that conflict has come..." as is the pending victory; a necessity in war propaganda. The conflict is part of the USA's 'Work for peace'. The 'work' metaphor is also interesting from a rhetorical perspective because it makes the war appear as a normal turn of events. "And you can know that our forces will be coming home as soon as their work is done."

Business, work, job and mission are all commonly occurring concepts in Bush's rhetoric. Americans are hard-working people. Hard work is an honourable thing.<sup>76</sup> For propaganda purposes, 'work' is also a positively charged value word.

## 'Work' theme

From the very beginning of the chain of events after September 11, Bush defined the war on terrorism as a 'job'. In his speech on November 16, 2001 he



**Figure.** "We Can Do It!" A World War II colour poster depicting "Rosie the Riveter" encourages American women to join the war workforce. The poster was commissioned by the War Production Co-Committee. The picture is now sold as a souvenir.  
POSTER BY J. HOWARD MILLER/CORBIS

equates military operations with civilian work: "I also have faith in our military. And we have got a job to do – just like the farmers and ranchers and business owners and factory workers have a job to do. My administration has a job to do, and we're going to do it. We will rid the world of the evil-doers."

What happens when war is defined as a job? The metaphor gives the action a kind of everyday status, something familiar. Political leaders presume that every individual knows that his/her

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76. Hart (1997), p. 238f

ob should contribute to the nation's success. But in principle, work is a civilian activity, usually well organised and regulated. Work is necessary. It has a certain traditional, masculine quality. Work is honourable and has little to do with feelings, except of course pride.

We are delegated a job; it is serious, secure and demands responsibility. In this war rhetoric, work is a traditional masculine metaphor embraced by factors not usually associated with war, namely games, sport and entertainment.

## 'Games and sport' theme

Hunting is just one of the games and sport metaphors used to describe acts of war as something acceptable and familiar, or even entertaining. Another example of patriotic playfulness during the Iraq War is an issue of trading cards. Topps, a company that produces cards of sporting heroes, has issued a series of 90 cards under the heading 'Enduring Freedom'. As the independent *Flak Magazine* writer, Clay Risen, explains:

"Enduring Freedom picture cards are only the latest in a long line of Sept. 11 kitsch. And while the idea of making money off the tragedy is questionable, these cards go one step further by presenting the 'New War on Terrorism' as a fun, pleasant way for kids to learn about current events."

The cards have been designed for children. Their educational purpose is described on the back of the packet: "An encyclopedic record of America's war on terrorism. Cards contain biographical information on civilian and military leaders entrusted to guide us through this fight, statistical data, and photos of military hardware."

Topps claims the collection "presents the New War on Terrorism in a format that children understand. Not included are the disturbing images shown repeatedly on national newscasts. Instead, Topps has chosen to focus on America's strengths – its elected leaders, the security of its military, its worldwide support ... and the courage and unity of its people."

The pictures are really rather insignificant: Bush speaking on the telephone, Condoleezza Rice in speaker pose, soldiers in formation ('Marines Head Out For Overseas Duty'), but there is nothing 'disturbing', nothing from the war field, no advanced weapons, and as Clay Risen sarcastically remarks, nothing about the war's humanitarian side:

"... of refugee camps, of wounded soldiers or of anti-war protests. That would be 'disturbing.' And anyway, this is the 'New War', in which the bad guys get incinerated, civilians go untouched and U.S. servicemen don't die. A kid-friendly war, and that means a profit-friendly war as well. With merchandise like this, who needs Fox News?"<sup>77</sup>

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77. <http://flakmag.com/misc/topps.html>

Even the Swedish media used games metaphors during the Gulf War in 1991 to imply its inevitability. A game should not be interrupted until one of the sides has won.<sup>78</sup> Trading cards were also used as propaganda during Operation Desert Storm, which Matthew Nadelhaft analyses:

“The prevalence of sports metaphors in discourse about the war illustrates both the utility of sports as a conceptual tool and as means of legitimation, and the pervasiveness of sports in American cultural logic; its almost unconscious residence in the American mind.”<sup>79</sup>

But sport and game metaphors do not only apply in an American context; they are also part of a traditional masculine mentality, where life is a contest. The goal of all social activities is to outdo your opponent, and war is the ultimate and still legitimate form of competition.<sup>80</sup> The metaphors may also give the war a more human perspective, not to mention an entertainment value. That the Iraq War was seen as a play for positions is rhetorically unambiguous. Both Bush and Blair use the ‘game’ concept to describe the events. In the press conference in the Azores, for example, Tony Blair says: “Saddam plays these games and we carry on allowing him to play them.” (Appendix 11) And at the same press conference, when Bush was asked about voting on a second UN resolution, Bush answers:

“I was the guy that said they ought to vote. And one country voted – at least showed their cards, I believe. It’s an old Texas expression, show your cards, when you’re playing poker. France showed their cards. After I said what I said, they said they were going to veto anything that held Saddam to account. So cards have been played. And we’ll just have to take an assessment after tomorrow to determine what that card meant.”<sup>81</sup>

This could be the statement that led to a PR gimmick that was particularly appreciated by the media: a pack of cards featuring Iraq’s 55 “Most-Wanted” leaders, 54 men and 1 woman.

Brigadier General Vincent Brooks, the spokesperson of the US Alliance at the US Central Command outpost in Qatar, explains on 11 April 2003: “Coalition governments have identified a list of key regime leaders who must be pursued and brought to justice. The key list has 55 individuals who may be pursued, killed or captured /.../ This list has been provided to Coalition forces on the ground in several forms to ease identification when contact does occur. And this deck of cards is one example of what we provide to soldiers and marines out in the field, with the faces of the individuals and what their role is. In this case there are 55 cards in the deck.”<sup>82</sup>

Converting the enemy to a party game was a rhetorical stroke of genius.

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78. Johannesson (1992), p. 44ff

79. Nadelhaft (1993), p. 26

80. For more discussion on masculine, competitive mentality and communication, see Ong (1981)

81. <http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2003/03/20030316-3.htm>

82. [http://jurist.law.pitt.edu/paperchase/2003\\_04\\_11\\_indexarch.htm](http://jurist.law.pitt.edu/paperchase/2003_04_11_indexarch.htm)



It was ridiculed and trivialised. On their television screens, Americans could follow how card after card was methodically captured by the military. The USA was the winner. Journalists had a simple red thread to follow. Even children could identify the enemy. At first, the pack of cards was only given to troops in Iraq, but sales soared at home and one distributor writes:

“You’ve seen these cards on the nightly news. They’ve been featured in

newspapers worldwide. Now you can own the one true collector’s item from Operation Iraqi Freedom. This is the same 55-card deck given to Coalition soldiers featuring Iraq’s 52 ‘Most-Wanted’ leaders.”

The pack of cards also comes as a poster, and as another distributor writes: “This may be the last time anyone will ever see these faces again.”<sup>83</sup>

83. <http://www.greatusaflags.com>

MAY 1, 2003:

## George W. Bush's victory speech

*"The fighting spirit of a nation feeds upon the conviction that it has a fighting chance to win.... The illusion of victory must be nourished because of the close connection between the strong and the good... If we win, God is on our side. If we lose, God may have been on the other side."*<sup>84</sup>

In his chapter, *The Illusion of Victory*, Harold D. Lasswell defines the propagandist's self-assurance in theological terms. If we, the good side, do not win, God has abandoned us, which is demoralising. So at some reasonable and credible point, the military strategists must declare victory.

On May 1, 2003 Bush makes the speech that could be described as the victory speech after the occupation of Iraq. (Appendix 13) However, the speech is titled: "President Bush Announces Major Combat Operations in Iraq Have Ended". According to White House Press Secretary Ari Fleischer, it

is not a victory address and therefore has no legal consequences:

"... he wants to explain to the American people, having risked lives and treasure in pursuit of our goals in Iraq, what the present results are. And that's something that the President began with his address to the country about, and he wants to, again, now bring it to a conclusion with a speech to the country. The war on terror will continue. Iraq was a phase in the war on terror. And the President wants to discuss all of this with the American people."

The speech is thus linked to the State of the Union Address and will thereby round up the present actions; confirm that this stage has come to an end. If President Bush had given a proper victory address, all future actions would have to comply with the Geneva Convention's demands for the release of war prisoners, etc.<sup>85</sup> This should be seen as one of the reasons why a victory was never declared.

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84. Lasswell (1927), p. 102

85. See comments in Fox News: <http://www.foxmarketwire.com/story/0,2933,85588,00.html>

Bush does not make the speech in the Oval Office, but on USS Abraham Lincoln, an atomic-powered aircraft carrier that has been used in Afghanistan, in the no-fly zone in Iraq, and in the ongoing Iraq War. As Fox News writes: “Pilots flew thousands of bomb-dropping sorties from the deck.”<sup>86</sup> The

**Figure.** *President George W. Bush delivering a speech to crew aboard the aircraft carrier USS Abraham Lincoln, as the carrier steamed toward San Diego, California on May 1, 2003. The White House said on October 29, 2003 that it had helped with the production of a “Mission Accomplished” banner as a backdrop for the speech. PHOTO: LARRY DOWNING/REUTERS*

setting is highly symbolic, with cheering returning troops, after apparently successful military operations. An enormous banderol flies above the scene, “Mission Accomplished”, probably pertaining to the warship’s mission, but also implying that Bush’s mission was successful.

The address takes the form of a thank you speech to the troops, whereby Bush is guaranteed applause. The strategists know that Bush works best in front of a cheering audience, and his spirits are high after the flight. CNN describes the situation:

“Bush said he did take a turn at piloting the craft.



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86. <http://www.foxnews.com/story/0,2933,85844,00.html>

‘Yes, I flew it. Yeah, of course, I liked it,’ Bush said, who was an F-102 fighter pilot in the Texas Air National Guard after graduating from Yale University in 1968.

‘Great job,’ Bush said, a wide smile stretched across his face as he posed for photographs with crew members who gathered to get their pictures with the president. He draped his arms around some, slapped the backs of others and shook hands with many.”

“The picture-perfect landing, covered live on television, marked the latest effort by the White House to showcase Bush as commander in chief.”<sup>87</sup>

And although CNN submits to a mild irony, this spectacular scene is broadcast both here and in other media all over the world.

The ongoing war is described in the speech as:

- The battle of Iraq
- Major combat operations
- A noble cause

The war is portrayed as a noble action, aimed at preserving world peace: “In this battle, we have fought for the cause of liberty, and for the peace of the world.” The word ‘victory’ does not appear until the end of the speech, when Bush intimates that the battle in Iraq has been won, but the war on terrorism continues: “The battle of Iraq is one victory in a war on terror that

began on September the 11, 2001 – and still goes on /.../ We do not know the day of final victory, but we have seen the turning of the tide.”

This form of triumphant incantation should definitely be seen in terms of the media’s dramaturgy, where war days were counted. Declaring that the war was over put an end to this dramatic and unpleasant inventory. Each day brought new victims, and the aggression and occupation had to be toned down. This also applied to the scale of destruction and killing. Bush once again assures that violence was the last resort. He says that weapons of precision were used, in contrast to previous wars where whole towns were destroyed. He also intimates that civilians have not suffered greatly:

“With new tactics and precision weapons, we can achieve military objectives without directing violence against civilians. No device of man can remove the tragedy from war; yet it is a great moral advance when the guilty have far more to fear from war than the innocent.”

Once again, he claims that the USA is a helping angel, vengeful perhaps, but benevolent and kind towards those in need. And over and over he stresses the gratefulness of the Iraqi people: “When Iraqi civilians looked into the faces of our servicemen and women, they saw strength and kindness and goodwill.”

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87. <http://www.cnn.com/2003/ALLPOLITICS/05/01/bush.carrier.landing/>

# Epilogue

As this is written, one year after the ‘victory speech’, terrorism and the war on terrorism have developed into a kind of war against an invisible enemy. Global war threats have increased and propaganda efforts intensified. Reluctant admissions that the Iraqi threat scenario was exaggerated, that there were no weapons of mass destruction, that conditions for women have hardly improved, that the democratisation process has hardly begun, and the fact that violence has escalated after revelations of American torture, do not stop propaganda strategists from maintaining that the actions were legitimate and successful. Propagandists count on people having short memories, that they will not remember mendacious propaganda stagings such as the ‘rescue of Jessica Lynch’, to name but one example.<sup>88</sup> And if by chance they do remember, the heartbreaking story of a female hero comes to mind rather than the propa-

ganda spectacle. Pictures speak louder than words, and critical analyses will never compare with pathos-filled narratives, a well-known journalistic fact. News reporting favours dramatisations and visual simplifications to critical analyses.<sup>89</sup> And propaganda is safe in the knowledge that critics do not have time to review all vicissitudes. Journalists are so focused on daily events that they rarely have time to reflect on what is said. On April 5, 2004, George W. Bush comments on the violent protests against American occupation by saying, “This is one person [Moqtada al Sadr] – this is a person, and followers, who are trying to say, we don’t want democracy – as a matter of fact, we’ll decide the course of democracy by the use of force. And that is the opposite of democracy.”<sup>90</sup> This quotation is broadcast on the television news, but no journalist comments on the paradox. Propaganda builds upon the trivial fact that if

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88. See, e.g., Nordström (2003)

89. cf. Johannesson (1992) concerning media reporting from the Gulf War

90. <http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2004/04/20040405-4.html>

a poorly founded assertion is repeated often enough it will finally be accepted as the truth, for as long as it is needed to further the cause.

Why is traditional war propaganda still so effective in today's critical mass media society, with well-informed citizens as its receivers? We nod in agreement with vague, unclear and questionable assertions that have motivated war for hundreds of years: that it is better to anticipate than be anticipated; that the enemy is evil, cruel and inhumane and should be eliminated; that troops should be used because they are already in place; that we can build a better society with violence. The answer to this intellectual mystery is probably quite

simple: in threatening and complex circumstances, we are grateful for simple solutions. By juggling words and metaphors, by disguising war as hunting, games or work, war becomes more acceptable, especially a 'clinical' war. An enemy that is evil is a legitimate target. A war described as a humanitarian effort is no longer a war. But in today's democratic society, we should not be satisfied with black and white solutions, even in crisis situations. Scepticism, suspicion and doubts about the war strategists' descriptions should not only be allowed but encouraged, rewarded and prioritised. To use another metaphor, we need to protect ourselves from the ravages of propaganda.

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# Appendix

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For Immediate Release  
Office of the Press Secretary  
September 11, 2001

## APPENDIX 1. STATEMENT BY THE PRESIDENT IN HIS ADDRESS TO THE NATION SEPTEMBER 11, 2001

### Statement by the President in His Address to the Nation

**8:30 P.M. EDT**

**THE PRESIDENT:** Good evening. Today, our fellow citizens, our way of life, our very freedom came under attack in a series of deliberate and deadly terrorist acts. The victims were in airplanes, or in their offices; secretaries, businessmen and women, military and federal workers; moms and dads, friends and neighbors. Thousands of lives were suddenly ended by evil, despicable acts of terror.

The pictures of airplanes flying into buildings, fires burning, huge structures collapsing, have filled us with disbelief, terrible sadness, and a quiet, unyielding anger. These acts of mass murder were intended to frighten our nation into chaos and retreat. But they have failed; our country is strong.

A great people has been moved to defend a great nation. Terrorist attacks can shake the foundations of our biggest buildings, but they cannot

touch the foundation of America. These acts shattered steel, but they cannot dent the steel of American resolve.

America was targeted for attack because we're the brightest beacon for freedom and opportunity in the world. And no one will keep that light from shining.

Today, our nation saw evil, the very worst of human nature. And we responded with the best of America – with the daring of our rescue workers, with the caring for strangers and neighbors who came to give blood and help in any way they could.

Immediately following the first attack, I implemented our government's emergency response plans. Our military is powerful, and it's prepared. Our emergency teams are working in New York City and Washington, D.C. to help with local rescue efforts.

Our first priority is to get help to those who have been injured, and to take every precaution

to protect our citizens at home and around the world from further attacks.

The functions of our government continue without interruption. Federal agencies in Washington which had to be evacuated today are reopening for essential personnel tonight, and will be open for business tomorrow. Our financial institutions remain strong, and the American economy will be open for business, as well.

The search is underway for those who are behind these evil acts. I've directed the full resources of our intelligence and law enforcement communities to find those responsible and to bring them to justice. We will make no distinction between the terrorists who committed these acts and those who harbor them.

I appreciate so very much the members of Congress who have joined me in strongly condemning these attacks. And on behalf of the American people, I thank the many world leaders who have called to offer their condolences and assistance.

America and our friends and allies join with all those who want peace and security in the world, and we stand together to win the war

against terrorism. Tonight, I ask for your prayers for all those who grieve, for the children whose worlds have been shattered, for all whose sense of safety and security has been threatened. And I pray they will be comforted by a power greater than any of us, spoken through the ages in Psalm 23: "Even though I walk through the valley of the shadow of death, I fear no evil, for You are with me."

This is a day when all Americans from every walk of life unite in our resolve for justice and peace. America has stood down enemies before, and we will do so this time. None of us will ever forget this day. Yet, we go forward to defend freedom and all that is good and just in our world.

Thank you. Good night, and God bless America.

**END 8:35 P.M. EDT**

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## APPENDIX 2. THE CATHEDRAL SPEECH

### President's Remarks at National Day of Prayer and Remembrance

*The National Cathedral,  
Washington, D.C.*

**1:00 P.M. EDT**

THE PRESIDENT: We are here in the middle hour of our grief. So many have suffered so great a loss, and today we express our nation's sorrow. We come before God to pray for the missing and the dead, and for those who love them.

On Tuesday, our country was attacked with deliberate and massive cruelty. We have seen the images of fire and ashes, and bent steel.

Now come the names, the list of casualties we are only beginning to read. They are the names of men and women who began their day at a desk or in an airport, busy with life. They are the names of people who faced death, and in their last moments called home to say, be brave, and I love you.

They are the names of passengers who defied their murderers, and prevented the murder of others on the ground. They are the names of men and women who wore the uniform of the United States, and died at their posts.

They are the names of rescuers, the ones whom death found running up the stairs and into the fires to help others. We will read all these names. We will linger over them, and learn their stories, and many Americans will weep.

To the children and parents and spouses and families and friends of the lost, we offer the deepest sympathy of the nation. And I assure you, you are not alone.

Just three days removed from these events, Americans do not yet have the distance of history.

But our responsibility to history is already clear: to answer these attacks and rid the world of evil.

War has been waged against us by stealth and deceit and murder. This nation is peaceful, but fierce when stirred to anger. This conflict was begun on the timing and terms of others. It will end in a way, and at an hour, of our choosing.

Our purpose as a nation is firm. Yet our wounds as a people are recent and unhealed, and lead us to pray. In many of our prayers this week, there is a searching, and an honesty. At St. Patrick's Cathedral in New York on Tuesday, a woman said, "I prayed to God to give us a sign that He is still here." Others have prayed for the same, searching hospital to hospital, carrying pictures of those still missing.

God's signs are not always the ones we look for. We learn in tragedy that his purposes are not always our own. Yet the prayers of private suffering, whether in our homes or in this great cathedral, are known and heard, and understood.

There are prayers that help us last through the day, or endure the night. There are prayers of friends and strangers, that give us strength for the journey. And there are prayers that yield our will to a will greater than our own.

This world He created is of moral design. Grief and tragedy and hatred are only for a time. Goodness, remembrance, and love have no end. And the Lord of life holds all who die, and all who mourn.

It is said that adversity introduces us to ourselves. This is true of a nation as well. In this trial, we have been reminded, and the world has seen, that our fellow Americans are generous and

kind, resourceful and brave. We see our national character in rescuers working past exhaustion; in long lines of blood donors; in thousands of citizens who have asked to work and serve in any way possible.

And we have seen our national character in eloquent acts of sacrifice. Inside the World Trade Center, one man who could have saved himself stayed until the end at the side of his quadriplegic friend. A beloved priest died giving the last rites to a firefighter. Two office workers, finding a disabled stranger, carried her down sixty-eight floors to safety. A group of men drove through the night from Dallas to Washington to bring skin grafts for burn victims.

In these acts, and in many others, Americans showed a deep commitment to one another, and an abiding love for our country. Today, we feel what Franklin Roosevelt called the warm courage of national unity. This is a unity of every faith, and every background.

It has joined together political parties in both houses of Congress. It is evident in services of prayer and candlelight vigils, and American flags, which are displayed in pride, and wave in defiance.

Our unity is a kinship of grief, and a steadfast resolve to prevail against our enemies. And this unity against terror is now extending across the world.

America is a nation full of good fortune, with so much to be grateful for. But we are not spared from suffering. In every generation, the world has produced enemies of human freedom. They have attacked America, because we are freedom's home and defender. And the commitment of our fathers is now the calling of our time.

On this national day of prayer and remembrance, we ask almighty God to watch over our nation, and grant us patience and resolve in all that is to come. We pray that He will comfort and console those who now walk in sorrow. We thank Him for each life we now must mourn, and the promise of a life to come.

As we have been assured, neither death nor life, nor angels nor principalities nor powers, nor things present nor things to come, nor height nor depth, can separate us from God's love. May He bless the souls of the departed. May He comfort our own. And may He always guide our country.

God bless America.

**END 1:07 P.M. EDT**

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## APPENDIX 3

# Remarks by the President Upon Arrival

### *The South Lawn*

3:23 P.M. EDT

**THE PRESIDENT:** Today, millions of Americans mourned and prayed, and tomorrow we go back to work. Today, people from all walks of life gave thanks for the heroes; they mourn the dead; they ask for God's good graces on the families who mourn, and tomorrow the good people of America go back to their shops, their fields, American factories, and go back to work.

Our nation was horrified, but it's not going to be terrorized. We're a great nation. We're a nation of resolve. We're a nation that can't be cowed by evil-doers. I've got great faith in the American people. If the American people had seen what I had seen in New York City, you'd have great faith, too. You'd have faith in the hard work of the rescuers; you'd have great faith because of the desire for people to do what's right for America; you'd have great faith because of the compassion and love that our fellow Americans are showing each other in times of need.

I also have faith in our military. And we have got a job to do – just like the farmers and ranchers and business owners and factory workers have a job to do. My administration has a job to do, and we're going to do it. We will rid the world of the evil-doers. We will call together freedom loving people to fight terrorism.

And on on this day of – on the Lord's Day, I say to my fellow Americans, thank you for your prayers, thank you for your compassion, thank you for your love for one another. And tomorrow

when you get back to work, work hard like you always have. But we've been warned. We've been warned there are evil people in this world. We've been warned so vividly – and we'll be alert. Your government is alert. The governors and mayors are alert that evil folks still lurk out there.

As I said yesterday, people have declared war on America, and they have made a terrible mistake, because this is a fabulous country. Our economy will come back. We'll still be the best farmers and ranchers in the world. We're still the most innovative entrepreneurs in the world. On this day of faith, I've never had more faith in America than I have right now.

**Q:** Mr. President, are you worried this crisis might send us into a recession?

**THE PRESIDENT:** David, I understand that there are some businesses that hurt as a result of this crisis. Obviously, New York City hurts. Congress acted quickly. We worked together, the White House and the Congress, to pass a significant supplemental. A lot of that money was dedicated to New York, New Jersey and Connecticut, as it should be. People will be amazed at how quickly we rebuild New York; how quickly people come together to really wipe away the rubble and show the world that we're still the strongest nation in the world.

But I have great faith in the resiliency of the economy. And no question about it, this incident affected our economy, but the markets open tomorrow, people go back to work and we'll show the world.

**Q:** Mr. President, do you believe Osama bin Laden's denial that he had anything to do with this?

**THE PRESIDENT:** No question he is the prime suspect. No question about that.

**Q:** Mr. President, can you describe your conversation with the President of Pakistan and the specific comments he made to you? And, in addition to that, do you see other – you've asked Saudi Arabia to help out, other countries?

**THE PRESIDENT:** John, I will – obviously, I made a call to the leader of Pakistan. We had a very good, open conversation. And there is no question that he wants to cooperate with the United States. I'm not at liberty to detail specifically what we have asked him to do. In the course of this conduct of this war against terrorism, I'll be asked a lot, and members of my administration will be asked a lot of questions about our strategies and tactics. And in order to protect the lives of people that will be involved in different operations, I'm not at liberty to talk about it and I won't talk about it.

But I can tell you that the response from Pakistan; Prime Minister Vajpayee today, of India, Saudi Arabia, has been very positive and very straightforward. They know what my intentions are. They know my intentions are to find those who did this, find those who encouraged them, find them who house them, find those who comfort them, and bring them to justice.

I made that very clear. There is no doubt in anybody's mind with whom I've had a conversation about the intent of the United States. I gave them ample opportunity to say they were uncomfortable with our goal. And the leaders you've asked about have said they were comfortable. They said, we understand, Mr. President, and we're with you.

**Q:** Mr. President, the Attorney General is going to ask for enhanced law enforcement authority to surveil and – things to disrupt terrorism that might be planned here in the United States. What will that mean for the rights of Americans? What will that mean –

**THE PRESIDENT:** Terry, I ask you to talk to the Attorney General about that subject. He'll be prepared to talk about it publicly at some point in time. But what he is doing is, he's reflecting what I said earlier in my statement, that we're facing a new kind of enemy, somebody so barbaric that they would fly airplanes into buildings full of innocent people. And, therefore, we have to be

on alert in America. We're a nation of law, a nation of civil rights. We're also a nation under attack. And the Attorney General will address that in a way that I think the American people will understand.

We need to go back to work tomorrow and we will. But we need to be alert to the fact that these evil-doers still exist. We haven't seen this kind of barbarism in a long period of time. No one could have conceivably imagined suicide bombers burrowing into our society and then emerging all in the same day to fly their aircraft – fly U.S. aircraft into buildings full of innocent people – and show no remorse. This is a new kind of – a new kind of evil. And we understand. And the American people are beginning to understand. This crusade, this war on terrorism is going to take a while. And the American people must be patient. I'm going to be patient.

But I can assure the American people I am determined, I'm not going to be distracted, I will keep my focus to make sure that not only are these brought to justice, but anybody who's been associated will be brought to justice. Those who harbor terrorists will be brought to justice. It is time for us to win the first war of the 21st century decisively, so that our children and our grandchildren can live peacefully into the 21st century.

**Q:** Mr. President, you've declared we're at war and asked those who wear the uniform to get ready. Should the American public also be ready for the possibility of casualties in this war?

**THE PRESIDENT:** Patsy, the American people should know that my administration is determined to find, to get them running and to hunt them down, those who did this to America. Now, I want to remind the American people that the prime suspect's organization is in a lot of countries – it's a widespread organization based upon one thing: terrorizing. They can't stand freedom; they hate what America stands for. So this will be a long campaign, a determined campaign – a campaign that will use the resources of the United States to win.

They have roused a mighty giant. And make no mistake about it: we're determined. Oh, there will be times when people don't have this incident on their minds, I understand that. There will be times down the road where citizens will be concerned about other matters, and I completely

understand that. But this administration, along with those friends of ours who are willing to stand with us all the way through will do what it takes to rout terrorism out of the world.

**Q:** Mr. President, in your conversation with Pakistan's leader, was there any request or demand you made of him that he failed to satisfy?

**THE PRESIDENT:** The leader of Pakistan has been very cooperative. He has agreed with our requests to aid our nation to hunt down, to find, to smoke out of their holes the terrorist organization that is the prime suspect. And I am pleased with his response. We will continue to work with Pakistan and India. We will work with Russia. We will work with the nations that one would have thought a couple of years ago would have been impossible to work with – to bring people to justice. But more than that, to win the war against terrorist activity.

The American people are used to a conflict where there was a beachhead or a desert to cross or known military targets. That may occur. But right now we're facing people who hit and run. They hide in caves. We'll get them out.

The other day I said, not only will we find those who have affected America, or who might affect America in the future, we'll also deal with those who harbor them.

**Q:** Mr. President, would you confirm what the Vice President said this morning, that at one point during this crisis you gave an order to

shoot down any civilian airliner that approached the Capitol? Was that a difficult decision to make?

**THE PRESIDENT:** I gave our military the orders necessary to protect Americans, do whatever it would take to protect Americans. And of course that's difficult. Never did anybody's thought process about how to protect America did we ever think that the evil-doers would fly not one, but four commercial aircraft into precious U.S. targets – never. And so, obviously, when I was told what was taking place, when I was informed that an unidentified aircraft was headed to the heart of the capital, I was concerned. I wasn't concerned about my decision; I was more concerned about the lives of innocent Americans. I had realized there on the ground in Florida we were under attack. But never did I dream we would have been under attack this way.

That's why I say to the American people we've never seen this kind of evil before. But the evil-doers have never seen the American people in action before, either – and they're about to find out.

Thank you all very much.

**END 3:36 P.M. EDT**

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## APPENDIX 4. "FREEDOM AND FEAR ARE AT WAR"

### Address to a Joint Session of Congress and the American People

*United States Capitol,  
Washington, D.C.*

**9:00 P.M. EDT**

THE PRESIDENT: Mr. Speaker, Mr. President  
Pro Tempore, members of Congress, and fellow  
Americans:

In the normal course of events, Presidents  
come to this chamber to report on the state of  
the Union. Tonight, no such report is needed.  
It has already been delivered by the American  
people.

We have seen it in the courage of passengers,  
who rushed terrorists to save others on the ground  
– passengers like an exceptional man named  
Todd Beamer. And would you please help me  
to welcome his wife, Lisa Beamer, here tonight.  
(Applause.)

We have seen the state of our Union in the  
endurance of rescuers, working past exhaustion.  
We have seen the unfurling of flags, the lighting  
of candles, the giving of blood, the saying of  
prayers – in English, Hebrew, and Arabic. We  
have seen the decency of a loving and giving  
people who have made the grief of strangers their  
own.

My fellow citizens, for the last nine days, the  
entire world has seen for itself the state of our  
Union – and it is strong. (Applause.)

Tonight we are a country awakened to danger  
and called to defend freedom. Our grief has turned  
to anger, and anger to resolution. Whether we  
bring our enemies to justice, or bring justice to  
our enemies, justice will be done. (Applause.)

I thank the Congress for its leadership at such  
an important time. All of America was touched  
on the evening of the tragedy to see Republicans  
and Democrats joined together on the steps of  
this Capitol, singing "God Bless America." And  
you did more than sing; you acted, by delivering  
\$40 billion to rebuild our communities and meet  
the needs of our military.

Speaker Hastert, Minority Leader Gephardt,  
Majority Leader Daschle and Senator Lott,  
I thank you for your friendship, for your leader-  
ship and for your service to our country.  
(Applause.)

And on behalf of the American people,  
I thank the world for its outpouring of support.  
America will never forget the sounds of our  
National Anthem playing at Buckingham Palace,  
on the streets of Paris, and at Berlin's Branden-  
burg Gate.

We will not forget South Korean children  
gathering to pray outside our embassy in Seoul,  
or the prayers of sympathy offered at a mosque  
in Cairo. We will not forget moments of silence  
and days of mourning in Australia and Africa and  
Latin America.

Nor will we forget the citizens of 80 other  
nations who died with our own: dozens of  
Pakistanis; more than 130 Israelis; more than  
250 citizens of India; men and women from El  
Salvador, Iran, Mexico and Japan; and hundreds  
of British citizens. America has no truer friend  
than Great Britain. (Applause.) Once again, we  
are joined together in a great cause – so honored  
the British Prime Minister has crossed an ocean  
to show his unity of purpose with America.  
Thank you for coming, friend. (Applause.)

On September the 11th, enemies of freedom committed an act of war against our country. Americans have known wars – but for the past 136 years, they have been wars on foreign soil, except for one Sunday in 1941. Americans have known the casualties of war – but not at the center of a great city on a peaceful morning. Americans have known surprise attacks – but never before on thousands of civilians. All of this was brought upon us in a single day – and night fell on a different world, a world where freedom itself is under attack.

Americans have many questions tonight. Americans are asking: Who attacked our country? The evidence we have gathered all points to a collection of loosely affiliated terrorist organizations known as al Qaeda. They are the same murderers indicted for bombing American embassies in Tanzania and Kenya, and responsible for bombing the USS Cole.

Al Qaeda is to terror what the mafia is to crime. But its goal is not making money; its goal is remaking the world – and imposing its radical beliefs on people everywhere.

The terrorists practice a fringe form of Islamic extremism that has been rejected by Muslim scholars and the vast majority of Muslim clerics – a fringe movement that perverts the peaceful teachings of Islam. The terrorists' directive commands them to kill Christians and Jews, to kill all Americans, and make no distinction among military and civilians, including women and children.

This group and its leader – a person named Osama bin Laden – are linked to many other organizations in different countries, including the Egyptian Islamic Jihad and the Islamic Movement of Uzbekistan. There are thousands of these terrorists in more than 60 countries. They are recruited from their own nations and neighborhoods and brought to camps in places like Afghanistan, where they are trained in the tactics of terror. They are sent back to their homes or sent to hide in countries around the world to plot evil and destruction.

The leadership of al Qaeda has great influence in Afghanistan and supports the Taliban regime in controlling most of that country. In Afghanistan, we see al Qaeda's vision for the world.

Afghanistan's people have been brutalized – many are starving and many have fled. Women are not allowed to attend school. You can be jailed for owning a television. Religion can be practiced only as their leaders dictate. A man can be jailed in Afghanistan if his beard is not long enough.

The United States respects the people of Afghanistan – after all, we are currently its largest source of humanitarian aid – but we condemn the Taliban regime. (Applause.) It is not only repressing its own people, it is threatening people everywhere by sponsoring and sheltering and supplying terrorists. By aiding and abetting murder, the Taliban regime is committing murder.

And tonight, the United States of America makes the following demands on the Taliban: Deliver to United States authorities all the leaders of al Qaeda who hide in your land. (Applause.) Release all foreign nationals, including American citizens, you have unjustly imprisoned. Protect foreign journalists, diplomats and aid workers in your country. Close immediately and permanently every terrorist training camp in Afghanistan, and hand over every terrorist, and every person in their support structure, to appropriate authorities. (Applause.) Give the United States full access to terrorist training camps, so we can make sure they are no longer operating.

These demands are not open to negotiation or discussion. (Applause.) The Taliban must act, and act immediately. They will hand over the terrorists, or they will share in their fate.

I also want to speak tonight directly to Muslims throughout the world. We respect your faith. It's practiced freely by many millions of Americans, and by millions more in countries that America counts as friends. Its teachings are good and peaceful, and those who commit evil in the name of Allah blaspheme the name of Allah. (Applause.) The terrorists are traitors to their own faith, trying, in effect, to hijack Islam itself. The enemy of America is not our many Muslim friends; it is not our many Arab friends. Our enemy is a radical network of terrorists, and every government that supports them. (Applause.)

Our war on terror begins with al Qaeda, but it does not end there. It will not end until every terrorist group of global reach has been found, stopped and defeated. (Applause.)

Americans are asking, why do they hate us? They hate what we see right here in this chamber – a democratically elected government. Their leaders are self-appointed. They hate our freedoms – our freedom of religion, our freedom of speech, our freedom to vote and assemble and disagree with each other.

They want to overthrow existing governments in many Muslim countries, such as Egypt, Saudi Arabia, and Jordan. They want to drive Israel out of the Middle East. They want to drive Christians and Jews out of vast regions of Asia and Africa.

These terrorists kill not merely to end lives, but to disrupt and end a way of life. With every atrocity, they hope that America grows fearful, retreating from the world and forsaking our friends. They stand against us, because we stand in their way.

We are not deceived by their pretenses to piety. We have seen their kind before. They are the heirs of all the murderous ideologies of the 20th century. By sacrificing human life to serve their radical visions – by abandoning every value except the will to power – they follow in the path of fascism, and Nazism, and totalitarianism. And they will follow that path all the way, to where it ends: in history's unmarked grave of discarded lies. (Applause.)

Americans are asking: How will we fight and win this war? We will direct every resource at our command – every means of diplomacy, every tool of intelligence, every instrument of law enforcement, every financial influence, and every necessary weapon of war – to the disruption and to the defeat of the global terror network.

This war will not be like the war against Iraq a decade ago, with a decisive liberation of territory and a swift conclusion. It will not look like the air war above Kosovo two years ago, where no ground troops were used and not a single American was lost in combat.

Our response involves far more than instant retaliation and isolated strikes. Americans should not expect one battle, but a lengthy campaign, unlike any other we have ever seen. It may include dramatic strikes, visible on TV, and covert operations, secret even in success. We will starve terrorists of funding, turn them one against another, drive them from place to place, until there is no refuge or no rest. And we will pursue

nations that provide aid or safe haven to terrorism. Every nation, in every region, now has a decision to make. Either you are with us, or you are with the terrorists. (Applause.) From this day forward, any nation that continues to harbor or support terrorism will be regarded by the United States as a hostile regime.

Our nation has been put on notice: We are not immune from attack. We will take defensive measures against terrorism to protect Americans. Today, dozens of federal departments and agencies, as well as state and local governments, have responsibilities affecting homeland security. These efforts must be coordinated at the highest level. So tonight I announce the creation of a Cabinet-level position reporting directly to me – the Office of Homeland Security.

And tonight I also announce a distinguished American to lead this effort, to strengthen American security: a military veteran, an effective governor, a true patriot, a trusted friend – Pennsylvania's Tom Ridge. (Applause.) He will lead, oversee and coordinate a comprehensive national strategy to safeguard our country against terrorism, and respond to any attacks that may come.

These measures are essential. But the only way to defeat terrorism as a threat to our way of life is to stop it, eliminate it, and destroy it where it grows. (Applause.)

Many will be involved in this effort, from FBI agents to intelligence operatives to the reservists we have called to active duty. All deserve our thanks, and all have our prayers. And tonight, a few miles from the damaged Pentagon, I have a message for our military: Be ready. I've called the Armed Forces to alert, and there is a reason. The hour is coming when America will act, and you will make us proud. (Applause.)

This is not, however, just America's fight. And what is at stake is not just America's freedom. This is the world's fight. This is civilization's fight. This is the fight of all who believe in progress and pluralism, tolerance and freedom.

We ask every nation to join us. We will ask, and we will need, the help of police forces, intelligence services, and banking systems around the world. The United States is grateful that many nations and many international organizations have already responded – with sympathy and with support. Nations from Latin America,

to Asia, to Africa, to Europe, to the Islamic world. Perhaps the NATO Charter reflects best the attitude of the world: An attack on one is an attack on all.

The civilized world is rallying to America's side. They understand that if this terror goes unpunished, their own cities, their own citizens may be next. Terror, unanswered, can not only bring down buildings, it can threaten the stability of legitimate governments. And you know what – we're not going to allow it. (Applause.)

Americans are asking: What is expected of us? I ask you to live your lives, and hug your children. I know many citizens have fears tonight, and I ask you to be calm and resolute, even in the face of a continuing threat.

I ask you to uphold the values of America, and remember why so many have come here. We are in a fight for our principles, and our first responsibility is to live by them. No one should be singled out for unfair treatment or unkind words because of their ethnic background or religious faith. (Applause.)

I ask you to continue to support the victims of this tragedy with your contributions. Those who want to give can go to a central source of information, [libertyunites.org](http://libertyunites.org), to find the names of groups providing direct help in New York, Pennsylvania, and Virginia.

The thousands of FBI agents who are now at work in this investigation may need your cooperation, and I ask you to give it.

I ask for your patience, with the delays and inconveniences that may accompany tighter security; and for your patience in what will be a long struggle.

I ask your continued participation and confidence in the American economy. Terrorists attacked a symbol of American prosperity. They did not touch its source. America is successful because of the hard work, and creativity, and enterprise of our people. These were the true strengths of our economy before September 11th, and they are our strengths today. (Applause.)

And, finally, please continue praying for the victims of terror and their families, for those in uniform, and for our great country. Prayer has comforted us in sorrow, and will help strengthen us for the journey ahead.

Tonight I thank my fellow Americans for what you have already done and for what you will do. And ladies and gentlemen of the Congress, I thank you, their representatives, for what you have already done and for what we will do together.

Tonight, we face new and sudden national challenges. We will come together to improve air safety, to dramatically expand the number of air marshals on domestic flights, and take new measures to prevent hijacking. We will come together to promote stability and keep our airlines flying, with direct assistance during this emergency. (Applause.)

We will come together to give law enforcement the additional tools it needs to track down terror here at home. (Applause.) We will come together to strengthen our intelligence capabilities to know the plans of terrorists before they act, and find them before they strike. (Applause.)

We will come together to take active steps that strengthen America's economy, and put our people back to work.

Tonight we welcome two leaders who embody the extraordinary spirit of all New Yorkers: Governor George Pataki, and Mayor Rudolph Giuliani. (Applause.) As a symbol of America's resolve, my administration will work with Congress, and these two leaders, to show the world that we will rebuild New York City. (Applause.)

After all that has just passed – all the lives taken, and all the possibilities and hopes that died with them – it is natural to wonder if America's future is one of fear. Some speak of an age of terror. I know there are struggles ahead, and dangers to face. But this country will define our times, not be defined by them. As long as the United States of America is determined and strong, this will not be an age of terror; this will be an age of liberty, here and across the world. (Applause.)

Great harm has been done to us. We have suffered great loss. And in our grief and anger we have found our mission and our moment. Freedom and fear are at war. The advance of human freedom – the great achievement of our time, and the great hope of every time – now depends on us. Our nation – this generation – will lift a dark threat of violence from our people and our future. We will rally the world to this cause by

our efforts, by our courage. We will not tire, we will not falter, and we will not fail. (Applause.)

It is my hope that in the months and years ahead, life will return almost to normal. We'll go back to our lives and routines, and that is good. Even grief recedes with time and grace. But our resolve must not pass. Each of us will remember what happened that day, and to whom it happened. We'll remember the moment the news came – where we were and what we were doing. Some will remember an image of a fire, or a story of rescue. Some will carry memories of a face and a voice gone forever.

And I will carry this: It is the police shield of a man named George Howard, who died at the World Trade Center trying to save others. It was given to me by his mom, Arlene, as a proud memorial to her son. This is my reminder of lives that ended, and a task that does not end. (Applause.)

I will not forget this wound to our country or those who inflicted it. I will not yield; I will not

rest; I will not relent in waging this struggle for freedom and security for the American people.

The course of this conflict is not known, yet its outcome is certain. Freedom and fear, justice and cruelty, have always been at war, and we know that God is not neutral between them. (Applause.)

Fellow citizens, we'll meet violence with patient justice – assured of the rightness of our cause, and confident of the victories to come. In all that lies before us, may God grant us wisdom, and may He watch over the United States of America.

Thank you. (Applause.)

**END 9:41 P.M. EDT**

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## APPENDIX 5. THE AFGHANISTAN WAR SPEECH

### Presidential Address to the Nation

#### *The Treaty Room*

1:00 P.M. EDT

**THE PRESIDENT:** Good afternoon. On my orders, the United States military has begun strikes against al Qaeda terrorist training camps and military installations of the Taliban regime in Afghanistan. These carefully targeted actions are designed to disrupt the use of Afghanistan as a terrorist base of operations, and to attack the military capability of the Taliban regime.

We are joined in this operation by our staunch friend, Great Britain. Other close friends, including Canada, Australia, Germany and France, have pledged forces as the operation unfolds. More than 40 countries in the Middle East, Africa, Europe and across Asia have granted air transit or landing rights. Many more have shared intelligence. We are supported by the collective will of the world.

More than two weeks ago, I gave Taliban leaders a series of clear and specific demands: Close terrorist training camps; hand over leaders of the al Qaeda network; and return all foreign nationals, including American citizens, unjustly detained in your country. None of these demands were met. And now the Taliban will pay a price. By destroying camps and disrupting communications, we will make it more difficult for the terror network to train new recruits and coordinate their evil plans.

Initially, the terrorists may burrow deeper into caves and other entrenched hiding places. Our military action is also designed to clear the

way for sustained, comprehensive and relentless operations to drive them out and bring them to justice.

At the same time, the oppressed people of Afghanistan will know the generosity of America and our allies. As we strike military targets, we'll also drop food, medicine and supplies to the starving and suffering men and women and children of Afghanistan.

The United States of America is a friend to the Afghan people, and we are the friends of almost a billion worldwide who practice the Islamic faith. The United States of America is an enemy of those who aid terrorists and of the barbaric criminals who profane a great religion by committing murder in its name.

This military action is a part of our campaign against terrorism, another front in a war that has already been joined through diplomacy, intelligence, the freezing of financial assets and the arrests of known terrorists by law enforcement agents in 38 countries. Given the nature and reach of our enemies, we will win this conflict by the patient accumulation of successes, by meeting a series of challenges with determination and will and purpose.

Today we focus on Afghanistan, but the battle is broader. Every nation has a choice to make. In this conflict, there is no neutral ground. If any government sponsors the outlaws and killers of innocents, they have become outlaws and murderers, themselves. And they will take that lonely path at their own peril.

I'm speaking to you today from the Treaty Room of the White House, a place where American Presidents have worked for peace. We're a peace-

ful nation. Yet, as we have learned, so suddenly and so tragically, there can be no peace in a world of sudden terror. In the face of today's new threat, the only way to pursue peace is to pursue those who threaten it.

We did not ask for this mission, but we will fulfill it. The name of today's military operation is Enduring Freedom. We defend not only our precious freedoms, but also the freedom of people everywhere to live and raise their children free from fear.

I know many Americans feel fear today. And our government is taking strong precautions. All law enforcement and intelligence agencies are working aggressively around America, around the world and around the clock. At my request, many governors have activated the National Guard to strengthen airport security. We have called up Reserves to reinforce our military capability and strengthen the protection of our homeland.

In the months ahead, our patience will be one of our strengths – patience with the long waits that will result from tighter security; patience and understanding that it will take time to achieve our goals; patience in all the sacrifices that may come.

Today, those sacrifices are being made by members of our Armed Forces who now defend us so far from home, and by their proud and worried families. A Commander-in-Chief sends America's sons and daughters into a battle in a foreign land only after the greatest care and a lot of prayer. We ask a lot of those who wear our uniform. We ask them to leave their loved ones, to travel great distances, to risk injury, even to be

prepared to make the ultimate sacrifice of their lives. They are dedicated, they are honorable; they represent the best of our country. And we are grateful.

To all the men and women in our military – every sailor, every soldier, every airman, every coastguardsman, every Marine – I say this: Your mission is defined; your objectives are clear; your goal is just. You have my full confidence, and you will have every tool you need to carry out your duty.

I recently received a touching letter that says a lot about the state of America in these difficult times – a letter from a 4th-grade girl, with a father in the military: "As much as I don't want my Dad to fight," she wrote, "I'm willing to give him to you."

This is a precious gift, the greatest she could give. This young girl knows what America is all about. Since September 11, an entire generation of young Americans has gained new understanding of the value of freedom, and its cost in duty and in sacrifice.

The battle is now joined on many fronts. We will not waver; we will not tire; we will not falter; and we will not fail. Peace and freedom will prevail.

Thank you. May God continue to bless America.

**END 1:07 P.M. EDT**

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*Return to this article at:*

*<http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2001/10/20011007-8.html>*

## APPENDIX 6

# Radio Address by Laura Bush to the Nation

*Crawford, Texas*

**1:00 P.M. EDT**

LAURA BUSH: Good morning. I'm Laura Bush, and I'm delivering this week's radio address to kick off a world-wide effort to focus on the brutality against women and children by the al-Qaida terrorist network and the regime it supports in Afghanistan, the Taliban. That regime is now in retreat across much of the country, and the people of Afghanistan – especially women – are rejoicing. Afghan women know, through hard experience, what the rest of the world is discovering: The brutal oppression of women is a central goal of the terrorists. Long before the current war began, the Taliban and its terrorist allies were making the lives of children and women in Afghanistan miserable. Seventy percent of the Afghan people are malnourished. One in every four children won't live past the age of five because health care is not available. Women have been denied access to doctors when they're sick. Life under the Taliban is so hard and repressive, even small displays of joy are outlawed – children aren't allowed to fly kites; their mothers face beatings for laughing out loud. Women cannot work outside the home, or even leave their homes by themselves.

The severe repression and brutality against women in Afghanistan is not a matter of legitimate religious practice. Muslims around the world have condemned the brutal degradation of women and children by the Taliban regime. The poverty, poor health, and illiteracy that the terrorists and

the Taliban have imposed on women in Afghanistan do not conform with the treatment of women in most of the Islamic world, where women make important contributions in their societies. Only the terrorists and the Taliban forbid education to women. Only the terrorists and the Taliban threaten to pull out women's fingernails for wearing nail polish. The plight of women and children in Afghanistan is a matter of deliberate human cruelty, carried out by those who seek to intimidate and control.

Civilized people throughout the world are speaking out in horror – not only because our hearts break for the women and children in Afghanistan, but also because in Afghanistan, we see the world the terrorists would like to impose on the rest of us.

All of us have an obligation to speak out. We may come from different backgrounds and faiths – but parents the world over love our children. We respect our mothers, our sisters and daughters. Fighting brutality against women and children is not the expression of a specific culture; it is the acceptance of our common humanity – a commitment shared by people of good will on every continent. Because of our recent military gains in much of Afghanistan, women are no longer imprisoned in their homes. They can listen to music and teach their daughters without fear of punishment. Yet the terrorists who helped rule that country now plot and plan in many countries. And they must be stopped. The fight against terrorism is also a fight for the rights and dignity of women.

In America, next week brings Thanksgiving. After the events of the last few months, we'll be holding our families even closer. And we will be especially thankful for all the blessings of American life. I hope Americans will join our family in working to insure that dignity and opportunity will be secured for all the women and children of Afghanistan.

Have a wonderful holiday, and thank you for listening.

**END**

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*Return to this article at:*

*<http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2001/11/20011117.html>*

## APPENDIX 7. STATE OF THE UNION

### President Delivers State of the Union Address

*The United States Capitol,  
Washington, D.C.*

**9:15 P.M. EST**

**THE PRESIDENT:** Thank you very much. Mr. Speaker, Vice President Cheney, members of Congress, distinguished guests, fellow citizens: As we gather tonight, our nation is at war, our economy is in recession, and the civilized world faces unprecedented dangers. Yet the state of our Union has never been stronger. (Applause.)

We last met in an hour of shock and suffering. In four short months, our nation has comforted the victims, begun to rebuild New York and the Pentagon, rallied a great coalition, captured, arrested, and rid the world of thousands of terrorists, destroyed Afghanistan's terrorist training camps, saved a people from starvation, and freed a country from brutal oppression. (Applause.)

The American flag flies again over our embassy in Kabul. Terrorists who once occupied Afghanistan now occupy cells at Guantanamo Bay. (Applause.) And terrorist leaders who urged followers to sacrifice their lives are running for their own. (Applause.)

America and Afghanistan are now allies against terror. We'll be partners in rebuilding that country. And this evening we welcome the distinguished interim leader of a liberated Afghanistan: Chairman Hamid Karzai. (Applause.)

The last time we met in this chamber, the mothers and daughters of Afghanistan were captives in their own homes, forbidden from working or going to school. Today women are

free, and are part of Afghanistan's new government. And we welcome the new Minister of Women's Affairs, Doctor Sima Samar. (Applause.)

Our progress is a tribute to the spirit of the Afghan people, to the resolve of our coalition, and to the might of the United States military. (Applause.) When I called our troops into action, I did so with complete confidence in their courage and skill. And tonight, thanks to them, we are winning the war on terror. (Applause.) The men and women of our Armed Forces have delivered a message now clear to every enemy of the United States: Even 7,000 miles away, across oceans and continents, on mountaintops and in caves – you will not escape the justice of this nation. (Applause.)

For many Americans, these four months have brought sorrow, and pain that will never completely go away. Every day a retired firefighter returns to Ground Zero, to feel closer to his two sons who died there. At a memorial in New York, a little boy left his football with a note for his lost father: Dear Daddy, please take this to heaven. I don't want to play football until I can play with you again some day.

Last month, at the grave of her husband, Michael, a CIA officer and Marine who died in Mazur-e-Sharif, Shannon Spann said these words of farewell: "Semper Fi, my love." Shannon is with us tonight. (Applause.)

Shannon, I assure you and all who have lost a loved one that our cause is just, and our country will never forget the debt we owe Michael and all who gave their lives for freedom.

Our cause is just, and it continues. Our discoveries in Afghanistan confirmed our worst

fears, and showed us the true scope of the task ahead. We have seen the depth of our enemies' hatred in videos, where they laugh about the loss of innocent life. And the depth of their hatred is equaled by the madness of the destruction they design. We have found diagrams of American nuclear power plants and public water facilities, detailed instructions for making chemical weapons, surveillance maps of American cities, and thorough descriptions of landmarks in America and throughout the world.

What we have found in Afghanistan confirms that, far from ending there, our war against terror is only beginning. Most of the 19 men who hijacked planes on September the 11th were trained in Afghanistan's camps, and so were tens of thousands of others. Thousands of dangerous killers, schooled in the methods of murder, often supported by outlaw regimes, are now spread throughout the world like ticking time bombs, set to go off without warning.

Thanks to the work of our law enforcement officials and coalition partners, hundreds of terrorists have been arrested. Yet, tens of thousands of trained terrorists are still at large. These enemies view the entire world as a battlefield, and we must pursue them wherever they are. (Applause.) So long as training camps operate, so long as nations harbor terrorists, freedom is at risk. And America and our allies must not, and will not, allow it. (Applause.)

Our nation will continue to be steadfast and patient and persistent in the pursuit of two great objectives. First, we will shut down terrorist camps, disrupt terrorist plans, and bring terrorists to justice. And, second, we must prevent the terrorists and regimes who seek chemical, biological or nuclear weapons from threatening the United States and the world. (Applause.)

Our military has put the terror training camps of Afghanistan out of business, yet camps still exist in at least a dozen countries. A terrorist underworld – including groups like Hamas, Hezbollah, Islamic Jihad, Jaish-i-Mohammed – operates in remote jungles and deserts, and hides in the centers of large cities.

While the most visible military action is in Afghanistan, America is acting elsewhere. We now have troops in the Philippines, helping to train that country's armed forces to go after

terrorist cells that have executed an American, and still hold hostages. Our soldiers, working with the Bosnian government, seized terrorists who were plotting to bomb our embassy. Our Navy is patrolling the coast of Africa to block the shipment of weapons and the establishment of terrorist camps in Somalia.

My hope is that all nations will heed our call, and eliminate the terrorist parasites who threaten their countries and our own. Many nations are acting forcefully. Pakistan is now cracking down on terror, and I admire the strong leadership of President Musharraf. (Applause.)

But some governments will be timid in the face of terror. And make no mistake about it: If they do not act, America will. (Applause.)

Our second goal is to prevent regimes that sponsor terror from threatening America or our friends and allies with weapons of mass destruction. Some of these regimes have been pretty quiet since September the 11th. But we know their true nature. North Korea is a regime arming with missiles and weapons of mass destruction, while starving its citizens.

Iran aggressively pursues these weapons and exports terror, while an unelected few repress the Iranian people's hope for freedom.

Iraq continues to flaunt its hostility toward America and to support terror. The Iraqi regime has plotted to develop anthrax, and nerve gas, and nuclear weapons for over a decade. This is a regime that has already used poison gas to murder thousands of its own citizens – leaving the bodies of mothers huddled over their dead children. This is a regime that agreed to international inspections – then kicked out the inspectors. This is a regime that has something to hide from the civilized world.

States like these, and their terrorist allies, constitute an axis of evil, arming to threaten the peace of the world. By seeking weapons of mass destruction, these regimes pose a grave and growing danger. They could provide these arms to terrorists, giving them the means to match their hatred. They could attack our allies or attempt to blackmail the United States. In any of these cases, the price of indifference would be catastrophic.

We will work closely with our coalition to deny terrorists and their state sponsors the

materials, technology, and expertise to make and deliver weapons of mass destruction. We will develop and deploy effective missile defenses to protect America and our allies from sudden attack. (Applause.) And all nations should know: America will do what is necessary to ensure our nation's security.

We'll be deliberate, yet time is not on our side. I will not wait on events, while dangers gather. I will not stand by, as peril draws closer and closer. The United States of America will not permit the world's most dangerous regimes to threaten us with the world's most destructive weapons. (Applause.)

Our war on terror is well begun, but it is only begun. This campaign may not be finished on our watch – yet it must be and it will be waged on our watch.

We can't stop short. If we stop now – leaving terror camps intact and terror states unchecked – our sense of security would be false and temporary. History has called America and our allies to action, and it is both our responsibility and our privilege to fight freedom's fight. (Applause.)

Our first priority must always be the security of our nation, and that will be reflected in the budget I send to Congress. My budget supports three great goals for America: We will win this war; we'll protect our homeland; and we will revive our economy.

September the 11th brought out the best in America, and the best in this Congress. And I join the American people in applauding your unity and resolve. (Applause.) Now Americans deserve to have this same spirit directed toward addressing problems here at home. I'm a proud member of my party – yet as we act to win the war, protect our people, and create jobs in America, we must act, first and foremost, not as Republicans, not as Democrats, but as Americans. (Applause.)

It costs a lot to fight this war. We have spent more than a billion dollars a month – over \$30 million a day – and we must be prepared for future operations. Afghanistan proved that expensive precision weapons defeat the enemy and spare innocent lives, and we need more of them. We need to replace aging aircraft and make our military more agile, to put our troops anywhere in the world quickly and safely. Our men

and women in uniform deserve the best weapons, the best equipment, the best training – and they also deserve another pay raise. (Applause.)

My budget includes the largest increase in defense spending in two decades – because while the price of freedom and security is high, it is never too high. Whatever it costs to defend our country, we will pay. (Applause.)

The next priority of my budget is to do everything possible to protect our citizens and strengthen our nation against the ongoing threat of another attack. Time and distance from the events of September the 11th will not make us safer unless we act on its lessons. America is no longer protected by vast oceans. We are protected from attack only by vigorous action abroad, and increased vigilance at home.

My budget nearly doubles funding for a sustained strategy of homeland security, focused on four key areas: bioterrorism, emergency response, airport and border security, and improved intelligence. We will develop vaccines to fight anthrax and other deadly diseases. We'll increase funding to help states and communities train and equip our heroic police and firefighters. (Applause.) We will improve intelligence collection and sharing, expand patrols at our borders, strengthen the security of air travel, and use technology to track the arrivals and departures of visitors to the United States. (Applause.)

Homeland security will make America not only stronger, but, in many ways, better. Knowledge gained from bioterrorism research will improve public health. Stronger police and fire departments will mean safer neighborhoods. Stricter border enforcement will help combat illegal drugs. (Applause.) And as government works to better secure our homeland, America will continue to depend on the eyes and ears of alert citizens.

A few days before Christmas, an airline flight attendant spotted a passenger lighting a match. The crew and passengers quickly subdued the man, who had been trained by al Qaeda and was armed with explosives. The people on that plane were alert and, as a result, likely saved nearly 200 lives. And tonight we welcome and thank flight attendants Hermis Moutardier and Christina Jones. (Applause.)

Once we have funded our national security and our homeland security, the final great priority of my budget is economic security for the American people. (Applause.) To achieve these great national objectives – to win the war, protect the homeland, and revitalize our economy – our budget will run a deficit that will be small and short-term, so long as Congress restrains spending and acts in a fiscally responsible manner. (Applause.) We have clear priorities and we must act at home with the same purpose and resolve we have shown overseas: We'll prevail in the war, and we will defeat this recession. (Applause.)

Americans who have lost their jobs need our help and I support extending unemployment benefits and direct assistance for health care coverage. (Applause.) Yet, American workers want more than unemployment checks – they want a steady paycheck. (Applause.) When America works, America prospers, so my economic security plan can be summed up in one word: jobs. (Applause.)

Good jobs begin with good schools, and here we've made a fine start. (Applause.) Republicans and Democrats worked together to achieve historic education reform so that no child is left behind. I was proud to work with members of both parties: Chairman John Boehner and Congressman George Miller. (Applause.) Senator Judd Gregg. (Applause.) And I was so proud of our work, I even had nice things to say about my friend, Ted Kennedy. (Laughter and applause.) I know the folks at the Crawford coffee shop couldn't believe I'd say such a thing – (laughter) – but our work on this bill shows what is possible if we set aside posturing and focus on results. (Applause.)

There is more to do. We need to prepare our children to read and succeed in school with improved Head Start and early childhood development programs. (Applause.) We must upgrade our teacher colleges and teacher training and launch a major recruiting drive with a great goal for America: a quality teacher in every classroom. (Applause.)

Good jobs also depend on reliable and affordable energy. This Congress must act to encourage conservation, promote technology, build infrastructure, and it must act to increase

energy production at home so America is less dependent on foreign oil. (Applause.)

Good jobs depend on expanded trade. Selling into new markets creates new jobs, so I ask Congress to finally approve trade promotion authority. (Applause.) On these two key issues, trade and energy, the House of Representatives has acted to create jobs, and I urge the Senate to pass this legislation. (Applause.)

Good jobs depend on sound tax policy. (Applause.) Last year, some in this hall thought my tax relief plan was too small; some thought it was too big (Applause.) But when the checks arrived in the mail, most Americans thought tax relief was just about right. (Applause.) Congress listened to the people and responded by reducing tax rates, doubling the child credit, and ending the death tax. For the sake of long-term growth and to help Americans plan for the future, let's make these tax cuts permanent. (Applause.)

The way out of this recession, the way to create jobs, is to grow the economy by encouraging investment in factories and equipment, and by speeding up tax relief so people have more money to spend. For the sake of American workers, let's pass a stimulus package. (Applause.)

Good jobs must be the aim of welfare reform. As we reauthorize these important reforms, we must always remember the goal is to reduce dependency on government and offer every American the dignity of a job. (Applause.)

Americans know economic security can vanish in an instant without health security. I ask Congress to join me this year to enact a patients' bill of rights – (applause) – to give uninsured workers credits to help buy health coverage – (applause) – to approve an historic increase in the spending for veterans' health – (applause) – and to give seniors a sound and modern Medicare system that includes coverage for prescription drugs. (Applause.)

A good job should lead to security in retirement. I ask Congress to enact new safeguards for 401K and pension plans. (Applause.) Employees who have worked hard and saved all their lives should not have to risk losing everything if their company fails. (Applause.) Through stricter accounting standards and tougher disclosure requirements, corporate America must be made

more accountable to employees and shareholders and held to the highest standards of conduct. (Applause.)

Retirement security also depends upon keeping the commitments of Social Security, and we will. We must make Social Security financially stable and allow personal retirement accounts for younger workers who choose them. (Applause.)

Members, you and I will work together in the months ahead on other issues: productive farm policy – (applause) – a cleaner environment – (applause) – broader home ownership, especially among minorities – (applause) – and ways to encourage the good work of charities and faith-based groups. (Applause.) I ask you to join me on these important domestic issues in the same spirit of cooperation we've applied to our war against terrorism. (Applause.)

During these last few months, I've been humbled and privileged to see the true character of this country in a time of testing. Our enemies believed America was weak and materialistic, that we would splinter in fear and selfishness. They were as wrong as they are evil. (Applause.)

The American people have responded magnificently, with courage and compassion, strength and resolve. As I have met the heroes, hugged the families, and looked into the tired faces of rescuers, I have stood in awe of the American people.

And I hope you will join me – I hope you will join me in expressing thanks to one American for the strength and calm and comfort she brings to our nation in crisis, our First Lady, Laura Bush. (Applause.)

None of us would ever wish the evil that was done on September the 11th. Yet after America was attacked, it was as if our entire country looked into a mirror and saw our better selves. We were reminded that we are citizens, with obligations to each other, to our country, and to history. We began to think less of the goods we can accumulate, and more about the good we can do.

For too long our culture has said, "If it feels good, do it." Now America is embracing a new ethic and a new creed: "Let's roll." (Applause.) In the sacrifice of soldiers, the fierce brotherhood of firefighters, and the bravery and generosity of ordinary citizens, we have glimpsed what a new culture of responsibility could look like. We want

to be a nation that serves goals larger than self. We've been offered a unique opportunity, and we must not let this moment pass. (Applause.)

My call tonight is for every American to commit at least two years – 4,000 hours over the rest of your lifetime – to the service of your neighbors and your nation. (Applause.) Many are already serving, and I thank you. If you aren't sure how to help, I've got a good place to start. To sustain and extend the best that has emerged in America, I invite you to join the new USA Freedom Corps. The Freedom Corps will focus on three areas of need: responding in case of crisis at home; rebuilding our communities; and extending American compassion throughout the world.

One purpose of the USA Freedom Corps will be homeland security. America needs retired doctors and nurses who can be mobilized in major emergencies; volunteers to help police and fire departments; transportation and utility workers well-trained in spotting danger.

Our country also needs citizens working to rebuild our communities. We need mentors to love children, especially children whose parents are in prison. And we need more talented teachers in troubled schools. USA Freedom Corps will expand and improve the good efforts of AmeriCorps and Senior Corps to recruit more than 200,000 new volunteers.

And America needs citizens to extend the compassion of our country to every part of the world. So we will renew the promise of the Peace Corps, double its volunteers over the next five years – (applause) – and ask it to join a new effort to encourage development and education and opportunity in the Islamic world. (Applause.)

This time of adversity offers a unique moment of opportunity a moment we must seize to change our culture. Through the gathering momentum of millions of acts of service and decency and kindness, I know we can overcome evil with greater good. (Applause.) And we have a great opportunity during this time of war to lead the world toward the values that will bring lasting peace.

All fathers and mothers, in all societies, want their children to be educated, and live free from poverty and violence. No people on Earth yearn to be oppressed, or aspire to servitude, or eagerly await the midnight knock of the secret police.

If anyone doubts this, let them look to Afghanistan, where the Islamic “street” greeted the fall of tyranny with song and celebration. Let the skeptics look to Islam’s own rich history, with its centuries of learning, and tolerance and progress. America will lead by defending liberty and justice because they are right and true and unchanging for all people everywhere. (Applause.)

No nation owns these aspirations, and no nation is exempt from them. We have no intention of imposing our culture. But America will always stand firm for the non-negotiable demands of human dignity: the rule of law; limits on the power of the state; respect for women; private property; free speech; equal justice; and religious tolerance. (Applause.)

America will take the side of brave men and women who advocate these values around the world, including the Islamic world, because we have a greater objective than eliminating threats and containing resentment. We seek a just and peaceful world beyond the war on terror.

In this moment of opportunity, a common danger is erasing old rivalries. America is working with Russia and China and India, in ways we have never before, to achieve peace and prosperity. In every region, free markets and free trade and free societies are proving their power to lift lives. Together with friends and allies from Europe to Asia, and Africa to Latin America, we will demonstrate that the forces of terror cannot stop the momentum of freedom. (Applause.)

The last time I spoke here, I expressed the hope that life would return to normal. In some

ways, it has. In others, it never will. Those of us who have lived through these challenging times have been changed by them. We’ve come to know truths that we will never question: evil is real, and it must be opposed. (Applause.) Beyond all differences of race or creed, we are one country, mourning together and facing danger together. Deep in the American character, there is honor, and it is stronger than cynicism. And many have discovered again that even in tragedy – especially in tragedy – God is near. (Applause.)

In a single instant, we realized that this will be a decisive decade in the history of liberty, that we’ve been called to a unique role in human events. Rarely has the world faced a choice more clear or consequential.

Our enemies send other people’s children on missions of suicide and murder. They embrace tyranny and death as a cause and a creed. We stand for a different choice, made long ago, on the day of our founding. We affirm it again today. We choose freedom and the dignity of every life. (Applause.)

Steadfast in our purpose, we now press on. We have known freedom’s price. We have shown freedom’s power. And in this great conflict, my fellow Americans, we will see freedom’s victory.

Thank you all. May God bless. (Applause.)

**END 10:03 P.M. EST**

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*Return to this article at:*

*<http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2002/01/20020129-11.html>*

## APPENDIX 8. THE CINCINNATI SPEECH

### President Bush Outlines Iraqi Threat

*Cincinnati Museum Center,  
Cincinnati Union Terminal  
Cincinnati, Ohio*

**8:02 P.M. EDT**

**THE PRESIDENT:** Thank you all. Thank you for that very gracious and warm Cincinnati welcome. I'm honored to be here tonight; I appreciate you all coming.

Tonight I want to take a few minutes to discuss a grave threat to peace, and America's determination to lead the world in confronting that threat.

The threat comes from Iraq. It arises directly from the Iraqi regime's own actions – its history of aggression, and its drive toward an arsenal of terror. Eleven years ago, as a condition for ending the Persian Gulf War, the Iraqi regime was required to destroy its weapons of mass destruction, to cease all development of such weapons, and to stop all support for terrorist groups. The Iraqi regime has violated all of those obligations. It possesses and produces chemical and biological weapons. It is seeking nuclear weapons. It has given shelter and support to terrorism, and practices terror against its own people. The entire world has witnessed Iraq's eleven-year history of defiance, deception and bad faith.

We also must never forget the most vivid events of recent history. On September the 11th, 2001, America felt its vulnerability – even to threats that gather on the other side of the earth. We resolved then, and we are resolved today, to

confront every threat, from any source, that could bring sudden terror and suffering to America.

Members of the Congress of both political parties, and members of the United Nations Security Council, agree that Saddam Hussein is a threat to peace and must disarm. We agree that the Iraqi dictator must not be permitted to threaten America and the world with horrible poisons and diseases and gases and atomic weapons. Since we all agree on this goal, the issue is: how can we best achieve it?

Many Americans have raised legitimate questions: about the nature of the threat; about the urgency of action – why be concerned now; about the link between Iraq developing weapons of terror, and the wider war on terror. These are all issues we've discussed broadly and fully within my administration. And tonight, I want to share those discussions with you.

First, some ask why Iraq is different from other countries or regimes that also have terrible weapons. While there are many dangers in the world, the threat from Iraq stands alone – because it gathers the most serious dangers of our age in one place. Iraq's weapons of mass destruction are controlled by a murderous tyrant who has already used chemical weapons to kill thousands of people. This same tyrant has tried to dominate the Middle East, has invaded and brutally occupied a small neighbor, has struck other nations without warning, and holds an unrelenting hostility toward the United States.

By its past and present actions, by its technological capabilities, by the merciless nature of its regime, Iraq is unique. As a former chief weapons

inspector of the U.N. has said, "The fundamental problem with Iraq remains the nature of the regime, itself. Saddam Hussein is a homicidal dictator who is addicted to weapons of mass destruction."

Some ask how urgent this danger is to America and the world. The danger is already significant, and it only grows worse with time. 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?

In 1995, after several years of deceit by the Iraqi regime, the head of Iraq's military industries defected. It was then that the regime was forced to admit that it had produced more than 30,000 liters of anthrax and other deadly biological agents. The inspectors, however, concluded that Iraq had likely produced two to four times that amount. This is a massive stockpile of biological weapons that has never been accounted for, and capable of killing millions.

We know that the regime has produced thousands of tons of chemical agents, including mustard gas, sarin nerve gas, VX nerve gas. Saddam Hussein also has experience in using chemical weapons. He has ordered chemical attacks on Iran, and on more than forty villages in his own country. These actions killed or injured at least 20,000 people, more than six times the number of people who died in the attacks of September the 11th.

And surveillance photos reveal that the regime is rebuilding facilities that it had used to produce chemical and biological weapons. Every chemical and biological weapon that Iraq has or makes is a direct violation of the truce that ended the Persian Gulf War in 1991. Yet, Saddam Hussein has chosen to build and keep these weapons despite international sanctions, U.N. demands, and isolation from the civilized world.

Iraq possesses ballistic missiles with a likely range of hundreds of miles – far enough to strike Saudi Arabia, Israel, Turkey, and other nations – in a region where more than 135,000 American civilians and service members live and work. We've also discovered through intelligence that Iraq has a growing fleet of manned and unmanned aerial vehicles that could be used to disperse

chemical or biological weapons across broad areas. We're concerned that Iraq is exploring ways of using these UAVS for missions targeting the United States. And, of course, sophisticated delivery systems aren't required for a chemical or biological attack; all that might be required are a small container and one terrorist or Iraqi intelligence operative to deliver it.

And that is the source of our urgent concern about Saddam Hussein's links to international terrorist groups. Over the years, Iraq has provided safe haven to terrorists such as Abu Nidal, whose terror organization carried out more than 90 terrorist attacks in 20 countries that killed or injured nearly 900 people, including 12 Americans. Iraq has also provided safe haven to Abu Abbas, who was responsible for seizing the Achille Lauro and killing an American passenger. And we know that Iraq is continuing to finance terror and gives assistance to groups that use terrorism to undermine Middle East peace.

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. These include one very senior al Qaeda leader who received medical treatment in Baghdad this year, and who has been associated with planning for chemical and biological attacks. We've learned that Iraq has trained al Qaeda members in bomb-making and poisons and deadly gases. And we know that after September the 11th, Saddam Hussein's regime gleefully celebrated the terrorist attacks on America.

Iraq could decide on any given day to provide a biological or chemical weapon to a terrorist group or individual terrorists. Alliance with terrorists could allow the Iraqi regime to attack America without leaving any fingerprints.

Some have argued that confronting the threat from Iraq could detract from the war against terror. To the contrary; confronting the threat posed by Iraq is crucial to winning the war on terror. When I spoke to Congress more than a year ago, I said that those who harbor terrorists are as guilty as the terrorists themselves. Saddam Hussein is harboring terrorists and the instruments of terror, the instruments of mass death and

destruction. And he cannot be trusted. The risk is simply too great that he will use them, or provide them to a terror network.

Terror cells and outlaw regimes building weapons of mass destruction are different faces of the same evil. Our security requires that we confront both. And the United States military is capable of confronting both.

Many people have asked how close Saddam Hussein is to developing a nuclear weapon. Well, we don't know exactly, and that's the problem. Before the Gulf War, the best intelligence indicated that Iraq was eight to ten years away from developing a nuclear weapon. After the war, international inspectors learned that the regime has been much closer – the regime in Iraq would likely have possessed a nuclear weapon no later than 1993. The inspectors discovered that Iraq had an advanced nuclear weapons development program, had a design for a workable nuclear weapon, and was pursuing several different methods of enriching uranium for a bomb.

Before being barred from Iraq in 1998, the International Atomic Energy Agency dismantled extensive nuclear weapons-related facilities, including three uranium enrichment sites. That same year, information from a high-ranking Iraqi nuclear engineer who had defected revealed that despite his public promises, Saddam Hussein had ordered his nuclear program to continue.

The evidence indicates that Iraq is reconstituting its nuclear weapons program. Saddam Hussein has held numerous meetings with Iraqi nuclear scientists, a group he calls his “nuclear mujahideen” – his nuclear holy warriors. Satellite photographs reveal that Iraq is rebuilding facilities at sites that have been part of its nuclear program in the past. Iraq has attempted to purchase high-strength aluminum tubes and other equipment needed for gas centrifuges, which are used to enrich uranium for nuclear weapons.

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. And if we allow that to happen, a terrible line would be crossed. Saddam Hussein would be in a position to blackmail anyone who opposes his aggression. He would be in a position to dominate the Mid-

dle East. He would be in a position to threaten America. And Saddam Hussein would be in a position to pass nuclear technology to terrorists.

Some citizens wonder, after 11 years of living with this problem, why do we need to confront it now? And there's a reason. We've experienced the horror of September the 11th. We have seen that those who hate America are willing to crash airplanes into buildings full of innocent people. Our enemies would be no less willing, in fact, they would be eager, to use biological or chemical, or a nuclear weapon.

Knowing these realities, America must not ignore the threat gathering against us. Facing clear evidence of peril, we cannot wait for the final proof – the smoking gun – that could come in the form of a mushroom cloud. As President Kennedy said in October of 1962, “Neither the United States of America, nor the world community of nations can tolerate deliberate deception and offensive threats on the part of any nation, large or small. We no longer live in a world,” he said, “where only the actual firing of weapons represents a sufficient challenge to a nation's security to constitute maximum peril.”

Understanding the threats of our time, knowing the designs and deceptions of the Iraqi regime, we have every reason to assume the worst, and we have an urgent duty to prevent the worst from occurring.

Some believe we can address this danger by simply resuming the old approach to inspections, and applying diplomatic and economic pressure. Yet this is precisely what the world has tried to do since 1991. The U.N. inspections program was met with systematic deception. The Iraqi regime bugged hotel rooms and offices of inspectors to find where they were going next; they forged documents, destroyed evidence, and developed mobile weapons facilities to keep a step ahead of inspectors. Eight so-called presidential palaces were declared off-limits to unfettered inspections. These sites actually encompass twelve square miles, with hundreds of structures, both above and below the ground, where sensitive materials could be hidden.

The world has also tried economic sanctions – and watched Iraq use billions of dollars in illegal oil revenues to fund more weapons purchases,

rather than providing for the needs of the Iraqi people.

The world has tried limited military strikes to destroy Iraq's weapons of mass destruction capabilities – only to see them openly rebuilt, while the regime again denies they even exist.

The world has tried no-fly zones to keep Saddam from terrorizing his own people – and in the last year alone, the Iraqi military has fired upon American and British pilots more than 750 times.

After eleven years during which we have tried containment, sanctions, inspections, even selected military action, the end result is that Saddam Hussein still has chemical and biological weapons and is increasing his capabilities to make more. And he is moving ever closer to developing a nuclear weapon.

Clearly, to actually work, any new inspections, sanctions or enforcement mechanisms will have to be very different. America wants the U.N. to be an effective organization that helps keep the peace. And that is why we are urging the Security Council to adopt a new resolution setting out tough, immediate requirements. Among those requirements: the Iraqi regime must reveal and destroy, under U.N. supervision, all existing weapons of mass destruction. To ensure that we learn the truth, the regime must allow witnesses to its illegal activities to be interviewed outside the country – and these witnesses must be free to bring their families with them so they all beyond the reach of Saddam Hussein's terror and murder. And inspectors must have access to any site, at any time, without pre-clearance, without delay, without exceptions.

The time for denying, deceiving, and delaying has come to an end. Saddam Hussein must disarm himself – or, for the sake of peace, we will lead a coalition to disarm him.

Many nations are joining us in insisting that Saddam Hussein's regime be held accountable. They are committed to defending the international security that protects the lives of both our citizens and theirs. And that's why America is challenging all nations to take the resolutions of the U.N. Security Council seriously.

And these resolutions are clear. In addition to declaring and destroying all of its weapons of mass destruction, Iraq must end its support for

terrorism. It must cease the persecution of its civilian population. It must stop all illicit trade outside the Oil For Food program. It must release or account for all Gulf War personnel, including an American pilot, whose fate is still unknown.

By taking these steps, and by only taking these steps, the Iraqi regime has an opportunity to avoid conflict. Taking these steps would also change the nature of the Iraqi regime itself. America hopes the regime will make that choice. Unfortunately, at least so far, we have little reason to expect it. And that's why two administrations – mine and President Clinton's – have stated that regime change in Iraq is the only certain means of removing a great danger to our nation.

I hope this will not require military action, but it may. And military conflict could be difficult. An Iraqi regime faced with its own demise may attempt cruel and desperate measures. If Saddam Hussein orders such measures, his generals would be well advised to refuse those orders. If they do not refuse, they must understand that all war criminals will be pursued and punished. If we have to act, we will take every precaution that is possible. 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. (Applause.)

There is no easy or risk-free course of action. Some have argued we should wait – and that's an option. In my view, it's the riskiest of all options, because the longer we wait, the stronger and bolder Saddam Hussein will become. We could wait and hope that Saddam does not give weapons to terrorists, or develop a nuclear weapon to blackmail the world. But I'm convinced that is a hope against all evidence. As Americans, we want peace – we work and sacrifice for peace. But there can be no peace if our security depends on the will and whims of a ruthless and aggressive dictator. I'm not willing to stake one American life on trusting Saddam Hussein.

Failure to act would embolden other tyrants, allow terrorists access to new weapons and new resources, and make blackmail a permanent feature of world events. The United Nations would betray the purpose of its founding, and prove irrelevant to the problems of our time. And through its inaction, the United States would resign itself to a future of fear.

That is not the America I know. That is not the America I serve. We refuse to live in fear. (Applause.) This nation, in world war and in Cold War, has never permitted the brutal and lawless to set history's course. Now, as before, we will secure our nation, protect our freedom, and help others to find freedom of their own.

Some worry that a change of leadership in Iraq could create instability and make the situation worse. The situation could hardly get worse, for world security and for the people of Iraq. The lives of Iraqi citizens would improve dramatically if Saddam Hussein were no longer in power, just as the lives of Afghanistan's citizens improved after the Taliban. The dictator of Iraq is a student of Stalin, using murder as a tool of terror and control, within his own cabinet, within his own army, and even within his own family.

On Saddam Hussein's orders, opponents have been decapitated, wives and mothers of political opponents have been systematically raped as a method of intimidation, and political prisoners have been forced to watch their own children being tortured.

America believes that all people are entitled to hope and human rights, to the non-negotiable demands of human dignity. People everywhere prefer freedom to slavery; prosperity to squalor; self-government to the rule of terror and torture. 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 oppression of Kurds, Assyrians, Turkomans, Shi'a, Sunnis and others will be lifted. The long captivity of Iraq will end, and an era of new hope will begin.

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. If military action is necessary, 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.

Later this week, the United States Congress will vote on this matter. I have asked Congress to authorize the use of America's military, if it proves necessary, to enforce U.N. Security Council demands. Approving this resolution does not mean that military action is imminent or unavoidable. The resolution will tell the United Nations, and all nations, that America speaks with one voice and is determined to make the demands of the civilized world mean something. Congress will also be sending a message to the dictator in Iraq: that his only chance – his only choice is full compliance, and the time remaining for that choice is limited.

Members of Congress are nearing an historic vote. I'm confident they will fully consider the facts, and their duties.

The attacks of September the 11th showed our country that vast oceans no longer protect us from danger. Before that tragic date, we had only hints of al Qaeda's plans and designs. Today in Iraq, we see a threat whose outlines are far more clearly defined, and whose consequences could be far more deadly. Saddam Hussein's actions have put us on notice, and there is no refuge from our responsibilities.

We did not ask for this present challenge, but we accept it. Like other generations of Americans, we will meet the responsibility of defending human liberty against violence and aggression. By our resolve, we will give strength to others. By our courage, we will give hope to others. And by our actions, we will secure the peace, and lead the world to a better day.

May God bless America. (Applause.)

**END 8:31 P.M. EDT**

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## APPENDIX 9. COLIN POWELL'S SPEECH IN THE UN

### US Secretary of State Colin Powell Addresses the UN Security Council

#### Slide 1

POWELL: Thank you, Mr. President.

Mr. President, Mr. Secretary General, distinguished colleagues, I would like to begin by expressing my thanks for the special effort that each of you made to be here today.

This is important day for us all as we review the situation with respect to Iraq and its disarmament obligations under U.N. Security Council Resolution 1441.

Last November 8, this council passed Resolution 1441 by a unanimous vote. The purpose of that resolution was to disarm Iraq of its weapons of mass destruction. Iraq had already been found guilty of material breach of its obligations, stretching back over 16 previous resolutions and 12 years.

POWELL: Resolution 1441 was not dealing with an innocent party, but a regime this council has repeatedly convicted over the years. Resolution 1441 gave Iraq one last chance, one last chance to come into compliance or to face serious consequences. No council member present in voting on that day had any allusions about the nature and intent of the resolution or what serious consequences meant if Iraq did not comply.

And to assist in its disarmament, we called on Iraq to cooperate with returning inspectors from UNMOVIC and IAEA.

#### Slide 2

We laid down tough standards for Iraq to meet to allow the inspectors to do their job.

POWELL: This council placed the burden on Iraq to comply and disarm and not on the

inspectors to find that which Iraq has gone out of its way to conceal for so long. Inspectors are inspectors; they are not detectives.

I asked for this session today for two purposes: First, to support the core assessments made by Dr. Blix and Dr. ElBaradei. As Dr. Blix reported to this council on January 27th, quote, "Iraq appears not to have come to a genuine acceptance, not even today, of the disarmament which was demanded of it," unquote.

And as Dr. ElBaradei reported, Iraq's declaration of December 7, quote, "did not provide any new information relevant to certain questions that have been outstanding since 1998."

POWELL: My second purpose today is to provide you with additional information, to share with you what the United States knows about Iraq's weapons of mass destruction as well as Iraq's involvement in terrorism, which is also the subject of Resolution 1441 and other earlier resolutions.

I might add at this point that we are providing all relevant information we can to the inspection teams for them to do their work.

The material I will present to you comes from a variety of sources. Some are U.S. sources. And some are those of other countries. Some of the sources are technical, such as intercepted telephone conversations and photos taken by satellites. Other sources are people who have risked their lives to let the world know what Saddam Hussein is really up to.

I cannot tell you everything that we know. But what I can share with you, when combined with what all of us have learned over the years, is deeply troubling.

POWELL: What you will see is an accumulation of facts and disturbing patterns of behavior. The facts on Iraqis' behavior – Iraq's behavior demonstrate that Saddam Hussein and his regime have made no effort – no effort – to disarm as required by the international community. Indeed, the facts and Iraq's behavior show that Saddam Hussein and his regime are concealing their efforts to produce more weapons of mass destruction.

Let me begin by playing a tape for you. What you're about to hear is a conversation that my government monitored. It takes place on November 26 of last year, on the day before United Nations teams resumed inspections in Iraq.

The conversation involves two senior officers, a colonel and a brigadier general, from Iraq's elite military unit, the Republican Guard.

### Slide 3

POWELL: Let me pause and review some of the key elements of this conversation that you just heard between these two officers.

First, they acknowledge that our colleague, Mohamed ElBaradei, is coming, and they know what he's coming for, and they know he's coming the next day. He's coming to look for things that are prohibited. He is expecting these gentlemen to cooperate with him and not hide things.

### Slide 4

But they're worried. "We have this modified vehicle. What do we say if one of them sees it?"

What is their concern? Their concern is that it's something they should not have, something that should not be seen.

The general is incredulous: "You didn't get a modified. You don't have one of those, do you?"

### Slide 5

"I have one."

"Which, from where?"

"From the workshop, from the Al Kendi (ph) Company?"

"What?"

"From Al Kendi (ph)."

### Slide 6

"I'll come to see you in the morning. I'm worried. You all have something left."

"We evacuated everything. We don't have anything left."

Note what he says: "We evacuated everything." We didn't destroy it. We didn't line it up for inspection. We didn't turn it into the inspectors. We evacuated it to make sure it was not around when the inspectors showed up.

"I will come to you tomorrow."

The Al Kendi (ph) Company: This is a company that is well known to have been involved in prohibited weapons systems activity.

POWELL: Let me play another tape for you. As you will recall, the inspectors found 12 empty chemical warheads on January 16. On January 20, four days later, Iraq promised the inspectors it would search for more. You will now hear an officer from Republican Guard headquarters issuing an instruction to an officer in the field. Their conversation took place just last week on January 30.

POWELL: Let me pause again and review the elements of this message.

### Slide 7

"They're inspecting the ammunition you have, yes."

"Yes."

"For the possibility there are forbidden ammo."

"For the possibility there is by chance forbidden ammo?"

### Slide 8

"Yes."

"And we sent you a message yesterday to clean out all of the areas, the scrap areas, the abandoned areas. Make sure there is nothing there."

POWELL: Remember the first message, evacuated.

This is all part of a system of hiding things and moving things out of the way and making sure they have left nothing behind.

### Slide 9

If you go a little further into this message, and you see the specific instructions from headquarters: "After you have carried out what is contained in

this message, destroy the message because I don't want anyone to see this message."

"OK, OK."

Why? Why? This message would have verified to the inspectors that they have been trying to turn over things. They were looking for things. But they don't want that message seen, because they were trying to clean up the area to leave no evidence behind of the presence of weapons of mass destruction. And they can claim that nothing was there. And the inspectors can look all they want, and they will find nothing.

This effort to hide things from the inspectors is not one or two isolated events, quite the contrary. This is part and parcel of a policy of evasion and deception that goes back 12 years, a policy set at the highest levels of the Iraqi regime.

We know that Saddam Hussein has what is called quote, "a higher committee for monitoring the inspections teams," unquote. Think about that. Iraq has a high-level committee to monitor the inspectors who were sent in to monitor Iraq's disarmament.

POWELL: Not to cooperate with them, not to assist them, but to spy on them and keep them from doing their jobs.

The committee reports directly to Saddam Hussein. It is headed by Iraq's vice president, Taha Yassin Ramadan. Its members include Saddam Hussein's son Qusay.

This committee also includes Lieutenant General Amir al-Saadi, an adviser to Saddam. In case that name isn't immediately familiar to you, General Saadi has been the Iraqi regime's primary point of contact for Dr. Blix and Dr. ElBaradei. It was General Saadi who last fall publicly pledged that Iraq was prepared to cooperate unconditionally with inspectors. Quite the contrary, Saadi's job is not to cooperate, it is to deceive; not to disarm, but to undermine the inspectors; not to support them, but to frustrate them and to make sure they learn nothing.

We have learned a lot about the work of this special committee. We learned that just prior to the return of inspectors last November the regime had decided to resume what we heard called, quote, "the old game of cat and mouse," unquote.

For example, let me focus on the now famous declaration that Iraq submitted to this council on

December 7. Iraq never had any intention of complying with this council's mandate.

#### Slide 10

POWELL: Instead, Iraq planned to use the declaration, overwhelm us and to overwhelm the inspectors with useless information about Iraq's permitted weapons so that we would not have time to pursue Iraq's prohibited weapons. Iraq's goal was to give us, in this room, to give those us on this council the false impression that the inspection process was working.

You saw the result. Dr. Blix pronounced the 12,200-page declaration, rich in volume, but poor in information and practically devoid of new evidence.

Could any member of this council honestly rise in defense of this false declaration?

Everything we have seen and heard indicates that, instead of cooperating actively with the inspectors to ensure the success of their mission, Saddam Hussein and his regime are busy doing all they possibly can to ensure that inspectors succeed in finding absolutely nothing.

My colleagues, every statement I make today is backed up by sources, solid sources. These are not assertions. What we're giving you are facts and conclusions based on solid intelligence. I will cite some examples, and these are from human sources.

Orders were issued to Iraq's security organizations, as well as to Saddam Hussein's own office, to hide all correspondence with the Organization of Military Industrialization.

POWELL: This is the organization that oversees Iraq's weapons of mass destruction activities. Make sure there are no documents left which could connect you to the OMI.

We know that Saddam's son, Qusay, ordered the removal of all prohibited weapons from Saddam's numerous palace complexes. We know that Iraqi government officials, members of the ruling Baath Party and scientists have hidden prohibited items in their homes. Other key files from military and scientific establishments have been placed in cars that are being driven around the countryside by Iraqi intelligence agents to avoid detection.

### Slide 11

Thanks to intelligence they were provided, the inspectors recently found dramatic confirmation of these reports. When they searched the home of an Iraqi nuclear scientist, they uncovered roughly 2,000 pages of documents. You see them here being brought out of the home and placed in U.N. hands. Some of the material is classified and related to Iraq's nuclear program.

Tell me, answer me, are the inspectors to search the house of every government official, every Baath Party member and every scientist in the country to find the truth, to get the information they need, to satisfy the demands of our council?

Our sources tell us that, in some cases, the hard drives of computers at Iraqi weapons facilities were replaced. Who took the hard drives. Where did they go? What's being hidden? Why? There's only one answer to the why: to deceive, to hide, to keep from the inspectors.

Numerous human sources tell us that the Iraqis are moving, not just documents and hard drives, but weapons of mass destruction to keep them from being found by inspectors.

**POWELL:** While we were here in this council chamber debating Resolution 1441 last fall, we know, we know from sources that a missile brigade outside Baghdad was disbursing rocket launchers and warheads containing biological warfare agents to various locations, distributing them to various locations in western Iraq. Most of the launchers and warheads have been hidden in large groves of palm trees and were to be moved every one to four weeks to escape detection.

We also have satellite photos that indicate that banned materials have recently been moved from a number of Iraqi weapons of mass destruction facilities.

Let me say a word about satellite images before I show a couple. The photos that I am about to show you are sometimes hard for the average person to interpret, hard for me. The painstaking work of photo analysis takes experts with years and years of experience, pouring for hours and hours over light tables. But as I show you these images, I will try to capture and explain what they mean, what they indicate to our imagery specialists.

### Slide 12

Let's look at one. This one is about a weapons munition facility, a facility that holds ammunition at a place called Taji (ph). This is one of about 65 such facilities in Iraq. We know that this one has housed chemical munitions. In fact, this is where the Iraqis recently came up with the additional four chemical weapon shells.

Here, you see 15 munitions bunkers in yellow and red outlines. The four that are in red squares represent active chemical munitions bunkers.

### Slide 13

How do I know that? How can I say that? Let me give you a closer look. Look at the image on the left. On the left is a close-up of one of the four chemical bunkers. The two arrows indicate the presence of sure signs that the bunkers are storing chemical munitions. The arrow at the top that says security points to a facility that is the signature item for this kind of bunker. Inside that facility are special guards and special equipment to monitor any leakage that might come out of the bunker.

**POWELL:** The truck you also see is a signature item. It's a decontamination vehicle in case something goes wrong.

This is characteristic of those four bunkers. The special security facility and the decontamination vehicle will be in the area, if not at any one of them or one of the other, it is moving around those four, and it moves as it needed to move, as people are working in the different bunkers.

Now look at the picture on the right. You are now looking at two of those sanitized bunkers. The signature vehicles are gone, the tents are gone, it's been cleaned up, and it was done on the 22nd of December, as the U.N. inspection team is arriving, and you can see the inspection vehicles arriving in the lower portion of the picture on the right.

The bunkers are clean when the inspectors get there. They found nothing.

This sequence of events raises the worrisome suspicion that Iraq had been tipped off to the forthcoming inspections at Taji (ph). As it did throughout the 1990s, we know that Iraq today is actively using its considerable intelligence capabilities to hide its illicit activities. From our

sources, we know that inspectors are under constant surveillance by an army of Iraqi intelligence operatives. Iraq is relentlessly attempting to tap all of their communications, both voice and electronics.

#### **Slide 14**

**POWELL:** I would call my colleagues attention to the fine paper that United Kingdom distributed yesterday, which describes in exquisite detail Iraqi deception activities.

In this next example, you will see the type of concealment activity Iraq has undertaken in response to the resumption of inspections. Indeed, in November 2002, just when the inspections were about to resume this type of activity spiked. Here are three examples.

#### **Slide 15**

At this ballistic missile site, on November 10, we saw a cargo truck preparing to move ballistic missile components. At this biological weapons related facility, on November 25, just two days before inspections resumed, this truck caravan appeared, something we almost never see at this facility, and we monitor it carefully and regularly.

#### **Slide 16**

At this ballistic missile facility, again, two days before inspections began, five large cargo trucks appeared along with the truck-mounted crane to move missiles. We saw this kind of house cleaning at close to 30 sites.

Days after this activity, the vehicles and the equipment that I've just highlighted disappear and the site returns to patterns of normalcy. We don't know precisely what Iraq was moving, but the inspectors already knew about these sites, so Iraq knew that they would be coming.

We must ask ourselves: Why would Iraq suddenly move equipment of this nature before inspections if they were anxious to demonstrate what they had or did not have?

Remember the first intercept in which two Iraqis talked about the need to hide a modified vehicle from the inspectors. Where did Iraq take all of this equipment? Why wasn't it presented to the inspectors?

#### **Slide 17**

Iraq also has refused to permit any U-2 reconnaissance flights that would give the inspectors a better sense of what's being moved before, during and after inspectors.

**POWELL:** This refusal to allow this kind of reconnaissance is in direct, specific violation of operative paragraph seven of our Resolution 1441.

#### **Slide 18**

Saddam Hussein and his regime are not just trying to conceal weapons, they're also trying to hide people. You know the basic facts. Iraq has not complied with its obligation to allow immediate, unimpeded, unrestricted and private access to all officials and other persons as required by Resolution 1441.

The regime only allows interviews with inspectors in the presence of an Iraqi official, a minder. The official Iraqi organization charged with facilitating inspections announced, announced publicly and announced ominously that, quote, "Nobody is ready to leave Iraq to be interviewed."

Iraqi Vice President Ramadan accused the inspectors of conducting espionage, a veiled threat that anyone cooperating with U.N. inspectors was committing treason.

Iraq did not meet its obligations under 1441 to provide a comprehensive list of scientists associated with its weapons of mass destruction programs. Iraq's list was out of date and contained only about 500 names, despite the fact that UNSCOM had earlier put together a list of about 3,500 names.

Let me just tell you what a number of human sources have told us.

Saddam Hussein has directly participated in the effort to prevent interviews. In early December, Saddam Hussein had all Iraqi scientists warned of the serious consequences that they and their families would face if they revealed any sensitive information to the inspectors. They were forced to sign documents acknowledging that divulging information is punishable by death.

Saddam Hussein also said that scientists should be told not to agree to leave Iraq; anyone

who agreed to be interviewed outside Iraq would be treated as a spy. This violates 1441.

In mid-November, just before the inspectors returned, Iraqi experts were ordered to report to the headquarters of the special security organization to receive counterintelligence training. The training focused on evasion methods, interrogation resistance techniques, and how to mislead inspectors.

Ladies and gentlemen, these are not assertions. These are facts, corroborated by many sources, some of them sources of the intelligence services of other countries.

For example, in mid-December weapons experts at one facility were replaced by Iraqi intelligence agents who were to deceive inspectors about the work that was being done there.

**POWELL:** On orders from Saddam Hussein, Iraqi officials issued a false death certificate for one scientist, and he was sent into hiding.

In the middle of January, experts at one facility that was related to weapons of mass destruction, those experts had been ordered to stay home from work to avoid the inspectors. Workers from other Iraqi military facilities not engaged in elicit weapons projects were to replace the workers who'd been sent home. A dozen experts have been placed under house arrest, not in their own houses, but as a group at one of Saddam Hussein's guest houses. It goes on and on and on.

As the examples I have just presented show, the information and intelligence we have gathered point to an active and systematic effort on the part of the Iraqi regime to keep key materials and people from the inspectors in direct violation of Resolution 1441. The pattern is not just one of reluctant cooperation, nor is it merely a lack of cooperation. What we see is a deliberate campaign to prevent any meaningful inspection work.

My colleagues, operative paragraph four of U.N. Resolution 1441, which we lingered over so long last fall, clearly states that false statements and omissions in the declaration and a failure by Iraq at any time to comply with and cooperate fully in the implementation of this resolution shall constitute – the facts speak for themselves – shall constitute a further material breach of its obligation.

**POWELL:** We wrote it this way to give Iraq an early test – to give Iraq an early test. Would they

give an honest declaration and would they early on indicate a willingness to cooperate with the inspectors? It was designed to be an early test.

They failed that test. By this standard, the standard of this operative paragraph, I believe that Iraq is now in further material breach of its obligations. I believe this conclusion is irrefutable and undeniable.

Iraq has now placed itself in danger of the serious consequences called for in U.N. Resolution 1441. And this body places itself in danger of irrelevance if it allows Iraq to continue to defy its will without responding effectively and immediately.

The issue before us is not how much time we are willing to give the inspectors to be frustrated by Iraqi obstruction. But how much longer are we willing to put up with Iraq's noncompliance before we, as a council, we, as the United Nations, say: "Enough. Enough."

## Slide 19

The gravity of this moment is matched by the gravity of the threat that Iraq's weapons of mass destruction pose to the world. Let me now turn to those deadly weapons programs and describe why they are real and present dangers to the region and to the world.

First, biological weapons. We have talked frequently here about biological weapons. By way of introduction and history, I think there are just three quick points I need to make.

First, you will recall that it took UNSCOM four long and frustrating years to pry – to pry – an admission out of Iraq that it had biological weapons.

Second, when Iraq finally admitted having these weapons in 1995, the quantities were vast. Less than a teaspoon of dry anthrax, a little bit about this amount--this is just about the amount of a teaspoon--less than a teaspoon full of dry anthrax in an envelope shutdown the United States Senate in the fall of 2001. This forced several hundred people to undergo emergency medical treatment and killed two postal workers just from an amount just about this quantity that was inside of an envelope.

**POWELL:** Iraq declared 8,500 liters of anthrax, but UNSCOM estimates that Saddam Hussein

could have produced 25,000 liters. If concentrated into this dry form, this amount would be enough to fill tens upon tens upon tens of thousands of teaspoons. And Saddam Hussein has not verifiably accounted for even one teaspoon-full of this deadly material.

And that is my third point. And it is key. The Iraqis have never accounted for all of the biological weapons they admitted they had and we know they had. They have never accounted for all the organic material used to make them. And they have not accounted for many of the weapons filled with these agents such as there are 400 bombs. This is evidence, not conjecture. This is true. This is all well-documented.

Dr. Blix told this council that Iraq has provided little evidence to verify anthrax production and no convincing evidence of its destruction. It should come as no shock then, that since Saddam Hussein forced out the last inspectors in 1998, we have amassed much intelligence indicating that Iraq is continuing to make these weapons.

One of the most worrisome things that emerges from the thick intelligence file we have on Iraq's biological weapons is the existence of mobile production facilities used to make biological agents.

#### **Slide 20**

**POWELL:** Let me take you inside that intelligence file and share with you what we know from eye witness accounts. We have firsthand descriptions of biological weapons factories on wheels and on rails.

The trucks and train cars are easily moved and are designed to evade detection by inspectors. In a matter of months, they can produce a quantity of biological poison equal to the entire amount that Iraq claimed to have produced in the years prior to the Gulf War.

Although Iraq's mobile production program began in the mid-1990s, U.N. inspectors at the time only had vague hints of such programs. Confirmation came later, in the year 2000.

The source was an eye witness, an Iraqi chemical engineer who supervised one of these facilities. He actually was present during biological agent production runs. He was also at the site when an accident occurred in 1998. Twelve

technicians died from exposure to biological agents.

He reported that when UNSCOM was in country and inspecting, the biological weapons agent production always began on Thursdays at midnight because Iraq thought UNSCOM would not inspect on the Muslim Holy Day, Thursday night through Friday. He added that this was important because the units could not be broken down in the middle of a production run, which had to be completed by Friday evening before the inspectors might arrive again.

This defector is currently hiding in another country with the certain knowledge that Saddam Hussein will kill him if he finds him. His eye-witness account of these mobile production facilities has been corroborated by other sources.

A second source, an Iraqi civil engineer in a position to know the details of the program, confirmed the existence of transportable facilities moving on trailers.

A third source, also in a position to know, reported in summer 2002 that Iraq had manufactured mobile production systems mounted on road trailer units and on rail cars.

Finally, a fourth source, an Iraqi major, who defected, confirmed that Iraq has mobile biological research laboratories, in addition to the production facilities I mentioned earlier.

#### **Slide 21**

**POWELL:** We have diagrammed what our sources reported about these mobile facilities. Here you see both truck and rail car-mounted mobile factories. The description our sources gave us of the technical features required by such facilities are highly detailed and extremely accurate. As these drawings based on their description show, we know what the fermenters look like, we know what the tanks, pumps, compressors and other parts look like. We know how they fit together. We know how they work. And we know a great deal about the platforms on which they are mounted.

As shown in this diagram, these factories can be concealed easily, either by moving ordinary-looking trucks and rail cars along Iraq's thousands of miles of highway or track, or by parking them in a garage or warehouse or somewhere in Iraq's

extensive system of underground tunnels and bunkers.

#### Slide 22

We know that Iraq has at least seven of these mobile biological agent factories. The truck-mounted ones have at least two or three trucks each. That means that the mobile production facilities are very few, perhaps 18 trucks that we know of--there may be more--but perhaps 18 that we know of. Just imagine trying to find 18 trucks among the thousands and thousands of trucks that travel the roads of Iraq every single day.

It took the inspectors four years to find out that Iraq was making biological agents. How long do you think it will take the inspectors to find even one of these 18 trucks without Iraq coming forward, as they are supposed to, with the information about these kinds of capabilities?

POWELL: Ladies and gentlemen, these are sophisticated facilities. For example, they can produce anthrax and botulinum toxin. In fact, they can produce enough dry biological agent in a single month to kill thousands upon thousands of people. And dry agent of this type is the most lethal form for human beings.

By 1998, U.N. experts agreed that the Iraqis had perfected drying techniques for their biological weapons programs. Now, Iraq has incorporated this drying expertise into these mobile production facilities.

We know from Iraq's past admissions that it has successfully weaponized not only anthrax, but also other biological agents, including botulinum toxin, aflatoxin and ricin.

But Iraq's research efforts did not stop there. Saddam Hussein has investigated dozens of biological agents causing diseases such as gangrene, plague, typhus (ph), tetanus, cholera, camelpox and hemorrhagic fever, and he also has the wherewithal to develop smallpox.

#### Slide 23

The Iraqi regime has also developed ways to disburse lethal biological agents, widely and indiscriminately into the water supply, into the air. For example, Iraq had a program to modify aerial fuel tanks for Mirage jets. This video of an Iraqi

test flight obtained by UNSCOM some years ago shows an Iraqi F-1 Mirage jet aircraft. Note the spray coming from beneath the Mirage; that is 2,000 liters of simulated anthrax that a jet is spraying.

In 1995, an Iraqi military officer, Mujahid Sali Abdul Latif (ph), told inspectors that Iraq intended the spray tanks to be mounted onto a MiG-21 that had been converted into an unmanned aerial vehicle, or a UAV. UAVs outfitted with spray tanks constitute an ideal method for launching a terrorist attack using biological weapons.

POWELL: Iraq admitted to producing four spray tanks. But to this day, it has provided no credible evidence that they were destroyed, evidence that was required by the international community.

There can be no doubt that Saddam Hussein has biological weapons and the capability to rapidly produce more, many more. And he has the ability to dispense these lethal poisons and diseases in ways that can cause massive death and destruction. If biological weapons seem too terrible to contemplate, chemical weapons are equally chilling.

#### Slide 24

UNMOVIC already laid out much of this, and it is documented for all of us to read in UNSCOM's 1999 report on the subject.

Let me set the stage with three key points that all of us need to keep in mind: First, Saddam Hussein has used these horrific weapons on another country and on his own people. In fact, in the history of chemical warfare, no country has had more battlefield experience with chemical weapons since World War I than Saddam Hussein's Iraq.

Second, as with biological weapons, Saddam Hussein has never accounted for vast amounts of chemical weaponry: 550 artillery shells with mustard, 30,000 empty munitions and enough precursors to increase his stockpile to as much as 500 tons of chemical agents. If we consider just one category of missing weaponry – 6,500 bombs from the Iran-Iraq war – UNMOVIC says the amount of chemical agent in them would be in the order of 1,000 tons. These

quantities of chemical weapons are now unaccounted for.

Dr. Blix has quipped that, quote, “Mustard gas is not (inaudible) You are supposed to know what you did with it.”

We believe Saddam Hussein knows what he did with it, and he has not come clean with the international community. We have evidence these weapons existed. What we don't have is evidence from Iraq that they have been destroyed or where they are. That is what we are still waiting for.

Third point, Iraq's record on chemical weapons is replete with lies. It took years for Iraq to finally admit that it had produced four tons of the deadly nerve agent, VX. A single drop of VX on the skin will kill in minutes. Four tons.

The admission only came out after inspectors collected documentation as a result of the defection of Hussein Kamal, Saddam Hussein's late son-in-law. UNSCOM also gained forensic evidence that Iraq had produced VX and put it into weapons for delivery.

POWELL: Yet, to this day, Iraq denies it had ever weaponized VX. And on January 27, UNMOVIC told this council that it has information that conflicts with the Iraqi account of its VX program.

We know that Iraq has embedded key portions of its illicit chemical weapons infrastructure within its legitimate civilian industry. To all outward appearances, even to experts, the infrastructure looks like an ordinary civilian operation. Illicit and legitimate production can go on simultaneously; or, on a dime, this dual-use infrastructure can turn from clandestine to commercial and then back again.

These inspections would be unlikely, any inspections of such facilities would be unlikely to turn up anything prohibited, especially if there is any warning that the inspections are coming. Call it ingenious or evil genius, but the Iraqis deliberately designed their chemical weapons programs to be inspected. It is infrastructure with a built-in ally.

Under the guise of dual-use infrastructure, Iraq has undertaken an effort to reconstitute facilities that were closely associated with its past program to develop and produce chemical weapons.

For example, Iraq has rebuilt key portions of the Tariq (ph) state establishment. Tariq (ph) includes facilities designed specifically for Iraq's chemical weapons program and employs key figures from past programs.

That's the production end of Saddam's chemical weapons business. What about the delivery end?

I'm going to show you a small part of a chemical complex called al-Moussaid (ph), a site that Iraq has used for at least three years to transship chemical weapons from production facilities out to the field.

#### **Slide 25**

In May 2002, our satellites photographed the unusual activity in this picture. Here we see cargo vehicles are again at this transshipment point, and we can see that they are accompanied by a decontamination vehicle associated with biological or chemical weapons activity.

POWELL: What makes this picture significant is that we have a human source who has corroborated that movement of chemical weapons occurred at this site at that time. So it's not just the photo, and it's not an individual seeing the photo. It's the photo and then the knowledge of an individual being brought together to make the case.

#### **Slide 26**

This photograph of the site taken two months later in July shows not only the previous site, which is the figure in the middle at the top with the bulldozer sign near it, it shows that this previous site, as well as all of the other sites around the site, have been fully bulldozed and graded. The topsoil has been removed. The Iraqis literally removed the crust of the earth from large portions of this site in order to conceal chemical weapons evidence that would be there from years of chemical weapons activity.

To support its deadly biological and chemical weapons programs, Iraq procures needed items from around the world using an extensive clandestine network. What we know comes largely from intercepted communications and human sources who are in a position to know the facts.

Iraq's procurement efforts include equipment that can filter and separate micro-organisms and toxins involved in biological weapons, equipment that can be used to concentrate the agent, growth media that can be used to continue producing anthrax and botulinum toxin, sterilization equipment for laboratories, glass-lined reactors and specialty pumps that can handle corrosive chemical weapons agents and precursors, large amounts of vinyl chloride, a precursor for nerve and blister agents, and other chemicals such as sodium sulfide, an important mustard agent precursor.

Now, of course, Iraq will argue that these items can also be used for legitimate purposes. But if that is true, why do we have to learn about them by intercepting communications and risking the lives of human agents? With Iraq's well documented history on biological and chemical weapons, why should any of us give Iraq the benefit of the doubt? I don't, and I don't think you will either after you hear this next intercept.

POWELL: Just a few weeks ago, we intercepted communications between two commanders in Iraq's Second Republican Guard Corps. One commander is going to be giving an instruction to the other. You will hear as this unfolds that what he wants to communicate to the other guy, he wants to make sure the other guy hears clearly, to the point of repeating it so that it gets written down and completely understood. Listen.

#### Slide 27

POWELL: Let's review a few selected items of this conversation. Two officers talking to each other on the radio want to make sure that nothing is misunderstood:

"Remove. Remove."

The expression, the expression, "I got it."

#### Slide 28

"Nerve agents. Nerve agents. Wherever it comes up."

"Got it."

"Wherever it comes up."

"In the wireless instructions, in the instructions."

"Correction. No. In the wireless instructions."

"Wireless. I got it."

Why does he repeat it that way? Why is he so forceful in making sure this is understood? And why did he focus on wireless instructions? Because the senior officer is concerned that somebody might be listening.

Well, somebody was.

"Nerve agents. Stop talking about it. They are listening to us. Don't give any evidence that we have these horrible agents."

Well, we know that they do. And this kind of conversation confirms it.

Our conservative estimate is that Iraq today has a stockpile of between 100 and 500 tons of chemical weapons agent. That is enough agent to fill 16,000 battlefield rockets.

POWELL: Even the low end of 100 tons of agent would enable Saddam Hussein to cause mass casualties across more than 100 square miles of territory, an area nearly 5 times the size of Manhattan.

#### Slide 29

Let me remind you that, of the 122 millimeter chemical warheads, that the U.N. inspectors found recently, this discovery could very well be, as has been noted, the tip of the submerged iceberg. The question before us, all my friends, is when will we see the rest of the submerged iceberg?

Saddam Hussein has chemical weapons. Saddam Hussein has used such weapons. And Saddam Hussein has no compunction about using them again, against his neighbors and against his own people.

And we have sources who tell us that he recently has authorized his field commanders to use them. He wouldn't be passing out the orders if he didn't have the weapons or the intent to use them.

We also have sources who tell us that, since the 1980s, Saddam's regime has been experimenting on human beings to perfect its biological or chemical weapons.

A source said that 1,600 death row prisoners were transferred in 1995 to a special unit for such experiments. An eye witness saw prisoners tied down to beds, experiments conducted on them, blood oozing around the victim's mouths and autopsies performed to confirm the effects

on the prisoners. Saddam Hussein's humanity – inhumanity has no limits.

### Slide 30

Let me turn now to nuclear weapons. We have no indication that Saddam Hussein has ever abandoned his nuclear weapons program.

On the contrary, we have more than a decade of proof that he remains determined to acquire nuclear weapons.

To fully appreciate the challenge that we face today, remember that, in 1991, the inspectors searched Iraq's primary nuclear weapons facilities for the first time. And they found nothing to conclude that Iraq had a nuclear weapons program.

But based on defector information in May of 1991, Saddam Hussein's lie was exposed. In truth, Saddam Hussein had a massive clandestine nuclear weapons program that covered several different techniques to enrich uranium, including electromagnetic isotope separation, gas centrifuge, and gas diffusion. We estimate that this illicit program cost the Iraqis several billion dollars.

POWELL: Nonetheless, Iraq continued to tell the IAEA that it had no nuclear weapons program. If Saddam had not been stopped, Iraq could have produced a nuclear bomb by 1993, years earlier than most worst-case assessments that had been made before the war.

In 1995, as a result of another defector, we find out that, after his invasion of Kuwait, Saddam Hussein had initiated a crash program to build a crude nuclear weapon in violation of Iraq's U.N. obligations.

Saddam Hussein already possesses two out of the three key components needed to build a nuclear bomb. He has a cadre of nuclear scientists with the expertise, and he has a bomb design.

Since 1998, his efforts to reconstitute his nuclear program have been focused on acquiring the third and last component, sufficient fissile material to produce a nuclear explosion. To make the fissile material, he needs to develop an ability to enrich uranium.

### Slide 31

Saddam Hussein is determined to get his hands on a nuclear bomb. He is so determined that he has made repeated covert attempts to acquire

high-specification aluminum tubes from 11 different countries, even after inspections resumed.

These tubes are controlled by the Nuclear Suppliers Group precisely because they can be used as centrifuges for enriching uranium. By now, just about everyone has heard of these tubes, and we all know that there are differences of opinion. There is controversy about what these tubes are for.

Most U.S. experts think they are intended to serve as rotors in centrifuges used to enrich uranium. Other experts, and the Iraqis themselves, argue that they are really to produce the rocket bodies for a conventional weapon, a multiple rocket launcher.

Let me tell you what is not controversial about these tubes. First, all the experts who have analyzed the tubes in our possession agree that they can be adapted for centrifuge use. Second, Iraq had no business buying them for any purpose. They are banned for Iraq.

I am no expert on centrifuge tubes, but just as an old Army trooper, I can tell you a couple of things: First, it strikes me as quite odd that these tubes are manufactured to a tolerance that far exceeds U.S. requirements for comparable rockets.

Maybe Iraqis just manufacture their conventional weapons to a higher standard than we do, but I don't think so.

### Slide 32

POWELL: Second, we actually have examined tubes from several different batches that were seized clandestinely before they reached Baghdad. What we notice in these different batches is a progression to higher and higher levels of specification, including, in the latest batch, an anodized coating on extremely smooth inner and outer surfaces. Why would they continue refining the specifications, go to all that trouble for something that, if it was a rocket, would soon be blown into shrapnel when it went off?

The high tolerance aluminum tubes are only part of the story. We also have intelligence from multiple sources that Iraq is attempting to acquire magnets and high-speed balancing machines; both items can be used in a gas centrifuge program to enrich uranium.

In 1999 and 2000, Iraqi officials negotiated with firms in Romania, India, Russia and Slovenia for the purchase of a magnet production plant. Iraq wanted the plant to produce magnets weighing 20 to 30 grams. That's the same weight as the magnets used in Iraq's gas centrifuge program before the Gulf War. This incident linked with the tubes is another indicator of Iraq's attempt to reconstitute its nuclear weapons program.

Intercepted communications from mid-2000 through last summer show that Iraq front companies sought to buy machines that can be used to balance gas centrifuge rotors. One of these companies also had been involved in a failed effort in 2001 to smuggle aluminum tubes into Iraq.

People will continue to debate this issue, but there is no doubt in my mind, these elicited procurement efforts show that Saddam Hussein is very much focused on putting in place the key missing piece from his nuclear weapons program, the ability to produce fissile material. He also has been busy trying to maintain the other key parts of his nuclear program, particularly his cadre of key nuclear scientists.

It is noteworthy that, over the last 18 months, Saddam Hussein has paid increasing personal attention to Iraq's top nuclear scientists, a group that the governmental-controlled press calls openly, his nuclear mujahedeen. He regularly exhorts them and praises their progress. Progress toward what end?

### Slide 33

Long ago, the Security Council, this council, required Iraq to halt all nuclear activities of any kind.

POWELL: Let me talk now about the systems Iraq is developing to deliver weapons of mass destruction, in particular Iraq's ballistic missiles and unmanned aerial vehicles, UAVs.

### Slide 34

First, missiles. We all remember that before the Gulf War Saddam Hussein's goal was missiles that flew not just hundreds, but thousands of kilometers. He wanted to strike not only his neighbors, but also nations far beyond his borders.

While inspectors destroyed most of the prohibited ballistic missiles, numerous intelligence

reports over the past decade, from sources inside Iraq, indicate that Saddam Hussein retains a covert force of up to a few dozen Scud variant ballistic missiles. These are missiles with a range of 650 to 900 kilometers.

We know from intelligence and Iraq's own admissions that Iraq's alleged permitted ballistic missiles, the al-Samud II (ph) and the al-Fatah (ph), violate the 150-kilometer limit established by this council in Resolution 687. These are prohibited systems.

UNMOVIC has also reported that Iraq has illegally imported 380 SA-2 (ph) rocket engines. These are likely for use in the al-Samud II (ph). Their import was illegal on three counts. Resolution 687 prohibited all military shipments into Iraq. UNSCOM specifically prohibited use of these engines in surface-to-surface missiles. And finally, as we have just noted, they are for a system that exceeds the 150-kilometer range limit.

Worst of all, some of these engines were acquired as late as December--after this council passed Resolution 1441.

What I want you to know today is that Iraq has programs that are intended to produce ballistic missiles that fly 1,000 kilometers. One program is pursuing a liquid fuel missile that would be able to fly more than 1,200 kilometers. And you can see from this map, as well as I can, who will be in danger of these missiles.

### Slide 35

As part of this effort, another little piece of evidence, Iraq has built an engine test stand that is larger than anything it has ever had. Notice the dramatic difference in size between the test stand on the left, the old one, and the new one on the right. Note the large exhaust vent. This is where the flame from the engine comes out. The exhaust on the right test stand is five times longer than the one on the left. The one on the left was used for short-range missile. The one on the right is clearly intended for long-range missiles that can fly 1,200 kilometers.

This photograph was taken in April of 2002. Since then, the test stand has been finished and a roof has been put over it so it will be harder for satellites to see what's going on underneath the test stand.

Saddam Hussein's intentions have never changed. He is not developing the missiles for self-defense. These are missiles that Iraq wants in order to project power, to threaten, and to deliver chemical, biological and, if we let him, nuclear warheads.

Now, unmanned aerial vehicles, UAVs.

### Slide 36

Iraq has been working on a variety of UAVs for more than a decade. This is just illustrative of what a UAV would look like. This effort has included attempts to modify for unmanned flight the MiG-21 (ph) and with greater success an aircraft called the L-29 (ph). However, Iraq is now concentrating not on these airplanes, but on developing and testing smaller UAVs, such as this.

UAVs are well suited for dispensing chemical and biological weapons.

POWELL: There is ample evidence that Iraq has dedicated much effort to developing and testing spray devices that could be adapted for UAVs. And of the little that Saddam Hussein told us about UAVs, he has not told the truth. One of these lies is graphically and indisputably demonstrated by intelligence we collected on June 27, last year.

### Slide 37

According to Iraq's December 7 declaration, its UAVs have a range of only 80 kilometers. But we detected one of Iraq's newest UAVs in a test flight that went 500 kilometers nonstop on autopilot in the race track pattern depicted here.

Not only is this test well in excess of the 150 kilometers that the United Nations permits, the test was left out of Iraq's December 7th declaration. The UAV was flown around and around and around in a circle. And so, that its 80 kilometer limit really was 500 kilometers unrefueled and on autopilot, violative of all of its obligations under 1441.

The linkages over the past 10 years between Iraq's UAV program and biological and chemical warfare agents are of deep concern to us. Iraq could use these small UAVs which have a wingspan of only a few meters to deliver biological agents to its neighbors or if transported, to other countries, including the United States.

My friends, the information I have presented to you about these terrible weapons and about Iraq's continued flaunting of its obligations under Security Council Resolution 1441 links to a subject I now want to spend a little bit of time on. And that has to do with terrorism.

### Slide 38

Our concern is not just about these elicit weapons. It's the way that these elicit weapons can be connected to terrorists and terrorist organizations that have no compunction about using such devices against innocent people around the world.

Iraq and terrorism go back decades. Baghdad trains Palestine Liberation Front members in small arms and explosives. Saddam uses the Arab Liberation Front to funnel money to the families of Palestinian suicide bombers in order to prolong the Intifada. And it's no secret that Saddam's own intelligence service was involved in dozens of attacks or attempted assassinations in the 1990s.

But what I want to bring to your attention today is the potentially much more sinister nexus between Iraq and the Al Qaida terrorist network, a nexus that combines classic terrorist organizations and modern methods of murder. Iraq today harbors a deadly terrorist network headed by Abu Musab Al-Zarqawi, an associated collaborator of Osama bin Laden and his Al Qaida lieutenants.

Zarqawi, a Palestinian born in Jordan, fought in the Afghan war more than a decade ago. Returning to Afghanistan in 2000, he oversaw a terrorist training camp. One of his specialties and one of the specialties of this camp is poisons. When our coalition ousted the Taliban, the Zarqawi network helped establish another poison and explosive training center camp. And this camp is located in northeastern Iraq.

### Slide 39

POWELL: You see a picture of this camp.

The network is teaching its operatives how to produce ricin and other poisons. Let me remind you how ricin works. Less than a pinch – image a pinch of salt – less than a pinch of ricin, eating just this amount in your food, would cause shock followed by circulatory failure. Death comes within 72 hours and there is no antidote, there is no cure. It is fatal.

#### Slide 40

Those helping to run this camp are Zarqawi lieutenants operating in northern Kurdish areas outside Saddam Hussein's controlled Iraq. But Baghdad has an agent in the most senior levels of the radical organization, Ansar al-Islam, that controls this corner of Iraq. In 2000 this agent offered Al Qaida safe haven in the region. After we swept Al Qaida from Afghanistan, some of its members accepted this safe haven. They remain their today.

Zarqawi's activities are not confined to this small corner of north east Iraq. He traveled to Baghdad in May 2002 for medical treatment, staying in the capital of Iraq for two months while he recuperated to fight another day.

During this stay, nearly two dozen extremists converged on Baghdad and established a base of operations there. These Al Qaida affiliates, based in Baghdad, now coordinate the movement of people, money and supplies into and throughout Iraq for his network, and they've now been operating freely in the capital for more than eight months.

Iraqi officials deny accusations of ties with Al Qaida. These denials are simply not credible. Last year an Al Qaida associate bragged that the situation in Iraq was, quote, "good," that Baghdad could be transited quickly.

We know these affiliates are connected to Zarqawi because they remain even today in regular contact with his direct subordinates, including the poison cell plotters, and they are involved in moving more than money and materiale.

Last year, two suspected Al Qaida operatives were arrested crossing from Iraq into Saudi Arabia. They were linked to associates of the Baghdad cell, and one of them received training in Afghanistan on how to use cyanide. From his terrorist network in Iraq, Zarqawi can direct his network in the Middle East and beyond.

We, in the United States, all of us at the State Department, and the Agency for International Development – we all lost a dear friend with the cold-blooded murder of Mr. Lawrence Foley in Amman, Jordan last October, a despicable act was committed that day. The assassination of an individual whose sole mission was to assist the people of Jordan. The captured assassin says his

cell received money and weapons from Zarqawi for that murder.

POWELL: After the attack, an associate of the assassin left Jordan to go to Iraq to obtain weapons and explosives for further operations. Iraqi officials protest that they are not aware of the whereabouts of Zarqawi or of any of his associates. Again, these protests are not credible. We know of Zarqawi's activities in Baghdad. I described them earlier.

And now let me add one other fact. We asked a friendly security service to approach Baghdad about extraditing Zarqawi and providing information about him and his close associates. This service contacted Iraqi officials twice, and we passed details that should have made it easy to find Zarqawi. The network remains in Baghdad. Zarqawi still remains at large to come and go.

As my colleagues around this table and as the citizens they represent in Europe know, Zarqawi's terrorism is not confined to the Middle East. Zarqawi and his network have plotted terrorist actions against countries, including France, Britain, Spain, Italy, Germany and Russia.

#### Slide 41

According to detainee Abuwatia (ph), who graduated from Zarqawi's terrorist camp in Afghanistan, tasks at least nine North African extremists from 2001 to travel to Europe to conduct poison and explosive attacks.

Since last year, members of this network have been apprehended in France, Britain, Spain and Italy. By our last count, 116 operatives connected to this global web have been arrested.

#### Slide 42

The chart you are seeing shows the network in Europe. We know about this European network, and we know about its links to Zarqawi, because the detainee who provided the information about the targets also provided the names of members of the network.

Three of those he identified by name were arrested in France last December. In the apartments of the terrorists, authorities found circuits for explosive devices and a list of ingredients to make toxins.

The detainee who helped piece this together says the plot also targeted Britain. Later evidence, again, proved him right. When the British unearthed a cell there just last month, one British police officer was murdered during the disruption of the cell.

#### Slide 43

We also know that Zarqawi's colleagues have been active in the Pankisi Gorge, Georgia and in Chechnya, Russia. The plotting to which they are linked is not mere chatter. Members of Zarqawi's network say their goal was to kill Russians with toxins.

We are not surprised that Iraq is harboring Zarqawi and his subordinates. This understanding builds on decades long experience with respect to ties between Iraq and Al Qaida.

POWELL: Going back to the early and mid-1990s, when bin Laden was based in Sudan, an Al Qaida source tells us that Saddam and bin Laden reached an understanding that Al Qaida would no longer support activities against Baghdad. Early Al Qaida ties were forged by secret, high-level intelligence service contacts with Al Qaida, secret Iraqi intelligence high-level contacts with Al Qaida.

We know members of both organizations met repeatedly and have met at least eight times at very senior levels since the early 1990s. In 1996, a foreign security service tells us, that bin Laden met with a senior Iraqi intelligence official in Khartoum, and later met the director of the Iraqi intelligence service.

Saddam became more interested as he saw Al Qaida's appalling attacks. A detained Al Qaida member tells us that Saddam was more willing to assist Al Qaida after the 1998 bombings of our embassies in Kenya and Tanzania. Saddam was also impressed by Al Qaida's attacks on the USS Cole in Yemen in October 2000.

Iraqis continued to visit bin Laden in his new home in Afghanistan. A senior defector, one of Saddam's former intelligence chiefs in Europe, says Saddam sent his agents to Afghanistan sometime in the mid-1990s to provide training to Al Qaida members on document forgery.

From the late 1990s until 2001, the Iraqi embassy in Pakistan played the role of liaison to the Al Qaida organization.

Some believe, some claim these contacts do not amount to much. They say Saddam Hussein's secular tyranny and Al Qaida's religious tyranny do not mix. I am not comforted by this thought. Ambition and hatred are enough to bring Iraq and Al Qaida together, enough so Al Qaida could learn how to build more sophisticated bombs and learn how to forge documents, and enough so that Al Qaida could turn to Iraq for help in acquiring expertise on weapons of mass destruction.

And the record of Saddam Hussein's cooperation with other Islamist terrorist organizations is clear. Hamas, for example, opened an office in Baghdad in 1999, and Iraq has hosted conferences attended by Palestine Islamic Jihad. These groups are at the forefront of sponsoring suicide attacks against Israel.

Al Qaida continues to have a deep interest in acquiring weapons of mass destruction. As with the story of Zarqawi and his network, I can trace the story of a senior terrorist operative telling how Iraq provided training in these weapons to Al Qaida.

Fortunately, this operative is now detained, and he has told his story. I will relate it to you now as he, himself, described it.

This senior Al Qaida terrorist was responsible for one of Al Qaida's training camps in Afghanistan.

POWELL: His information comes first-hand from his personal involvement at senior levels of Al Qaida. He says bin Laden and his top deputy in Afghanistan, deceased Al Qaida leader Muhammad Atif (ph), did not believe that Al Qaida labs in Afghanistan were capable enough to manufacture these chemical or biological agents. They needed to go somewhere else. They had to look outside of Afghanistan for help. Where did they go? Where did they look? They went to Iraq.

The support that (inaudible) describes included Iraq offering chemical or biological weapons training for two Al Qaida associates beginning in December 2000. He says that a militant known as Abu Abdula Al-Iraqi (ph) had been sent to Iraq several times between 1997 and 2000 for

help in acquiring poisons and gases. Abdula Al-Iraqi (ph) characterized the relationship he forged with Iraqi officials as successful.

As I said at the outset, none of this should come as a surprise to any of us. Terrorism has been a tool used by Saddam for decades. Saddam was a supporter of terrorism long before these terrorist networks had a name. And this support continues. The nexus of poisons and terror is new. The nexus of Iraq and terror is old. The combination is lethal.

With this track record, Iraqi denials of supporting terrorism take the place alongside the other Iraqi denials of weapons of mass destruction. It is all a web of lies.

When we confront a regime that harbors ambitions for regional domination, hides weapons of mass destruction and provides haven and active support for terrorists, we are not confronting the past, we are confronting the present. And unless we act, we are confronting an even more frightening future.

#### **Slide 44**

My friends, this has been a long and a detailed presentation. And I thank you for your patience. But there is one more subject that I would like to touch on briefly. And it should be a subject of deep and continuing concern to this council, Saddam Hussein's violations of human rights.

Underlying all that I have said, underlying all the facts and the patterns of behavior that I have identified as Saddam Hussein's contempt for the will of this council, his contempt for the truth and most damning of all, his utter contempt for human life. Saddam Hussein's use of mustard and nerve gas against the Kurds in 1988 was one of the 20th century's most horrible atrocities; 5,000 men, women and children died.

**POWELL:** His campaign against the Kurds from 1987 to '89 included mass summary executions, disappearances, arbitrary jailing, ethnic cleansing and the destruction of some 2,000 villages. He has also conducted ethnic cleansing against the Shi'a Iraqis and the Marsh Arabs whose culture has flourished for more than a millennium. Saddam Hussein's police state ruthlessly eliminates anyone who dares to dissent. Iraq has more forced disappearance cases than

any other country, tens of thousands of people reported missing in the past decade.

Nothing points more clearly to Saddam Hussein's dangerous intentions and the threat he poses to all of us than his calculated cruelty to his own citizens and to his neighbors. Clearly, Saddam Hussein and his regime will stop at nothing until something stops him.

#### **Slide 45**

For more than 20 years, by word and by deed Saddam Hussein has pursued his ambition to dominate Iraq and the broader Middle East using the only means he knows, intimidation, coercion and annihilation of all those who might stand in his way. For Saddam Hussein, possession of the world's most deadly weapons is the ultimate trump card, the one he most hold to fulfill his ambition.

We know that Saddam Hussein is determined to keep his weapons of mass destruction; he's determined to make more. Given Saddam Hussein's history of aggression, given what we know of his grandiose plans, given what we know of his terrorist associations and given his determination to exact revenge on those who oppose him, should we take the risk that he will not some day use these weapons at a time and the place and in the manner of his choosing at a time when the world is in a much weaker position to respond?

The United States will not and cannot run that risk to the American people. Leaving Saddam Hussein in possession of weapons of mass destruction for a few more months or years is not an option, not in a post-September 11th world.

My colleagues, over three months ago this council recognized that Iraq continued to pose a threat to international peace and security, and that Iraq had been and remained in material breach of its disarmament obligations. Today Iraq still poses a threat and Iraq still remains in material breach.

**POWELL:** Indeed, by its failure to seize on its one last opportunity to come clean and disarm, Iraq has put itself in deeper material breach and closer to the day when it will face serious consequences for its continued defiance of this council.

My colleagues, we have an obligation to our citizens, we have an obligation to this body to see

that our resolutions are complied with. We wrote 1441 not in order to go to war, we wrote 1441 to try to preserve the peace. We wrote 1441 to give Iraq one last chance. Iraq is not so far taking that one last chance.

We must not shrink from whatever is ahead of us. We must not fail in our duty and our responsibility to the citizens of the countries that are represented by this body.

Thank you, Mr. President.

**END**

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## APPENDIX 10. TONY BLAIR'S SPEECH

### I want to solve the Iraq issue via the United Nations

*Speech by Prime Minister Tony Blair  
at Labour's local government, women's  
and youth conferences, SECC, Glasgow*

The progress we have made, we have made together. I know it is tough right now. I know it is an uncertain time for our country. But we will come through this and we will come through it together.

We will come through it by holding firm to what we believe in. One such belief is in the United Nations. I continue to want to solve the issue of Iraq and weapons of mass destruction through the UN. That is why last November we insisted on putting UN inspectors back into Iraq to disarm it.

Dr Blix reported to the UN yesterday and there will be more time given to inspections. He will report again on 28 February. But let no one forget two things. To anyone familiar with Saddam's tactics of deception and evasion, there is a weary sense of déjà vu. As ever, at the last minute, concessions are made. And as ever, it is the long finger that is directing them. The concessions are suspect. Unfortunately the weapons are real.

Last year, 12 long years after the UN first gave him 15 days to produce a full audit of his chemical, biological and nuclear weapons programmes and he denied he had any, we passed UN Resolution 1441. It gave him a "final opportunity" to disarm. It instructed him to co-operate fully with the UN inspectors. Why was the inspection regime so tough? Because for 12 years, he had played a game with the inspectors.

In 1991 Iraq denied it had a biological weapons offensive programme. For four years the inspectors toiled. It was not until 1995 that Saddam's son-in-law defected to Jordan, explained the true biological weapons programme and it was partially dealt with. He was, of course lured back to Iraq and then murdered.

The time needed is not the time it takes the inspectors to discover the weapons. They are not a detective agency. We played that game for years in the 1990s. The time is the time necessary to make a judgment: is Saddam prepared to co-operate fully or not. If he is, the inspectors can take as much time as they want. If he is not, if this is a repeat of the 1990s – and I believe it is – then let us be under no doubt what is at stake.

By going down the UN route we gave the UN an extraordinary opportunity and a heavy responsibility. The opportunity is to show that we can meet the menace to our world today together, collectively and as a united international community. What a mighty achievement that would be. The responsibility, however, is indeed to deal with it.

The League of Nations also had that opportunity and responsibility back in the 1930s. In the early days of the fascist menace, it had the duty to protect Abyssinia from invasion. But when it came to a decision to enforce that guarantee, the horror of war deterred it. We know the rest. The menace grew; the League of Nations collapsed; war came.

Remember: the UN inspectors would not be within a thousand miles of Baghdad without the threat of force. Saddam would not be making a single concession without the knowledge that

forces were gathering against him. I hope, even now, Iraq can be disarmed peacefully, with or without Saddam. But if we show weakness now, if we allow the plea for more time to become just an excuse for prevarication until the moment for action passes, then it will not only be Saddam who is repeating history. The menace, and not just from Saddam, will grow; the authority of the UN will be lost; and the conflict when it comes will be more bloody. Yes, let the United Nations be the way to deal with Saddam. But let the United Nations mean what it says; and do what it means.

What is the menace we speak of? It is not just Saddam. We are living through insecure times. Wars; terrorist threats; suddenly things that seem alien to us are on our doorstep, threatening our way of life.

Let me try to make sense of it. For hundreds of years, Europe was at war, the boundaries of many nations shifting with each passing army, small countries occupied and re-occupied, their people never at peace. Large countries fought each other literally for decades at a time with only the briefest respite to draw breath before the resumption of hostilities. For my father's generation that was the Europe they were brought up in. Today in Europe former enemies are friends, at one, if not always diplomatically. The EU is a massive achievement of peace and prosperity now set to welcome in the nations who suffered from the other great tyranny of my father's life time and my own: the Soviet Union. For the first 40 years of my life, the reality was the Communist bloc versus the West. Today the Cold War is over. The EU is set to grow to 25, then 30 then more nations. Russia is our partner and we, hers, in her search for a new and democratic beginning. China is developing as a Socialist market economy and is the ally of Europe, and the US.

We don't wake up and fear Russia or China as we did. America is not focussed on the struggle for ideological hegemony between Communism and liberal democracy. The issue is not a clash for conquest between the big powers.

But the old threat has been replaced by a new one. The threat of chaos; disorder; instability. A threat which arises from a perversion of the true faith of Islam, in extremist terrorist groups like Al Qaida. It arises from countries which are

unstable, usually repressive dictatorships which use what wealth they have to protect or enhance their power through chemical, biological or nuclear weapons capability which can cause destruction on a massive scale.

What do they have in common these twins of chaos - terrorism and rogue states with Weapons of Mass Destruction? They are answerable to no democratic mandate, so are unrestrained by the will of ordinary people. They are extreme and inhumane. They detest and fear liberal, democratic and tolerant values. And their aim is to de-stabilise us.

September 11th didn't just kill thousands of innocent people. It was meant to bring down the Western economy. It did not do so. But we live with the effects of it even today in economic confidence. It was meant to divide Muslim and Christian, Arab and Western nations, and to provoke us to hate each other. It didn't succeed but that is what it was trying to do.

These states developing Weapons of Mass Destruction, proliferating them, importing or exporting the scientific expertise, the ballistic missile technology; the companies and individuals helping them: they don't operate within any international treaties. They don't conform to any rules. North Korea is a country whose people are starving and yet can spend billions of dollars trying to perfect a nuclear bomb. Iraq, under Saddam became the first country to use chemical weapons against its own people. Are we sure that if we let him keep and develop such weapons, he would not use them again against his neighbours, against Israel perhaps? Saddam the man who killed a million people in an eight year war with Iran, and then, having lost it, invaded Kuwait? Or the other nations scrabbling to get a foot on the nuclear ladder, are we happy that they do so?

And the terrorist groups already using chemical and biological agents with money to spend, do we really believe that if Al Qaida could get a dirty bomb they wouldn't use it? And then think of the consequences. Already there is fear and anxiety, undermining confidence. Think of the consequences then. Think of a nation using a nuclear device, no matter how small, no matter how distant the land. Think of the chaos it would cause.

That is why Saddam and Weapons of Mass Destruction are important.

Every time I have asked us to go to war, I have hated it. I spent months trying to get Milosevic to stop ethnic cleansing in Kosovo, delaying action while we negotiated endlessly. I agreed with President Bush not to strike Afghanistan after September 11th but instead to offer the Taliban, loathsome though they were, an ultimatum: yield up Al Qaida and we will let you stay. We used force in the end, but in Kosovo only as a last resort, and though I rejoiced with his people at the fall of Milosevic, as I rejoiced with the Afghan people at the fall of the Taliban, I know that amid the necessary military victory there was pain and suffering that brought no joy at all.

At every stage, we should seek to avoid war. But if the threat cannot be removed peacefully, please let us not fall for the delusion that it can be safely ignored. If we do not confront these twin menaces of rogue states with Weapons of Mass Destruction and terrorism, they will not disappear. They will just feed and grow on our weakness.

When people say if you act, you will provoke these people; when they say now: take a lower profile and these people will leave us alone, remember: Al Qaida attacked the US, not the other way round. Were the people of Bali in the forefront of the anti-terror campaign? Did Indonesia 'make itself a target'? The terrorists won't be nice to us if we're nice to them. When Saddam drew us into the Gulf War, he wasn't provoked. He invaded Kuwait.

So: where has it come to? Everyone agrees Saddam must be disarmed. Everyone agrees without disarmament, he is a danger.

No-one seriously believes he is yet co-operating fully. In all honesty, most people don't really believe he ever will. So what holds people back? What brings thousands of people out in protests across the world? And let's not pretend, not really that in March or April or May or June, people will feel different. It's not really an issue of timing or 200 inspectors versus 100. It is a right and entirely understandable hatred of war. It is moral purpose, and I respect that.

It is as one woman put it to me: I abhor the consequences of war.

And I know many in our own Party, many here today will agree with her; and don't understand why I press the case so insistently. And I have given you the geo-political reason – the threat of Weapons of Mass Destruction and its link with terrorism. And I believe it.

If I am honest about it, there is another reason why I feel so strongly about this issue. It is a reason less to do with my being Prime Minister than being a member of the Labour Party, to do with the progressive politics in which we believe. The moral case against war has a moral answer: it is the moral case for removing Saddam. It is not the reason we act. That must be according to the United Nations mandate on Weapons of Mass Destruction. But it is the reason, frankly, why if we do have to act, we should do so with a clear conscience.

Yes, there are consequences of war. If we remove Saddam by force, people will die and some will be innocent. And we must live with the consequences of our actions, even the unintended ones.

But there are also consequences of "stop the war".

If I took that advice, and did not insist on disarmament, yes, there would be no war. But there would still be Saddam. Many of the people marching will say they hate Saddam. But the consequences of taking their advice is that he stays in charge of Iraq, ruling the Iraqi people. A country that in 1978, the year before he seized power, was richer than Malaysia or Portugal. A country where today, 135 out of every 1000 Iraqi children die before the age of five – 70% of these deaths are from diarrhoea and respiratory infections that are easily preventable. Where almost a third of children born in the centre and south of Iraq have chronic malnutrition.

Where 60% of the people depend on Food Aid.

Where half the population of rural areas have no safe water.

Where every year and now, as we speak, tens of thousands of political prisoners languish in appalling conditions in Saddam's jails and are routinely executed.

Where in the past 15 years over 150,000 Shia Moslems in Southern Iraq and Moslem Kurds in Northern Iraq have been butchered; with up

to four million Iraqis in exile round the world, including 350,000 now in Britain.

This isn't a regime with Weapons of Mass Destruction that is otherwise benign. This is a regime that contravenes every single principle or value anyone of our politics believes in.

There will be no march for the victims of Saddam, no protests about the thousands of children that die needlessly every year under his rule, no righteous anger over the torture chambers which if he is left in power, will be left in being.

I rejoice that we live in a country where peaceful protest is a natural part of our democratic process.

But I ask the marchers to understand this.

I do not seek unpopularity as a badge of honour. But sometimes it is the price of leadership. And the cost of conviction.

But as you watch your TV pictures of the march, ponder this:

If there are 500,000 on that march, that is still less than the number of people whose deaths Saddam has been responsible for.

If there are one million, that is still less than the number of people who died in the wars he started.

Let me read from an e-mail that was sent by a member of the family of one of those four million Iraqi exiles. It is interesting because she is fiercely and I think wrongly critical of America. But in a sense for that reason, it is worth reading.

She addresses it to the anti-war movement.

In one part, she says:

"You may feel that America is trying to blind you from seeing the truth about their real reasons for an invasion. I must argue that in fact, you are still blind to the bigger truths in Iraq.

Saddam has murdered more than a million Iraqis over the past 30 years, are you willing to allow him to kill another million Iraqis?

Saddam rules Iraq using fear – he regularly imprisons, executes and tortures the mass population for no reason whatsoever – this may be hard to believe and you may not even appreciate the extent of such barbaric acts, but believe me you will be hard pressed to find a family in Iraq who have not had a son, father, brother killed, imprisoned, tortured and/or "disappeared" due to Saddam's regime.

Why it is now that you deem it appropriate to voice your disillusion with America's policy in Iraq, when it is right now that the Iraqi people are being given real hope, however slight and however precarious, that they can live in an Iraq that is free of its horrors?"

We will give the e-mail to delegates. Read it all. It is the reason why I do not shrink from action against Saddam if it proves necessary. Read the letter sent to me by Dr Safa Hashim, who lives here in Glasgow, and who says he is writing despite his fears of Iraqi retribution.

He says the principle of opposing war by the public is received warmly by Iraqis for it reveals the desire of people to avoid suffering. But he says it misses the point - because the Iraqi people need Saddam removed as a way of ending their suffering.

Dr Hashim says:

"The level of their suffering is beyond anything that British people can possibly envisage, let alone understand his obsession to develop and possess weapons of mass destruction. Do the British public know that it is normal practice for Saddam's regime to demand the cost of the bullet used in the execution of their beloved family members and not even to allow a proper funeral?

If the international community does not take note of the Iraqi people's plight but continues to address it casually this will breed terrorism and extremism within the Iraqi people. This cannot be allowed to happen".

Remember Kosovo where we were told war would de-stabilise the whole of the Balkans and that region now has the best chance of peace in over 100 years?

Remember Afghanistan, where now, despite all the huge problems, there are three million children in school, including for the first time in over two decades one and a half million girls and where two million Afghan exiles from the Taliban have now returned.

So if the result of peace is Saddam staying in power, not disarmed, then I tell you there are consequences paid in blood for that decision too. But these victims will never be seen. They will never feature on our TV screens or inspire millions to take to the streets. But they will exist nonetheless.

Ridding the world of Saddam would be an act of humanity. It is leaving him there that is in truth inhumane.

And if it does come to this, let us be clear: we should be as committed to the humanitarian task of rebuilding Iraq for the Iraqi people as we have been to removing Saddam.

And there will be no stability in the Middle East until there is lasting peace between Israelis and Palestinians based on a secure Israel and a viable Palestinian state. I promise we will not rest until we have used every drop of our influence to achieve it.

Just as we are proud we lead the way on third world debt, on aid, on development, on hope for Africa.

The values that drive our actions abroad are the same values of progress and justice that drive us at home.

**END**

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## APPENDIX 11. SUMMIT MEETING IN THE AZORES

### President Bush: Monday "Moment of Truth" for World on Iraq

*Press Availability with President Bush, Prime Minister Blair, President Aznar, and Prime Minister Barroso, the Azores, Portugal*

**5:30 P.M. (Local)**

PRIME MINISTER BARROSO: Good afternoon, ladies and gentlemen. I am very pleased to welcome here in the Azores the leaders of three friends and allied countries, the United States, Spain and United Kingdom. President Bush, Prime Minister Aznar, and Prime Minister Tony Blair.

This meeting in the Azores also shows the importance of transatlantic relations, and also shows the solidarity among our countries. Actually, these agreements have approved two statements, one statement on transatlantic relations, and a declarative statement on Iraq.

We have joined this initiative and we organized it here in the Azores because we thought this was the last opportunity for a political solution – and this is how we see it, this is the last possibility for a political solution to the problem. Maybe it's a small chance, a small possibility, but even if it's one in one million, it's always worthwhile fighting for a political solution. And I think this is the message that we can get from this Atlantic summit.

As I was saying, for my English-speaking guests, I'll speak English now. First of all, let me say, welcome, George Bush, to Europe. I think it's important that we meet here, in a European country, in Portugal, but in this territory of Azores that is halfway between the continent of

Europe and the continent of America. I think it's not only logistically convenient, it has a special political meaning – the beautiful meaning of our friendship and our commitment to our shared values.

So welcome to all of you. Welcome to you. And I now give the floor to President George Bush.

THE PRESIDENT: Jose, thank you very much for your hospitality. You've done a great job on such short notice. And I'm honored to be standing to here with you and two other friends as we work toward a great cause, and that is peace and security in this world.

We've had a really good discussion. We've been doing a lot of phone talking and it was good to get together and to visit and to talk. And we concluded that tomorrow is a moment of truth for the world. Many nations have voiced a commitment to peace and security. And now they must demonstrate that commitment to peace and security in the only effective way, by supporting the immediate and unconditional disarmament of Saddam Hussein.

The dictator of Iraq and his weapons of mass destruction are a threat to the security of free nations. He is a danger to his neighbors. He's a sponsor of terrorism. He's an obstacle to progress in the Middle East. For decades he has been the cruel, cruel oppressor of the Iraq people.

On this very day 15 years ago, Saddam Hussein launched a chemical weapons attack on the Iraqi village of Halabja. With a single order the Iraqi regime killed thousands of men and women and children, without mercy or without shame. Saddam Hussein has proven he is capable of any

crime. We must not permit his crimes to reach across the world.

Saddam Hussein has a history of mass murder. He possesses the weapons of mass murder. He agrees – he agreed to disarm Iraq of these weapons as a condition for ending the Gulf War over a decade ago. The United Nations Security Council, in Resolution 1441, has declared Iraq in material breach of its longstanding obligations, demanding once again Iraq's full and immediate disarmament, and promised serious consequences if the regime refused to comply. That resolution was passed unanimously and its logic is inescapable; the Iraqi regime will disarm itself, or the Iraqi regime will be disarmed by force. And the regime has not disarmed itself.

Action to remove the threat from Iraq would also allow the Iraqi people to build a better future for their society. And Iraq's liberation would be the beginning, not the end, of our commitment to its people. We will supply humanitarian relief, bring economic sanctions to a swift close, and work for the long-term recovery of Iraq's economy. We'll make sure that Iraq's natural resources are used for the benefit of their owners, the Iraqi people.

Iraq has the potential to be a great nation. Iraq's people are skilled and educated. We'll push as quickly as possible for an Iraqi interim authority to draw upon the talents of Iraq's people to rebuild their nation. We're committed to the goal of a unified Iraq, with democratic institutions of which members of all ethnic and religious groups are treated with dignity and respect.

To achieve this vision, we will work closely with the international community, including the United Nations and our coalition partners. If military force is required, we'll quickly seek new Security Council resolutions to encourage broad participation in the process of helping the Iraqi people to build a free Iraq.

Crucial days lie ahead for the world. I want to thank the leaders here today, and many others, for stepping forward and taking leadership, and showing their resolve in the cause of peace and the cause of security.

Jose Maria.

**PRESIDENT AZNAR:** Good evening everyone. I would firstly like to thank the Prime Minister, Jose Durao, for his hospitality and welcome, which I particularly am grateful for. And I'm very pleased to be in the Azores once again.

I have short remarks on our debate on this situation and on the documents we've agreed on during today's meeting. I'd first like to refer to our document on Atlantic solidarity. We have renewed Atlantic commitment on our common values and principles, in favor of democracy, freedom and the rule of law.

We understand that the expression of this commitment is essential, by way of guarantee of peace, security and international freedom. And I honestly believe that there is no other alternative to the expression of the Atlantic commitment in terms of security. We are committed on a day-to-day fight against new threats, such as terrorism, weapons of mass destruction, and tyrannic regimes that do not comply with international law. They threaten all of us, and we must all act, consequently.

This transatlantic link, this transatlantic solidarity has always been, is, and should continue to be, in my opinion, a great European commitment, and as such, amongst other things, we express it this way – without this commitment, today's Europe could not be understood. And without that commitment, it would be very difficult to picture the Europe of tomorrow.

So I would like to invite our friends, our allies, to leave aside any circumstantial differences and to work together seriously for that commitment of democracy, freedom and peace, so that this becomes a commitment of us all.

We've agreed on launching, on boosting the Middle East peace process, and on our vision that that peace process has to accommodate with all necessary security guarantees and putting an end to terrorism. And this should end with the peaceful coexistence of two states, an independent Palestinian state and the Israeli state.

In view of the situation created by Iraq, with their continued non-compliance of international law, I would like to remind you that we all said before we came here that we were not coming to the Azores to make a declaration of war, that we were coming after having made every possible effort, after having made this effort, continuing to make this effort, to working to achieve the

greatest possible agreement, and for international law to be respected and for U.N. resolutions to be respected.

And we would like to say that we are aware of the fact that this is the last opportunity – the last opportunity expressed in Resolution 1441, adopted unanimously by the Security Council, and that being aware that this is the last opportunity, we are also making the last effort. And we are ready to make this last effort of the very many efforts we've been making throughout these last weeks and months.

We are well aware of the international world public opinion, of its concern. And we are also very well aware of our responsibilities and obligations. If Saddam Hussein wants to disarm and avoid the serious consequences that he has been warned about by the United Nations, he can do so. And nothing in our document, nor in our statement, can prevent him from doing so, if he wants to. So his is the sole responsibility.

Tony.

**PRIME MINISTER BLAIR:** Thank you, Jose Maria. Thank you, Jose, for hosting us today. And I think it's just worth returning to the key point, which is our responsibility to uphold the will of the United Nations set out in Resolution 1441 last November. And for four and a half months, now, we've worked hard to get Saddam to cooperate fully, unconditionally, as that resolution demanded.

Even some days ago we were prepared to set out clear tests that allowed us to conclude whether he was cooperating fully or not, with a clear ultimatum to him if he refused to do so. And the reason we approached it in that is that that is what we agreed in Resolution 1441. This was his final opportunity; he had to disarm unconditionally. Serious consequences would follow if he failed to do so.

And this is really the impasse that we have, because some say there should be no ultimatum, no authorization of force in any new U.N. resolution; instead, more discussion in the event of noncompliance. But the truth is that without a credible ultimatum authorizing force in the event of noncompliance, then more discussion is just more delay, with Saddam remaining armed

with weapons of mass destruction and continuing a brutal, murderous regime in Iraq.

And this game that he is playing is, frankly, a game that he has played over the last 12 years. Disarmament never happens. But instead, the international community is drawn into some perpetual negotiation, gestures designed to divide the international community, but never real and concrete cooperation leading to disarmament.

And there's not a single person on the Security Council that doubts the fact he is not fully cooperating today. Nobody, even those who disagree with the position that we have outlined, is prepared to say there is full cooperation, as 1441 demanded.

Not a single interview has taken place outside of Iraq, even though 1441 provided for it. Still, no proper production or evidence of the destruction, or, for example, – just to take one example, the 10,000 liters of anthrax that the inspectors just a week ago said was unaccounted for. And that is why it is so important that the international community, at this time, gives a strong and unified message.

And I have to say that I really believe that had we given that strong message sometime ago, Saddam might have realized that the games had to stop. So now we have reached the point of decision, and we make a final appeal for there to be that strong, unified message on behalf of the international community that lays down a clear ultimatum to Saddam that authorizes force if he continues to defy the will of the whole of the international community set out in 1441.

We will do all we can in the short time that remains to make a final round of contacts, to see whether there is a way through this impasse. But we are in the final stages, because, after 12 years of failing to disarm him, now is the time when we have to decide.

Two other points, briefly, on the documents that we've put before you. The first is the – President Aznar was just saying to you a moment ago on the transatlantic alliance is, I think, very important. Some of you will have heard me say this before, but let me just repeat it. I believe that Europe and America should stand together on the big issues of the day. I think it is a tragedy when we don't. And that transatlantic alliance is strong and we need to strengthen it still further.

And secondly, we've set out for you that should it come to conflict, we make a pledge to the people of Iraq. As President Bush was just saying to you a moment or two ago, it is the people of Iraq who are the primary victims of Saddam: the thousands of children that die needlessly every year; the people locked up in his prisons or executed simply for showing disagreement with the regime; a country that is potentially prosperous reduced to poverty; 60 percent of the population reliant on food aid.

And what we say is that we will protect Iraq's territorial integrity; we will support representative government that unites Iraq on the democratic basis of human rights and the rule of law; that we will help Iraq rebuild – and not rebuild because of the problems of conflict, where if it comes to that, we will do everything we can to minimize the suffering of the Iraqi people, but rebuild Iraq because of the appalling legacy that the rule of Saddam has left the Iraqi people – and in particular, Iraq's natural resources remain the property of the people of Iraq. And that wealth should be used for the Iraqi people. It is theirs, and will remain so, administered by the U.N. in the way we set out.

Finally, on the Middle East peace process, I welcome very much the statement that President Bush made the other day. I think it's important now. He said he wanted a partner on the Palestinian side. I think the coming appointment of Abu Mazen is so important there. It allows us to take this process forward. The road map give us the way forward. The appointment of Abu Mazen gives us the right partner to take this forward. And I believe that that will demonstrate, and it's important to demonstrate, in particular at this time, that our approach to people in the Middle East, in that troubled region is indeed even-handed. And all of us will work to make sure that that vision of the Middle East, two states, Israel confident of its security, a Palestinian state that is viable, comes about and is made reality.

Thank you.

Q: (Inaudible.)

PRESIDENT BUSH: Yes. They couldn't hear the question.

Q: I was asking the Portuguese Prime Minister, how does he see the result of this summit. Does

the Prime Minister think that starting now, Portugal has more responsibilities with this war that seems to be inevitable?

PRIME MINISTER BARROSO: The results of the summit, as I described them and as all the other heads of state and government said it, too, this summit is – this is the last opportunity for a political solution to this very serious problem for the international community. This has been said here. It's been said here that tomorrow – tomorrow we'll start with these last initiatives towards a political solution. And it's for that reason I am very, very happy with the results of this summit.

Now, coming to our responsibility in case there is a conflict, I must say that the responsibility falls entirely on the dictator Saddam Hussein. He bears the entire responsibility because he has not respected for all of these years international law and consistently violated the U.N. resolutions. And in that case, if there is a conflict, I want to repeat it once more, Portugal will be next – side by side with his allies. And the fact that we are here today in the Azores with the United States, with Spain and with the UK, this is very significant.

As it's been said here before, the transatlantic relationship is very, very important, not only for Europe and for the U.S., but it's very important for the whole world. I remember a few days ago, Kofi Annan in the European conference in Brussels, said the same thing – he said this is very important. It's very important for Europe and the U.S. to remain united and not separate, because the world needs the U.S. and Europe working together towards the same direction, in the same sense – not only about the security, but also fighting under-development and all the other tasks that fall to the international community.

PRESIDENT BUSH: Ron Fournier.

Q: Thank you, Mr. President. Before I ask my question I just want to nail down one thing so there's no confusion. When you talk about tomorrow being the moment of truth, are you saying that is the –

PRESIDENT BUSH: Is this the question, or are you trying to work in two questions?

Q: Yes, sir. (Laughter.) Because there's one thing we need to make clear. When you say tomorrow is the moment of truth, does that mean tomorrow is the last day that the resolution

can be voted up or down, and at the end of the day tomorrow, one way or another the diplomatic window has close?

PRESIDENT BUSH: That's what I'm saying.

Q: Thank you, sir. And now for the question –

PRESIDENT BUSH: And now for your question?

Q: That being the case, regardless –

PRESIDENT BUSH: That being my answer –

Q: Regardless of whether the resolution goes up or down or gets withdrawn, it seems to me you're going to be facing a moment of truth. And given that you've already said you don't think there's very much chance Saddam Hussein is going to disarm, and given that you say you don't think there's very much chance he's going to go to go into exile, aren't we going to war?

PRESIDENT BUSH: Tomorrow is the day that we will determine whether or not diplomacy can work. And we sat and visited about this issue, about how best to spend our time between now and tomorrow. And as Prime Minister Blair said, we'll be working the phones and talking to our partners and talking to those who may now clearly understand the objective, and we'll see how it goes tomorrow.

Saddam Hussein can leave the country, if he's interested in peace. You see, the decision is his to make. And it's been his to make all along as to whether or not there's the use of the military. He got to decide whether he was going to disarm, and he didn't. He can decide whether he wants to leave the country. These are his decisions to make. And thus far he has made bad decisions.

Q: I understand that if tomorrow is the day for taking the final decision, that means that you consider that there's no possible way out through the United Nations because a majority does not support a war action. I would like to know, Mr. Blair, Mr. Bush, whether in that military offensive you count on many countries, whether it's going to be the UK and the U.S. carrying out the military offensive? I understand from what Mr. Blair that you're counting on the U.N. for the reconstruction. Are you going to look for other countries through the United Nations?

And for Mr. Aznar, what is Spain's participation in that military offensive, in addition to your political support?

PRESIDENT BUSH: Resolution 1441, which was unanimously approved, that said Saddam

Hussein would unconditionally disarm, and if he didn't, there would be serious consequences.

The United Nations Security Council looked at the issue four and a half months ago and voted unanimously to say: Disarm immediately and unconditionally, and if you don't, there are going to be serious consequences. The world has spoken. And it did it in a unified voice.

Sorry.

PRIME MINISTER BLAIR: The issue is very simply this, that we cannot have a situation where what happens through the United Nations, having agreed to 1441, having said there would be serious consequences if he does not cooperate fully and unconditionally, what we cannot have is a situation where we simply go back for endless discussion.

Now, we have provided the right diplomatic way through this, which is to lay down a clear ultimatum to Saddam: Cooperate or face disarmament by force. And that is entirely within the logic, the letter, the spirit of 1441. And that is why – all the way through we have tried to provide a diplomatic solution. After over four and a half months since we passed Resolution 1441, we're now three months on from the declaration that Saddam on the 8th of December that not a single person in the international community – not one – believes was an honest declaration of what he had. And yet, 1441 said, the first step of cooperation was to make an honest declaration.

So when people say haven't we exhausted all the diplomatic avenues, we tried exhausting. But understand from our perspective and from the perspective of the security of the world, we cannot simply go back to the Security Council, for this discussion to be superseded by that discussion, to be superseded by another discussion. That's what's happened for 12 years. That's why he's still got the weapons of mass destruction. We have to come to the point of decision. And that really is what the next period of time is going to be about.

PRESIDENT AZNAR: Well, I would like to say that this statement we're making today, as we've all said, it's a last chance, one last attempt to reach the greatest possible consensus amongst ourselves. And I can assure all of you that we've made – we have all made – enormous efforts,

and we're going to continue making these efforts in order to try to reach an agreement, to reach a solution.

We have our own worry, our own responsibility to make U.N. resolutions be abided by. If the Security Council unanimously adopts a resolution – Resolution 1441 – giving one last opportunity to disarm to someone who has weapons of mass destruction and we know he has used them, the Security Council cannot, one year after the other, wait for its resolutions to be implemented. That would be the best way to do away with it altogether. And it could do away with all the United Nations' credibility. And we honestly don't want that to happen.

To me, there is no – you cannot have the same distance between illegality and impunity. And neither Saddam Hussein, nor any other tyrant with weapons of mass destruction can set the rules for international law and the international community.

Q: I'm from the BBC. Can I ask, first of all, Prime Minister Blair – you said that you want a second resolution to be put down and voted on. Could we be clear; is that what's going to happen tomorrow, under all circumstances?

And either way – also, if I may, for President Bush – if you don't get that second resolution, what is the future for the United Nations? You talked about Saddam Hussein dividing world community. Surely, he succeeded.

PRIME MINISTER BLAIR: Well, on your last point, I think this is one of the things that is tragic about this situation, that Saddam plays these games and we carry on allowing him to play them. Now, we will do, in the next period of time, with respect to the resolution, what we believe to be in the interest of the U.N.

But I would say why I think it is so important that even now, at this late stage, we try to get the United Nations to be the root of resolving this – because the threat is there and everyone accepts it: the threat of weapons of mass destruction, the threat of weapons of mass destruction in the hands of terrorists who will cause maximum damage to our people. Everybody accepts the disarmament of Saddam has to happen. Everybody accepts that he was supposed to cooperate fully with the inspectors. Everybody accepts that he is not doing so.

So, whatever the tactics within the U.N. – and that's something we can decide – whatever those tactics, the key point of principle is this: that when we came together last November and laid down Resolution 1441, now is the moment when we decide whether we meant it and it was his final opportunity to disarm, or face serious consequences – or whether, alternatively, we're simply going to drag out the diplomatic process forever. And that's why I say it's the point of decision.

Q: Vote or not?

PRESIDENT BUSH: I was the guy that said they ought to vote. And one country voted – at least showed their cards, I believe. It's an old Texas expression, show your cards, when you're playing poker. France showed their cards. After I said what I said, they said they were going to veto anything that held Saddam to account. So cards have been played. And we'll just have to take an assessment after tomorrow to determine what that card meant.

Let me say something about the U.N. It's a very important organization. That's why I went there on September the 12th, 2002, to give the speech, the speech that called the U.N. into account, that said if you're going to pass resolutions, let's make sure your words mean something. Because I understand the wars of the 21st century are going to require incredible international cooperation. We're going to have to cooperate to cut the money of the terrorists, and the ability for nations, dictators who have weapons of mass destruction to provide training and perhaps weapons to terrorist organizations. We need to cooperate, and we are. Our countries up here are cooperating incredibly well.

And the U.N. must mean something. Remember Rwanda, or Kosovo. The U.N. didn't do its job. And we hope tomorrow the U.N. will do its job. If not, all of us need to step back and try to figure out how to make the U.N. work better as we head into the 21st century. Perhaps one way will be, if we use military force, in the post-Saddam Iraq the U.N. will definitely need to have a role. And that way it can begin to get its legs, legs of responsibility back.

But it's important for the U.N. to be able to function well if we're going to keep the peace. And I will work hard to see to it that at least

from our perspective, that the U.N. is able to be – able to be a responsibility body, and when it says something, it means it, for the sake of peace and for the sake of the security, for the capacity to win the war of – the first war of the 21st century, which is the war against terrorism and weapons of mass destruction in the hands of dictators.

Thank you all.

PRIME MINISTER BARROSO: Thank you very much, ladies and gentlemen. This is the end of the conference. Have a good trip.

**END 6:05 P.M. (L)**

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*Return to this article at:*

*<http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2003/03/20030316-3.html>*

## APPENDIX 12. GEORGE W. BUSH'S SPEECH BEFORE THE INVASION OF IRAQ

### President George W. Bush Addresses the Nation

*The Oval Office*

10:16 P.M. EST

**THE PRESIDENT:** My fellow citizens, at this hour, American and coalition forces are in the early stages of military operations to disarm Iraq, to free its people and to defend the world from grave danger.

On my orders, coalition forces have begun striking selected targets of military importance to undermine Saddam Hussein's ability to wage war. These are opening stages of what will be a broad and concerted campaign. More than 35 countries are giving crucial support – from the use of naval and air bases, to help with intelligence and logistics, to the deployment of combat units. Every nation in this coalition has chosen to bear the duty and share the honor of serving in our common defense.

To all the men and women of the United States Armed Forces now in the Middle East, the peace of a troubled world and the hopes of an oppressed people now depend on you. That trust is well placed.

The enemies you confront will come to know your skill and bravery. The people you liberate will witness the honorable and decent spirit of the American military. In this conflict, America faces an enemy who has no regard for conventions of war or rules of morality. Saddam Hussein has placed Iraqi troops and equipment in civilian areas, attempting to use innocent men, women and children as shields for his own military – a final atrocity against his people.

I want Americans and all the world to know that coalition forces will make every effort to spare innocent civilians from harm. A campaign on the harsh terrain of a nation as large as California could be longer and more difficult than some predict. And helping Iraqis achieve a united, stable and free country will require our sustained commitment.

We come to Iraq with respect for its citizens, for their great civilization and for the religious faiths they practice. We have no ambition in Iraq, except to remove a threat and restore control of that country to its own people.

I know that the families of our military are praying that all those who serve will return safely and soon. Millions of Americans are praying with you for the safety of your loved ones and for the protection of the innocent. For your sacrifice, you have the gratitude and respect of the American people. And you can know that our forces will be coming home as soon as their work is done.

Our nation enters this conflict reluctantly – yet, our purpose is sure. The people of the United States and our friends and allies will not live at the mercy of an outlaw regime that threatens the peace with weapons of mass murder. We will meet that threat now, with our Army, Air Force, Navy, Coast Guard and Marines, so that we do not have to meet it later with armies of fire fighters and police and doctors on the streets of our cities.

Now that conflict has come, the only way to limit its duration is to apply decisive force. And I assure you, this will not be a campaign of half measures, and we will accept no outcome but victory.

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

May God bless our country and all who defend her.

**END**

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## APPENDIX 13. GEORGE W. BUSH'S VICTORY SPEECH

# President George W. Bush Announces Major Combat Operations in Iraq Have Ended

*the USS Abraham Lincoln,  
at Sea Off the Coast of San Diego,  
California*

**3:23 P.M. EDT**

THE PRESIDENT: Thank you all very much. Admiral Kelly, Captain Card, officers and sailors of the USS Abraham Lincoln, my fellow Americans: Major combat operations in Iraq have ended. In the battle of Iraq, the United States and our allies have prevailed. (Applause.) And now our coalition is engaged in securing and reconstructing that country.

In this battle, we have fought for the cause of liberty, and for the peace of the world. Our nation and our coalition are proud of this accomplishment – yet, it is you, the members of the United States military, who achieved it. Your courage, your willingness to face danger for your country and for each other, made this day possible. Because of you, our nation is more secure. Because of you, the tyrant has fallen, and Iraq is free. (Applause.)

Operation Iraqi Freedom was carried out with a combination of precision and speed and boldness the enemy did not expect, and the world had not seen before. From distant bases or ships at sea, we sent planes and missiles that could destroy an enemy division, or strike a single bunker. Marines and soldiers charged to Baghdad across 350 miles of hostile ground, in one of the swiftest advances of heavy arms in history. You have shown the world the skill and the might of the American Armed Forces.

This nation thanks all the members of our coalition who joined in a noble cause. We thank the Armed Forces of the United Kingdom, Australia, and Poland, who shared in the hardships of war. We thank all the citizens of Iraq who welcomed our troops and joined in the liberation of their own country. And tonight, I have a special word for Secretary Rumsfeld, for General Franks, and for all the men and women who wear the uniform of the United States: America is grateful for a job well done. (Applause.)

The character of our military through history – the daring of Normandy, the fierce courage of Iwo Jima, the decency and idealism that turned enemies into allies – is fully present in this generation. When Iraqi civilians looked into the faces of our servicemen and women, they saw strength and kindness and goodwill. When I look at the members of the United States military, I see the best of our country, and I'm honored to be your Commander-in-Chief. (Applause.)

In the images of falling statues, we have witnessed the arrival of a new era. For a hundred of years of war, culminating in the nuclear age, military technology was designed and deployed to inflict casualties on an ever-growing scale. In defeating Nazi Germany and Imperial Japan, Allied forces destroyed entire cities, while enemy leaders who started the conflict were safe until the final days. Military power was used to end a regime by breaking a nation.

Today, we have the greater power to free a nation by breaking a dangerous and aggressive regime. With new tactics and precision weapons, we can achieve military objectives without directing violence against civilians. No device of man

can remove the tragedy from war; yet it is a great moral advance when the guilty have far more to fear from war than the innocent. (Applause.)

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. (Applause.)

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

The transition from dictatorship to democracy will take time, but it is worth every effort. Our coalition will stay until our work is done. Then we will leave, and we will leave behind a free Iraq. (Applause.)

The battle of Iraq is one victory in a war on terror that began on September the 11, 2001 – and still goes on. That terrible morning, 19 evil men – the shock troops of a hateful ideology – gave America and the civilized world a glimpse of their ambitions. They imagined, in the words of one terrorist, that September the 11th would be the “beginning of the end of America.” By seeking to turn our cities into killing fields, terrorists and their allies believed that they could destroy this nation's resolve, and force our retreat from the world. They have failed. (Applause.)

In the battle of Afghanistan, we destroyed the Taliban, many terrorists, and the camps where they trained. We continue to help the Afghan people lay roads, restore hospitals, and educate all of their children. Yet we also have dangerous work to complete. As I speak, a Special Operations task force, led by the 82nd Airborne, is on the trail of the terrorists and those who seek to undermine the free government of Afghanistan.

America and our coalition will finish what we have begun. (Applause.)

From Pakistan to the Philippines to the Horn of Africa, we are hunting down al Qaeda killers. Nineteen months ago, I pledged that the terrorists would not escape the patient justice of the United States. And as of tonight, nearly one-half of al Qaeda's senior operatives have been captured or killed. (Applause.)

The liberation of Iraq is a crucial advance in the campaign against terror. We've removed an ally of al Qaeda, and cut off a source of terrorist funding. And this much is certain: No terrorist network will gain weapons of mass destruction from the Iraqi regime, because the regime is no more. (Applause.)

In these 19 months that changed the world, our actions have been focused and deliberate and proportionate to the offense. We have not forgotten the victims of September the 11th – the last phone calls, the cold murder of children, the searches in the rubble. With those attacks, the terrorists and their supporters declared war on the United States. And war is what they got. (Applause.)

Our war against terror is proceeding according to principles that I have made clear to all: Any person involved in committing or planning terrorist attacks against the American people becomes an enemy of this country, and a target of American justice. (Applause.)

Any person, organization, or government that supports, protects, or harbors terrorists is complicit in the murder of the innocent, and equally guilty of terrorist crimes.

Any outlaw regime that has ties to terrorist groups and seeks or possesses weapons of mass destruction is a grave danger to the civilized world – and will be confronted. (Applause.)

And anyone in the world, including the Arab world, who works and sacrifices for freedom has a loyal friend in the United States of America. (Applause.)

Our commitment to liberty is America's tradition – declared at our founding; affirmed in Franklin Roosevelt's Four Freedoms; asserted in the Truman Doctrine and in Ronald Reagan's challenge to an evil empire. We are committed to freedom in Afghanistan, in Iraq, and in a peaceful Palestine. The advance of freedom is the surest

strategy to undermine the appeal of terror in the world. Where freedom takes hold, hatred gives way to hope. When freedom takes hold, men and women turn to the peaceful pursuit of a better life. American values and American interests lead in the same direction: We stand for human liberty. (Applause.)

The United States upholds these principles of security and freedom in many ways – with all the tools of diplomacy, law enforcement, intelligence, and finance. We’re working with a broad coalition of nations that understand the threat and our shared responsibility to meet it. The use of force has been – and remains – our last resort. Yet all can know, friend and foe alike, that our nation has a mission: We will answer threats to our security, and we will defend the peace. (Applause.)

Our mission continues. Al Qaeda is wounded, not destroyed. The scattered cells of the terrorist network still operate in many nations, and we know from daily intelligence that they continue to plot against free people. The proliferation of deadly weapons remains a serious danger. The enemies of freedom are not idle, and neither are we. Our government has taken unprecedented measures to defend the homeland. And we will continue to hunt down the enemy before he can strike. (Applause.)

The war on terror is not over; yet it is not endless. We do not know the day of final victory, but we have seen the turning of the tide. No act of the terrorists will change our purpose, or weaken our resolve, or alter their fate. Their cause is lost. Free nations will press on to victory. (Applause.)

Other nations in history have fought in foreign lands and remained to occupy and exploit. Americans, following a battle, want nothing

more than to return home. And that is your direction tonight. (Applause.) After service in the Afghan – and Iraqi theaters of war – after 100,000 miles, on the longest carrier deployment in recent history, you are homeward bound. (Applause.) Some of you will see new family members for the first time – 150 babies were born while their fathers were on the Lincoln. Your families are proud of you, and your nation will welcome you. (Applause.)

We are mindful, as well, that some good men and women are not making the journey home. One of those who fell, Corporal Jason Mileo, spoke to his parents five days before his death. Jason’s father said, “He called us from the center of Baghdad, not to brag, but to tell us he loved us. Our son was a soldier.”

Every name, every life is a loss to our military, to our nation, and to the loved ones who grieve. There’s no homecoming for these families. Yet we pray, in God’s time, their reunion will come.

Those we lost were last seen on duty. Their final act on this Earth was to fight a great evil and bring liberty to others. All of you – all in this generation of our military – have taken up the highest calling of history. You’re defending your country, and protecting the innocent from harm. And wherever you go, you carry a message of hope – a message that is ancient and ever new. In the words of the prophet Isaiah, “To the captives, ‘come out,’ – and to those in darkness, ‘be free.’”

Thank you for serving our country and our cause. May God bless you all, and may God continue to bless America. (Applause.)

**END 6:27 P.M. PDT**

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## **"We're a peaceful nation"**

WAR RHETORIC AFTER SEPTEMBER 11

"Why is traditional war propaganda still so effective in today's critical mass media society, with well-informed citizens as its receivers? The answer to this intellectual mystery is probably quite simple: in threatening and complex circumstances, we are grateful for simple solutions. By juggling words and metaphors, by associating war with hunting, games or work, war becomes more acceptable, especially a 'clinical' war. An enemy that is evil is a legitimate target. A war described as a humanitarian effort is no longer a war. But in today's democratic society, we should not be satisfied with black and white solutions, even in crisis situations. Scepticism, suspicion and doubts about the war strategists' descriptions should not only be allowed but encouraged, rewarded and prioritised. To use another metaphor, we need to protect ourselves from the ravages of propaganda."

*Brigitte Mral*

This study highlights the rhetorical devices that were used during the two military operations that were a direct consequence of the events on September 11.

The purpose is to create a better understanding of the war strategists' efforts to define our world.

**Brigitte Mral**, professor of Rhetoric at Department of Humanities, Örebro University.

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