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U. S. Presidential War Rhetoric - QCA

Master's thesis



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Declaration of Authorship

1. I hereby declare that I have compiled this thesis using the listed literature and resources only.
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1. Introduction

1.1 Why Study Presidential War Rhetoric

Peace is a central concept in western liberal thinking, and a subject of continuous study. Peace is considered to be a natural state of affairs between human communities. War is then thought of as an interference in this natural state, a temporary occurrence, which eventually needs to make way to harmonious convivence between peoples.

The United States emerged from the Cold War as the sole superpower. Breakdown of the bipolar system brought about new framework of global conflict management, which effectively bolstered role of the United States in the international system, namely UN Security Council. Asserted dominance of the U. S. and her allies in expanding NATO gave the country virtually a free pass on military action globally. Instead of careful maintenance of balance in the world, or pursuit of dominance over Americas, the U. S. foreign policy was able to pursue construction of new international system formed around international institutions. (Krahman 2005: 531-535) That said, the U. S. were also able to engage in elimination of possible nuisances standing in the way of this new world order stemming from American image of ideal international community.

That said, the United States of America are often regarded to be a global champion of liberalism. Therefore, there is a stark contrast between this characteristic, and the reality of frequent use of military power by the U. S. The nation emerged from the Cold War as a sole superpower. This allowed the nation to operate in international arena virtually unchecked. Since 1989, the United States deployed military at least on 10 different occasion as a part of concerted campaign, and that is only counting publicly acknowledged military involvements.

Considering public support as a necessary tenet of any party, which aims for power in democracy. Since America is a democracy, political parties should in theory effectively adjust their actions accordingly to the will of the people. Since American public by and large deems war to be negative, it would make sense the American presidencies are going to avoid war at all costs. The reality is, however, different. Every presidency between 1989 and 2011 got involved in at least one new conflict.

Even though war is being generally considered a negative social practice, upon public declaration of war opinion polls suggest the public is largely supportive of the involvement. Polls suggest that was the case of the first Gulf War, as well as the U. S. led intervention against Milošević regime in Yugoslavia. It is important to note, that what preceded both these involvements was a persuasive campaign by U. S. administration, which focused on creating a negative image of the adversary, listing its crimes against both United States and international peaceful order. There was an element of righteous punitiveness in those narratives. (Lieberman 2006: 712-714) American public can also be supportive of potential conflicts. This hold true especially when it comes to warring regimes, which are portrayed as undemocratic or Islamic. Surveys have shown, that over 53 percent of Americans would support airstrikes against Islamic dictatorships. On the other hand, less than half Americans would support a war against secular dictatorship or democratic Islamic state. (Johns, Davies 2012: 1045)

It comes as no surprise that the underlying theme here is use of rhetoric, in order to make potential conflict acceptable to the public. The public does not support war, unless it is persuaded to support it. Therefore, research

on which linguistic methods are being used by American presidencies in order to make this change of many minds occur, is going to be the main theme of this thesis.

1.2 Aims of Research

The thesis primarily aims to explore, how American presidencies exploit linguistic resources when it comes to justifying war in the eyes of American public.

Therefore, the research aims at exploration of the language American presidencies use to justify military involvements in several context. First of all, it is going to explore theoretical knowledge on language, persuasion and public justification, all bound to a war legitimation in speech. Then, the thesis will identify key rhetorical figures and frames, such as the just war theory used by presidencies to justify military involvement and legitimate war in the eyes of American public. These concepts are going to be analytically confronted with textual dataset of presidential speeches from the period 1989 – 2011 and results evaluated, in order to answer research questions and address hypotheses. The fore-mentioned post-Cold War reality of the international system strings together the set of speeches analysed. Upon the fall of the bipolarity, new reasons to fight had to be invented, which necessarily reflected upon the linguistic resources used in war rhetoric of American presidencies. This delineation serves as a common denominator, which conveniently ties up the examined data to a coherent, logical bundle.

It is possible to assume, that the development of public opinion is a result of constant exposition to narratives. Therefore, the thesis is also going to explore this top-down process of narrative dissemination and public opinion formation. Nevertheless, the core focus is going to be on language presidents use to legitimate war.

1.3 The Structure of the Thesis

The honorary second chapter is dedicated to literature review. In order to present the reader with state of the art knowledge on the topic of presidential war rhetoric, a number of works has been read and summarized. The chapter should bring about broader insight on where social science stands, as well as presentation of sometimes diverging viewpoints on the matter, relevant to this thesis nevertheless.

The third chapter of this thesis is going to discuss the role of language. Upon exploration of theoretical perspectives on functioning of language as a basic mean of inter-personal and group communication, knowledge on relation between language and reality will be investigated, as well as perspectives on language as a key instrument in constructing social reality. The thesis will then proceed to conceptualize language in terms of rhetoric of persuasion.

In the fourth chapter the concept of presidential war rhetoric will be discussed. First of all, historical perspective of American presidency in terms of propaganda and mass persuasion will be introduced, while touching upon the role of presidential speech in modern era. Subsequently, tenets considering presidential war rhetoric are going to be investigated, to provide explanation of reasons for presidential persuasion of the public

and the role it plays, when America goes to war. Grounds for legitimation of war will be set forth. After that, necessary theoretical background is provided in terms relative to persuasion of different audiences. The chapter then continues to provide insight in the process of creation of presidential discourse, exploring inferences, which enter in and influence war affirmative speech acts. In order to, grasp the process of legitimation and justification, theoretical assertion on relationship between justification, truth and need for justification are then established. The chapter continues to discuss justification as practice of public relations, while providing interpretation of justifying speech acts through prism of IR theories. Furthermore, a critical discussion about relation of presidential rhetoric to propaganda and manipulation is presented. Last part of the chapter concerns with the question, whether realities of domestic political arena, manifested in partisanship, influence content of presidential rhetoric.

The fifth chapter dives into linguistic and semantic content of presidential war rhetoric in terms of justifying and legitimating mechanisms. Upon investigating usage of basic rhetorical forms in call-to-arms addresses, the chapter proceeds to exploration of image invoking figures and analogies, which presidents use in their speeches. A concept of framing is introduced afterwards, along with the frame of just war theory.

Chapter six stipulates research questions and hypotheses. These are drawn inductively via exploration of both theoretical and practical aspects of speech and war rhetoric production.

In the seventh chapter methodology is discussed. The text explains main benefits and problems of Qualitative Content Analysis, then proceeds to use QCA framework to create a coding frame, which will be then used in research design. Critical discourse analysis as a supportive method is discussed then. The chapter concludes with specification of datasets and discussion about data collection.

The eight chapter contains analyses of 8 presidential call-to-arms speeches, or war affirmative addresses. Findings for each data set/speech are summarized in a table, while at the end of the chapter data is simplified and aggregated into two tables.

The final, ninth chapter presents findings of the analysis and addresses the research questions and hypotheses previously defined. Then, possibilities of future research are touched upon.

2. Literature review

Many authors are in accord, that general purpose of actor's engaging in rhetoric is coercion. (Graham, Keenan and Dowd 2004) Legitimizing can be then a soft form of coercing the public into acceptance of specific course of action. There is a wide agreement, that current political, economic and information environment is the most reliant on discourse, and in effect on how words are conveyed from position of power and translated into action influencing real life situations. (Graham, Keenan and Dowd 2004; Krebs, Jackson 2007; Bacevich 2005)

Even though importance of rhetoric has been well established for those, who study it, is often being ignored by the general political science scholarship, write Krebs and Jackson (2007). „*Whereas the dominant materialist tradition treats rhetoric as epiphenomenal, we argue, following recent constructivist work, that the rhetorical interplay itself provides leverage in explaining outcomes,*“ the authors write. They however criticise

the constructivist notion, that actors or orators deploy rhetorical forms only to persuade their audience and manipulate it into supporting policy they wish to pursue, as such argument implies subjective motivations of the actors, and as such is intraceable. (Krebs and Jackson 2007: 36) Instead the authors champion the idea, that language directly translates into political outcomes by careful maneuvering through socially shared mainstream world of ideas and values, which also set boundaries to what is acceptable in the rhetoric. This mainstream represents the realm of what is legitimate framing. (Krebs, Jackson 2007: 42-46). It is a reflection of the society, its shared understanding of boundaries and acceptable forms of discourse. (Krebs, Jackson 2007: 55)

A prominent theme throughout research on war rhetoric are of course possible definitions of the latter. According to Graham, Keenan and Dowd (2004), the common traits of war rhetoric, or call to arm speeches, do not change much over the course of history. Upon examining four historically significant pieces of war rhetoric, ranging from Pope Urban's call for the first crusade to George Bush's War on Terror Speech, the authors established a general framework, which all of the researched texts have in common. They all appealed to an external legitimate power presented in Manicheist manner as absolute good. They all appealed to historical anchorage of the socio-cultural reality, in which the speeches were given. All of the rhetorics construed binary image of the good Us and the inherently evil Other, and called for rallying behind the power source painted as legitimate. (Graham, Keenan and Dowd (2004: 202) The speakers were convincing their audiences, that they should be willing to accept paying the highest price for pursuit of goals the speakers laid out.

Furthermore, Graham, Keenan and Dowd surmise, that this type of rhetoric comes about in times of crisis, when leaders aim to *"exhort 'the masses' to kill and to die, simultaneously strengthening a leader's hold on power whilst weakening the longer term position of their institutions in 'the field of power'."* (Graham, Keenan and Dowd (2004: 201)

The framework presented by Graham, Keenan and Greene naturally recognizes particular variety in rhetoric from different times and different societies, which are bound to change in *"societal order of discourse"*. This change would manifest in concepts, which are being called upon. While Pope Urban sought external legitimation by drawing upon the almighty God, Adolf Hitler invoked the ideal of a nation. In case of George W. Bush, it was a combination of both, along with liberal concepts of universal human rights and freedoms. Same historically determinative pattern can be observed when it comes to the other categories – the evil Other differs contextually, as do the traits that makes the good Us. Categories themselves hold steady, nonetheless. (Graham, Keenan and Dowd 2004: 203-211)

There is an ever-developing debate on what makes war legitimate. One of the recent currents deals with the problem of Humanitarian Interventionism. The debate stems from the idea of universality of human rights, which, according to Zajadlo (2005), started to stir the waters of political science and international law in the early 1980's. The notion of globally universal human rights brought about a conflict between the uncontested dogma of state sovereignty and its questioning by argumentatively powerful idea of rightfulness of human rights protections in the international system. (Zajadlo 2005: 656) Challenge to the norms of international laws fluently spilled into a debate of war legitimation through rhetoric. An argument about possible confusion between universality and relativism has been made numerous times – states might be justifying foreign military adventurism with pretext of protection of universal human rights, while pursuing different objectives. (Alexy 2002; Zajadlo 2005)

The previous debate relates closely to the idea of just war, which has been going through centuries of redefinitions. According to Restrepo and Lordan, ideals of just war are deeply enrooted in the American way of thinking, and effectively on what Americans think America stands for. This reality necessarily reflects on the way rhetoric is used in terms of war rhetoric – the American public desires to be told, the war their country wages is just, since it stems out of their perspective on why wars should be waged. (Restrepo 2017; Lordan 2010)

On the other hand, some authors present a very different image of America's relationship with war. According to Bacevich, a veteran of several wars the U. S. were involved in, the U. S. society does not withhold truly peace-oriented principles in its heart. This, he claims, materializes in fast acceptance of any odds of war, no matter how long-lasting or costly, which in effect allows for the political representation to engage in wars, which are not even pretentiously defensive or fought as a last resort. (Bacevich 2005: 19) The justifying rhetoric by presidencies would then serve just as virtue signaling or as all-societal reassurance on principles, which in reality are naught but meaningless phrases.

Bacevich further contends, that the American public is thoroughly militarized. It is no longer possible to voice dissent with military engagement, without being labeled a traitor of the nation, Bacevich claims. He observes, that it was the political right, which has been taking advantage of the dynamic since Vietnam war, disseminating the narrative, that military is being threatened by malicious, anti-American ideas of the political Left. (Bacevich 2005: 24)

The chapter summarized several perspectives on war rhetoric and the role it plays in contemporary American society, while accentuating possible conflict lines amongst which particular debates can be navigated. Overall penum of literature to discuss is naturally much broader, however introduced were some of the most prominent points, which steer discourses about the matter in question. Furthermore, more comprehensive discussion on arguments central to solving the puzzle and research questions will be introduced in chapters 4 and 5.

3. Language

3.1 Language and Perception of Reality

Communication is at the core of the functioning of any society. In human context this communication is ensured by the use of language. It can be understood as a formal system, which through signs and symbols allows for human cultural transmission. Language consists of words, or codes, which are being dispatched by the originator, who is generally moved by the urge to convey a meaning. (Sinha 2004: 218) Motivations of the originator of linguistic impulse may vary – but it is reasonable to assume that it boils down to provoking a reaction. If the code went through the realm of physical obstacles, the receiver then processes and interprets the code, and in an ideal case composes the message in such a way that it corresponds to the originator's intent.

„If I have an idea about a goal I wish to attain, I can use language to communicate my thoughts. In this way, language makes it possible for us to share visions.“

(Gardenfors 2004: 243).

The concept of information has a variety of meanings in different contexts. In a broader sense, information is any input, which then translates to a mental stimulus through processing by a nervous system. The inherent function of the language is to organize and categorize the information. Language assigns a position and a socially shared meaning to the inputs and allows for further chiseling of the information. The thoughtful processing of information through language bolsters the ability of human societies to precisely coordinate their actions and reactions to emergent issues and problems.

“The person who has acquired knowledge of a language has internalized a system of rules that relate sound and meaning in a particular way.”

(Chomsky 2006: 23)

Individuals use the process of categorization to systemize, organize and simplify their social environment, as they engage in perceptual activities. Social categorization then serves as a means of navigating and assuming a position in complex social systems. (Tajfel 1974: 69) The categorizing function of language is crucial in the process of constituting what we perceive as reality. By assigning labels to information we highlight their features, and thus indulge in differentiating them from other information. Emphasizing particular qualities of actions, events or objects leads us to the ability to appropriately respond to them in a social context. Bracketing and clustering the information helps us to assemble our complex realities, and to define the apt range of our reactions upon encountering information, or object, which is part of such a cluster. (Pratkanis, Aronson 2001: 31)

What we label as black or white, good or evil, beautiful or unsightly all reflects on how we approach the subjects locked into labels and categories, and that is even without previously directly encountering it. The psychologists Anthony Pratkanis and Elliot Aronson contend: *“The words and labels we use come to define and create our social world. This definition of reality directs our thoughts, our feelings, our imagination and thus influences our behavior.”* (Pratkanis, Aronson 2001: 33)

Jürgen Habermas goes even further in explaining the relation between words and our perception of reality. According to Habermas, nowadays there is a consensus, that *“language and reality are inextricably intertwined. We cannot confront our sentences directly with a reality that is not already permeated by language.”*. (Habermas 2003: 249) In other words, juxtaposing language, and reality to examine reality is impossible, because reality is in fact language. Habermas assumes the problematic state, which stems from our inability to identify a basic set of self-legitimizing propositions, which could serve as a starting point in the linear examination of construed realities. (Habermas 2003: 249) For the sake of clarity of the argument in content analysis, it is however necessary to accept the linguistic reality as a fact, as a trampoline of sorts, which will allow this thesis to jump to justifiable conclusions.

3. 2 Language and Persuasion

„We shall assume that what each man does is based not on direct or certain knowledge, but on pictures made by himself or given to him.“

(Lippmann 1991: 25)

The persuasive potential of language is conspicuous due to its previously stipulated characteristics. Persuasion of the social collective to action is one of its natural functions. It is by the use of language that political actors can delineate issues the society is facing, and in effect create both individual and societal needs, which call for being addressed by the course of action. It would be hard to argue against the importance of agenda setting in power relations. (Pratkanis, Aronson 2001: 31) As Walter Lippmann contended, the influencing entities, be it media or public speakers, “*paint an imagined world*” and “*paint pictures in our heads.*” (Lippmann 1991: 14) They, therefore, heavily influence what people will do, say, and want, before they know they want it. (Lippmann 1991: 14)

Throughout the work, language is going to be conceptualized as a means of persuasion, and justification, while focusing on speech acts related to war discourses. Within the boundaries of the thesis, there is an understanding, that speech act is an expression of information originating from a communicator, which stipulates movement towards action in the receiver of the information. Discourse is then outward interrelated communication, which encompasses the context and meaning of the message communicated. As hinted before, discourse contributes to the construction of reality. (Phillips, Hardy 2002: 3)

This chapter aimed at deconstructing the problem of rhetoric to its very element, that is a problem of communicating ideas. In author’s opinion, realizing the possible abstractness of the examined matter, which has profound real-life consequences can serve both analytical purposes, but it also allows the reader to perceive the levity, through which we can approach the topic. At the same time, acknowledging, that in its essence communicating means persuading, or yearning towards either preservation or change of state, helps us to comprehend, why those at power talk to us whatsoever.

4. Presidential War Rhetoric

4.1 Historical Excursion: Propaganda and Modern American Presidency

One definition of propaganda deems it to be a „*deliberate attempt to persuade people to think and behave in a desired way.*” (Taylor 2003: 6) It is a conscious decision to employ persuasive techniques, which are “*intended to benefit those organizing the process.*“ (Taylor 2003: 7) The emphasis here lies on intent.

Propaganda is timeless, and many historic accounts of ground-breaking events we are familiar with were shaped by it. In other words, our perception of history is stained by narratives the people who had the chance to write history wanted us to read or hear in the future with the prospect of eternity. Be it old Persian inscriptions in Behistun, works of Titus Livius or the intentional misrepresentations of Nero’s rule – all these contribute to our misguided views of history. And needless to say, all of these contributions were in fact propaganda, which pursued political goals.

The term propaganda itself is nonetheless of much younger origin. Its use has first been coined in 1622 during the times of rampant Christian reformation. In the year Pope Gregory XV founded the Congregation for the Evangelization of Peoples, or in Latin Sacra Congregatio de Propaganda Fide, tasked with the missionary endeavor to re-establish the primacy of Catholicism. The Congregation served as a papal propaganda office, which was to disseminate the Catholic doctrine through various religious institutions, in order to bring the population back to the true faith. (Pratkanis, Aronson 2001: 8)

To bridge the immense gap, the past holds and moves us to a matter more contemporary, this thesis is going to borrow an opportune delineation set by e.g. Noam Chomsky (1991) or Philip Taylor (2003). It appears to be the most relevant to close in on the subject matter of this work, since both authors, coming from different perspectives, recognize historical realities and reach the same conclusion on consecutive delimitation of beginning of modern propaganda.

Modern propaganda can be seen as a result of the post-industrial turn to consumerism. Consumerism is a socioeconomic phenomenon, which utilizes the fabrication of desire. What was first established as a tool for driving economic growth was soon appropriated by politicians as a mechanism of social control. (Taylor 2003: 14) Authors like Chomsky and Taylor delimitate the origins of modern U.S. war propaganda by Woodrow Wilson's involvement in World War I. The conflict in which by 1916 million already perished, and in which the United States seemingly had no stakes in, had to be sold to the pacifist American public. The Wilsonian administration did not hesitate to hop on the propaganda train already set in motion by the British by setting up United States' own propaganda department. (Chomsky 1991: 8-10; Moloney 2006: 41-44)

In order to get the message of the necessity of involvement in the war through, the United States propaganda accosted the public with the imagery of atrocious acts by the Germans. The Wilhelmine empire was often described as a barbaric, anti-cultural antagonist. The image of militant Hunnic invaders or even apes, threatening the survival of the free world and its values, has been evoked, in order to appeal to the primal fear of destruction of the way of life American citizens were accustomed to. (Chomsky 1991: 8-10) Both by application of visuals and written word, the U. S. administration utilized language and symbols to create a strongly polarized narrative, using Manicheist dichotomies of what was meant to be perceived as good and what as evil.

In the information environment of 1916, the transmission of the political message was strictly limited to direct oral production and more importantly written form. The print constituted the only mass media since the national radio broadcasting wasn't introduced until the 1920s. In fact, it was the United States government, who put halt to organic development of radio broadcasting, by seizing control of the industry in 1917. This was achieved by invoking the 1912 Act to Regulate Radio communication, which effectively made it illegal for citizens to even own radio transmitters and receivers. (QST 2017: 3)

The only efficient way to convey the message, which would persuade the United States public to support the involvement in a conflict overseas was thus print. When it comes to information sources, setting aside the reality of widespread censorship and government demands on journalists to support the war effort during wartime, even before the U. S. got involved in the conflict, they were immensely scarcer than nowadays. (Palmer 1933: 315-320)

The primacy of the state when it comes to obtaining and handling information allowed the presidency to control the narratives of events, and thus shift public opinion without much contest.

In effect, the official position of the White House played a great role in persuading Americans to support the involvement in World War I. Most prominently, this position materialized in presidential addresses. Walter Lippmann, who was a member of the Committee on Public Information and was later assigned a role in Wilsonian board of inquiry, which was to prepare materials for post-war peace negotiations, stressed out the importance of presidential addresses to American involvement in the war in his book *Public Opinion* (1922), a landmark in public relations literature. (Moloney 2006: 41-58)

Lippmann provides an insight on how the official pro-war narrative was disseminated inter alia by President Wilson's addresses being delivered to most American households, utilizing the widespread network of Boy Scouts organization. (Lippmann 1991: 47) Thus so far, the propaganda as a means of dissemination of sought-after ideas held relatively clear connotations and could be understood as just another method of persuasion. Things would get more complicated during the 20th century, as would the modes and tools for persuading the audience. Propaganda would soon involve subliminal manipulation of symbols, suggestion, and individual psychology. With the rise in complexity, the need for sensitive and nuanced differentiation between propaganda and public persuasion took hold. Nonetheless, the line between the two is blurry until this day. (Pratkanis, Aronson 2001: 9)

"This is the secret of propaganda: Those who are to be persuaded by it should be completely immersed in the ideas of the propaganda, without ever noticing that they are being immersed in it."

(Goebbels in Rogers, Dearing 1988: note 7)

4. 2 Rhetorical Presidency and New Media

The states' primacy of information somewhat diluted with the explosive growth of private mass media, as did the control of narratives. Presidency thus had to become aware of dissent, and thus of competing narratives finding their way to the recipients, the American public. In order to tackle the issue the White House had to become more open to the media. Since Wilson's administration the media landscape changed profoundly. Apart from the press, radio and television broadcast, as well as the internet media were integrated into the curriculum of regular forms of getting the message through. In the arena of competing narratives, the necessary exposure to the media became a mode of both securing the maximal reach and scope of the message admission, as well as of controlling the ether and in effect diminishing competitors' space for asserting dominance over the public interpretation of events. (Silberstein 2002: 6) To sum up, the modern media environment has become increasingly sophisticated, which increased demands on presidential communication. The new ways of transmitting a message however also positively influenced the ability of presidencies to reach their audiences faster, in a more direct way and larger scope. (Lordan 2010: 290)

A figure which Roderick Hart introduced in *Verbal Style and the Presidency: A Computer-Based Analysis* illustrates this change of attitude accurately. Only from 1945 until 1975 the number of public addresses

given by United States presidents raised by 500 percent and the number of performances in front of audiences continued to grow since then. (Hart 1984: 147)

If in the 19th and at the beginning of the 20th century the role of the United States President was almost purely to head the executive branch of the government, it took on increasingly the character of an explainer, who needs to justify every action and persuade the public of its legitimacy.

4. 3 What is Presidential War Rhetoric?

According to the U. S. Constitution, Congress holds the legal privilege to declare war, while presidential exceptional powers arise only as the war is already declared. Even though the president is limited by the system of institutional checks and balances, which have him seek congressional approval for war, it is the president, who publicly announces the war. He does so on behalf of the whole nation in a speech act, which has a multiplicity of names throughout literature. It has been labeled, sometimes imprecisely, as a declaration of war, war rhetoric, the call-to-arms speech or just as presidential address on war. (Lordan 2010: 2-3) Interestingly, the war is typically announced after hostilities have already begun. It would thus be possible to deduce that the president does not in fact seek support, he merely justifies what has already been decided and done to the electorate and the world. (Ramsey 2003: 343)

Upon recognising difficult realities of war declaration, the field of presidential war rhetoric can be delineated simply by the speeches, which main characteristics lie in a time coincidence with wartime, and at the same time touch upon the situation of war. Apart from that, these speech acts share a number of common traits, such as identification of the enemy or justification of the need to use force against the enemy. There is also a tendency to invoke specific rhetoric figures and themes, such as framing or axiomatic binaries. These binaries are the likes of good vs. evil, barbarians vs. civilization or us vs. them. The form and content of the speech are of course influenced by events preceding the war. It would be hard for Clinton to reference the massacre in Srebrenica or for Bush to point out to the Iraqi occupation of Kuwait, if these events never occurred. It would be difficult to claim the war is the last resort, unless diplomatic effort to prevent it has been made. (Olson 2004: 186-187)

The named speech act, which will be referred to as war rhetoric, war address, or call-to-arms speech interchangeably throughout this work, serves as a public endorsement of involvement in a conflict. It creates awareness of the population to the conflict with the prospect of gaining support for the social act of war and explains the reasons why the public should give their blessing to the policy. In order to garner the support, presidencies employ a variety of rhetorical techniques, some legitimate, some borderline shady, which are to convince the public of the rightness of war and justify reasons for it. (Lordan 2010: 2) If we accept the premise, that in democracies electoral support for the war influences the ability of the government to wage war, we get one of the explanations to why presidents care about the public opinion and thus get involved in legitimization discourse. (Boussios, Cole 2010: 209) The frequency of engaging with the public through speechmaking then rises, when higher stakes come into play. (Soha 2010: 14)

This leaves us with an important question, nonetheless. How do we differentiate war rhetoric from a mere descriptive act? The most obvious answer would orientate towards historical coincidence with the act of war.

Unlike in case of a description, the speaker is also an actor, who has identifiable or declared interest in the upcoming course of events. On a functional level, war rhetoric would possess mobilization inducing elements, powered-up by rhetorical figures, which are to persuade listeners of necessity of war engagement. These can be identified as calls for action, which also introduce justification for the conflict – prevention of economic losses, atrocities, future dangerous situations. According to Graham, Keenan and Dowd (2004: 202), war rhetoric typically contains four themes: *“a legitimating power source external to the orator; the history of the social system in which the text is located; an evil and aberrant Other; and a unifying construct that links members of the social system to the externally legitimating power source invoked by the orator.”* In practice, speaker, in our case the President, can appeal to either god or international community, while accentuating socially shared values, such as freedom for all. Throughout the address, polarizing depictions of the enemy contrasted to the just society essentially forced to wage war would be present.

The prominence of public support for war has been well established also in military theories over centuries. It was already Carl von Clausewitz who argued that in order for any military endeavor to succeed, architects of war have to not only employ the talent of professional strategists and soldiers, they also have to ignite the passion for war in the people. Only a nation supportive of war will altruistically commit itself to defeat the enemy. Such a nation will also not revolt against the political administration. (Clausewitz 2007) Wars which are perceived as legitimate by the nation are from strategic perspective wars which encounter less resistance from the inside, garner more moral and material support from the public and as such are more likely to be won. (Butler 2012: 9)

All wars the United States has been involved in were controversial and subjected to public debate, whether the cause was just and worth getting involved in. The presidencies have been able to convince the public, at least in the majority of cases. Researchers have shown that right after “declaration” of war, and in its initial phases Americans tend to have a supportive attitude towards the war effort. This has been described as the “rally round the flag” factor. (Boussios, Cole 2010; Soha 2010)

Even though the United States deploy their military far more frequently than any other nation on earth, war is perceived as a practice to be avoided and restricted, instead of promoted. This socially dominant norm effectively dictates the necessity for justification of any war affirmative resolution by the government and presidency. If the justification is to garner support for the respective war, it needs to be sufficiently convincing the public that it is for correct, legitimate and just reasons. (Butler 2012: 10) If taken from the cost-benefits perspective, presidencies which initiate war need to convince the public that the costs invested in the war will be outweighed by whatever the United States will gain from winning the war. (McHugh 2016: 4)

4. 4 Who do Presidents Persuade?

When we talk about the persuasive power of presidential war rhetoric, we must also tackle the question, who does it aim to persuade. Generally, presidential war rhetoric must address the multiplicity of audiences, and the address needs to accommodate every single one of them, if it is to be successful. As discussed in the section on discourse creation process, this is a delicate task. The draft of Bush’s address to the joint session of Congress

had to be edited since it might offend China, whose vote would the United States later need in the U. N. Security Council.

Even if the speech is being delivered on American soil, and labeled as „to the nation“, or „to Congress“, the administration knows the world is listening. It can't be otherwise, taking the importance of the role the United States plays in the international system into consideration. Thus, the president delivering a war-commencing speech needs to address six audiences:

- 1) the American public: Convincing the public is crucial in democracies, as the presidency must take into consideration electoral cycles. Therefore, there is pressure from within the president's party as well on the appropriate form of the address. Administration's ability to wage war is dependent on public support, as the legitimacy of such a decision stems from it directly. Presidencies need to choose words carefully not to alienate social groups, e.g. religious or ethnic communities.
- 2) media and opinion leaders: The media will take on the role of dissemination and interpretation of the presidential message. The address thus needs to be coherent and straightforward, minimizing the opportunity to spin the narrative or question its meaning. A successful address should contain memetic catchphrases, which are easy to reproduce and thus amplify the reach of the message.
- 3) the U. S. military: Even though there is no need to persuade the military due to its chain of command nature and sworn obedience to the United States and its administration, it is beneficial to explain the reasons and justify the need for their sacrifice. The tone set in a call-to-arms address has potential to boost morale and define the mode of behavior towards the enemy, further emphasize national unity.
- 4) Congress: The presidency needs to gain legislator's support if it is to wage war legitimately and legally, as it is the Congress, who by constitution declares war. The speech act will thus be drafted in a way that it bridges partisan differences and accentuates demands on unity. Support from Congress enhances the message with legitimacy, as it creates the impression that the whole nation stands behind the decision to wage war.
- 5) the enemy: The enemy is never perceived as monolithic, especially if it is a state actor. The President has to make it clear that the actions are directed against the leadership or elites, but never against the civilian population. The aim is to gain support or minimize the involvement of the enemy's general public, but also to create discord between the elite and masses.
- 6) International community: Due to U.S. historical commitment to internationalism, the international community is an audience to be considered as well. International acceptance of reasons for American wars is a crucial source of legitimacy in the international system, but it also bolsters the impact of the message on domestic audiences. Convincing the international community can also serve as a precaution against resistance towards the war with all its repercussions, for example material or moral support of United States' adversary. If foreign states deem the war justified, they are more likely to support U. S. war effort militarily and materially. (Lordan 2010: 8-10; Butler 2012: 115)

The emphasis on any and all of these audiences naturally changes with the purpose and context of the speech. Quite often the appeal is intertwined and aimed at multiple audiences, since they supposedly share core culturally conditioned values. This holds true especially when it comes to domestic audiences. The rhetorical

figures used naturally differ when the addressee is enemy leadership or international community in some cases. (Lordan 2010: 290-291)

4. 5 Process of Creation of Presidential Discourse

The studies of presidential discourse are a firmly established research area in the academic environment. Maybe that is the reason why the majority of studies and papers I had the opportunity to examine focus on the fact of discourse itself, on linguistics or history. Alternatively, scholars seek to put the subject matter into a broader historical context. Any and all of these endeavors are legitimate, during the research a gap in research on the process of discourse production has been, however, noticed.

Often there is a tendency to perceive presidency as a monolith, embodied in the persona of the president. The final product, that is a speech, which is being publicized, however, is a result of a lengthy process, which involves a relatively large number of people. This of course includes the tasked employees of the White House Office of Speechwriting, but also policy advisors and president's party officials, who all contribute to and revise drafts. As such, all involved are directly contributing to the creation of discourse later presented to the public.

Political scientists Villalobos and Vaughn accurately summarize the process. The chief of staff or another president's advisor assemble the general guidelines, themes and aims of the speech the president intends to make. The document is then handed over to the Office of Speechwriting. The so-called ghosts then create a draft of a speech, using thematic, rhetorical, and stylistic instruments to assure consistency with the prevalent image the presidency aims for. The draft is reviewed, examined, and revised by White House advisors, who propose changes, suggest factual corrections, and add in their own themes to be included in the speech. The revised versions of drafts go back to the Office of Speechwriting, where the ghosts incorporate some suggestions, leave some out, then dispatch the draft to the advisors again. The process usually repeats until the draft is finalized or until the day the speech is given. The speech, in effect, aggregates dozens of ideas from a variety of people. (Vaugh, Villalobos 2006: 682-685)

If we accept the premise of Roderick Hart, that "presidential speech and action increasingly reflect the opinion that speaking *is* governing.," (Hart in Silbersten 2002: 6), we necessarily have to assess the role of people who influence the form of message delivered. An individual's handwriting in both technical and subliminal sense is, by definition, projected into the product he is contributing to. In effect, the White House staff and other figures involved are directly shaping the discourse, and it is thus important to take their existence into consideration, especially if we aim to understand the genuine meaning of the message publicly presented.

It is thus clear that the process of speechwriting aggregates a vast spectrum of individual, ideological and bureaucratic traits. Stylistics, rhetoric, and aesthetic generally make way for these concerns during the creative process, in order to encompass the nature of policy the speech aims to advance. (Collier 2014: 24)

The intensity of the fore-mentioned thought exchanges differs of course by presidency, as does the president's personal contribution to the speeches and their willingness to accept the ideas of staff. For example, Ronald Reagan is known to have inserted his emblematic one-liner jokes in speeches written by his staff, to much discontent of the speechwriting office. (Schlesinger 2008) On another occasion, during George H. W. Bush administration, a speech draft was sent for revision to 23 policy advisors. Twelve of them suggested in total 13 substantive changes on policy positions, all of which were incorporated in the speech and thus changed the whole reading of the original message. In many cases, the final drafts of important addresses are consulted with the president's respective party bodies, to assure consistency with party long-term policies. (Vaugh, Villalobos 2006: 682-685)

A very relevant example of how the speechwriting process alternated and blunted the aggressive discourse dates to 2001 and is related to the war rhetoric of George W. Bush's presidency. The rhetoric announcing the War on Terror will be analyzed later-on in this work in a separate chapter. After the attacks, George W. Bush was about to address the Congress at a joint session. The language of the speech draft collated the perpetrators of the attack to Nazis, and at the same time to the Communists, who, as the Islamists would in no time, were defeated in the past. This blunt rhetoric has been edited, because it could compromise the effort of getting the Chinese vote in the United Nations Security Council. Not to offend China, instead of „Communists“, it was totalitarianism, which disappeared into “History's graveyard of discarded lies.” (Collier 2014: 32)

It is also important to emphasize the role of public opinion research in the discourse creation process. Through continuous barometer polls and focus groups information on public preferences is gathered and sorted, allowing to assemble a picture of which reactions appeal to the public the most in prospective situations. This allows presidencies to include discovered linguistic patterns, choose right words and use the correct argument in order to maximize elicitation of public support. (Olmastroni 2014: 21)

4. 6 Justification and Legitimization

In order to grasp the concepts of justification and legitimization and their relation to presidential war rhetoric, we necessarily need to chart the interdisciplinary waters. We must dive into linguistics, cognitive and social psychology, as well as epistemology. These are just some of the disciplines – others, more or less implicit, will necessarily manifest to readers of differing backgrounds.

Legitimation is a discursive practice, which through the provision of reasons and motivations justifies social activities and practices. (Oddo 2011: 289) In the semantic understanding, justification differs from legitimization, however, the two concepts are closely intertwined. While justification is a rhetorical and discourse act, legitimization is in contrast a process. Justification is nonetheless used as a means to achieve legitimation in an environment of social values, norms and perceptions of right and wrong. The latter is a matter of socially shared belief, and as such will necessarily vary across social landscapes of the world.

4. 6. 1 Justification and Truth

The study of cognitive psychology provides valuable insights into the formation of beliefs about epistemology, truth and justification. During the development of the human brain individuals transcend from objectivist (matter of truth) through subjectivist (matter of opinion) to rationalist conception of justification, which is a matter of interpretation and inference. (Moshman 2015: 17) Even though there might be a tendency for the human mind to justify the status quo, facing a situation which distorts the current reality, the new input is quickly incorporated into the image of what current reality is. In order to maintain cognitive consistency, individuals have general wiring to accept justifications and internalize new realities. (Jost, Hunyady 2002) It is possible to surmise that people want to feel good about their realities. I contend this to be a biological mechanism, which is to secure the stability of human society and as such bolster its chances for survival in the natural environment. Such determinant, however, makes humans more prone to being manipulated. It is subsequently easier for speakers to get their rhetoric through, especially if a vast array of rhetoric methods is employed.

There is a broad consensus on justification being closely related to truth. (Cohen 1984; Habermas 2003) Under ideal epistemic, communication or speech conditions, what is justified would be accepted as true. (Habermas 2003: 250-251) Therefore, truth is a manifest successful justification. By successfully justifying the matter, we, as well as the President of the United States, mold it into what the audience believes is the true reality. The predicament of truth implies that what is justified is valid universally. (Habermas 2003: 144) The relation between truth and justification is however problematic from a temporal perspective. Any discourse is firmly set in its time, and we cannot know whether the future conditions will not invalidate what we justified and deem true today. (Habermas 2003: 252) Nevertheless, this realization does not need to dilute our belief in what is true or right, at least until the moment, when our convictions of justifications are recognizably falsified. (Habermas 2003: 259) After all, even if research in justification discourse has potentially temporary character, it still holds validity in the context of our time scale, and possibly even after, since we cannot know whether it will be falsified at all.

From a very intuitive perspective, justification can be understood as a direct result of divergence from norms. If a person or a state would follow established norms, resigning on the proposition of altering the status quo, no justification would be needed. Normality doesn't need an explanation, as it doesn't need justification. It is the natural human necessity to avoid streamlining, which leads to questioning of normality, and in effect to need for justification. From an objective standpoint, it is not possible to achieve absolute cohesion in terms of normality. That is a core departure point of any intellectual conflict and the resulting need for justification of perceived realities. Or as Habermas put it: „*Unanticipated constellations of conflict situations that occur subsequently give rise to a further need for interpretation that must be met from within the altered perspective of a discourse of application.*” (Habermas 2003: 245)

Habermas notes that the need for justification grew as the old dogma and doctrines of premodernity dissolved. Free from primacy of church and rigid, immobile social structures, plurality of discourses took hold, which would call for justification by universal and rational reasoning, which would speak to the public. The public, however, consists of emotionally sentient beings. Thus in practice justification discourses have to take into consideration observed feelings, which arise from interactions between individuals, such as grievances or indignation. (Habermas 2003: 238-242) Before modernity, monarchs and representatives of faith indeed didn't need to justify their actions and narratives before the populace. What was established by divine powers didn't need

an explanation, and even less justification. (Abulof, Kornprobst 2017: 127) This necessity arose from the democratization of access to information. Moreover, justification implies reaching an (imposed) agreement on norms, as well as actions taken i.e. by governments. In modern society, public concord on what is right, moral, justified has a strong legitimizing and in effect authorizing power. (Habermas 2003: 258)

4. 6. 2 Public Justification of Actions

From a public relations standpoint, the main idea behind justification is the presentation of reasons for convictions and actions. (Abulof, Kornprobst 2017: 127) Individuals invested in social interactions may have encountered the following situation: one is engaged in a friendly chat, while suddenly a wild conflicting topic appears! If we are to keep the dialogue sincere, we must confront the elephant in the room, justify our position and explain, why are we right. Internally, we legitimize our past choices, justify our actions in the present, and think about how our today's steps will affect our future. Actions and practices of public entities are subjected to even closer scrutiny, as the watchful eyes are many, and it is the same watchful eyes, who bestow legitimacy upon them. War is then a social practice, which interferes with the state of normality, and as such calls for justification. (Odo 2011: 289)

“To the extent that the acts that can in principle be justified actually do require justification, they are incorporated into discursive practice as speech acts.” (Habermas 2003: 155)

If we observe justification through the prism of IR theories, it is possible to identify two distinct perspectives. The realist school asserts that justification is mere political rhetoric, void of norms, ideals and values. The only reason why states and administration employ justifications is to persuade the public in order to advance power oriented policy goals. In this view, states and their representatives are not constrained by norms, therefore justifying normatively would only put constraints on their natural drive to power. In the international setting, this would translate into the differentiation between action justification between powerful and weak states. By this predicament, powerful states, which are less constrained, would be able to set the rules of justification themselves, or not justify at all. They, however, do that as it helps them to advance their strategic goals. (Nelson 2010: 133-134) The perspective of IR Liberalism asserts that the dividing line is drawn between democracies and non-democracies. The difference of war justification stems from patterns in formation of international alliances, trade, waging war. Regime type would thus be the main determinant. Justification could in effect be seen as a reflection of ideational preferences of the population. (Nelson 2010: 134) These paradigms could be verifiable by a comparative analysis juxtaposing democratic and non-democratic justifications for war. I, however, assert, that even in democratic states justification discourse can vary due to their politically-pluralist character. In other words, the modes of justification are not only dependent on historical context, but also to an extent by partisan politics – that is, differently leaning parties would choose different vehicles of justification for their actions.

The United States is viewed as the world's most powerful nation in terms of military. Since the beginning of the 20th century, the United States has been militarily involved in over 40 conflicts worldwide. At the same time, the nation made its mark as a champion of liberal peace and multilateralism, defender of human rights and freedom. The contrast between the promotion of peace and the use of military force is hard to overlook. (Butler 2012: 3-4) It is maybe this contradiction, which makes war justification so important in the American context.

4. 7 Persuasion and Manipulation

The fore-mentioned Chomsky stands out as one of the most prominent critics of the United States' policy from a semantic standpoint. In his critique, Chomsky directly tackles the assertions Walter Lippmann made about the aims of rhetorical presidency. He offers a very different, dimmer image of what the persuasive efforts of the Presidency signify to the society. Chomsky engulfs his critics in a perspective of deep disapproval towards the actual functioning of liberal democracy in the United States, where, shielded by the liberal democratic theory.

Chomsky claims that due to the elitist takeover of democracy taking place, the ideological assumptions of the current state of liberal democracy in the United States closely resemble the ones of Marxism-Leninism. Same as the Marxist-Leninists cherish the idea of vanguardism, the „liberal democratic“ business elites, who hold the real power tend to claim for themselves the historical responsibility to navigate the society towards a better world. (Chomsky 1991: 12) In the eyes of the elites, the masses lack the intellectual capacity and vision to understand what's best for them. The business elite in the United States thus denies the population to administer their affairs, as this would hinder reaching the predestined societal objectives. In Chomsky's eyes, these usurpers of power deem it immoral for the oblivious herd, consisting of sheeple, to do so, as they would just stampede a ruin everything the enlightened elites built for them. (Chomsky 1991: 14)

This critical view was also expressed by Jürgen Habermas, who famously asserted that the public sphere got refeudalized by the elites in the 20th century. The collusive elites, which dominate politics, business, entertainment constrain the public sphere. By using its resources to feed the public with a preordained range of opinions, the elites make sure to keep tight control over the course of societal direction. While once it was the public, who was forming public opinion and setting the course, after refeudalization it was again the chosen few, who imposed public opinion on the public itself. (Habermas 1989)

The criticism isn't necessarily uncalled for. According to Lippmann, who generally took on very pro-governmental and from today's perspective elitist stance, there is typically a vast discrepancy between the aims of the elites, who impose the "common interest" on the masses, and public opinion, that is, in other words, what the masses wish for. Lippman defended this state as the manifestation of righteous societal order. (Lippmann 1991: XVIII) Lippmann further asserted: "*The common interests of the society very largely elude public opinion entirely, and can be manned only by a specialized class.*" (Lippmann 1991: XVIII)

As both theoretician and practitioner, Lippmann was deeply invested in mechanisms of "liberal democratic vanguardism." To achieve goals, governments would need to manufacture consent. In Lippmann's view, this technicality was no difficult task to the knowledgeable professionals understanding the process and willing to seize the opportunities for manipulation. (Lippmann 1991: 248) The idea Chomsky criticized thus permeated the American administrations very early on. How American elites don't always take public opinion into consideration can be shown in one example: even when invested in a deeply unpopular war, such as the one in Iraq, elites value strategic goals over the will of people and refuse the army to withdraw. (McHugh 2016: 6)

In order to successfully direct the masses, elites use rhetoric to persuade, or rather manipulate the public into following the refined path, even if on every step of it bones crunch. According to Chomsky, the population is generally opposed to war. He notes that it always takes a great deal of persuasion and manipulation to create the underlying support for foreign military involvement. The public has no interest in the government's adventurism abroad, killing of foreign civilians and deaths of American soldiers for a cause the public doesn't identify with. To do so, elites use manipulation, such as the rhetoric of fear, polarization and calls for unconditional support. (Chomsky 1991: 26) Chomsky was noticing the figures American presidency would use to garner public support. It would often obscure the true meaning of the message through the use of ambiguous slogans. By calls for supporting the troops, the administration would conceal its true intent: to garner support for the expansionist policy. (Chomsky 1991: 21)

4. 8 Presidential Rhetoric and Partisanship

According to Pratakis and Aronson, the majority of Americans believe that the information provided by the news media is biased. The results of the research they mention quite clearly reflect the bi-partisan electoral division in the United States. By a small margin, the viewers were constituting almost identically sized groups. One group believed that the message they get from the media is too liberal, too pro-Democratic and too change-oriented. The other group, on the other hand, stated that the bias is too conservative, too pro-Republican and too status quo oriented. (Pratkanis, Aronson 2001: 109)

The results of the research mentioned in the last paragraph proved that perception of the same content can be clearly divergent in accordance to the political leaning of recipients when it comes to television. The same rhetoric brings two groups of people to almost binarily opposing conclusions. This finding summons a question: does partisanship reflect in presidential war rhetoric as well?

Naturally, presidencies operate in a multiplicity of context. One of them stems from the time-spatial characteristic of democracy. When a president wants to engage in discourse about war, it is paramount he takes into consideration the future election as well. It has been theorized that the looming elections, both midterm and presidential, are affecting the decision making of respective administrations also in relation to war practice. In effect, they tone down or conversely escalate international (not necessarily military) conflicts by adjusting their rhetoric. (Boussios 2010: 209-2011). This could explain the rise in concerted efforts to either reach an appeasing agreement with an adversary, such as North Korea, as presenting such achievements might prove advantageous in political campaigning. Stepping up deterring speech acts towards e.g. Russia can in a certain context bear fruits as well, as the polarization of the conflict can help to unify the soon to be voting audience.

The domestic audience can respond in a variety of ways to the same presidential message, based on party affiliation. Needless to say, who speaks plays an important part in forming the response. Staunch supporters of Donald Trump will tend to dismiss anything that a democratic critic would assert and vice versa. Social experimentation has verified this claim. When in 2016 Democrat-leaning subjects were presented with non-polarizing quotes attributed to Donald Trump. Republican-leaning subjects were subjected to the same procedure, being confronted with alleged Hillary Clinton quotes. Both groups tended to oppose the claims, only to find out

these were statements by their respective presidential candidates. Upon the realization they by and large tended to retract their previous claims and were justifying them instead. (Harnel 2018) As I have mentioned before, war rhetoric has, however, a generally unifying effect. The attitudes toward war are roughly following the party delineation, nonetheless. Democrats are substantially more likely to oppose war, than Republicans. (Boussios 2010: 210-216) In the polarized American bi-partisan political system, and with swing votes in decline, it is hard to conceive, that presidential rhetoric could be construed to electorally attract voters of the opposing party. (Smidt 2015; Barabas, Jerit 2010) Cemented partisan positions have been demonstrated also in the context of issue framing, a concept I will in-depth explain later on. Individuals have a tendency to view their party affiliates as credible sources of frames, or overarching storylines in political messaging. However, when a frame is being advanced by affiliates of the other political party, they are sceptical and distrustful. (McHugh 2016: 6)

It is thus possible to postulate a hypothesis that partisanship reflects on war rhetoric, since the style of war rhetoric emanates to some extent underlying partisan ideological positions towards war, and in effect the modes of justifying would differ in terms of evoked symbolism and frames.

5. Content of Presidential War Rhetoric

5.1 Rhetorical Forms

The three general forms of rhetorical persuasion constant since antiquity are logos, pathos, and ethos. In presidential war addresses, these are carefully mixed together into a concoction, which is to achieve the desired impact in terms of coherently selling the message, as well as to reach the full breadth of the audience. (Lordan 2010: 11)

- Logos: Logos appeals to reason and logical processing of the message by the audience. Logos emphasizes the logical presentation of information. By use of inductive reasoning the speaker is able to build up a multi-level, gradually expanding argument. The build-up is supported by hard evidence, such as statistics, photographs, or quotations. In terms of presidential war rhetoric, the audience is guided towards a certain conclusion, that the war, which the presidency advocates for, is the only logical conclusion in the current setting. (Lordan 2010: 12-13)
- Pathos: Not everyone is easily persuaded by reason, it in fact is emotions that appeal to the most. The speaker uses pathos to create sympathy towards his cause, or outrage with the adversary's actions. One example of such rhetoric is the appeal to fear, by outlining what would happen, if the country wouldn't go to war and defeat the enemy. These scenarios include e.g. massacres of civilians, economic crises, nuclear war. The appeal to fear of the audience is meant to emulsify the audience, increase the support of the speaker, and bolster their authority. It also underlines the importance to resolve the situation immediately, by engaging in a conflict with the enemy. More often presidents share emotional stories of atrocities conducted by the enemy or individual suffering of innocent civilians. In fact, past analyses have shown that a vast majority of war rhetoric speeches contained either heart-breaking or a shockingly brutal story. Demonizing depictions of the enemy are a common method. (Lordan 2010: 12) By evoking and strengthening the righteous us and evil them dichotomy, the orator is able to force the audience to pick

sides, effectively making them join the us camp, as I explain in a separate chapter. Whoever would question the set narrative is helping the enemy. (Lordan 2010: 12-13)

- Ethos: The ethical appeal of the speaker is ethos. It aims to convince the audience that the orator is credible and suitable to lead the nation to war. The invocation of irrefutable, normative claims, such as divine calling, or that he has a mandate to wage war on behalf of the free world are just two examples. The credibility stems from the purity of character and intentions and honest investment in the situation on behalf of the population. (Lordan 2010: 12-13)

5. 2 Image Invoking Rhetorical Techniques

Rhetorical figures are used to shape perceptions. The imagery used construes our view of “them”, why should we fear them, why are they so terrible and why do they deserve to be punished. Presidential discourse on war gives us guidance: we know, who the enemy is, who the terrorists are and what they want to do to us. (Livingston 1994) In Olson’s view, rhetors, such as presidents, are usually heavily constrained by situational factors. They need to respond appropriately to recent developments, and according to the demands of the audience. (Olson 2004: 188) The range of rhetorical techniques or methods available, however, allows for spinning the perception of the immediate situation in the rhetor’s favor. Herein lies the importance of such techniques to the advancement of affirmative political goals. (Silberstein 2002)

As was contended before, Lippmann (1991) famously stated that speakers „paint pictures“ in our heads. To do so, they use metaphors, analogies, contrast binary values and a range of other rhetorical figures. Effectively, communicators construct complex imageries, which influence the psyche of recipients, and in course of action also usher them towards desired reactions. The selection of rhetorical imagery as follows reflects the thorough research of literature, and was selected on basis of assumed relevancy to presidential war addresses.

5. 2. 1 Image of Proximity

Proximization is a technique, which in its core stipulates binding together images and events, which are otherwise time-spatially distant. Using proximization figure, a speaker is attempting to legitimize his actions by „*alerting the addressee to the proximity or imminence of phenomena which can be a “threat” to the addressee,*” (Cap 2010: 9) making the recipient actively involved in the process of resolving the menacing situation. The addressee is in effect brought to immediate distance to the threat, forced to react. Claims, such as “terrorists already infiltrated the country”, or “the enemy is at the gates” are just two examples of proximization.

Another level of proximization is time, rather than space-related. Events, which are in reality distant in the past or the future, or don’t need to happen at all, are depicted as capable of impacting the addressee. Past happenings can serve as a justification for the future. By invoking past victories over the enemy and bravery of our soldiers, the rhetor can invoke the proposition of new heroic deeds, justifying violent acts in a war in the present or in the future. (Dunmire, 2008: 83) Rhetors also translate possibilities of what might happen in the future to calls what needs to be done in the present. I find an example of preventive war as fitting. In order to wage such a war, a discourse must have been successfully established and sold to the target audience, which stipulated the

need for military action in the present, in order to prevent a future attack, as if it would have been inevitable. (Oddo 2011: 297)

5. 2. 2 Image of Us Against Them

When political speakers address their audiences talking about conflictual situations, they often fiddle the string of social and political identities of the enemy. There is consensual understanding, that this strategy is beneficial to the advancement of their rhetorical goals. (Cap 2010: 190)

Psychological experimentation has proven that social identity is to a large extent produced through a negative definition of self. Individuals tend to characterize themselves in terms of what they are, but this characterization stems from the realization of what they are not. Social identification with one's group is accentuated by contrasting it to the outsiders. In other words, the process of self-definition is dictated by exemplification of attitudes of an ingroup, which one is a member of, towards the outgroup, the others. (Tajfel 1974: 81) Clear dichotomization between the two into two separate, non-overlapping categories contributes to an individual acting on behalf of an ingroup, rather than on his own behalf. This adhesion of an individual to a group is further strengthened, if permeation of a group is not possible, or if passing from an ingroup to the outgroup is difficult. (Tajfel 1974: 67) Accentuation of differences between members of our group (us) and their group (them) thus allows for strengthening of ingroup's cohesion, making its members to close ranks. (Tajfel 1971)

In case of intergroup conflicts, when an ingroup, or "us" is threatened by an outgroup, "them", group members exhibit a sense of solidarity and altruism towards each other. (Tajfel, Turner 2004) At the same time, ingroup members simultaneously display shared hostility towards the outgroup, as an attack on a group is deemed a personal attack on an individual's social identity. By standing up to defend the ingroup, individuals are rewarded by praise and gratification from group members. Effectively, the cementation of togetherness through conflict, gratification and need to defend one's social identity bolsters his willingness to sacrifice themselves or suffer for the benefit of the group. (Eswaran, Neary 2014: 4-5; Berlant 1991)

As I have hinted previously, human language supports this categorization through value dichotomies. The binary structure of language practically manifests in the absolute majority of phonemes having a direct semantic opposite. The "us" versus "them" psychosocial distinction stems exactly from this binarity. While positive connotations would rhetorically be associated with the "us" group, "they" would be described in much darker tones, often using axiomatic, absolute, and somewhat vague terms. Examples of such contrasting would be good vs. evil, peaceful vs. violent, etc. (Esch 2010: 370-372) There is no wonder that polarizing rhetorical figures, which accentuate differences between "us" and "them" are widely used in war justification discourse. Implicitly, the polarization of the outgroup necessity of violent action, as "they" are evil. (Oddo 2011: 289) Their effect on rallying support for war and uniting the audience is priceless to the president, as public support is the main source of legitimacy in a democracy. It also serves as a justification of possibly high material and human costs, as the group will accept the need of sacrifices.

Invoking such binary in war addresses predates any of the fore-mentioned research on group identity. I see this fact as a validation of the claims made on the topic throughout the work – binary categorization of the world is natural to humans. In the analysis this thesis is going to focus on identifying vehicles and modes of the portrayal of “us” and “them” categories, and how these categories are juxtaposed within the selected war addresses.

5. 2. 3 Image of Fear

Appeals to fear are a mighty rhetorical instrument because apart from homogenizing the audience, they set into motion a hormonal process, which rids the audience of rational thought. Instead of reflecting and rationalizing on how to handle the issue sensibly, the immediate reaction is to aim for eliminating the source of fear as soon as possible. The illegitimate use of fear is borderline manipulation. Fear used in rhetoric in political discourse aims at human psychology and can serve as a motivational factor, pushing the audience to focus its attention on what is marked as a threat. The speaker must, however, channel the accumulated energy stemming from fear. Generally, the interest lies in making people act on the stimulus, therefore providing a direction to the successful removal of the threat. The important part is to convince the recipients that the necessary action is going to be effective in tackling the issue, and that members of the audience are capable of executing the threat-diminishing task assigned. (Pratkanis, Aronson 2001: 86-88) Successfully applied rhetoric of fear “motivates” the audience to steadfastly rally behind the leader.

The functionality of appeals to fear has been in-depth examined by the socioemotional Fear Management Theory. The central assertion is that individuals naturally react with anxiety to the proposition of inevitable death, as the fact of death interferes with the human need of security. When people fear they might be in harm's way, they are more likely to close ranks and coalesce with members of social groups they identify with. (Miller, Landau 2005: 80-83) In effect, they are willing to support the leader, who promises to rid them of the source of fear.

This criticised technique naturally permeates American society. Chomsky notices how elites impose an engulfing, societal fear on every generation. After the threat of the red scare and nuclear holocaust waned with the end of the 1980s, administrations seized every opportunity to build up new ones. To insert new fears in American minds, Bush’s public relations office disseminated the narratives of terrible narco-traffickers, Saddam Hussein – the Hitler incarnate or brainwashed Muslims, who would all contest American way of life. One after another, Chomsky asserts, in its ideological offensives administrations sends out “*chimerical monster, then campaigns to have it crushed,*” terrorize the population to keep it obedient. (Chomsky 1991: 39) Especially after 9/11, the invocation of societal vulnerability towards terrorists became commonplace in political speech. (Chomsky 2001) Also, the imagery of beastly brutality, which is often employed to demonstrate the cruel intent of the enemy, would qualify as a fear invoking technique.

5. 2. 4 Image of Angels and Demons

To fortify the claim of a morally justified decision to go to war, presidencies can rely on the accentuation of negative character traits of the enemy, whom they demonize. Narrating the enemy as evil through

highlighting bad deeds without providing any context is the centerpiece of this method, which effectively legitimizes violent armed action against him. The enemy may be conceptually expanded or contracted by the rhetoric, in relation to context and greater persuasive strategy applied. Under the premises of iconizing, the enemy is condensed into the evil-incarnate: either the enemy leader as an individual, the country's elites or the ruling regime, e.g. Saddam Hussein, Stalin or Hitler, who served as embodiment of complex enemies threatening the United States. Turning an enemy into a symbol makes him effortlessly recognizable to the audience, which is beneficial to the speaker in terms of memetics. If successfully constructed, the symbol can be used to channel the audience's emotions.

Presidential rhetoric may also stretch the conceptualization of the enemy over the whole political concept, such as communism, or international alignment, as when Iraq, Iran and North Korea formed a unified axis of evil in presidential discourse. (Lordan 2010: 8-10) Hodges and Nilep (2007) note that the war rhetoric of W. Bush's presidency applied to the enemy conflation figure, which constructed a stable parallel between Al-Qaeda and Saddam Hussein's Iraq. In this image, the two enemies, who weren't related by more than superficial visual and lingual characteristics were similar enough, so that attacking one is as justifiable as attacking the other.

In contrast, entities, which the speech act attempts to paint in a positive light are going to be assigned with positive characteristics or victimized, assuring sympathy of the audience public. In many instances, war affirmative addresses clearly distinguish between enemy leadership, which is portrayed as the real enemy, and enemy population, which is considered to be an ally, whom the United States does a favor by liberating them from the tyranny of their political representation. (Lordan 2010; Cap 2010) Actions by the United States are then painted brightly as virtuous, just, and altruistic. (Lordan 2010: 8)

5.3 Framing

Frames are artificially constructed linguistic structures, which function interactively. They shape, and are shaped by, the social and cultural context they are used in. (Butler 2012: 51) Essentially, a frame can be viewed as a bearing idea, which permeates throughout speech act, unifies it, and gives it a coherent storyline. It emphasizes elements critical to the intended message, such as interests and values at stake, highlights them and thus makes the multi-faceted issue digestible for the recipient. (Butler 2012: 50)

“Public support is a critical resource for any leader who wants to achieve ultimate political objectives, and the exercise of framing is a rational strategy to reach it.”

(Olmastroni 2014: 20)

By framing a problem in a certain way, the speaker guides the recipients towards conclusions and in effect imposes core assumptions about evaluating the communicated matter. Framing attempts to encapsulate *“a broader picture of information processing and the construction of social knowledge in light of life experiences and individual knowledge.”* (Butler 2012: 50) As a component of a speech act, framing is definable as an instrument

in organizing shared social experiences, as well as navigating and motivating collective responses to those experiences. (Butler 2012: 179) Framing of an issue can serve as a key component in defining the course of collective action since it induces the possibility of political mobilization. (Butler 2012: 47) In relation to affirmation of war policy it is possible to say that setting up a frame reduces a complex reality of the military involvement. As such, a frame contributes to “collective sense-making” of the situation and effective coordination of response, usually based on a guide provided in the frame. (McHugh 2016: 4)

Michael J. Butler (2012) asserts, that in basis, the frame serves multiple purposes: *“forging a shared understanding of some problem or situation; making attributions about the causes of or sources of said problem or situation; articulating a response to that problem or situation, and; urging members of the audience to which the frame is being applied to act, typically in accordance with that articulated, favored response.”* (Butler 2012: 63) These functions are applicable also to presidential war rhetoric. The correct framing of war contributes to its acceptance as a justifiable practice of achieving policy goals by the public. It makes it possible to convey and persuade about the meaningfulness of the fight, even if the underlying goal lies in something as abstract as promoting human rights, or as cynical as advancing economic interests. (McHugh 2016: 4)

For sake of illustrating possible operationalization of the concept of framing in relation to a decision to engage in war, three examples (in Butler 2012: 68-70) follow:

- Structural realist frame: The use of the military is needed to secure the interests of the United States in an anarchical international system. The justification to enter the war is founded in the opportune occasion to maintain power relations, reaffirm the rules of the game, which are defined as Paramount to U. S. strategic interests. (Butler 2012: 68)
- Frame of hegemonic power: The United States is the world's policeman, who seeks to defend hegemonic order the U. S. is in the center of. The deployment of the military is justified if an adversary breaks the rules of the established order, or challenges sphere of influence of the U.S. (Butler 2012: 68-69)
- Frame of ideological conflict: The United States is a champion of liberalism, free-market economics, democracy and human rights. Through the use of military force, the nation is committed to spreading the named values to countries, which are deprived of them by their elites. The U. S. needs to engage in war to show resolve to ideological adversaries, who pose danger to liberal values. (Butler 2012: 70)

Framing a decision to go to war as manifestation of just war is yet another option in assuming propelling war-legitimizing discourse.

5. 3. 1 Frame of Just War

In the analysis, the thesis is going to evaluate whether the selected presidential addresses employ the framing of the just war theory. It is important to note that just war theory isn't a theory in a direct sense. It doesn't bear the traits of being produced by a consistent scientific method through observation. It doesn't consist of causal arguments, which would be rooted in analysis of the role of war in society. (Crawford 2003: 7) It is rather a tradition of thought on ethics developed through centuries (Restrepo 2017: 61), which centers itself around belief

in the need for justice in the international system, and indivisibility of human dignity. It can be characterized as a platform, on which it is possible to build dialogue on just causes to engage in conflict. (Crawford 2003: 7) The just war theory was incorporated into international law by the likes of Grotius and Pufendorf, but it was put on hold with the rise of modern states. The primacy of realpolitik lasted until the 1960s, when the just war tradition began to take roots again in the international system. (Walzer 2002: 927-928)

As the just war theory stipulates, that peace is the natural state of convenience between communities, it professes, that a state should make every conceivable effort to restrain and avoid war. (Steinhoff 2014: 33) War is generally seen as an interference in peaceful coexistence between states. Stripping war of its romantic connotations, and accentuating the human-centric paradigm, war brings undisputable suffering to people, and the role of states is to prevent the uncalled-for violence against them. (Crawford 2003: 7) This moral obligation in effect stands in the middle of cases for humanitarian interventionism, which manifested recently in a debate on Responsibility to Protect. (Stengel 2019: 231) Since war is just an interruption of peace, it should be waged on such terms, that it is possible to settle for peace after its end. Thus, the debate can and should encompass the precepts of jus in bello as well.

What has been identified as a key principle which just war theory sets forth is the notion that “*the burden of proof lies with those who want to wage war and who claim that their war is just.*” (Crawford 2003: 7) This is going to be examined in the analysis, to ascertain whether this creed holds true in war-introducing speech acts of the U. S. presidencies.

The just war theory naturally has its limitations in political discourse when it comes to fulfilling its underlying design. In the realm of rhetoric, it is immensely easy to spin the narrative, and in effect attribute just causes for war to states, who became a target of rightful intervention by some members of the international community. A state, which has engaged in genocide of its own population can by twist of events recall just war rhetoric in its own defense, after other states have subjected it to humanitarian intervention. (Steinhoff 2014: 42)

¹ This risk of emptying the vessel of meaning is especially easy to grasp upon recognizing the rising dominance of realpolitik in a multi-polar international setting.

Adding to that, the just war theory can serve as a vehicle of legitimization through the notion of moral superiority. By pertaining to the conditions, which characterize war as just in this tradition, are prone to be weaponized as an argument to gain international support for war. Waging just war also bears connotations of undertaking part in the conflict on behalf of forces of light, while the enemy, against whom the just war is waged, necessarily attributes the stamp of evil. (Lordan 2010: 11) Rest assured, if the president talks about just war in his war discourse, then the propaganda made every effort to sell it as justified, reality aside. (Taylor 2003: 6-7)

Engaging with this tradition in political science is at times criticized, as being reductive, trimming the richness of almost 2000 years of debate on morality and ethics of war into an “*a simple checklist of dos and don'ts.*” (Crawford 2003: 7), a tool, which serves to evaluate options and rate how war-wagers stand morally.

¹ STEINHOFF, Uwe. Just Cause and 'Right Intention'. Journal of Military Ethics, 13:1. 2014. Pp. 32-48. P. 33

(Crawford 2003: 21) For the operational purpose of this work, it is important to do just that: accept the chopping up of an exuberant debate into a condensed inventory of conditions for just war, which can be then extracted from the analyzed addresses.

In the debate on just war scholars have identified 7 criteria for a war to be deemed just (Childress 1978: 427-435), however due to close intertwining of just cause with the right intention, and comparative justice with proportionality it is possible to reduce them to 5 main points.

1. Just cause and right intention. The reason for war must be just. Arms can be taken up to avert danger to human lives or to defend basic human rights. War has to be about to bring peace and cannot serve to advance narrow particular goals.
2. Competent authority. A just war must be initiated by legitimate authority in a system that allows the pursuit of justice. The only exception is when a revolutionary actor represents the rights of the oppressed people.
3. Comparative justice and proportionality: The injustice caused to one group of the conflict must be greater than injustice caused to the other group. The benefits the war brings must out-weight the harm the war will cause.
4. Last resort: War should be the last measure, after all peaceful means have been tried or are distinctly inappropriate. It is possible to engage in war, if the opposing side is using negotiation as a stalling tactic.
5. Probability of success: States should engage in war, which is futile, or in one in which disproportionate measures are needed to secure success. (Lordan 2010: 4; Childress 1978)

The importance of owning the narrative of waging the just war is obvious in presidential war addresses throughout history. According to Butler, the frame of just war is even the most prominent mechanism to persuade the American public to support war. (Butler 2012: 11) Even though no legal obligation forces them to do so, practically all the American presidents have included the fore-mentioned criteria or even based their war rhetoric on them. (Lordan 2010: 4; Butler 2012: 13)

After ascertaining the importance of just war theory in presidential discourse of war legitimation, the thesis will have to answer the following burning question: if they are to justify war, how do call-to-arms addresses stand when confronted with just war criteria?

6. Research Questions and Hypotheses

6.1 Research Questions

Upon establishing the centrality of rhetoric in swaying public opinion, it is necessary to address the research puzzle, that is how do American presidencies exploit linguistic resources to justify war. Also, advancing through the research segments of this thesis one by one, the reader might have noticed that several problems have

been highlighted. These blank spaces and incoherencies represent the fundamentals, which are a motivation to lay out the following research questions, which should effectively embody answers essential to resolve the set puzzle:

RQ 1. To what extent do American presidencies operate the frame of just war theory in war-legitimizing addresses?

The thesis has already established, that the United States are a champion of liberalism, and they engage in foreign wars more often, than any other developed nation. At the same time, the country has been historically one of the most vocal proponents of system of international governance based on multilateralism. As a global leader of internationalist order the nation has the power to eliminate adversaries, which would challenge the order under construction. At the same time, there is a strong, presumed sense of projection of norms, which the United States want international system to abide by. While these assumptions play a formative role in the communication of reasons for war outwards of the United States, there is also the American public, a diverse entity, which needs to feel a common sense of morality and legitimacy, when it comes to approving military involvement abroad. Just war theory serves as a frame, however intellectually prominent, which is associated with liberal internationalism. Whether it is used as a mean of legitimation of war is a question for the analysis.

RQ 2. Which images do American presidents invoke in their war rhetoric?

As it was first stipulated in chapter 1.1, specific depiction of the adversary plays a vital role in garnering support for war and making it more acceptable for the public. In the United States, public tends to support intervention against regimes, which it considers undemocratic, culturally challenging the American way of life or a violent actor, towards whom it is justified to take violent action. Images, which speakers paint in their addresses serve as a catalyst. Using polarizing descriptive methods supports forming of a uniform scheme, under which the conflict with the enemy is just, desirable or inevitable. It is thus important to identify images presidencies use, in order to grasp the mechanism, which makes the otherwise peace-loving citizenry support foreign wars, and which in effect allows the elites to pursue war as a mean of policy.

RQ 3. How did the use of imageries in call-to-arms addresses develop between 1989 and 2011?

Since the American society is in constant development, the time frame of more than twenty years should be long enough to observe changes in rhetoric used by presidencies. This notion would necessarily be stained by specificities of the conflicts in question, such as when it comes to War on Terror, and in effect also by involvements against different actors. There is an exciting question to be answered, nonetheless, if we are to understand dynamics of war justification. Because there can be a change, and there can be a stagnation, which could lead to interesting conclusions about the state of American public as well as the 7 administrations, over which our timeframe spans.

RQ 4. How does partisanship reflect on presidential justification of war?

If we want to understand the broad picture of American foreign policy making, we must necessarily tackle the issue of the bi-partisan political system. Popular knowledge would deem it, that it is the Republican party, which pursues more hawkish policy, and its electorate would be more supportive of the troops and effectively also of military involvements. This should also reflect on the way how Republican presidencies justify war, since constituency of the Republican party would support the war for different reasons, than Democratic electorate. Only upon examining the role of partisanship, we can challenge some of these enrooted stereotypes in all honesty.

6. 2 Hypotheses

As we have defined our research questions, it is stimulating to postulate hypotheses, which are each numerically correspondent to a research question it is taking up to challenge with a pre-thought assumption based on authors perception of the problem, established throughout previous research. Therefore, via induction from knowledge gathered throughout the work, following hypotheses have been postulated and accompanied with supporting evidence:

Hypothesis 1. American presidencies use just war theory framing consistently and it is a bearing justifying frame.

The importance of framing the war as just stems from the conflict between Western liberal imagination, which deems war as wrong and frequent use of military force by the United States. (Butler 2012: 71) Administrations need to sell the war to the American public (Taylor 2003:6) In the eyes of the public, war affirmative decisions need to be legitimate, to which presidencies respond by forging a shared understanding of the necessity of respective war by adhering to the just war framing. (Butler 2012: 2-3) The framing also increases the likelihood of garnering international support for war endeavour. (Lordan 2010: 191-192) To presidencies, convincing the public the war is legitimate is a key determinant in successfully reaching policy objectives related to a respective war. (Clausewitz 2007)

Hypothesis 2. In call-to-arms addresses, American presidencies use every linguistic resource available to legitimize war.

Since justifying and legitimating war in the eyes of the public is central to gathering public support for war, presidents would use any method to convince the citizenry of the necessity of such war. (Lordan 2010: 2) Public support for war is then paramount for the government's ability to wage war since it minimizes possible resistance to the endeavor, but also rationalizes sacrifices in terms of human lives and resources. (Boussios, Cole 2010: 209; Clausewitz 2007) In speech acts legitimating war, rhetors would, therefore, resort to polarizing themes and figures: invoke fear, incite intra-group rancor, use manipulative proximizing analogies or demonize the enemy.

Hypothesis 3. The use of imageries by American presidencies transformed post 9/11.

The narrative G. W. Bush constructed after 9/11 was compared to the great narratives of World War 2 and Vietnam war (Hodges 2013). After the attacks, the rhetorical emphasis was put on American victimhood and sacrifice. Apart from that, the use of value binaries became more frequent. The United States was portrayed as a force of good, civilization and liberty fighting against evil, barbarism and obscure medieval beliefs of the enemy. (Esch 2010: 373-375) Through polarizing rhetorical figures, like invoking the *Us* against *Them* dichotomy, presidencies attempt to garner support for war. (Oddo 2011) After 9/11, fear generating imageries would become more prominent, playing on social vulnerabilities and omnipresence of terrorist threat. (Chomsky 2001) More dramatic and apocalyptic themes would be introduced in war rhetoric, in order to force the public to rally behind the leadership and justify high material and human costs of incoming wars. (Pratkanis, Aronson 2001: 85-88)

Hypothesis 4. Presidential war rhetoric reflects partisanship – Democratic presidents accentuate different symbolics than Republican ones.

The prospect of future elections may in practice lead to an administration's change of tone about a conflict, adjusting the rhetoric to bolster the image of a firm hardliner or conversely a peacemaker. (Boussios 2010: 209-2011). The attitudes towards war differ along party lines. The Democratic electorate is much more likely to oppose war in contrast to Republican voters. (Boussios 2010: 210-216) Given the fact that conflict can last through midterm or presidential elections, presidents have to take into consideration the target electorate's attitudes towards war. Due to the presidential discourse creation process being influenced inter alia by intrusions from party leadership, the party stamp leaves a mark on reading the message of a speech. (Vaugh, Villalobos 2006: 682-685) In a polarized bi-partisan setting, where swing votes are in decline, it is likely that presidents would use rhetoric ingratiating preferences of their party's electorate. (Smidt 2015; Barabas, Jerit 2010)

7. Methodology and Data Collection

7. 1 Methodology

7. 1. 1 Qualitative Content Analysis

The presented thesis adopts the method of Qualitative Content Analysis. This flexible method oscillates around analysing content or contextual features of language as communication. The source data come in form of text, oral expression, or electronic form. (Hsieh, Shannon 2009: 1278) As such, the main sources of examined data encompass surveys, interviews, observations or print media, which in our case means transcripts of presidential speeches selected under a set of conditions.

The application of this method contributes to organized research design, as it puts focus on selecting dimensions or the main categories from the data which are going to carry the coding frame of respective work. It helps to reduce large quantities of data. (Schreier 2013: 59) Furthermore, Qualitative Content Analysis stipulates that coding units need to be determined in relation to the research question. Effectively, coding units need to be

examined and evaluated as meaningful. To do so, each and every unit should be positioned into one of the selected categories and subcategories. This is easily achievable by introducing a residual subcategory. (Schreier 2003: 76)

Researching existing theory can prove useful in focusing on research questions. Upon examining theoretical prospects of respective fields, researchers may establish which concepts are crucial to the aims of the research, and transform them into viable coding categories. (Hsieh, Shannon 2009: 1281) Such linearity can be described as concept-driven. (Schreier 2003: 84) Choosing to create a coding frame in a concept-driven way may result in a non-saturation of identified categories. (Schreier 2003: 77) Some categories might, therefore, remain empty, which can be even useful and provide us with further insight into the problem. The coding frame can only be seen as valid if selected categories appropriately represent the concepts in a research question. Therefore, the frame must be adapted in order to fit the data examined. (Schreier 2003: 175)

Coming from a discussion encompassing critical discourse analysis allowed for identifying discourse-forming practices of persuasion and justification in presidential war rhetoric. The coding frame building introduced will therefore be concept driven, deducted from already existing theories. Named practices serve analytical purposes of this thesis by constituting categories and subcategories for coding frames, respectively. Conductive to being able to neatly approach the mass of text data analyzed, a coding frame of medium complexity needs to be established.

A coding frame of medium complexity can be delineated as „*consisting either of one dimension that ‘reaches down’ more than one level or of several simple coding frames ‘strung together’.*” (Schreier 2013: 65) To address three of the established research questions (RQ 1., RQ 2. And RQ 4.), a coding matrix of multiple dimensions and two levels have proven to be most appropriate. To ascertain the validity of the frame introduced, each category will need to be provided with a binary evaluation of truthfulness (yes, no), and each subcategory with evidence/representation or lack thereof.

The coding frame goes as follows:

LEVEL 1: Speaker engages in just war framing, if 1 AND justifies with 1) Just cause and right intent; 2) Competent authority; 3) Proportionality; 4) Last resort; 5) Probability of success; 6) Residual

LEVEL 2: Speaker engages in Imagery production, if 1 AND uses a) Image of proximity; b) Image of Us against them; c) Image of Fear; d) Angels and Demons; e) Residual

Schreier (2013: 74-75) presents two requirements for the coding frames. One is unidimensionality, which means that each dimension of the coding frame should capture only one aspect of the material. The other requirement is that the subcategories of coding frame mutually exclude each other, asserting that each segment of material analyzed should be assigned to one subcategory only.

However, given the theoretical background presented, it is possible to claim that words can have multiple meanings depending on context and prism evaluate them through. Thus, methods of critical discourse analysis will need to be applied to bridge the seeming incoherency. Schreier herself writes: “*Data never ‘speaks for itself’, it does not ‘have’ a specific meaning. Meaning is something that we, the recipients, attribute to the words that we hear or read.*” (Schreier 2013: 2)

The use of Qualitative Content Analysis to uncover discursive practices isn't unprecedented. A study by Ritsert (1972) focused on the identification of linguistic phenomena, conceptualized as categories, which supposedly contribute to power inequalities. (Schreier 2013: 49) In this context, categories do not only refer to the content of the text, but also to the ways and meanings of what is expressed through speech acts. (Schreier 2013: 49) Their meaning is therefore often multi-faceted. After all, Schreier contends that the code frame design is very much up to the decision of the researcher. (Schreier 2013: 60)

Kracauer (1952) concurs, when he writes, that even when we engage in a Qualitative Content Analysis we have to bear in mind that the meaning of the examined material is complex, holistic and context-dependant. The message of the text can be interpreted in multiple ways, even when its aspects only appear once, as the meaning doesn't necessarily manifest clearly at first sight.

7. 1. 2 Critical Discourse Analysis

In general understanding, discourse can be defined as *'an interrelated set of texts, and the practices of their production, dissemination, and reception'*. (Phillips, Hardy 2002: 3) Critical discourse analysis then manifests not in a method, but in approaching and analysing a textual material with the notion that the message of the text has implications for the construction of social reality. (Phillips, Hardy 2002: 10)

It is exactly these tenets of discourse theory, which provide the possibility to explain the significance of texts in their complexity, allowing the researcher to focus on meaning and its creation through relation to contexts and other discursive elements. (Stengel 2019: 233) As with most theories, even discourse theory has its critics. According to Conley, *„it de-contextualizes as it classifies, deflecting attention away from the particular actuality of a work over to the class or category which it is said to be a member.“* (Conley 1986: 59) This is, however, a necessary evil of any concerted effort to make sense of the complex world, and it is possible to argue that a discursive approach to the matter leaves the researcher with comparatively high liberty in interpretation, as well as in establishing research design. (Schreier 2013: 49-50)

Even though the method of Critical Discourse Analysis is not applied in its full in this thesis, it deserves a honourable mention, since the implementation of QCA has been inspired by its precepts.

7. 2 Data Collection

Primary source of the data for this thesis are transcripts of presidential addresses, which have been obtained by searching through archives of respective presidencies, news archives and online repositories. To analytically assess presidential call-to-arms rhetoric, those addresses to the public, which announced American involvement in war of the conflicts had to be singled out. The public character of the speech can be conceptualized as one, which is addressing the nation as a whole. Then, the ones in the nearest timeline proximity to the beginning of the war were chosen. Originally, the intent was to set a criterion of war address having to precede the particular

war under the impression, that call-to-arms come before the military actually gets involved in the conflict. The reason for this was to appropriately adjust the workload. The research has however shown that out of the 8 addresses all were given simultaneously after the commencement of hostilities by the United States Army, thus invalidating criterion previously set.

As it was already hinted in chapter 4. 3, those addresses were selected, which can be considered a war rhetoric. Such speech acts can be identified by first and foremost, consecutive coincidence with war. They all possess mobilization inducing mechanisms, which are supported by persuasive rhetorical figures, materializing in engaged call for action. The engaged involvement and declared stakes towards a respective war are crucial in labelling an address as war rhetoric. Shape, which named figures take throughout the addresses will be subjected to analysis in the following chapter.

Effectively, those call-to-arms addresses, which announced and resulted in military combat action have been included. Since this thesis revolves around the theme of war justification, to put it tautologically, only speeches legitimating war serve the purpose of examining which rhetorical figures and which frames have been used to instigate public support for respective conflicts. Also, the criteria of the nearest time proximity to actual military involvement, as well as of public character of the speech have been upheld. In effect, only one speech has been selected for each conflict, in order for the set to stand consistent and bear research validity in comparative terms.

As a result, the following presidential addresses have been identified as fitting the analytical purposes, chronologically:

- 1) George H. W. Bush: Address to the Nation Announcing United States Military Action in Panama December 20, 1989
- 2) George H. W. Bush: Address to the Nation Announcing Allied Military Action in the Persian Gulf January 16, 1991
- 3) William J. Clinton: Address to the Nation on Haiti September 15, 1994
- 4) William J. Clinton: President's Statement on Iraq December 16, 1998
- 5) William J. Clinton: The President's Statement on Kosovo March 24, 1999
- 6) George W. Bush: Address to the Nation on Operations in Afghanistan October 7, 2001
- 7) George W. Bush: Address to the Nation on Military Operations in Iraq March 19, 2003.
- 8) Barack H. Obama: Remarks by the President on the Situation in Libya March 11, 2011

To uphold methodological purity, G. W. Bush's War on Terror speech from September 20, 2001 was not included, even upon recognition of its significance in the study of political discourse. While it can be considered a ground-breaking speech, setting out unprecedented themes in terms of war rhetoric, it did not directly relate to a concrete, clearly identifiable military action. Another reason for the exclusion of this speech is that it was addressed primarily to the Congress, as it was given at the 107th Joint Session of the Congress. Yet another excluded address was given by G. H. W. Bush on December 02, 1992 on Somalia. In this case, the involvement of the military did not primarily lead to combat action. The last address concerning war, which was not included, is the one W. Clinton did not give on Operation Deliberate Force aerial attacks on positions of Republika Srpska Army in Bosnia, 1995.

8. The Analysis

The analysis follows. Each data set, that is a piece of presidential war rhetoric, is going to be qualitatively analysed. Upon examining the text, concepts which hold validity in relation to research questions and research designs are going to be identified. These concepts are going to take form of meaning stipulating sentences. Single doubt sentences will serve as evidence of presence of the concept in presidential war rhetoric. As it has been specified before, these concepts are going to be just war theory criteria and previously defined imageries. Findings of the analyses extracted from individual cases will be summarized in a table.

For purposes of this analysis, the subcategory “Residual” is going to remain seemingly non saturated. It is a complementary subcategory, which serves to encapsulate the data, which are not classifiable by any other established category. In other words, the “Residual” category is going to be saturated in abstraction only.

8.1 George H. W. Bush – Panama: Just Cause

Address to the Nation Announcing United States Military Action in Panama December 20, 1989

While announcing the strike, the president states that

„United States, nations of Latin America and the Caribbean have worked together to resolve the crisis in Panama.“

By accentuating the multilateral agreement on the military action by the U. S. Bush aims for legitimating the involvement through international consensus, saying that regional entities support the endeavour.

„The goals of the United States have been to safeguard the lives of Americans, to defend democracy in Panama, to combat drug trafficking and to protect the integrity of the Panama Canal Treaty.“

The address continues invoking the idea of just cause of the mission, as its purpose is to save human lives and defend democracy. Democracy serves as a symbol of absolute good which Panamanians have the right to enjoy. Bush further associates the enemy with drug trafficking and threatening international agreements.

„Many attempts have been made to resolve this crisis through diplomacy and negotiations. All were rejected by the dictator of Panama, Gen. Manuel Noriega, an indicted drug trafficker.

First of all, Bush puts forward the honest attempts for peaceful resolution of the crisis, implying, that the U. S. did whatever they could to prevent war. The enemy is to blame for forcing the U. S. to resort to violence. The enemy

gains clear shape: he is conceptualized in the person of Noriega, whose main characteristic is that he is a drug trafficker.

„...Noriega declared his military dictatorship to be in a state of war with the United States...threatened the lives of Americans in Panama...shot and killed an unarmed American serviceman, wounded another, arrested and brutally beat a third American serviceman and then brutally interrogated his wife, threatening her with sexual abuse.“

Through the imagery of brutality of beatings and violent interrogation along with sexual harassment of a female, the address constructs a picture of Noriega as a ruthless dictator, who condones violence against the unarmed and weak. It is through his own actions, Noriega forced the American reaction.

„Noriega's reckless threats and attacks upon Americans in Panama created an eminent danger to the 35,000 American citizens in Panama.“

The high figure of Americans in danger is shocking in itself. Even though nothing happened to them, the possibility itself justifies the U. S. military invasion of the country. Bush, therefore, supplicates preemption as justifiable.

„I directed our armed force to protect the lives of American citizens in Panama, and to bring General Noriega to justice in the United States.“

Yet again the speech insinuates human lives were at stake. Action to protect them needed to be taken. Another motivation for the invasion unfolds, that is the pursuit of justice by the United States. The U. S. is thus put into the position of a judge, competent to do so.

„All forces have conducted themselves courageously and selflessly, and as Commander in Chief, I salute everyone of them and thank them on behalf of our country.“

The President praises the military and highlights the positive traits to garner sympathy towards the Force and cause it was fighting for. The positive characterizations are developed further:

„Tragically, some Americans have lost their lives in defense of their fellow citizens, in defense of democracy,“

The accentuation of selfless sacrifices made extrapolates the moral value in military involvement. It insinuates that since the soldiers died for just cause (the defense of lives, the defense of democracy), the cause for war must be just as well. In addition, the reaction against the Noriega regime is justified in terms of proportion since Americans lost their lives. The speech then proceeds to note that the military action was also taken on behalf of interests of the Panamanians

„We also regret and mourn the loss of innocent Panamanians. The brave Panamanians elected by the people of Panama...assumed the rightful leadership of their country.“

Differentiating the people of Panama from their leadership corresponds to the image Noriega as embodiment of the evil previously drawn. The justification lies therein the invasion liberating the people from Noriega the usurper, so that they can return to democracy, to the camp of us.

„You remember those horrible pictures of newly-elected Vice President Ford covered head to toe with blood, beaten mercilessly by so-called dignity battalions.“

To emotionally stir up the public, Bush calls on the audience to remember unsettling pictures of brutality against a representative of the United States, in order to invoke disgust with the actions of the enemy and condone a reaction against the latter.

„Key military objectives have been achieved. Most organized resistance has been eliminated. But the operation is not over yet. General Noriega is in hiding.“

By noting the finalization of achievement of objectives Bush ensures the public of success of the operation.

„I am fully committed to implement the Panama Canal Treaties and turn over the Canal to Panama in the year 2000. The actions we have taken...will permit us to honor these commitments.“

The underlying proximizing idea is that this invasion in present radically influences the ability of the U. S. to uphold certain commitments in the future. If there were not for the invasion, the implementation of the Panama Canal Treaties would have been jeopardized.

„I took this action only after reaching the conclusion that every other avenue was closed and the lives of American citizens were in grave danger.“

Bush again underscores the commitment to just cause of saving human lives and justification stemming from the war being a last resort to right wrongs.

„The Panamanian people want democracy, peace, and the chance for a better life in dignity and freedom. The people of the United States seek only to support them in pursuit of these noble goals.“ (All quotations Bush H. 1989)

The people of the United States are depicted as noble since they support the noble goals of Panamanians.

Just War criteria	Presence, count	Evidence/Representation
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1) Just cause and right intent	Yes, 3	The goals of the United States have been to safeguard the lives of Americans, to defend democracy in Panama, to combat drug trafficking and to protect the integrity of the Panama Canal Treaty. ...our armed force to protect the lives of American citizens in Panama, and to bring General Noriega to justice in the United States. the lives of American citizens were in grave danger.“
2) Competent authority	Yes, 1	United States, nations of Latin America and the Caribbean have worked together to resolve the crisis in Panama.
3) Proportionality	Yes, 1	Tragically, some Americans have lost their lives in defense of their fellow citizens, in defense of democracy
4) Last resort	Yes, 2	Many attempts have been made to resolve this crisis through diplomacy and negotiations. All were rejected by the dictator of Panama, Gen. Manuel Noriega I took this action only after reaching the conclusion that every other avenue was closed
5) Probability of success	Yes, 1	Key military objectives have been achieved. Most organized resistance has been eliminated.
6) Residual		

Imagery production	Presence	Evidence/Representation
A) Image of proximity	Yes, 2	eminent danger to the 35,000 American citizens in Panama. I am fully committed to implement the Panama Canal Treaties....The actions we have taken Panama will permit us to honor these commitments.
B) Image of Us vs. Them	No	
C) Image of fear and terror	Yes, 1	horrible pictures of newly-elected Vice President Ford covered head to toe with blood,

		beaten mercilessly by so-called dignity battalions.
D) Image of Angels and Demons	Yes, 4	<p>Gen. Manuel Noriega, an indicted drug trafficker</p> <p>Noriega declared his military dictatorship to be in a state of war with the United States...threatened the lives of Americans in Panama...shot and killed an unarmed American serviceman, wounded another, arrested and brutally beat a third American serviceman and then brutally interrogated his wife, threatening her with sexual abuse.</p> <p>All forces have conducted themselves courageously and selflessly</p> <p>The Panamanian people want democracy, peace and freedom</p> <p>The people of the United States support them in pursuit of these noble goals.</p>
E) Residual		

8. 2 George H. W. Bush – Iraq: Desert Storm

Address to the Nation Announcing Allied Military Action in the Persian Gulf January 16, 1991

The address is introduced by specifying that the American Force targeted the enemy's military categorically.

„attack on military targets in Iraq and Kuwait.“

Insinuation, that only the military as a vehicle of violence against Kuwait has been targeted implies the action was proportionate.

„...dictator of Iraq invaded a small and helpless neighbor.“

Kuwait is attributed to smallness and helplessness to an awake sense of sympathy in the public.

„Kuwait—a member of the Arab League and a member of the United Nations—was crushed; its people, brutalized...Saddam Hussein started this cruel war against Kuwait.“

Listing grievances against the small nation anchored in structures of international cooperation by Saddam Hussein, along with the use of words charged with emotional meaning is applied to illustrate the viciousness of the enemy, effectively justifying action against him. The enemy is conceptualized in the person of Saddam.

„This military action, taken in accord with United Nations resolutions and with the consent of the United States Congress.“

Bush's speech puts forward legal parameters of approval for the military action in order to strengthen its legitimacy.

„...months of constant and virtually endless diplomatic activity...only to conclude that Saddam Hussein was unwilling to leave Kuwait.“

By this claim, the United States is put in a position, when they exhausted all the viable options to settle the conflict peacefully. The unwilling Hussein would, however, not cease occupying Kuwait and to restore order military action had to be taken.

„The 28 countries with forces in the Gulf area have exhausted all reasonable efforts to reach a peaceful resolution—have no choice but to drive Saddam from Kuwait by force.“

While legitimating the effort through multi-laterality, again the image of war as a last resort to assure liberation is set forth.

„We will not fail. As I report to you, air attacks are underway against military targets in Iraq.“

Reassuring of the operation's success, yet again Bush repeats the notion of strictly targeting enemy's military, only to further stress the necessity of military involvement:

„We are determined to knock out Saddam Hussein's nuclear bomb potential. We will also destroy his chemical weapons facilities.“

Weapons of mass destruction bear special significance in the imagination of the public, which can be attributable to Cold War fears of nuclear holocaust. Especially the idea of these weapons in the arsenal of an unpredictable dictator with expansive ambitions serves as a good precursor for justifying military strike if it is to limit his capacity to obtain such weapons.

„Much of Saddam's artillery and tanks will be destroyed. Our operations are designed to best protect the lives of all the coalition forces by targeting Saddam's vast military arsenal.“

Again, the recurring figure of destroying means of war is employed but now accompanied by the credo of protecting human lives.

„... our operations are proceeding according to plan.“

If we assume that the objective of the respective plan is victory, it is possible to contend this to be a fulfillment of condition for the operation's success. The plan also stipulates a characteristic of a competent authority.

“Our objectives are clear: Saddam Hussein's forces will leave Kuwait. The legitimate government of Kuwait will be restored to its rightful place, and Kuwait will once again be free.”

Bush formulates the right intention, which is to liberate Kuwait and restore its constitution as a reason for and goal of justifiable war involvement.

“...when peace is restored, it is our hope that Iraq will live as a peaceful and cooperative member of the family of nations.”

In the context of the address, this is a notion which expresses the temporal character of this hostile state – if Iraq is willing to learn a lesson, it is welcome in the international community. In other words, Iraq is not an enemy per se, its actions are what turns her into an enemy of the whole peaceful world.

“The world could wait no longer. Sanctions, though having some effect, showed no signs of accomplishing their objective. Sanctions were tried for well over 5 months, and we and our allies concluded that sanctions alone would not force Saddam from Kuwait.

By illustrating the options that tried to force Saddam to comply with international law, Bush forms a solid argumentative basis for justifying the attack as a last resort.

“While the world waited, Saddam Hussein systematically raped, pillaged, and plundered a tiny nation, no threat to his own.”

The previous notion is supported by claiming that Saddam misused the trust of the international community, and while the international community attempted to reach a peaceful solution, Hussein used the time to commit more atrocities. The embodiment of Hussein as a source of all evil is further construed: not the Iraqi army, but Hussein himself raped, pillaged, and plundered the powerless.

“He subjected the people of Kuwait to unspeakable atrocities—and among those maimed and murdered, innocent children.”

Piling up grievances build the case for a justified attack on Hussein's Iraq: emotionally charged language also further develops Hussein as the symbolic incarnation of evil, who doesn't hesitate to murder innocent children.

“While the world waited, Saddam sought to add to the chemical weapons arsenal he now possesses, an infinitely more dangerous weapon of mass destruction—a nuclear weapon.”

As hinted earlier, the nuclear taboo has a strong position and negative connotations in liberal imagery of the international community. The notion of Saddam seeking to acquire nuclear weapons serves as a sturdy war legitimizing image, as it installs fear in the public.

“The United States, together with the United Nations, exhausted every means at our disposal to bring this crisis to a peaceful end...Saddam was warned over and over again to comply with the will of the United Nations: Leave Kuwait, or be driven out. Saddam has arrogantly rejected all warnings.”

Invocation of international legitimization further wraps around the efforts for a peaceful resolution of the Kuwait crisis. The international support is soon mentioned again:

“...28 nations— countries from 5 continents, Europe and Asia, Africa, and the Arab League...”

To stress the temporal characteristics of the war, Bush juxtaposes it with the war in Vietnam.

“I've told the American people before that this will not be another Vietnam, and I repeat this here tonight.”

As Vietnam serves as a symbol of unsuccessful military involvement and a source of national trauma in the United States, contrasting it with the current involvement allows for underpinning the idea of the operation necessarily having to be successful.

“We have before us the opportunity to forge for ourselves and for future generations a new world order—a world where the rule of law, not the law of the jungle, governs...”

The conflict is portrayed as a doorway to just international order. By winning it, the logic dictates, such order will materialize.

“When we are successful—and we will be—we have a real chance at this new world order, an order in which a credible United Nations can use its peacekeeping role to fulfill the promise and vision of the U.N.'s founders.”

Here the justification for war revolves around the logic of chronological succession: if the new world order is to be established, we need to get involved in and win this war. In other words, unless we fight this war, the international order generations have strived for will not materialize.

“We have no argument with the people of Iraq. Indeed, for the innocents caught in this conflict, I pray for their safety. Our goal is not the conquest of Iraq. It is the liberation of Kuwait.”

The delineation between the Iraqi public and the elite is made. The United States does not wish to fight the people of Iraq, but to force an oppressive dictator, who happens to be the leader of Iraq, out of the occupied Kuwait.

“...rejoin the family of peace-loving nations.”

As in before, Bush calls for post-conflict reintegration of Iraq into the peaceful international community the U. S. is the center of.

“I prefer to think of peace, not war. I am convinced not only that we will prevail but that out of the horror of combat will come the recognition that no nation can stand against a world united, no nation will be permitted to brutally assault its neighbor.”

The address positions the president as a man of peace, who didn't bear the decision to go to war lightly. A very prominent theme of this speech, the evocation of the role and prospect of the international community is employed.

“Listen to Hollywood Huddleston. He says, “Let's free these people, so we can go home and be free again.” **The terrible crimes and tortures committed by Saddam's henchmen against the innocent people of Kuwait are an affront to mankind and a challenge to the freedom of all.** Listen to Walter Boomer. He said: **“There are things worth fighting for. A world in which brutality and lawlessness are allowed to go unchecked isn't the kind of world we're going to want to live in.”** Listen to J.P. Kendall of the 82d Airborne: **“We're here for more than just the price of a gallon of gas. What we're doing is going to chart the future of the world for the next 100 years. It's better to deal with this guy now than 5 years from now.”** ... listen to Jackie Jones, an Army lieutenant, when she says, **“If we let him get away with this, who knows what's going to be next?”** (All quotations Bush H. 1991)

By quoting individuals from within the military, Bush's presidency assigns human “faces” to the war effort, illustrating both individual investment and reasons America went to war for. Apart from that, the thoughts expressed by military-men and women serve as a justification of the war against Hussein. They invoke the idea of a pre-emptive war. If the United States did not go to war now, they would have to deal with Hussein in 5 years, and he would be stronger.

Just War criteria	Presence	Evidence/Representation
1) Just cause and right intent	Yes, 3	<p>We are determined to knock out Saddam Hussein’s nuclear bomb potential. We will also destroy his chemical weapons facilities.</p> <p>objectives are clear: Saddam Hussein’s forces will leave Kuwait.</p> <p>Our goal is not the conquest of Iraq. It is the liberation of Kuwait.</p>
2) Competent authority	Yes, 3	<p>This military action, taken in accord with United Nations resolutions and with the consent of the United States Congress</p> <p>28 nations— countries from 5 continents, Europe and Asia, Africa, and the Arab League</p> <p>The United States, together with the United Nations</p>
3) Proportionality	Yes, 3	<p>„attack on military targets in Iraq and Kuwait.“</p> <p>attacks are underway against military targets in Iraq.</p> <p>Saddam Hussein systematically raped, pillaged, and plundered a tiny nation, no threat to his own.</p>
4) Last resort	Yes, 5	<p>months of constant and virtually endless diplomatic activity...</p> <p>only to conclude that Saddam Hussein was unwilling to leave Kuwait.</p> <p>the 28 countries with forces in the Gulf area have exhausted all reasonable efforts to reach a peaceful resolution—have no choice but to drive Saddam from Kuwait by force.</p> <p>The world could wait no longer. Sanctions, though having some effect, showed no signs of accomplishing their objective. Sanctions were tried for well over 5 months, and we and our allies concluded that sanctions alone would not force Saddam from Kuwait.</p> <p>Saddam was warned over and over again to comply with the will of the United Nations: Leave</p>

		<p>Kuwait, or be driven out. Saddam has arrogantly rejected all warnings.</p> <p>The United States...exhausted every means at our disposal to bring this crisis to a peaceful end</p>
5) Probability of success	Yes, 3	<p>We will not fail.</p> <p>our operations are proceeding according to plan.“</p> <p>I’ve told the American people before that this will not be another Vietnam, and I repeat this here tonight.</p>
6) Residual		

Imagery production	Presence	Evidence/Representation
A) Image of proximity	Yes, 5	<p>The terrible crimes and tortures committed by Saddam’s henchmen against the innocent people of Kuwait are an affront to mankind and a challenge to the freedom of all.</p> <p>We have before us the opportunity to forge for ourselves and for future generations a new world order—a world where the rule of law, not the law of the jungle, governs...</p> <p>When we are successful—and we will be—we have a real chance at this new world order, an order in which a credible United Nations can use its peacekeeping role to fulfill the promise and vision of the U.N.’s founders.</p> <p>It’s better to deal with this guy now than 5 years from now.</p> <p>‘If we let him get away with this, who knows what’s going to be next?’”</p>
B) Image of Us vs. Them	No	
C) Image of fear and terror	Yes, 1	<p>Saddam sought to add to the chemical weapons arsenal he now possesses, an infinitely more dangerous weapon of mass destruction—a nuclear weapon.</p>

D) Image of Angels and Demons	Yes, 7	<p>for the innocents caught in this conflict, I pray for their safety.</p> <p>family of peace-loving nations</p> <p>I prefer to think of peace, not war</p> <p>‘There are things worth fighting for. A world in which brutality and lawlessness are allowed to go unchecked isn’t the kind of world we’re going to want to live in.’</p> <p>Saddam Hussein systematically raped, pillaged, and plundered a tiny nation, no threat to his own.</p> <p>He subjected the people of Kuwait to unspeakable atrocities—and among those maimed and murdered, innocent children.</p> <p>dictator of Iraq invaded a small and helpless neighbor.</p>
E) Residual		

8. 3 William J. Clinton – Haiti: Uphold Democracy

Address to the Nation on Haiti September 15, 1994

Clinton opens the address with a claim that the U. S.

„...is leading the international effort to restore democratic government in Haiti.“

He thus invokes the image that the American legitimation through international, consensual effort and authority.

„Haiti’s dictators, led by General Raoul Ce´ dras, control the most violent regime in our hemisphere.“

By assigning the characteristic of the most violent, the address positions the enemy, embodied in Haiti’s dictatorial elites, into a negative light.

„...for 3 years, we and other nations have worked exhaustively to find a diplomatic solution, only to have the dictators reject each one.“

Clinton introduces the time frame to demonstrate a long-lasting effort to find a peaceful solution, which was exhausted and thus leaves no other option than a military intervention.

“Now the United States must...stop the brutal atrocities that threaten tens of thousands of Haitians, to secure our borders, and to preserve stability and promote democracy.”

The U. S. needs to intervene to engage in war to protect human lives, promote democracy as well as to defend their borders. The notion of securing national interest is introduced.

“I issued these orders after giving full consideration to what is at stake.”

The military involvement was decided upon after a rational evaluation, which characterizes competent authority.

“General Raoul Ce’ dras...launched a horrible intimidation campaign of rape, torture, and mutilation. People starved; children died; thousands of Haitians fled their country, heading to the United States across dangerous seas.”

The enemy, contracted into the person of Ce’ dras, is attributed with evil deed: killing children, rape, torture – all powerful images repulsive to the audience, prepping the ground for justified intervention to depose a murdering dictator.

“At that time, President Bush declared the situation posed, and I quote, “an unusual and extraordinary threat to the national security, foreign policy, and economy of the United States.”

Clinton appeals to the authority of the previous president and his critical assessment of the situation, which poses a threat to national security. As such, he paints a picture of consensus on the issue running through partisan lines. A long list of atrocities by Ce’ dras follows.

“Ce’ dras ... have conducted a reign of terror, executing children, raping women, killing priests... slaying of Haitian orphans by the nation’s deadly police thugs. The children fled the orphanages...can’t even sleep there because they’re so afraid. As one young boy told a visitor, “I do not care if the police kill me because it only brings an end to my suffering.” International observers uncovered a terrifying pattern of **soldiers and policemen raping the wives and daughters of suspected political dissidents, young girls, 13, 16 years old; people slain and mutilated, with body parts left as warnings to terrify others; children forced to watch as their mothers’ faces are slashed with machetes.** A year ago, the dictators assassinated the Minister of Justice. Just last month, they gunned down Father Jean-Marie Vincent, a peasant leader and close friend of Father Aristide. Vincent was executed on the doorstep of his home, a monastery. He refused to give up his ministry, and for that, he was murdered. General Ce’ dras and his accomplices alone are responsible for this suffering and terrible human tragedy.”

Very visual descriptions of brutality against groups, which are considered morally untouchable (women, young girls, children, priests) is employed, in order to exploit the potential of civilian suffering. Upon being confronted with such imagery, the audience can not but despise the enemy, that is Ce' dras and his dictators, capable of such horrendous acts, and is likely to call for bringing them to justice.

“Neither the international community nor the United States has sought a confrontation.

For nearly 3 years, we’ve worked hard on diplomatic efforts. The United Nations, the Organization of American States, the Caribbean community, the six Central American Presidents all have sought a peaceful end to this crisis. **We have tried everything.”**

Again, the stress is put on exhaustion of options for a peaceful solution, which the United States, a state committed to internationalism, attempted for.

“We sent massive amounts of humanitarian aid, food for a million Haitians and medicine to try to help the ordinary Haitian people, as the dictators continued to loot the economy.”

The United States is attributed with a positive, humanitarian spirit and care for ordinary Haitians, while contrasted to the ruthless elites who impoverish their own nation in the wake of a humanitarian crisis.

“United Nations Security Council approved a resolution that authorizes the use of all necessary means, including force, to remove the Haitian dictators from power and restore democratic government...the United States has agreed to lead a multinational force to carry out the will of the United Nations.”

Legitimation of the intervention stems from legal approval by UNSC. The effort is headed by the U. S., supported by the whole world, therefore justified. By stipulating the U. S. “agreed to lead”, Clinton implies that the authorization was bestowed upon them.

“But when brutality occurs close to our shores, it affects our national interests. And we have a responsibility to act. Thousands of Haitians have already fled toward the United States, risking their lives to escape the reign of terror. As long as Ce' dras rules, Haitians will continue to seek sanctuary in our Nation.”

Axiomatically, Clinton invokes the notion of national interests at stake. The nation needs to act to prevent life losses between Haitians running from Ce' dras.

“This year, in less than 2 months, more than 21,000 Haitians were rescued at sea by our Coast Guard and Navy. Today, more than 14,000 refugees are living at our naval base in Guantanamo. The

American people have already expended almost \$200 million to support them, to maintain the economic embargo. And **the prospect of millions and millions more being spent every month for an indefinite period of time loom ahead unless we act**. Three hundred thousand more Haitians, 5 percent of their entire population, are in hiding in their own country. If we don't act, they could be the next wave of refugees at our door."

The issue is framed in terms of costs the non-intervention would mean to the U. S. These costs then justify the intervention – if the U. S. didn't get involved, the excessive costs would be way higher.

"After all, they're the only nations left in the Western Hemisphere where democratic government is denied, the only countries where dictators have managed to hold back the wave of democracy."

The Haitian regime is equated to dictatorial Cuba, a symbol of totalitarianism and oppression.

"History has taught us that **preserving democracy in our own hemisphere strengthens America's security and prosperity**. Democracies here are more likely to keep the peace and to stabilize our region."

Intervening on behalf of the democracy in Haiti has, in this narrative, positive implication in terms of security and prosperity.

"Beyond the human rights violations, the immigration problems, the importance of democracy..."

Clinton declares both moral and political principles important to the American public but does not omit the issue of immigration, which the intervention promises to limit.

"the United States also has strong interests in not letting dictators, especially in our own region, break their word to the United States and the United Nations."

The address situates the U. S. as a defender of principles of the United Nations and internationalism.

"And you, the American people, should know that our **soldiers will not be involved in rebuilding Haiti or its economy**. The international community, working together, must provide that economic, humanitarian, and technical assistance necessary to help the Haitians rebuild."

Clinton appeals to the cost-benefit rationale and sets forth a persuasive argument for supporting the war, claiming the U. S. won't be carrying the costs of economic restoration of Haiti.

“But **it’s my job as President and Commander in Chief** to take those actions that I believe will best **protect our national security interests.**”

For the third time Clinton talks about protecting national security interest, a vague term which can be filled by the meaning of rhetors liking.

“...**the nations of the world have tried every possible way to restore Haiti’s democratic government peacefully. The dictators have rejected every possible solution.** The terror, the desperation, and the instability will not end until they leave.”

Clinton accentuates the exhaustion of efforts for peaceful solution.

“But remember, the same was said of a people who more than 200 years ago took up arms against a tyrant whose forces occupied their land. But they were a stubborn bunch, a **people who fought for their freedoms and appealed to all those who believed in democracy** to help their cause.” (All quotations Clinton 1994)

Clinton makes the case for the audience to sympathize with the people of Haiti by approximating them to Americans through values they hold dear – freedom and democracy.

Just War criteria	Presence	Evidence/Representation
1) Just cause and right intent	Yes, 2	<p>Now the United States must...stop the brutal atrocities that threaten tens of thousands of Haitians, to secure our borders, and to preserve stability and promote democracy.</p> <p>it affects our national interests. And we have a responsibility to act.</p>
2) Competent authority	Yes, 5	<p>it’s my job as President and Commander in Chief</p> <p>leading the international effort to restore democratic government in Haiti.</p> <p>I issued these orders after giving full consideration to what is at stake.</p> <p>United Nations Security Council approved a resolution that authorizes the use of all necessary means</p> <p>President Bush declared the situation posed, and I quote, “an</p>

		unusual and extraordinary threat to the national security, foreign policy, and economy of the United States.
3) Proportionality	Yes, 1	Ce' dras...launched a horrible intimidation campaign of rape, torture, and mutilation. People starved; children died; thousands of Haitians fled their country
4) Last resort	Yes, 3	...for 3 years, we and other nations have worked exhaustively to find a diplomatic solution, only to have the dictators reject each one.“ Neither the international community nor the United States has sought a confrontation. We have tried everything. the nations of the world have tried every possible way to restore Haiti's democratic government peacefully. The dictators have rejected every possible solution
5) Probability of success	Yes, 1	the vast majority of our troops will come home, in months, not years
6) Residual		

Imagery production	Presence	Evidence/Representation
A) Image of proximity	Yes, 1	more than 14,000 refugees are living at our naval base in Guantanamo. The American people have already expended almost \$200 million to support them... the prospect of millions and millions more being spent every month for an indefinite period of time loom ahead unless we act.
B) Image of Us vs. Them	Yes, 1	We sent massive amounts of humanitarian aid, food for a million Haitians and medicine to try to help the ordinary Haitian people, as the dictators continued to loot the economy.

C) Image of fear and terror	Yes, 1	people slain and mutilated, with body parts left as warnings to terrify others
D) Image of Angels and Demons	Yes, 5	<p>Ce' dras, control the most violent regime in our hemisphere."</p> <p>Ce' dras...launched a horrible intimidation campaign of rape, torture, and mutilation. People starved; children died</p> <p>Ce' dras ... have conducted a reign of terror, executing children, raping women, killing priests...raping the wives and daughters of suspected political dissidents, young girls, 13, 16 years old</p> <p>We sent massive amounts of humanitarian aid, food for a million Haitians and medicine to try to help the ordinary Haitian people, as the dictators continued to loot the economy.</p> <p>people who fought for their freedoms and appealed to all those who believed in democracy</p>
E) Residual		

8. 4 William J. Clinton – Iraq: Desert Fox

President's Statement on Iraq December 16, 1998

The address starts with an assertion of proportionality:

"I ordered America's armed forces to strike military and security targets in Iraq...They are joined by British forces."

In order to assume legitimacy through foreign approval, Clinton does not forget to mention that the British stand by his decision to strike in Iraq.

"Their purpose is to protect the national interest of the United States, and indeed the interests of people throughout the Middle East and around the world. Saddam Hussein must not be allowed to threaten his neighbors or the world with nuclear arms, poison gas or biological weapons."

A military strike is necessary in order to prevent Saddam from getting nuclear weapons.

“...I have decided, with the unanimous recommendation of my national security team...”

This figure implies professionalism and rational consideration of possible outcomes in the decision making process.

“Saddam Hussein announced that he would no longer cooperate with the United Nations weapons inspectors called UNSCOM. Iraq agreed to declare and destroy its arsenal as a condition of the ceasefire. The international community had good reason to set this requirement.”

Saddam Hussein broke the agreement that he would dispose of weapons of mass destruction (WMD) – the U. S. needs to step up to the protection of withholding international norms. The United States is positioned as a power, whose task is to act as a warrant of international treaties.

“...Saddam...used them. Not once, but repeatedly. Unleashing chemical weapons against Iranian...firing Scud missiles at the citizens of Israel, Saudi Arabia, Bahrain and Iran...gassing Kurdish civilians in Northern Iraq. The international community had little doubt then, and I have no doubt today, that left unchecked, Saddam Hussein will use these terrible weapons again.”

Clinton constructs a predictive assumption towards the future based on past experiences with Saddam, concluding, that unless this military strike takes place, Saddam will surely use them. This figure of temporal proximization serves as a justification for a preventive strike by the U. S. According to the overview of grievances, in majority Saddam used these weapons against civilians, implying vileness and ruthlessness of the Iraqi leader.

“...we built intensive diplomatic pressure on Iraq...The UN Security Council voted 15 to zero...compliance. Eight Arab nations -- Egypt, Syria, Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, Bahrain, Qatar, United Arab Emirates and Oman -- warned that Iraq alone would bear responsibility.”

By naming countries historically involved in diplomatic efforts to depose Iraq of WMD, Clinton lays out an argument of broad support for the current attack.

“...UNSCOM reports concludes, "Iraq's conduct ensured that no progress was able to be made in the fields of disarmament.” Saddam's deception has defeated their effectiveness.”

Saddam, the deceiver, cheated the international community and did not abide by promises he made.

“...situation presents a clear and present danger to the stability of the Persian Gulf and the safety of people everywhere.”

The evident danger to human lives incites the necessity for action.

“The international community gave Saddam one last chance to resume cooperation with the weapons inspectors. Saddam has failed to seize the chance. And so we had to act and act now.”

Clinton expresses exhaustion of all diplomatic efforts for a peaceful resolution, which effectively justifies the strike.

“...Iraq would be free to retain and begin to rebuild its chemical, biological and nuclear weapons programs in months, not years. Second, if Saddam can cripple the weapons inspection system and get away with it, he would conclude that the international community -- led by the United States -- has simply lost its will. He will surmise that he has free rein to rebuild his arsenal of destruction, and someday -- make no mistake -- he will use it again as he has in the past. Third, in halting our air strikes in November, I gave Saddam a chance, not a license. If we turn our backs on his defiance, the credibility of U.S. power as a check against Saddam will be destroyed...we also will have fatally undercut the fear of force that stops Saddam from acting to gain domination in the region.”

Based on this notion, the military strike bears importance to future behavior since Clinton states the possible consequence of the absence of such a strike. Saddam would be able to pose a threat to the world by building up his WMD arsenal. The strike also has a demonstrative purpose, to show the international community is willing to enforce its rules. The U. S. is positioned as a leader of this community, and as such needs to act, otherwise its credibility is at stake. If they didn't, Saddam would use WMD again. Saddam with WMD is therefore the ultimate threat to the stability of the world, and only if he understands that deterrence can lead to military action, such as the one Clinton ordered, will he be kept in line.

“the unanimous recommendation of my national security team -- including the vice president, the secretary of defense, the chairman of the joint chiefs of staff, the secretary of state and the national security adviser”

Presenting the list of security team members demonstrates a broad consensus within the administration to execute the attack.

“They are designed to degrade Saddam's capacity to develop and deliver weapons of mass destruction, and to degrade his ability to threaten his neighbors.”

The strikes target Saddam's destructive capacity, and as such are being marketed as proportionate to the threat.

“the Muslim holy month of Ramadan begins this weekend. For us to initiate military action during Ramadan would be profoundly offensive to the Muslim world and, therefore, would damage our relations with Arab countries and the progress we have made in the Middle East.”

Clinton claims the narrative of respect towards the Muslim population of the world to humanize the American military, he, however, also states it is for pragmatic reasons, raising doubt of pure intent.

“The credible threat to use force, and when necessary, the actual use of force, is the surest way to contain Saddam's weapons of mass destruction program, curtail his aggression and prevent another Gulf War.”

Essentially, Clinton justifies current military involvement as a precedent in deterrence, which will prevent larger conflict if taken.

“Saddam has intentionally placed Iraqi civilians in harm's way in a cynical bid to sway international opinion.”

By describing Hussein as someone, who is willing to risk the lives of civilians, a quasi-sacred concept in the liberal understanding of war, he is marketed as a vile entity with no respect for human life, and therefore worth engaging in military action against.

“If Saddam defies the world and we fail to respond, we will face a far greater threat in the future. Saddam will strike again at his neighbors. He will make war on his own people. And mark my words, he will develop weapons of mass destruction. He will deploy them, and he will use them. Because we're acting today, it is less likely that we will face these dangers in the future.”

Again, a military strike against Iraq is framed through a proximization figure as being capable of preventing Saddam’s vile actions in the future.

“...in the new century, we'll have a remarkable opportunity to shape a future more peaceful than the past, but only if we stand strong against the enemies of peace.” (All quotations Clinton 1998)

Invoking prospects of building a more peaceful world, Clinton implies that only by striking the enemies of peace this world will be built, especially if this enemy is Saddam Hussein.

Just War criteria	Presence	Evidence/Representation
1) Just cause and right intent	Yes, 3	<p>Their purpose is to protect the national interest of the United States, and indeed the interests of people throughout the Middle East and around the world.</p> <p>Saddam...used them repeatedly</p>

		<p>If left unchecked, Saddam Hussein will use these terrible weapons again.</p> <p>...situation presents a clear and present danger to the stability of the Persian Gulf and the safety of people everywhere.</p> <p>he will use it again</p>
2) Competent authority	Yes, 2	<p>...I have decided, with the unanimous recommendation of my national security team..."</p> <p>the unanimous recommendation of my national security team</p>
3) Proportionality	Yes, 2	<p>forces to strike military and security targets in Iraq</p> <p>They are designed to degrade Saddam's capacity to develop and deliver weapons of mass destruction, and to degrade his ability to threaten his neighbors.</p>
4) Last resort	Yes, 1	<p>The international community gave Saddam one last chance to resume cooperation with the weapons inspectors. Saddam has failed to seize the chance. And so we had to act and act now.</p>
5) Probability of success	No	
6) Residual		

Imagery production	Presence	Evidence/Representation
A) Image of proximity	Yes, 4	<p>Saddam...used them repeatedly</p> <p>left unchecked, Saddam Hussein will use these terrible weapons again.</p> <p>Iraq would be free to retain and begin to rebuild its chemical, biological and nuclear weapons programs in months</p> <p>he would conclude that the international community -- led by the United States -- has simply lost its will. He will surmise that he has free rein to rebuild his arsenal of destruction, and</p>

		<p>someday -- make no mistake -- he will use it again</p> <p>credibility of U.S. power as a check against Saddam will be destroyed</p> <p>The credible threat to use force, and when necessary, the actual use of force, is the surest way to contain Saddam's weapons of mass destruction program, curtail his aggression and prevent another Gulf War.</p> <p>If Saddam defies the world and we fail to respond, we will face a far greater threat in the future. Saddam will strike again at his neighbors. He will make war on his own people. And mark my words, he will develop weapons of mass destruction. He will deploy them, and he will use them. Because we're acting today, it is less likely that we will face these dangers in the future.</p>
B) Image of Us vs. Them	No	
C) Image of fear and terror	Yes, 2	<p>Saddam...used them...Repeatedly...left unchecked, Saddam Hussein will use these terrible weapons again.</p> <p>arsenal of destruction...he will use it again</p>
D) Image of Angels and Demons	Yes, 3	<p>firing Scud missiles at the citizens of Israel, Saudi Arabia, Bahrain and Iran...gassing Kurdish civilians in Northern Iraq</p> <p>Saddam has intentionally placed Iraqi civilians in harm's way in a cynical bid to sway international opinion.</p> <p>to initiate military action during Ramadan would be profoundly offensive to the Muslim world</p>
E) Residual		

8. 5 William J. Clinton – Kosovo: Allied Force

The President's Statement on Kosovo March 24, 1999

Clinton's Statement on Kosovo commences with declaration of reason for military involvement:

„We act to protect thousands of innocent people in Kosovo from a mounting military offensive. We act to prevent a wider war, to defuse a powder keg at the heart of Europe, that has exploded twice before in this century with catastrophic results. **We act to stand united with our allies for peace.** By acting now, we are upholding our values, protecting our interests, and advancing the cause of peace. “

The United states act in order to protect lives, but also act pre-emptively – by militarily striking now, a conflict with higher costs is going to be prevented. Clinton adduces a dark prospect, that third world war could come out of U. S. inactivity in the region, since the previous two world wars started allegedly started in Balkans. He emphasizes the joint effort to achieve and advance peace, which is implied to be a consequence of the military strike.

„Slobodan Milosevic, the same leader who started the wars in Bosnia and Croatia, and moved against Slovenia in the last decade, stripped Kosovo of the constitutional autonomy it's people enjoyed, thus denying them their right to speak their language, run their schools, shape their daily lives.“

Milosevic assumes role of the usurper of Kosovar rights and reason for preceding wars in the region in this piece of war rhetoric. He is identified as the originator of conflict.

“Kosovar's struggled peacefully to get their rights back. When President Milosevic sent his troops and police to crush them, the struggle grew violent.”

Clinton suggests that peaceful Kosovars were dragged into violent struggle by excessive reaction of Milosevic, setting up the roles of positive vs. negative actor.

“...rescued tens of thousands of people from freezing and starvation in the hills where they had fled to save their lives...”

United States are portrayed as actor, who cares about civilians and does everything to save their lives.

“The Kosovar leaders signed that agreement last week. Even though it does not give them all they want, even though their people were still being savaged, they saw that a just peace is better than a long and unwinnable war. The Serbian leaders, on the other hand, refused even to discuss key elements of the peace agreement.“

Kosovars are being favourably depicted as conflict party, which seeks to reach peace even through compromise. Serbians unwilling to even discuss the treaty are by implication obstructing peace. The figure therefore suggests audience should be sympathetic towards Kosovars, which would justify steps taken to their defence from aggressive Serbs.

„...they've started moving from village to village, shelling civilians and torching their houses. We've seen innocent people taken from their homes, forced to kneel in the dirt and sprayed with bullets. Kosovar men dragged from their families, fathers and sons together, lined up, and shot in cold blood...It is an attack by tanks and artillery on a largely defenceless people, whose leaders already have agreed to peace.“

By listing grievances by the Serbian forces against , Clinton rhetorically fulfils one of the criterion of just war theory's condition of proportionality, due to which suffering of one group (the peaceful Kosovars) has to be larger than suffering of the other group (Serbs ethnically cleansing Kosovo). At the same time, the images of savage acts contribute to forming negative impression of Serbian forces, especially upon confrontation with peace-seeking, defenceless Kosovars.

“Ending this tragedy is a moral imperative. It is also important to America's national interests.”

Clinton stipulates there is no other choice than intervening militarily in the conflict, while the involvement is justifiable both morally and pragmatically.

“And all-around Kosovo, there are other small countries, struggling with their own economic and political challenges, countries that could be overthrown by a large new wave of refugees from Kosovo. All the ingredients for a major war are there.”

Failure to act would result in widespread crisis, as the refugee wave might destabilize neighbouring countries. In Clinton's narrative, this would lead to a larger conflict with larger costs, therefore striking now prevents such scenario from happening.

“a dictator in Serbia who has done nothing since the Cold War ended, but start new wars and pour gasoline on the flames of ethnic and religious division.”

Milosevic is again portrayed as originator of war in Yugoslavia, who lives to stir hatred and divisions, while others want to live in peace.

“Sarajevo, the capital of neighbouring Bosnia, is where **World War I** began. **World War II** and the **Holocaust** engulfed this region. In both wars Europe was slow to recognize the dangers, and the

United States waited even longer to enter the conflicts... **inaction in the face of brutality, simply invites brutality.** But firmness can stop armies and save lives. **We must apply that lesson in Kosovo, before what happened in Bosnia, happens there, too. Innocent people herded into concentration camps, children gunned down by snipers on their way to school,** soccer fields and parks turned into cemeteries. A quarter of a million people killed, not because of anything they had done, but because of who they were.”

Here, a time approximating historical analogy is used. Clinton’s narrative equates possible future situation in Kosov with atrocities in Bosnia. By putting it into linguistic neighbourhood of World Wars and the Holocaust, he construes a vision of future, where today’s inactivity leads to such events. It is therefore necessary to act to stop the Serbs, otherwise Kosovo will become new Bosnia and new Auschwitz.

„Over the last few months, we have done everything we possibly could to solve this problem peacefully. Mr. Milosevic has refused.“

Clinton expresses exhaustion of all options for peaceful resolution, effectively claiming that war is the last, but necessary resort.

„...we and our 18 NATO allies agreed to do what we said we would do, what we must do to restore the peace. Our mission is clear -- to demonstrate the seriousness of NATO's purpose so that the Serbian leaders understand the imperative of reversing course, **to deter an even bloodier offensive against innocent civilians in Kosovo** and, if necessary, to **seriously damage the Serbian military's capacity to harm the people of Kosovo.** In short, if President Milosevic will not make peace, we will limit his ability to make war.”

By invoking the multilateral character of the military action, the rhetoric deems the action is justified to the public of countries involved. Clinton asserts, that the objective is to protect civilian lives by proportionately striking Serbian military targets.

“...but I do not intend to put our troops in Kosovo to fight a war.”

Clinton aims to assure American public, that there will be no U. S. soldiers fighting directly. Since this would minimize possible losses, it can be seen as a figure to “appease” the public into supporting the military strike.

“dangers of acting are far outweighed by the dangers of not acting -- dangerous to defenceless people and to our national interests. **If we and our allies were to allow this war to continue with no response, President Milosevic would read our hesitation as a license to kill. There would be many massacres, tens of thousands refugees, victims crying out for revenge.**”

The attack must materialize, because otherwise Milosevic would surely massacre civilians.

“Remember, we asked them to accept peace and they did. We asked them to promise to lay down their arms and they agreed. We pledged that we, the United States and the other 18 nations of NATO would stick by them if they did the right thing. We cannot let them down now. “

Due to previous commitments and negotiations, the United States have moral obligation to protect Kosovars. In this case, it is continuity of action, which should justify the attack.

“Imagine what would happen if we and our allies instead decided just to look the other way as these people were massacred on NATO's doorstep. That would discredit NATO.”

As another reason justifying the intervention Clinton sees the credibility and reputation of NATO. If the alliance wont act, NATO would lose respect of other actors.

“Eventually, key U.S. allies could be drawn into a wider conflict -- a war we would be forced to confront later, only at far greater risk and greater cost. I have a responsibility as president to deal with problems such as this before they do permanent harm to our national interests.”

Clinton justifies the strike with prospect of future war. He defends pre-emption, since if this inevitable conflict would take place in future, it would more costly to the U. S.

“if America is going to be prosperous and secure, we need a Europe that is prosperous, secure, undivided and free.”

As Clinton links inextricably fate of U. S. prosperity and security to Europe, he transfers the weight of its security on America. He basically that the U. S. will have to step in to matters in Europe, if the U. S. are to be prosperous and safe.

“So that future generations of Americans do not have to cross the Atlantic to fight another terrible war. It is this challenge that we and our allies are facing in Kosovo. That is why we have acted now -- because we care about saving innocent lives, because we have an interest in avoiding an even crueler and costlier war and because our children need and deserve a peaceful, stable, free Europe.” (All quotations Clinton 1999)

Core reasons justifying the airstrikes are repeated. Yet again, the present war is justifiable when confronted with prospects of future, where, according to Clinton’s rhetoric, the war would be costlier.

Just War criteria	Presence, count	Evidence/Representation
1) Just cause and right intent	Yes, 4	We act to protect thousands of innocent people in Kosovo from a

		<p>mounting military offensive. We act to prevent a wider war. We act to stand united with our allies for peace.</p> <p>...to deter an even bloodier offensive against innocent civilians in Kosovo and, if necessary.</p> <p>If we and our allies were to allow this war to continue with no response, President Milosevic would read our hesitation as a license to kill. There would be many massacres, tens of thousands refugees, victims crying out for revenge.</p> <p>we have acted now -- because we care about saving innocent lives</p>
2) Competent authority	Yes, 1	we and our 18 NATO allies
3) Proportionality	Yes, 3	<p>Kosovar's struggled peacefully to get their rights back.</p> <p>...they've started moving from village to village, shelling civilians and torching their houses. We've seen innocent people taken from their homes, forced to kneel in the dirt and sprayed with bullets. Kosovar men dragged from their families, fathers and sons together, lined up, and shot in cold blood...It is an attack by tanks and artillery on a largely defenceless people, whose leaders already have agreed to peace.</p> <p>if necessary, to seriously damage the Serbian military's capacity to harm the people of Kosovo. In short, if President Milosevic will not make peace, we will limit his ability to make war.</p>
4) Last resort	Yes, 1	Over the last few months, we have done everything we possibly could to solve this problem peacefully. Mr. Milosevic has refused.“
5) Probability of success	No	
6) Residual		

Imagery production	Presence	Evidence/Representation
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A) Image of proximity	Yes, 6	<p>We act to prevent a wider war, to defuse a powder keg at the heart of Europe, that has exploded twice before in this century with catastrophic results.</p> <p>And all-around Kosovo, there are other small countries, struggling with their own economic and political challenges, countries that could be overthrown by a large new wave of refugees from Kosovo. All the ingredients for a major war are there</p> <p>We must apply that lesson in Kosovo, before what happened in Bosnia, happens there, too. Innocent people herded into concentration camps, children gunned down by snipers on their way to school</p> <p>If we and our allies were to allow this war to continue with no response, President Milosevic would read our hesitation as a license to kill. There would be many massacres, tens of thousands refugees, victims crying out for revenge.</p> <p>if America is going to be prosperous and secure, we need a Europe that is prosperous, secure, undivided and free.</p> <p>So that future generations of Americans do not have to cross the Atlantic to fight another terrible war. It is this challenge that we and our allies are facing in Kosovo. That is why we have acted now -- because we care about saving innocent lives, because we have an interest in avoiding an even crueller and costlier war and because our children need and deserve a peaceful, stable, free Europe.</p>
B) Image of Us vs. Them	No	
C) Image of fear and terror	No	
D) Image of Angels and Demons	Yes, 6	<p>Kosovar's struggled peacefully to get their rights back.</p> <p>„...they've started moving from village to village, shelling civilians and torching their</p>

		<p>houses. We've seen innocent people taken from their homes, forced to kneel in the dirt and sprayed with bullets. Kosovar men dragged from their families, fathers and sons together, lined up, and shot in cold blood...It is an attack by tanks and artillery on a largely defenseless people, whose leaders already have agreed to peace.“</p> <p>The Kosovar leaders signed that agreement last week. Even though it does not give them all they want, even though their people were still being savaged, they saw that a just peace is better than a long and unwinnable war. The Serbian leaders, on the other hand, refused even to discuss key elements of the peace agreement</p> <p>...rescued tens of thousands of people from freezing and starvation in the hills where they had fled to save their lives...</p> <p>a dictator in Serbia who has done nothing since the Cold War ended, but start new wars and pour gasoline on the flames of ethnic and religious division</p> <p>Innocent people herded into concentration camps, children gunned down by snipers on their way to school</p>
E) Residual		

8. 6 G. W. Bush – Afghanistan: Enduring Freedom

Address to the Nation on Operations in Afghanistan October 7, 2001

Bush begins with announcing

„...strikes against al Qaeda terrorist training camps and military installations of the Taliban regime in Afghanistan.“

He is effectively merging the two separate enemy entities in one. In this narration, attacking al Qaeda and the Taliban regime is one thing, that is – strikes against Taliban are justified, since al Qaeda attacked the United States.

„These carefully targeted actions are designed to disrupt the use of Afghanistan as a terrorist base of operations...“

Careful targeting stipulates a level of competent planning – one of the conditions for authority to be competent. Because Afghanistan serves as a terrorist base, the war is in fact an act of self-defense to prevent future 9/11s.

„We are joined...by...Great Britain...Canada, Australia, Germany and France...more than 40 countries in the Middle East, Africa, Europe and across Asia have granted air transit or landing rights.“

By stressing the involvement of Western Countries, the rhetoric creates an impression that there is a strong consensus on the legitimacy of military involvement. Furthermore, the consensus isn't shared only by the West – transit and landing rights granted around the world imply global agreement on justified war involvement by the U. S.. Explicitly Bush says:

„We are supported by the collective will of the world.“

Bush continues by ascertaining that the presidency has attempted to avoid the conflict.

„I gave Taliban leaders a series of clear and specific demands...none of these demands were met.“

However the Taliban refused to comply and thus the United States has no other choice than to resort to violent means, stimulating the war as a last resort condition for just war.

„...we will make it more difficult for the terror network to train new recruits and coordinate their evil plans.“

The use of value charged language of absolute terms binary of evil and good.

„...bring them to justice.“

Justice for what they did to the United States, implying that America is the face value of what is just and right, and as such it can judge. More virtuous traits of the U. S. are accentuated:

„...the oppressed people of Afghanistan will know the generosity of America and our allies...we'll also drop food, medicine and supplies to the starving and suffering men and women and children of Afghanistan.“

Not only Bush explicitly deems America generous, he suggests it is also the champion of the poor, the weak and the suffering of Afghanistan. This is further accentuated, when he says, that:

„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“

But immediately the speech draws a clear line between the Afghani public and Taliban leadership. Afghans are therefore transferred into the Us camp, opposite to the barbaric Them.

...enemy of those who aid terrorists and of the barbaric criminals who profane a great religion by committing murder in its name.“

The enemies are labeled as barbaric infidels, a binary opposite of civilized. They are not Muslims and do not represent Muslims, setting forth the claim, that America doesn't fight Islam, but terrorist savages, and a war against barbaric savages is justified.

„...will win this conflict by the patient accumulation of successes.“

Claiming future victory is a figure to persuade the public that the fight is going to be successful, therefore it is not futile. At the same time, by calling for patience, Bush prepares the ground to justify the possibility of a longer-lasting war.

„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.“

Inflating the scale of conflict to global pushes for internationally concerted effort to combat it. In addition, the polarizing rhetoric of choosing sides forces practically limits maneuvering space in the international system, eliminating nuance and positioning the U. S. in its center. In other words those who do not want to be deemed barbarians and supporters of terrorism have to join the United States' effort.

„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.“

Since killing innocents is morally unjustifiable in Western imagination, they deserve to be punished, therefore violence against them is justified. This rhetoric also implies that the states which hold reservations against the U. S. mission will be cast out of the international community. while also

„We're a peaceful nation...the only way to pursue peace is to pursue those who threaten it.“

Since the United States was attacked, they have every right to self-defense. But even then the country goes to war with an aching heart. This can be seen as an appeal to the liberal imagination, in which the war represents a negative phenomenon. Bush however persuades the domestic and international public, that it is necessary to stand up to values of peace and freedom even if it means going to war.

„We defend not only our precious freedoms, but also the freedom of people everywhere to live and raise their children free from fear.“

Call to defend universal categories and values of everyone everywhere bolsters the narrative of the civilizational mission of global character.

„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.“

Bush proximates the threat by stating the need to activate the National Guard and by invoking the protection of the homeland. According to this figure, the danger of attack is imminent on American soil, which is accentuated by even specifying the civilian target (airport). A praise of the military follows.

„Today, those sacrifices are being made by members of our Armed Forces... 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, their goal is just.“

The address highlights selfless qualities and heroism of the American military, which can be seen as both a homage to the Forces and insinuation, that the conflict involves all of the nation, therefore unity and support for war are needed. Also, by putting forward sacrifices made by the military can serve as a motivational factor for citizens to support the troops, and in effect the government policy.

„Irecently 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.“

Emotive appeals to humanize the war effort, by employing a girl's touching story means to captivate the audience, and suggest that even a 4th grader realizes the necessity of this war, effectively appealing to national unity.

Peace and freedom will prevail. Thank you. May God continue to bless America. (Bush 2001)

Just War criteria	Presence and count	Evidence/Representation
1) Just cause and right intent	Yes, 5	<p>disrupt the use of Afghanistan as a terrorist base of operations...“</p> <p>we will make it more difficult for the terror network to train new recruits and coordinate their evil plans.</p> <p>goal is just</p> <p>„We defend not only our precious freedoms, but also the freedom of people everywhere to live and raise their children free from fear.“</p> <p>„We’re a peaceful nation...the only way to pursue peace is to pursue those who threaten it.“</p>
2) Competent authority	Yes, 3	<p>carefully targeted actions</p> <p>„We are joined by Great Britain, Canada, Australia, Germany and France...more than 40 countries in the Middle East, Africa, Europe and across Asia have granted air transit or landing rights. We are supported by the collective will of the world.“</p> <p>„All law enforcement and intelligence agencies are working aggressively around America, around the world and around the clock.“</p>
3) Proportionality	Yes, 2	<p>carefully targeted actions</p> <p>strikes against al Qaeda terrorist training camps and military installations</p>
4) Last resort	Yes, 1	„I gave Taliban leaders a series of clear and specific demands...none of these demands were met.“
5) Probability of success	Yes, 1	„...will win this conflict by the patient accumulation of successes“
6) Residual		

Imagery production	Presence	Evidence/Representation
A) Image of proximity	Yes, 1	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.
B) Image of Us vs. Them	Yes, 3	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...enemy of those who aid terrorists and of the barbaric criminals who profane a great religion by committing murder in its name. Every nation has a choice to make. In this conflict, there is no neutral ground. barbaric criminals who profane a great religion by committing murder in its name.
C) Image of fear and terror	No	
D) Image of Angels and Demons	Yes, 3	their evil plans. barbaric criminals who profane a great religion by committing murder in its name. „...the oppressed people of Afghanistan will know the generosity of America and our allies...we'll also drop food, medicine and supplies to the starving and suffering men and women and children of Afghanistan.“
E) Residual		

8. 7 George W. Bush – Iraq: Iraqi Freedom

Address to the Nation on Military Operations in Iraq March 19, 2003.

Bush's address commences with announcing, that international coalition is

„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.“

Bush vaguely claims that the objective is to free people of Iraq, he does not specify the danger at first.

„...striking selected targets of military importance to undermine Saddam Hussein’s ability to wage war.“

Since the strikes are limited to military targets only, the parameter of proportionality is being fulfilled. Bush also implicates, that respective military action is not targeted against civilian population.

“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.”

Bush illustrates the scale of international coalition, painting image of peer-based legitimization.

“...troubled world and the hopes of an oppressed people now depend on you...the people you liberate will witness the honorable and decent spirit of the American military.”

The address resorts to use grand, imaginative concepts to appeal directly to the military, but also to ascertain public of virtuous qualities of the Army.

“...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.”

Saddam is described as immoral being, who intentionally puts innocent civilians, including children and women in harm’s way.

“I want Americans and all the world to know that coalition forces will make every effort to spare innocent civilians from harm.”

American’s

“And helping Iraqis achieve a united, stable and free country will require our sustained commitment.”

The just reasons for U. S. involvement might lead to a long-term involvement, but this commitment is worth the struggle.

“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.”

Bush depict the U. S. as a saviour, who comes to Iraq on behalf of its people, while separating the people from leadership. Saddam is being reduced and dehumanized to simply a threat.

“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.”

By using the figures invoking ideals of selflessness, sacrifice and protection of innocents, Bush asserts absolute morality of the military.

“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.”

Even though the U. S. didn't ask for this war, they have to undertake it to prevent Iraq from threatening the world with weapons of mass destruction. Bush invokes the international allied effort.

“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.”

The premise is, that if Saddam wasn't confronted presently, he would surely attack the U. S. mainland, implying use of WMD. The U. S. military involvement is therefore framed as pre-emption against Iraqi attack, which would certainly take place.

“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.”

Bush stipulates, that success is the only possible outcome. Probability of success is being marketed as 100 %.

“...carry on the work of peace. We will defend our freedom. We will bring freedom to others and we will prevail.” (All quotations Bush 2003)

Bush insinuates the U. S. are championing freedom and are going to spread it around the world, which implicates, that every conflict, in which the U. S. are going to get involved is going to be just.

Just War criteria	Presence	Evidence/Representation
1) Just cause and right intent	Yes, 2	to free its people 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.
2) Competent authority	Yes, 1	More than 35 countries are giving crucial support
3) Proportionality	Yes, 1	...striking selected targets of military importance to undermine Saddam Hussein's ability to wage war
4) Last resort	No	
5) Probability of success	Yes, 1	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
6) Residual		

Imagery production	Presence	Evidence/Representation
A) Image of proximity	Yes, 1	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.
B) Image of Us vs. Them	No	
C) Image of fear and terror	No	
D) Image of Angels and Demons	Yes, 3	honorable and decent spirit of the American military. 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. 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.
E) Residual		

8. 8 Barack H. Obama – Libya: Unified Protector

Remarks by the President on the Situation in Libya March 11, 2011

Obama sets off the address with overview of situation on the field.

“parts of the country declared their independence from a brutal regime, and members of the government serving in Libya and abroad chose to align themselves with the forces of change.”

Qaddafi regime is described as brutal, while the rebels are labelled “forces of change.” Therefore from the start a schema is established, in which brutal Qaddafi opposes change.

“Moammar Qaddafi...lost the confidence of his own people and the legitimacy to lead...Qaddafi chose the path of brutal suppression. Innocent civilians were beaten, imprisoned...killed. Peaceful protests were forcefully put down. Hospitals were attacked and patients disappeared. A campaign of intimidation and repression began.”

Obama marks Qaddafi as illegitimate leader, who brutally suppresses his people and is not afraid to attack hospitals, which are generally considered a neutral, sacred ground. Description of Qaddafi’s violent deeds stand in contrast to peaceful protesters.

“Humanitarian assistance was positioned on Libya’s borders, and those displaced by the violence received our help. “

Obama reminds audience of America’s commitment to help civilians and save lives, putting the U. S. in favourable light.

“...warning was given that Qaddafi needed to stop his campaign of repression. The Arab League and the European Union joined us in calling for an end to violence...Qaddafi chose to ignore the will of his people and the international community. Instead, he launched a military campaign against his own people.”

The rhetoric accentuates international, thus legitimising, character of peace effort spearheaded by the U. S. At the same time, Obama stipulates exhaustion of diplomatic efforts.

“...use brute force through his sponsorship of terrorism against the American people as well as others, and through the killings that he has carried out within his own borders.”

By highlighting historical crimes against Americans, Obama allows the audience to realize longevity of Qaddafi’s enmity towards the American people.

“And just yesterday, speaking of the city of Benghazi -- a city of roughly 700,000 people -- **he threatened**, and I quote: **“We will have no mercy and no pity”** -- no mercy on his own citizens...**we have every reason to believe that Qaddafi would commit atrocities against his people. Many thousands could die. A humanitarian crisis would ensue. The entire region could be destabilized, endangering many of our allies and partners.** The calls of the Libyan people for help would go unanswered. The democratic values that we stand for would be overrun.”

The intervention is being justified by prevention of possible massacres of civilians. Inactivity would lead to destabilization and humanitarian crisis. To avoid that the U. S. need to act.

“...the United States has worked with our allies and partners to shape a strong international response at the United Nations.”

Obama puts focus on international dimension of solution of the conflict.

“Our focus has been clear: protecting innocent civilians within Libya and holding the Qaddafi regime accountable.”

As before, the main justifying reasoning for military involvement is disclosed, that is protection of human lives, accompanied with bringing Qaddafi to justice for his crimes.

“...in response to a call for action by the Libyan people and the Arab League, the U.N. Security Council passed a strong resolution that demands an end to the violence against citizens. It authorizes the use of force with an explicit commitment to pursue all necessary measures to stop the killing, to include the enforcement of a no-fly zone over Libya.”

Authorization by the UNSC to use force naturally serves as legitimating element in making case for using force. Furthermore, the international context of response is accentuated.

“The United States, the United Kingdom, France, and Arab states agree that a cease-fire must be implemented immediately. That means all attacks against civilians must stop. If Qaddafi does not comply with the resolution, the international community will impose consequences, and the resolution will be enforced through military action. In this effort, the United States is prepared to act as part of an international coalition.”

International character of the operation is invoked again, along with insinuation, that Qaddafi attacks civilians.

“I have directed Secretary Gates and our military to coordinate their planning, and tomorrow Secretary Clinton will travel to Paris for a meeting with our European allies and Arab partners about the enforcement of Resolution 1973.”

Internationally coordinated and planned enforcement of Resolution 1973 implies planning, therefore just war competency criteria is stimulated.

“...to stop the violence against civilians, including enabling our European allies and Arab partners to effectively enforce a no fly zone.”

Apart from the international context, the just cause for intervention itself is highlighted.

“The United States is not going to deploy ground troops into Libya. And we are not going to use force to go beyond a well-defined goal -- specifically, the protection of civilians in Libya.”

First of all, Obama appeases the audience, that America won't get involved in the conflict on the ground, then proceeds to champion adequacy of U. S. military response to the situation.

“...we will continue to help the Libyan people with humanitarian and economic assistance.”

Obama implies continuation in humanitarian effort by the United States towards civilians, and at the same time separates the people from the regime.

“Our decisions have been driven by Qaddafi's refusal to respect the rights of his people, and the potential for mass murder of innocent civilians.”

By use of proximization, Obama's rhetoric implies death of innocent civilians if the U. S. fail to intervene.

“...our British and French allies, and members of the Arab League, have already committed to take a leadership role in the enforcement of this resolution”

The legitimizing international scale of response is being used again.

“...we have made it clear that we are opposed to violence.”

America is depicted as peaceful and effectively forced to violence by circumstances.

“...the United States of America will not stand idly by in the face of actions that undermine global peace and security.” (All quotations Obama 2001)

United Simply have to act, when global peace and security is at stake.

Just War criteria	Presence, count	Evidence/Representation
1) Just cause and right intent	Yes, 4	<p>we have every reason to believe that Qaddafi would commit atrocities against his people. Many thousands could die. A humanitarian crisis would ensue. The entire region could be destabilized, endangering many of our allies and partners.</p> <p>Our focus has been clear: protecting innocent civilians within Libya and holding the Qaddafi regime accountable.</p> <p>Our decisions have been driven by Qaddafi's refusal to respect</p>

		<p>the rights of his people, and the potential for mass murder of innocent civilians</p> <p>...to stop the violence against civilians</p>
2) Competent authority	Yes, 7	<p>...the United States has worked with our allies and partners to shape a strong international response at the United Nations.</p> <p>I have directed Secretary Gates and our military to coordinate their planning, and tomorrow Secretary Clinton will travel to Paris for a meeting with our European allies and Arab partners about the enforcement of Resolution 1973.</p> <p>I have directed Secretary Gates and our military to coordinate their planning, and tomorrow Secretary Clinton will travel to Paris for a meeting with our European allies and Arab partners about the enforcement of Resolution 1973.</p> <p>...the United States has worked with our allies and partners to shape a strong international response at the United Nations.</p> <p>call for action by the Libyan people and the Arab League, the U.N. Security Council passed a strong resolution that demands an end to the violence against citizens. It authorizes the use of force</p> <p>The United States, the United Kingdom, France, and Arab states agree that a cease-fire must be implemented immediately.</p> <p>the international community will impose consequences, and the resolution will be enforced through military action.</p>
3) Proportionality	Yes, 1	<p>The United States is not going to deploy ground troops into Libya. And we are not going to use force to go beyond a well-defined goal -- specifically, the protection of civilians in Libya.</p>

4) Last resort	Yes, 1	The Arab League and the European Union joined us in calling for an end to violence...Qaddafi chose to ignore the will of his people and the international community.
5) Probability of success	No	
6) Residual		

Imagery production	Presence, count	Evidence/Representation
A) Image of proximity	Yes, 2	we have every reason to believe that Qaddafi would commit atrocities against his people. Our decisions have been driven by Qaddafi's refusal to respect the rights of his people, and the potential for mass murder of innocent civilians.
B) Image of Us vs. Them	No	
C) Image of fear and terror	No	
D) Image of Angels and Demons	Yes, 3	he threatened, and I quote: "We will have no mercy and no pity" - - no mercy on his own citizens... ...we will continue to help the Libyan people with humanitarian and economic assistance. ...we have made it clear that we are opposed to violence.
E) Residual		

8. 9 Summary of Findings

Tables on the following two pages synthesize the findings of per-case analyses. Table a) summarizes the evidence in form of just war criteria in respective presidential addresses, while Table b) encapsulates usage of examined set of imageries. (Rest of the page left intentionally blank.)

Table a) Just War criteria summary	1) Just cause and right intent	2) Competent authority	3) Proportionality	4) Last resort	5) Probability of success
<p>Obama - Libya</p>	<p>we have every reason to believe that Qaddafi would commit atrocities on a scale that would be unprecedented in the history of the world since 1945. The entire region could be destabilized, endangering many of our allies and partners.</p> <p>Our focus has been clear: protecting innocent civilians within Libya and ending the flow of weapons and other materials to terrorist groups. ...to stop the violence against civilians</p>	<p>...the United States has worked with our allies and partners to shape a strong international response to the crisis. We have directed Secretary Gates and our military to coordinate their planning, and tomorrow Secretary Clinton will travel to Paris for a meeting with our European allies and Arab partners about the enforcement of Resolution 1973.</p> <p>I have directed Secretary Gates and our military to coordinate their planning, and tomorrow Secretary Clinton will travel to Paris for a meeting with our European allies and Arab partners about the enforcement of Resolution 1973.</p> <p>...the United States has worked with our allies and partners to shape a strong international response to the crisis. We have directed Secretary Gates and our military to coordinate their planning, and tomorrow Secretary Clinton will travel to Paris for a meeting with our European allies and Arab partners about the enforcement of Resolution 1973.</p>	<p>The United States is now going to deploy ground troops into Libya. ...well-defined goal -- specifically, the protection of civilians in Libya.</p>	<p>The United States is now going to deploy ground troops into Libya. ...well-defined goal -- specifically, the protection of civilians in Libya.</p>	<p>Now that conflict has come, the only way to limit its impact is to win. We will not be a bystander to the chaos and the suffering that will befall the people of Libya. We will accept no outcome but a victory.</p>
<p>G. W. Bush - Iraq</p>	<p>to face his people ... We are confident that the American people will stand with us in this moment of crisis.</p>	<p>More than 35 countries are providing crucial support</p>	<p>...striking a decisive blow against the terrorist network that has taken root in Iraq. ...well-defined goal -- specifically, the protection of civilians in Libya.</p>	<p>The United States is now going to deploy ground troops into Libya. ...well-defined goal -- specifically, the protection of civilians in Libya.</p>	<p>Now that conflict has come, the only way to limit its impact is to win. We will not be a bystander to the chaos and the suffering that will befall the people of Libya. We will accept no outcome but a victory.</p>
<p>G. W. Bush – Afghanistan</p>	<p>democratic values of Afghanistan are a terrorist base of operations. ... We will make it more difficult for the terror network to run new recruits and coordinate their evil plans.</p>	<p>carefully targeted actions ... We are joined by Great Britain, Canada, Australia, Germany and France... more than 40 countries in the Middle East, Africa, Europe and across Asia have joined our coalition in leading this effort.</p>	<p>carefully targeted actions ... We are joined by Great Britain, Canada, Australia, Germany and France... more than 40 countries in the Middle East, Africa, Europe and across Asia have joined our coalition in leading this effort.</p>	<p>...well-defined goal -- specifically, the protection of civilians in Libya.</p>	<p>...will win this conflict by the patient accumulation of successes.</p>
<p>Clinton - Kosovo</p>	<p>We act to protect thousands of innocent people in Kosovo from a mounting military offensive. We act to prevent a wider war. We act to stand united with our allies for peace.</p>	<p>we and our 18 NATO allies ... We are joined by Great Britain, Canada, Australia, Germany and France... more than 40 countries in the Middle East, Africa, Europe and across Asia have joined our coalition in leading this effort.</p>	<p>Kosovo's targeted people peacefully together rights back ... they've started moving from village to village, stealing civilians and robbing their homes. We've seen innocent people taken from their homes, forced to travel in the dark and sprayed with bullets. Kosovo remains in a cold blood. It is an attack by tanks and artillery on a largely defenseless people, whose leaders already have agreed to peace.</p>	<p>Over the last few months, we have done everything we possibly could to solve this problem peacefully. Mr. Milosevic has refused.</p>	<p>...will win this conflict by the patient accumulation of successes.</p>
<p>Clinton – Iraq</p>	<p>Their purpose is to protect the national interests of the United States, and indeed the interests of people throughout the Middle East and around the world.</p>	<p>I have declared, with the unanimous recommendation of my national security team, the unanimous recommendation of my national security team.</p>	<p>forces to strike military and security targets in Iraq ... They are designed to degrade Saddam's capacity to develop and deliver weapons of mass destruction, and to degrade his ability to threaten his neighbors.</p>	<p>The international community gave Saddam no real chance to resume cooperation with the weapons inspectors. Saddam has refused to seize the chance. And so we had to act and act now.</p>	<p>the vast majority of our troops will come home, in months, not years</p>
<p>Clinton - Haiti</p>	<p>Now the United States must... stop the brutal atrocities that threaten tens of thousands of innocent lives and promote democracy. And we have a responsibility to act.</p>	<p>it's my job as President and Commander in Chief ... I signed these orders after giving full consideration to what is at stake. The United Nations Security Council approved a resolution that underscores the use of all necessary means.</p>	<p>CE' dem... launched a horrible intimidation campaign of rape, torture, and other atrocities against the people of Haiti. ... well-defined goal -- specifically, the protection of civilians in Libya.</p>	<p>...for 3 years, we and other nations have worked exhaustively to find a diplomatic solution, only to have the decisions reject the international community and the United States has sought a confrontation.</p>	<p>our operations are proceeding according to plan ... well-defined goal -- specifically, the protection of civilians in Libya.</p>
<p>H. W. Bush – Iraq</p>	<p>We are determined to knock out Saddam Hussein's nuclear bomb potential. We will be decisive, just, and firm. Our goal is not the conquest of Iraq. It is the liberation of Kuwait.</p>	<p>This military action, taken in accord with United Nations resolutions and with the consent of the United States Congress ... The United States, together with the United Nations</p>	<p>...attack on military targets in Iraq and Kuwait. ... well-defined goal -- specifically, the protection of civilians in Libya.</p>	<p>months of constant and virtually endless diplomatic activity... only to conclude that Saddam Hussein was unwilling to leave the 36 countries with forces in the Gulf area have exhausted all reasonable efforts to reach a peaceful resolution—have no choice but to drive Saddam from Kuwait by force.</p>	<p>We will not fail. ... well-defined goal -- specifically, the protection of civilians in Libya.</p>
<p>H. W. Bush – Panama</p>	<p>The goals of the United States have been to safeguard the lives of our citizens and to protect the integrity of the Panama Canal Treaty. ...our armed force to protect the lives of American citizens in Panama, the lives of American citizens were in grave danger.</p>	<p>United States, nations of Latin America and the Caribbean have worked together to resolve the crisis in Panama.</p>	<p>Tragically, some Americans have lost their lives in defense of their fellow citizens in defense of democracy.</p>	<p>Many attempts have been made to resolve this crisis through diplomatic means. ... well-defined goal -- specifically, the protection of civilians in Libya.</p>	<p>Key military objectives have been achieved. Most organized resistance has been eliminated.</p>

Based on the previously synthesized tables, it was possible to establish a more condensed overview of representation of researched codes. Tables c) and d) contain findings encountered by analysing the 8 selected pieces of war rhetoric in numerical form. For sake of clarity, findings have been further simplified by removing the category level and replacing the non-saturated subcategories with 0, as well as by removing the category “residual.”

Table c) Imagery production	H. Bush - Panama	H. Bush - Iraq	Clinton - Haiti	Clinton - Iraq	Clinton - Kosovo	W. Bush - Afghanistan	W. Bush - Iraq	Obama - Libya
A) Image of proximity	2	5	1	4	6	1	1	2
B) Image of Us vs. Them	0	0	1	0	0	3	0	0
C) Image of fear and terror	1	1	1	2	0	0	0	0
D) Image of Angels and Demons	4	7	4	3	6	3	3	3

Table d) Just war criteria	H. Bush - Panama	H. Bush - Iraq	Clinton - Haiti	Clinton - Iraq	Clinton - Kosovo	W. Bush - Afghanistan	W. Bush - Iraq	Obama - Libya
1) Just cause and right intent	3	3	2	3	4	5	2	4
2) Competent authority	1	3	5	2	1	3	1	7
3) Proportionality	1	3	1	2	3	2	1	1
4) Last resort	2	5	3	1	1	1	0	1
5) Probability of success	1	3	1	0	0	1	1	0

Upon brief observation, it is possible to notice discrepancies and patterns, which will be addressed in the section which follows.

8. 10 Interpretation of Results and Resolution of Research Questions

The following section will interpret the results stemming from the analysis. This will be best done by tackling the research questions, as they each represent an important aspect of the research puzzle, while introducing visual representations of respective findings.

RQ 1. To what extent do American presidencies operate the frame of just war theory in war-legitimizing addresses?

According to the analysis, frame of just war theory is identifiable in all observed speeches. Out of 8 cases examined, all of the Presidents used at least 4 out of 5 linguistic figures, which match the criteria for war to be considered just. This can be easiest displayed through a simple binary table, where green colour represents the presence and red colour the absence of used criterion.

Just War Criteria	H. Bush - Panama	H. Bush - Iraq	Clinton - Haiti	Clinton - Iraq	Clinton - Kosovo	W. Bush - Afghanistan	W. Bush - Iraq	Obama - Libya
1) Just cause and right intent	Green	Green	Green	Green	Green	Green	Green	Green
2) Competent authority	Green	Green	Green	Green	Green	Green	Green	Green
3) Proportionality	Green	Green	Green	Green	Green	Green	Green	Green
4) Last resort	Green	Green	Green	Green	Green	Green	Red	Green
5) Probability of success	Green	Green	Green	Red	Red	Green	Green	Red

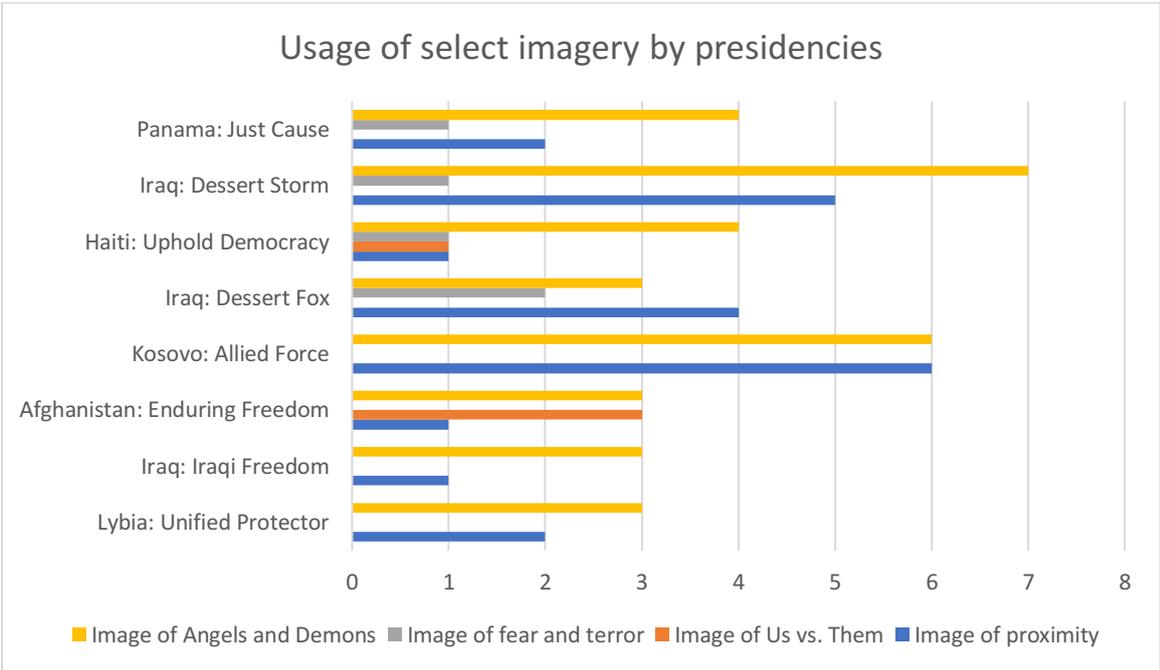
If we take into consideration coarse sum of examined addresses, one half of these fulfilled 5 out of 5 and the other 4 out of 5 criteria. Just cause has been present in all cases. Same goes for criteria of Competent authority and Proportionality. All but one case met the criterion of Last resort. The most absent was declaration of Probability of success, which was not addressed in 3 out of 8 studied addresses. Therefore, it is possible to claim, that just war theory is a consistently used war-legitimizing frame.

Taking the previous research of literature into account, the prominent justification via just war theory could be attributed to the necessity to legitimate conflicts in a manner, which is appealing to the American public. The public would conceive it necessary to for the military engagement to be just, while presidencies would reflect the need stemming from socio-cultural reality, in which citizens value noble causes, which also stipulate moral obligation for intervention. From another point of view, this would be a reflection of deeply ingrained ideational system, which members of American administrations and presidents are both part of and nourish as a mean of value-based nation building. Given the ongoing discussion on universality of human rights, it is important to note

the possible discrepancy between advertised reasons for war, and the actual foreign policy aims, which the U. S. presidencies pursue. This premise is however speculative and would take on a different form of research. By the content of rhetoric, it is possible to surmise, that American presidencies use just war theory as a legitimating mechanism in all examined cases.

RQ 2. Which images do American Presidents invoke in their war rhetoric?

American Presidents use variety of types of rhetorical figures. The executed Qualitative Content Analysis, constrained by pre-defined categories, has shown, that out of the 4 categories of imagery only two were used by all presidencies – Image of proximity and Image of Angels and Demons. The least used was the Image of Us vs. Them, followed by Image of Fear and Terror, as can be seen in following chart.

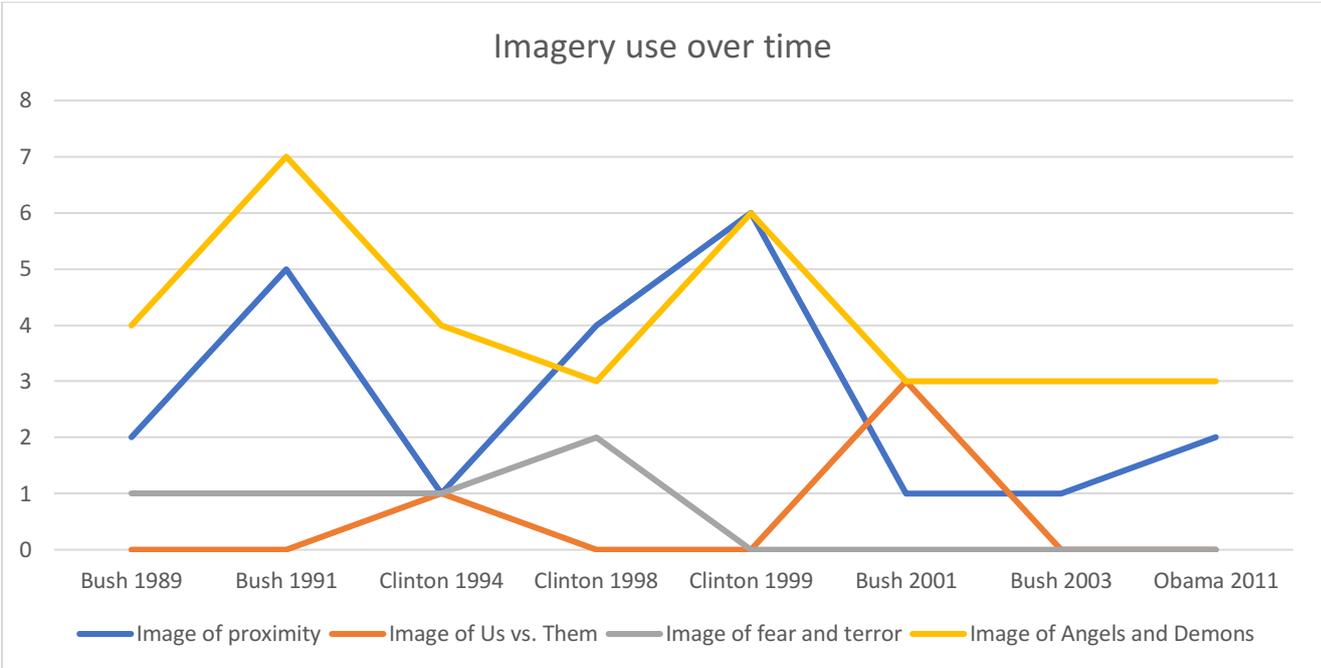


The most prominent employment of the image labelled as Angels and Demons can be attributed to the aim of demonizing the enemy, as correctly depicted adversary is less likely to gain sympathy of the public, and on the opposite, by naming his many crimes, the public is more supportive of punitive action against the latter. Quite commonly employed technique throughout the examined addresses was separation of the enemy public from the enemy elites or regime. This fact would stipulate reluctance of American presidencies to portray the conflict as a total one, a conflict of nation against nation. Such effort might be attributed to fore-mentioned idea of universality of human rights, which the United States champion in post-Cold War environment. In this image, the United States are liberating the peoples oppressed by their vile regimes, so they too can enjoy the goodness of universal human rights. In this sense, there is a relation to the lack of Us vs. Them image use – in their rhetoric, the presidencies do not wish to stigmatize a whole group of people based on their origin, ethnicity or faith. Given a fact, that the United States are demographically diverse, and people of various origins, who might still feel a sentiment towards country of their ancestry, this seems to be both morally right approach. Also, it is good to note, that these people constitute electorate, therefore the approach can be deemed rational as well.

When it comes to Image of proximity, the second most prominently used image, it can be assumed, that its usage serves a mobilizing purpose – by creating the feeling of imminent danger, presidencies are gaining strong mandate to deal with the threat. Presidents naturally use wider range of imageries, figures, and techniques, such as appeals to membership of international community or leadership of the free world.

RQ 3. How did the use of imageries in call-to-arms addresses develop between 1989 and 2011?

The Qualitative Content Analysis did not identify any recognizable pattern, when it comes to development of use of selected imageries over the examined time period. The lack of significant findings can also be attributed to lower amount of entry data. One anomaly has been identified, relating to G. W. Bush’s speech on invasion of Afghanistan. In the address, President Bush operates three times with the imagery category “Us vs. Them”, which is unprecedented in terms of this research. Then again, this rhetorical figure is not used often at all and apart from the Bush speech it has only been used once, during Clinton’s address on Haiti.

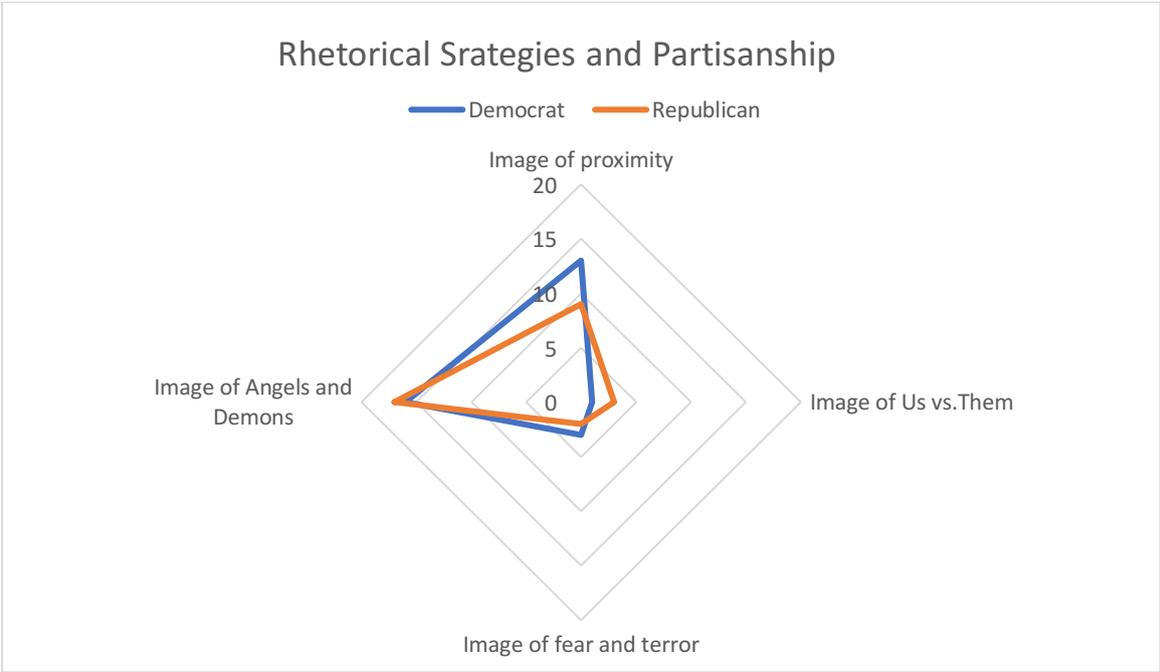


In the period under examination, there has been a stable use of Image of proximity and Image of Angels and Demons. These recurring themes can be attributed to a common function of the rhetoric, which is to persuade the public of necessity of action, either by creating the feeling of imminence, or by demonizing the enemy. Previous research (Chapter 2.) has shown, that these themes are almost perpetual throughout history, and have been used in many of examined war rhetoric since Pope Urban’s call for the First Crusade. If we are to address the peak of Us vs. Them use by Bush in 2001, contextually, the most obvious link would seem to be the post 9/11 shock, which, resulted in War on Terror. Taliban’s harbouring of Al-Kaida, the most communicated reason for invading Afghanistan, would make the whole country, or at least those, who believe in radical, anti-American Islam, to be associated with the biblically portrayed evil doers. Also, Bush employed a very polarizing notion, which stipulated,

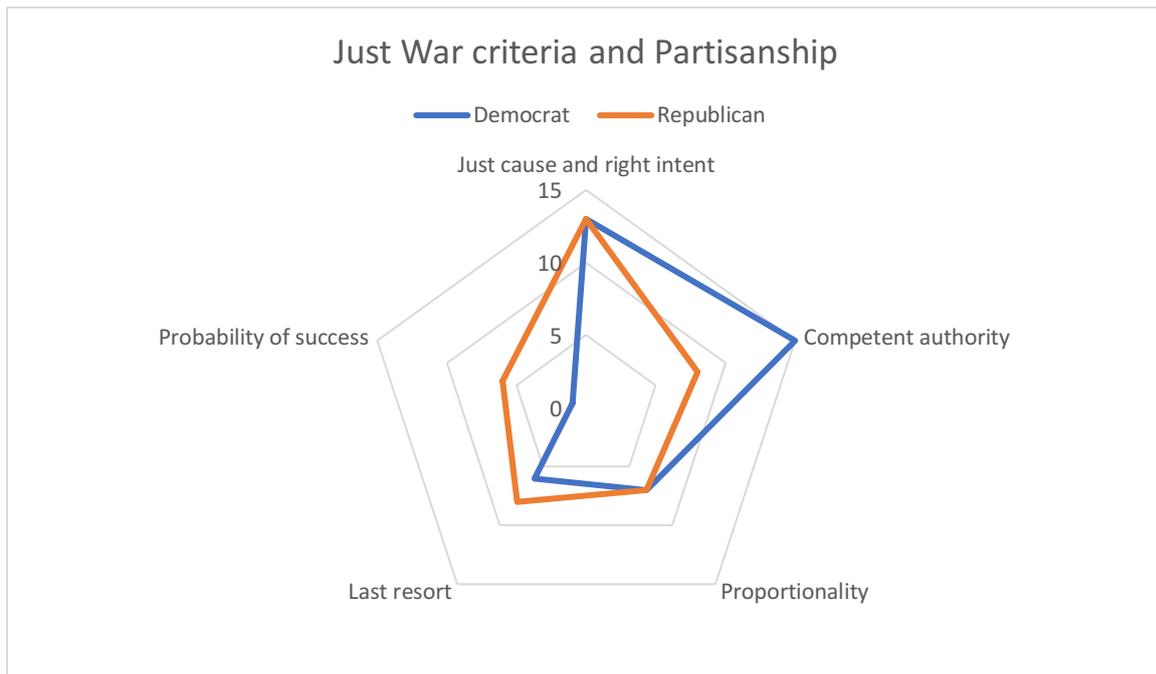
that who is not fighting alongside the U. S., is supporting the enemy, a claim unprecedented at least in terms of this research. In sum, the peak might be associated by the special historical circumstance, and the need to rhetorically address it in the eyes of the public.

RQ 4. How does partisanship reflect on presidential justification of war?

Upon examining the results of analysis, no dominant pattern of imagery usage has been found in relation to partisanship. Even though Democratic Presidents had a tendency to be using the Image of proximity more than Republican ones, this is attributable to context of the conflicts their war rhetoric related to. In Clinton’s address on Kosovo, on 6 occasions Image of proximity was invoked. References to First and Second World Wars have been made, due to geographical positioning of Yugoslavia, as well as historical parallel with outbreak of the First World War. Naturally, exploitation of the context to garner support for military involvement was at hand, and exploited it was.



More interesting results came out of the examination of just war framework usage in terms of partisanship. While the categories of Just cause, Proportionality and Last resort were used in either similar, or a very comparable manner, the remaining two, that is Probability of success and Competent authority shed a light on different argumentative manners in war rhetoric of respective parties.



Democratic Presidents dominantly used the criterion of Competent authority. They were more often invoking the theme of internationalism, as in cooperation through international institutions, typically the U. N., as well as rather statist claims of administration’s competence. Prominently the Democrats were portraying the United States as a member of the international system, while referring to multilateral endeavour as a mean of legitimization of the conflict. This theme was present also in Republican addresses, but rather than accentuating the role of institutions of global governance, they were calling upon specific cooperation, such as NATO, or specific partnership, as in Great Britain. If we take this into account, we could assume, that Democratic presidents are more committed towards global governance, or at least are using the concept to shield military involvements of their administrations throughout examined pieces of rhetoric.

On the opposite side, Republican presidencies were more prone to highlight self-sustainability of the United States, and ability to conduct action with only help of their close allies, needless of broad international approval. This image would fit in the stereotype discussed earlier, that is certain hawkishness associated with Republican administrations. From it stems the reassurance of success of the United States through deployment of Probability of success formulations.

Effectively, another thorough analysis was made, without focusing on categories specified in Qualitative Content Analysis, which has been carried out in this work. There were several findings. Democratic presidential candidates were more often Democrats also more often assumed leadership position inside of international system, than Republicans. Adding to that, Democratic Presidents, especially Clinton, went into much more colourful detail, when describing atrocities by the enemy. Apart from that, Democratic Presidents had tendency to invoke more often the “national interest” more often, as opposed to zero times “national interest” mentioned by republican Presidents. Republican Presidents were, on the other hand, dedicated larger portion of their speeches to address and praise the military.

However, whether this is reflection of partisanship, or rather individual presidential is impossible to assume from dataset used in this work. The examined specimen would have to span over more than just 5 presidencies.

Upon interpreting results and providing answers to research questions, it is finally possible to proceed to verifying the supportive hypotheses.

Hypothesis 1. American presidencies use just war theory framing consistently and it is a bearing justifying frame.

True – American presidencies used categories of just war theory in every speech. Even though other justifying frames were identifiable, e. g. responsibility to act.

Hypothesis 2. In call-to-arms addresses, American presidencies use every linguistic resource available to legitimize war.

False – only two presidencies used all the categories of imageries defined in the analysis.

Hypothesis 3. The use of imageries by American presidencies transformed post 9/11.

False – the analysis did not discover a clear pattern, just one anomaly in relation to G. W. Bush Afghanistan Address has been noted, while the imagery use receded again in following addresses. The anomaly could be attributed to specific historical context of the conflict discussed.

Hypothesis 4. Presidential war rhetoric reflects partisanship – Democratic Presidents accentuate different symbolisms than Republican ones.

Inconclusive. Even though differences between figures used in war rhetoric have been notified, whether they are reflection of partisanship, or rather individual presidential characteristics we do not know. On the other hand, prevalence of Probability of success in Republican and Competent authority in Democratic addresses has been rather obvious, when it comes to use of just war framework. This, however, was not the case of used imageries, where the partisan differences have not been noted.

9. Conclusion

9.1 Fulfillment of Aims of Research

The thesis aimed at exploring the methods of persuasion American presidencies use in their war affirmative speech acts, referred to mostly as war rhetoric. In the center of this endeavour was author's desire to gain insight on the puzzle, which linguistic and rhetorical methods American presidencies use in public addresses. The importance of answering this question is related to undisputable relation of effect of rhetoric on public opinion. It could help to explain, what are the employed linguistic methods that make the American public, which regards

war to be a negative practice, on so many occasions embraces war as a viable option to advance policy. The core assumption was, that American presidencies use persuasive linguistic instruments in order to convince public of legitimacy of military involvement. This has been established already during research of both theory and practice of presidential war rhetoric.

Furthermore, to validate this assumption and deepen the knowledge of named processes, a set of four research questions has been induced, along with related hypotheses. By analytically examining textual data in form of transcripts of presidential war affirmative addresses using methods of Qualitative Content (QCA), while being inspired by Critical Discourse Analyses, the research questions and hypotheses have been addressed and resolved.

The thesis thus provided insight on mechanism American presidencies use to persuade public of war's legitimacy. It has been established, invoking just war theory is being used consistently as a legitimating frame by all presidencies. The speech acts also employ a range of figures and analogies, which induce convincing imageries.

However, use of these figures was not consistent in examined data set, and their use differed. This inconsistency could be related to both context of respective military involvement or individual linguistic preference of speaker. Furthermore, the thesis explored transformation of imagery use between 1989 and 2011 under assumption, that 9/11 attacks were a gamechanger. The QCA however did not recognize a clear pattern, only an anomaly in terms of using the Us vs. Them imagery. Also, no clear time-related pattern of change has been recognized in other cases, apart from consistency in proximization of threat and demonizing the enemy, a theme recurring throughout history beyond the examined period. The anomaly, as it was suggested, could have been attributed to a specificity of War on Terror rhetoric, stemming from a shocking attack on American soil and a globalized enemy, who was at first difficult to identify.

The effect of partisanship on content of war rhetoric has been found conclusive in terms of just war framework usage. Where Democratic presidencies tended to refer to institutions of global governance and open multilateralism, Republicans were advocating self-sufficiency and limited partnerships dominated by the United States.

Very importantly, a prominence of just war framework usage as such has been identified throughout all the analysed pieces of war rhetoric. Every single address saturated at least 4 out of 5, some on multiple occasions, while half of the examined addresses saturated all categories. It is therefore possible to conclude, that the framework is deeply embedded in process of legitimation of war through speech by American presidencies regardless of party in the period examined.

As such, the work has successfully addressed all the research questions, which together provided a conclusive answer to the research puzzle.

9. 2 Opportunities for Future Research

The scope of research of a master's thesis is naturally limited by its properties. Due to these limitations, some answers were found in a satisfactory way. It would be beneficial to expand the set of data examined and in

effect This would allow for more precise conclusions on use of presidential war rhetoric, employment of imageries and role of partisanship in production of presidential discourse.

Research of war rhetoric is most prominent in English-speaking environment, which necessarily flattens the range of possible findings. It would be therefore both viable and interesting to advance this research in different linguistic environments. The ability to compare could provide valuable insight into values, norms, figures and imageries respective communities are responsive to.

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11. Appendix: Presidential Addresses

Presidential War Addresses, ordered chronologically

11. 1 George H. W. Bush – Panama: Just Cause

Address to the Nation Announcing United States Military Action in Panama December 20, 1989

Fellow citizens, last night I ordered U.S. military forces to Panama. No President takes such action lightly. This morning, I want to tell you what I did and why I did it. For nearly two years, the United States, nations of Latin America and the Caribbean have worked together to resolve the crisis in Panama. The goals of the United States have been to safeguard the lives of Americans, to defend democracy in Panama, to combat drug trafficking and to protect the integrity of the Panama Canal Treaty. Many attempts have been made to resolve this crisis through diplomacy and negotiations. All were rejected by the dictator of Panama, Gen. Manuel Noriega, an indicted drug trafficker. Last Friday, Noriega declared his military dictatorship to be in a state of war with the United States and publicly threatened the lives of Americans in Panama. The very next day forces under his command shot and killed an unarmed American serviceman, wounded another, arrested and brutally beat a third American serviceman and then brutally interrogated his wife, threatening her with sexual abuse. That was enough. General Noriega's reckless threats and attacks upon Americans in Panama created an eminent danger to the 35,000 American citizens in Panama. As President, I have no higher obligation than to safeguard the lives of American citizens. And that is why I directed our armed force to protect the lives of American citizens in Panama, and to bring General Noriega to justice in the United States. I contacted the bipartisan leadership of Congress last night and informed them of this decision, and after taking this action, I also talked with leaders in Latin America, the Caribbean, and those of other U.S. allies. Lifting of U.S. Sanctions. At this moment, U.S. forces, including forces deployed from the United States last night, are engaged in action in Panama. The United States intends to withdraw the forces newly deployed to Panama as quickly as possible. All forces have conducted themselves courageously and selflessly, and as Commander in Chief, I salute everyone of them and thank them on behalf of our country. Tragically, some Americans have lost their lives in defense of their fellow citizens, in defense of democracy, and my heart goes out to their families. We also regret and mourn the loss of innocent Panamanians. The brave Panamanians elected by the people of Panama in the elections last May, President Guillermo Endara and Vice Presidents Calderon and Ford have assumed the rightful leadership of their country. You remember those horrible pictures of newly-elected Vice President Ford covered head to toe with blood, beaten mercilessly by so-called dignity battalions. Well, the United States today recognizes the democratically elected Government of President Endara. I will send our Ambassador back to Panama immediately. Key military objectives have been achieved. Most organized resistance has been eliminated. But the operation is not over yet. General Noriega is in hiding. And nevertheless, yesterday, a dictator ruled Panama, and today, constitutionally-elected govern - elected leaders govern. I have today directed the Secretary of the Treasury and the Secretary of State to lift the economic sanctions with respect to the democratically elected Government of Panama, and in cooperation with that Government, to take steps to effect an orderly unblocking of Panamanian Government assets in the United States. Reasons for Military Action I am fully committed to implement the Panama Canal Treaties and turn over the Canal to Panama in the year 2000. The actions we have taken and the cooperation of a new democratic Government in Panama will permit us to honor these commitments. As soon as the new Government recommends a qualified candidate, Panamanian, to be administrator of the canal, as called for in the treaties, I will submit this nominee to the Senate for expedited consideration. I am committed to strengthening our relationship with the democratic nations in this hemisphere. I will continue to seek solutions to the problems of this region through dialogue and multilateral diplomacy. I took this action only after reaching the conclusion that every other avenue was closed and the lives of American citizens were in grave danger. I hope that the people of Panama will put this dark chapter of dictatorship behind them and move forward together as citizens of a democratic Panama with this Government that they themselves have elected. The United States is eager to work with the Panamanian people in partnership and friendship to rebuild their economy. The Panamanian people want democracy, peace, and the chance for a better life in dignity and freedom. The people of the United States seek only to support them in pursuit of these noble goals. Thank you very much. (Bush H. 1989)

11. 2 George H. W. Bush – Iraq: Dessert Storm

Address to the Nation Announcing Allied Military Action in the Persian Gulf January 16, 1991

Just 2 hours ago, allied air forces began an attack on military targets in Iraq and Kuwait. These attacks continue as I speak. Ground forces are not engaged. This conflict started August 2d when the dictator of Iraq invaded a small and helpless neighbor. Kuwait—a member of the Arab League and a member of the United Nations—was crushed; its people, brutalized. Five months ago, Saddam Hussein started this cruel war against Kuwait. Tonight,

the battle has been joined. This military action, taken in accord with United Nations resolutions and with the consent of the United States Congress, follows months of constant and virtually endless diplomatic activity on the part of the United Nations, the United States, and many, many other countries. Arab leaders sought what became known as an Arab solution, only to conclude that Saddam Hussein was unwilling to leave Kuwait. Others traveled to Baghdad in a variety of efforts to restore peace and justice. Our Secretary of State, James Baker, held an historic meeting in Geneva, only to be totally rebuffed. This past weekend, in a last-ditch effort, the Secretary-General of the United Nations went to the Middle East with peace in his heart—his second such mission. And he came back from Baghdad with no progress at all in getting Saddam Hussein to withdraw from Kuwait. Now the 28 countries with forces in the Gulf area have exhausted all reasonable efforts to reach a peaceful resolution—have no choice but to drive Saddam from Kuwait by force. We will not fail. As I report to you, air attacks are underway against military targets in Iraq. We are determined to knock out Saddam Hussein's nuclear bomb potential. We will also destroy his chemical weapons facilities. Much of Saddam's artillery and tanks will be destroyed. Our operations are designed to best protect the lives of all the coalition forces by targeting Saddam's vast military arsenal. Initial reports from General Schwarzkopf are that our operations are proceeding according to plan. Our objectives are clear: Saddam Hussein's forces will leave Kuwait. The legitimate government of Kuwait will be restored to its rightful place, and Kuwait will once again be free. Iraq will eventually comply with all relevant United Nations resolutions, and then, when peace is restored, it is our hope that Iraq will live as a peaceful and cooperative member of the family of nations, thus enhancing the security and stability of the Gulf. Some may ask: Why act now? Why not wait? The answer is clear: The world could wait no longer. Sanctions, though having some effect, showed no signs of accomplishing their objective. Sanctions were tried for well over 5 months, and we and our allies concluded that sanctions alone would not force Saddam from Kuwait. While the world waited, Saddam Hussein systematically raped, pillaged, and plundered a tiny nation, no threat to his own. He subjected the people of Kuwait to unspeakable atrocities—and among those maimed and murdered, innocent children. While the world waited, Saddam sought to add to the chemical weapons arsenal he now possesses, an infinitely more dangerous weapon of mass destruction—a nuclear weapon. And while the world waited, while the world talked peace and withdrawal, Saddam Hussein dug in and moved massive forces into Kuwait. While the world waited, while Saddam stalled, more damage was being done to the fragile economies of the Third World, emerging democracies of Eastern Europe, to the entire world, including to our own economy. The United States, together with the United Nations, exhausted every means at our disposal to bring this crisis to a peaceful end. However, Saddam clearly felt that by stalling and threatening and defying the United Nations, he could weaken the forces arrayed against him. While the world waited, Saddam Hussein met every overture of peace with open contempt. While the world prayed for peace, Saddam prepared for war. I had hoped that when the United States Congress, in historic debate, took its resolute action, Saddam would realize he could not prevail and would move out of Kuwait in accord with the United Nations resolutions. He did not do that. Instead, he remained intransigent, certain that time was on his side. Saddam was warned over and over again to comply with the will of the United Nations: Leave Kuwait, or be driven out. Saddam has arrogantly rejected all warnings. Instead, he tried to make this a dispute between Iraq and the United States of America. Well, he failed. Tonight, 28 nations—countries from 5 continents, Europe and Asia, Africa, and the Arab League—have forces in the Gulf area standing shoulder to shoulder against Saddam Hussein. These countries had hoped the use of force could be avoided. Regrettably, we now believe that only force will make him leave. Prior to ordering our forces into battle, I instructed our military commanders to take every necessary step to prevail as quickly as possible, and with the greatest degree of protection possible for American and allied service men and women. I've told the American people before that this will not be another Vietnam, and I repeat this here tonight. Our troops will have the best possible support in the entire world, and they will not be asked to fight with one hand tied behind their back. I'm hopeful that this fighting will not go on for long and that casualties will be held to an absolute minimum. This is an historic moment. We have in this past year made great progress in ending the long era of conflict and cold war. We have before us the opportunity to forge for ourselves and for future generations a new world order—a world where the rule of law, not the law of the jungle, governs the conduct of nations. When we are successful—and we will be—we have a real chance at this new world order, an order in which a credible United Nations can use its peacekeeping role to fulfill the promise and vision of the U.N.'s founders. We have no argument with the people of Iraq. Indeed, for the innocents caught in this conflict, I pray for their safety. Our goal is not the conquest of Iraq. It is the liberation of Kuwait. It is my hope that somehow the Iraqi people can, even now, convince their dictator that he must lay down his arms, leave Kuwait, and let Iraq itself rejoin the family of peace-loving nations. Thomas Paine wrote many years ago: "These are the times that try men's souls." Those well-known words are so very true today. But even as planes of the multinational forces attack Iraq, I prefer to think of peace, not war. I am convinced not only that we will prevail but that out of the horror of combat will come the recognition that no nation can stand against a world united, no nation will be permitted to brutally assault its neighbor. No President can easily commit our sons and daughters to war. They are the Nation's finest. Ours is an all-volunteer force, magnificently trained, highly motivated. The troops know why they're there. And listen to what they say, for they've said it better than any President or Prime Minister ever could. Listen to Hollywood Huddleston, Marine lance corporal. He says, "Let's free these people,

so we can go home and be free again.” And he’s right. The terrible crimes and tortures committed by Saddam’s henchmen against the innocent people of Kuwait are an affront to mankind and a challenge to the freedom of all. Listen to one of our great officers out there, Marine Lieutenant General Walter Boomer. He said: “There are things worth fighting for. A world in which brutality and lawlessness are allowed to go unchecked isn’t the kind of world we’re going to want to live in.” Listen to Master Sergeant J.P. Kendall of the 82d Airborne: “We’re here for more than just the price of a gallon of gas. What we’re doing is going to chart the future of the world for the next 100 years. It’s better to deal with this guy now than 5 years from now.” And finally, we should all sit up and listen to Jackie Jones, an Army lieutenant, when she says, “If we let him get away with this, who knows what’s going to be next?” I have called upon Hollywood and Walter and J.P. and Jackie and all their courageous comrades-in-arms to do what must be done. Tonight, America and the world are deeply grateful to them and to their families. And let me say to everyone listening or watching tonight: When the troops we’ve sent in finish their work, I am determined to bring them home as soon as possible. Tonight, as our forces fight, they and their families are in our prayers. May God bless each and every one of them, and the coalition forces at our side in the Gulf, and may He continue to bless our nation, the United States of America. (Bush H. 1991)

11. 3 William J. Clinton – Haiti: Uphold Democracy

Address to the Nation on Haiti September 15, 1994

My fellow Americans, tonight I want to speak with you about why the United States is leading the international effort to restore democratic government in Haiti. Haiti’s dictators, led by General Raoul Ce’ dras, control the most violent regime in our hemisphere. For 3 years, they have rejected every peaceful solution that the international community has proposed. They have broken an agreement that they made to give up power. They have brutalized their people and destroyed their economy. And for 3 years, we and other nations have worked exhaustively to find a diplomatic solution, only to have the dictators reject each one. Now the United States must protect our interests, to stop the brutal atrocities that threaten tens of thousands of Haitians, to secure our borders, and to preserve stability and promote democracy in our hemisphere and to uphold the reliability of the commitments we make and the commitments others make to us. Earlier today, I ordered Secretary of Defense Perry to call up the military reserve personnel necessary to support United States troops in any action we might undertake in Haiti. I have also ordered two aircraft carriers, the U.S.S. Eisenhower and the U.S.S. America into the region. I issued these orders after giving full consideration to what is at stake. The message of the United States to the Haitian dictators is clear: Your time is up. Leave now, or we will force you from power. I want the American people to understand the background of the situation in Haiti, how what has happened there affects our national security interests and why I believe we must act now. Nearly 200 years ago, the Haitian people rose up out of slavery and declared their independence. Unfortunately, the promise of liberty was quickly snuffed out, and ever since, Haiti has known more suffering and repression than freedom. In our time, as democracy has spread throughout our hemisphere, Haiti has been left behind. Then, just 4 years ago, the Haitian people held the first free and fair elections since their independence. They elected a parliament and a new President, Father Jean-Bertrand Aristide, a Catholic priest who received almost 70 percent of the vote. But 8 months later, Haitian dreams of democracy became a nightmare of bloodshed. General Raoul Ce’ dras led a military coup that overthrew President Aristide, the man who had appointed Ce’ dras to lead the army. Resisters were beaten and murdered. The dictators launched a horrible intimidation campaign of rape, torture, and mutilation. People starved; children died; thousands of Haitians fled their country, heading to the United States across dangerous seas. At that time, President Bush declared the situation posed, and I quote, “an unusual and extraordinary threat to the national security, foreign policy, and economy of the United States.” Ce’ dras and his armed thugs have conducted a reign of terror, executing children, raping women, killing priests. As the dictators have grown more desperate, the atrocities have grown ever more brutal. Recent news reports have documented the slaying of Haitian orphans by the nation’s deadly police thugs. The dictators are said to suspect the children of harboring sympathy toward President Aristide for no other reason than he ran an orphanage in his days as a parish priest. The children fled the orphanages for the streets. Now they can’t even sleep there because they’re so afraid. As one young boy told a visitor, “I do not care if the police kill me because it only brings an end to my suffering.” International observers uncovered a terrifying pattern of soldiers and policemen raping the wives and daughters of suspected political dissidents, young girls, 13, 16 years old; people slain and mutilated, with body parts left as warnings to terrify others; children forced to watch as their mothers’ faces are slashed with machetes. A year ago, the dictators assassinated the Minister of Justice. Just last month, they gunned down Father Jean-Marie Vincent, a peasant leader and close friend of Father Aristide. Vincent was executed on the doorstep of his home, a monastery. He refused to give up his ministry, and for that, he was murdered. Let me be clear: General Ce’ dras and his accomplices alone are responsible for this suffering and terrible human tragedy. It is their actions that have isolated Haiti. Neither the international community nor the United States has sought a confrontation. For nearly 3 years, we’ve worked hard on diplomatic efforts. The United Nations, the Organization of American States, the Caribbean community, the six Central American Presidents all have sought a peaceful end to this crisis. We have tried everything: persuasion and negotiation, mediation and

condemnation. Emissaries were dispatched to Port-au-Prince and were turned away. The United Nations labored for months to reach an agreement acceptable to all parties. Then last year, General Ce' dras himself came here to the United States and signed an agreement on Governors Island in New York in which he pledged to give up power, along with the other dictators. But when the day came for the plan to take effect, the dictators refused to leave and instead increased the brutality they are using to cling to power. Even then, the nations of the world continued to seek a peaceful solution while strengthening the embargo we had imposed. We sent massive amounts of humanitarian aid, food for a million Haitians and medicine to try to help the ordinary Haitian people, as the dictators continued to loot the economy. Then this summer, they threw out the international observers who had blown the whistle on the regime's human rights atrocities. In response to that action, in July the United Nations Security Council approved a resolution that authorizes the use of all necessary means, including force, to remove the Haitian dictators from power and restore democratic government. Still, we continued to seek a peaceful solution, but the dictators would not even meet with the United Nations Special Envoy. In the face of this continued defiance and with atrocities rising, the United States has agreed to lead a multinational force to carry out the will of the United Nations. More than 20 countries from around the globe, including almost all the Caribbean community and nations from as far away as Poland, which has so recently won its own freedom, Israel and Jordan, which have been struggling for decades to preserve their own security, and Bangladesh, a country working on its own economic problems, have joined nations like Belgium and Great Britain. They have all agreed to join us because they think this problem in our neighborhood is important to their future interests and their security. I know that the United States cannot, indeed we should not, be the world's policemen. And I know that this is a time with the cold war over that so many Americans are reluctant to commit military resources and our personnel beyond our borders. But when brutality occurs close to our shores, it affects our national interests. And we have a responsibility to act. Thousands of Haitians have already fled toward the United States, risking their lives to escape the reign of terror. As long as Ce' dras rules, Haitians will continue to seek sanctuary in our Nation. This year, in less than 2 months, more than 21,000 Haitians were rescued at sea by our Coast Guard and Navy. Today, more than 14,000 refugees are living at our naval base in Guantanamo. The American people have already expended almost \$200 million to support them, to maintain the economic embargo. And the prospect of millions and millions more being spent every month for an indefinite period of time loom ahead unless we act. Three hundred thousand more Haitians, 5 percent of their entire population, are in hiding in their own country. If we don't act, they could be the next wave of refugees at our door. We will continue to face the threat of a mass exodus of refugees and its constant threat to stability in our region and control of our borders. No American should be surprised that the recent tide of migrants seeking refuge on our shores comes from Haiti and from Cuba. After all, they're the only nations left in the Western Hemisphere where democratic government is denied, the only countries where dictators have managed to hold back the wave of democracy and progress that has swept over our entire region and that our own Government has so actively promoted and supported for years. Today, 33 of the 35 countries in the Americas have democratically elected leaders. And Haiti is the only nation in our hemisphere where the people actually elected their own government and chose democracy, only to have tyrants steal it away. There's no question that the Haitian people want to embrace democracy; we know it because they went to the ballot box and told the world. History has taught us that preserving democracy in our own hemisphere strengthens America's security and prosperity. Democracies here are more likely to keep the peace and to stabilize our region. They're more likely to create free markets and economic opportunity, and to become strong, reliable trading partners. And they're more likely to provide their own people with the opportunities that will encourage them to stay in their nation and to build their own futures. Restoring Haiti's democratic government will help lead to more stability and prosperity in our region, just as our actions in Panama and Grenada did. Beyond the human rights violations, the immigration problems, the importance of democracy, the United States also has strong interests in not letting dictators, especially in our own region, break their word to the United States and the United Nations. In the post-cold-war world, we will assure the security and prosperity of the United States with our military strength, our economic power, our constant efforts to promote peace and growth. But when our national security interests are threatened, we will use diplomacy when possible and force when necessary. In Haiti, we have a case in which the right is clear, in which the country in question is nearby, in which our own interests are plain, in which the mission is achievable and limited, and in which the nations of the world stand with us. We must act. Our mission in Haiti, as it was in Panama and Grenada, will be limited and specific. Our plan to remove the dictators will follow two phases. First, it will remove dictators from power and restore Haiti's legitimate, democratically elected government. We will train a civilian-controlled Haitian security force that will protect the people rather than repress them. During this period, police monitors from all around the world will work with the authorities to maximize basic security and civil order and minimize retribution. The Haitian people should know that we come in peace. And you, the American people, should know that our soldiers will not be involved in rebuilding Haiti or its economy. The international community, working together, must provide that economic, humanitarian, and technical assistance necessary to help the Haitians rebuild. When this first phase is completed, the vast majority of our troops will come home, in months, not years. I want our troops and their families to know that we'll bring them home just as soon as we possibly can. Then, in the second phase, a much smaller U.S. force will join forces

from other members of the United Nations. And their mission will leave Haiti after elections are held next year and a new Haitian government takes office in early 1996. Tonight I can announce that President Aristide has pledged to step down when his term ends, in accordance with the constitution he has sworn to uphold. He has committed himself to promote reconciliation among all Haitians and to set an historic example by peacefully transferring power to a duly elected successor. He knows, as we know, that when you start a democracy, the most important election is the second election. President Aristide has told me that he will consider his mission fulfilled not when he regains office but when he leaves office to the next democratically elected President of Haiti. He has pledged to honor the Haitian voters who put their faith in the ballot box. In closing, let me say that I know the American people are rightfully concerned whenever our soldiers are put at risk. Our volunteer military is the world's finest, and its leaders have worked hard to minimize risks to all our forces. But the risks are there, and we must be prepared for that. I assure you that no President makes decisions like this one without deep thought and prayer. But it's my job as President and Commander in Chief to take those actions that I believe will best protect our national security interests. Let me say again, the nations of the world have tried every possible way to restore Haiti's democratic government peacefully. The dictators have rejected every possible solution. The terror, the desperation, and the instability will not end until they leave. Once again, I urge them to do so. They can still move now and reduce the chaos and disorder, increase the security, the stability, and the safety in which this transfer back to democracy can occur. But if they do not leave now, the international community will act to honor our commitments; to give democracy a chance, not to guarantee it; to remove stubborn and cruel dictators, not to impose a future. I know many people believe that we shouldn't help the Haitian people recover their democracy and find their hard-won freedoms, that the Haitians should accept the violence and repression as their fate. But remember, the same was said of a people who more than 200 years ago took up arms against a tyrant whose forces occupied their land. But they were a stubborn bunch, a people who fought for their freedoms and appealed to all those who believed in democracy to help their cause. And their cries were answered, and a new nation was born, a nation that ever since has believed that the rights of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness should be denied to none. May God bless the people of the United States and the cause of freedom. Good night. (Clinton 1994)

11. 4 William J. Clinton – Iraq: Desert Fox

President's Statement on Iraq December 16, 1998

Good evening. Earlier today, I ordered America's armed forces to strike military and security targets in Iraq. They are joined by British forces. Their mission is to attack Iraq's nuclear, chemical and biological weapons programs and its military capacity to threaten its neighbors. Their purpose is to protect the national interest of the United States, and indeed the interests of people throughout the Middle East and around the world. Saddam Hussein must not be allowed to threaten his neighbors or the world with nuclear arms, poison gas or biological weapons. I want to explain why I have decided, with the unanimous recommendation of my national security team, to use force in Iraq; why we have acted now; and what we aim to accomplish. Six weeks ago, Saddam Hussein announced that he would no longer cooperate with the United Nations weapons inspectors called UNSCOM. They are highly professional experts from dozens of countries. Their job is to oversee the elimination of Iraq's capability to retain, create and use weapons of mass destruction, and to verify that Iraq does not attempt to rebuild that capability. The inspectors undertook this mission first 7.5 years ago at the end of the Gulf War when Iraq agreed to declare and destroy its arsenal as a condition of the ceasefire. The international community had good reason to set this requirement. Other countries possess weapons of mass destruction and ballistic missiles. With Saddam, there is one big difference: He has used them. Not once, but repeatedly. Unleashing chemical weapons against Iranian troops during a decade-long war. Not only against soldiers, but against civilians, firing Scud missiles at the citizens of Israel, Saudi Arabia, Bahrain and Iran. And not only against a foreign enemy, but even against his own people, gassing Kurdish civilians in Northern Iraq. The international community had little doubt then, and I have no doubt today, that left unchecked, Saddam Hussein will use these terrible weapons again. The United States has patiently worked to preserve UNSCOM as Iraq has sought to avoid its obligation to cooperate with the inspectors. On occasion, we've had to threaten military force, and Saddam has backed down. Faced with Saddam's latest act of defiance in late October, we built intensive diplomatic pressure on Iraq backed by overwhelming military force in the region. The UN Security Council voted 15 to zero to condemn Saddam's actions and to demand that he immediately come into compliance. Eight Arab nations -- Egypt, Syria, Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, Bahrain, Qatar, United Arab Emirates and Oman -- warned that Iraq alone would bear responsibility for the consequences of defying the UN. When Saddam still failed to comply, we prepared to act militarily. It was only then at the last possible moment that Iraq backed down. It pledged to the UN that it had made, and I quote, a clear and unconditional decision to resume cooperation with the weapons inspectors. I decided then to call off the attack with our airplanes already in the air because Saddam had given in to our demands. I concluded then that the right thing to do was to use restraint and give Saddam one last chance to prove his willingness to cooperate. I made it very clear at that time what unconditional cooperation meant, based on existing UN resolutions and Iraq's own commitments. And along with Prime Minister Blair of Great Britain, I made it equally clear that if Saddam failed

to cooperate fully, we would be prepared to act without delay, diplomacy or warning. Now over the past three weeks, the UN weapons inspectors have carried out their plan for testing Iraq's cooperation. The testing period ended this weekend, and last night, UNSCOM's chairman, Richard Butler, reported the results to UN Secretary-General Annan. The conclusions are stark, sobering and profoundly disturbing. In four out of the five categories set forth, Iraq has failed to cooperate. Indeed, it actually has placed new restrictions on the inspectors. Here are some of the particulars. Iraq repeatedly blocked UNSCOM from inspecting suspect sites. For example, it shut off access to the headquarters of its ruling party and said it will deny access to the party's other offices, even though UN resolutions make no exception for them and UNSCOM has inspected them in the past. Iraq repeatedly restricted UNSCOM's ability to obtain necessary evidence. For example, Iraq obstructed UNSCOM's effort to photograph bombs related to its chemical weapons program. It tried to stop an UNSCOM biological weapons team from videotaping a site and photocopying documents and prevented Iraqi personnel from answering UNSCOM's questions. Prior to the inspection of another site, Iraq actually emptied out the building, removing not just documents but even the furniture and the equipment. Iraq has failed to turn over virtually all the documents requested by the inspectors. Indeed, we know that Iraq ordered the destruction of weapons-related documents in anticipation of an UNSCOM inspection. So Iraq has abused its final chance. As the UNSCOM reports concludes, and again I quote, "Iraq's conduct ensured that no progress was able to be made in the fields of disarmament. "In light of this experience, and in the absence of full cooperation by Iraq, it must regrettably be recorded again that the commission is not able to conduct the work mandated to it by the Security Council with respect to Iraq's prohibited weapons program." In short, the inspectors are saying that even if they could stay in Iraq, their work would be a sham. Saddam's deception has defeated their effectiveness. Instead of the inspectors disarming Saddam, Saddam has disarmed the inspectors. This situation presents a clear and present danger to the stability of the Persian Gulf and the safety of people everywhere. The international community gave Saddam one last chance to resume cooperation with the weapons inspectors. Saddam has failed to seize the chance. And so we had to act and act now. Let me explain why. First, without a strong inspection system, Iraq would be free to retain and begin to rebuild its chemical, biological and nuclear weapons programs in months, not years. Second, if Saddam can cripple the weapons inspection system and get away with it, he would conclude that the international community -- led by the United States -- has simply lost its will. He will surmise that he has free rein to rebuild his arsenal of destruction, and someday -- make no mistake -- he will use it again as he has in the past. Third, in halting our air strikes in November, I gave Saddam a chance, not a license. If we turn our backs on his defiance, the credibility of U.S. power as a check against Saddam will be destroyed. We will not only have allowed Saddam to shatter the inspection system that controls his weapons of mass destruction program; we also will have fatally undercut the fear of force that stops Saddam from acting to gain domination in the region. That is why, on the unanimous recommendation of my national security team -- including the vice president, the secretary of defense, the chairman of the joint chiefs of staff, the secretary of state and the national security adviser -- I have ordered a strong, sustained series of air strikes against Iraq. They are designed to degrade Saddam's capacity to develop and deliver weapons of mass destruction, and to degrade his ability to threaten his neighbors. At the same time, we are delivering a powerful message to Saddam. If you act recklessly, you will pay a heavy price. We acted today because, in the judgment of my military advisers, a swift response would provide the most surprise and the least opportunity for Saddam to prepare. If we had delayed for even a matter of days from Chairman Butler's report, we would have given Saddam more time to disperse his forces and protect his weapons. Also, the Muslim holy month of Ramadan begins this weekend. For us to initiate military action during Ramadan would be profoundly offensive to the Muslim world and, therefore, would damage our relations with Arab countries and the progress we have made in the Middle East. That is something we wanted very much to avoid without giving Iraq's a month's head start to prepare for potential action against it. Finally, our allies, including Prime Minister Tony Blair of Great Britain, concurred that now is the time to strike. I hope Saddam will come into cooperation with the inspection system now and comply with the relevant UN Security Council resolutions. But we have to be prepared that he will not, and we must deal with the very real danger he poses. So we will pursue a long-term strategy to contain Iraq and its weapons of mass destruction and work toward the day when Iraq has a government worthy of its people. First, we must be prepared to use force again if Saddam takes threatening actions, such as trying to reconstitute his weapons of mass destruction or their delivery systems, threatening his neighbors, challenging allied aircraft over Iraq or moving against his own Kurdish citizens. The credible threat to use force, and when necessary, the actual use of force, is the surest way to contain Saddam's weapons of mass destruction program, curtail his aggression and prevent another Gulf War. Second, so long as Iraq remains out of compliance, we will work with the international community to maintain and enforce economic sanctions. Sanctions have cost Saddam more than \$120 billion -- resources that would have been used to rebuild his military. The sanctions system allows Iraq to sell oil for food, for medicine, for other humanitarian supplies for the Iraqi people. We have no quarrel with them. But without the sanctions, we would see the oil-for-food program become oil-for-tanks, resulting in a greater threat to Iraq's neighbors and less food for its people. The hard fact is that so long as Saddam remains in power, he threatens the well-being of his people, the peace of his region, the security of the world. The best way to end that threat once and for all is with a new Iraqi government -- a government ready to live in peace with its neighbors, a

government that respects the rights of its people. Bringing change in Baghdad will take time and effort. We will strengthen our engagement with the full range of Iraqi opposition forces and work with them effectively and prudently. The decision to use force is never cost-free. Whenever American forces are placed in harm's way, we risk the loss of life. And while our strikes are focused on Iraq's military capabilities, there will be unintended Iraqi casualties. Indeed, in the past, Saddam has intentionally placed Iraqi civilians in harm's way in a cynical bid to sway international opinion. We must be prepared for these realities. At the same time, Saddam should have absolutely no doubt if he lashes out at his neighbors, we will respond forcefully. Heavy as they are, the costs of action must be weighed against the price of inaction. If Saddam defies the world and we fail to respond, we will face a far greater threat in the future. Saddam will strike again at his neighbors. He will make war on his own people. And mark my words, he will develop weapons of mass destruction. He will deploy them, and he will use them. Because we're acting today, it is less likely that we will face these dangers in the future. Let me close by addressing one other issue. Saddam Hussein and the other enemies of peace may have thought that the serious debate currently before the House of Representatives would distract Americans or weaken our resolve to face him down. But once more, the United States has proven that although we are never eager to use force, when we must act in America's vital interests, we will do so. In the century we're leaving, America has often made the difference between chaos and community, fear and hope. Now, in the new century, we'll have a remarkable opportunity to shape a future more peaceful than the past, but only if we stand strong against the enemies of peace. Tonight, the United States is doing just that. May God bless and protect the brave men and women who are carrying out this vital mission and their families. And may God bless America. (Clinton 1998)

11.5 William J. Clinton – Kosovo: Allied Force

The President's Statement on Kosovo March 24, 1999

My fellow Americans, today our armed forces joined our NATO allies in airstrikes against Serbian forces responsible for the brutality in Kosovo. We have acted with resolve for several reasons. We act to protect thousands of innocent people in Kosovo from a mounting military offensive. We act to prevent a wider war, to defuse a powder keg at the heart of Europe, that has exploded twice before in this century with catastrophic results. We act to stand united with our allies for peace. By acting now, we are upholding our values, protecting our interests, and advancing the cause of peace. Tonight I want to speak with you about the tragedy in Kosovo and why it matters to America that we work with our allies to end it. First, let me explain what it is that we are responding to. Kosovo is a province of Serbia, in the middle of south eastern Europe and about 160 miles east of Italy. That's less than the distance between Washington and New York, and only about 70 miles north of Greece. Its people are mostly ethnic Albanian and mostly Muslim. In 1989 Serbia's leader Slobodan Milosevic, the same leader who started the wars in Bosnia and Croatia, and moved against Slovenia in the last decade, stripped Kosovo of the constitutional autonomy it's people enjoyed, thus denying them their right to speak their language, run their schools, shape their daily lives. For years, Kosovar's struggled peacefully to get their rights back. When President Milosevic sent his troops and police to crush them, the struggle grew violent. Last fall, our diplomacy, backed by the threat of force from our NATO alliance, stopped the fighting for awhile, and rescued tens of thousands of people from freezing and starvation in the hills where they had fled to save their lives. And last month, with our allies and Russia, we proposed a peace agreement to end the fighting for good. The Kosovar leaders signed that agreement last week. Even though it does not give them all they want, even though their people were still being savaged, they saw that a just peace is better than a long and unwinnable war. The Serbian leaders, on the other hand, refused even to discuss key elements of the peace agreement. As the Kosovars were saying yes to peace, Serbia stationed 40,000 troops in and around Kosovo in preparation for a major offensive and in clear violation of the commitments they had made. Now they've started moving from village to village, shelling civilians and torching their houses. We've seen innocent people taken from their homes, forced to kneel in the dirt and sprayed with bullets. Kosovar men dragged from their families, fathers and sons together, lined up, and shot in cold blood. This is not war in the traditional sense. It is an attack by tanks and artillery on a largely defenseless people, whose leaders already have agreed to peace. Ending this tragedy is a moral imperative. It is also important to America's national interests. Take a look at this map. Kosovo is a small place, but it sits on a major fault line between Europe, Asia, and the Middle East, at the meeting place of Islam and both the Western and Orthodox branches of Christianity. To the south are our allies, Greece and Turkey. To the north, our new democratic allies in Central Europe. And all around Kosovo, there are other small countries, struggling with their own economic and political challenges, countries that could be overthrown by a large new wave of refugees from Kosovo. All the ingredients for a major war are there. Ancient grievances, struggling democracies and in the center of it all, a dictator in Serbia who has done nothing since the Cold War ended, but start new wars and pour gasoline on the flames of ethnic and religious division. Sarajevo, the capital of neighboring Bosnia, is where World War I began. World War II and the Holocaust engulfed this region. In both wars Europe was slow to recognize the dangers, and the United States waited even longer to enter the conflicts. Just imagine if leaders back then had acted wisely and early enough, how many lives could have been saved? How many Americans would not have had to die? We learned some of the same lessons in Bosnia just a

few years ago. The world did not act early enough to stop that war either. And let's not forget what happened. Innocent people herded into concentration camps, children gunned down by snipers on their way to school, soccer fields and parks turned into cemeteries. A quarter of a million people killed, not because of anything they had done, but because of who they were. Two million Bosnians became refugees. This was genocide in the heart of Europe, not in 1945, but in 1995. Not in some grainy newsreel from our parents' and grandparents' time, but in our own time, testing our humanity and our resolve. At the time, many people believed nothing could be done to end the bloodshed in Bosnia. They said, "Well, that's just the way those people in the Balkans are." But when we and our allies joined with courageous Bosnians to stand up to the aggressors, we helped to end the war. We learned that in the Balkans, inaction in the face of brutality, simply invites brutality. But firmness can stop armies and save lives. We must apply that lesson in Kosovo, before what happened in Bosnia, happens there, too. Over the last few months, we have done everything we possibly could to solve this problem peacefully. Secretary Albright has worked tirelessly for a negotiated agreement. Mr. Milosevic has refused. On Sunday, I sent Ambassador Dick Holbrooke to Serbia to make clear to him again on behalf of the United States and our NATO allies that he must honor his own commitments and stop his repression or face military action. Again, he refused. Today, we and our 18 NATO allies agreed to do what we said we would do, what we must do to restore the peace. Our mission is clear -- to demonstrate the seriousness of NATO's purpose so that the Serbian leaders understand the imperative of reversing course, to deter an even bloodier offensive against innocent civilians in Kosovo and, if necessary, to seriously damage the Serbian military's capacity to harm the people of Kosovo. In short, if President Milosevic will not make peace, we will limit his ability to make war. Now I want to be clear with you, there are risks in this military action -- risk to our pilots and the people on the ground. Serbia's air defenses are strong. It could decide to intensify its assault on Kosovo, or to seek to harm us or our allies elsewhere. If it does, we will deliver a forceful response. Hopefully, Mr. Milosevic will realize his present course is self-destructive and unsustainable. If he decides to accept the peace agreement and demilitarize Kosovo, NATO has agreed to help to implement it with a peacekeeping force. If NATO's invited to do so, our troops should take part in that mission to keep the peace, but I do not intend to put our troops in Kosovo to fight a war. Do our interests in Kosovo justify the dangers to our armed forces? I thought long and hard about that question. I am convinced that the dangers of acting are far outweighed by the dangers of not acting -- dangerous to defenseless people and to our national interests. If we and our allies were to allow this war to continue with no response, President Milosevic would read our hesitation as a license to kill. There would be many massacres, tens of thousands refugees, victims crying out for revenge. Right now, our firmness is the only hope the people of Kosovo have to be able to live in their own country, without having to fear for their own lives. Remember, we asked them to accept peace and they did. We asked them to promise to lay down their arms and they agreed. We pledged that we, the United States and the other 18 nations of NATO would stick by them if they did the right thing. We cannot let them down now. Imagine what would happen if we and our allies instead decided just to look the other way as these people were massacred on NATO's doorstep. That would discredit NATO, the cornerstone on which our security has rested for 50 years now. We must also remember that this is a conflict with no natural national boundaries. Let me ask you to look again at a map. The red dots are towns the Serbs have attacked. The arrows show the movement of refugees north, east and south. Already, this movement is threatening the young democracy in Macedonia, which has its own Albanian minority and a Turkish minority. Already, Serbian forces have made forays into Albania from which Kosovars have drawn support. Albania has a Greek minority. Let a fire burn here in this area, and the flames will spread. Eventually, key U.S. allies could be drawn into a wider conflict -- a war we would be forced to confront later, only at far greater risk and greater cost. I have a responsibility as president to deal with problems such as this before they do permanent harm to our national interests. America has a responsibility to stand with our allies when they are trying to save innocent lives and preserve peace, freedom and stability in Europe. That is what we are doing in Kosovo. If we've learned anything from the century drawing to a close, it is that if America is going to be prosperous and secure, we need a Europe that is prosperous, secure, undivided and free. We need a Europe that is coming together, not falling apart. A Europe that shares our values, and shares the burdens of leadership. That is the foundation on which the security of our children will depend. That is why I have supported the political and economic unification of Europe. That is why we brought Poland, Hungary, and the Czech Republic into NATO, and redefined its mission. And reached out to Russia and Ukraine for new partnerships. Now what are the challenges to that vision of a peaceful, secure, united, stable Europe? The challenge of strengthening a partnership with a democratic Russia, that despite our disagreements, is a constructive partner in the work of building peace. The challenge of resolving the tensions between Greece and Turkey, and building bridges with the Islamic world. And finally, the challenge of ending instability in the Balkans, so that these bitter, ethnic problems in Europe are resolved by the force of argument, not the force of bombs. So that future generations of Americans do not have to cross the Atlantic to fight another terrible war. It is this challenge that we and our allies are facing in Kosovo. That is why we have acted now -- because we care about saving innocent lives, because we have an interest in avoiding an even crueler and costlier war and because our children need and deserve a peaceful, stable, free Europe. Our thoughts and prayers tonight must be with the men and women of our armed forces, who are undertaking this

mission for the sake of our values and our children's future. May God bless them, and may God bless America. (Clinton 1999)

11. 6 George W. Bush – War on Terror – Not Included

Address to the Joint Session of the 107th Congress September 20, 2001

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. We have seen the state of our Union in the endurance of rescuers, working past exhaustion. We have seen the unfurling of flags, the lighting of candles, the giving of blood, the saying of prayers — in English, Hebrew, and Arabic. We have seen the decency of a loving and giving people who have made the grief of strangers their own. My fellow citizens, for the last nine days, the entire world has seen for itself the state of our Union — and it is strong. Tonight we are a country awakened to danger and called to defend freedom. Our grief has turned to anger, and anger to resolution. Whether we bring our enemies to justice, or bring justice to our enemies, justice will be done. I thank the Congress for its leadership at such an important time. All of America was touched on the evening of the tragedy to see Republicans and Democrats joined together on the steps of this Capitol, singing “God Bless America.” And you did more than sing; you acted, by delivering \$40 billion to rebuild our communities and meet the needs of our military. Speaker Hastert, Minority Leader Gephardt, Majority Leader Daschle and Senator Lott, I thank you for your friendship, for your leadership and for your service to our country. And on behalf of the American people, I thank the world for its outpouring of support. America will never forget the sounds of our national anthem playing at Buckingham Palace, on the streets of Paris and at Berlin's Brandenburg Gate. We will not forget South Korean children gathering to pray outside our embassy in Seoul, or the prayers of sympathy offered at a mosque in Cairo. We will not forget moments of silence and days of mourning in Australia and Africa and Latin America. Nor will we forget the citizens of 80 other nations who died with our own. Dozens of Pakistanis, more than 130 Israelis, more than 250 citizens of India, men and women from El Salvador, Iran, Mexico and Japan, and hundreds of British citizens. America has no truer friend than Great Britain. Once again, we are joined together in a great cause. I'm so honored the British prime minister had crossed an ocean to show his unity with America. Thank you for coming, friend. On September the 11th, enemies of freedom committed an act of war against our country. Americans have known wars, but for the past 136 years they have been wars on foreign soil, except for one Sunday in 1941. Americans have known the casualties of war, but not at the center of a great city on a peaceful morning. Americans have known surprise attacks, but never before on thousands of civilians. All of this was brought upon us in a single day, and night fell on a different world, a world where freedom itself is under attack. Americans have many questions tonight. Americans are asking, “Who attacked our country?” The evidence we have gathered all points to a collection of loosely affiliated terrorist organizations known as al Qaeda. They are some of the murderers indicted for bombing American embassies in Tanzania and Kenya and responsible for bombing the 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 distinctions among military and civilians, including women and children. This group and its leader, a person named Osama bin Laden, are linked to many other organizations in different countries, including the Egyptian Islamic Jihad, the Islamic Movement of Uzbekistan. There are thousands of these terrorists in more than 60 countries. They are recruited from their own nations and neighborhoods and brought to camps in places like Afghanistan where they are trained in the tactics of terror. They are sent back to their homes or sent to hide in countries around the world to plot evil and destruction. The leadership of Al Qaeda has great influence in Afghanistan and supports the Taliban regime in controlling most of that country. In Afghanistan we see Al Qaeda's vision for the world. Afghanistan's people have been brutalized, many are starving and many have fled. Women are not allowed to attend school. You can be jailed for owning a television. Religion can be practiced only as their leaders dictate. A man can be jailed in Afghanistan if his beard is not long enough. The United States respects the people of Afghanistan--after all, we are currently its largest source of humanitarian aid--but we condemn the Taliban regime. It is not only repressing its own people, it is threatening people everywhere by sponsoring and sheltering and supplying terrorists. By aiding and abetting murder, the Taliban regime is committing murder. And tonight the United States of America makes the following demands on the Taliban. Deliver to United States authorities all of the leaders of Al Qaeda who hide in your land. Release all foreign nationals, including American citizens you have unjustly imprisoned. Protect foreign journalists, diplomats and aid workers in your country. Close immediately and permanently every terrorist training camp in Afghanistan. And hand over every terrorist

and every person and their support structure to appropriate authorities. Give the United States full access to terrorist training camps, so we can make sure they are no longer operating. These demands are not open to negotiation or discussion. The Taliban must act and act immediately. They will hand over the terrorists or they will share in their fate. I also want to speak tonight directly to Muslims throughout the world. We respect your faith. It's practiced freely by many millions of Americans and by millions more in countries that America counts as friends. Its teachings are good and peaceful, and those who commit evil in the name of Allah blaspheme the name of Allah. The terrorists are traitors to their own faith, trying, in effect, to hijack Islam itself. The enemy of America is not our many Muslim friends. It is not our many Arab friends. Our enemy is a radical network of terrorists and every government that supports them. Our war on terror begins with Al Qaeda, but it does not end there. It will not end until every terrorist group of global reach has been found, stopped and defeated. Americans are asking "Why do they hate us?" They hate what they see right here in this chamber: a democratically elected government. Their leaders are self-appointed. They hate our freedoms: our freedom of religion, our freedom of speech, our freedom to vote and assemble and disagree with each other. They want to overthrow existing governments in many Muslim countries such as Egypt, Saudi Arabia and Jordan. They want to drive Israel out of the Middle East. They want to drive Christians and Jews out of vast regions of Asia and Africa. These terrorists kill not merely to end lives, but to disrupt and end a way of life. With every atrocity, they hope that America grows fearful, retreating from the world and forsaking our friends. They stand against us because we stand in their way. We're not deceived by their pretenses to piety. We have seen their kind before. They're the heirs of all the murderous ideologies of the 20th century. By sacrificing human life to serve their radical visions, by abandoning every value except the will to power, they follow in the path of fascism, Nazism and totalitarianism. And they will follow that path all the way to where it ends in history's unmarked grave of discarded lies. Americans are asking, "How will we fight and win this war?" We will direct every resource at our command--every means of diplomacy, every tool of intelligence, every instrument of law enforcement, every financial influence, and every necessary weapon of war--to the destruction and to the defeat of the global terror network. Now, 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. From this day forward, any nation that continues to harbor or support terrorism will be regarded by the United States as a hostile regime. Our nation has been put on notice, we're not immune from attack. We will take defensive measures against terrorism to protect Americans. Today, dozens of federal departments and agencies, as well as state and local governments, have responsibilities affecting homeland security. These efforts must be coordinated at the highest level. So tonight, I announce the creation of a Cabinet-level position reporting directly to me, the Office of Homeland Security. And tonight, I also announce a distinguished American to lead this effort, to strengthen American security: a military veteran, an effective governor, a true patriot, a trusted friend, Pennsylvania's Tom Ridge. He will lead, oversee and coordinate a comprehensive national strategy to safeguard our country against terrorism and respond to any attacks that may come. These measures are essential. The only way to defeat terrorism as a threat to our way of life is to stop it, eliminate it and destroy it where it grows. Many will be involved in this effort, from 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 have called the armed forces to alert, and there is a reason. The hour is coming when America will act, and you will make us proud. This is not, however, just America's fight. And what is at stake is not just America's freedom. This is the world's fight. This is civilization's fight. This is the fight of all who believe in progress and pluralism, tolerance and freedom. We ask every nation to join us. We will ask and we will need the help of police forces, intelligence service and banking systems around the world. The United States is grateful that many nations and many international organizations have already responded with sympathy and with support--nations from Latin America to Asia to Africa to Europe to the Islamic world. Perhaps the NATO charter reflects best the attitude of the world: An attack on one is an attack on all. The civilized world is rallying to America's side. They understand that if this terror goes unpunished, their own cities, their own citizens may be next. Terror unanswered can not only bring down buildings, it can threaten the stability of legitimate governments. And you know what? We're not going to allow it. Americans are asking, "What is expected of us?" I ask you to live your lives and hug your children. I know many citizens have fears tonight, and I ask you to be calm and resolute, even in the face of a continuing threat. I ask you to uphold the values of America and remember why so many have come here. We're in a fight for our principles, and our first responsibility is to live by them. No one should be singled out for unfair treatment or unkind words because of their ethnic background or religious faith. I ask you to continue to support the victims of this tragedy with your contributions. Those who want to give can go to a central source of information, Libertyunites.org, to find the names of groups providing direct help in New

York, Pennsylvania and Virginia. The thousands of FBI agents who are now at work in this investigation may need your cooperation, and I ask you 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 11, and they are our strengths today. And finally, please continue praying for the victims of terror and their families, for those in uniform and for our great country. Prayer has comforted us in sorrow and will help strengthen us for the journey ahead. Tonight I thank my fellow Americans for what you have already done and for what you will do. And ladies and gentlemen of the Congress, I thank you, their representatives, for what you have already done and for what we will do together. Tonight we face new and sudden national challenges. We will come together to improve air safety, to dramatically expand the number of air marshals on domestic flights and take new measures to prevent hijacking. We will come together to promote stability and keep our airlines flying with direct assistance during this emergency. We will come together to give law enforcement the additional tools it needs to track down terror here at home. We will come together to strengthen our intelligence capabilities to know the plans of terrorists before they act and to find them before they strike. We will come together to take active steps that strengthen America's economy and put our people back to work. Tonight, we welcome two leaders who embody the extraordinary spirit of all New Yorkers, Governor George Pataki and Mayor Rudolph Giuliani. As a symbol of America's resolve, my administration will work with Congress and these two leaders to show the world that we will rebuild New York City. After all that has just passed, all the lives taken and the possibilities and hopes that died with them, it is natural to wonder if America's future is one of fear. Some speak of an age of terror. I know there are struggles ahead and dangers to face. But this country will define our times, not be defined by them. As long as the United States of America is determined and strong, this will not be an age of terror. This will be an age of liberty here and across the world. Great harm has been done to us. We have suffered great loss. And in our grief and anger we have found our mission and our moment. Freedom and fear are at war. The advance of human freedom, the great achievement of our time and the great hope of every time, now depends on us. Our nation, this generation, will lift the dark threat of violence from our people and our future. We will rally the world to this cause by our efforts, by our courage. We will not tire, we will not falter and we will not fail. It is my hope that in the months and years ahead life will return almost to normal. We'll go back to our lives and routines and that is good. Even grief recedes with time and grace. But our resolve must not pass. Each of us will remember what happened that day and to whom it happened. We will remember the moment the news came, where we were and what we were doing. Some will remember an image of a fire or story or 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 (ph), as a proud memorial to her son. It is my reminder of lives that ended and a task that does not end. I will not forget the wound to our country and those who inflicted it. I will not yield, I will not rest, I will not relent in waging this struggle for freedom and security for the American people. The course of this conflict is not known, yet its outcome is certain. Freedom and fear, justice and cruelty, have always been at war, and we know that God is not neutral between them. Fellow citizens, we'll meet violence with patient justice, assured of the rightness of our cause and confident of the victories to come. In all that lies before us, may God grant us wisdom and may he watch over the United States of America. Thank you. (Bush 2001a)

11. 7 George W. Bush – Afghanistan: Enduring Freedom

Address to the Nation on Operations in Afghanistan October 7, 2001

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 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 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.² 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. (Bush 2001b)

11. 8 George W. Bush – Iraq: Iraqi Freedom

Address to the Nation on Military Operations in Iraq March 19, 2003.

My fellow citizens, at this hour, American and coalition forces are in the early stages of military operations to disarm Iraq, to free its people and to defend the world from grave danger. On my orders, coalition forces have begun striking selected targets of military importance to undermine Saddam Hussein's ability to wage war. These are opening stages of what will be a broad and concerted campaign. More than 35 countries are giving crucial support — from the use of naval and air bases, to help with intelligence and logistics, to the deployment of combat units. Every nation in this coalition has chosen to bear the duty and share the honor of serving in our common defense. To all the men and women of the United States Armed Forces now in the Middle East, the peace of a troubled 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 firefighters 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. (Bush 2003)

11.9 Barack Obama – Libya: Unified Protector

Remarks by the President on the Situation in Libya March 11, 2011

Good afternoon, everybody. I want to take this opportunity to update the American people about the situation in Libya. Over the last several weeks, the world has watched events unfold in Libya with hope and alarm. Last month, protesters took to the streets across the country to demand their universal rights, and a government that is accountable to them and responsive to their aspirations. But they were met with an iron fist. Within days, whole parts of the country declared their independence from a brutal regime, and members of the government serving in Libya and abroad chose to align themselves with the forces of change. Moammar Qaddafi clearly lost the confidence of his own people and the legitimacy to lead. Instead of respecting the rights of his own people, Qaddafi chose the path of brutal suppression. Innocent civilians were beaten, imprisoned, and in some cases killed. Peaceful protests were forcefully put down. Hospitals were attacked and patients disappeared. A campaign of intimidation and repression began. In the face of this injustice, the United States and the international community moved swiftly. Sanctions were put in place by the United States and our allies and partners. The U.N. Security Council imposed further sanctions, an arms embargo, and the specter of international accountability for Qaddafi and those around him. Humanitarian assistance was positioned on Libya's borders, and those displaced by the violence received our help. Ample warning was given that Qaddafi needed to stop his campaign of repression, or be held accountable. The Arab League and the European Union joined us in calling for an end to violence. Once again, Qaddafi chose to ignore the will of his people and the international community. Instead, he launched a military campaign against his own people. And there should be no doubt about his intentions, because he himself has made them clear. For decades, he has demonstrated a willingness to use brute force through his sponsorship of terrorism against the American people as well as others, and through the killings that he has carried out within his own borders. And just yesterday, speaking of the city of Benghazi -- a city of roughly 700,000 people -- he threatened, and I quote: "We will have no mercy and no pity" -- no mercy on his own citizens. Now, here is why this matters to us. Left unchecked, we have every reason to believe that Qaddafi would commit atrocities against his people. Many thousands could die. A humanitarian crisis would ensue. The entire region could be destabilized, endangering many of our allies and partners. The calls of the Libyan people for help would go unanswered. The democratic values that we stand for would be overrun. Moreover, the words of the international community would be rendered hollow. And that's why the United States has worked with our allies and partners to shape a strong international response at the United Nations. Our focus has been clear: protecting innocent civilians within Libya, and holding the Qaddafi regime accountable. Yesterday, in response to a call for action by the Libyan people and the Arab League, the U.N. Security Council passed a strong resolution that demands an end to the violence against citizens. It authorizes the use of force with an explicit commitment to pursue all necessary measures to stop the killing, to include the enforcement of a no-fly zone over Libya. It also strengthens our sanctions and the enforcement of an arms embargo against the Qaddafi regime. Now, once more, Moammar Qaddafi has a choice. The resolution that passed lays out very clear conditions that must be met. The United States, the United Kingdom, France, and Arab states agree that a cease-fire must be implemented immediately. That means all attacks against civilians must stop. Qaddafi must stop his troops from advancing on Benghazi, pull them back from Ajdabiya, Misrata, and Zawiya, and establish water, electricity and gas supplies to all areas. Humanitarian assistance must be allowed to reach the people of Libya. Let me be clear, these terms are not negotiable. These terms are not subject to negotiation. If Qaddafi does not comply with the resolution, the international community will impose consequences, and the resolution will be enforced through military action. In this effort, the United States is prepared to act as part of an international coalition. American leadership is essential, but that does not mean acting alone — it means shaping the conditions for the international community to act together. That's why I have directed Secretary Gates and our military to coordinate their planning, and tomorrow Secretary Clinton will travel to Paris for a meeting with our European allies and Arab partners about the enforcement of Resolution 1973. We will provide the unique capabilities that we can bring to bear to stop the

violence against civilians, including enabling our European allies and Arab partners to effectively enforce a no fly zone. I have no doubt that the men and women of our military are capable of carrying out this mission. Once more, they have the thanks of a grateful nation and the admiration of the world. I also want to be clear about what we will not be doing. The United States is not going to deploy ground troops into Libya. And we are not going to use force to go beyond a well-defined goal -- specifically, the protection of civilians in Libya. In the coming weeks, we will continue to help the Libyan people with humanitarian and economic assistance so that they can fulfill their aspirations peacefully. Now, the United States did not seek this outcome. Our decisions have been driven by Qaddafi's refusal to respect the rights of his people, and the potential for mass murder of innocent civilians. It is not an action that we will pursue alone. Indeed, our British and French allies, and members of the Arab League, have already committed to take a leadership role in the enforcement of this resolution, just as they were instrumental in pursuing it. We are coordinating closely with them. And this is precisely how the international community should work, as more nations bear both the responsibility and the cost of enforcing international law. This is just one more chapter in the change that is unfolding across the Middle East and North Africa. From the beginning of these protests, we have made it clear that we are opposed to violence. We have made clear our support for a set of universal values, and our support for the political and economic change that the people of the region deserve. But I want to be clear: the change in the region will not and cannot be imposed by the United States or any foreign power; ultimately, it will be driven by the people of the Arab World. It is their right and their responsibility to determine their own destiny. Let me close by saying that there is no decision I face as your Commander in Chief that I consider as carefully as the decision to ask our men and women to use military force. Particularly at a time when our military is fighting in Afghanistan and winding down our activities in Iraq, that decision is only made more difficult. But the United States of America will not stand idly by in the face of actions that undermine global peace and security. So I have taken this decision with the confidence that action is necessary, and that we will not be acting alone. Our goal is focused, our cause is just, and our coalition is strong. Thank you very much. (Obama 2011)