

**George W. Bush's War on Terror**  
**from a Political Discourse Perspective**

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**Abstract:** This work attempts to present the selected aspects of investigation whose main goal is the analysis of different ways of implementing values into a text, which in turn, are to gain political support and to gather interest from the public. Some concepts have been touched upon to account for various forms of verbal realizations from the discourse perspective (Chruszczewski 2002; Van Dijk 1997a; Puzynina 1991; Tyszka 1993; Kłoskowska 1980; Graber 1993; Grabias 2001).

In addition to the above, this paper highlights basic American values, which are essential components of the American society. It is to be observed that the aforementioned values are commonly used by politicians delivering public speeches to unite the nation, which in case of American society, is characterized by multiplicity of ethical groups. The analysis tries to shed a little light on the choice of linguistic means included in President George W. Bush's speeches to the nation able to unite Americans and make them work towards the common goal, namely the struggle against global terror.

**Keywords:** linguistic means; American values, discursive markers, speeches.

## **1. Introduction**

Political discourse is said to be carried by human beings defined by Aristotle as "political animals" (see also Van Dijk 1989: 2006). It can also be defined by its "actors," politicians. The fundamental part of the research is based on various verbal realizations of professional politicians among them presidents, members of parliament or political parties (Van Dijk 1997a: 12). For that reason, each text including its structure and constructing strategies is prepared to appeal efficiently to selected receivers and what is even more important its genres rely to a bigger or lesser degree on the group of the people that uses them. Therefore we agree with Graber (1993) saying that a political speech is not only a monologue, but also an example of social interaction aimed at influencing the nation, or at least an important diplomatic tool allowing for the negotiations of specific meanings and references. This work seeks to present the selected

aspects of investigation, the aim of which is to analyze different ways of implementing values into a text in order to gather interest from the public and to gain political support. Analyzing verbal realizations of the political discourse delivered by President of The United States, George W. Bush, within the three months following the tragedy of September 11<sup>th</sup>, 2001 we shall try to highlight main values hidden in the aforementioned speeches, and the possible implications they could have while negotiating political and military relationships, and above all gaining political support.

The first part of the research will touch upon the notion of political discourse and try to visualize the term with reference to the existing theories and theses. In addition to the above, the work will present basic American values, which are undoubtedly integrative components of the American society. We are of the opinion that the values mostly revered by the American society contribute substantially to the nation's unity. It is commonly known that the United States has always been a role model since the origin of the country. Hence, the American society believes that the idea of 'The city upon the hill', or the concept of 'The chosen nation' obliges them to set an example and try to become the role model for the rest to follow. The values mostly revered by Americans are the Puritan ones, namely hard work, proper education, family ties, and moral uprightness. The above values and other theses will be supported by the works of Puzynina 1991, Tyszka 1993, Kłoskowska 1980 Krzeszowski 1997 and others. The work will also make an attempt to point that political leaders have to implement many aspects of the political discourse, but also employ language as a political strategy in order to gain support. Therefore, this paper will make numerous references to the following terminology: *political discourse*, *context*, *non-verbal* means of attracting voters, and *values*.

The third part of this work is purely analytical and will try to investigate speeches delivered by President George W. Bush after the tragedy on September 11<sup>th</sup>, 2001. It will deal with five verbal realizations delivered within three months following the tragedy. The analysis of each speech will be followed by concluding remarks and comments. We will make use of the analysis method devised and developed by Piotr P. Chruszczewski (2003), concerning the presence of American values in President George W. Bush's speeches. The values include: *Freedom*, *Sense of Belonging*, *Human Rights*, *Justice*, *Sense of Belonging*, *Private Property*, *Self-Respect*, *Concept of Help*, *Puritan Values*, *Patriotism*. In addition to the aforementioned, this method comprises selected aspects of political discourse as for instance intertextual and extratextual elements and/or the speaker's policy, intentions and expressions of solidarity with the audience (recipients) of the text *etc.*

This work will try to highlight the choice of linguistic means able to unite the American nation characterized by the multiplicity of ethnic groups and minorities. Despite the aforementioned differences including various educational background, different social background and racial differences, it is to be observed that the verbal realizations delivered by President George W. Bush were capable of joining the nation to work towards the common goal, namely the struggle against global terror.

## **2. General concepts of political discourse**

Each speech delivered by a politician is a realization of his intention and has its own function (see Van Dijk 1997a: 12). Therefore we agree with Stanisław Grabias (2001: 290) that speakers including politicians use language in order to achieve something. By consequence, language seems to be a very important tool used by political communities to establish group awareness and cement voters by making them feel that their votes count. It seems necessary at this point to include both the speakers and receivers in the political discourse (i.e. the public, the people, the voters, the citizens). Thus, political speakers try to involve all citizens in the decision making process. The receivers, on the other hand, interpret the texts delivered by politicians making use of their intertextual and political knowledge.

The participants at political discourses, namely “political actors”, (Van Dijk 1997a: 14) hold their speeches at the higher level of correctness as part of the formal language style. What is more, the choices of words are suited to the given situation and needs. Stanisław Grabias (2001: 261) calls the above the stylistic competence, a knowledge desired to construct a text so it suits standards of the political discourse. The politicians use this knowledge in a shrewd way to strengthen people’s will to participate in the political events by showing the way which people should follow *e.g.* by voting for a certain candidate. We also agree with Franklin Fearing (1954: 67) that in order to reinforce the interaction in the audience (receivers) it is not enough to adapt language to the given situation but also to employ non-verbal strategies such as eye contact, posture or physical distance. The above actions are intended to involve all citizens in the making of decision, persuade others and clarify what actions would be most effective in solving the societal problem.

We agree with Piotr P. Chruszczewski (2002: 7) that political discourse is fully dependant on people as it is produced by them. Therefore, various embeddings, among them cultural and situational, unconsciously modify the given political discourse. Thus, it can vary across cultures. In addition to that, Piotr P. Chruszczewski (2002: 11-12),

holds that virtually all people are viewed by politicians as potential voters and therefore the political representatives employ various strategies of dealing with would-be-voters. That is why, the manner in which something is said is of at least equal importance to what is said and the effect depends mostly on the approach, the themes, the length of texts *etc.* Furthermore, the speaker should at least consider the cultural identity which is defined by the common system of values while constructing a text. The above makes the speaker become the part of the listener's worldview and the speeches are suited to the receiver's intellectual categories. Stanisław Grabias (2001: 265) is of the opinion that the aforesaid approach is very useful for the speaker to produce a more persuasive text. Moreover, politicians adapt their speeches to the receiver's intertextual or cultural knowledge and beliefs in order to modify their point of view to the wider audience (*ibid.*). It can be added that politicians try to impose the system of thoughts and beliefs on people making them believe that instead of repressing or influencing people there are merely trying to help those in need. Edward Murray's (1984: 47) opinion that the main priority of political text is to gather public support or opposition seems to share the above point of view.

According to Piotr P. Chruszczewski (2002: 47), discourse (including political discourse) can be viewed as a dynamic form of interaction between a producer (speaker/writer) and the recipient (hearer/reader), chiefly by means of linguistic expression. It has to be added, however, that in order to understand discourse the notion of context needs to be taken into consideration.

It is commonly known that a politician's existence heavily depends on interaction with members of society and also that politicians can be involved in the interaction either as active speakers delivering speeches or as hearers, receivers of the text. The above political discourse is embodied in the so-called mass communication. Nonetheless, it is worth noticing that discourse can also take place in smaller groups as well. Piotr P. Chruszczewski (2002: 70-76) is of the opinion that presidents can quite often manipulate a large number of recipients by directing their speeches (texts) into the desired direction, which is often a way of creating the widespread stereotypical concepts throughout the nation from the very start of their tenure. Kenneth Hudson (1978: 65) shares the above opinion and claims that the language used in speeches is undoubtedly expected by the audience and that professional politicians select specific phrases to persuade and/or influence receivers (audience).

### 3. Basic American values

The following part of the work touches upon the set of particular values which contribute substantially to the unification of The United States of America. Despite the racial and cultural diversities among the American citizens, the above aforesaid values all guarantee the common identity and sense of belonging.

In order to discuss the revered set of values we need to introduce basic concepts of value. Therefore, we agree with Jadwiga Puzynina (1991) that [“(...) a value is what people, in general, as well as the speaker perceive as good and consider as good” (translated into English by L.W.)], (...) *wartość jest tym, co ludzie w ogóle, grupa ludzka i nadwaca odczuwa jako dobre i uznaje za dobre* (Puzynina 1991: 130). On the other hand, however, Artur Pastuszek (1994) holds that [“(...) values are not features, properties of things – they exist in an objective manner as ideal things” (translated into English by L.W.)], (...) *wartości nie są cechami, własnościami rzeczy – istnieją one obiektywnie jako idealne przedmiot*. (Pastuszek 1994: 41). Judging the above, it cannot be omitted that the descriptions of values are hardly ever devoid of subjectivity and that all judgments expressing what “good” really is carry emotional and personal opinions *i.e.* phrases such as in my opinion, I think, I believe *etc.* Hence, Artur Pastuszek’s (1994) definition of value is not complete taking into consideration the degree of subjectivity of all opinions. In addition to that, value is a feature that allows people consider things surrounding them. One such example is “goodness”, a value which can be interpreted as + good or – good. Thus, the perception of values is subjective to a bigger or lesser degree as for one group of people God would be +good, while for another God would be neutral. However, when it comes to the national values, we need to remember that the above have evolved and been selected over years, and what is even more important that the national values have become inseparably connected with interests of a nation. There exists a widespread opinion (see for example Brick 1996; Tyszka 1993; Pastuszek 1994) that in order to grasp a nation’s ideals we need to recognize the above. Sociologists support this view claiming that societies rest on “common values” that integrate individuals in a shared sense of expectations and obligations. Moreover, political scientists share similar opinion and perceive a country’s “civic culture” as the fundament of political life, and historians who stated specific beliefs as the key to understanding America (Brick 1966: 35).

We agree with Antonina Kłoskowska (1980: 70) that all nations possess certain values according to which they organize their societies, the function of which stay invariable, despite the occurrence of economical changes. The concept of value and the process of valuation have become subject to inquiry (Krzyszowski 1997, Pastuszek 1994, Puzynina

1991). Tomasz P. Krzeszowski (1997: 49) is of the opinion that some values are conventionally positive to a certain degree, others are conventionally negative to a certain degree, and still others are neutral to certain degree. He also adds that valuation varies according to the level of specificity (*ibid.*). Therefore, values can be more or less specific and what is even more important some words can be more or less evaluative. Thus, defining a concept requires reliance on the background assumptions and expectations and therefore words can be neutral or highly evaluative depending on the placement of the concept. Despite the differences arising across certain users, they have to do with certain experience connected with particular concepts.

However, Jadwiga Puzynina's (1991: 133) basic division of values seems most suitable for values, which are the target of the research. She holds the opinion (*ibid.*, translated into English by L.W.), that the most evaluative aspects are:

Good <i>Dobry</i>	Bad <i>Zły</i>
Positive <i>Pozytywny</i>	Negative <i>Negatywny</i>
Valuable <i>Wartościowy</i>	Non-valuable <i>Bezwartościowy</i>
Proper <i>Właściwy</i>	Improper <i>Niewłaściwy</i>

The two adjectives good and bad are capable of describing virtually all concepts (including human beings); for example: a child can be +good, or +bad; a comedy can be +bad, -good, yet positive or negative attribute cannot be used with inanimate things. The same is true of the attribute valuable/non-valuable; for example we cannot say that this computer is positive or negative, or that this display is valuable or non-valuable. In addition to these inanimate concepts, especially their aesthetic features should not be subject to defining. The same goes with the proper/improper aspects of a concept (there are very few exceptions to the rule). Notwithstanding, we hold Jadwiga Puzynina's (1991: 134) opinion that all of them are devoid of the judgment of a speaker, which is connected to a great extent with speaker's connotations (*ibid.*).

*We would also agree with Anna Duszak (1998: 242) that:*

*[(...) values present in the schematas of communicative behavior, create the communicative expectations – they form and stabilize particular standpoints towards texts and towards the communicative partners. They form the social feeling of natural text. In other words, they are understandable and acceptable in a speech community. (translated into English by L.W.)]*

(...) wartości powielane w schematach zachowań komunikacyjnych, kształtują oczekiwania komunikacyjne – tworzą i gruntują określone postawy względem tekstów oraz względem partnerów komunikacji. Formułują one społeczne odczucie tekstu naturalnego, a więc zrozumiałego i akceptowanego we wspólnocie językowej. (Duszak 1998:242)

For that reason, a good speaker's speech is satiated with values which are revered and obeyed by the listeners. Moreover, the above values will rely on the social status of the perceiver. Thus, we share Antonina Kłosowska's (1980: 56) opinion that the awareness of common values guarantees the feeling of security as well as stability. Not surprisingly the speaker tends to adapt the style of his speech to his audience (listeners). On the one hand, it can be assumed that politicians employ adaptation of their speeches to the particular needs of citizens to make them feel secured and stable. Andrzej Tyszka (1993), on the other hand, holds that "(...) the government (*władza*) is a giver and a guarantor of the proper goals and values, in its own estimation" (...) *władza – we własnym mniemaniu – staje się prawomocnym dawcą i gwarantem celów i wartości.* (Tyszka 1993: 54, translated into English by L.W.)

The valuation of concepts varies across countries (see for example Piotr Chruszczewski *et al.* 2003: 151-164). Since the subject matter of the research, is speeches delivered by President George W. Bush we focus on the concepts valued most by the Americans. Frances M. Lappe (1989: 7) holds that one such value, which is seen as most valuable by the American society, is *freedom*. The above value has been guaranteed in the founding documents of America and has become a fundamental assumption of the American society. It manifests an individual's self-respect, principles, and expression. The above has also become the embodiment of broadly defined human rights. Frances M. Lappe (1989: 10-15) adds that this value let us assume that individual self-respect is natural. In addition to the above there is another value, namely *justice*, which is observed to be obeyed and even sometimes abused. Americans have a feeling that the social rules are just and well-functioning due to that value. Hence, Frances M. Lappe (1989: 17) argues that the lack of justice and therefore of security frightens the society so much. Moreover, Kelly Pinner's (1983: 261) research reveals that another, frequently selected value by Americans is *self-respect*. It gives people a feeling that what they do is right, which in turn diminishes the role of approval of others.

We would also agree with Kelly Pinner's (1983: 266-267) assumption that among values most respected by Americans there is a place for *sense of control*. This particular value makes American citizens sure that they can take control of almost everything that concerns them. Thus, Americans share the view that their power and ability allow them

to tackle all problems and challenges. Moreover, Americans revere glorious and daring people who take strong actions to fight challenges but also believe that such deeds contribute substantially to the strengthening of the society, and impress a stamp in the world. Another value especially revered by the American citizens is inseparably connected with the history of this country. Kelly Pinner (1983: 264) calls this value the *sense of belonging*. It is commonly known that many ethical groups comprise the American society. The members of these groups want to feel that they can find their own place, place in which they will be able to find understanding and support when needed. It is to be observed that this value is not solely limited to ethical groups, it is also observable and present in everyday life.

Puritan concepts play a major role in the functioning of American society and are perceived as the source of values for the Americans themselves as well. One of the first who approached the above values was John Withrop. His idea of “(...) the city upon the hill”<sup>1</sup> is based on the assumption that The United States of America is a country chosen by God. As the breeding ground for high standards of moral excellence and conscience The U.S are said to set an example for other countries to follow. In addition to the aforementioned, there is a common assumption that Americans respect many other values among them family life, education, and strenuous work.<sup>2</sup>

By successfully adapting to life and living conditions surrounding them, people seem to select specific values based on their needs. They hope to achieve and develop purposeful and satisfying life by altering and trying to achieve the given values. It is to be observed that the idea of nationhood is based on three main assumptions, namely a founding myth, a compelling narrative, and the rituals reminding people of that story. In other words each country has its own story or myth with heroes and narrative and what is even more important citizens should be aware of the existence of the above and cultivate it in all aspects of the social life. Johan Galtung (1987: 1) holds the opinion that these myths are “(...) so deeply internalized in the culture as to be taken for granted” and form “raw material out of which the social cosmology of a people is made, the assumptions built into deep ideology and deep structure, never to be questioned” (Galtung 1987: 1). Thus, the myth of a hero, the values of freedom and democracy have become deeply ingrained in the American society comprising the foundations and stability of the nation.

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<sup>1</sup> [www.en.wikipedia.org/wiki/City\\_upon\\_a\\_hill](http://www.en.wikipedia.org/wiki/City_upon_a_hill)

<sup>2</sup> [www.apuritansmind.com/PuritanArticles/PuritanRoots.html](http://www.apuritansmind.com/PuritanArticles/PuritanRoots.html) – “Puritan Roots: A Brief Sketch of the Values of Puritanism”.



#### 4. The analysis of speeches, the method and its markers

The major objective of this work is the examination of language, the linguistic strategies, and the rhetorical use of values in the speeches delivered by President George W. Bush. The chosen speeches refer to the tragic event, namely the act of terror from September 11<sup>th</sup>, 2001 on The United States of America. In addition to the above, the following speeches reflect the first month of fighting with terrorism but also try to justify steps the country had to take to fight the acts of terror and to find support and understanding of the American citizens. The analysis of speeches will be based on the framework developed and devised by Piotr P. Chruszczewski (2003) with additional markers indicating:

- A** - marks values which are respected by Americans:
  - A1** - Freedom;
  - A2** - Sense of control;
  - A3** - Human rights;
  - A4** - Justice;
  - A5** - Sense of belonging;
  - A6** - Private property;
  - A7** - Self-respect;
  - A8** - Concept of help;
  - A9** - Puritan values;
  - A10** - Patriotism;
  
- B** - marks the emotional attitude of the speaker;
  
- C** - marks the recent history as follows:
  - C1** - references to recent history;
  - C2** - references to remote history;
  
- D** - arguments constructed of texts by means of which the speaker has shown solidarity with his receivers, or has given suggestions;

- E** - marks arguments built on the basis of intertextual elements (e.g. direct quotations etc.);
- F** - marks arguments built on the basis of extratextual links (general social knowledge);
- G** - represents the situational arguments that consist of verbal references to the situation during which a given speech is delivered;
- H** - marks the arguments that include elements referring to the speaker's policy;
- I** - marks the arguments that include elements referring to the speaker's suggestions;
- Td** - refers to elements which mark personal declaration of the speaker;
- Tt** - refers to verbal references to the topic of terrorism;
- Te** - refers to verbal references to the topic of economy.

The speeches which are the subject to the analysis have been ordered chronologically, and are closely linked with the atrocity of the act of terror, which took place in The United States of America on September 11<sup>th</sup> 2001. All the analyzed speeches delivered after this date, were saturated with the values most respected by Americans. The main objective of the speeches was to convince fellow citizens to support strong and determined actions against terrorism and to persuade those who strongly opposed such steps.

#### **4.1. The typology of arguments**

The analysis of selected speeches has drawn several types of arguments that are present in George W. Bush's speeches. They make 1-, 2-, 3-, and 4- element arguments. The basic meaning of a sentence is encompassed in the arguments, consisting of elements

which are talked about in the sentence. The surprising thing is that 2, 3 – element arguments are the ones which are used most frequently, probably due to adaptation to the listener's needs. The above will be approached separately and supported by examples.

## 4.2. Types of arguments with examples

The following part of the work presents the examples of utterances and longer extracts which reflect the aforementioned values presented in the form of markers.

(A) **Values** – they comprise values most revered by American citizens. The following values seem to be specially tailored to the needs of American nation. They go as follow: **A1 – Freedom; A2 – Sense of control; A3 – Human rights; A4 – Justice; A5 – Sense of belonging; A6 – Future orientation; A7 – Self -respect; A8 – Concept of help; A9 – Puritan values; A10 – Patriotism.**

Examples:

**A1 - Freedom** (...) “[...] we're freedom's home. And we must always be freedom's home and freedom's defender” (George W. Bush, speech delivered on Oct. 30<sup>th</sup>, 2001; see app. V, paragraph 8);

**A2 - Sense of control** (...) “The United States will do its part to restore economic monumental for the world” (George W. Bush, speech delivered on Oct. 20<sup>th</sup>, 2001; see app. III, paragraph 26);

**A3 - Human Rights** (...) “All people – of every religious or ethnic group – have a right to participate in their nation's political life” (George W. Bush, speech delivered on Oct. 30<sup>th</sup>, 2001; see app. III, paragraph 35);

**A4 - Justice** (...) “And make no mistake about, justice will be done” (George W. Bush, speech delivered on Oct. 24<sup>th</sup>, 2001; see app. IV, paragraph 8);

**A5 - Sense of belonging/ Unity** (...) “We share more than a common enemy, we share a common goal” (George W. Bush, speech delivered on Oct. 20<sup>th</sup>, 2001; see app. III, paragraph 22);

**A6 - Future orientation** (...) “We will defend the values of our country, and we will live by them. We will preserve in that struggle, no matter how long it takes to

prevail” (George W. Bush, speech delivered on Nov. 8<sup>th</sup>, 2001; see app. VI, paragraph 43);

**A7 - Self –respect** (...) “We respect people of all faith and welcome the free practice of religion” (George W. Bush, speech delivered on Nov. 8<sup>th</sup>, 2001; see app. VI, paragraph 10);

**A8 - Concept of help** (...) “Our first priority is to get help to those who have been injured, and to take every precaution to protect our citizens at home and around the world from further attacks” (George W. Bush, speech delivered on Sep. 11<sup>th</sup>, 2001; see app. I, paragraph 7);

**A9 - Puritan values** (...) “And I pray they will be comforted by a power greater than any of us, spoken through the ages in Psalm 23: *“Even though I walk through the valley of the shadow of death, I fear no evil, for You are with me”* (George W. Bush, speech delivered on Sep. 11<sup>th</sup>, 2001; see app. I, paragraph 11);

**A10 - Patriotism** (...) “Americans should always honor their veterans (...) These veterans have shaped our history, and with their values, your generation will help guide our future” (George W. Bush, speech delivered on Oct. 30<sup>th</sup>, 2001; see app. V, paragraph 20);

**B** - it is the element which marks the personal and emotional attitude of the speaker and that is why the emotional content of the utterance is taken under the magnifying glass;

Example sentence: “Both Laura and I were touched by a newspaper article that quoted a little four-year-old girl, who asked a telling and innocent question” (George W. Bush, speech delivered on Nov. 8<sup>th</sup>, 2001; see app. VI, paragraph 38).

**C** - this marker refers to history, both **the recent history (C1)** and **the remote history (C2)**:

Example sentence of **C1**: “We will remember a generation that liberated Europe and Asia, and put an end to concentration camps. We will remember a generation that fought in the cold mountains of Korea, and manned the outpost of the Cold War. We will remember those who served in the jungles of Vietnam, and on the sands of the Persian Gulf” (George W. Bush, speech delivered on Oct. 30<sup>th</sup>, 2001; see app. V, paragraph 16).

Example sentence of **C2**: “Our forefathers would be proud, really proud of what they see in America today” (George W. Bush, speech delivered on Oct. 17<sup>th</sup>, 2001; see app. II, paragraph 28).

**D** - this marker expresses the speaker's solidarity with the receivers (listeners) by means of the elements of the text;

Example sentence: "For all of us, an American is an American, no matter where we live, no matter what our race, no matter how we pray. The people from New York and Washington are our neighbors and when the terrorists attack them, they attack us all" (George W. Bush, speech delivered on Oct. 17<sup>th</sup>, 2001; see app. II, paragraph 7).

**E** - this marker encompasses arguments comprising of intertextual elements, which often take the form of direct quotations or suggestions;

Example sentence: "And I pray they will be comforted by a power greater than any of us, spoken through the ages is Psalm 23: *"Even though I walk through the valley of the shadow of death, I fear no evil, for You are with me"* (George W. Bush, speech delivered on Sept. 11<sup>th</sup>, 2001, see app. I, paragraph 1).

**F** - this marker reflects arguments built on the basis of extratextual links i.e. listener's general knowledge about the world.

Example sentence: "As you know, I have asked our military to take an active role in the campaign" (George W. Bush, speech delivered on Oct. 24<sup>th</sup>, 2001; see app. IV, paragraph 6).

**G** - marks the situational arguments that consist of verbal references to the situation during which a given speech is delivered;

Example sentence: "I'm here to report that we're doing well on both fronts" (George W. Bush, speech delivered on Oct 24<sup>th</sup>, 2001; see app. IV, paragraph 4).

**H** - marks the arguments that include elements referring to the speaker's policy:

Example sentence: "Those who hate all civilization and culture progress, those who embrace death to cause the death of the innocent, cannot be ignored, cannot be appeased. They must be thought. This is my firm resolve (...); The Taliban regime has allied itself with murderers. I gave Taliban leaders a choice: turn over terrorists, or face your ruin. They chose unwisely" (George W. Bush, speech delivered on Oct 20<sup>th</sup>, 2001; see app. III, paragraphs 8 and 9).

**I** - marks the arguments that include elements referring to the speaker's suggestions;

Example sentence: "A terrorism alert is not a signal to stop your life. It is a call to be vigilant- to know that your government is on high alert, and to add your eyes and ears to our efforts to find and stop those who want to do us harm" (George W. Bush, speech

delivered on Nov. 8<sup>th</sup>, 2001; see app VI, paragraph 21).

**Td** - reflects and marks the speaker's personal declaration;

Example sentence: "While we have our differences, I do want you to know there is a strong determination to what's right for the American people" (George W. Bush, speech delivered on Oct 17<sup>th</sup>, 2001; see app. II, paragraph 27).

**Te** - refers to the verbal references to the topic of economy;

Example sentence: "All nations must realize, that in the long run, the habits of economic freedom will create expectations of greater democracy" (George W. Bush, speech delivered on Oct 20<sup>th</sup>, 2001; see app. III, paragraph 35).

**Tt** - reflects the verbal references to the subject of terrorism;

Example sentence: "(...) if you harbor a terrorist, if you feed a terrorist, if you provide a sanctuary to a terrorist, if you fund a terrorist, you are as guilty as the terrorist that inflicted the harm on American people" (George W. Bush, speech delivered on Oct 30<sup>th</sup>, 2001; see app. V, paragraph 11).

## **5. The analysis of speeches delivered by President George W. Bush**

This part of the paper will analyze the five speeches delivered by the President between September and November 2001, the year of the great tragedy the United States witnessed. The analysis will be supported by numerous comments and remarks.

### **5.1. Speech I** George W. Bush, September 11<sup>th</sup>, 2001; 8:30 P.M. EDT

This is the first speech addressed to the nation on the day when terrorists attacked targets in the United States of America. This is also one of the shortest speeches delivered by President George W. Bush.

The above speech was delivered on the day of the tragedy, shortly after the terrorists' attacks. President George W. Bush compared the attacks and the terrorists who carried them to "evil doers' deeds". It is undoubtedly one of the most emotional speeches ever delivered by the President. It is to be observed that President George W. Bush uses the speech to express solidarity with the listeners. Hence, this value is used as many as four times during the speech. It is because the nation's citizens might expect a well defined standpoint after such a tragedy and therefore President George w. Bush often implies this aspect of political discourse. Moreover, the concept of help and justice which are

essentially important to build and improve nation's morale are not used so frequently. This speech can be perceived as the initial psychological help, rather than precise and further protection. Thus, the presence of the following values, *i.e. freedom, future orientation* and above all ostensible *sense of control* are to be observed and present in the given speech. In addition to the above, the text reflects basic American needs and the values which are most revered by the American citizens. This is also a shrewd way of hiding genuine intentions, namely the beginning of war with terrorism. That is why a massive chunk of the given speech is solely devoted to this subject. It is also to be observed that President George W. Bush is trying to catch the attention of every listener and, therefore, it is not surprising that the variety of values is employed in this speech. The forms of addressing such as "(...) our fellow citizens, our way of life, our very freedom" (see paragraph 1), show that the President makes an attempt to reach every average citizen.

The model of arguments employed in this speech goes as follow:

**Tt -9, B-8/ D-8, Td-7, G-5, I-3, H-4, Te-2 - A5- 6**

President George W. Bush puts great emphasis on the expression of solidarity with the listeners. By expressing so emotional attitude the President is trying to get closer to the audience. Moreover, the speech reflects the starting point of the war with terrorism. This aspect is smartly interlaced with the situational context and, therefore, seems to be completely acceptable. This text and its elements (especially sense of belonging) seem to prepare the nation to the defined standpoint on the war with terrorism. This speech delivered as first on the day of the tragedy makes a few suggestions for the audience, which may reflect lack of well-defined policy against terror and, may prove that the strategy of the struggle with terrorism has not been considered in a scrutinized way yet. Surprisingly enough, the usage of passive voice may indicate that President George W. Bush has chosen thoughtful and consistent standpoint representing the free world as an innocent victim of terrorism (murderers):

"Thousands of lives were suddenly ended by evil, despicable acts of terror" (George W. Bush, see Appendix 1, paragraph 1);

"These acts of mass murder were intended to frighten our nation into chaos and retreat" (George W. Bush see Appendix 1, paragraph 2).

The above speech is the only one among other analyzed where there is a direct quotation from the Bible. Many references to *evil* and *evil acts* help the audience to visualize the context for this speech, namely the distinction between the good and free world and the bad terrorists. However, it is to be observed that President George W. Bush does not use

many metaphors. The one among the very few that are noticeable is employed as the declaration of war at the same time. The President declares the war against vaguely defined enemy, the war which sees neither borders nor time limits.

## 5.2. Speech II George W. Bush, October 17<sup>th</sup>, 2001

This speech was addressed to the California Business Association Breakfast. It was delivered over a month after the attack on the US and President George W. Bush seems to have a complete control over the war with terrorists. In the text the President highlights the individual's *freedom* and *sense of control*, which seems to be the standpoint of this speech (*sense of control* was employed twenty three times). In addition to the above, President George W. Bush frequently employs yet another value, namely *sense of belonging* (thirteen times), which is a shrewd manner of speaking on the behalf of the nation. President George W. Bush refers to the aforementioned value hoping that he will influence the people who are not in favor of the President's actions, but also he tries to show that the majority of people support him. Moreover, another value which is supposed to unite the nation and gain support is the so called *concept of help* (it appears ten times). The President refers to it in order interlace the battle against terrorism with the American spirit of help, which altogether is to appeal to the American sense of identity and national destiny. Not surprisingly, President George W. Bush tries to present America as the country which is generous and just, even for those who became victims of the American military attacks. It is also worth noticing that quite a part of the speech is *future oriented* (it appears eighteen times), which is especially visible in numerous paragraphs of the speech. It is to be observed that the smoke screen in the form of future orientation has got one primary function. Not only is it employed to convey positive thinking, but also to hide numerous mistakes made by President George W. Bush and his administration in the time of war with terrorism.

In comparison to the first speech delivered on the day of the tragedy, this speech is more precise when it comes to expressing the President's *policy* on the war with terrorism (thirteen references). By expressing solidarity with the nation's all citizens President George W. Bush is trying to suggest decisions to the receivers. Thus, there are many phrases in the opening part of the speech which show the above attempt. They go as follow:

"My fellow Americans" (George W. Bush, see Appendix 2, paragraphs 1, 6);

"Folks" (George W. Bush, see Appendix 2, paragraph 3);



“All of us” (George W. Bush, see Appendix 2, paragraph 7);

In addition to the aforementioned, the nation is being assured that as the head of the nation the President would act exactly in the same way the nation’s citizens are advised to act. This is the way the President is trying to visualize that all the suggestions apply to every citizen irrespective of the background, religion, ethnicity, including the President himself. The above shows President Bush’s confidence in the implementation and recommendation of his policy. The following quotation proves the above thesis: “The terrorists want us to stop our lives – that’s what they want (...) But this nation will not be intimidated by the evildoers” (George W. Bush, see Appendix 2, paragraph 20).

The speech marks differences in comparison with the previous one. First of all, the text is saturated with the emotional attitude of the speaker and other emotional arguments which may reflect the people’s attitude towards the terrorists. Secondly, the President’s statements are definitely shorter than in the case of the first analyzed speech, which is probably due to simple verbs that are employed to bear concrete meaning.

We have arrived at the following model of arguments:

**Tt- 21, F- 18, D- 13/ H- 13, B- 12, I- 10, G- 4, C1- 3/ C2- 3                    - A2- 23**

On the basis of the above, it is to be observed that President George W. Bush remains steadfast, claiming that he controls the whole situation and follows the country in the right direction. Moreover, the President seems to stress his policy regarding the war with terrorism. As a man who is strongly determined and believes in the rightness of his policy, it is not surprising that the President is trying to inflict (either explicitly or implicitly) his point of view on others and above all convince his receivers to the standpoint he represents.

### **5.3. Speech III**    George W. Bush, October 30<sup>th</sup>, 2001; 2:20 P.M. (Local)

This speech was addressed at the CEO (Chief Executive Officers) Summit in Shanghai in The People’s Republic of China. It is slightly different from the two previous ones, probably due to the target audience, namely the businessmen and other influential people, most of whom are not Americans. What is worth noticing is the fact that some of the paragraphs of the analyzed speech do not contain any propositions of value (in comparison with the two previous ones where values were presented in each paragraph). The typical American values which were rife in the two previous speeches are scarce in

this particular one. The speech is definitely suited to the specific receivers (business people) and, therefore, is saturated with *future oriented* value and *sense of belonging*. It is clearly visible that President George W. Bush sees himself as the unquestionable leader of the coalition against world terror. On the basis of the given speech, President George W. Bush can be perceived as the guard of freedom who controls all steps and measures against the worldwide terror (*sense of control* is mentioned ten times in the text). In addition to the above, it is to be observed that President George W. Bush presents himself as the leader who inflicts order to retrieve peace and bring justice to the world. Not surprisingly, the concept of *human rights* is used several times in the text and the aforementioned concept of *justice* has become the main reason of the struggle against terrorism. President George W. Bush uses the above concepts and elements (especially *sense of belonging*, *future orientation*, *justice* and *human rights*) to gain additional allies in the war against terrorism. Moreover, his actions were mainly directed to reach political and financial support for the actions of the President's administration. President George W. Bush is also trying to visualize the scale of the tragedy by referring to many figures and numbers. By doing this the President wants to justify all the steps taken to prevent further widespread of evildoers, making his speech more persuasive. The following quotation pictures this approach:

“The roll of dead and the missing includes citizens from over eighty nations - 96 Russians, 23 Australians, at least 30 Chinese, 24 Japanese, 20 Malaysians, 16 Mexicans, 21 Indonesians” (George W. Bush, see Appendix 3, paragraph 4).

The above figures indicate one more issue, namely that the problem of terrorism and the attacks in The US are not solely the problem of the American nation, but rather the problem of the whole civilized world where human rights, the sense of freedom and safety are among the highest values. This is a shrewd way of gaining support from other nations which might be unwilling to become involved in the war against the global terror. The President wanted to say: “Look your people became victims of cruel evildoers and you must act to fight them and stop these atrocities”.

The very important aspect of the analysis of the given speech is that President George W. Bush refrains from using emotional tone and attitude in the given speech. It is probably due to the fact that the receivers (CEO Summit) are economy-oriented people. Thus, the President's opinions carry a very limited emotional load. It is to be observed, however, that President George W. Bush frequently uses suggestions and personal declarations (suggestions are used twelve times and personal declarations seventeen times) in order to achieve greater persuasiveness. Yet another thing worth mentioning is the omnipresence of references to extratextual links and general social knowledge as

well as the recent history, especially the attacks in the US to gain understanding among the audience and to picture the scale and range of the world's terror problem (extratextual links are employed twenty four times whereas the recent history references are used seven times). The implementation of many repetitions is a tool used by the President to be perceived as more convincing and compelling: "The guilty ones are Taliban. They, disrupt, they steal; they prevent supplies of food from delivery. They starve their people, and that is another reason they must go" (George W. Bush, see Appendix 3, paragraph 11). Yet another issue worth noticing is that the President does not employ direct quotations in the text. In addition to the above, it is to be noticed that President George W. Bush often makes references to the general knowledge of the society, avoiding at the same time references to the remote history. This manoeuvre is to focus the audience's attention on the current events taking place around the world, but also to remind receivers of the terrible attacks which took place in the US.

On the basis of the above analysis we have arrived at the following model of arguments:

**F- 24, Te- 20, Tt- 18, Td- 17, H- 13, I- 12, D- 11, G- 10, C1- 7, B- 5, E- - A6- 21**

This speech is the reflection of President's George W. Bush's policy, *i.e.* to involve as many allies in the war against terrorism as possible. President George W. Bush makes many references to the situational arguments to highlight that the issue discussed concerns all the present audience. Moreover, the President moulds the content of the text to reach the particular audience and to seek their support. Hence, the massive chunk of the delivered speech is devoted to the economic situation shortly after attacks, some prospects for the future, and the idea of corporate development and cooperation within the given field. The President embodies the plan of drawing a thick borderline between the good and the bad, which is a smart way of hiding all inadequacies of the administration's actions.

#### **5.4. Speech IV** George W. Bush, October 24<sup>th</sup>, 2001, 1:42 P.M. EDT

This speech was delivered to the employees of the Dixie Company. The President seems to employ many propositions of *control* (this value occurs sixteen times). Numerous references to this marker are to highlight that the nation's leader thoroughly controls the situation and even such tremendous atrocities as done by the terrorists are not able to collapse the economy and prosperity of the world's richest country. In addition to the above, President George W. Bush seems to have a long term plan on how to approach

and tackle the current situation (both military, political and economic). Therefore numerous statements of the President's speech are future oriented (George W. Bush marks this value thirteen times). The prospects for the future are definitely positive as it is to be seen in the following quotations: "[...] the bases for economic growth are very strong. The entrepreneurial spirit is very strong in America. Tax structure has been improved" (George W. Bush, see Appendix 4, paragraphs 15-16). Tax relief and other economic incentives are to reassure the citizen's morale and sense of prosperity. It is also a shrewd way of gaining support by providing new legislation which is to ease the tax policy.

It is not surprising that the President employs the concept of *belonging* so willingly (sixteen times) in the speech as he is simply trying to convince every citizen that their duty is to take part in the process of economic revival, which as a result is to lead to the nation's future prosperity. It has to be mentioned, however, that values such as *freedom* and *patriotism* are mentioned just once during the speech. We are of the opinion that the President is trying to focus an average citizen's attention on the problems occurring in the homeland (economy), marking at the same military actions and policy towards the Middle East. The characteristic feature of all analyzed speeches is the presence of *Puritan values*, which are of tremendous importance for American people (the American way of life, family, faith etc.)

Let us present the model of arguments employed in this speech:

**Td- 17, H- 16, F- 15, Tt- 12, D- 9/ Te- 9, C1- 8/ I- 8, B- 5, E- 1, C2- 1 - A2 -16**

On the basis of the above, it is clearly seen that the President declares persistent and tireless battle against evildoers. Moreover, it is worth mentioning that President George W. Bush is certain of his policy towards the war against terrorism and the nation's revival. Thus, many references to military actions, government's actions, tax policy, economic incentives, all of which are to give the picture of utter control. That is why it is not surprising that numerous statements in this text are the personal declarations of the speaker. There is also a clear-cut division of remarks on domestic issues and those regarding terrorism. In addition to the above, the President makes various references to extratextual links and general social knowledge to share his ideas and policy with the nation and gather better understanding of his administration actions. Last but not least, it is to be observed that the President does not refrain from referring to the concept of terrorism, reminding the citizens that the evil is still present and the country needs strong economy and prosperous people to be able to fight effectively on both fronts. The

President is also trying to calm the nation's anxiety, hiding all mistakes made by his administration.

### 5.5. Speech V George W. Bush, October 30<sup>th</sup>,2001, 1:52 P.M. EST

The speech was addressed to veterans and students during the Announcement of Lessons of Liberty Initiative. As a result, President George W. Bush frequently employs *patriotism* in the text (ten times). What is worth mentioning, the concept of patriotism comprises many values such as heroism, sacrifice *etc.* The following quotation is the example of the above: "I ask all of us, children and adults, to remember the valor and sacrifice of our veterans... American veterans show us the meaning of sacrifice and citizenship, and we should learn from them" (George W. Bush, see Appendix 5, paragraph 19). It is also clearly seen that the President honors veterans and their deeds in his speech ("respect" occurs seven times). In addition to the above, President George W. Bush is trying to reach the audience by referring to the *sense of belonging* (nine times). This concept's aim is to set an example for the others. The text has got implications in the past wars but it is clearly seen that the majority of it is *future oriented* (five times). Surprisingly enough, President George W. Bush refers to the concept of *control* only four times in the text, in comparison with the previously analyzed speeches where the President seemed to have uttered control in the war with the global terrorism. Yet another interesting fact that differentiates this speech from the others analyzed is that the concept of *help* occurs just three times, and similarly *freedom* is referred to only four times.

On the basis of the analysis we have arrived at the following model of arguments:

**Td- 12, F- 11, B- 10, I- 7, D- 6/ G- 6, Tt- 5, C1- 2, E- 2, H- 1 – A5- 9**

It is clearly seen that President George W. Bush's text carries an emotional load (saturation of rather emotional statements), and the propositions of value are rife. It is to be observed that the emotional statements have a greater degree of subjectivity. The President very often refers to extratextual links and general social knowledge (eleven times). Thus, he interlaces the text with some well known facts from the recent history and none referring to the remote history. Moreover, President George W. Bush's policy expressed by the means of his standpoint is rather blurred. Therefore, the suggestions presented by the President leave plenty of room for the interpretation. What is also worth noticing is the fact that President George W. Bush employs numerous ways of

expressing solidarity with the American nation. The following quotation seems to express this solidarity: “We all know that this is one nation, under God. And we pray that God will bless America, the land that we all love, regardless of our race, regardless of our religion, regardless of where we live” (George W. Bush, see Appendix 5, paragraph 5). The entire text is saturated with concepts and ideas which highlight the need to conduct a tireless battle against the terror. President George W. Bush is also trying to revive the spirit of patriotism and the citizen’s duty to stand for their country to defend it. The President’s aim is also to inculcate some patriotic feelings especially in the young generation of Americans.

## 6. General conclusions

The values that have been employed most often in the analyzed speeches were *future orientation*, *sense of control* and *sense of belonging*. The last value employed as many as fifty-four times clearly indicates that President George W. Bush is trying to approach the problem of the war against terrorism to every person (receiver of his speeches), and above all sees every member of the target audience as a potential supporter of his actions. It is commonly known that the American society comprises many nationalities, ethnic or religious groups, and therefore the President employs the value of *belonging* in order to unite the nation facing the tremendous tragedy as well as to reach every individual. It is also to be observed that the President wants to gain support and votes from the nation’s citizens, employing rather universal values which can be addressed not only to the native Americans. As a result, all of the five analyzed speeches are heavily based on the *sense of belonging*.

In addition to the above, the value which is employed most often in the speeches is the *orientation at/towards the future* (in fact it was employed sixty-two times). The implementation of this value serves one general purpose, namely to reassure the Americans that the prospect for the future is very optimistic. It is due to the fact that the American society is future oriented and hopes that the future would bring them fortune and good luck. In fact, it is a very shrewd way of marking the problems of the President George W. Bush’s administration in the war against terrorism. The President wants to please the nation with the fruitful prospect for the future, hiding at the same all the machinery involved in the global war against terrorism.

It is not surprising that the nation’s leader is to be perceived as the one who controls the situation. Thus, *sense of control* appears fifty-nine times in all analyzed speeches. President George W. Bush wants to be perceived as the strong, determined and powerful

leader who is able to provide shelter and protection for all American citizens. The President's message is very simple, *i.e.* if the Americans want to feel secured and safe they should assist President George W. Bush in all his actions. In addition to that, the President wants to be viewed as the nation's 'shepherd' who guards safety and peace in the US and round the world. It is also worth noticing that the President employs other fundamental values revered by Americans in his speeches, namely the concept of *freedom*, *help*, and *justice*. The above values are among the most fundamental ones guaranteed in The American Constitution. What is worth noticing, however, is the fact that *human rights* (employed just three times) and *patriotism* (marked ten times) are the values which are surprisingly rare in President George W. Bush's analyzed speeches, despite that they constitute an integral part of Puritan values.

The vital aspect of each leadership is the ability to show emotions during formal orations or, in other words, the good nation's leader must be able to interlace the speeches he delivers with some qualities of interpersonal communication. It is to be noticed, however, that the leader must not reveal weakness, which can have disastrous consequences for the overall image. President George W. Bush seems to follow this advice and willingly employs the emotional attitude during the speeches. The president frequently refers to extratextual links and general social knowledge and uses the above as a tool to highlight his policy concerning the war against terrorism. In fact the suggestions proposed by the President are to encourage the would-be voters to act in accordance with his rather vague policy towards terrorism. The skillful references to the context supported by numerous suggestions leave an open space for the interpretation of President George W. Bush's words in a manner which is convenient for the receivers. References to the values of *freedom* or *justice* supported by numerous personal declarations (sixty-two times) make the listeners feel that the President is not trying to win the votes of the audience, but rather is fighting for the right cause. In this way the leader inflicts the way of thinking on the listeners, advising the advisable way of acting.

Yet another fact worth mentioning is that the President makes very few references to the remote and the recent history. Instead, President George W. Bush focuses on the war with terrorism, but his main goal is to revive the domestic economy and restore security. In addition to the above, it is to be observed that the President's speeches are rather effective, which is reflected in the number of countries which joined the coalition against the world terror. What is even more important President George W. Bush puts a great emphasis on finding those who are to be blamed for the tragedy the US faced on September 11<sup>th</sup>, 2001.

The president's success is partly due to the fact that his speeches comprised the

numerous values which were mostly revered by the nation's citizens, irrespective of their gender, social status, ethnicity or educational background. The President made use of values that are common to everyone in a delightful and useful way, gaining support from his fellow citizens. Not surprisingly, President George W. Bush's speeches can also be seen as meticulously prepared verbal realizations of the political discourse, which were convincing enough for other countries to become Bush's allies in the America's struggle with terrorists.

On the basis of the five analyzed speeches we have arrived at the general model of all speeches combined:

**F- 74, Tt- 64, Td- 62, D- 47/ H-47, B- 40/ I-40, Te- 38, G- 33, C1- 20, C2- 7, E- 4 -  
A6- 62**

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[www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2001/09/20010911-16.html](http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2001/09/20010911-16.html) - Statement by the President in His Address to the Nation, Speech I - 02.06.2008.

[www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2001/10/20011017-15.html](http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2001/10/20011017-15.html) - The President Outlines War Effort, Speech II - 02.06.2008.

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[www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2001/10/20011030-7.html](http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2001/10/20011030-7.html) - The President Launches "Lessons of Liberty", Speech V - 02.06.2008.

**Appendix****Speech I - Statement by the President in His Address to the Nation<sup>1</sup>**

8:30 P.M. EDT

1. THE PRESIDENT: Good evening. Today, our fellow citizens, our way of life, our very freedom came under attack in a series of deliberate and deadly terrorist acts. The victims were in airplanes, or in their offices; secretaries, businessmen and women, military and federal workers; moms and dads, friends and neighbors. Thousands of lives were suddenly ended by evil, despicable acts of terror.
  2. The pictures of airplanes flying into buildings, fires burning, huge structures collapsing, have filled us with disbelief, terrible sadness, and a quiet, unyielding anger. These acts of mass murder were intended to frighten our nation into chaos and retreat. But they have failed; our country is strong.
  3. A great people has been moved to defend a great nation. Terrorist attacks can shake the foundations of our biggest buildings, but they cannot touch the foundation of America. These acts shattered steel, but they cannot dent the steel of American resolve.
  4. America was targeted for attack because we're the brightest beacon for freedom and opportunity in the world. And no one will keep that light from shining.
  5. Today, our nation saw evil, the very worst of human nature. And we responded with the best of America -- with the daring of our rescue workers, with the caring for strangers and neighbors who came to give blood and help in any way they could.
  6. Immediately following the first attack, I implemented our government's emergency response plans. Our military is powerful, and it's prepared. Our emergency teams are working in New York City and Washington, D.C. to help with local rescue efforts.
  7. Our first priority is to get help to those who have been injured, and to take every precaution to protect our citizens at home and around the world from further attacks.
  8. The functions of our government continue without interruption. Federal agencies in Washington which had to be evacuated today are reopening for essential personnel tonight, and will be open for business tomorrow. Our financial institutions remain strong, and the American economy will be open for business, as well.
  9. The search is underway for those who are behind these evil acts. I've directed the full resources of our intelligence and law enforcement communities to find those responsible and to bring them to justice. We will make no distinction between the terrorists who committed these acts and those who harbor them.
  10. I appreciate so very much the members of Congress who have joined me in strongly condemning these attacks. And on behalf of the American people, I thank the many world leaders who have called to offer their condolences and assistance.
  11. America and our friends and allies join with all those who want peace and security in the world, and we stand together to win the war against terrorism. Tonight, I ask for your prayers for all those who grieve, for the children whose worlds have been shattered, for all whose sense of safety and security has been threatened. And I pray they will be comforted by a power greater than any of us, spoken through the ages in Psalm 23: "Even though I walk through the valley of the shadow of death, I fear no evil, for You are with me."
  12. This is a day when all Americans from every walk of life unite in our resolve for justice and peace. America has stood down enemies before, and we will do so this time. None of us will ever forget this day. Yet, we go forward to defend freedom and all that is good and just in our world.
  13. Thank you. Good night, and God bless America.
- END 8:35 P.M. EDT

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<sup>1</sup> [www.whitehouse.gov/news/release/2001/09/20010911-16.html](http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/release/2001/09/20010911-16.html)

**Speech II - President Outlines War Effort<sup>2</sup>**

11:38 A.M. PDT

1. THE PRESIDENT: Thank you all so much for that warm welcome. And I also want to thank the hundreds of our fellow Americans who lined the road coming in from the helicopter pad. It's really good to be here in California to report on our progress in the struggle against terror.
2. Now, there's the long version, and there's a short version. So I'm going to start with the short version: Our people are united; our government is determined; our cause is right; and justice will be done. (Applause.)
3. I want to thank Gerry Parsky. I want to thank all the folks who put on this -- organized this event. I appreciate so much the Governor, Gray Davis, coming, and all the elected officials.
4. I particularly want to say hello to the members of the Sacramento Urban Search and Rescue Task Force Seven. (Applause.) They may not remember, but I do -- I got to meet them in New York City. (Laughter.) They were part of an incredible outpouring of compassion and support from all across the country. I've got to tell you, I was amazed when I went into the building and they said they were from California. I said, this country is fabulous, when we've got people from California, from Sacramento, going all the way over to help their brothers and sisters at the World Trade Center. And I know you're just as proud of them as I am. And thank you all for being here. (Applause.)
5. This great state is known for its diversity -- people of all races, all religions, and all nationalities. They've come here to live a better life, to find freedom, to live in peace and security, with tolerance and with justice. When the terrorists attacked America, this is what they attacked. And when we defend America, this is what we defend. (Applause.)
6. We are fighting for the security of our people, for the success of our ideals, and for stability in large parts of the world. We fight evil people who are distorting and betraying a great religion to justify their murder. Our cause is just. We will not tire. We will not falter. And, my fellow Americans, we will not fail. (Applause.)
7. New York City and Washington, D.C. are 2,500 miles from here. Yet, for all of us, an American is an American, no matter where we live, no matter what our race, no matter how we pray. The people of New York and Washington are our neighbors and when terrorists attack them, they attack us all. And the terrorists are hearing from us all. (Applause.)
8. They are hearing from a compassionate nation -- a nation that sends food and medicine to starving people of Afghanistan; a nation whose children -- and I know we've got some here who have raised money at the elementary school -- whose children are sending their dollars to save the children of Afghanistan. (Applause.)
9. They are hearing from a tolerant nation, a nation that respects Islam and values our many Muslim citizens. They are hearing from a prayerful nation, a nation that prays to an almighty God for protection and for peace. And they are hearing from a patient and determined nation, a nation that will continue this war for as long as it takes to win. (Applause.)
10. Ours will be a broad campaign, fought on many fronts. It's a campaign that will be waged by day and by night, in the light and in the shadow, in battles you will see and battles you won't see. It's a campaign waged by soldiers and sailors, Marines and airmen; and also by FBI agents and law enforcement officials and diplomats and intelligence officers. It's a campaign that is being waged in distant lands, and a campaign being waged by our new Office of Homeland Security.
11. To keep us safe, we're working around the clock. We're on the lookout. We have questioned and detained more than 750 terror suspects and material witnesses in our country. And the broad coalition we put together has detained hundreds of suspected members of the al Qaeda organization. Our world coalition is working. We are taking apart the terrorist network, piece by piece. We're taking away their money by freezing their assets and choking off their incomes.
12. Our campaign will be difficult, and it's going to take time. But I can promise you this: It will be waged with determination, and it will be waged until we win. (Applause.) We will do whatever it takes to protect our country, protect the good American families. And we will do whatever it takes to punish those who have attacked us. (Applause.)
13. We'll do whatever it takes to defeat terror abroad, wherever it grows or wherever it hides. In Afghanistan, our Armed Forces are performing their duty with skill and success. We've destroyed many terrorist camps. We've damaged the Taliban's air defenses. We've seriously weakened all those in Afghanistan who wish to inflict harm on people anywhere in the world.
14. We're paving the way for friendly troops to defeat the Taliban and root out the al Qaeda parasites that the Taliban hosts and protects. We're enforcing the doctrine that says this: If you harbor the terrorists, you are guilty of terror. And like the terrorists, you will be held responsible. (Applause.)

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<sup>2</sup> [www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2001/10/20011017-15.html](http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2001/10/20011017-15.html)

15. We are not alone in this struggle. The war against terrorism is an international war, and we're fighting with a broad, broad coalition. Many nations around the world have joined with us in this cause, including nations from the Islamic world. Some countries contribute intelligence. Some help with law enforcement. Some join with military power, like our friends Great Britain. (Applause.) We are supported by the conscience of the world. And we are surrounding terrorists and their sponsors in a tightening net of justice.

16. Later today, I fly to Shanghai to meet with leaders from all round the Far East, and leaders whose nations touch the Pacific, including Russia and China. We'll be strengthening our cooperation in the war on terror. We'll strengthen the economic ties that bring growth and hope to the entire world.

17. The terrorists attacked the World Trade Center, and we will defeat them by expanding and encouraging world trade. (Applause.) In order to help me expand world trade, I've asked the Congress to give me what's called trade promotion authority -- the ability to help me seek America's interests around the world.

18. America will do whatever it takes to strengthen our security here at home. I've named former Pennsylvania Governor Tom Ridge to head the new Office of Homeland Security, to help expose and to frustrate the plans of terrorists. We've adopted new measures to protect our airlines, so Americans can fly with greater confidence.

19. We're responding rapidly to investigate anthrax reports and to quickly give preventative treatment to any who are exposed. Thousands of FBI agents are aggressively following every lead in our anti-terror campaign. And I urge Congress to act quickly to update our laws and procedures so we can better protect our country and punish those who threaten us.

20. The terrorists want us to stop our lives -- that's what they want. They want us to stop flying, and they want us to stop buying. But this great nation will not be intimidated by the evildoers. (Applause.)

21. America will do whatever it takes to get our economy moving again. These are difficult times. Too many Americans are hurting. Too many are worried about their jobs and their businesses. And I know that California has been hit especially hard. America has got great resources, though. We've got the most skilled workers in the world, the best work force. Taxpayers have just received their rebates. Interest rates have been cut to the lowest level in years. Energy prices are declining. The entrepreneurial spirit has never been stronger in America. The basics of our economy are ripe for growth.

22. Yet recent events have been a shock, no question about it, have shocked our economy. And people need help. And the government in Washington is actively responding. We've already announced additional spending to rebuild New York and the Pentagon, to stabilize our airline industry, and to make sure we have enough money to defend our country. And I'll work with Congress to help workers who have lost their jobs because of the sudden economic slowdown.

23. I've outlined additional economic stimulus package. I've listened carefully to members from both political parties. It's a package that will provide a needed lift for our economy. I urge Congress to act now to accelerate the tax relief we've already planned for the years ahead, so consumers will have more money to spend. I urge Congress to have more tax relief for lower- and moderate-income families in America who are especially hard hit. And I urge Congress to reform the corporate income tax, and as well, allow businesses to deduct more of the costs of new investments immediately, so as to create jobs for American people. (Applause.)

24. And I ask Congress to now act on an energy bill that the House of Representatives passed back in August. This is an issue of special importance to California. Too much of our energy comes from the Middle East. The plan I sent up to Congress promotes conservation, expands energy supplies, and improves the efficiency of our energy network. Our country needs greater energy independence. (Applause.) This issue is a matter of national security, and I hope the Senate acts quickly.

25. On all these great issues, there's a spirit of respect and cooperation in Washington -- I'm pleased to report. (Laughter and applause.) This morning, I had breakfast with the four leaders of the Congress. And, while we have our differences, I do want you to know there is a strong determination to do what's right for the American people. (Applause.)

26. I have butted heads in the past -- (laughter) -- with the leadership. But I want you to know, I applaud their love for America and their determination -- their determination -- to get the people's business done in a way that will make you proud. We're making good progress about changing the tone. The terrorists thought they affected us, but they've only made this nation stronger. (Applause.)

27. Not only do I applaud the leadership, I applaud the American people for your courage in a time of trial. We're living through a unique moment in American history. This is a time of rediscovery, of heroism and sacrifice and duty and patriotism. These are core values of our country, and they're being renewed. We found them waiting for us just when we needed them.

28. Our forefathers would be proud, really proud of what they see in America today. They would be proud of the selfless duty of the fire fighters and police officers of New York, fire fighters and police officers all around our country and the men and women who wear the uniform of the United States of America. (Applause.)
29. Our forefathers would salute the modern day sacrifice of the brave passengers on Flight 93, who, after reciting the Lord's Prayer, said, "let's roll," and stormed the hijackers, taking the plane down and probably saving thousands of lives on the ground. (Applause.)
30. Our forefathers would know and recognize the spirit of unity and patriotism everywhere in our country, and they would say, well done, America. (Applause.)
31. No, the true character of this great land has been revealed in adversity. Americans are generous to our neighbors in need. Americans are tolerant toward our fellow citizens of every background. Americans are alert to danger, but calm and determined in the work ahead. And Americans are reaching out across the world to say: We wage a war on the guilty, not the innocent. We're friends to people of all faiths and enemies only to those who choose to make enemies of us.
32. And Americans know we must act now. We must be strong and we must be decisive. We must stop the evil ones, so our children and grandchildren can know peace and security and freedom in the greatest nation on the face of the Earth. (Applause.)
33. Our nation has felt great sorrow. Yet this can be a time of great achievement. A great evil can be turned to greater good. The terrorists did not intend to create a new American spirit of unity and resolve, but they are powerless to stop it. (Applause.)
34. At my inaugural, I said that some Americans feel as if they share a continent, but not a country. We don't feel that any longer. (Applause.) We know we're one people; we know we're one country. We're united from coast to coast by a determination and a firm resolve to see that right prevails. (Applause.)
35. I will take that determination with me to meet leaders of the world in Shanghai. And America will take that determination all the way to victory. (Applause.)
36. Thank you for having me. God bless. Thank you all. (Applause.)

### **Speech III President Says Terrorists Tried to Disrupt World Economy<sup>3</sup>**

2:20 P.M. (Local)

1. THE PRESIDENT: Thank you all very much. Bob, thank you so much for your kind words, and thank you for your great service to our country. Thank you, Chairman Yu, as well, for your good work in organizing this event.
2. I want to thank our hosts. I was telling Chairman Yu that I was here in 1975 with my mother. (Laughter.) Shanghai has finally recovered. (Laughter.) I can't tell you what a startling difference it is, Shanghai is today than what it was in 1975. It's a great testimony to the Chinese people and the leadership of Shanghai, and the leadership of this great land.
3. I also want to say that I'm proud to be accompanied by our great Secretary of State, who is doing such a fantastic job for the United States of America, Colin Powell. (Applause.)
4. We meet today with recent memories of great evil -- yet great hope for this region and its future. The attacks of September 11th took place in my country, but they were really an attack on all civilized countries. The roll of the dead and the missing includes citizens from over 80 nations -- 96 Russians, 23 Australians, at least 30 Chinese, 24 Japanese, 20 Malaysians, 16 Mexicans, 21 Indonesians.
5. This was truly a crime against humanity. And it stands condemned by humanity.
6. The American people are grateful for the world's sympathy and support following September 11th. We truly are. We won't forget the American Stars and Stripes flying in solidarity from every fire truck in Montreal, Canada; or children kneeling in silent prayer outside the embassy in Seoul; baseball players in Japan observing moments of silence; a sign handwritten in English at a candlelight vigil in Beijing that read, "Freedom and justice will not be stopped."
7. I can't tell you how much I appreciate the phone calls from leaders from around the world. We're deeply grateful to countries -- including all the APEC countries -- that have now joined in a great coalition against terror.
8. In our world, there is no isolation from evil. Our enemies are murderers with global reach. They seek weapons to kill on a global scale. Every nation now must oppose this enemy, or be, in turn, its target. Those who hate all civilization and

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<sup>3</sup> [www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2001/10/20011021-5.html](http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2001/10/20011021-5.html)

culture and progress, those who embrace death to cause the death of the innocent, cannot be ignored, cannot be appeased. They must be fought. This is my firm resolve, and the firm resolve of my nation. This is the urgent task of our time.

9. The most visible part of our response is taking place in Afghanistan. The Taliban regime has allied itself with murderers. I gave Taliban leaders a choice: turn over the terrorists, or face your ruin. They chose unwisely.

10. Yet, even as we oppose the Taliban, we seek friendship with the Afghan people. Our military actions are accompanied by food drops. We have substantially increased aid to Afghanistan. My government supports international efforts to bring help and stability and peace to that unfortunate nation.

11. There's frustration about the delivery of food and medicine and help in Afghanistan. I share that frustration. The guilty ones are the Taliban. They disrupt; they steal; they prevent supplies of food from delivery. They starve their people, and that is another reason they must go. (Applause.)

12. Our war on terror has many fronts, and military action is only a part of our plan. This campaign will take strong diplomacy and intelligence; diligent law enforcement and financial cooperation. It will span every continent and require varied contributions from many nations.

13. Tomorrow, APEC leaders will pledge to work together to deny the terrorists any sanctuary, any funding, any material or moral support. Together, we will, patiently and diligently, pursue the terrorists from place to place until justice is done.

14. This conflict is a fight to save the civilized world, and values common to the West, to Asia, to Islam. Throughout the world, people of strong faith, of all faiths, condemn the murder of the innocent. Throughout the world, people value their families -- and nowhere do civilized people rejoice in the murder of children or the creation of orphans. By their cruelty, the terrorists have chosen to live on the hunted margin of mankind. By their hatred, they have divorced themselves from the values that define civilization, itself.

15. The stakes of this fight for all nations are high -- our lives, our way of life, and our economic future. By attacking two great economic symbols, the terrorists tried to shatter confidence in the world economic system. But they failed.

16. The terrorists hoped world markets would collapse. But markets have proven their resiliency and fundamental strength. And this week in these halls, we return to the steady work of building the market-based economic system that has brought more prosperity more quickly to more people than at any time in human history. We know a future of greater trade and growth and human dignity is possible -- and we will build it.

17. When nations allow their citizens to exercise conscience and creativity, the result is economic and social progress. When nations accept the rules of the modern world, they discover the benefits of the modern world.

18. This vast region and its people -- 21 economies, on the shores of a peaceful ocean -- are demonstrating the power and appeal of markets and trade. China's per capita GDP has grown by 513 percent since 1975. Seventy-three percent of all South Korean households have personal computers. Slashing trade barriers has helped Chile raise per capita incomes by 53 percent over the past 10 years.

19. And the wealth generated by markets and trade brings dramatic improvements to human lives. Indonesia has cut its infant mortality rate in half since 1980. Malaysia's illiteracy rate is one-third of what it was in 1975; Mexico is less than half.

20. I'm here in Shanghai to assure our friends -- and to inform our foes -- that the progress of trade and freedom will continue. The ties of culture and commerce will grow stronger. Economic development will grow broader.

21. The Asia Pacific region provides the world with a model and a choice: Choose openness, trade, and tolerance, and you will find prosperity, liberty and knowledge. Choose isolation, envy and resentment, and you will find poverty, stagnation and ignorance. Our nations have chosen -- we have chosen freedom over fear.

22. Out of the sorrow of September 11th, I see opportunity -- a chance for nations and their leaders to strengthen and to rethink and reinvigorate our relationships. We share more than a common enemy, we share a common goal: to expand our ties of trade and trust. And now we must seize the opportunity.

23. First, our governments must keep the path of economic progress. That progress begins with freer trade. Trade is the engine of economic advancement. On every continent, in every culture, trade generates opportunity, enhances entrepreneur growth. And trade applies the power of markets to the needs of the poor. It has lifted countless lives in this region, from Asia to Australia to the Americas.

24. Together, we must meet the Bogor goals, including free trade for every nation in this region by 2020. The Shanghai Accord we'll sign tomorrow gives us new and useful tools to enhance trade and investment.

25. We must also launch a new global trade round in November in Doha. We're committed to the goal of a world that lives and trades in freedom, and we must meet any challenge that stands in our way. There's much work to be done, and all of us,

every nation, must redouble our efforts to see that Doha is a success. And every CEO in this room knows the strong case for free trade, and I urge all of you to press that case with your own governments.

26. The United States will do its part to restore economic momentum for the world. We'll keep our markets open, and our country open for business. (Applause.) We've already announced additional spending to assist and rebuild New York City, to stabilize the airline industry, and defend our country. Tax rebates have been arriving in America's mailboxes. Interest rates have been cut to historically low levels. In addition, I'm working with Congress to help workers who have lost their jobs, and to stimulate the American economy with additional tax relief, relief that will bolster consumer spending and provide incentives for business investment.

27. The economic fundamentals in America are strong, and our nation will recover. (Applause.)

28. Even before September 11th, this region faced economic uncertainty. The answer is more trade and openness, not less. This region needs regulatory systems that attract investors. Banking systems must be more transparent. Corporations must be more open and accountable. And as called for in the Shanghai Accord, we must dramatically reduce the cost of doing business across borders, by streamlining customs procedures, by harmonizing technology standards, and by cutting red tape.

29. Even in the midst of our current slowdown, there are many encouraging signs. Reform programs have been put in place in Japan, the Philippines, and Indonesia. China and Taiwan have made great strides as they prepare for WTO membership. Russia and Mexico are tracking new sources of capital. All of this is progress, and we must build on it.

30. Our second broad challenge is to fight terrorism within our countries, without undermining the ties of commerce and friendship between our countries. Terrorists want to turn the openness of the global economy against itself. We must not let them. We need customs, financial, immigration, and transportation systems that make it easier for us to do our business, and much harder for terrorists to do theirs. Pursuing both openness and security is difficult. But it is necessary, and it is the aim of the counter-terror measures the APEC leaders will commit themselves to tomorrow.

31. Our third challenge is to see to it that the benefits of prosperity and freedom are widely shared. The great alternative to hate is hope. And to seize the hopeful opportunities of markets and trade, people must be educated and healthy, and governments must be fair, and just, and committed to the rule of law.

32. All of our citizens need basic education. The greatest resource of any nation is the creative energies of its people. They must gain the skills demanded by a new economic world. Only when literacy and learning are widespread will the benefits of the global economy be widely shared.

33. All our citizens must have the advantage of basic health. Diseases such as AIDS destroy countless lives and undermine the success of many nations. Prosperous nations must work in partnership with developing nations to help remove the cloud of disease from our world's future.

34. Our governments must continue to fight official corruption in every form. Good economies can be suffocated by bureaucrats that serve themselves and not the public. Corrupt officials can destroy people's faith in fairness and in progress.

35. All nations must also realize that, in the long run, the habits of economic freedom will create expectations of greater democracy. All people -- of every religious or ethnic group -- have a right to participate in their nation's political life. No government should use our war against terrorism as an excuse to persecute minorities within their borders. Ethnic minorities must know that their rights will be safeguarded -- that their churches, temples, and mosques belong to them. We must respect legitimate political aspirations, and, at the same time, oppose all who spread terror in the name of politics or religion. (Applause.)

36. Our times present many challenges. Yet I'm confident about our shared future. I know that our region and our world can trade in freedom. I know we can bring health and education and prosperity to our people. And I know we can defeat terror, so our children and grandchildren can live in peace and security.

37. In the struggle of freedom against fear, the outcome is certain. We speak for the common hopes of mankind -- to live as we choose, to follow our faith, to build better lives for all who follow us. These hopes have carried us a long way, bringing progress and prosperity to millions. And they carry us forward to even greater achievement.

38. Now is the time to act boldly, to build and defend an age of liberty.

39. Thank you for having me. (Applause.)

END 2:44 P.M. (Local)

**Speech IV - Economy an Important Part of Homeland Defense<sup>4</sup>**

1:42 P.M. EDT

1. THE PRESIDENT: Thank you all very much. Please be seated. Newth, thank you very much. And Ray, and Susan Blavett, (phonetic) -- thank you for being here, as well. I'm glad my SBA Director is here -- Hector Barreto is in charge of the Small Business Association. And, Hector, thank you for coming. I want to thank the employees of Dixie Printing, and my fellow Americans. (Applause.)
2. Some might ask why, in the midst of war, I would come to Dixie Printing. They say, here you are conducting a campaign against terrorists, and you take time to come to a small business. And the answer is, because we fight in the war on two fronts. We fight a war at home; and part of the war we fight is to make sure that our economy continues to grow.
3. When the terrorists struck our homeland, they thought we would fold. They thought our economy would crater. That's what they wanted. But they don't understand America. They don't understand the entrepreneurial spirit of our country. They don't understand the spirit of the working men and women of America. They don't understand that small business owners all across our country are saying, we're not going to allow you to terrorize us. We're going to make sure our -- (applause.)
4. I am here to report that we're doing well on both fronts. Overseas, our diplomatic efforts are strong. Nations all across the globe have bound with the United States to send a clear message that we'll fight terrorism wherever it may exist.
5. Recently I was in China. I had an interesting meeting, as you can imagine, with the President of Russia, the head of China, Mexico, Chile -- were all represented. And to a leader, from all kinds of nations -- some Muslim, some not -- the people said, we stand with America. We stand with America in our noble goal of finding the evildoers and bringing them to justice.
6. As you know, I have asked our military to take an active role in the campaign. I set out a doctrine to America that said the following: Not only will we hold terrorists accountable for their activities, we will also hold those accountable, those nations accountable that harbor them, that hide them, that try to feed them. And that's exactly what we're doing in Afghanistan.
7. I gave the Afghan government, the Taliban government, plenty of time to respond to the demands of the United States. I said, you must hand over the al Qaeda leadership which hides in your country. I said, you must free those who you illegally detain in your country. And I said, you must destroy the camps that have been used to train the terrorists. And they had time to respond, and they didn't respond positively, and, therefore, they're paying a price.
8. Our military is conducting a campaign to bring the terrorists to justice, not to harm the Afghan people. While we are holding the Taliban government accountable, we're also feeding Afghan people. You need to be proud of the United States military. It's doing its job. It is slowly, but surely, encircling the terrorists so that we'll bring them to justice. We're patient. We're firm. We have got a strategy that is going to work. And make no mistake about it, justice will be done. (Applause.)
9. But there is another front in this war, and the front is here at home. It's something that, obviously, we're not used to in America. We've had oceans which have protected us over our history. Except for Pearl Harbor, we've never really been hit before. And yet, on September 11th, this great land came under attack. And it's still under attack as we speak. Anybody who puts poison in mail is a terrorist. Anybody who tries to affect the lives of our good citizens is evil.
10. I'm oftentimes asked by our friends in the press, do I know if there's a direct connection between what took place on September the 11th and what's happening today. I have no direct evidence, but there are some links. Both series of actions are motivated by evil and hate. Both series of actions are meant to disrupt Americans' way of life. Both series of actions are an attack on our homeland. And both series of actions will not stand.
11. It's important for the American people to know our government is doing everything we can on both fronts of this war. On the home front, we've got an Office of Homeland Security, the job of which is to organize and coordinate our functions of government in such a way as to disrupt and find those who would harm our citizens. We've got thousands of FBI agents scouring the information, asking questions, following up leads, all aimed to raise the risk of someone who would harm our citizens.
12. And, as well, we've responded to every incident that has occurred. Our nation has responded with bravery and courage. I'm proud of our health officials who responded so quickly to the incidents that took place. And, unfortunately, we

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<sup>4</sup> [www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2001/10/20011024-2.html](http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2001/10/20011024-2.html)



lost life, and our prayers are with anybody who lose life in America. But I firmly believe their quick actions saved many lives, as well.

13. We're learning about terror and evil, and our country is responding forcefully. The American people have got remarkable spirit and remarkable resolve. We are strong, we are united, and we are determined to prevail. (Applause.)

14. One of the effects of the attacks has been on our economy. Make no mistake about it: September 11th affected economic growth, and our government must respond in an effective way. And so I'm here to talk about an important part of the home front security, and that is our economy.

15. First of all, the bases for economic growth are very strong. The entrepreneurial spirit is really strong in America. We're the haven for small business opportunity in our country. I mean, more jobs are created through small business owners and the entrepreneurs of America than they are through large corporate America. And so, as we think through how to encourage economic growth, we've got to always keep in mind the small business and the medium-sized businesses of America.

16. Secondly, our tax structure has been improved. In other words, we're giving people more of their own money back. And that's an important part of economic growth. We just finished distributing about \$40 billion in rebate checks. Maybe some of you have received a \$600 or \$300 check. (Applause.) That's part of encouraging growth. And, by the way, those tax cuts that have just begun will continue next year, and the year after that, as well. (Applause.)

17. And we've acted confidently and quickly to spend money necessary to help the country recover from the attacks. We spent money on helping rebuild New York City and the Pentagon. We have spent money to stabilize our airline industry, which was the industry most directly affected by the attacks of September the 11th. We've spent money to take care of workers who have lost jobs, and that's necessary and that's important.

18. And we've taken enough money -- spending money to make sure we defend our country and accomplish our mission overseas. That spending has amounted to about \$60 billion, above and beyond our budget. That money will help with job creation and will help our economy grow. It's necessary to spend that kind of money in a time of emergency, and we're in times of emergency.

19. But I strongly believe it's time to balance this amount of spending with additional tax relief. My judgment, we've provided a lot of money in the short run, and in order to encourage and stimulate our economy, we ought to offset that money with additional tax relief -- and I want to describe some of what that means.

20. First, we need to accelerate the tax relief that is already going to happen. In other words, instead of waiting for next year's tax relief to happen, let's put it into this year, to bolster consumer spending. We want you to have more money to spend, particularly as we head into the Christmas season. We want our consumers feeling confident.

21. One way to feel confident is for the people to know there's a strong homeland security initiative and strategy, that our country is doing everything we can to succeed. And there's nothing like boosting confidence than a little extra money in the pocket, too. (Applause.)

22. I also believe we ought to have rebates for low- and moderate-income workers, people who might have filed an income tax return, but didn't get any rebate last time. Those good folks have been particularly hard-hit as a result of September the 11th. And that ought to be a part of our consumer confidence package.

23. And then there's the business side, and I want you to know that we've thought very carefully about how to stimulate economic vitality and growth. And it's a package that will help small business America. It's a package that will do two things: One, encourage more investment, immediate investment in plant and equipment, and, therefore, one that will help small businesses not only retain their work force, but, hopefully, expand their work forces.

24. And, therefore, we need to reform the corporate income tax to get rid of the alternative minimum tax, which so severely affects small businesses like Dixie. (Applause.) As well, we need to allow businesses to deduct more of the cost of new investments immediately. We need to say to the Dixie Printings of America, if you invest in equipment now, you're rewarded for that investment. To me, that makes common sense. It's a good way to make sure that we enhance the employment opportunities of America.

25. The terrorists wanted our economy to stop. It hasn't. They wanted to diminish the spirit of America. It didn't. They thought the government wouldn't be able to react. The government is going to react with an economic stimulus package that is good for workers. The House is getting ready to vote on that package. I urge them to pass it. And then I urge the Senate to act quickly to make sure that the American people understand that at this part of our homeland defense, our country and the Congress is united. (Applause.)

26. You know, I said early on that through my tears I see opportunity. And I believe my faith teaches that out of evil can come good. And there's been a lot of good that has come out of this terrible situation. By the way, there's a spirit of cooperation in Washington that is very positive. We've got Republicans and Democrats talking to each other. (Laughter.) That's good. It's very important during this time in our history that we in Washington, D.C. show that we can work together.

27. I don't know if you know this or not, but I'm now having a weekly breakfast with the leaders of the House and the Senate, both Republicans and Democrats. And I can report that there is no party that has got a lock on patriotism. The Democrats, just like Republicans, want to win this war. And we're talking about how to best solve the problems with which we're confronted.

28. But there's also a lot of other good, too. We've got moms and dads reassessing values, recognizing there are things that are so precious in life, like their children and their marriage and their family, and their church and their synagogue and their mosque. Values are strong in America. Those who struck our country didn't realize -- didn't realize because they're so evil and so dark and so negative, they couldn't realize that there's going to be such good that comes out of what took place in America.

29. We're resolved. We are strong. We're determined. We're patient. And this nation is going to do whatever it takes. You see, my attitude is, is that how the Dixie Printings behave, and how the workers behave here, and how the citizens of Maryland behave are incredibly important. How you respond to these attacks are incredibly important, not only to help win the war today, but to set the example for future generations of Americans.

30. It's important that we win today, place that flag of freedom squarely in the world. Because this is the first battle of the 21st century, and it's a battle we must win -- we have no choice -- for our children and our grandchildren. And it means that the country is going to have to do what it takes.

31. And I'm here to report, we are. We are going to do it. (Applause.)

32. So I want to thank you for giving me a chance to drop in to say hello. I am so honored to be the President of this great nation -- and I mean, great. What a fabulous land we have. And the reason why is because we've got such fabulous citizens.

33. Thank you for letting me come by. God bless. (Applause.)

END 2:04 P.M. EDT

#### **Speech V - President Launches "Lessons of Liberty"<sup>5</sup>**

1:52 P.M. EST

1. THE PRESIDENT: Thank you all very much. Sit down. (Applause.) Behave yourself. (Laughter.) Thank you for the warm welcome. (Laughter.) I'm honored to be here to announce a national effort to bring together veterans and students all across America during the week of Veterans Day, to give our young examples of duty and courage at a time when both are sorely needed.

2. I want to thank Senator Dole for being here. I appreciate his eloquence and his service to the country. (Applause.) I want to thank the two members of my Cabinet who traveled with me today, Secretary Principi and Secretary Paige, both of whom represent the best of public service. (Applause.) I want to thank Congresswoman Connie Morella for being here, as well. (Applause.)

3. Rebecca, thank you for opening up your beautiful school. I want to thank you. And I want to thank the teachers who are here. (Applause.) Teaching is such a noble profession. And if some of you students are wondering what you might want to do when you get older, think about teaching.

4. I also want to thank the students, and the veterans, and my fellow Americans. (Applause.) I can assure you it makes some of us old guys feel warm in our hearts when we see the enthusiasm you have for your school and the love you have for your country. I am proud to be standing with the Patriots. (Applause.)

5. We're a nation of patriots. The attacks of September 11th, and the attacks that have followed, were designed to break our spirit. But instead, they've created a new spirit in America. We have a renewed spirit of patriotism. We see it in the countless flags that are flying everywhere in America. We hear it in familiar phrases that move us more deeply than ever before. We all know that this is one nation, under God. And we pray that God will bless America, the land that we all love, regardless of our race, regardless of our religion, regardless of where we live.

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<sup>5</sup> [www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2001/10/20011030-7.html](http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2001/10/20011030-7.html)

6. We have a renewed appreciation of the character of America. We are a generous people, a thoughtful people who hurt, and share the sadness when people lose their life or when people are hurt. We've helped each other in every way we know, in donations, in acts of kindness, in public memorials, in private prayer. We have shown in difficult times that we're not just a world power, that we're a good and kind and courageous people.

7. As we pursue the enemy in Afghanistan, we feed the innocents. As we try to bring justice to those who have harmed us, we find those who need help. The events of these seven weeks have shown something else. They have shown a new generation, your generation, that America and the cause of freedom have determined enemies; that there are people in this world who hate what America stands for. They hate our success, they hate our liberty. We have learned all too suddenly that there are evil people who have no regard for human life, and will do whatever it takes to try to bring this mighty nation to its knees.

8. On the Korean War Memorial in Washington are these words, "Freedom is not free." Our commitment to freedom has always made us a target of tyranny and intolerance. Anyone who sets out to destroy freedom must eventually attack America, because we're freedom's home. And we must always be freedom's home and freedom's defender. We must never flinch in the face of adversity, and we won't. (Applause.)

9. You've been learning this by studying your history -- at least some of you by studying your history. (Laughter.) Now you're learning the price of freedom by following the news. You're learning that to be an American citizen in a time of war is to have duties. You're learning how a strong country responds to a crisis, by being alert and calm, resolute and patient.

10. And you're the first students who ever learned the -- who have had to learn the reality that we're having to fight a war on our own land. You're the first generation of students who has ever witnessed a war fought in America. This is a two-front war we fight. On one front is the home front. Our government is doing everything we possibly can to disrupt and deny and destroy anyone who would harm America again. And the truth of the matter is, the best way to fight for the homeland is to find the terrorists, wherever they hide, wherever they run, and to bring them to justice. (Applause.)

11. I also want to make it clear that the doctrine I laid out to the United States Congress is a doctrine this nation will enforce. It says clearly that if you harbor a terrorist, if you feed a terrorist, if you provide sanctuary to a terrorist, if you fund a terrorist, you are just as guilty as the terrorist that inflicted the harm on the American people. (Applause.)

12. Our nation gave those who harbor the al Qaeda organization ample opportunity to respond to reasonable demands. Our demands were just, and they were fair. We said very simply: Turn over al Qaeda. Send the terrorists out of your land. Release the innocent Americans and other foreigners you hold hostage in Afghanistan, and destroy al Qaeda terrorist camps and training activity camps. And we gave them ample opportunity to respond. And they chose the wrong course. And then -- they will now pay a price for choosing the wrong course.

13. This is a nation that is resolved to win. And win we must, not only for your generation, but for generations to come. (Applause.)

14. This country has always been able to count on men and women of great courage. From the day America was founded, 48 million have worn the uniform of the United States. More than 25 million veterans are living today, some of whom are with us at Wootton High. And you may know some of them in your families. I know one such veteran. He fought in World War II, like Senator Dole -- my dad. (Applause.)

15. We must remember that many who served in our military never lived to be called veterans. We must remember many had their lives changed forever by experiences or the injuries of combat. All veterans are examples of service and citizenship for every American to remember and to follow.

16. In 12 days, on Veterans Day, we will honor them. We will remember the Bob Doles of the world. We will remember a generation that liberated Europe and Asia, and put an end to concentration camps. We will remember generations that fought in the cold mountains of Korea, and manned the outposts of the Cold War. We will remember those who served in the jungles of Vietnam, and on the sands of the Persian Gulf. In each of these conflicts, Americans answered danger with incredible courage. We were equal to every challenge. And now, a great mission has been given a new generation -- our generation -- and we vow not to let America down. (Applause.)

17. Today I have a special mission for our veterans, and a special request of our schools. I ask all public, private and home schools to join our Lessons for Liberty Initiative, by inviting a veteran to speak to your students during the week of Veterans Day. I'm particularly pleased to announce that Wootton High has already put out the call, and Ron Ten Eyck has answered. Ron's a veteran of World War II. You need to listen to what he has to say.

18. Lessons of Liberty is supported by veterans groups all across America: American Legion, VFW, Military Order of the World Wars, as well as education groups all across our country. Anyone interested in participating in this important event should go to this web page: [www.va.gov](http://www.va.gov), and then click on "Veterans Day".

19. In addition to launching Lessons of Liberty, I will sign a proclamation in a minute, asking all Americans to observe the week of November 11th as National Veterans Awareness Week. (Applause.) In these difficult days here in America, I ask all of us, children and adults, to remember the valor and sacrifice of our veterans. American veterans have extraordinary stories. We should listen to them. American veterans preserved our world and freedom, and we should honor them. American veterans show us the meaning of sacrifice and citizenship, and we should learn from them.

20. Americans should always honor our veterans. At this moment, we especially need the example of their character. And we need a new generation to set examples of its own, examples in service and sacrifice and courage. These veterans have shaped our history, and with their values, your generation will help guide our future.

21. God bless, and may God bless America.

END 2:08 P.M. EST