

## The Discourse of Democracy in Bush and Obama's Orations after 9/11: A Critical Study

Masoud Dehghan<sup>1\*</sup>, Ferdows Aghagolzade<sup>2</sup>

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1. Assistant Prof. English Literature and Linguistics Dept., UOK. Sanandaj, Iran.

2. Professor, Linguistics Dept., TMU, Tehran, Iran. Email: aghagolz@modares.ac.ir

\* Corresponding Author's Email: dehghan\_m85@yahoo.com; m.dehghan@lit.uok.ac.ir

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**Abstract** – The present study focuses on the emergence of a new discourse that has arisen from the discourse of two western leaders, Bush's and Obama's orations, as the advocates of two republican and democratic parties, respectively. This paper goes on examining the coverage of the terms and conceptions in the discourse of two ex-presidents of USA after 9/11. The purpose of this study is to analyze the lexicons and terms, which have emerged in the elements of western discourse to the heart of democracy. Further, in democratic discourse, the researchers seek the relations, which are between language and power. In this way, Fairclough (1995) notes that a question of democracy is the relationship existing between language and power. Discourse analysts have a salient role to play here in preparing analyses and providing critical educators with resources of what we have called 'critical language awareness'. The present study investigates different perceptions (opinion, feelings, attitudes, etc.) in the discourse of two ex-presidents of USA, and how such perceptions were encoded in the ideologically based discursive patterns (lexical choices). The methodology of the present study is based on Critical Discourse Analysis (henceforth CDA). CDA is concerned with both discourse as the instrument of power and with discourse as the instrument of the social construction of reality.

**Keywords:** critical discourse analysis, democracy, Bush, Obama, 9/11 event

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### 1. INTRODUCTION

Critical Discourse Analysis (henceforth CDA) as a new approach to linguistic studies, which emerged in the early 1990s is now viewed as a branch of linguistics that considers language in a close relationship with society and non-linguistic context. It has its roots in critical linguistics, which is a branch of discourse analysis that goes beyond the description of discourse to an explanation of how and why particular discourses are produced.

The CDA as a network of scholars emerged in the early 1990s, following a small symposium in Amsterdam, in January 1991. Through the support of the University of Amsterdam, Teun van Dijk, Norman Fairclough, Kress, van Leeuwen and Wodak spent two days together, and had the wonderful opportunity to discuss theories and methods of discourse analysis and specifically CDA.

Of course, the start of this CDA network is also marked by the launch of van Dijk's journal entitled *Discourse and Society*, as well as through several books like *Language and*

*Power* by Fairclough (1989), *Language, Power and Ideology* by Wodak (1989) or *Prejudice in Discourse* written by van Dijk (1984) that is his first book which he wrote on discourse.

CDA regards language as social practice (Wodak & Fairclough, 1997), and takes consideration of the context of the language use to be crucial (Wodak, 2000; Benke, 2000). Moreover, it takes a particular interest in the relation between language and power.

A fully “crucial” account of discourse would thus require a theorization and description of both the social processes and structures, which give rise to the production of a text, and of the social structures and processes within which individuals or groups, as social historical subjects, create meanings in their interaction with texts (Hodge & Kress, 1993). Consequently, three concepts figure indispensably in all CDA: (i) The concept of power, (ii) The concept of history, (iii) and the concept of ideology.

Some social groups have more or less power than others. For instances; the poor, the disabled, ethnic minorities and women are all groups which may find themselves having lower social status and also fewer economic resources, as well as being discriminated against. Typically, the people with most social group power are considered to be white wealthy people and male. This is not to say that all white middle class men are more powerful than all people from other social groups are. However, white people, wealthy people, and men are disproportionately represented in positions of power.

Many basic assumptions of CDA that were salient in the early stages, and were elaborated in later development of the theory, are articulated in Kress’s work. These include assumptions are:

- a) Language is a social phenomenon.
- b) Not only individuals, but also institutions and social groups expressed by means of language in systematic ways.
- c) Texts are the relevant units of language in communication.
- d) Readers / hearers are not passive recipients in their relations to texts.
- e) There are similarities between the language of science and the language of institutions, and so on (Kress, 1989).

## **2. THE HISTORY OF CDA**

The origins of discourse analysis lie in classical Rhetorical Theory (Aristotle, Cicero, and Longinus) and its successors. Modern discourse analysis derives initially from the formalist, structuralist work of Propp, Voloshinov on the morphology of Russian folktales, the forerunner of Genre Theory. It was further developed by the Russian and Prague schools of functional text analysis, both for literary and nonliterary genres of writing, and to a small extent for speech (e.g. J. Mukarovsky, R. Jakobson, V.N. Voloshinov, M.M. Bakhtin, and V. Mathesius).

The 1970s saw the emergence of a form of discourse and text analysis that recognized the role of language in structuring power relations in society (Anthonissen, 2001). At that

time, linguistic research elsewhere focused on formal aspects of speakers, and which could theoretically be isolated from specific instances of language use (Chomsky, 1957).

Kress (1990, p.94) shows how CDA by that time was “emerging as a distinct theory of language—a radically different kind of linguistics”.

In the late 1970s, a group of linguists and literary theorists at the University of East Anglia (Fowler et al., 1979; Hodge & Kress, 1993) developed Critical Linguistics. Their approach was based on Halliday’s Systemic Functional Linguistics (henceforth SFL). Critical Linguistics (henceforth CL) practitioners such as Trew (1979, p.155) aimed at “isolating ideology in discourse” and showing “how ideology and ideological processes are manifested as systems of linguistic characteristics and processes”. This aim was pursued by developing CL’s analytical tools (Fowler et al., 1979; Fowler, 1991) based on SFL.

Following Halliday (1985), these CL practitioners view language in use as simultaneously performing three meta-functions: (i) Ideational, (ii) Interpersonal, (iii) and Textual meta-functions. According to Fowler (1991) and Fairclough (1995) whereas the ideational function refers to the experience of the speakers of the world and its phenomena, the interpersonal function embodies the insertion of speakers’ own attitudes and evaluations about the phenomena in question, and establishing a relationship between speakers and listeners. Instrumental to these two functions is the textual function. It is through the textual function of language that speakers are able to produce texts that are understood by listeners. It is an enabling function connecting discourse to the co-text and con-text in which it occurs.

Halliday’s view of language as a 'social act' is central to many of CDA’s practitioners (Chouliaraki & Fairclough, 1999; Fairclough, 1989, 1992, 1993, 1995; Fowler et al., 1979; Fowler, 1991; Hodge & Kress, 1979). According to Fowler et al. (1979, p.185), CL, like sociolinguistics, asserts that, "there are strong and pervasive connections between linguistic structure and social structure". However, whereas in sociolinguistics "the concepts language and society are divided ...so that one is forced to talk of links between the two, for CL language is an integral part of social process" (p.189).

Another central assumption of CDA and SFL is that speakers make choices regarding vocabulary and grammar, and that these choices are consciously or unconsciously "principled and systematic" (p.188). Thus, choices are ideologically based. According to Fowler et al. (p.188) "the relation between form and content is not arbitrary or conventional, but form signifies content". In sum, language is a social act and it is ideologically driven. CDA is also a branch of sociology that aims at clarifying unknown power relations for people by discourse and text study (Fairclough & Wodak, 1997).

### **3. SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY**

The researchers will argue that the present study will have both theoretical and practical implications. From a theoretical point of view, to help correct a widespread underestimation of the significance of language in the production, maintenance, and change of social relations of power. From a practical point of view, to help increase consciousness of how language

contributes to the domination of some people by others. Because consciousness is the first step towards emancipation.

#### 4. THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

According to van Dijk (1998), CDA is a field that is concerned with studying and analyzing written and spoken texts to reveal the discursive sources of power, dominance, inequality and bias. It examines how these discursive sources are maintained and reproduced within specific social, political and historical contexts. In a similar vein, Fairclough (1993, p.135) defines CDA as:

Discourse analysis which aims to systematically explore often opaque relationships of causality and determination between (a) discourse practices, events and texts, and (b) wider social and cultural structures, relations and processes; to investigate how such practices, events and texts arise out of and are ideologically shaped by relations of power and struggles over power; and to explore how the opacity of these relationships between discourse and society is itself a factor securing power and hegemony.

CDA is an interdisciplinary approach to the study of discourse, which view "language as a form of social practice" (Fairclough, 2001, p.20) and focuses on the ways social and political domination is reproduced by text and talk.

Fairclough's *Language, Power and CDA* (2001) articulate a three-dimensional framework for studying discourse, "where the aim is to map three separate forms of analysis onto one another: (i) analysis of (spoken or written) language texts, (ii) analysis of discourse practice (processes of text production, distribution and consumption), (iii) and analysis of discursive events as instances of socio-cultural practice." (Fairclough, 1995, p.2)

CDA is founded on the idea that there is unequal access to linguistic and social resources, resources that are controlled institutionally. The patterns of access to discourse and communicative events are one essential element for CDA. In terms of method, CDA can generally be described as hyper-linguistic or supra linguistic, in that practitioners who use CDA consider the larger discourse context or the meaning that lies beyond the grammatical structure. This includes consideration of the political, and even the economic, context of language usage and production.

In addition to linguistic theory, the approach draws from social theory—and contributions from Karl Marx, Antonio Gramsci, Jurgen Habermas, and Michel Foucault—in order to examine ideologies and power relations involved in discourse. Fairclough (1989, p.15) notes "that language connects with the social through being the primary domain of ideology, and through being a site of, and a stake in, struggles for power". van Dijk (1991) articulates ideology as the basis of the social representations of groups, and more generally advocates a socio-cognitive interface between social structures and discourse structures. Wodak (1995) emphasizes the importance of a historical dimension in critical discourse studies, as she also has shown in her work on racism and anti-Semitism.

Gull Bright (1985) believes that the purpose of seeking power is solely to apply power. He points out that in all societies, from the most primitive to apparently the most modern, applying power is very enjoyable. For instance, speech along with acclamation and clapping, privacy airplane, privacy escort, and looking at a parade are all glorifications from person who owns the power.

#### **4.1. van Dijk (Socio–Cognitive Model)**

van Dijk (1995, p.17) essentially perceives discourse analysis as ideology analysis, because according to him, "ideologies are typically, though not exclusively, expressed and reproduced in discourse and communication, including non-verbal semiotic messages, such as pictures, photographs and movies". His approach (p.30) for analyzing ideologies has three parts: social analysis, cognitive analysis, and discourse analysis. Whereas the social analysis pertains to examining the "overall social structures", (the context), the discourse analysis is primarily text based (syntax, lexicon, local semiotics, topics, schematic structures, etc.). In this sense, van Dijk's approach incorporates the two traditional approaches in media education: interpretive (text based) and social tradition (context based), into one analytical framework for analyzing media discourse. However, what noticeably distinguishes van Dijk's approach from other approaches in CDA is another feature of his approach: cognitive analysis.

#### **4.2. Wodak (Discourse sociolinguistics)**

Discourse sociolinguistics is one of the directions in CDA associated with Wodak and her colleagues in Vienna. Wodak (1995, p.209) bases her model "on sociolinguistics in the Bernsteinian tradition and on the ideas of the Frankfurt school, especially those of Jurgen Habermas".

#### **4.3. Fairclough**

The third main approach in CDA is that of Fairclough whose theory has been central to CDA over more than the past ten years. Fairclough (1992, p.5), in his earlier work, called his approach to language and discourse Critical Language Study. He described the objective of this approach as "a contribution to the general rising of consciousness of exploitative social relations, through focusing upon language" (1989, p.4). This aim in particular remains in his later work that further develops his approach so that it is now one of the most comprehensive frameworks of CDA (Fairclough, 1992, 1993, 1995; Chouliaraki & Fairclough, 1999).

### **5. DATA COLLECTION**

In this study, the researchers have listened to the radio and TV for five months in order to collect the data, and also they have taken different journals from the internet, as well as other mass media, so they wrote them down on paper and then just analyzed the lexicon,

terms and concepts in the collected data. The Data includes the speech texts of two ex-presidents of USA, Bush, and Obama, which this paper is going to analyze them.

The finding of the present study that can be used in discussing the discourse of democracy in western societies could perhaps be an appropriate way of concluding a research on language and power. Now, this study puts forward here some of those terms included in the western leaders, Bush's and Obama's orations after 9/11 terrorist attacks in the present era.

## 6. DATA ANALYSIS

This study will address the role and the importance of words as the most important tools of transferring ideologies, views and judgments in discourse. Then it will be analyzed the pieces of texts orated by the western leaders, specifically Bush and Obama after 9/11.

As this study is going to analyze words and terms used in the discourse of western leaders, from one side, Bush, as a republican president of USA, and Obama from other side, as a democratic president of USA, so the syntactic structures have not been studied. Words are not the only carrier of ideological load in discourse. The clearest way of expressing ideology is through language, and language can be considered at two different levels of words and structure. However, this study restricts itself primarily to words. One way to study the ideological structure is the study of language structure in its different levels because language and ideology have bilateral relation to each other. Language is the means of introducing ideology and ideology influences language structure for transfer. The relation between language and ideology at word level is one insight, interpreting way or judgment of an event, which brings about the appearance of special word in text. On the other hand, this word displays an ideology or insight to an event, and the continuing use of this word for that special event normalizes that insight or ideology. For example, the word '*terrorist*' is used by Bush in his orations about agents of 9/11 attacks enormously in order to show that their enemies are the adherent of terrorist and their ideology is the killing of innocent people.

The relation between language and ideology is not limited to lexicon, and different linguistic strategies are used in a text to make a special reality for addressee. Bell & Garrett (1998, p.45) believe that meanings are stated in different ways; for instance, through words, clauses, linear structures, syntactic categories, word order and intonation. The choice of linguistic forms has its own reasons, namely, lexical and syntactic reasons. There is always different ways for stating and describing phenomena and thoughts, and those ways need to be selected. These choices are not accidental but they are the carrier of ideological and representative distinctions.

Linguistic units encode our experiences from the universe. During speaking or writing, selected words and sentences structure transfer the hidden analysis from that topic. These insights relate to the aims of language use that are mainly social and political. It means that linguistic and non-linguistic factors are related to each other and non-linguistic factors influence linguistic ones.

The researchers have taken 10 texts from the internet about 9/11 attacks and its consequences thereafter; then after studying those texts, they have found that there are some themes in the orations of these two presidents.

## 6.1. The major Themes

There are a variety of themes in orations of Bush and Obama as two western leaders. Some of these themes are ‘terror’, ‘totalism’ ‘nationalism’, and ‘religion’, etc. In this paper, it will be analyzed several speeches delivered by them following September 11. Now the researchers try to show these themes in orations delivered by these two western leaders following attacks of September 11.

### 6.1.1. Terror

We have studied about 10 texts delivered by these two western leaders and we have recognized that the theme ‘*terror*’ can consist of several sub-themes, which have been used in their speeches with trivial differences in use, like ‘war’, ‘freedom’, ‘peace’, ‘fear’, ‘victim’, ‘evil’, ‘enemy’, etc. Following September 11, western leaders, specially the president Bush have used this theme frequently, so from the psychological standpoint that the study has accommodated, it shows that Bush himself seems to have terrorist and evil personality. Since the Psychological strand is projection (or projection bias) that can be defined as unconsciously assuming that others have the same or similar thoughts, beliefs, values, or positions on any given subject as oneself. According to the theories of Sigmund Freud, it is a psychological defense mechanism whereby one ‘projects’ one’s own undesirable thoughts, motivations, desires, feelings-basically parts of oneself – onto someone else (usually another person, but psychological projection onto animals, intimate objects – even religious constructs also occurs). The principle of projection is well established in psychology (Kei nia, 2004, pp. 247-249). Projection is the opposite defense mechanism to identification. We project our own unpleasant feelings onto someone else and blame them for having thoughts that we really have...Projection is a defense mechanism in which the individual attributes to other people impulses and traits that he himself has but cannot accept. It is especially likely to occur when the person lacks insight into his own impulses and traits."(Hashemian, 2004). To understand the process, imagine an individual (John, for example) who feels dislike for another person (let us say Jack), but whose unconscious mind will not allow him to become aware of this negative emotion. Instead of admitting to himself that he feels dislike for Jack, he projects him dislike onto Jack, so that his conscious thought is not ‘I don’t like Jack’, but ‘Jack doesn’t like me’ (Kei nia, 2004, pp.247-249). And also from the paper’s point of view, we have a Persian proverb about the psychological defense mechanism that it is ‘*The pot calls the kettle black*’.

Bush has showed the attacks of September 11 as a terrorist activity. Terrorism refers to a strategy of using violence, or threat of violence to generate fear, cause disruption, and ultimately to bring about compliance with specific political, religious, ideological, and personal demands. The target of terrorist attacks typically are not the individuals who are killed, injured, or taken hostage, but rather the societies to which these individuals belong.

Terrorism is a type of unconventional warfare designed to weaken or supplant existing political landscapes through capitulation, as opposed to subversion or direct military action. The broader influence of terrorism in the modern world is often attributed to the dramatic focus of mass media in amplifying feelings of intense fear and anger. In addition, this act is constituted as evil quite simply through the frequent use of the words and this occurs freely across the speeches of western leaders. For instance, the enemies' activities are classified as evil.

What are the psychological factors that are responsible for terrorism? What social conditions cause them to develop? Moreover, what can we, as individuals, do to influence them? The World-Trade Center disaster has provoked an intense U.S. led offensive against terrorism. Most people seem to think that this kind of war is something new. It is not. Many other tragic conflicts in recent times fit the same model:

- (1) Genocides that occurred in Kosovo and Bosnia.
- (2) Attempted extermination of the Intelligentsia in Communist China.
- (3) Turk's genocidal massacre of the Armenian.
- (4) Holocaust of European Jews at the hands of the Nazi's
- (5) Similar conflicts within our own democratic borders.

Some people seem to think that we can obliterate terrorism simply by wiping AlQaeda and its 'evil leader' off the face of the earth. Such a belief, however, is far from true. Even if we kill every single terrorist who lives on this earth today, the future would remain uncertain. We do need military action, but we need to supplement it with psychological tactics.

A simple search of the White House website shows that Obama has used the words "terrorist" and "terrorism" throughout his presidency, as well as the phrase "act of terror."

In a 2013 speech, Obama advocated against defining future efforts to fight violent extremism as a "boundless 'global war on terror'":

In Afghanistan, we will complete our transition to Afghan responsibility for that country's security. Our troops will come home. Our combat mission will come to an end. And we will work with the Afghan government to train security forces, and sustain a **counterterrorism** force, which ensures that al Qaeda can never again establish a safe haven to launch attacks against us or our **allies**.

#### **6.1.1.1 The use of the theme 'terror' and its sub-themes:**

"These terrorists do not represent peace, they represent evil and war" (Bush, 2001).

"Beyond Afghanistan, we must define our effort not as a boundless "global war on terror," but rather as a series of persistent, targeted efforts to dismantle specific networks of violent extremists that threaten America. In many cases, this will involve partnerships with other countries" (Obama, 2012).

"Our enemies ...were as wrong as they are evil" (Bush, 2002).

"Today, our nation saw evil, the very worst of human nature" (Bush, 2001).

"Terrorists' leaders who urged followers to sacrifice their lives are running for their own" (Bush, 2002).

### 6.1.2. Totalism

Central to the personality features of people like George W. Bush is a concept called 'totalism'. We can see a term that is called totalism in western leaders' orations like Bush. By totalism, it means a society based on a system of government in which there is only one political party. In the example below, totalism can be thought of as an exaggerated form of something that exists within each one of us: the tendency to see 'ourselves' as wholly 'good' and 'the enemy' as wholly 'bad' by announcing 'either you are with us, or you are with the terrorists.

"...Every nation, in every region, now has a decision to make. Either you are with us, or you are with the terrorists..." (Bush, 2001).

The totalistic society, however, sees whole groups as 'evil', to use them as a scapegoat to which he projects his rage at the unjust nature of the world. The totalistic society tends to characterize itself as the tragically even heroically oppressed and to blame and vilify the defined oppressor. It is also clear that there are specific psychological and sociological characteristics present in these and in every situation where totalism has showed its face.

In Extract 'so we have fought the terrorists across the earth, not for pride, not for power, but because the lives of our citizens are at stake' (Bush, 2003). By announcing these phrases like 'not for pride, not for power', Indeed, Bush wants to hide his powerful sense and his pride on the war on terror among American citizens.

#### 6.1.2.1. The use of the theme 'totalism':

"These terrorists do not represent peace, they represent evil and war" (Bush, 2001)

"...Every nation, in every region, now has a decision to make. Either you are with us, or you are with the terrorists ..." (Bush, 2001)

### 6.1.3. Religion

By reading 10 texts delivered by Bush, we have found that the theme 'religion' can also consist of several sub-themes like, 'Bible', 'sacrifice', 'God', 'bless', 'prayer', etc.

#### 6.1.3.1 The use of the theme 'religion' and its sub-themes:

Such examples demonstrate how the God(ly) connection is made through interdiscursivity. In the following extracts, Bush quite clearly states-repeatedly-that the crusade he is calling for is not of his own willing but is the will of God. Even the words, which each crusader should cry out whilst killing his enemy, are God's words, originating

from God, given by God, implanted by God in the breast of each crusader and drawn forth by God and after all, Bush wants to motivate American people religiously.

“On this national day of prayer and remembrance, we ask almighty god to watch over our nation and grant us patience and resolve in all that is to come” (Bush, 2001).

“in all that lies before us, may God grant us wisdom, and may He watch over the United States of America” (Bush, 2001).

“We are prepared for this journey. And our prayer tonight is that God will see us through and keep us worthy” (Bush, 2002).

“tonight, as our forces fight, they and their families are in our prayers. May God bless each and every one of them and the coalition forces at our side in the Gulf, and may he continue to bless our nation” (Bush senior, 1991).

“[They] blaspheme the name of Allah. The terrorists are traitors to their own faith, trying, in effect, to hijack Islam itself” (Bush, 2001)

#### 6.1.4 Nationalism

By analyzing 10 texts delivered by Bush, we have found that the theme *nationalism* can also consist of several sub-themes like, ‘the flag’, ‘territory’, ‘country’, ‘people’, ‘America’, etc.

Nationalism can indeed create “supreme loyalty of the people who are prepared to die for the nation. The concept of the nation takes on various symbolic and / or concrete ideologized forms – signs, icons, myths, gestures, and causes – which represent it, such as a national flag, a sport hero, a sports victory, a national animal or bird, or the rubric ‘*War against Terrorism*’.” (Kellas, 1991, p.3).

One recurring motif that has emerged in the United States media since the horrific events of September 11 has been an overwhelming preoccupation with images and icons that construct a sense of nationalism. Indeed, nationalism as an ideology has not only become the predominant post 9/11 discourse of the media in the United States, but it has been consistently manufactured as a normalization of the everyday.

“Nationalism can be simply defined as a heightened sense of awareness of belonging to a nation, which, in turn, can be described as a group of people brought together by ties of history, culture, and ancestry. The attributes of nationalism are the ownership of a territory or land, shared cultural, social and religious institutions, a shared belief in a common history or ethnicity, a shared pride in past and present achievements, and a shared in difference or hostility to those perceived as the other. As a political doctrine, nationalism is the belief that the world’s people are divided into nations, and that each of these nations has the right to self – determination. As a cultural phenomenon, nationalism asserts that, while an individual may have several identities, it is the nation that defines the individual...Nationalism is therefore both an ideology and a form of social and

political conduct that arouses strong feelings of patriotism and love for one's country, inviting and initiating attitudes and actions of affection and service, unity, and community service to the state, unconditional love of one's country, and the desire to lay down one's life for the nation- these are all manifestations of nationalism" (Kellas,1991, p.5).

#### **6.1.4.1 The use of the theme '*nationalism*' and its sub-themes:**

"This nation has ...raised this lamp of liberty to every captive land...that hope still lights our way. And the light shines in the darkness, and the darkness will not overcome it" (Bush, 2002).

"Since 2001, American has been given hills to climb, and found the strength to climb them" (Bush, 2004).

"In the heart of this great city, we saw tragedy arrive on a quite morning" (Bush, 2004).

"We remain a young nation," (Obama, 2012).

"Our country was attacked with deliberate and massive cruelty" (Bush, 2001).

The themes '*Terror*', '*Nationalism*', '*Religion*', and their sub-themes have been shown in the following tables:

Some of those terms are 'Terrorist', 'Axis of evil', 'Freedom', 'Crusade', etc. Therefore, in the following, you can see the way that the researcher analyzes them. For instance, Bush's speech aimed at encouraging American citizens to support his impending 'war on terror'.

"...Today, this is a new kind of- a new kind of evil. This crusade, this war on terrorism is going to take a while..." (Bush, 2001).

With the word 'crusade', Bush conflates a millennium of external sources of legitimacy. By announcing a national crusade against a new kind of evil, Bush demonstrates that a successful contemporary response to a crisis in political legitimacy draws upon the totality of a thousand years of history.

In another Bush's speech:

"...And in every generation, the world has produced enemies of human freedom. They have attacked Americans, because we are freedom's home and defender..." (Bush, 2002).

Starting with the opening lines of the speech, a shift from the style of Bush, with the multitudes of "my fellow Americans" is evident. Obama's form of address can be perceived as more inclusive, including all nationalities and ethnicities, applying a more citizen-centered attitude. Also, this style of Obama can be explained on the lines of that citizenry is the cornerstones of the American republic, and that the whole system is based on a grass root diplomacy, rather than an exclusive and elitist system of Bush.

"My fellow citizens: I stand here today humbled by the task before us, grateful for the trust you have bestowed, mindful of the sacrifices borne by our ancestors."  
(Obama, 2013)

Barak Obama not only condemns "greed and irresponsibility" of the individuals when commenting on the effects of the global financial crisis, but also criticizes the "collective failure" of the system, the former being prosecutable, the latter not. So the problem will require a major, institutional reform. The president acknowledges the ongoing war on terror; however, he makes no reference to the terrorist organization al-Qaeda. A preponderance of the possessive pronoun "our" indicates unity of the people in the time of national peril.

"That we are in the midst of crisis is now well understood. Our nation is at war against a far-reaching network of violence and hatred. Our economy is badly weakened, a consequence of greed and irresponsibility on the part of some but also our collective failure to make hard choices and prepare the nation for a new age." (Obama, 2013)

With the words in Extract, Bush demonstrates that they (those enemies) do so because they cannot stand freedom and hate what American stands for. They are not anti-Christ; they are anti- American, and that is their ultimately defining feature.

The bishop's response to the Reagan Administration's initial move about nuclear conversation took the form of a pastoral letter addressed to the Catholic faithful. One Extract is below (Toolan, 2002, p.38).

Under no circumstances may nuclear weapons or other instruments of mass slaughter be used for purposes of destroying population or other predominantly civilian targets. We also cannot reconcile our principles with the use of any weapons aimed at military targets, however defined; where the targets lie so close to concentrations of populations that destruction of the targets would likely devastate those nearby populations... No Christian can carry out orders or policies deliberately aimed at killing non-combatants.

What is striking about this extract from an intertextual point of view is the hybridization of military/strategic discourse and theological discourse, the latter involving both the regulative (edict enunciating) genre of the first and last sentences (both of which are categorical prohibitions realized linguistically by the placement of negative particles not on their modal verbs but in their initial prepositional and nominal phrases) and the genre of moral debate and analysis in the second (p.38).

So, The present analytic research is going to study and analyze the lexicon, terms, concepts in western leaders orations on 'war on terror' i.e. the analysis of terms and concepts that were used after September 11 terrorist attacks in New York. Lexical choices have always been seen as very crucial in the construction of meaning. They 'mark off socially and ideologically distinct areas of experience', and therefore have a categorizing function (Fowler, 1991, p. 84).

For Thompson (1990) the study of ideology is a study of "the ways in which meaning is constructed and conveyed by symbolic forms of various kinds". This kind of study will also

investigate the social contexts within which symbolic forms are employed and deployed. For Eagleton (1994) the study of ideology has to consider the variety of theories that have examined the relation between thought and social reality.

Figure (1) represents one way of capturing the different elements in the process of analysis and their interactive relationship, although in truth the process is not susceptible to neat summary. The diagram reflects the centrality of categorization as a link between interpretive positioning and data collection, suggesting a degree of interconnectivity that undermines any notion of analysis as a linear process that can be instantiated in a series of clearly specifiable steps (Toolan, 2002, p.38).

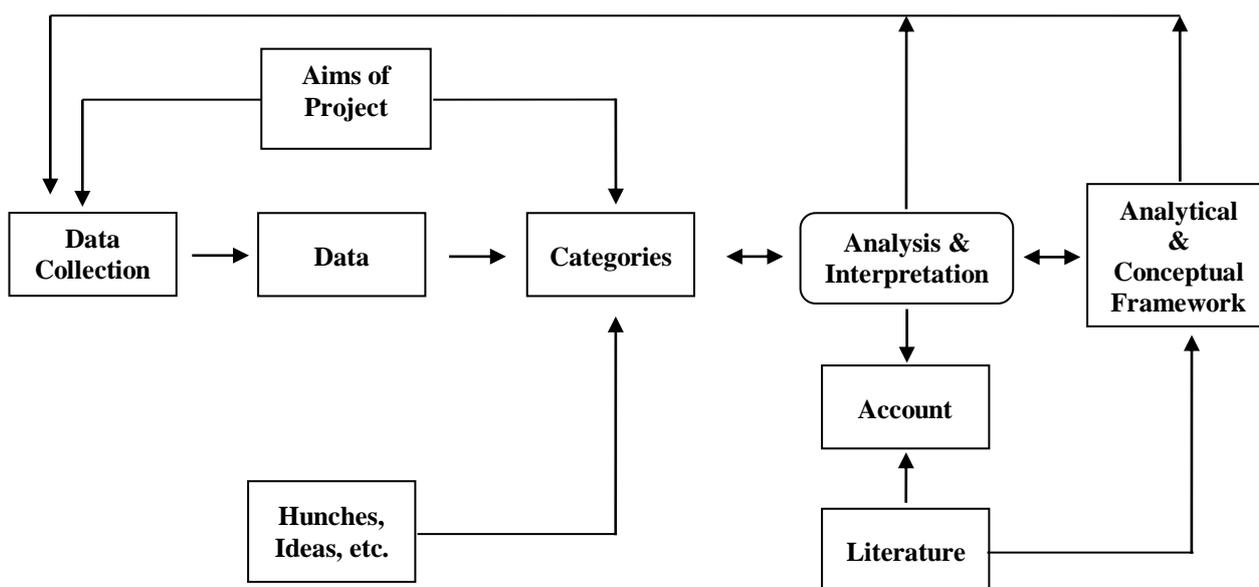


Figure 1. Aspects of analysis. (Toolan, 2002, p. 38)

## 7. CONCLUSION

This paper analysis the democratic component enshrined in the orations of the ex-president of the United States of America, George W. Bush and the current president, Barak Obama. It is embedded in Fairclough's notions of ideology residing in text and that "ideology invests language in various ways at various levels" and that ideology is both "property of structures and of events". This study has illustrated that CDA as a research direction can provide the necessary theoretical basis and analytical tools for analyzing and understanding the intricateness of discourse and discursive practices. It has also illustrated that examining the discourse of the mainstream media, as a source of information and knowledge about world affairs, could reveal how events and issues come to be news, and how the media mediates them. Since our knowledge about the world is largely informed by the media, particularly in terms of foreign news, understanding how the media mediate the events may put us in a better position in becoming audiences that are more critical. Although CDA has been productive in many areas of enquiry including the mass media, the researchers within that direction have not attended to the coverage of foreign news as much as they should have. In the age of

satellites and the internet where we would like to think that, the world is becoming smaller and smaller, it becomes more important to know other nations, new members of 'the global village'. Since most of us know about international affairs and other nations, at least in part, through the media, it is hoped that understanding media discourse might help us to understand how well we know the rest of the world. This paper believes that it is more important to know how our media mediates the identities and issues of those nations who have not been or may not be able, for years to come, to join that global village. It is hoped that further CDA analysis of the media's foreign news discourse could not only provide a better understanding of discourse and its profound place in our social, economic, and political life, but also a better understanding of the relationship we have with the rest of the world. In other words, it is hoped that a better understanding of our societies' discursive practice, including that of the media, will help us to realize how we perceive our world, and what we think of members of our community, "The global village".

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