

**A DISCOURSE ANALYSIS OF BUSH'S SPEECHES ON DEMOCRACY ISSUE
THROUGH ILLOCUTIONARY ACT THEORY**

THESIS

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FACULTY OF HUMANITY AND CULTURE

THE STATE ISLAMIC UNIVERSITY OF MALANG

2007

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THESIS

Presented to
The State Islamic University of Malang
in partial fulfillment of the requirement for the degree of *Sarjana Sastra (S.S.)*

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2007

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Hereby, I certify that the thesis I wrote to fulfill the requirement for *Sarjana Sastra* entitled *A Discourse Analysis of Bush's Speeches on Democracy Issue through Illocutionary Act Theory* is truly my original work. It does not incorporate any materials previously written or published by another person, except those indicated in quotations and bibliography. Due to the fact, I am the only person responsible for the thesis if there is any objection or claim from others.

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

All praises and thanks are Allah's, the one and the only one lord in the universe. His uncountable graces, faiths, and helps always stand behind me, show me the right way, and carry me out to the final step of my thesis writing. A million of thanks for You, my Lord.

God's mercies and blessings may always be poured down upon our beloved prophet Muhammad SAW, the greatest figure in the world, who shares inspiration, spirit, and power to be a good man here and here after.

This thesis writing which is intended to fulfill the requirement of *Sarjana Sastra* degree at the State Islamic University of Malang would not have been completed without some contributions and supports from many people.

Thus, I want to express my deepest gratitude to my advisor, **Prof. Dr. H. Mudjia Rahardjo, M.Si.** who has given me his valuable guidance, inspiration, and patience, which finally lead me to finish the process of thesis writing.

Furthermore, I also want to express my sincerely thanks to:

1. The Rector of the State Islamic University of Malang, Prof. Dr. H. Imam Suprayogo who has given me the hidden spirit and motivation to develop academics competence as well as Islamic studies.
2. The Dean of Faculty of Humanity and Culture of UIN, Drs. H. Dimjati Ahmadin, M. Pd., for your cooperativeness so that I could finally finish taking all lectures in English department.

3. The Head of the Department of English Letters and Language of UIN Malang, Dra. Hj. Syafiyah, MA, and all lectures of English department, for every valuable knowledge, opportunity, and experience given to me so far.
4. My beloved father, mother, and the big family of *Zen*, for giving me endless love and care, eternal pray, and guidance.
5. Mr. Muallif, for being with me as long as the process of thesis writing.
6. All of my friends whom I cannot mention. Thanks for everything.
7. The big family of *Panti Asuhan Sunan Ampel* who has given me the new colors of life. I do expect you all to be the next winner.
8. *Zennun Qolby*, whom I always talk to, may Allah bless you.

DEDICATION

This thesis is dedicated to:

***Ibuk and Abah*, who have firstly taught me how to communicate, so that now**

I can view how somebody else communicates.

Prof. Dr. H. Mudjia Rahardjo, M.Si., who firstly inspires me the complexity

but challenging world of language and society

MOTTO

[65.2] ... and whoever is careful of (his duty to) Allah, He will make for him an outlet, [65.3] And give him sustenance from whence he thinks not; and whoever trusts in Allah, He is sufficient for him; surely Allah attains His purpose; Allah indeed has appointed a measure for everything.

Keep your face to the sunshine and you cannot see the shadow.

(Helen Keller)

ABSTRACT

Nurul, Evy Laily Zen, 2007. *A Discourse Analysis of Bush's Speeches on Democracy Issue through Illocutionary Act Theory*. English Letters and Language Department. The State Islamic University of Malang.
Advisor : Prof. Dr. H. Mudjia Rahardjo, M.Si.

Key terms: Bush's democracy speeches, illocutionary act types, messages

Considering the significance role played by the language among society, this study is aimed to come deeper to see how the language user shares his or her intentions through his or her utterances. Basically, this study cannot be completely separated from the idea of Whorfian which has purposed that language and culture is inextricably thing, one cannot be interpreted or understood without another one. However, the researcher views Discourse Analysis as another part of linguistics studies that is closer to the study of language in use to be the underlying theory on her study.

In accordance to those reasons, this study is aimed to find how illocutionary act used by the speaker and what messages or intentions expressed in the speaker's speeches. What makes this study was crucial to be completed was that the significant social status played by the speaker (President George W. Bush) in holding up the international policies especially regarding to social and political issue. Then, since an utterance carries such intention, message, or meaning which commonly reflects the speaker's social background, so there is very close relationship between his utterances and his point of view.

To figure out the speaker's intentions on his utterances, the researcher used descriptive qualitative because it deals with the nature of the real situation and is designed to obtain information concerning the linguistic phenomena. The researcher made herself as the key instrument that collected the data from the official website of Secretary Department of USA government. The seven data of this study were President Bush's speeches from the year 2004 up to 2007 which mainly discussed about democracy issue.

After analyzing the data, the researcher found that almost the seven speeches performed the five types of illocutionary act; representative/assertive, directive, commissive, expressive, and declarative, though there were three types (representative/assertive, directive, expressive) that were used very often than another. These five types are performed in quite different way. Representative/assertive, expressive, commissive, and declarative are performed explicitly whereas directive is implicitly or indirectly, though the speaker did not use any figurative language.

After being classified, the researcher interpreted the speaker's intention or message based on the type that mostly appeared. Due to the fact that the speaker (George W. Bush) was fully engaged in the mission on the advance of democracy and freedom at that time, he mainly discussed about the importance of democracy in building up a better life of human civilization and the bright history of democratic countries. He also intended to invite people where he was speaking in

to get involved in spreading out democracy all over the world and make America as an ally in confronting terrorist network.

By reviewing this study, it can be suggested that the important thing in interpreting speech and communication in a broader sense is to develop mutual understanding between the speaker and the hearer. The speaker should carry her/his intention in a right way, so the hearer can respond it appropriately. To be a good hearer is also to be a critical thinker toward any issues. So that the felicity condition by which the illocutionary act is fulfilled can be successfully achieved. The next researcher, especially, should be able to come deeper to see the social setting that stands behind such utterances in order to reach a perfect comprehension.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

In this chapter, the researcher discusses some important points to clarify the area of the research; that is background of the study, research problems, objectives, significance of the study, scope and limitation, and definition of key terms.

1.1. Background of The Study

The work of the Swiss Linguist, Ferdinand de Saussure that figured out the distinction between *langue* and *parole* becomes one of the most credible linguistic findings for recent years. *Langue* as a system of language in use fits out the role of *parole* as what is said or written by human being (Fairclough. 1989: 20). This famous work invites people who concern on the field of linguistics to broaden an investigation on language in both its internal and external features.

From view of the fact, language holds and replaces many significant roles in society's life. In other word, language takes a part in almost every space where human participate in such interactive events, such as in the field of politic, education, economic, cultural, and so on. Language exists together with the need of human to communicate. From this idea, it can be inferred that an investigation of language grows broadly along with the growth of human civilization.

In accordance to this point, *Whorfian Hypothesis* has purposed the idea that language and culture are inextricably things, one cannot be interpreted or understood without another one (Wardhaugh. 1986: 212). In

conclusion, language as a part of society becomes the basic idea in developing an investigation of language.

Since language stands in line with the development of human civilization, consequently there are possibly realities and problems. In accordance to this idea, Rahardjo (2007: 75) concluded Heidegger's argument that without language, human are not able to think and understand realities in their social life. Oktavianus (2006: 3) strengthened this previous idea by quoting Finochiaro's argument that the function of language is for communication and interaction.

Referring to Finochiaro's argument on the fundamental function of language, from the very beginning, Islamic teaching has been illustrated how the communication should be. Koran as the main source of Islamic teaching clearly discusses the way the God communicates with His angels as it is written in *The Cow* (Al-Baqarah) verse 30-36;

[2.30] And when your Lord said to the angels, I am going to place in the earth a khalif, they said: What! wilt Thou place in it such as shall make mischief in it and shed blood, and we celebrate Thy praise and extol Thy holiness? He said: Surely I know what you do not know.

[2.31] And He taught Adam all the names, then presented them to the angels; then He said: Tell me the names of those if you are right.

[2.32] They said: Glory be to Thee! we have no knowledge but that which Thou hast taught us; surely Thou art the Knowing, the Wise.

[2.33] He said: O Adam! Inform them of their names. Then when he had informed them of their names, He said: Did I not say to you that I surely know what *ghaib* in the heavens is and the earth and (that) I know what you manifest and what you hide?

[2.34] And when We said to the angels: Make obeisance to Adam they did obeisance, but *Iblis* (did it not). He refused and he was proud, and he was one of the unbelievers.

[2.35] And We said: O Adam! Dwell you and your wife in the garden and eat from it a plenteous (food) wherever you wish and do not approach this tree, for then you will be of the unjust.

Even though the pattern of communication between the God, Angels, Adam, and *Shaitan* that clearly pictured in the five verses above happened in the heaven before the creation of the world, it can precisely be used as the basic idea in observing the pattern of communication of human being in the real world.

What is interesting in those five verses is that God tells the angels about the creation of Adam and angels complain by giving a prediction to convince their argument. Another point is that God commands the angels and *Shaitan* to obey Adam, consequently they do unless *Shaitan*. From these five verses, it is clearly found that there are some verbs which contain an act at the same time such as informing, complaining, arguing, commanding, and refusing that recently established and developed in the theory of speech act. If it is, there are hundreds or even thousands illocutionary verbs that can be found in both the Koran and the prophet saying which then lead the readers to the conclusion that basically communication also becomes the main concern of certain belief and religious matter.

In this case, Islamic teaching has given a clear guidance in reaching out mutual understanding to avoid problems of communication that might be arouse because of the involvement of an action of sending and receiving messages among language users.

Considering that problem, the researcher enthusiastically intends to understand social reality appeared through language by applying discourse analysis theory, because it views language as social practice determined by

social structures (Fairclough. 1989: 17). It means that reaching out a mutual understanding in communication should combine an understanding of both internal linguistic feature and external social setting of certain utterance.

In accordance to the involvement of both social condition of production and social condition of interpretation in discourse analysis, it views a single and group interaction at once. In spite of the fact that normally there must be linguistic production and interpretation in such communicative events, the researcher does not observe an object with direct stimulus from the speaker and direct response from the hearer at once such as a conversation or dialogue, since the way the speaker produces linguistic signal containing messages and the way the hearer interprets those messages do not merely happen only in the direct conversation between two persons. The term of linguistic production and interpretation in a broader sense can possibly occur in indirect conversation delivered by two or more people. Let us see how public speech (Talk given to an audience) works with no direct response from hearers. From this point of view, the researcher intends to see how certain speech delivers messages.

This study concerns on the analysis of speech, a product of spoken language. Some linguists have established theories concerning with how speech contains an act at the same time and how such an utterance can be meant broader than what physically performed, as what has been discussed above about the nature of communication between God and Adam in the

Koran. When God asks Adam to tell names, He does an act of commanding at the same time.

Factually, there might be an intention coming from the speaker while conversing or speaking. In accordance to this point, Rahardjo (2007: 48) quoted Habermas that language is self-interest of its users. A self-interest can be many things including power (needs for esteem according to Maslow's need hierarchy). Still, according to Hikam in Rahardjo (2007: 48) language recently becomes not only a neutral medium of communication but also a representation of such importance, strategy, and space for power. In line with this statement, Rahardjo (2004: 104) argued that in most cases, the political leaders use language as a social-political hegemonies.

Then, language in the broader sense becomes the way human achieve their self-interests. In relation to this point, there is an illustration of society's cultural transition. In the early stages, world society believes in the system of believe to empower human self identity. This social structure degraded recently. Then, prosperity was claimed as a symbol of power. The last few decades, people have begun to take language into account in holding up the power among societies. Someone tends to use language not only to share something but also to influence others regarding to their own intention (Rahardjo. 2007: 52). Politician, religionist, or even business worker get in touch with language to achieve what they have purposed. Therefore, to analyze the speaker intention, the

researcher uses the theory of Illocutionary Act which is derived from the theory of Speech Act.

What makes this study interesting to be discussed is the role of society played by the speaker, the 43rd President of United States, which is crucial. In his two periods of holding United States' policy, President George W. Bush often invites controversial issues among public. His manner of speaking and his way of interaction are two interesting things in the linguistic field, but what messages sent while he is speaking is more important to be analyzed. Bourdieu (1994) in Rahardjo (2004: 109) explicitly stated that the meaning of such utterances depends on who utters them, how they are said, and in what circumstances. Referring to this point, what makes Bush's statement interesting to be analyzed is the social identity of Bush himself.

Being known that since George W. Bush's re-election in 2004, he has applied such security initiatives among countries in the world, especially Middle Eastern that is crucial. His foreign policies regarding to an international security have strongly taken a place in Afghanistan, Iran, Iraq, Palestinian/Israeli conflict, and Sudan/Darfur conflict. The magazine of *al-Wa'ie* (No. 60/V, 1-31st of August 2005) reported that President George W. Bush along with United States of America have listed some policies regarding to international security and campaigning democracy issue. What researcher is going to find is not how those policies are implied to certain countries but how those policies are linguistically delivered.

Along with an issue of democracy which becomes the central point of George W. Bush's speeches, the researcher finds that Islamic teaching also concerns on building up a peace and harmony in human civilization through the freedom of religion preferences and the establishment of Islamic brotherhood (Thoyib, Sugianto. 2002: 173, 176).

The Koran as the basic Islamic source has also perfectly put the principle of freedom in *The Cow 256*: “[2.256] *There is no compulsion in religion; truly the right way has become clearly distinct from error,*”. In *The Bee 125*, the Koran gives a guidance of the right way to communicate: “[16.125] *Call to the way of your Lord with wisdom and goodly exhortation, and have disputations with them in the best manner; surely your Lord best knows those who go astray from His path, and He knows best those who follow the right way*”.

The existence of Islamic perspective toward language in use above is not the point that is analyzed in this research, but it helps the researcher draws the theoretical base of a significance contribution of investigating language in use.

1.2. Research Problems

- 1.2.1. How is illocutionary act used in George W. Bush's Speeches regarding to democracy issue?
- 1.2.2. What messages are expressed in Bush's speeches regarding to democracy issue?

1.3. Objectives

1.3.1. To get knowledge of illocutionary act that is used in George W.

Bush's speeches regarding to democracy issue.

1.3.2. To understand messages expressed in George W. Bush's speeches

regarding to democracy issue.

1.4. Significance of The Study

1.4.1. Academic Significance

This study broadens a theoretical review on the study of form and function of language in social reality.

1.4.2. Practical Significance

This study can help linguistics researchers especially and social political reviewers generally in reviewing certain linguistic characteristic of such social figures as well as it can also be a model of illocutionary act analysis for discourse studies learners.

1.5. Scope and Limitation

1.5.1. Scope

The study is focused on investigating George W. Bush's Speeches delivered from the year 2004 up to 2007 (the year in which he has been re-elected for the second time) regarding to democracy issue due to the fact that he, the 43rd President of United State, has played a very significant role among countries recently. Speech in front of public is rather different from a conversation or dialogue, even though both speech and conversation are included to the communicative event in which speakers send and share ideas to

other. Since speech is a kind of talk given to an audience with no direct response, illocutionary act theory is used as a basic reference of analysis.

1.5.2. Limitation

Methodological weaknesses of this study is that speech act normally concerns on investigating communicative event which involves both speaker and hearer direct interaction by which the speaker sends messages containing intentions and the hearer directly responds what has been said by giving verbal and nonverbal (action) feedback, such as conversation. The object taken by the researcher in her study is a speech which does not involve direct interaction of the speaker and hearer. The data source of this study is also a part of weaknesses, since the data are taken through internet with an assumption that internet is less reliable than another sources.

1.6. Definition of Key Terms

To make every term in this study is clear and can be understood easily, here are researcher's definitions of some important terms;

- A. Discourse Analysis is an analysis of the form and function of language.
- B. Speech is a talk given to an audience
- C. George W. Bush's Speeches

George W. Bush's, the United States 43rd President, talks given to an audience. The researcher will specify an analysis for only Bush's speeches delivered from the year 2004 (He was re-elected for the

second time) up to 2007 (The time for this research to be conducted)
regarding to democracy issue .

CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE

2.1. Brief Discussion on Pragmatics

Language is broadly claimed to be fully engaged with the study of grammar (the formal system of language) and pragmatics (the principle of language in use) (Leech. 1991: 4). This subtopic discusses briefly the study of pragmatics; its history and its development especially in the area of discourse.

The study of pragmatics was considerably developed in the late 1970s. However, some linguistics reviewers had begun to view the embryo of pragmatics. Morris introduced pragmatics as a branch of semiotics (the study of sign). He argued that there are three ways in studying sign; syntax (the formal relation of signs), semantic (how signs are related to the object), and pragmatics (the relation of signs to interpreters) (Schifrin. 2002: 191). Ross and Lakoff had also viewed the study of pragmatics in the late 1960s. In the year 1962 and 1969, Austin and Searle also had established the study of speech act that lately became a branch of pragmatics study (Leech. 1991: 2).

These founding fathers of pragmatics considered that discovering the formal construction of sentence is not enough. There must be another significant consideration on meaning. In accordance to this consideration, Lakoff argued that the study of syntax could not be completely separated from the study of language use (Leech. 1991: 1-2).

This field concerns on investigating how people comprehend and produce a communicative act. Leech (1991: 1) clearly defined pragmatics as the study of how such utterances have meaning in situations. In other word, pragmatics deals with how language is used in communication. In detail, the study of pragmatics distinguishes two intents or meaning in certain utterance of verbal communication; the informative intent (the sentence meaning) and the communicative intent (the speaker meaning).

Since pragmatics in discourse deals with meaning, context and communication, so it depends much on the speaker, the addressee, and the feature of the context of utterance (Schriffin. 2002: 190).

There are some focuses that studied in pragmatics;

- a. Deixis: it refers to the contextual meaning of pronouns.
- b. Presupposition: it refers to the logical meaning of a sentence.
- c. Performative: it refers to the performance of an act in saying something.

It led to the establishment of Speech Act Theory that gradually embodies three acts; locutionary act, illocutionary act, and perlocutionary act.

- d. Implicature: it refers to an indirect or implicit meaning of such utterances that derived from context.

The third focus above becomes the consideration in investigating the object of this research. Since, again, the nature of discourse as a pragmatics involves speakers, their intentions, actions, and knowledge (Schifrin. 2002: 197)

2.2. Discourse Analysis

2.2.1. General Concept of Discourse

To define discourse, it is necessary to refer to some linguistic indications according to Rahardjo (2007: 54) that is phoneme, morpheme, word, phrase, sentence, meaning, and discourse. Discourse which is analyzed in Pragmatics, hermeneutics, and discourse analysis becomes the larger units of language (Rahardjo. 2007: 66).

The dictionary of Webster's New World College defines the term "discourse" as 1) communication of idea such as conversation, talking, etc. 2) a long and formal treatment of a subject, in speech or writing such as lecture, dissertation, etc. 3) ability to reason, 4) to speak or write (1996: 392).

Along with the literal definition above, Schrifin (1994: 20-22) briefly defined the term discourse based on the two paradigms; formalism and functionalism.

Still, Schrifin had explained in more detail that formalist simply views discourse as sentences. This paradigm is closely related to the proposal of structuralism of Hymes that proposed language as a mental phenomenon represented in a homogeneous code which derived from genetic linguistic of human species and the study of it becomes an autonomous system. Fromkin (1999: 182) similarly defined discourse is as a combination of phonemes into morphemes, morphemes into words, and words into sentences. In other expression, she added, discourse refers to the larger linguistics units. Tarigan in Oktavianus (2006: 31) gave a similar idea of discourse that discourse is

the most complete, largest, and highest linguistic unit above clause or sentence and it is cohesively coherently and continuously in order.

Discourse, according to this point of view usually deals with a complete paragraph.

In other hand, functionalist which tends to investigate language in use views language as a social phenomenon that study it must be in relation to social function which gradually and universally developed. In line with this argument, Djajasudarma as quoted by Oktavianus (2006: 30) offered a statement that discourse can be meant a complete linguistic record of certain communicative event. For this reason, context has played a prior function in constructing a text. In accordance to this idea, Renkema (1993: 21) also had simply explained that discourse studies investigate the relationship between form and function in verbal communication.

What exactly meant by the term 'the relationship between form and function' according to Renkema (1993: 2) is that a sentence carries certain specific function that slightly different from another sentence. Let's have a look to the example;

Sentence 1 : Your new sweet pink blouse is in the wardrobe. Women's Wear boutique sold it.

Sentence 2 : Your new sweet pink blouse is in the wardrobe. It was sold by Women's Wear boutique.

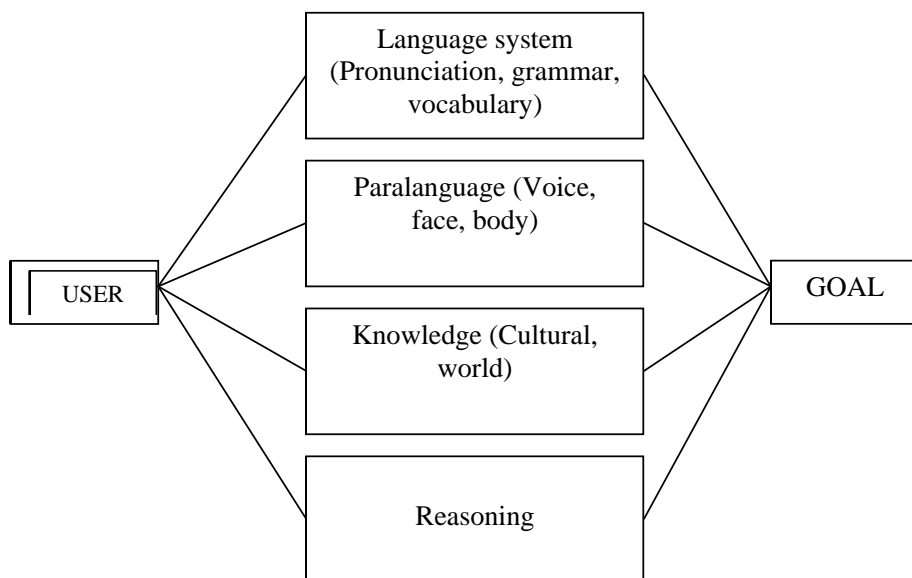
Physically, those two sentences seem have the same meaning. In fact they play different function. The accent of sentence 1 which is in the form of

active voice is on the boutique which sold the sweet pink blouse, but the accent of sentence 2 is on the sweet pink blouse.

The point that can be inferred from those two basic definitions of discourse above is that analyzing language basically refers to two things; the formal rules of language work and the way language is used to communicate something. In this case, such investigations on language in use are professionally handled by discourse studies.

The term discourse is also used in the field of politics, sociology, linguistics, literature, psychology, and communication (Rahardjo. 2007: 66-67). In detail, sociology views discourse as the relationship of social context in language usage. Linguistics replaces discourse as continuous inseparable units of language. Thus, discourse analysis focuses on the use of language, since language becomes the centre of subject illustration.

To broaden the knowledge of language in use, discourse can optimally be used as the background knowledge to investigate such problems related to linguistic interaction. Linguistic interaction here means sender and receiver/speaker and listener interaction. In order to be both active language users or language producers and passive language users or language understanders, we must consider some important components of language that is described in the diagram below;



(Cook. 1989: 42)

Being known that there are two views of discourse; as product and a process. As a product, discourse is defined as a set of sentences that inseparably related to the physical, social, and physiological world in which sentences take a place. In line to this idea, Derrida in Rahardjo (2007: 53) clearly argued that physical structure of text cannot be easily interpreted without the process of contextualization.

Theoretically the product of discourse deals with spoken and written; formal and informal language whereas conversation, speech, and dialogue belong to the practical product of language. Meanwhile, discourse as a process sees human interaction flows in natural ways in which sometimes allow pauses, laughter, intonations, filler words, and etc to enable participants understand what is happening (Cook. 1989: 44,57).

Actually, this is the embryo of debate among scientists within the 'body' of language. Language is not merely structural formation-based but there is an external feature that could not be taken out. Both internal features that is grammar, syntax, sound system, writing and word formation system and external features that is setting or context, body movement, mimic and society setting are crucial, though one feature may be absent by appearing another one.

The basic nature of language above is also established in Islamic teaching in which Mohammad supposedly gave a good model of communication. Mohammad considered and paid attention to context. The suggestion of considering context while communicating is also clearly written in the Koran, *The Accession* “[8.46] *And obey Allah and His Apostle and do not quarrel for then you will be weak in hearts and your power will depart, and be patient; surely Allah is with the patient*”. This verse implicitly recommends people to choose the good and right word while communicating.

It is also important to come closer to see how discourse studies view meanings in sentences. Tough, the study of meaning is closely related to the field of semantic, but it can possibly go broader and is investigated through another linguistics discipline. Understanding meaning of certain utterance may not be separated from understanding setting, background knowledge, and previous utterance which occurs within that utterance, since meaning can be both abstract and concrete, relates naturally to reality (Wardhaugh. 1977: 158).

Ogden and Richard in Pateda (2001: 82-84) have defined the term of meaning as a set of intrinsic words, and actual matter related to certain symbol, and an interpretation of symbol related to the speaker's intention.

Pateda himself (2001: 88) has also briefly explained the components of meaning such as sense, feeling, tone, and intention. He also views the relationship of meaning and discourse by stating that contextual or situational meaning is the product of utterance and context's relationship. Context in this case refers to; personal context, situation, intention, emotional feeling, place, object, formality of conversation, and linguistics context (2001: 116).

Rahardjo (2007: 57) has simply compiled some basic definition of meaning from some experts that meaning is an object, thought, idea, concept, or intention given by the writer, reader, or speaker in the form of linguistic unit such as word, sentence, and text.

In accordance to the discussion of interpreting meaning in analyzing discourse, the relationship of co-text and context must be clearly defined. Co-text refers to the elaboration of linguistic units that reconstructs a higher linguistic structure, such as a clause or a sentence whereas context deals with nonlinguistic components that go along with a discourse (Oktavianus, 2006: 37). This co-text and context has a very significant role in identifying meaning within a discourse.

2.2.2. Types of Discourse

Discourse as a product can simply be categorized and used for both oral and written communication. Renkema (1993: 86) quoted Wallace Chafe

(1982) about two factors which explain the difference between written and verbal discourse. The former takes longer than the later because it must consider the aspect of integration such as the use of subordinate and conjunction which speaking must not. In other hand, verbal interaction involves direct involvement of speaker and listener while writer and reader do not.

In other way, Tarigan in Oktavianus (2006: 42) offered two similar types of discourse to that Wallace Chafe, that is; written and verbal discourse. The former is direct-indirect verbal discourse and expressive-narrative verbal discourse, such as prose, poetry, and drama. The later is categorized into direct-indirect written discourse, expressive, narrative, prose, poetry, and drama written discourse. This point of view is based on the assumption that verbal discourse came earlier than the other one. In addition, the development of technology discovers many excellent innovations on the means of transferring verbal linguistic activity into the written form (Oktavianus. 2006: 43).

There are also two fundamental types of discourse: *reciprocal* and *non-reciprocal*. Reciprocal refers to such circumstances where the sender and receiver can possibly influence each other during interaction. For example, face to face conversation, dialogue, etc. While another one tends to be the opponent that is the sender and receiver have no opportunity to monitor interaction such as what happen in a book written by a dead author (Cook. 1989: 60).

However, what has been displayed in such speech, academic lecture, and television broadcast might not be included to non-reciprocal discourse, even though those types of interaction do not invite any direct response from receivers or listeners, but the point is that the person who gives speech, academic lecturer, and television broadcast behave as they are interacting with us and addressing themselves to us. Let us take a television news broadcaster as a sample of discussion. She or he interacts with viewers through a camera. Even if the viewers cannot interrupt or contradict to her or him (television broadcaster), ratings, and viewers' letters can be another way to respond to her or his interaction as well as the person who gives inaugural speech, for example, which does not invite any kind of direct respond from the listeners but mass media (newspaper, news program, radio, etc) openly responds through news reports.

The discussion of discourse mostly talks about external features of language, since it deals with the way message is sent by the sender and received by the receiver. Understanding messages that are transferred is not simply by looking up the sentence structure but taking situations, conditions, and settings around it into account. Cultural and social relationship of participants must be considered too (Cook. 1989: 10). Every description above may be concluded in the word 'context'.

The work of discourse analysis that combines both text and context in certain linguistic reality enables to reveal hidden motivation behind certain text in which may be helpful in interpreting that text and solve related problems.

2.2.3. Six Approaches of Discourse

Since the area of language in use is broadly taken into the main discussion of linguists especially and language learners generally, discourse analysis then becomes the outstanding of theoretical basis. For that reason, it is necessary for the researcher to review the scope of discourse analysis briefly in this chapter.

There are six approaches of discourse analysis; speech act, interactional sociolinguistics, ethnography of communication, pragmatic, conversational analysis, and variation analysis (Schiffrin. 1994: 5).

Speech act approach concerns on the knowledge of production and interpretation of acts through words. One word may refer to more than one action at once, consequently, contexts can be very helpful to differentiate one function to another. Therefore Speech Act approach is included to an analysis of discourse (Schiffrin. 1994: 6).

Interactional sociolinguistics approach discusses language in combination with culture and society. Gumperz proposed interactional approach that talks about the people coming from different cultures who contextualize what is said with their different grammatical knowledge of language. Goffman offers another interactional approach that is how language is played in particular circumstances of social life and how it influences meanings (Schiffrin. 1994: 7).

The ethnography of communication as another approach of discourse explains the relationship between meaning and behavior. Communicative competence that is proposed by Hymes shares an engagement of cultural

interpretation, personal conception, and world knowledge in everyday conversation (Schriffin. 1994: 8).

A pragmatic approach of discourse refers to the basic idea of Grice that shares not only some different types of meaning but also several general maxims of cooperation that leads to the speaker's communicative intention. Pragmatic analyzes speaker meaning at the level of utterance rather than text (Schriffin. 1994: 9).

Conversation analysis is one of approaches of discourse that discovers methods used by members of society while they produce a sense of social order in conversation. This approach also concerns on the problem of social order (Schriffin. 1994: 10).

A variationist is another approach of discourse that focuses on the study of language variation and change. This approach begins its investigation from an assumption that linguistic variations occurred in society is patterned socially and linguistically (Schriffin. 1994: 11).

Referring to the description above, the researcher uses speech act approach to see how the object of study that is George W. Bush's speeches is functioned in delivering messages to listeners. Speech Act Theory itself is discussed in another sub theme of chapter II.

2.3. Speech Act Theory

Before going to come deeper to the area of speech act theory as one of an essential part of discourse analysis, there should be an outstanding that the Koran and the prophet saying have primarily discussed about this theory. In other word, these two basic sources of Islamic teaching can be an

inspiration for the observer in broadening the study of speech act. The God, as it is reflected in the Koran, has perfectly shown a model of communication that has a well-patterned complicated language.

2.3.1. A Brief Discussion of the Term *Sender* and *Receiver*

Before coming deeper to the discussion of speech act theory, it is necessary to define the term *sender* and *receiver*, since both two terms practically exist in communication.

Sender literally refers to the person who sends messages through his or her linguistic competence and receiver simply means the person who receives messages sent by the sender. The person who makes a telephone call can be associated as the sender of message and the one who receives that telephone call is the receiver of message. The author of the book of *Approaches to Discourse*, Deborah Schriffin is the sender of scientific messages of linguistics knowledge whereas readers of the book including the students of linguistics department are the receiver of linguistics messages.

However, it is not enough only to define the literal meaning of the term *sender* and *receiver* in holding up the real natural communication, because these terms participate almost in every communicative event along with the external setting of language they communicate with. The influential Council of Europe publication defines the two main parameter of language users' setting while communicating that is social and psychological role (Cook. 1989: 88). Social role considers the category of friend to friend/stranger to stranger and private/official communication whereas

psychological role deals with the neutrality, equality, sympathy, and antipathy as the point of view. From that reason, the sender and receiver may possibly apply these social and psychological roles while getting involved in sending and receiving messages.

Leech (1991: 13) gave an additional definition of “sender” that is a person who is an intended receiver of the message while “receiver” tends to be an interpreter of the message.

Still, Cook (1989: 89-94) has figured out some essential points that must be involved to the sender and receiver point of view that is status, role, identity, shared knowledge, information quantity and ordering, adding and removing information, article choice, adjusting information structure, and changing between dialogue and monologue.

Yet, an overview on the discussion about sender and receiver is necessarily needed to be discussed briefly in this study because of an inseparable involvement of those two terms in the study of Speech Act. Moreover, the investigation of George W. Bush’s speech naturally involves the process of sending and receiving messages even though Bush as the sender of message and audiences as the receiver does not apply direct participation as it happens in the conversation which is developed under Grice’s principle of turn taking.

The main point is that there are many considerations we should take into account when we are investigating certain product of communication including the sender and receiver of a message, for example; speech.

2.3.2. An Overview on Speech Act Theory

Speech Act Theory as one of the most common discussed topics in Discourse Analysis which focuses upon the knowledge of production and interpretation of acts through words was originally brought by the philosopher, John Austin around the year 1962 (Schriffin. 1994: 6). Still, Austin simply pointed out that speech act is a matter of analyzing utterances in relation to the behavior of speaker and hearer (Oktavianus. 2006: 70).

In accordance to this statement, Yule as quoted by Oktavianus (2006: 1,4) pointed out that every action is formed through language and that speech act helps language to be functioned as not only to communicate but also to perform an act which naturally carries cultural values of the user. Chaer and Agustina in Winiarsih (2003: 80-81) were in line to the idea above in stating that speech act deals with the meaning of an act performed in the speaker's utterance.

Since speech act discusses how language represents an act, it clearly demonstrates how language is functioned as the real tool of human communication and interaction. What must be underlined is that the function of language is mainly to be used by its users for some objectives. In this case, Oktavianus (2006: 25) quoted Bühler's formulation of language functions that are expressive, connative, and representative function. As what has been formulated by Bühler previously, speech act theory also provides some analysis on users' objectives in using the language. Halliday in Stubbs (1983: 149) proposes another three broad functions of language;

ideational, interpersonal, and textual whereas Jakobson and Hymes proposed directive, referential, contextual, and etc.

The book of *How Do the Thing with Words* that contains a series of lectures conducted by Austin in 1955 becomes the center of Austin's theory formulation in which mostly talks about the nature of acting while conversing and the knowledge people must have while interacting. Austin began his theory of speech act with the assumption of the relationship between meaning, use, and action (Schriffin. 1994: 50) Then, John Searle made that formulation more systematic.

According to Austin, who has distinguished a kind of utterance into *constative* and *performative*, an utterance belongs to the former if it describes some state of affairs including saying the fact that is true or false and it refers to the later one if it deals with uttering a sentence as a part of doing an action rather than performing the truth and falsity of certain fact (Stubbs. 1983: 150).

Leech (1991: 176) quoted Austin's argument that something to be focused in analyzing an utterance is whether that utterance means "doing" element or "saying" element. Thus, he makes a clear classification of an utterance in accordance with the need of receiver to succeed the process of interpretation and to reach the goal of communication.

For that reason, Austin describes linguistic act that may occurs in interactional communication which is included in the three components of Speech Act; *Locutionary Act* (the act of saying something), *Illocutionary Act* (the performance of an act in saying something), and *Perlocutionary Act*

(occurring consequential effects as the effect of saying something) (Stubbs. 1983: 152) The fact proves that locution meaning (literal meaning) can be both parallel and unparallel to the illocutionary meaning (Oktavianus. 2006: 75). It means that an utterance potentially carries more than one meaning.

Leech (1991: 174) had also discussed the term performative and illocutionary-verb in the statement;

The illocutionary-verb fallacy is the view that the analysis of illocutionary force can be suitably approached through the analysis of the meaning of illocutionary verbs such as advises, command, and promise...when we are analyzing illocutionary verbs, we are dealing with grammar, whereas when we are analyzing the illocutionary force utterances, we are dealing with pragmatics.

From the point of view above, it can be concluded that verbs generally have a classifications based on contexts language users tend to have.

Therefore a context becomes the important evident in studying speech act, because the same sentence possibly has a different intention depending on some situations or circumstances (Fromkin. 1999: 189).

Stubbs (1983: 153) viewed one of the weakest aspects of Austin's Speech Act theory is that there is no end or limitation to the number of speech acts which language may perform.

In other view, Searle also points out that all linguistic communication involves linguistic acts. He has classified three different acts while we are speaking; *utterance act*, *propositional act*, and *illocutionary act*. According to him, utterance act deals with words and sentences what we are saying, propositional act is the use of language to refer to such matters in the world and to predict those matters, while illocutionary act is a matter of the

speakers' intention. Illocutionary act can be a matter of questioning, commanding, promising, etc. (Wardhaugh. 1986: 277).

Based on the description above, this study will intensively be led to see the role of illocutionary act that occurs in certain speech delivered by an influential person. Therefore, the researcher must emphasize Illocutionary Act Analysis rather than another component of Speech Act.

2.4. Illocutionary Act Theory

The term illocutionary act has been briefly discussed above that it refers to performing an act in saying something (Leech. 1991: 176). From this point of view, the value of an utterance mainly depends on the intention of the speaker. Therefore, an utterance may possibly carry more than only an accumulation of words, phrase, and sentences but values even to the speaker itself and the hearer.

Basically, both Austin and Searle offer the similar idea of illocutionary act. What Austin meant by performative is illocutionary according to Searle. It was clearly quoted by Wardhaugh (1986: 275) that in performative utterance, a person is not just saying something but actually doing something.

Austin divided a performative utterance into five kinds;

- A. Verdictives. Such utterance that means giving a verdict or decision (e.g. grading, estimating, deciding).
- B. Exercitives. Such utterance that means exercising or influencing something (e.g. appointing, ordering, warning, advising).

- C. Commissives. Such utterance that means committing someone to do something (e.g. promising)
- D. Behabitives. Such utterance that refers to a matter of apologizing, congratulating, blessing, cursing, and challenging.
- E. Expositive. Such utterance that deals with arguing, assuming, or expositing. (Wardhaugh. 1986: 275-276)

Leech (1991: 176) preferred to use the term illocutionary act to performative as Wardhaugh mentioned clearly above.

Searle systematizes Austin's works by redefining the five illocutionary acts that will also be followed by the sample of illocutionary verbs written in the Koran as a supporting theoretical review.

a. Assertive

Assertive refers to an utterance that describes some state of affairs. The sample of Koran's statement best described as Assertive/informing is below;

[2.30] And when *your Lord said to the angels, I am going to place in the earth a khalif*, they said: What! wilt Thou place in it such as shall make mischief in it and shed blood, and we celebrate Thy praise and extol Thy holiness? He said: Surely I know what you do not know.

b. Directive

Directive refers to an utterance which used to get the hearer to do something. The sample of Koran's statement best described as Directive/forbidding and recommending is below;

[2.42] And *do not mix up the truth with the falsehood*, nor hide the truth while you know (it).

c. Commissive

Commissive refers to an utterance that commits the hearer to do something. The sample of Koran's statement best described as Commissive/threatening and promising is below;

[2.98] *Whoever is the enemy of Allah and His angels and His apostles and Jibreel and Meekaeel, so surely Allah is the enemy of the unbelievers.*

d. Expressive

Expressive refers to an utterance that expresses speaker's psychological attitude toward a state of affairs. The sample of Koran's statement best described as Expressive/praising is below;

[2.32] They said: *Glory be to Thee! we have no knowledge but that which Thou hast taught us; surely Thou art the Knowing, the Wise.*

e. Declarative

Declarative refers to an utterance that effects a change in some state of affairs. The sample of Koran's statement best described as Declarative/declaring is below;

[2.62] Surely those who believe, and those who are Jews, and the Christians, and the Sabians, *whoever believes in Allah and the Last day and does good, they shall have their reward from their Lord*, and there is no fear for them, nor shall they grieve.

To simplify the description of Searle's Illocutionary Act above, here is a table containing a detail explanation about illocutionary verb classifications and its literal meaning based on Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary (2000).

Illocutionary act classification	Verb classification	Literary meaning
Representative/assertive - To state clearly and firmly that something is true () - Speaker conveys his belief that his proposition is true - Speaker is committed in varying degrees to the truth of the preposition they have uttered - Commit the speaker to the truth of the expressed prepositional condition - To commit the speaker to something being the case	Believing	To feel certain that something is true (107)
	Reporting	To give people information about something you've heard, seen, done, etc. (1126)
	Informing	To tell somebody about something, especially in an official way (696)
	Stating	To formally write or say something especially in a careful and clear way (1318)
	Suggesting	To put forward an idea or plan for other people to think about (1353)
	Boasting	To talk with too much pride about something you have or can do (134)
	Complaining	To say that you are annoyed, unhappy, or not satisfied about something (261)
	Concluding	To decide or believe something as a result of what you have heard or seen (268)
	Affirming	To state firmly or publicly that something is true or that you support something strongly (22)
	Allege	To state something as a fact but without giving proof (32)
	Forecasting	To say what you think will happen in the future based on information that you have now (526)
Predicting	To say that something will happen in the future (1034)	

	Announcing	To tell people something officially especially about a decision, plans, etc (44)
	Insisting	To demand that something happens or that somebody agree to do something (703)
Directive	Asking	To tell somebody that you would like them to do something (64)
- giving instruction (372) - to aim something in a particular direction or at particular person (371) - to give an official order (371)	Begging	To ask somebody for something especially in an anxious way because you want or need it very much (165)
	Bidding	To offer to do work or provide the service for particular price (115) To try to do or achieve something
	Demanding	To ask for something very firmly To need something in order to be done successfully (351)
	Forbidding	To order somebody not to do something (524)
	Advising	To tell somebody what you think they should do in a particular situation (20)
	Recommending	To tell somebody that something is good or useful (1165)
	Requesting	To ask for something or ask somebody to something in polite way or formal way (1129)
	Ordering	To use your position of authority to tell somebody to do something or say that something must happen (931)
	Commissive	Offering
- to promise sincerely that you definitely do something keep to an agreement or arrangement	Promise	To tell somebody that you definitely do or not do something or that something will definitely happen (1056)
	Swearing	To make serious promise to do

- to give an opinion or make a decision openly so that it is difficult to change it		something (1366)
	Volunteering	To offer to do something without being forced to do it or without getting paid for it (1508)
	Vowing	To make a formal and serious promise to do something/ a formal statement that is true (1059)
	Threatening	To say that you will cause trouble , hurt, etc. if you do not get what you want (1408)
Expressive	Apologizing	To say that you are sorry for doing something wrong or causing problem (50)
- showing or able to show your thought and feeling (464) - to show or make known feeling an opinion by words, looks, or actions (464)	Commiserating	To show somebody sympathy when they are upset or disappointed about something (255)
	Congratulating	To tell somebody that you are pleased about their success (274) To feel pleased and proud because of achieving success
	Appreciating	To be grateful for something that somebody has done (53)
	Welcoming	To greet somebody in a friendly way when they arrive somewhere To be pleased that somebody has come or joined an organization, activity, etc. (1529)
	Pardoning	To officially allow somebody who has been found guilty of a crime to leave prison and or avoid punishment (958) To forgive somebody To say sorry
	Thanking	To tell somebody that you are grateful for something (1397)
	Blaming	To think or say that somebody o something is responsible for something bad (123)
	Praise	To express your approval and admiration for somebody o something To express your thank to god

		(1032)
	Condoling	To express your sympathy (2070)
Declaration	Adjourning	To stop a meeting or an official process for a period of time especially in a court law (66)
	Vetoing	To stop something from happening or being done by using your official authority (to refuse, to accept) (1500)
	Baptizing	To give somebody baptism (90)
	Declaring	To say something officially or publicly (343)
	Resigning	To officially tell somebody that you are leaving your job, an organization, etc (1131)
	Dismissing	To decide that somebody or something is not important or not worth thinking or talking about (380)
	Christening	To give a name to a baby at his or her baptism or welcome him or her into christian church (219)
	Naming	To say the name of somebody or something To state something exactly (881)
	Excommunicating	To punish by officially stating that they can no longer be a member a christian church (456)
	Appointing	To choose somebody for a job or position or responsibility (52)
	Sentencing	To say officially in a court of law that somebody is to receive a particular punishment (1212)

2.5. Speech

Language in general and discourse in specific can be classified into verbal and written expression. According to Renkema (1993: 86), these two types carry different characteristics in stead of the fact that both of them are functioned similarly in communication. The researcher of this study puts on one of the product of verbal expression that is speech. For that reason, she has mainly to discuss such theoretical basis of speech after redefining several points of discourse analysis and speech act theory.

Oxford Advance Learner's Dictionary (2000: 1292) literary defines the term *speech* as way of speaking, act of speaking, or formal talk given to an audience. From this definition, speech physically can be many kinds such as; preach, lecture, paper presentation, or inaugural speech. Anjali (2006: 20) explicitly explained speech as a part of communication, so that all these kinds must carry messages or ideas.

Still, according to Anjali (2006: 16), speech has a power to change the speaker himself and other people. By speaking, an individual can enliven or control the life. Let us say, when someone has a brilliant idea about reprocessing the garbage, while he does not speak anything about that, as the result there will be no solution of the problem of garbage because of no body knows his ideas. This is a simple illustration of the importance of speech. This assumption possibly leads us to an understanding that speech is the manifestation of language which takes a very significant role in everyday life.

Grecian, the community who firstly considered the importance of speech, viewed speech as not only to deliver message, idea, desire, hope, and education from one person to another, one community to another but also to construct an art (Anjali. 2006: 22). In accordance to this, they also used a speech to share and overcome a problem toward a member of society (Keraf. 2006: 2). Finally they figured out and developed the rhetoric knowledge as the broader sense of the art of speaking. People gradually redefine the knowledge of rhetoric as speech, preach, oration, or presentation. No matter what the reason, this knowledge is necessarily needed in some professions such as; lawyer, politician, religious teacher, statesman, businessmen (Anjali. 2006: 28).

Harold J. Lasswell in his book of *The Structure and Functional of Communication in Society* as quoted by Anjali (2006: 23) who had formulated the formula of communication “who says why in which channel to whom with what effect” has listed 5 components of communication; communicator (sender, source), message, media (channel), communicant (receiver, recipient), effect (impact, influence). In accordance to those components, Leech (1991: 13-14) listed some considerations on speech situation below;

a. Addresser and addressee

In explaining the nature of communication, some linguists may use the term sender and receiver, addresser and addressee, writer and reader, and speaker and hearer. Basically, all these items have similar meaning, but the use of each item refers to the relevant context. The point is that the former deals

with the person who sends or shares information whereas the later tends to be the person who receives and being shared the information.

b. The context of utterance

The context can simply be meant relevant aspect of psychical or social setting of a communicative event. The context of an utterance is considered to be the background knowledge that contributes to the sender's intention in producing an utterance and the receiver's interpretation of an utterance.

Keraf (2006: 11) gave an additional argument concerning to the aspect of context or situation that by considering the external factors, the speech can be optimally presented.

c. The goals of an utterance

The goal of an utterance deals with the sender's purposes in uttering it. This goal can also be meant an intended meaning of an utterance which might be intentionally or unintentionally proposed.

d. The utterance as a form of an act

Being proposed in this research of Bush's speech that such utterances may possibly consist of actions. In some cases, the speaker does not realize that she or he leads or invites some acts while uttering. In fact, verbal language possibly involves an act much more than written language.

e. The utterance as a product of verbal act

To achieve a mutual understanding in communication and also to support those Leech's considerations, Cleanth Brooks and Robert Penn Warren has clearly listed 8 principles of speech; Aesthetic, effectiveness,

uniqueness and authenticity, accuracy, creativity, ethic, logical, and truth (Anjali. 2006: 45).

Another important consideration in speech is diction (Keraf. 2006: 23-24). Diction is not a simple thing since it has to cover an intention of the speaker, be appropriate to the context, and fulfill the social and cultural requirement where the speaker delivers his speech.

From that reason, the speaker should be able to use denotation-connotation expression, synonymous word, affixation, idiomatic expression, etc. appropriately (Keraf. 2006:88-89).

In accordance to the consideration of speech, language style should also be briefly taken into account. The use of language style refers to a matter of word, phrase, clause, and sentence choice, discourse consideration, and even suprasegmental units (stress, intonation). The researcher does not discuss the whole topic of language style since it is not the main scope of the research. The subtopic of direct and indirect meaning in the study of language style becomes a consideration in analyzing Bush's speeches. The use of denotative usually does not lead to semantically word change while connotative or any other styles possibly make any changes in word meaning (Keraf. 2006: 129).

In the matter of direct and indirect meaning, a language style is divided into rhetoric and figurative. Rhetoric consists of alliteration, assonance, anastrophe, apophasis, apostrophe, asyndeton, polysyndeton, chiasmus, ellipsis, euphemism, litotes, hysteron proton, pleonasm, periphrasis, prolepsis, rhetorical question, solipsism, correction, hyperbole, paradox, and

oxymoron. In other hand, figurative stands for simile, metaphor, allegory, personification, allusion, eponym, epithet, synecdoche, metonymic, antonomasia, hypalase, irony, satire, innuendo, antiphrasis, and paronomasia.

By referring to these styles, the researcher can look over the speaker's way in delivering speech, whether the message is delivered directly or indirectly.

In investigating a speech, the researcher lists some types of speech in order to be able to analyze the object of study. According to Rakhmat (2006: 17-19), based on the way the speech is delivered, speech is classified into impromptu, manuscript, memorizer, and extemporary. The speech is considered to be *impromptu* if there is no preparation before delivering speech. Let us say, when someone is in the party and asked to deliver speech directly. *Manuscript* refers to the speech with the complete text. In other word, it refers to reading a text of speech. *Memorizer* is a kind of speech in which the speaker memorizes the content of speech. *Extemporary* is considered as the best type of speech because the speaker develops what will be delivered by himself based on his outline.

By referring to the objective of the speaker, Rakhmat (2006: 89-125) classifies speech into;

1. *Informative speech*. It is oriented to deliver o share information to enable the listener to know, understand, and receive what is informed.

Ehninger, Monroe, and Bronbeck figured out 3 types of informative speech; oral report (annual report, project report, governmental report),

oral instruction (speech containing instruction from teacher to student, leader to official, director to secretary), and informative lecture (lecture, preach, paper presentation).

2. *Persuasive speech*. It is oriented to convince, control, or attract listener's attention. Campaign speech and preach are two of examples of persuasive speech.
3. *Re-creative speech*. It is not oriented to inform something or influence listeners but to attract, enliven, and give an interlude.

Discussing speech also means the organization of message, since speech becomes a part of delivering message or idea. Still, Rakhmat (2006: 35-36) described briefly the 6 forms in organizing message; deductive (the turn of the main idea to facts or supporting idea), inductive (the turn of facts or supporting idea to the main idea), chronological (based on time sequence), logical (based on the order of cause to effect or from effect to cause), spatial (based on the order of place), and topical (the order of specific topic).

2.6. Previous Study

Many similar researches concerning the field of Discourse Analysis have been conducted because of its familiarity in the area of language and communication. However, most of them have analyzed spoken text or oral language.

Evi Handayani (S1 thesis report. 2004) has analyzed *Illocutionary Acts Used by Transsexual People in Malang*. She found out that the

community of transsexual within the organization of *Ikatan Waria Malang* (IWAMA) often used *Assertive, Directive, Commissive, and Expressive* utterances. For assertive, the research subject mostly used complaining utterances. For directive, ordering and requesting are mostly used. For commissive, offering is mostly used. While apologizing and greeting are mostly used in expressive illocutionary act.

Nur Azizah's work (S1 thesis report. 2005) is little bit similar to the researcher's study. Azizah discussed *Speech acts used by AA Gym in his preach* as well as the researcher who also concerns on the individual speech. What makes them different is that the previous researcher only classified AA Gym preaches based on the elements of speech act while the recent researcher broadens those classifications to gain both explicit and implicit messages in certain speech.

Though Speech Act Theory mostly pays attention on conversation which employs speaker and hearer directly, speech is also included to Speech Acts object of study. Since the study of conversational talk has been mostly done, the researcher takes an individual speech as her object of study to view whether Illocutionary Act is effectively occurred or not.

CHAPTER III

RESEARCH METHOD

3.1. Research Design

In this study, the researcher applies *qualitative descriptive* to understand reality based on holistic, complex, and detail natural setting of the object. She purposes to understand messages of Bush's speeches regarding to democratic issue based on social context and emphasizes time and process of her participatory observation on written texts.

3.2. Data and Data Source

The data of this study is George W. Bush's utterances which are observed from his speeches from the year 2004 up to 2007.

There is only a single data source that is an official website of Secretary Department of the United States of America where the transcript of George W. Bush's speeches is available.

3.3. Research Instrument

Since a research instrument is tools or facilities that are used by the researcher to collect data in order to make research process done easily, systematically and completely, the researcher uses human instrument in her study. She herself becomes the research instrument who actively and directly participates in data collection and data analysis.

3.4. Data Collection

The researcher collects the data by accessing the official website of Secretary Department of USA government from the 1st-15th of May 2007.

3.5. Data Analysis

Data analysis in qualitative research is emphasized on a process and ongoing analysis. The process of data analysis in this study is listed below;

3.4.1. Data Reduction.

After collecting 17 relevant speeches of George W. Bush within the year 2004 up to 2007, the researcher takes 7 of them to be analyzed.

These Bush's speeches are taken from the official website of Secretary Department of USA government where all President George W.

Bush's official documents including the transcript of his speeches are documented. The 17 collected speeches are below;

No.	Theme and Place	Date
1.	President discusses freedom and democracy in Kyoto, Japan	-
2.	President Bush discusses democracy, freedom from Turkey	June 29, 2004
3.	President discusses importance of democracy in Middle East	February 4, 2004
4.	President Bush, Swedish Pm Share Vision For Freedom	April 28, 2004
5.	President Bush's speech : democracy in Iraq	December 2, 2006
6.	President discusses freedom and democracy in Latvia	May 7, 2005
7.	President outlines steps to help Iraq achieve freedom and democracy	May 24, 2004

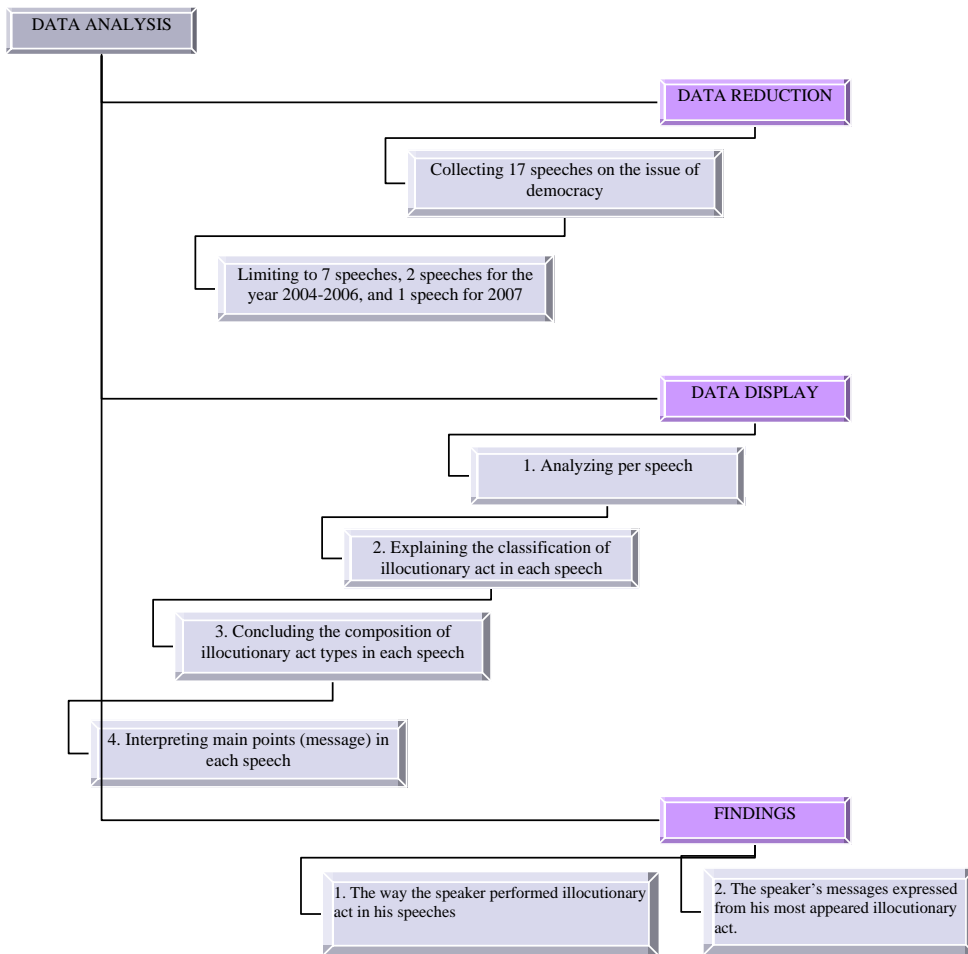
8.	President discusses democracy in the Western Hemisphere	November 6, 2005
9.	President discusses freedom and democracy	March 29, 2005
10.	President discusses democracy, AGOA with African leaders	June 13, 2005
11.	President, Prime Minister of India discuss freedom and democracy	July 16, 2005
12.	President discusses war on terror at National Endowment for Democracy	October 6, 2005
13.	President discusses democracy in Iraq with Freedom House	March 29, 2006
14.	President discusses freedom and democracy in Iraq	March 13, 2006
15.	President attends celebration of Hungarian contribution to democracy	March 15, 2006
16.	President discusses war on terror and operation in Iraq freedom	March 20, 2006
17.	President Bush visits Prague, Czech Republic, discusses freedom	June 5, 2007

In the process of data reduction, the researcher considers several points;

1. The speech involves only a single speech coming from President George W. Bush (It does not contain direct question and answer from the hearers).
2. The speech mainly discusses issue on democracy.
3. The bolded speeches above are the 7 eliminated data.

3.4.2. Data Display

Data display views the selected text using the regulation of illocutionary act. For the first research question, the researcher makes verb classification based on the categorization of illocutionary act (The table has been displayed in chapter II). The researcher analyzes each utterance in each speech, classifies it into the classification of illocutionary act, explains why it should be, examines what classification of illocutionary act is mostly appeared, and explains how it performed. For the second research question, still the researcher uses the finding of the first research question to determine main ideas. In detail, after finding several classifications of illocutionary act in each speech and examining the classification that mostly appeared, the researcher takes it as the main idea of the speech. The researcher illustrates her process of data analysis in the form of a diagram below;



CHAPTER IV

DATA ANALYSIS AND FINDING

4.1. Data Analysis

The data that are used in this research is speeches which are delivered by President George W. Bush from the year 2004 up to 2007. After collecting 17 speeches, the researcher then reduces the data into 7 speeches, the fourth of them are taken as a sample of analysis and the rest are put in appendix as a supporting data. These 7 speeches are;

1. President bush discusses importance of democracy in middle east
(February 4, 2004)
2. **President bush discusses democracy, freedom from turkey (June 29, 2004)**
3. President discusses freedom and democracy (march 29, 2005)
4. **President bush discusses democracy in the western hemisphere (November 6, 2005)**
5. **President discusses freedom and democracy in Iraq (march 13, 2006)**
6. President bush's speech : democracy in Iraq (December 2, 2006)
7. **President bush visits Prague, Czech republic, discusses freedom (June 5, 2007)**

These speeches were delivered in different times and places. The February 4, 2004 speech was delivered in the library of congress, Washington DC on Winston Churchill celebration. The June 29, 2004 speech was delivered in Istanbul Turkey. The march 29, 2005 speech was delivered in the rose garden,

white house. The November 6, 2005 speech was delivered in blue tree park hotel, Brasilia, Brazil. The march 13, 2006 speech was delivered in Dorothy Betts Marvin theatre, the George Washington University, Washington D.C. The December 2, 2006 speech was delivered in the official radio broadcasting. The June 5, 2007 speech was delivered in large hall, Czermin palace, Prague, Czech Republic.

The researcher puts the 4 speeches in the chapter and puts the rest in appendixes.

DATA 1: PRESIDENT BUSH DISCUSSES DEMOCRACY, FREEDOM FROM TURKEY (JUNE 29, 2004. ISTANBUL, TURKEY)

Distinguished guests, ladies and gentlemen: Laura and I are grateful for the warm hospitality we have received these past three days in the Republic of Turkey. I am honored to visit this beautiful country where two continents meet - a nation that upholds great traditions, and faces the future with confidence. And America is honored to call Turkey an ally and a friend.

Comment [a1]: Expressive/appreciating

Comment [a2]: Expressive/praising

Many Americans trace their heritage to Turkey, and Turks have contributed greatly to our national life - including, most recently, a lot of baskets for the Detroit Pistons from Mehmet Okur. I know you're proud that this son of your country helped to win an NBA championship, and America is proud of him as well.

Comment [a3]: Assertive/informing

Comment [a4]: Expressive/congratulating

I am grateful to Prime Minister Erdogan and President Sezer for hosting the members of NATO in an historic time for our alliance. For most of its history, NATO existed to deter aggression from a powerful army at the heart of Europe. In

Comment [a5]: Expressive/praising

this century, NATO looks outward to new threats that gather in secret and bring sudden violence to peaceful cities. We face terrorist networks that rejoice when parents bury their murdered children, or bound men plead for their lives. We face outlaw regimes that give aid and shelter to these killers, and seek weapons of mass murder. We face the challenges of corruption and poverty and disease, which throw whole nations into chaos and despair - the conditions in which terrorism can thrive.

Comment [a6]: Expressive/blaming

Some on both sides of the Atlantic have questioned whether the NATO alliance still has a great purpose. To find that purpose, they only need to open their eyes. The dangers are in plain sight. The only question is whether we will confront them, or look away and pay a terrible cost.

Comment [a7]: Assertive/suggesting

Over the last few years, NATO has made its decision. Our alliance is restructuring to oppose threats that arise beyond the borders of Europe. NATO is providing security in Afghanistan. NATO has agreed to help train the security forces of a sovereign Iraq - a great advantage and crucial success for the Iraqi people. And in Istanbul we have dedicated ourselves to the advance of reform in the broader Middle East, because all people deserve a just government, and because terror is not the tool of the free. Through decades of the Cold War, our great alliance of liberty never failed in its duties - and we are rising to our duties once again.

Comment [a8]: Assertive/reporting

Comment [a9]: Assertive/boasting

Comment [a10]: Expressive/praising

Comment [a11]: Directive/recommending

The Turkish people understand the terrorists, because you have seen their work, even in the last few days. You have heard the sirens, and witnessed the carnage, and mourned the dead. After the murders of Muslims, Christians, and Jews in Istanbul last November, a resident of this city said of the terrorists, "They do not

Comment [a12]: Assertive/statting

have any religion ... They are friends of evil." In one of the attacks, a Muslim woman lost her son Ahmet, her daughter-in-law Berta, and her unborn grandchild. She said, "Today I'm saying goodbye to my son. Tomorrow I'm saying farewell to my Berta. I don't know what [the killers] wanted from my kids. Were they jealous of their happiness?"

Comment [a13]: Assertive/affirming

The Turkish people have grieved, but your nation is also showing how terrorist violence will be overcome - with courage, and with a firm resolve to defend your just and tolerant society. This land has always been important for its geography -

Comment [a14]: Assertive/suggesting

here at the meeting place of Europe, Asia, and the Middle East. Now Turkey has assumed even greater historical importance, because of your character as a nation.

Turkey is a strong, secular democracy, a majority Muslim society, and a close ally of free nations. Your country, with 150 years of democratic and social reform,

Comment [a15]: Expressive/praising

stands as a model to others, and as Europe's bridge to the wider world. Your

Comment [a16]: Directive/recommending

success is vital to a future of progress and peace in Europe and in the broader Middle East - and the Republic of Turkey can depend on the support and friendship of the United States.

Comment [a17]: Assertive/affirming

Comment [a18]: Commisive/offering

For decades, my country has supported greater unity in Europe - to secure liberty, build prosperity, and remove sources of conflict on this continent. Now the

Comment [a19]: Assertive/aligning

European Union is considering the admission of Turkey, and you are moving rapidly to meet the criteria for membership. Mustafa Kemal Ataturk had a vision

Comment [a20]: Expressive/appreciating

of Turkey as a strong nation among other European nations. That dream can be

Comment [a21]: Assertive/affirming

realized by this generation of Turks. America believes that as a European power, Turkey belongs in the European Union. Your membership would also be a crucial

advance in relations between the Muslim world and the West, because you are part of both. Including Turkey in the EU would prove that Europe is not the exclusive club of a single religion, and it would expose the "clash of civilizations" as a passing myth of history. Fifteen years ago, an artificial line that divided Europe -- drawn at Yalta - was erased. Now this continent has the opportunity to erase another artificial division - by fully including Turkey in t

Comment [a22]: Assertive/suggesting

Comment [a23]: Assertive/affirming

Turkey has found its place in the community of democracies by living out its own principles. Muslims are called to seek justice - fairness to all, care for the stranger, compassion for those in need. And you have learned that democracy is the surest way to build a society of justice. The best way to prevent corruption and abuse of power is to hold rulers accountable. The best way to ensure fairness to all is to establish the rule of law. The best way to honor human dignity is to protect human rights. Turkey has found what nations of every culture and every region have found: If justice is the goal, then democracy is the answer.

Comment [a24]: Directive/ensuring

Comment [a25]: Assertive/believing

Comment [a26]: Directive/recommending

Comment [a27]: Directive/ensuring

Comment [a28]: Assertive/suggesting

In some parts of the world, especially in the Middle East, there is wariness toward democracy, often based on misunderstanding. Some people in Muslim cultures identify democracy with the worst of Western popular culture, and want no part of it. And I assure them, when I speak about the blessings of liberty, coarse videos and crass commercialism are not what I have in mind. There is nothing incompatible between democratic values and high standards of decency. For the sake of their families and their culture, citizens of a free society have every right to strive peacefully for a moral society.

Comment [a29]: Assertive/alleging

Comment [a30]: Assertive/suggesting

Democratic values also do not require citizens to abandon their faith. No democracy can allow religious people to impose their own view of perfection on others, because this invites cruelty and arrogance that are foreign to every faith. And all people in a democracy have the right to their own religious beliefs. But all democracies are made stronger when religious people teach and demonstrate upright conduct - family commitment, respect for the law, and compassion for the weak. Democratic societies should welcome, not fear, the participation of the faithful.

Comment [a31]: Assertive/suggesting

In addition, democracy does not involve automatic agreement with other democracies. Free governments have a reputation for independence, which Turkey has certainly earned. That is the way democracy works. We deal honestly with each other, we make our own decisions - and yet, in the end, the disagreements of the moment are far outweighed by the ideals we share.

Comment [a32]: Assertive/suggesting

Because representative governments reflect their people, every democracy has its own structure, traditions, and opinions. There are, however, certain commitments of free government that do not change from place to place. The promise of democracy is fulfilled in freedom of speech, the rule of law, limits on the power of the state, economic freedom, respect for women, and religious tolerance. These are the values that honor the dignity of every life, and set free the creative energies that lead to progress.

Comment [a33]: Directive/recommending

Achieving these commitments of democracy can require decades of effort and reform. In my own country it took generations to throw off slavery, racial segregation, and other practices that violated our ideals. So we do not expect or

Comment [a34]: Assertive/informing

demand that other societies be transformed in a day. But however long the journey, there is only one destination worth striving for, and that is a society of self-rule and freedom.

Comment [a35]: Assertive/affirming

Comment [a36]: Assertive/suggesting

Democracy leads to justice within a nation - and the advance of democracy leads to greater security among nations. The reason is clear: Free peoples do not live in endless stagnation, and seethe in resentment, and lash out in envy, rage, and violence. Free peoples do not cling to every grievance of the past - they build and live for the future. This is the experience of countries in the NATO alliance. Bitterness and hostility once divided France and Germany... and Germany and Poland ... and Romania and Hungary. But as those nations grew in liberty, ancient disputes and hatreds have been left to history. And because the people of Europe now live in hope, Europe no longer produces armed ideologies that threaten the peace of the world. Freedom in Europe has brought peace to Europe - and now freedom can bring peace to the broader Middle East.

Comment [a37]: Directive/ensuring

Comment [a38]: Assertive/informing

Comment [a39]: Directive/recommending

I believe that freedom is the future of the Middle East, because I believe that freedom is the future of all humanity. And the historic achievement of democracy in the broader Middle East will be a victory shared by all. Millions who now live in oppression and want will finally have a chance to provide for their families and lead hopeful lives. Nations in the region will have greater stability because governments will have greater legitimacy. And nations like Turkey and America will be safer, because a hopeful Middle East will no longer produce ideologies and movements that seek to kill our citizens. This transformation is one of the great and difficult tasks of history. And by our own patience and hard effort, and

Comment [a40]: Assertive/believing

Comment [a41]: Assertive/forecasting

Comment [a42]: Assertive/suggesting

with confidence in the peoples of the Middle East, we will finish the work that history has given us.

Comment [a43]: Commissive/promising

Democracy, by definition, must be chosen and defended by the people themselves. The future of freedom in the Islamic world will be determined by the citizens of Islamic nations, not by outsiders. And for citizens of the broader Middle East, the alternatives could not be more clear. One alternative is a political doctrine of tyranny, suicide, and murder that goes against the standards of justice found in Islam and every other great religion. The other alternative is a society of justice, where men and women live peacefully and build better lives for themselves and their children. That is the true cause of the people of the Middle East, and that cause can never be served by the murder of the innocent.

Comment [a44]: Directive/recommending

Comment [a45]: Directive/recommending

This struggle between political extremism and civilized values is unfolding in many places. We see the struggle in Iraq, where killers are attempting to undermine and intimidate a free government. We see the struggle in Iran, where tired and discredited autocrats are trying to hold back the democratic will of a rising generation. We see that struggle in Turkey, where the PKK has abandoned its ceasefire with the Turkish people and resumed violence. We see it in the Holy Land, where terrorist murderers are setting back the good cause of the Palestinian people, who deserve a reformed, peaceful, and democratic state of their own.

Comment [a46]: Assertive/affirming

The terrorists are ruthless and resourceful, but they will not prevail. Already more than half of the worlds Muslims live under democratically-constituted governments - from Indonesia to West Africa, from Europe to North America. And the ideal of democracy is also powerful and popular in the Middle East.

Comment [a47]: Declaration/denying

Comment [a48]: Assertive/insisting

Surveys in Arab nations reveal broad support for representative government and individual liberty. We are seeing reform in Kuwait, and Qatar, and Bahrain, and Yemen, and Jordan, and Morocco. And we are seeing men and women of conscience and courage step forward to advocate democracy and justice in the broader Middle East.

Comment [a49]: Directive/ensuring

As we found in the Soviet Union, and behind the Iron Curtain, this kind of moral conviction was more powerful than vast armies and prison walls and the will of dictators. And this kind of moral conviction is also more powerful than the whips of the Taliban, or the police state of Saddam Hussein, or the cruel designs of terrorists. The way ahead is long and difficult, yet people of conscience go forward with hope. The rule of fear did not survive in Europe, and the rule of free peoples will come to the Middle East.

Comment [a50]: Assertive/believing

Comment [a51]: Commissive/swearing

Leaders throughout that region, including some friends of the United States, must recognize the direction of events. Any nation that compromises with violent extremists only emboldens them, and invites future violence. Suppressing dissent only increases radicalism. The long-term stability of any government depends on being open to change, and responsive to citizens. By learning these lessons, Turkey has become a great and stable democracy - and America shares your hope that other nations will take this path.

Comment [a52]: Directive/recommending

Comment [a53]: Expressive/appreciating

Comment [a54]: Assertive/suggesting

Western nations, including my own, want to be helpful in the democratic progress of the Middle East, yet we know there are suspicions, rooted in centuries of conflict and colonialism. And in the last 60 years, many in the West have added to this distrust by excusing tyranny in the region, hoping to purchase stability at the

Comment [a55]: Commissive/offering

price of liberty. But it did not serve the people of the Middle East to betray their hope of freedom. And it has not made Western nations more secure to ignore the cycle of dictatorship and extremism. Instead we have seen the malice grow deeper, and the violence spread, until both have appeared on the streets of our own cities. Some types of hatred will never be appeased; they must be opposed and discredited and defeated by a hopeful alternative - and that alternative is freedom.

Comment [a56]: Assertive/suggesting

Reformers in the broader Middle East are working to build freer and more prosperous societies - and America, the G-8, the EU, Turkey, and NATO have now agreed to support them. Many nations are helping the people of Afghanistan to secure a free government. And NATO now leads a military operation in Afghanistan, in the first action by the alliance outside Europe. In Iraq, a broad coalition - including the military forces of many NATO countries - is helping the people of that country to build a decent and democratic government after decades of corrupt oppression. And NATO is providing support to a Polish-led division.

Comment [a57]: Assertive/informing

Comment [a58]: Commisive/volunteering

Comment [a59]: Assertive/reporting

The government of Iraq has now taken a crucial step forward. In a nation that suffered for decades under brutal tyranny, we have witnessed the transfer of sovereignty and the beginning of self-government. In just 15 months, the Iraqi people have left behind one of the worst regimes in the Middle East, and their country is becoming the world's newest democracy. The world has seen a great event in the history of Iraq, in the history of the Middle East, and in the history of liberty.

Comment [a60]: Declaration/declaring

The rise of Iraqi democracy is bringing hope to reformers across the Middle East, and sending a very different message to Teheran and Damascus. A free and sovereign Iraq is also a decisive defeat for extremists and terrorists - because their hateful ideology will lose its appeal in a free, tolerant, successful country. The terrorists are doing everything they can to undermine Iraqi democracy, by attacking all who stand for order and justice, and committing terrible crimes to break the will of free nations. The terrorists have the ability to cause suffering and grief, but they do not have the power to alter the outcome in Iraq: The civilized world will keep its resolve ... the leaders of Iraq are strong and determined ... and the people of Iraq will live in freedom.

Comment [a61]: Assertive/informing

Comment [a62]: Declaration/denying

Comment [a63]: Commisive/threatening

Comment [a64]: Assertive/forecasting

Iraq still faces hard challenges in the days and months ahead. Iraq's leaders are eager to assume responsibility for their own security, and that is our wish as well.

Comment [a65]: Assertive/predicting

So this week at our summit, NATO agreed to provide assistance in training Iraqi security forces. I am grateful to Turkey and other NATO allies for helping our friends in Iraq to build a nation that governs itself and defends itself.

Comment [a66]: Assertive/reporting

Comment [a67]: Expressive/appreciating

Our efforts to promote reform and democracy in the Middle East are moving forward. At the NATO summit, we approved the Istanbul Cooperation Initiative, offering to work together with nations of the broader Middle East to fight terrorism, control their borders, and aid the victims of disaster. And we are thankful for the important role that Turkey is playing as a democratic partner in the Broader Middle East Initiative.

Comment [a68]: Commisive/promising

Comment [a69]: Assertive/affirming

Comment [a70]: Expressive/appreciating

For all of our efforts to succeed, however, more is needed than plans and policies. We must strengthen the ties of trust and good will between ourselves and the

Comment [a71]: Directive/suggesting

peoples of the Middle East. And trust and good will come more easily when men and women clear their minds, and their hearts, of suspicion and prejudice and unreasoned fear. When some in my country speak in an ill-informed and insulting manner about the Muslim faith, their words are heard abroad, and do great harm to our cause in the Middle East. When some in the Muslim world incite hatred and murder with conspiracy theories and propaganda, their words are also heard - by a generation of young Muslims who need truth and hope, not lies and anger. All such talk, in America or in the Middle East, is dangerous and reckless and unworthy of any religious tradition. Whatever our cultural differences may be, there should be respect and peace in the House of Abraham.

Comment [a72]: Directive/recommending

Comment [a73]: Directive/recommending

The Turkish writer Orhan Pamuk has said that the finest view of Istanbul is not from the shores of Europe, or from the shores of Asia, but from a bridge that unites them, and lets you see both. His work has been a bridge between cultures, and so is the Republic of Turkey. The people of this land understand, as Pamuk has observed, that "What is important is not [a] clash of parties, civilizations, cultures, East and West." What is important, he says, is to realize "that other peoples in other continents and civilizations" are "exactly like you."

Comment [a74]: Assertive/suggesting

Comment [a75]: Expressive/appreciating

Comment [a76]: Assertive/affirming

Ladies and gentlemen, in their need for hope, in their desire for peace, in their right to freedom, the peoples of the Middle East are exactly like you and me. Their birthright of freedom has been denied for too long. And we will do all in our power to help them find the blessings of liberty.

Comment [a77]: Assertive/suggesting

Comment [a78]: Directive/recommending

Thank you, and God bless the good people of Turkey.

An explanation of a brief analysis above. (June 29, 2004)

S : the speaker/ H : the hearer

Comment a1: S expresses his appreciation to the government of the Republic of Turkey for their hospitality.

Comment a2: S expresses his admiration to the beauty of the republic of Turkey which relies between two continents and has great cultures.

Comment a3: S clearly informs the hearers some relations that unify between America and Turkey, such as the American heritage that has been traced in Turkey, and so is Turkey that has given crucial contribution to the national life of America including the achievement of basketball players winning NBA.

Comment a4: S congratulates the Turkish basketball player who wins NBA championship.

Comment a5: S expresses his approval and admiration to Prime Minister Erdogan and President Sezer for having a great commitment as a member NATO.

Comment a6: S blames firmly the fact about the terrorist actions toward democratic nations. He explains briefly some activity conducted by these terrorists, such as murdering children, giving aid and shelter to killers, providing weapon of mass murder, and so on.

Comment a7: S suggests the hearers by putting forward an idea about two options that must be taken; fighting for terrorists or allowing them to destroy the future of a nation.

Comment a8: S reports what has been done by NATO to oppose threats coming from terrorists, such as; providing security in Afghanistan and training Iraq security forces.

Comment a9: S proudly tells the hearers about the enthusiasm of NATO in assisting the advance of freedom and democracy especially in the Middle East.

Comment a10: S clearly expresses his admiration to the alliance that never failed in carrying out the spirit of liberty.

Comment a11: S directly recommends the hearers that the duty to bring liberty must be completed.

Comment a12: S clearly states that the hearers (the Turkish people) have already recognized the terrorist networking and how they operate their organization.

Comment a13: S strongly affirms his previous statement by telling such fact about the condition of resident in Istanbul after being attacked by terrorist. In detail, S tells the fact about one of the victim who blamed the terrorists because of losing her son and daughter.

Comment a14: S puts forward an idea that what has done by the Turkey in overcoming terrorist in order to create just and tolerant society is supposedly right.

Comment a15: S explicitly expresses his admiration on the ability of Turkey to be strong, secular democratic, a majority Moslem society, and being in partnership with other free nations.

Comment a16: S implicitly recommends Turkey to keep democracy, social reform, and having close relationship among countries in the world stay alive as what have been successfully done for over 150 years.

Comment a17: S strongly affirms his argument about Turkey by stating the fact that Turkey is essential for reconstructing progress and peace in Europe and the Middle East.

Comment a18: S explicitly offers helps and supports of the United States to the Republic of Turkey. In other word, S invites Turkey to be an ally especially in reconstructing freedom and peace in the broader Middle East.

Comment a19: S clearly states the fact about the successfulness achieved by the United States but S does not give a proof to convince his argument.

Comment a20: S expresses his appreciation to Turkey for its hard work to fulfill the criteria of the European Union membership.

Comment a21: S affirms the previous argument stated that Turkey is a nation with a great deal to be a member of the European Union by giving evidence that Mustafa Kemal Ataturk had already proposed a vision of being as strong nation as other European nations.

Comment a22: S explicitly suggests the government of Turkey in being a membership of European Union, since it will be valuable for unifying the Muslim world and the West.

Comment a23: S strongly supports the existence of Turkey in European Union as the symbol of the universality of this organization. The membership of Turkey becomes a proof that EU organization is not closely related to certain religion.

Comment a24: S ensures the hearers (the Turkish people) that becoming a member of European Union is the right choice, because it helps Turkey to broaden democracy.

Comment a25: S clearly states what he believes about Muslim that is commonly characterized as fair community, care to others, and compassion for those in need.

Comment a26: Though S explicitly states that the best way to achieve an ideal society is democracy, implicitly S recommends the Turkish people to construct and keep democracy.

Comment a27: Then, S ensures them by explaining the practices of democracy in a bit detail, such as protecting the human right, holding up rules and law to prevent corruption, and so on.

Comment a28: S strongly suggests the Turkey that to achieve justice, they must find democracy. In other word, it might be inferred that S recommends Turkey to use democracy as the basic principle of life, since democracy can helps them reach justice in their society.

Comment a29: S states that there is misunderstanding about the definition of democracy among Muslim communities, but he does not give any data to proof his statement.

Comment a30: Following that case, S affirms that crass commercialism and coarse videos are not a part of freedom and democracy as what has been pictured in the West world.

Comment a31: S explicitly suggests the hearers about some clues that certain nation must have in reconstructing democracy, that is; no enforcement in the religious practice, no abandonment of a faith, having a commitment and respect to laws, having a high compassion for the weak, and so on. In the same time, S implicitly recommends the hearers to practice all those characteristics in order to create democratic society.

Comment a32: S also clearly suggests the hearers that there must be a fair discussion or agreement among nations that apply democracy as the principle of life.

Comment a33: S implicitly recommends the hearers to fulfill the characteristics of democracy, such as freedom of speech, freedom in economic, respect for women, the rule of law, and the limit of state power. S also believes in that if the nation follows these ways, progress will be achieved.

Comment a34: Following his previous statement about the steps to democracy, S informs the fact that the way to reach that idea takes a long time and hard work.

Comment a35: S supports his argument on the length of time and effort by proposing the transformational process from slavery and racial discrimination toward freedom and democracy passed by America that also took decades.

Comment a36: Basically, S tried to ensure the hearers that all those hard efforts will finally find its true destination that is a free society. S implicitly suggests them to be on the right way to freedom.

Comment a37: S clearly ensures the hearers the result of democracy that helps nation reaching out justice and secure. S also explicitly states the fundamental reason for being free.

Comment a38: S gives examples to affirm what has been previously stated. S informs the process of transforming democracy that had already experienced by France and Germany, Romania and Hungary, and Germany and Poland.

Comment a39: By proposing the experience of some countries, S recommends the Turkey to follow European countries, especially in carrying out democracy through out the nation. By exemplifying certain country in removing hatred and anger, S implicitly recommends the hearers to follow that successful country.

Comment a40: S strongly believes that an appropriate principle of life of Middle East is freedom, since freedom is a right of every citizen.

Comment a41: Based on that belief, S forecasts that liberty or victory will be achieved in Iraq. S seems understand what Iraqis want to reach.

Comment a42: S implicitly suggests that Turkey and America must stand in line to achieve freedom and democracy in order to create peace and secure in both nations.

Comment a43: The work of removing terrorists factually is not easy, but on behalf of America and Turkey, S confidently promises to complete the mission.

Comment a44: S explicitly recommends the citizen of Islamic nations themselves to choose democracy.

Comment a45: In detail, S implicitly recommends the citizens of the broader Middle East to choose two options; the government under tyranny where murder and terror destroy the future of generations or the government under justice where peace and better lives are provided for all men and women.

Comment a46: S strongly supports the struggle of removing terrorist and extremist happened in certain places, such as in Iraq, Iran, and Turkey. The final destination of those struggles is peace and democratic state.

Comment a47: S dismisses that the terrorists are ruthless or cruel, but S implicitly also swears that they will not stay any longer in free nations.

Comment a48: S clearly ensures that democracy will be successfully completed based on the facts that some countries have achieved its democracy.

Comment a49: S states the power of democracy that spread out in countries in the world, but he does not give any clear proof for this assumption

Comment a50: S strongly believes that the power of freedom and democracy can defeat the power of dictatorship.

Comment a51: S implicitly swears that the mission to achieve liberty and democracy in Middle East must be completed, though there are obstacles and difficulties.

Comment a52: S implicitly recommends leaders of the United States and its allies to be ready to face such terrorists attack.

Comment a53: S explicitly appreciates Turkey's effort to achieve a stable democracy.

Comment a54: S implicitly suggests other nations to follow the way Turkey build up democracy.

Comment a55: S clearly offers a help for assisting a democratic progress in the broader Middle East.

Comment a56: S implicitly put forward his idea about opposing and defeating a hatred belief, then to change it with the future of freedom.

Comment a57: S informs what reformers in the broader Middle East are likely working now.

Comment a58: S explicitly volunteers his nation and other international organization in supporting the progress of democracy in the Middle East.

Comment a59: S clearly reports some efforts implemented by NATO, including military training, providing Polish-led division, and so on.

Comment a60: S explicitly declares Iraq as the world's newest democracy.

Comment a61: S informs the changes from oppression to tolerant that happened in Iraq.

Comment a62: S clearly dismisses the negative effect of terrorists networking.

Comment a63: S implicitly threatens terrorists for not staying alive any longer.

Comment a64: S forecasts the situation in Iraq will be better, since the leaders of Iraq have a constant commitment to realize democracy and freedom.

Comment a65: S predicts that there will be problems and obstacles during the process of reconstruction of freedom and democracy.

Comment a66: S reports what NATO has proposed in helping Iraq.

Comment a67: S expresses his appreciation to Turkey and other allies for working hardly to help Iraq.

Comment a68: S implicitly promises to continue the mission in the Middle East.

Comment a69: S affirms his previous statement by telling some significant efforts done by NATO.

Comment a70: S expresses his appreciation to the Republic of Turkey for their dedication in supporting the advance of democracy in the Middle East.

Comment a71: S suggests the member of the meeting to offer plans and policies to support the mission.

Comment a72: S recommends the member of the meeting to trust and support each other.

Comment a73: S implicitly recommends any extremist organization to stop their violence, because the world will not let them working.

Comment a74: S suggests the Turkish people to keep the unity between Europe and Asia.

Comment a75: S expresses his appreciation for the Turkish writer Orhan Pamuk for his dedication in unifying cultures as what has been proposed by the Republic of Turkey.

Comment a76: S strongly supports his previous statement about what should be reconsidered by the society.

Comment a77: S suggests the hearers/the member of the meeting to consider the will of Iraqi people that strongly need a freedom.

Comment a78: S implicitly recommends the hearers/the member of the meeting to support the advance of democracy and freedom in the Middle East.

The composition of illocutionary act in Bush's speech above and its manner of expression;

- A. *Assertive/representative* is mostly performed by the speaker in this occasion. Practically, he would rather perform utterances that lead to such kind of informing, suggesting, and affirming than reporting, believing, alleging, predicting, and forecasting. Of course, the speaker informs the significant

progress of democracy in some Middle Eastern countries, suggests the Turkish people especially to choose freedom and democracy as the final destination for the brighter future, and affirms that democracy can help building up a better future. The speaker mostly used explicit expressions by appearing denotative words. The researcher also does not find any ambiguous expression and figurative sentence in almost the whole assertive/representative illocutionary act expressions.

- B. *Directive*, again, is performed as the second point to be delivered. In detail, the speaker intends to ensure the hearers or Turkish people that taking democracy as the basic principle of life is the right way, since democracy leads a nation to justice and secure. The speaker also intends to recommend the hearers or Turkish people to fulfill the requirement of democracy that is reconstructing freedom in speech, limiting the power of the state, building up freedom in economic and religious tolerant, and respecting for women. In the way the speaker directs, recommends, and ensures the hearers, he did not directly use an imperative sentence or strictly came to the verbs of commanding. The speaker recommended/directed the hearer by giving the real example of the success of democracy, stating a bad effect of tyranny, reporting some steps that USA has done to support the advance of democracy, and so on in order to be followed.
- C. *Commissive* is performed quite often. The speaker intends to volunteer and offer a help for improving the progress of democracy in Middle East, swear and promise to finish the task to bring democracy and freedom all over parts of Middle East, and threaten terrorists and its networks. The speaker mostly

used explicit and clear commissive expressions, such as offering USA's helps toward the war on terror.

- D. *Expressive* is commonly performed in the way the speaker appreciates the republic of turkey in having a strong commitment to the advance of democracy and being a constant ally with NATO. The speaker used simple, clear, and explicit expressions to express such praise and appreciation.
- E. *Declaration* is rarely performed. The speaker only declares the new Iraq that has been transformed from tyrannical nation to democratic society. The speaker performed an explicit expression of declaration.

Messages that expressed in Bush's speeches above

Since assertive/representative becomes an illocutionary act types which mostly appeared in data 1, so the researcher concludes the main message of Bush's speech from the appearance of assertive/representative illocutionary act. However, message 4 is concluded from the appearance of directive illocutionary act, since it also occurs quite often.

Message 1: The terrorist network should be removed, since it can possibly endangers the security of nations, threaten the life of citizens, and destroy the future of a generation.

The researcher underlines such utterances that stand for the similar intention. The utterances are below;

We face terrorist networks that rejoice when parents bury their murdered children, or bound men plead for their lives, we face outlaw regimes that give aid and shelter to these killers, and seek weapons of mass murder. We face the

challenges of corruption and poverty and disease, which throw the whole nations into chaos and despair- the condition in which terrorism can thrive. (Comment a6/expressive-blaming)

The Turkish people understand the terrorists, because you have seen their work, even in the last few days. You have heard the sirens, and witnessed the carnage, and mourned the dead. After the murders of Muslims, Christians, and Jews in Istanbul last November, a resident of this city said of the terrorists, "They do not have any religion ... They are friends of evil." In one of the attacks, a Muslim woman lost her son Ahmet, her daughter-in-law Berta, and her unborn grandchild. She said, "Today I'm saying goodbye to my son. Tomorrow I'm saying farewell to my Berta. I don't know what [the killers] wanted from my kids. Were they jealous of their happiness?" (Comment a12-13/assertive-stating, affirming)

Message 2: America and its allies have already assisted and will always be ready to assist the region in the mission of spreading out freedom and democracy.

The researcher underlines such utterances that stand for the similar intention. The utterances are below;

America, the g-8, the turkey, and NATO have now agreed to support them. Many nations are helping the people of Afghanistan to secure a free government. And NATO now leads a military operation in Afghanistan, in the first action by the alliance outside Europe. In Iraq, a broad coalition - including the military forces of many NATO countries - is helping the people of that country to build a decent and democratic government after decades of corrupt oppression. And NATO is

providing support to a polish-led division. (Comment a58/commissive-volunteering)

Our efforts to promote reform and democracy in the Middle East are moving forward. At the NATO summit, we approved the Istanbul cooperation initiative, offering to work together with nations of the broader Middle East to fight terrorism, control their borders, and aid the victims of disaster. (Comment a68-69/Assertive-affirming)

Their birthright of freedom has been denied for too long. And we will do all in our power to help them find the blessings of liberty.

Message 3: The role played by NATO in assisting the security of the world is significantly needed.

The researcher underlines such utterances that stand for the similar intention. The utterances are below;

For most of its history, NATO existed to deter aggression from a powerful army at the heart of Europe. In this century, NATO looks outward to new threats that gather in secret and bring sudden violence to peaceful cities.

Over the last few years, NATO has made its decision. Our alliance is restructuring to oppose threats that arise beyond the borders of Europe. NATO is providing security in Afghanistan. NATO has agreed to help train the security forces of a sovereign Iraq - a great advantage and crucial success for the Iraqi people. (Comment a8/assertive-reporting)

Many nations are helping the people of Afghanistan to secure a free government. And NATO now leads a military operation in Afghanistan, in the first action by the alliance outside Europe. In Iraq, a broad coalition - including the military

forces of many NATO countries - is helping the people of that country to build a decent and democratic government after decades of corrupt oppression. And NATO is providing support to a polish-led division. (Comment a59/assertive-reporting)

So this week at our summit, NATO agreed to provide assistance in training Iraqi security forces. (Comment a66/assertive-reporting)

Message 4: Democracy is the right way to build a better life of human being.

The researcher underlines such utterances that stand for the similar intention. The utterances are below;

You have learned that democracy is the surest way to build a society of justice.

The best way to prevent corruption and abuse of power is to hold rulers

accountable. The best way to ensure fairness to all is to establish the rule of law.

The best way to honor human dignity is to protect human rights. Turkey has found

what nations of every culture and every region have found: if justice is the goal,

then democracy is the answer. (Comment a26-28/directive-recomending,

ensuring, suggesting)

The promise of democracy is fulfilled in freedom of speech, the rule of law, limits

on the power of the state, economic freedom, respect for women, and religious

tolerance. These are the values that honor the dignity of every life, and set free the

creative energies that lead to progress. (Comment a33/directive-recomending)

Democracy leads to justice within a nation - and the advance of democracy leads

to greater security among nations. The reason is clear: free peoples do not live in

endless stagnation, and seethe in resentment, and lash out in envy, rage, and

violence. Free peoples do not cling to every grievance of the past - they build and live for the future. (Comment a37/directive-ensuring)

Freedom in Europe has brought peace to Europe. (Comment a39/directive-recomending)

**Data 2: President Bush discusses democracy in the Western Hemisphere
(November 6, 2005. Blue Tree Park Hotel, Brasilia, Brazil)**

4:23 P.M. (Local)

THE PRESIDENT: Thank you. Boa tarde. Thank you for coming. This is my first trip to Brazil, and Laura and I are really pleased to be here in your capital city.

We've had a magnificent stay, had a great visit with President Lula. It's an important visit because Brazil and the United States are close friends. And that's

the way it should be. Plus the President and the First Lady gave us an

unbelievably good barbeque. (Laughter.) I also commend the President for his commitment to improving the lives of the people here in Brazil.

Our two nations share many things in common. We are both children of the New World, founded in empire and fulfilled in independence. We're united by history and geography. We share the conviction that the future of our hemisphere must be a future of justice and freedom.

Only a generation ago, this was a continent plagued by military dictatorship and civil war. Yet the people of this continent defied the dictators, and they claimed their liberty. We saw the dramatic evidence at the Summit of the Americas that

Comment [a79]: Expressive/appreciating

Comment [a80]: Commissive/vowing

Comment [a81]: Assertive/suggesting

President Lula and I just attended. The delegates from 34 countries that came to this conference all represent democratic governments.

Freedom is the gift of the Almighty to every man and woman in this world -- and today this vision is the free consensus of a free Americas. It is a vision that is written into the founding document of the Organization of American States, which calls this hemisphere -- calls on the hemisphere "to offer to man a land of liberty, and a favorable environment for the ... realization of his just aspirations." It is the vision that is given clear direction in the Inter-American Democratic Charter, which declares "the peoples of the Americas have a right to democracy and their governments have an obligation to promote and defend it." And it is a vision that puts what was once a distant dream within our reach: an Americas wholly free and democratic and at peace with ourselves and our neighbors.

Comment [a82]: Assertive/stat
ing

Comment [a83]: Assertive/affi
rming

As the largest democracy in South America, Brazil is a leader -- and today Brazil is exercising its leadership across the globe. In Africa, Brazil is working to defeat the scourge of HIV/AIDS -- by partnering with America to improve treatment and care and prevention in Portuguese-speaking nations like Mozambique. In this hemisphere, Brazil leads the coalition of the United Nations peacekeeping forces who are helping to restore peace and stability in Haiti. And here at home, Brazil aspires to set an example for the continent by building a just social order where the blessings of liberty are enjoyed by every citizen of this great nation.

Ensuring social justice for the Americas requires choosing between two competing visions. One offers a vision of hope -- it is founded on representative government, integration into the world community, and a faith in the

transformative power of freedom in individual lives. The other seeks to roll back the democratic progress of the past two decades by playing to fear, pitting neighbor against neighbor -- and blaming others for their own failures to provide for their people. The choices we make will determine which vision will define the Americas our children inherit -- and we must make tough decisions today to ensure a better tomorrow.

Comment [a84]: Assertive/affirming

Comment [a85]: Directive/recommending

As you work for a better tomorrow, Brazil must know you have a strong partner in the United States. Like you, we aspire for a hemisphere where the dignity of every human being is respected. Like you, we believe that the poor and disenfranchised have a special claim on our attention. And like you, we know that we must make good on the promises of democracy. In the Americas of the 21st century, freedom is the gateway to social justice -- and democracies old and new must work together to build a hemisphere that delivers hope and opportunity for every citizen.

Comment [a86]: Commissive/offering

Comment [a87]: Assertive/affirming

Comment [a88]: Assertive/believing

Our common ideal of social justice begins with self-government. The promise of democracy starts with national pride, and independence, and elections. But it does not end there. A country that divides into factions and dwells on old grievances cannot move forward, and risks sliding back into tyranny. A country that unites all its people behind common ideals will multiply in strength and confidence. The successful democracies of the 21st century will not be defined by blood and soil. Successful democracies will be defined by a broader ideal of citizenship -- based on shared principles, and shared responsibilities, and respect for all.

Comment [a89]: Directive/forbidding

Comment [a90]: Assertive/affirming

For my own country, the process of becoming a mature, multi-ethnic democracy was lengthy. My country's journey from national independence to equal justice for all meant overcoming the enslavement of millions, and a four-year civil war. Even after slavery ended, a century passed before the guarantee of equal rights under the law was finally made real. Racial division almost destroyed my country -- and the citizens of the United States learned the false doctrine of "separate but equal" was no basis for a strong and unified America. The only way my country found to rise above the injustices of our history was to reject segregation, to move beyond mere tolerance, and to affirm the brotherhood of all people in our land.

Comment [a91]: Assertive/informing

Comment [a92]: Assertive/suggesting

Each democracy has its own character and culture that reflect its unique traditions and history. Yet all free and successful countries share some common characteristics: freedom to worship, freedom of the press, freedom of speech, economic liberty, equal justice under the rule of law, equal citizenship for all -- and the limitation of state power through checks and balances. In many parts of our hemisphere, these institutions of a free society are still young, and they are fragile -- and we must ensure that they are strong for the tasks ahead. To deliver justice, the people must have confidence in their institutions -- and we must replace the rule of man with the rule of law.

Comment [a93]: Assertive/aligning

Comment [a94]: Directive/recommending

Comment [a95]: Directive/recommending

Some today suggest that democracy has outlived its usefulness. They have misread history. The Americas has declared democracy "indispensable" for the exercise of human rights. It is the only region in the world that imposes an obligation to defend democracy. For all the growing pains, it is a miracle of history that this young century finds us speaking about the consolidation of

Comment [a96]: Assertive/boasting

freedom throughout our hemisphere. We must continue our work to help strengthen the institutions of liberty -- because we know that freedom is the only way to ensure that our citizens can lead lives of purpose and dignity. And without democracy there can be no social justice -- because only democracy offers a place at the table for every member of society.

Comment [a97]: Expressive/praising

Comment [a98]: Directive/ordering

Our common ideal of social justice must include a better life for all our citizens.

Comment [a99]: Directive/demanding

As elections and democracies have spread across our hemisphere, we see a revolution in expectations. In free societies, citizens will rightly insist that people should not go hungry, that every child deserves the opportunity for a decent education, and that hard work and initiative should be rewarded. And with each new generation that grows up in freedom and democracy, these expectations rise - and the demands for accountability grow. Either democracies will meet these legitimate demands, or we will yield the future to the enemies of freedom.

Comment [a100]: Asserting/suggesting

The nations of this hemisphere have a moral obligation to help others. They have a moral education to educate their children, and to provide decent health care. We have a moral duty to make sure our actions are effective. At Monterrey in 2002, the world agreed to a new vision for the way we fight poverty, and curb corruption, and provide aid in this new millennium. Developing countries agreed to take responsibility for their own economic progress through good governance and sound practices and the rule of law -- and developed countries agreed to support these efforts.

Comment [a101]: Assertive/boasting

My country has sought to implement the Monterrey consensus by changing the way we deliver aid. We have established a new Millennium Challenge Account

that increases aid for nations that govern justly, that invest in the education and health of their people, and promote economic freedom. Recently we signed compacts to delivering aid -- Millennium Challenge aid to Honduras and Nicaragua. This new aid will help those countries improve their roads, and diversify their crops, and strengthen property rights, and make their rural businesses more competitive. And in the years ahead, under the leadership of Ambassador Danilovich we hope more countries will follow their example.

Comment [a102]: Assertive/reporting

Comment [a103]: Directive/recommending

My country has also stepped up to meet the humanitarian challenges facing our region and the world by providing millions of dollars bilaterally, especially for education of the children. We understand that you cannot achieve economic prosperity and social justice without educating the children of a country. We also support the Global Fund for HIV/AIDS, to provide care and prevention and support for those suffering from the pandemic. At the 2004 Special Summit in Mexico, the leaders of our hemisphere, including President Lula and me, made a commitment to provide life-saving treatment for at least 600,000 individuals by the next Summit of the Americas. We worked together. We have shown our words are not empty promises. We have helped deliver treatment to more than 670,000 people in this hemisphere -- which surpasses our goal of helping those with HIV/AIDS. And there is more work to be done.

Comment [a104]: Assertive/reporting

Comment [a105]: Assertive/reporting

Comment [a106]: Directive/recommending

As we expand and improve aid, we are also working to improve the Inter-American Development Bank. Since it was established, this bank has played a major role in the economic development of Latin America and the Caribbean. But as the economies of the Americas further develop, the bank has to change with

them. The beginning of President Moreno's tenure gives us a great opportunity to modernize the bank by taking better advantage of global capital markets -- and by tailoring the bank's programs to the real needs of the growing economies on this continent. The private sector is the engine of growth and job creation in this region. The bank must greatly strengthen its role in private sector investment -- especially in small businesses, which are the backbone of a healthy and growing economy. I have asked the United States Treasury Secretary John Snow to work with his counterparts in the hemisphere and at the bank to implement reforms that will ensure that the bank better addresses the needs for economic growth and job creation. They will also discuss a range of options, including giving grants and debt relief for the poorest of nations.

Comment [a107]: Assertive/reporting

Comment [a108]: Commisive/volunteering

Increasing aid and relieving debt are important parts of our efforts to lift the burden of poverty from places of suffering -- yet they are not enough. Our goal is to promote opportunity for people throughout the Americas, whether you live in Minnesota or Brazil. And the best way to do this is by expanding free and fair trade.

Comment [a109]: Assertive/believing

Comment [a110]: Assertive/announcing

Comment [a111]: Assertive/believing

The United States, Mexico, and Canada took a first step with what's called NAFTA. And trade between our countries has tripled in 10-year period. Our hemisphere has sought to build on this example by committing ourselves to the Free Trade of the Americas that would eliminate barriers across the entire hemisphere -- and I appreciate President Lula's discussion with me today about working to see if we can't make that become a reality. The United States has also made substantial advances toward the goal of hemispheric free trade through

Comment [a112]: Assertive/reporting

Comment [a113]: Expressive/appreciating

bilateral trade agreements with partners such as Chile. And three months ago, we passed through our Congress a trade agreement with the nations of Central America and the Dominican Republic that gives the people of that region jobs and opportunities that come from freer trade and more investment. And at this moment, we're working hard to advance negotiations with the Andean countries and Panama. By working for free, and I repeat, fair trade across this hemisphere, we will bring all our people into the expanding circle of development -- we'll make it easier for those of us who live in this hemisphere to compete with countries like China and India -- but most importantly, trade means jobs for people.

Comment [a114]: Assertive/boasting

Comment [a115]: Assertive/suggesting

The best opportunity to deliver the blessings of trade to every citizen in this hemisphere is the Doha Round of negotiations in the World Trade Organization.

Comment [a116]: Assertive/affirming

A successful Doha Round will open up markets for farm products, and services, and industrial goods across this hemisphere and across the globe. Under Doha,

Comment [a117]: Assertive/forecasting

every nation will gain -- and the developing world stands to gain the most. The World Bank estimates that if the Doha Round passes, 300 million people will be lifted from poverty. We know that from history that developing nations that open themselves up to trade grow at several times the rate of countries that practice protectionism. And the stakes are high, they're really high. The lives and futures of millions of poor people across the globe hang in the balance -- so we must bring the Doha trade talks to a successful conclusion.

Comment [a118]: Assertive/forecasting

Comment [a119]: Directive/recommending

The greatest obstacles to a successful Doha Round are the countries that stand firm in the way of dismantling the tariffs, and barriers, and trade-distorting

subsidies that isolate the poor on this continent from the great opportunities of the 21st century. Only an ambitious reform agenda in agriculture, and manufactured goods, and services can ensure that the benefits of free and fair trade are enjoyed by all people in all countries.

Comment [a120]: Assertive/informing

Comment [a121]: Assertive/suggesting

We agree with Brazil that the agricultural negotiations will unlock the full potential of the Doha Round. Your President has criticized the agricultural subsidies that the developed world pays to its farmers -- trade-distorting subsidies that undercut honest farmers in the developing world. I agree with President Lula. And the United States is leading the way to address this problem.

Comment [a122]: Assertive/informing

Comment [a123]: Assertive/affirming

My administration has offered a bold proposal for Doha that would substantially reduce agricultural tariffs and trade-distorting subsidies in a first stage -- and over a period of fifteen years, eliminate them altogether. Leaders who are concerned about the harmful effects of high tariffs and farm subsidies must move the Doha Round forward. And leaders who want to make progress on agricultural subsidies must use their influence to help the WTO make progress on all aspects of the Doha Round. By completing Doha, we will help build an Americas that lives in liberty, trades in freedom, and grows in prosperity.

Comment [a124]: Assertive/announcing

Comment [a125]: Directive/recommending

Comment [a126]: Directive/inviting

Finally, our common ideal of social justice requires safety and security for all our citizens. In many parts of this hemisphere, drug lords, and terrorists, and criminal gangs corrupt democratic societies. When these groups are more powerful than the state, there can be no social justice. So the United States is working with affected countries to restore the rule of law and ensure the safety of ordinary citizens. We are working with the government of Mexico to stop the smugglers

Comment [a127]: Assertive/concluding

Comment [a128]: Assertive/forecasting

who traffic in everything from guns to human beings. We are helping President Uribe and the Colombian people defeat the cocaine cartels and narco-terrorists. We're providing money to help honest farmers grow legitimate crops. We're working with our partners in this region to stop terrorist organizations from using this hemisphere as a base to launder money and to provide support for their operations across the globe.

Comment [a129]: Commissive/promising

By protecting the people of the Americas from those who operate outside the law, we strengthen democracy, we promote social justice, and we make prosperity more likely. Citizens who live in fear for their lives because of drug lords, and terrorists, and criminal gangs are not free citizens. So we must continue to work for the day that all citizens can count on their governments to protect them from criminals -- and advance the peace and stability that can only come from freedom.

Comment [a130]: Directive/inviting

Comment [a131]: Directive/ordering

In the last half-century, the nations of the Americas have overcome enormous challenges: colonialism, and communism, and military dictatorship. The progress we have achieved is the result of tremendous sacrifice and leadership. One such leader was the man who built this beautiful capital as the symbol of Brazilian democracy. President Kubitschek was forced into exile when antidemocratic forces seized control in Brazil. His dream, he said, was to live and die in a free country. At the start of this hopeful new century, the dream of this proud patriot inspires citizens not only in this country, but all around the continent.

Comment [a132]: Assertive/informing

Comment [a133]: Assertive/affirming

Comment [a134]: Assertive/affirming

The citizens of the Americas look to us, the elected leaders, to make his dream a reality -- and to lead by example. Governments across this hemisphere must be strong, must listen to the people, and must not squander their money.

Governments across this hemisphere must be free of corruption. Governments across this hemisphere must be accountable -- and we must live by the same standard we set for others. By making the blessings of freedom real in our hemisphere, we will advance the cause of social justice and set a shining example for the rest of the world.

Comment [a135]: Directive/asking

Comment [a136]: Commissive/promising

Thank you for allowing me to come and address you. May God bless Brazil. May God continue to bless our nation, America. Thank you. (Applause.)

END 4:46 P.M. (Local)

An explanation of an analysis above (November 6, 2005)

S : the speaker/ H : the hearer

Comment a1: S appreciates Brazil and its comfortable city.

Comment a2: S vows that United States and Brazil are and should be close friend.

Comment a3: S implicitly suggests the hearers to think about some similarities between United States and Brazil, especially in having a common concept of national life that is justice and freedom.

Comment a4: S states firmly what he believes that freedom is everybody's fundamental right that becomes the basic concept of life of American people.

Comment a5: S affirms his previous statement by giving detail explanation of how freedom should work in the world.

Comment a6: Still, S strengthens his statement by the choice of democracy and freedom will be the eternal fundamental value of America.

Comment a7: S recommends the hearers to decide what should be taken as the concept of life in order to decide the future life.

Comment a8: S supposedly offers America to be in partnership with Brazil if they share the similar vision.

Comment a9: S affirms his previous statement by explaining some similarities between these two nations (America and Brazil).

Comment a10: S shares his belief that freedom is able to bring social justice and democracy can also work for carrying the society into wealthier.

Comment a11: S forbids the hearers especially to reform democracy with no violence.

Comment a12: S affirms that the young democracy he is proposing can bring the bright future of citizen and build up the better life for all members of a nation. .

Comment a13: S informs the process of democracy in America starting from the journey of national independence up to removing racial division.

Comment a14: S suggests the hearers by giving the basic aspect that must be fulfilled that is freedom and democracy.

Comment a15: S lists some common characteristics in democracy without giving any proof. S simply wants to inform those characteristics.

Comment a16: S recommends the hearers to believe to the case.

Comment a17: To affirm the idea of democracy the speaker has just offered, S recommends the hearers to purify the system of law.

Comment a18: By stating the fact, S boasts that the United States is the only nation that fights for defending democracy.

Comment a19: S praises his nation in reaching out freedom and can be able to consolidate the usefulness of freedom and democracy.

Comment a20: S explicitly orders the hearers to support the spread of democracy as the best principle of life.

Comment a21: S demands everybody who gets involved in legal institution to cover the principle of providing a better life for all citizens.

Comment a22: S implicitly suggests the hearers to reconsider about the signal of freedom and democracy that reflects in certain conditions.

Comment a23: S proudly proves the successfulness of the United States in holding up the development of society, removing poverty and corruption, and etc.

Comment a24: S reports some progress that the government has just made.

Comment a25: S clearly recommends other countries to follow those examples.

Comment a26: S reports what has been successfully done by the government of the United States regarding to the field of education, aid for HIV/AIDS, prevention and care for pandemic victims, and so on.

Comment a27: Still, S reports the progress of the United States.

Comment a28: S clearly concludes the report by recommending the United States government itself and all people in the world to cover some other humanitarian problems.

Comment a29: S adds the report by informing the partnership among American countries in developing the Inter-Development Bank which hold up the economic development in Latin America and Caribbean.

Comment a30: In relation to the discussion of economic development, S volunteers such kind of economic partnership with Brazil.

Comment a31: S clearly believes that increasing aid and relieving debt are crucial parts of removing poverty in particular region.

Comment a32: S explicitly announces the purpose of America in providing opportunities for people. At once, S implicitly invites people to come to America to invest.

Comment a33: S affirms his idea on supporting the economic development by believing that the best way to achieve the effectiveness in economic development is to be free and fair in trade.

Comment a34: S reports the joint statement made by the United States, Mexico, and Canada to give evidence on the ability of America to handle the problem of economic.

Comment a35: S appreciates President Lula in responding the invitation of America to be a partner in economic development.

Comment a36: S boasts the successfulness of the United States in making some substantial advance toward economic development within some countries, such as Chile and the Dominican Republic.

Comment a37: S implicitly suggests the hearers to create a free trade that open the opportunity for all people.

Comment a38: S affirms his idea of democracy in economic by restating the best trade program is the Doha Round of Negotiations in WTO.

Comment a39: S forecasts that Doha organization will successfully carry good effect for far products, industrial goods, and some other economic sectors.

Comment a40: S forecasts that the outcome of Doha can remove a numbers of poverty.

Comment a41: S recommends the hearers to supports Doha organization.

Comment a42: S informs some obstacles faced by Doha organization.

Comment a43: S suggests the hearers to have a strong motivation in reforming the system of economic in order to reach out the benefits for all citizens.

Comment a44: S informs the hearers that the Brazilian President has criticized certain policy in the agricultural subsidies.

Comment a45: In relation to the information, S affirms the President Lula's argument.

Comment a46: S announces the new policy taken by the United States to overcome the problem of agricultural tariffs and subsidies.

Comment a47: S recommends leaders who concern on the problem of agricultural tariff to get involved in Doha organization.

Comment a48: S implicitly invites the hearers to support Doha organization in order to bring America into prosperity.

Comment a49: S concludes all his shared ideas by restating an ideal social justice as a common goal of both nations.

Comment a50: S forecasts the existence of criminal groups that possibly threaten the citizen and even the country.

Comment a51: S explicitly informs the effort of the United States to overcome the crime, but implicitly promises to remove the crime and then bring the safety into the country.

Comment a52: S clearly invites the hearers to strengthen democracy and support the prosperity by protecting people from criminals.

Comment a53: S orders the government especially in keeping up the struggle of protecting citizen from criminals.

Comment a54: S informs the brief history of America regarding to colonialism, communism, and military dictatorship.

Comment a55: S shows that fact that America has a great progress in removing all those problems by appointing the leadership as the crucial aspect of it.

Comment a56: S affirms his previous idea by telling the fact about President Kubitschek who strongly supported the idea of democracy and freedom.

Comment a57: S explicitly asks the government to be strong, free of corruption, listen to the people, and must not squander of their money.

Comment a58: Tough, S does not clearly make a promise of realizing the social justice, but he makes a strong belief and decision to create the social justice by spreading the concept of freedom.

The composition of illocutionary act in Bush's speech above and its manner of expression;

A. *Assertive/representative* is used by the speaker in more various ways.

Almost all types of illocutionary verb concerning with *assertive* are performed. In majority of cases, the speaker would rather intend to perform affirming and suggesting than other verbs. He affirms the fact that the free and democratic society of America and its neighbors should be fulfilled because of the urgency of freedom and democracy itself. He suggests the

hearers especially to realize freedom and democracy all over parts of the world to achieve the better future. The speaker also uses another assertive illocutionary verb that is alleging, informing, stating, believing, reporting, and forecasting. The speaker performs assertive illocutionary acts very explicitly without any connotative words, ambiguous expressions, and figurative sentence.

- B. *Directive* is also performed quite often. The speaker implicitly recommends the hearers especially and America's allies to complete the mission of promoting freedom and democracy. He also recommends leaders to get in touch in the Doha round to achieve progress on economic. In some part of his speech, the speaker orders people to work for solving the problem of crime as the enemy of democracy, demands free elections and democracies as the final expectation, advises leaders to create a fair trade in order to be able to compete with other developing countries, and invite people to support democracy for achieving prosperity in the world. In the way the speaker demands, advices, and invites the hearers, he did not directly use an imperative sentence or strictly came to the verbs of commanding. The speaker recommended/directed the hearer by giving the real example of the success of democracy, stating a good side of free election and a bad effect of tyranny, reporting some steps that USA has done to support the advance of democracy, and so on in order to be followed.
- C. *Commissive* is rarely performed. The speaker intends to offer America as a strong partner in promoting democracy and implicitly promise to work with some American countries to solve the problem of crime. In some cases, the

speaker used explicit and clear commissive expressions, such as offering USA's helps toward the war on terror but in other case, he implicitly promised to do something.

- D. *Expressive* is the type of illocutionary act that commonly performed. In this speech, the speaker praises and appreciates President Lula who has a strong commitment to support democracy. The speaker used simple, clear, and explicit expressions to express such praise, thank and appreciation.

Messages that expressed in Bush's speeches above

Assertive/representative becomes an illocutionary act types which mostly appeared in data 2, so the researcher concludes the main message of Bush's speech from this types of illocutionary acts and few other types as a supporting opinion.

Message 1: The importance of freedom and democracy as the basic need of human being should be required.

The researcher underlines such utterances that stand for the similar intention. The utterances are below;

Freedom is the gift of the almighty to every man and woman in this world -- and today this vision is the free consensus of a free Americas. (Comment

a4/assertive-stating)

It is the vision that is given clear direction in the inter-American democratic charter, which declares "the peoples of the Americas have a right to democracy and their governments have an obligation to promote and defend it." and it is a vision that puts what was once a distant dream within our reach: an Americas

wholly free and democratic and at peace with ourselves and our neighbors.

(Comment a5/assertive-affirming)

Successful democracies will be defined by a broader ideal of citizenship -- based on shared principles, and shared responsibilities, and respect for all. (Comment a12/assertive-affirming)

In the Americas of the 21st century, freedom is the gateway to social justice -- and democracies old and new must work together to build a hemisphere that delivers hope and opportunity for every citizen. (Comment a10/assertive-believing)

Yet all free and successful countries share some common characteristics: freedom to worship, freedom of the press, freedom of speech, economic liberty, equal justice under the rule of law, equal citizenship for all -- and the limitation of state power through checks and balances. (Comment a15/assertive-alleging)

And without democracy there can be no social justice -- because only democracy offers a place at the table for every member of society. (Comment a20/directive-ordering)

Our common ideal of social justice must include a better life for all our citizens. As elections and democracies have spread across our hemisphere, we see a revolution in expectations. (Comment a21/directive-demanding)

In free societies, citizens will rightly insist that people should not go hungry, that every child deserves the opportunity for a decent education, and that hard work and initiative should be rewarded. And with each new generation that grows up in freedom and democracy, these expectations rise -- and the demands for accountability grow. (Comment a22/assertive-suggesting)

Message 2: America is ready to help Brazil especially in advancing democracy and freedom.

The researcher underlines such utterances that stand for the similar intention. The utterances are below;

We're united by history and geography. We share the conviction that the future of our hemisphere must be a future of justice and freedom. (Comment a3/assertive-suggesting)

As you work for a better tomorrow, Brazil must know you have a strong partner in the United States. (Comment a8/commissive-offering)

My country has sought to implement the Monterrey consensus by changing the way we deliver aid. We have established a new millennium challenge account that increases aid for nations that govern justly, that invest in the education and health of their people, and promote economic freedom. Recently we signed compacts to delivering aid -- millennium challenge aid to Honduras and Nicaragua. This new aid will help those countries improve their roads, and diversify their crops, and strengthen property rights, and make their rural businesses more competitive. we worked together. We have shown our words are not empty promises.

(Comment a24/assertive-reporting)

I have asked the United States treasury secretary john snow to work with his counterparts in the hemisphere and at the bank to implement reforms that will ensure that the bank better addresses the needs for economic growth and job creation. They will also discuss a range of options, including giving grants and debt relief for the poorest of nations. (Comment a30/commissive-volunteering)

Message 3: America has strongly supported the development of economic freedom as one of the component of democracy.

The researcher underlines such utterances that stand for the similar intention. The utterances are below;

My country has sought to implement the Monterrey consensus by changing the way we deliver aid. We have established a new millennium challenge account that increases aid for nations that govern justly, that invest in the education and health of their people, and promote economic freedom. Recently we signed compacts to delivering aid -- millennium challenge aid to Honduras and Nicaragua. This new aid will help those countries improve their roads, and diversify their crops, and strengthen property rights, and make their rural businesses more competitive.

(Comment a24/assertive-reporting)

As we expand and improve aid, we are also working to improve the inter-American development bank. Since it was established, this bank has played a major role in the economic development of Latin America and the Caribbean. But as the economies of the Americas further develop, the bank has to change with them. The beginning of president Moreno's tenure gives us a great opportunity to modernize the bank by taking better advantage of global capital markets -- and by tailoring the bank's programs to the real needs of the growing economies on this continent. (Comment a29/assertive-reporting)

The best way to do this is by expanding free and fair trade.

The United States, Mexico, and Canada took a first step with what's called NAFTA. And trade between our countries has tripled in 10-year period. Our hemisphere has sought to build on this example by committing ourselves to the

free trade of the Americas that would eliminate barriers across the entire hemisphere. (Comment a34/assertive-reporting)

The United States has also made substantial advances toward the goal of hemispheric free trade through bilateral trade agreements with partners such as Chile. And three months ago, we passed through our congress a trade agreement with the nations of Central America and the Dominican Republic that gives the people of that region jobs and opportunities that come from freer trade and more investment. (Comment a36/assertive-reporting)

The best opportunity to deliver the blessings of trade to every citizen in this hemisphere is the Doha round of negotiations in the world trade organization. A successful Doha round will open up markets for farm products, and services, and industrial goods across this hemisphere and across the globe. (Comment a38/assertive-affirming)

**Data 3: President discusses freedom and democracy in Iraq (March 13, 2006.
Dorothy Betts Marvin Theatre, the George Washington University.
Washington D.C)**

1:16 P.M. EST

THE PRESIDENT: Thanks for the warm welcome. Cliff, thanks for the introduction.

It's a pleasure to be with the Foundation for the Defense of Democracies. This organization was formed in the wake of the September the 11th attacks to fight the ideologies that drive terrorism. You recognized immediately that the war on terror is a struggle between freedom and tyranny -- and that the path to lasting security is to

Comment [a137]: Expressive/
appreciating

Comment [a138]: Assertive/st
ating

defeat the hateful vision the terrorists are spreading with the hope of freedom and democracy.

Comment [a139]: Assertive/affirming

The Foundation is making a difference across the world, and I appreciate the difference you're making. You have trained Iraqi women and Iranian students in the principles and practice of democracy, you've translated "democracy readers" into Arabic for distribution across the broader Middle East, you've helped activists across the region organize effective political movements -- so they can help bring about democratic change and ensure the survival of liberty in new democracies. By promoting democratic ideals, and training a new generation of democratic leaders in the Middle East, you are helping us to bring victory in the war on terror -- and I thank you for your hard work in freedom's cause.

Comment [a140]: Expressive/praising

Comment [a141]: Assertive/suggesting

Comment [a142]: Expressive/thanking

I also want to thank the members of the board of the Foundation for the Defense of the Democracies. I want to thank Steve Trachtenberg, the President of George Washington University, and his wife, Fran, for joining us today. Thanks for letting me come to your campus. I'm honored to be here. He informed me that my dad will be giving the graduation speech this year. (Laughter.) And Mother is getting an honorary degree. (Laughter.) Smart man. (Laughter and applause.) Mr. Secretary, thanks for joining us. I'm proud that Secretary Rumsfeld is with us.

Comment [a143]: Expressive/appreciating

I want to thank Senator Dick Lugar for being with us today. Mr. Chairman, proud you're here. Thanks for coming. I want to thank the members of the United States Congress who have joined us. Congressman Lungren, Adam Schiff, Joe Wilson, Tom Cole and Dan Boren. I appreciate you all taking time to be here today, it means a lot. I want to thank the ambassadors who have joined us. I see two for certain, one from

Jordan and one from Israel. Proud you both are here. If there's any ambassadors here, I apologize for not introducing you, and you don't have as good a seat as these two guys. (Laughter.)

Comment [a144]: Expressive/appreciating

The mission of this Foundation is to defeat terror by promoting democracy -- and that is the mission of my administration. Our strategy to protect America is based on a clear premise: the security of our nation depends on the advance of liberty in other nations. On September the 11th, 2001, we saw that problems originating in a failed and oppressive state 7,000 miles away could bring murder and destruction to our country. We saw that dictatorships shelter terrorists, feed resentment and radicalism, and threaten the security of free nations. Democracies replace resentment with hope, democracies respect the rights of their citizens and their neighbors, democracies join the fight against terror. And so America is committed to an historic, long-term goal: To secure the peace of the world, we seek the end of tyranny in our world.

Comment [a145]: Assertive/announcing

Comment [a146]: Assertive/affirming

Comment [a147]: Assertive/affirming

Comment [a148]: Assertive/suggesting

Comment [a149]: Assertive/concluding

We are making progress in the march of freedom -- and some of the most important progress has taken place in a region that has not known the blessings of liberty: the broader Middle East. Two weeks ago, I got a chance to visit Afghanistan and to see firsthand the transformation that has taken place in that country. Before September the 11th, 2001, Afghanistan was ruled by a cruel regime that oppressed its people, brutalized women, and gave safe haven to the terrorists who attacked America.

Comment [a150]: Assertive/informing

Comment [a151]: Assertive/reporting

Comment [a152]: Expressive/blaming

Today, the terror camps have been shut down, women are working, boys and girls are going to school, Afghans have voted in free elections -- 25 million people have had the taste of freedom. Taliban and al Qaeda remnants continue to fight Afghanistan's democratic progress. In recent weeks, they have launched new attacks that have killed

Comment [a153]: Assertive/informing

Afghan civilians and coalition forces. The United States and our allies will stay in the fight against the terrorists, and we'll train Afghan soldiers and police so they can defend their country. The Afghan people are building a vibrant young democracy that is an ally in the war on terror -- and America is proud to have such a determined partner in the cause of freedom. (Applause.)

Comment [a154]: Commissive/promise

Comment [a155]: Expressive/praising

Next week, we will mark the three-year anniversary of the start of Operation Iraqi Freedom. In less than three years, the Iraqi people have gone from living under the boot of a brutal tyrant, to liberation, to sovereignty, to free elections, to a constitutional referendum, and last December, to elections for a fully constitutional government. In those December elections, over 11 million Iraqis -- more than 75 percent of the Iraqi voting age population -- defied the terrorists to cast their ballots.

Comment [a156]: Assertive/informing

Comment [a157]: Assertive/reporting

Americans were inspired by the images of Iraqis bringing elderly relatives to the polls, holding up purple ink-stained fingers, dancing in the streets and celebrating their freedom. By their courage, the Iraqi people have spoken and made their intentions clear: they want to live in democracy -- and they are determined to shape their own destiny.

Comment [a158]: Assertive/suggesting

The past few weeks, the world has seen very different images from Iraq -- images of violence, and anger, and despair. We have seen a great house of worship -- the Golden Mosque of Samarra -- in ruins after a brutal terrorist attack. We've seen mass protests in response to provocation. We've seen reprisal attacks by armed militias on Sunni mosques -- and random violence that has taken the lives of hundreds of Iraqi citizens.

Comment [a159]: Expressive/blaming

The terrorists attacked the Golden Mosque for a reason: They know that they lack the military strength to challenge Iraqi and coalition forces directly -- so their only hope is to try and provoke a civil war. So they attacked one of Shia Islam's holiest sites, hoping to incite violence that would drive Iraqis apart and stop their progress on the path to a free society.

Comment [a160]: Assertive/all
leging

Immediately after the attack, I said that Iraq faced a moment of choosing -- and in the days that followed, the Iraqi people made their choice. They looked into the abyss and did not like what they saw. After the bombing, most Iraqis saw what the perpetrators [sic] of this attack were trying to do: The enemy had failed to stop the January 2005 elections, they failed to stop the constitutional referendum, they failed to stop the December elections, and now they're trying to stop the formation of a unity government. By their response over the past two weeks, Iraqis have shown the world they want a future of freedom and peace -- and they will oppose a violent minority that seeks to take that future away from them by tearing their country apart.

Comment [a161]: Assertive/re
porting

Comment [a162]: Assertive/c
oncluding

The situation in Iraq is still tense and we're still seeing acts of sectarian violence and reprisal. Yet out of this crisis, we've also seen signs of a hopeful future. We saw the restraint of the Iraqi people in the face of massive provocation. Most Iraqis did not turn to violence, and many chose to show their solidarity by coming together in joint Sunni and Shia prayer services. We saw the leadership of Sunni and Shia clerics who joined together to denounce the bombing and call for restraint. Ayatollah Sistani issued a strong statement denouncing what he called "sectarian sedition," and he urged all Iraqis -- in his words -- "not to be dragged into committing acts that would only please the enemies." We saw the capability of the Iraqi security forces, who

Comment [a163]: Assertive/in
forming

deployed to protect religious sites, enforce a curfew, and restore civil order. We saw the determination of many of Iraq's leaders, who rose to the moment, came together, and acted decisively to diffuse the crisis.

Iraq's leaders know that this is not the last time they will be called to stand together in the face of an outrageous terrorist attack. Iraq's leaders know that they must put aside their differences, reach out across political, religious, and sectarian lines, and form a unity government that will earn the trust and the confidence of all Iraqis. Iraqis now have a chance to show the world that they have learned the lesson of Samarra: A country that divides into factions and dwells on old grievances risks sliding back into tyranny. The only path to a future of peace is the path of unity.

Comment [a164]: Assertive/believing

Comment [a165]: Assertive/affirming

Soon the new parliament will be seated in Baghdad, and this will begin the process of forming a government. Forming a new government will demand negotiation and compromise by the Iraqis; it will require patience by America and our coalition allies.

Comment [a166]: Directive/recommending

In the weeks ahead, Americans will likely see a good deal of political maneuvering in Iraq -- as different factions and leaders advance competing agendas and seek their share of political power. Out of this process, a free government will emerge that represents the will of the Iraqi people -- instead of the will of one cruel dictator.

Comment [a167]: Commissive/predicting

Comment [a168]: Assertive/allowing

The work ahead in Iraq is hard -- and there will be more difficult moments. The Samarra attack was a clear attempt to ignite a civil war. And we can expect the enemy will try again -- and they will continue to sow violence and destruction designed to stop the emergence of a free and democratic Iraq.

Comment [a169]: Expressive/blaming

The enemies of a free Iraq are determined -- yet so are the Iraqi people. And so are America and coalition partners. We will not lose our nerve. We will help the Iraqi people succeed. Our goal in Iraq is victory -- and victory will be achieved when the terrorists and Saddamists can no longer threaten Iraq's democracy, when the Iraqi security forces can provide for the safety of their own citizens, and when Iraq is not a safe haven for terrorists to plot new attacks against our nation.

Comment [a170]: Commisive/promising

Comment [a171]: Declaration/declaring

Comment [a172]: Directive/ordering

We have a comprehensive strategy for victory in Iraq -- a strategy I laid out in a series of speeches last year. Our strategy has three elements: On the political side, we are helping Iraqis build a strong democracy, so that old resentments will be eased, and the insurgency marginalized. On the economic side, we are continuing reconstruction efforts and helping Iraqis build a modern economy that will give all its citizens a stake in a free and peaceful Iraq. And on the security side, we are striking terrorist targets and training the Iraqi security forces -- which are taking responsibility for more Iraqi territory and becoming increasingly capable of defeating the enemy.

Comment [a173]: Assertive/announcing

In the coming weeks, I will update the American people on our strategy -- the progress we are making, the lessons we have learned from our experiences, and how we are fixing what hasn't worked. Today, I will discuss the third element of our strategy -- the progress of our efforts to defeat the terrorists and train the Iraqi security forces so they can take the lead in defending their own democracy.

At the end of last year, I described in detail many of the changes we have made to improve the training of Iraqi security forces -- and we saw the fruits of those changes in recent days in Iraq. After the Samarra bombings, it was the Iraqi security forces -- not coalition forces -- that restored order. In the hours after the attack, Iraqi leaders

Comment [a174]: Assertive/boasting

put the Iraqi security forces on alert -- canceling all leaves, and heightening security around mosques and critical sites. Using security plans developed for the December elections, they deployed Iraqi forces in Baghdad and other trouble spots.

Comment [a175]: Assertive/reporting

Iraqi police manned checkpoints, increased patrols, and ensured that peaceful demonstrators were protected -- while those who turned to violence were arrested. Public order brigades deployed as rapid reaction forces to areas where violence was reported. The 9th Mechanized Division of the Iraqi Army, which was in the midst of a major training event, regrouped and entered the Baghdad City Gates -- taking up assigned positions throughout the city with T-72 tanks and armored infantry vehicles. During the past two weeks, Iraqi security forces conducted more than 200 independent operations -- each of them Iraqi-planned, Iraqi-conducted, and Iraqi-led.

Comment [a176]: Assertive/reporting

Having Iraqi forces in the lead has been critical to preventing violence from spinning out of control. For example, on the day of the Samarra bombing, the Iraqi national police responded to an armed demonstration in an area immediately adjacent to Sadr City -- where an angry Shia crowd had surrounded the Sunni Al Quds Mosque. The Iraqi Brigade Commander placed his troops -- who were largely Shia -- between the crowd and the mosque, and talked to the crowd using megaphones, and calling for calm and urging them to disperse. After a two-hour standoff, the crowd eventually left without incident -- and the national police remained in position overnight to guard the Mosque until the threat was over. The fact that Iraqis were in the lead and negotiating with their own countrymen helped diffuse a potential confrontation -- and prevented an escalation of violence.

Comment [a177]: Assertive/suggesting

Comment [a178]: Assertive/affirming

Comment [a179]: Assertive/concluding

In another Baghdad neighborhood, a similar situation unfolded: a group of armed militia members had gone in and occupied the Al Nida Mosque. An Iraqi Army brigade quickly arrived on the scene -- and the Brigade Commander negotiated with the group and secured their peaceful departure. Once again, because Iraqi forces spoke their language and understood the culture, they were able to convince the Iraqi militia to leave peacefully.

Comment [a180]: Assertive/affirming

Comment [a181]: Assertive/suggesting

Not all Iraqi units performed as well as others -- and there were some reports of Iraqi units in Eastern Baghdad allowing militia members to pass through checkpoints. But American commanders are closely watching the situation, and they report these incidents appear to be the exception, not the rule. In the weeks since the bombing, the Iraqi security forces turned in a strong performance. From the outset, Iraqi forces understood that if they failed to stand for national unity, the country would slip into anarchy. And so they have stood their ground, and defended their democracy, and brought their nation through one of its most difficult moments since liberation.

Comment [a182]: Assertive/informing

Comment [a183]: Directive/ensuring

General Marty Dempsey, our top commander responsible for training the Iraqis' security forces, says this about their performance: "They were deliberate, poised, even-handed, and professional. They engaged local tribal, political, and religious leaders. They patiently, but deliberately confronted armed groups to let them know that they had control of the situation." He went on to say, "I'm sure we will find instances where they could have performed better, but in the face of immense pressure, they performed very, very well." As a result of their performance, the Iraqi security forces are gaining the confidence of the Iraqi people. And as the Iraqi security forces make progress against the enemy, their morale continues to increase.

When I reported on the progress of the Iraqi security forces last year, I said that there were over 120 Iraqi and police combat battalions [sic] in the fight against the enemy - and 40 of those were taking the lead in the fight. Today the number of battalions in the fight has increased to more than 130 -- with more than 60 taking the lead. As more Iraqi battalions come on line, these Iraqi forces are assuming responsibility for more territory. Today, Iraqi units have primary responsibility for more than 30,000 square miles of Iraq -- an increase of roughly 20,000 square miles since the beginning of the year. And Iraqi forces are now conducting more independent operations throughout the country than do coalition forces.

Comment [a184]: Assertive/reporting

Comment [a185]: Expressive/appreciating

This is real progress, but there is more work to be done this year. Our commanders tell me that the Iraqi police still lag behind the Army in training and capabilities -- so one of our major goals in 2006 is to accelerate the training of the Iraqi police. One problem is that some National Police units have been disproportionately Shia -- and there have been some reports of infiltration of the national police by Shia militias. And so we're taking a number of steps to correct this problem:

Comment [a186]: Assertive/announcing

First, we have begun implementing a program that has been effective with the Iraqi Army -- partnering U.S. battalions with the Iraqi national police battalions. These U.S. forces are working with their Iraqi counterparts -- giving them tactical training so they can defeat the enemy. And they are also teaching them about the role of a professional police force in a democratic system, so they can serve all Iraqis without discrimination.

Comment [a187]: Assertive/informing

Comment [a188]: Assertive/reporting

Second, we are working with the Iraqi leaders to find and remove any leaders in the national police who show evidence of loyalties to militia. For example, last year there

Comment [a189]: Assertive/informing

were reports that the Second Public Order Brigade contained members of an illegal militia, who were committing abuses. So last December, the Interior Ministry leadership removed the Second Brigade Commander, and replaced him with a new commander -- who then dismissed more than a hundred men with suspected militia ties. Today, this Iraqi police brigade has been transformed into a capable, professional unit -- and during the recent crisis after the Samarra bombing, they performed with courage and distinction.

Finally, we are working with Iraqis to diversify the ranks of the national police, by recruiting more Sunni Arabs. For example, the basic training class for the National Police Public Order forces that graduated last October was less than one percent Sunni. The class graduating in April will include many, many more Sunnis. By ensuring the Public Order forces reflect the general population, Iraqis are making the National Police a truly national institution -- one that is able to serve, protect, and defend all the Iraqi people.

Comment [a190]: Assertive/informing

As more capable Iraqi police and soldiers come on line, they will assume responsibility for more territory -- with the goal of having the Iraqis control more territory than the coalition by the end of 2006. And as Iraqis take over more territory, this frees American and Coalition forces to concentrate on training and on hunting down high-value targets like the terrorist Zarqawi and his associates. As Iraqis stand up, America and our coalition will stand down. And my decisions on troop levels will be made based upon the conditions on the ground, and the recommendations of our military commanders -- not artificial timetables set by politicians here in Washington, D.C.

Comment [a191]: Directive/recommending

Comment [a192]: Assertive/forecasting

These terrorists know they cannot defeat us militarily -- so they have turned to the weapon of fear. And one of the most brutal weapons at their disposal are improvised explosive devices, or IEDs.

Comment [a193]: Declaration/declaring

IEDs are bombs made from artillery shells, explosives, and other munitions that can be hidden and detonated remotely. After the terrorists were defeated in battles in Fallujah and Tall Afar, they saw that they could not confront Iraqi or American forces in pitched battles and survive. And so they turned to IEDs -- a weapon that allows them to attack us from a safe distance, without having to face our forces in battle.

Comment [a194]: Assertive/informing

Comment [a195]: Assertive/aligning

The principal victims of IED attacks are innocent Iraqis. The terrorists and insurgents have used IEDs to kill Iraqi children playing in the streets, shoppers at Iraqi malls, and Iraqis lining up at police and army recruiting stations. They use IEDs to strike terror in the hearts of Iraqis, in an attempt to break their confidence in the free future of their country.

Comment [a196]: Assertive/informing

Comment [a197]: Directive/ensuring

The enemy is also using IEDs in their campaign against U.S. and coalition forces in Iraq -- and we are harnessing every available resource to deal with this threat. My administration has established a new high-level organization at the Department of Defense, led by retired four-star General Montgomery Meigs. On Saturday, General Meigs, along with the Secretary of Defense, briefed me at the White House on our plan to defeat the threat of IEDs. Our plan has three elements: targeting, training, and technology.

Comment [a198]: Assertive/informing

Comment [a199]: Assertive/announcing

The first part of our plan is targeting and eliminating the terrorists and bomb makers. Across Iraq, we are on the hunt for the enemy -- capturing and killing the terrorists

Comment [a200]: Assertive/announcing

before they strike, uncovering and disarming their weapons before they go off, and rooting out and destroying bomb making cells so they can't produce more weapons.

Comment [a201]: Commissive/promising

Because the Iraqi people are the targets, primarily the targets of the bombers, Iraqis are increasingly providing critical intelligence to help us find the bomb-makers and stop new attacks. The number of tips from Iraqis has grown from 400 last March to over 4,000 in December. For example, just three weeks ago, acting on tips provided by local citizens, coalition forces uncovered a massive IED arsenal hidden in a location northwest of Baghdad. They found and confiscated more than 3,000 pieces of munitions -- in one of the largest weapons caches discovered in that region to date. Just two weeks ago, acting on intelligence from Iraqis, coalition forces uncovered a bomb-making facility northeast of Fallujah. They captured 61 terrorists at the facility and confiscated large numbers of weapons.

Comment [a202]: Assertive/reporting

In all, during the past six months, Iraqi and coalition forces have found and cleared nearly 4,000 IEDs, uncovered more than 1,800 weapons caches and bomb-making plants, and killed or detained hundreds of terrorists and bomb-makers. We're on the hunt for the enemy -- and we're not going to rest until they've been defeated.

Comment [a203]: Expressive/appreciating

Comment [a204]: Commissive/promising

The second part of our plan is to give our forces specialized training to identify and clear IEDs before they explode. Before arriving in Iraq and Afghanistan, our combat units get training on how to counter the threat of IEDs. And to improve our training, last month we established a new IED Joint Center of Excellence headquartered at Fort Irwin, California -- where we're taking lessons learned from the IED fight in Iraq, and sharing them with our troops in the field and those preparing to deploy. This new

Comment [a205]: Assertive/announcing

Comment [a206]: Assertive/reporting

initiative will ensure that every Army and Marine combat unit headed to Afghanistan and Iraq is prepared for the challenges that IEDs bring to the battlefield.

Comment [a207]: Assertive/stating

Before deploying, our troops will train with the equipment they will use in the IED fight, they'll study enemy tactics, and experience live fire training that closely mirrors what they will see when they arrive in the zone of combat. Our goal with this training is to ensure that when our forces encounter the enemy, that they're ready.

Comment [a208]: Assertive/announcing

The third part of our plan is to develop new technologies to defend against IEDs. We are putting the best minds in America to work on this effort. The Department of Defense recently gathered some -- gathered 600 leaders from industry and academia, the national laboratories, the National Academy of Sciences, all branches of the military, and every relevant government agency to discuss technology solutions to the IED threat. We now have nearly a hundred projects underway. For security reasons, I'm not going to share the details of the technologies we're developing. The simple reason is, the enemy can use even the smallest details to overcome our defenses.

Comment [a209]: Assertive/announcing

Comment [a210]: Assertive/suggesting

Comment [a211]: Assertive/reporting

Comment [a212]: Assertive/concluding

Comment [a213]: Expressive/apologizing

Earlier this year, a newspaper published details of a new anti-IED technology that was being developed. Within five days of the publication -- using details from that article -- the enemy had posted instructions for defeating this new technology on the Internet.

Comment [a214]: Assertive/affirming

We cannot let the enemy know how we're working to defeat him. But I can assure the American people that my administration is working to put the best technology in the hands of our men and women on the front lines -- and we are mobilizing resources against the IED threat.

I assured General Meigs that he will have the funding and personnel he needs to succeed. In 2004, the administration spent \$150 million to fight the IED threat. This year, we're providing \$3.3 billion to support our efforts to defeat IEDs. These investments are making a difference. Today, nearly half of the IEDs in Iraq are found and disabled before they can be detonated. In the past 18 months, we've cut the casualty rate per IED attack in half. More work needs to be done. Yet by targeting the bomb-makers, and training our forces, and deploying new technologies, we will stay ahead of the enemy, and that will save Iraqi and American lives.

Comment [a215]: Commissive/promising

Comment [a216]: Assertive/reporting

Comment [a217]: Assertive/blasting

Comment [a218]: Assertive/believing

Some of the most powerful IEDs we're seeing in Iraq today includes components that came from Iran. Our Director of National Intelligence, John Negroponte, told the Congress, "Tehran has been responsible for at least some of the increasing lethality of anti-coalition attacks by providing Shia militia with the capability to build improvised explosive devises" in Iraq. Coalition forces have seized IEDs and components that were clearly produced in Iran. Such actions -- along with Iran's support for terrorism and its pursuit of nuclear weapons -- are increasingly isolating Iran, and America will continue to rally the world to confront these threats. (Applause.)

Comment [a219]: Expressive/blaming

Comment [a220]: Assertive/affirming

Comment [a221]: Commissive/promising

We still have difficult work ahead in Iraq. I wish I could tell you that the violence is waning and that the road ahead will be smooth. It will not. There will be more tough fighting and more days of struggle -- and we will see more images of chaos and carnage in the days and months to come. The terrorists are losing on the field of battle, so they are fighting this war through the pictures we see on television and in the newspapers every day. They're hoping to shake our resolve and force us to retreat. They are not going to succeed. (Applause.)

Comment [a222]: Assertive/predicting

Comment [a223]: Commissive/promising

The battle lines in Iraq are clearly drawn for the world to see, and there is no middle ground. The enemy will emerge from Iraq one of two ways: emboldened or defeated.

Comment [a224]: Directive/ensuring

The stakes in Iraq are high. By helping Iraqis build a democracy, we will deny the terrorists a safe haven to plan attacks against America. By helping Iraqis build a democracy, we will gain an ally in the war on terror. By helping Iraqis build a democracy, we will inspire reformers across the Middle East. And by helping Iraqis build a democracy, we'll bring hope to a troubled region, and this will make America more secure in the long-term.

Comment [a225]: Assertive/suggesting

Comment [a226]: Assertive/suggesting

Since the morning of September the 11th, we have known that the war on terror would require great sacrifice -- and in this war we have said farewell to some very good men and women. One of those courageous Americans was Sergeant William Scott Kinzer, Jr., who was killed last year by the terrorists while securing polling sites for the Iraqi elections. His mom, Debbie, wrote me a letter. She said: "These words are straight from a shattered but healing mother's heart. ... My son made the decision to join the Army. He believed that what he was involved in would eventually change Iraq and that those changes would be recorded in history books for years to come. ... On his last visit home... I asked him what I would ever do if something happened to him in Iraq. He smiled at me with -- his blue eyes sparkled, as he said, 'Mom, I love my job...If I should die I would die happy, does life get any better than this?'" His mom went on: "Please do not let the voices we hear the loudest change what you and Scott started in Iraq. Please do not... let his dying be in vain. ... Don't let my son have given his all for an unfinished job. ... Please...complete the mission."

Comment [a227]: Assertive/informing

I make this promise to Debbie, and all the families of the fallen heroes: We will not let your loved ones dying be in vain. We will finish what we started in Iraq. We will complete the mission. We will leave behind a democracy that can govern itself, sustain itself, and defend itself. (Applause.) And a free Iraq, in the heart of the Middle East, will make the American people more secure for generations to come.

Comment [a228]: Commissive/promising

Comment [a229]: Assertive/suggesting

May God bless the families of the fallen. May God bless our troops in the fight. And may God continue to bless the United States of America. (Applause.)

Comment [a230]: Directive/requesting

END 1:49 P.M. EST

An explanation of an analysis above (March 13, 2006)

S : the speaker/H : the hearer

Comment a1: S explicitly expresses his appreciation to the organization of the Foundation for the Defense of Democracy.

Comment a2: S briefly but clearly states the identity of this organization.

Comment a3: S strongly affirms and supports the motivation and progress made by the organization which is closely related to the basic principle of America that is building up democracy and removing tyranny.

Comment a4: S expresses his praise to the organization, since it successfully began some steps toward democracy, such as translating books into Arabic, training Iraqi women and Iranian students concerning with democracy, and helping another activist organize a political movement.

Comment a5: S suggests that what has been made by the organization to broaden democracy especially in the Middle East can be very helpful in completing the mission concerning war on terror.

Comment a6: S explicitly thanks to those who have already worked hard for spreading out democracy especially throughout the Middle East.

Comment a7: S expresses his appreciation to the organization (the Foundation for the Defense of the Democracy) for holding up the agenda.

Comment a8: S also clearly appreciates some prominent figures (Senator Dick Lugar, the United States Congress, Congressman Lungren, Adam Schiff, Joe Wilson, Tom Cole, Dan Boren. the ambassadors) that join the meeting.

Comment a9: S clearly announces his administration mission that is promoting democracy in order to defeat terror.

Comment a10: S affirms his previous statement by ensuring that the strategy to protect America and the security of nation is by advancing the liberty of other nations, because those aims mainly rely on the condition of another nation.

Comment a11: S probably wants to affirm the previous statement by showing some incidents concerning the operation of terrorist that threaten the security of America.

Comment a12: S strongly suggests the hearers to put democracy as an alternative in reconstructing a community that is safer and more peaceful. By delivering this

opinion, S seems wants to change the idea of dictatorship to democracy and all at once, S implicitly invites the hearers to support war on terror.

Comment a13: S concludes that the long-term mission of America is achieving peace and demolishing tyranny all over the world.

Comment a14: S informs that the process of spreading out democracy has been started in some Middle Eastern countries.

Comment a15: S reports his visit to Afghanistan where democracy and freedom have just reconstructed.

Comment a16: S blames that terrorists who attack America in September 11, 2001 was saved and ruled in Afghanistan.

Comment a17: S implicitly expresses his appreciation by informing the transformation progress happens in Afghanistan.

Comment a18: S explicitly promises to complete the mission in fighting for terrors and training Afghan forces.

Comment a19: S expresses his admiration for Afghan people who rapidly respond and move on to the future of freedom by fighting the terrorists.

Comment a20: S clearly informs the hearers about the agenda of celebrating three-year anniversary of operation of Iraqi freedom.

Comment a21: S reports the progress of Iraqi people in reconstructing the future of democracy such as reflected in performing a free election, liberation, a constitutional referendum, and removing a brutal tyranny.

Comment a22: Tough, explicitly S expresses his appreciation for an effort of Iraqis in bringing freedom, S implicitly suggests Iraq people to support and keep the life of democracy and freedom. S argues that Iraqi people strongly wants democracy that America has offered to.

Comment a23: S blames that violence, anger, destruction, and despair has happened in the Golden Mosque of Samarra, Sunni mosques, and hundreds of Iraqi citizens are the work of terrorists. S implicitly ensures the hearers that terrorists is the party who responsible for all those incidents.

Comment a24: S basically assumes that the reason of terrorists in attacking the Golden Mosque is to provoke citizens and then stop the progress to the future of democracy and a free society. S alleges without giving any evidence on his statement.

Comment a25: S reports the condition of Iraqi people during the process of creating the constitutional referendum and performing free election.

Comment a26: S explicitly concludes that what has been taken by the Iraqi people is an evidence of their commitment to achieve freedom and democracy.

Comment a27: S clearly informs the recent situation in Iraq.

Comment a28: S believes in the commitment of Iraq's leaders in removing terrorists and reconstructing the unity under political, religious, and sectarian differences. S implicitly suggests them not to give up in developing the future of democracy in Iraq.

Comment a29: S strongly affirms that the unity is the best way to achieve peace.

Comment a30: S recommends America and its coalition allies to assist the process of reforming the new government in Iraq with all patience, since it will take time.

Comment a31: S predicts the situation that will happen in Iraq concerning the political maneuvering.

Comment a32: S believes that the next government will cover the will of citizens, but he does not give any signal as an evidence for this argument.

Comment a33: S clearly blames that the enemy (in this case, terrorists) will continue their efforts in attacking, destructing, and stopping the process of democracy in Iraq.

Comment a34: A explicitly promises to help Iraq in succeeding the mission of democracy and freedom.

Comment a35: S clearly declares the main aim or goal of the United States and its allies is to achieve victory in Iraq.

Comment a36: By delivering the possibilities that may be happened, S implicitly orders the United States and its allies to complete the mission of removing

terrorists in Iraq. The goal of this idea is clear: to save the nation of the United States and its allies from terrors.

Comment a37: S explicitly announces in detail the three elements of United States' strategy toward the reconstruction of democracy in Iraq.

Comment a38: S proudly reports what has been made by coalition especially in preparing the security forces in Iraq.

Comment a39: S reports the fact about the progress made by the Iraqi security forces in protecting some critical sites in Iraq and assisting a free election.

Comment a40: S also reports the progress of Iraqi police in improving the national stability, such as protecting demonstrators, arresting terrorists, performing over 200 independent operations, and so on.

Comment a41: S clearly suggests that Iraqi forces must be able to prevent their nations from terrors.

Comment a42: S strongly supports his argument about the ability of Iraqi forces in preventing their nation by reporting the incidents of Samarra bombing where Iraqi forces and the national police are able to respond the threat coming from terrorists.

Comment a43: S concludes his arguments that the commitment of Iraqi forces and the national police in compromising with the countrymen is very helpful in preventing Iraq from terrors.

Comment a44: Again, S proudly affirms the effort done by Iraqi forces in being independent for the case of preventing their own nation.

Comment a45: S clearly suggests that what Iraqi forces have already achieved in convincing the Iraqi militia is great effort and supposedly needed to be continued.

Comment a46: S informs the work of the Iraqi security forces after the incidents of Samarra bombing.

Comment a47: S strongly ensures the Iraqi security forces not to stop working for democracy because they will face the return of anarchy and tyranny.

Comment a48: S reports the progress Iraqi forces have made in preventing Iraq territories.

Comment a49: S expresses his appreciation for the Iraqi security forces in holding up more independent operations.

Comment a50: S clearly announces some agendas that are taken to overcome the problem of Iraqi forces training.

Comment a51: Following those agendas, S informs them in detail. The first agenda will be the intensive program of the Iraqi Army/the national police and U.S battalion training partnership.

Comment a52: S reports the agenda of training, such as giving the Iraqi forces/the national police tactical training in defeating the enemy, building up a democratic system, and serving a society without discrimination.

Comment a53: S informs the second agenda that is selecting leaders who are loyal to the new government of Iraq and removing those who are loyal to militia.

Comment a54: S informs the third agenda that is recruiting more Sunni Arabs to be the national police.

Comment a55: S implicitly recommends the Iraqi forces and the national police to complete the agenda in order to be independently responsible for Iraq territories.

Comment a56: S forecasts the situation will happen in Iraq if Iraqis take over more territories and stand up for preventing their own nation, America and its allies can possibly let them control their own destination.

Comment a57: S explicitly declares that based on the recent situation in Iraq, terrorists will not be able to defeat America, its allies, and Iraqi people.

Comment a58: S openly informs the IED (Improvised Explosive Devices) that can be hidden and detonated remotely.

Comment a59: S showing the fact but without giving a proof or evidence about the use of IED by terrorists and the reason why they use the weapon.

Comment a60: Again, S informs the fact about the victims of IED that is innocent people.

Comment a61: S ensures the hearers on his information about the victims of IED that coming from innocent people such as children in the streets, shoppers, and so on.

Comment a62: S clearly informs the fact that the enemy also uses IED in fighting for U.S. coalition and Iraqi security forces. To support his information, S informs his general report concerning the attack of IED.

Comment a63: S announces the United States and coalition plans regarding to the threat of IED.

Comment a64: S announces targeting and eliminating terrorists and bomb makers as the first plan.

Comment a65: S implicitly promises that the mission to capture, kill, and destroy bomb making cells must be completed to avoid terrorists producing more weapons.

Comment a66: S reports some incidents of hidden bombing located in northwest of Bagdad and northeast of Fallujah that successfully overcome by the Iraqi security forces.

Comment a67: S expresses his appreciation to Iraqi and coalition forces in finding numbers of IED, weapons, and bomb making plants and killing numbers of terrorists and bomb makers.

Comment a68: S explicitly promises that the mission must not be stopped until terrorists and bomb makers are defeated.

Comment a69: S announces the second plan that is giving the Iraqi and coalition forces training how to identify and clear IED before it explodes.

Comment a70: S reports the capability of U.S. and coalition forces in countering the threat of IED because they have already given training about IED before arriving to Iraq and Afghanistan.

Comment a71: S states firmly that the previous idea will help forces to counter any threat coming in the battle field.

Comment a72: S firmly announces the goal of IED training that is to prepare forces in the battle field.

Comment a73: S openly announces the third plan that is developing the new technology to prevent forces and citizens from IED.

Comment a74: S implicitly suggests the hearers to follow America in supporting the mission of defeating terrorists especially in the case of IED.

Comment a75: S explains in detail what the progress is by reporting America's efforts such as gathering academia, the national laboratories, the national academy of science, and branches of military and relevant agencies to talk about how to solve the problem of IED threat.

Comment a76: To conclude his report, S informs a numbers of projects related to the resolution of IED threat.

Comment a77: S apologizes fro not informing the detail technologies that are developed.

Comment a78: S affirms the basic reason of not informing the detail technologies.

Comment a79: S promises the funding for the projects will be available to support the process of developing technologies.

Comment a80: S reports the number of fund his administration has already spent to assist the fight the IED threat.

Comment a81: S proudly shows the fact that his government has disabled numbers of IED in 18 months.

Comment a82: S believes that by applying these three plans, Iraq and America will be safer than before.

Comment a83: S blames that some of IED components are coming from Iran.

Comment a84: S affirms his previous statement by reporting the finding of National Intelligence.

Comment a85: S explicitly promises that America will continue to work on removing IED makers throughout any parts of the world.

Comment a86: S predicts that there will be hard works, struggles, and wars during the process of overcoming the problem of IED.

Comment a87: Again, S clearly promises that terrorists will not be success in fighting against coalition.

Comment a88: S ensures the hearers that the case in Iraq is clear and the world must choose one of the two.

Comment a89: S strongly put forward an idea that there are only two choices for the hearers to choose regarding to the enemy.

Comment a90: S explains in detail those two choices; helping Iraq build a democracy and make America more secure or deny terrorists and consequently they have possibilities to attack America. S explicitly suggests the hearers to choose.

Comment a91: S informs the hero who committed himself to fight for democracy.

Comment a92: S clearly promises to complete the mission in Iraq

Comment a93: S strongly suggests the hearers to support the mission in Iraq by informing them the final destination of that mission for America.

Comment a94: S requests a blessing and safety for American people to God.

The composition of illocutionary act in Bush's speech above and its manner of expression;

A. *Assertive/representative* becomes the main illocutionary act performed by the speaker. In this speech, the speaker often performs an act in suggesting, affirming, reporting, and informing. However, in some parts of his speech, the speaker also performs an act in stating, predicting, announcing, concluding, and believing. The speaker mostly used explicit expressions by appearing denotative words. The researcher also does not find any ambiguous expression and figurative sentence in almost the whole assertive/representative illocutionary act expressions.

- B. *Expressive* becomes the second point of illocutionary act that mostly performed. The speaker expresses his appreciation, praise, thankfulness, and blamelessness quite often. Being known that the presidential speech requires a part in which the speaker should appreciate or thank for the commitment given by the member of the meeting. The speaker used simple, clear, and explicit expressions to express such praise and appreciation.
- C. *Directive* that is represented in the way the speaker recommends, orders, and ensures is performed not very often. Moreover, these illocutionary types are also presented in an implicit way. The speaker does not recommend, order, or ensure straight forwardly.
- D. *Commissive* that is reflected in the way the speaker promises, swears, and apologizes is also performed quite often. In this case, of course the speaker makes certain promises and swearing to complete the mission that has been started in Iraq and some other Middle Eastern countries. The speaker also delivers his apologizing for not telling the audiences about the US Newest strategy. The speaker mostly used explicit and clear commissive expressions, such as offering USA's helps toward the war on terror.

Messages that expressed in Bush's speeches above

Assertive/representative becomes an illocutionary act types which mostly appeared in data 3, so the researcher concludes the main message of Bush's speech from this type of illocutionary acts.

Message 1: The significant role of *the foundation for the defense of democracies* in the process of defeating terrorism must be fully supported.

The researcher underlines such utterances that stand for the similar intention. The utterances are below;

You recognized immediately that the war on terror is a struggle between freedom and tyranny -- and that the path to lasting security is to defeat the hateful vision the terrorists are spreading with the hope of freedom and democracy. (Comment a3/assertive-affirming)

The foundation is making a difference across the world, and i appreciate the difference you're making. You have trained Iraqi women and Iranian students in the principles and practice of democracy, you've translated "democracy readers" into Arabic for distribution across the broader Middle East, you've helped activists across the region organize effective political movements -- so they can help bring about democratic change and ensure the survival of liberty in new democracies. (Comment a4/expressive-praising)

By promoting democratic ideals, and training a new generation of democratic leaders in the Middle East, you are helping us to bring victory in the war on terror. (Comment a5/assertive-suggesting)

The mission of this foundation is to defeat terror by promoting democracy -- and that is the mission of my administration. Our strategy to protect America is based on a clear premise: the security of our nation depends on the advance of liberty in other nations. (Comment a9-10/assertive-announcing, affirming)

Message 2: America has a strong commitment and a long-term goal that is to promote the development of democracy, to secure the peace of the world and to seek the end of tyranny in the world.

The researcher underlines such utterances that stand for the similar intention. The utterances are below;

Our strategy to protect America is based on a clear premise: the security of our nation depends on the advance of liberty in other nations. (Comment a10/assertive-affirming)

We are making progress in the march of freedom -- and some of the most important progress has taken place in a region that has not known the blessings of liberty: the broader Middle East. (Comment a14/assertive-informing)

The United States and our allies will stay in the fight against the terrorists, and we'll train afghan soldiers and police so they can defend their country.

Next week, we will mark the three-year anniversary of the start of operation Iraqi freedom. (Comment a20/assertive-informing)

Message 3: Iraq and some other Middle Eastern countries are also committed to the progress of democracy offered by America.

The researcher underlines such utterances that stand for the similar intention. The utterances are below;

Today, the terror camps have been shut down, women are working, boys and girls are going to school, afghans have voted in free elections -- 25 million people have had the taste of freedom. Taliban and al Qaeda remnants continue to fight Afghanistan's democratic progress. (Comment a17/assertive-informing)

Americans were inspired by the images of Iraqis bringing elderly relatives to the polls, holding up purple ink-stained fingers, dancing in the streets and celebrating their freedom. By their courage, the Iraqi people have spoken and made their

intentions clear: they want to live in democracy -- and they are determined to shape their own destiny. (Comment a22/assertive-suggesting)

In less than three years, the Iraqi people have gone from living under the boot of a brutal tyrant, to liberation, to sovereignty, to free elections, to a constitutional referendum, and last December, to elections for a fully constitutional government. In those December elections, over 11 million Iraqis -- more than 75 percent of the Iraqi voting age population -- defied the terrorists to cast their ballots.

(Comment a21/assertive-reporting)

Message 4: America and its allies have worked hard to solve the problem of the threat of IED (improvised explosive devices) created by terrorists.

The researcher underlines such utterances that stand for the similar intention. The utterances are below;

My administration has established a new high-level organization at the department of defense, led by retired four-star general Montgomery Meigs. On Saturday, general Meigs, along with the secretary of defense, briefed me at the white house on our plan to defeat the threat of IED. (Comment a63/assertive-announcing)

Our plan has three elements: targeting, training, and technology.

The first part of our plan is targeting and eliminating the terrorists and bomb makers. The second part of our plan is to give our forces specialized training to identify and clear ieds before they explode. The third part of our plan is to develop new technologies to defend against IED. In 2004, the administration spent \$150 million to fight the IED threat. This year, we're providing \$3.3 billion to support

our efforts to defeat IEDS. Today, nearly half of the IEDS in Iraq are found and disabled before they can be detonated. In the past 18 months, we've cut the casualty rate per IED attack in half. (Comment a63-a75/assertive-announcing, reporting)

Data 4: President Bush visits Prague, Czech Republic, discusses freedom (June 5, 2007. Large Hall. Czermin Palace. Prague, Czech Republic)

4:07 P.M. (Local)

THE PRESIDENT: President Ilves, Foreign Minister Schwarzenberg, distinguished guests: Laura and I are pleased to be back in Prague, and we appreciate the gracious welcome in this historic hall. Tomorrow I attend the G-8 Summit, where I will meet with the leaders of the world's most powerful economies. This afternoon, I stand with men and women who represent an even greater power -- the power of human conscience.

Comment [a231]: Expressive/appreciating

Comment [a232]: Assertive/informing

Comment [a233]: Expressive/praising

In this room are dissidents and democratic activists from 17 countries on five continents. You follow different traditions, you practice different faiths, and you face different challenges. But you are united by an unwavering conviction: that freedom is the non-negotiable right of every man, woman, and child, and that the path to lasting peace in our world is liberty. (Applause.)

Comment [a234]: Assertive/suggesting

This conference was conceived by three of the great advocates for freedom in our time: Jose Maria Aznar, Vaclav Havel, and Natan Sharansky. I thank them for the

Comment [a235]: Expressive/appreciating

invitation to address this inspiring assembly, and for showing the world that an individual with moral clarity and courage can change the course of history.

It is fitting that we meet in the Czech Republic -- a nation at the heart of Europe, and of the struggle for freedom on this continent. Nine decades ago, Tomas Masaryk proclaimed Czechoslovakia's independence based on the "ideals of modern democracy." That democracy was interrupted, first by the Nazis and then by the communists, who seized power in a shameful coup that left the Foreign Minister dead in the courtyard of this palace.

Through the long darkness of Soviet occupation, the true face of this nation was never in doubt. The world saw it in the reforms of the Prague Spring and the principled demands of Charter 77. Those efforts were met with tanks and truncheons and arrests by secret police. But the violent would not have the final word. In 1989, thousands gathered in Wenceslas Square to call for their freedom. Theaters like the Magic Lantern became headquarters for dissidents. Workers left their factories to support a strike. And within weeks, the regime crumbled. Vaclav Havel went from prisoner of state to head of state. And the people of Czechoslovakia brought down the Iron Curtain with a Velvet Revolution.

Comment [a236]: Assertive/in forming

Across Europe, similar scenes were unfolding. In Poland, a movement that began in a single shipyard freed people across a nation. In Hungary, mourners gathered at Heroes Square to bury a slain reformer -- and bury their communist regime, too. In East Germany, families came together for prayer meetings -- and found the strength to tear down a wall. Soon, activists emerged from the attics and church basements to reclaim the streets of Bulgaria, and Romania, and Albania, and

Latvia, and Lithuania, and Estonia. The Warsaw Pact was dissolved peacefully in this very room. And after seven decades of oppression, the Soviet Union ceased to exist.

Comment [a237]: Assertive/affirming

Behind these astonishing achievements was the triumph of freedom in the battle of ideas. The communists had an imperial ideology that claimed to know the directions of history. But in the end, it was overpowered by ordinary people who wanted to live their lives, and worship their God, and speak the truth to their children. The communists had the harsh rule of Brezhnev, and Honecker, and Ceausescu. But in the end, it was no match for the vision of Walesa and Havel, the defiance of Sakharov and Sharansky, the resolve of Reagan and Thatcher, and fearless witness of John Paul. From this experience, a clear lesson has emerged: Freedom can be resisted, and freedom can be delayed, but freedom cannot be denied.

Comment [a238]: Assertive/believing

Comment [a239]: Expressive/blaming

Comment [a240]: Assertive/affirming

In the years since liberation, Central and Eastern European nations have navigated the difficult transition to democracy. Leaders made the tough reforms needed to enter NATO and the European Union. Citizens claimed their freedom in the Balkans and beyond. And now, after centuries of war and suffering, the continent of Europe is at last in peace.

Comment [a241]: Assertive/reporting

Comment [a242]: Assertive/concluding

With this new era have come new threats to freedom. In dark and repressive corners of the world, whole generations grew up with no voice in their government and no hope in their future. This life of oppression bred deep resentment. And for many, resentment boiled over into radicalism and extremism and violence. The world saw the result on September the 11th, 2001, when

Comment [a243]: Assertive/stating

terrorists based in Afghanistan sent 19 suicidal men to murder nearly 3,000 innocent people in the United States.

Comment [a244]: Expressive/blaming

For some, this attack called for a narrow response. In truth, 9/11 was evidence of a much broader danger -- an international movement of violent Islamic extremists that threatens free people everywhere. The extremists' ambition is to build a totalitarian empire that spans all current and former Muslim lands, including parts of Europe. Their strategy to achieve that goal is to frighten the world into surrender through a ruthless campaign of terrorist murder.

Comment [a245]: Expressive/blaming

Comment [a246]: Assertive/alleging

To confront this enemy, America and our allies have taken the offensive with the full range of our military, intelligence, and law enforcement capabilities. Yet this battle is more than a military conflict. Like the Cold War, it's an ideological struggle between two fundamentally different visions of humanity. On one side are the extremists, who promise paradise, but deliver a life of public beatings and repression of women and suicide bombings. On the other side are huge numbers of moderate men and women -- including millions in the Muslim world -- who believe that every human life has dignity and value that no power on Earth can take away.

Comment [a247]: Assertive/suggesting

Comment [a248]: Assertive/believing

Comment [a249]: Assertive/suggesting

The most powerful weapon in the struggle against extremism is not bullets or bombs -- it is the universal appeal of freedom. Freedom is the design of our Maker, and the longing of every soul. Freedom is the best way to unleash the creativity and economic potential of a nation. Freedom is the only ordering of a society that leads to justice. And human freedom is the only way to achieve human rights.

Comment [a250]: Directive/ensuring

Comment [a251]: Directive/recommending

Expanding freedom is more than a moral imperative -- it is the only realistic way to protect our people in the long run. Years ago, Andrei Sakharov warned that a country that does not respect the rights of its own people will not respond to the rights of its neighbors. History proves him right. Governments accountable to their people do not attack each other. Democracies address problems through the political process, instead of blaming outside scapegoats. Young people who can disagree openly with their leaders are less likely to adopt violent ideologies. And nations that commit to freedom for their people will not support extremists -- they will join in defeating them.

Comment [a252]: Assertive/suggesting

Comment [a253]: Assertive/affirming

Comment [a254]: Directive/recommending

For all these reasons, the United States is committed to the advance of freedom and democracy as the great alternatives to repression and radicalism. (Applause.) And we have a historic objective in view. In my second inaugural address, I pledged America to the ultimate goal of ending tyranny in our world. Some have said that qualifies me as a "dissident president." If standing for liberty in the world makes me a dissident, I wear that title with pride. (Applause.)

Comment [a255]: Assertive/announcing

Comment [a256]: Assertive/reporting

Comment [a257]: Commissive/swearing

America pursues our freedom agenda in many ways -- some vocal and visible, others quiet and hidden from view. Ending tyranny requires support for the forces of conscience that undermine repressive societies from within. The Soviet dissident Andrei Amalrik compared a tyrannical state to a soldier who constantly points a gun at his enemy -- until his arms finally tire and the prisoner escapes. The role of the free world is to put pressure on the arms of the world's tyrants -- and strengthen the prisoners who are trying to speed their collapse.

Comment [a258]: Assertive/informing

Comment [a259]: Directive/recommending

So I meet personally with dissidents and democratic activists from some of the world's worst dictatorships -- including Belarus, and Burma, and Cuba, and North Korea, Sudan, and Zimbabwe. At this conference, I look forward to meeting other dissidents, including some from Iran and Syria. One of those dissidents is Mamoun Homsî. In 2001, this man was an independent member of the Syrian parliament who simply issued a declaration asking the government to begin respecting human rights. For this entirely peaceful act, he was arrested and sent to jail, where he spent several years beside other innocent advocates for a free Syria.

Comment [a260]: Assertive/reporting

Comment [a261]: Assertive/informing

Another dissident I will meet here is Rebiyah Kadeer of China, whose sons have been jailed in what we believe is an act of retaliation for her human rights activities. The talent of men and women like Rebiyah is the greatest resource of their nations, far more valuable than the weapons of their army or their oil under the ground. America calls on every nation that stifles dissent to end its repression, to trust its people, and to grant its citizens the freedom they deserve. (Applause.)

Comment [a262]: Assertive/informing

Comment [a263]: Expressive/appreciating

Comment [a264]: Directive/recommending

There are many dissidents who couldn't join us because they are being unjustly imprisoned or held under house arrest. I look forward to the day when a conference like this one include Alexander Kozulin of Belarus, Aung San Suu Kyi of Burma, Oscar Elias Biscet of Cuba, Father Nguyen Van Ly of Vietnam, Ayman Nour of Egypt. (Applause.) The daughter of one of these political prisoners is in this room. I would like to say to her, and all the families: I thank you for your courage. I pray for your comfort and strength. And I call for the immediate and unconditional release of your loved ones. (Applause.)

Comment [a265]: Expressive/condoling

In the eyes of America, the democratic dissidents today are the democratic leaders of tomorrow. So we're taking new steps to strengthen our support. We recently created a Human Rights Defenders Fund, which provides grants for the legal defense and medical expenses of activists arrested or beaten by repressive governments. I strongly support the Prague Document that your conference plans to issue, which states that "the protection of human rights is critical to international peace and security." And in keeping with the goals of that declaration, I have asked Secretary Rice to send a directive to every U.S. ambassador in an un-free nation: Seek out and meet with activists for democracy. Seek out those who demand human rights. (Applause.)

Comment [a266]: Assertive/believing

Comment [a267]: Assertive/informing

Comment [a268]: Assertive/reporting

Comment [a269]: Assertive/affirming

Comment [a270]: Assertive/announcing

People living in tyranny need to know they are not forgotten. North Koreans live in a closed society where dissent is brutally suppressed, and they are cut off from their brothers and sisters to the south. The Iranians are a great people who deserve to chart their own future, but they are denied their liberty by a handful of extremists whose pursuit of nuclear weapons prevents their country from taking its rightful place amongst the thriving. The Cubans are desperate for freedom -- and as that nation enters a period of transition, we must insist on free elections and free speech and free assembly. (Applause.) And in Sudan, freedom is denied and basic human rights are violated by a government that pursues genocide against its own citizens. My message to all those who suffer under tyranny is this: We will never excuse your oppressors. We will always stand for your freedom. (Applause.)

Comment [a271]: Assertive/aligning

Comment [a272]: Directive/recommending

Comment [a273]: Commisive/promising

Freedom is also under assault in countries that have shown some progress. In Venezuela, elected leaders have resorted to shallow populism to dismantle democratic institutions and tighten their grip on power. The government of Uzbekistan continues to silence independent voices by jailing human rights activists. And Vietnam recently arrested and imprisoned a number of peaceful religious and political activists.

Comment [a274]: Assertive/stating

Comment [a275]: Assertive/informing

These developments are discouraging, but there are more reasons for optimism.

At the start of the 1980s, there were only 45 democracies on Earth. There are now more than 120 democracies -- more people now live in freedom than ever before.

Comment [a276]: Expressive/saluting

And it is the responsibility of those who enjoy the blessings of liberty to help those who are struggling to establish their free societies. So the United States has

Comment [a277]: Directive/recommending

nearly doubled funding for democracy projects. We're working with our partners in the G-8 to promote the rise of a vibrant civil society in the Middle East through initiatives like the Forum for the Future. We're cooperating side-by-side with the new democracies in Ukraine and Georgia and Kyrgyzstan. We congratulate the people of Yemen on their landmark presidential election, and the people of Kuwait on elections in which women were able to vote and run for office for the first time. (Applause.) We stand firmly behind the people of Lebanon and Afghanistan and Iraq as they defend their democratic gains against extremist enemies. (Applause.) These people are making tremendous sacrifices for liberty.

Comment [a278]: Assertive/reporting

They deserve the admiration of the free world, and they deserve our unwavering support. (Applause.)

Comment [a279]: Expressive/praising

The United States is also using our influence to urge valued partners like Egypt and Saudi Arabia and Pakistan to move toward freedom. These nations have taken

Comment [a280]: Assertive/suggesting

brave stands and strong action to confront extremists, along with some steps to expand liberty and transparency. Yet they have a great distance still to travel. The United States will continue to press nations like these to open up their political systems, and give greater voice to their people. Inevitably, this creates tension.

Comment [a281]: Directive/demanding

But our relationships with these countries are broad enough and deep enough to bear it. As our relationships with South Korea and Taiwan during the Cold War prove, America can maintain a friendship and push a nation toward democracy at the same time. (Applause.)

Comment [a282]: Assertive/boasting

We're also applying that lesson to our relationships with Russia and China. (Applause.) The United States has strong working relationships with these countries. Our friendship with them is complex. In the areas where we share mutual interests, we work together. In other areas, we have strong disagreements.

Comment [a283]: Assertive/stating

China's leaders believe that they can continue to open the nation's economy without opening its political system. We disagree. (Applause.) In Russia, reforms that were once promised to empower citizens have been derailed, with troubling implications for democratic development. Part of a good relationship is the ability to talk openly about our disagreements. So the United States will continue to build our relationships with these countries -- and we will do it without abandoning our principles or our values. (Applause.)

Comment [a284]: Assertive/announcing

We appreciate that free societies take shape at different speeds in different places.

Comment [a285]: Expressive/appreciating

One virtue of democracy is that it reflects local history and traditions. Yet there

are fundamental elements that all democracies share -- freedom of speech, religion, press, and assembly; rule of law enforced by independent courts; private property rights; and political parties that compete in free and fair elections.

Comment [a286]: Assertive/suggesting

(Applause.) These rights and institutions are the foundation of human dignity, and as countries find their own path to freedom, they must find a loyal partner in the United States of America.

Comment [a287]: Directive/recommending

Extending the reach of freedom is a mission that unites democracies around the world. Some of the greatest contributions are coming from nations with the freshest memories of tyranny. I appreciate the Czech Republic's support for human rights projects in Belarus and Burma and Cuba. I thank Germany, and Poland, and the Czech Republic, and Hungary, and Slovenia, and Georgia, Lithuania, Estonia, Croatia for contributing to the new United Nations Democracy Fund. I'm grateful for the commitment many new democracies in Central and Eastern Europe are making to Afghanistan and Iraq. I appreciate that these countries are willing to do the hard work necessary to enable people who want to be free to live in a free society. (Applause.)

Comment [a288]: Expressive/congratulating

Comment [a289]: Expressive/appreciating

In all these ways, the freedom agenda is making a difference. The work has been difficult, and that is not going to change. There will be triumphs and failures, progress and setbacks. Ending tyranny cannot be achieved overnight. And of course, this objective has its critics.

Comment [a290]: Commissive/promising

Comment [a291]: Assertive/informing

Some say that ending tyranny means "imposing our values" on people who do not share them, or that people live in parts of the world where freedom cannot take hold. That is refuted by the fact that every time people are given a choice, they

choose freedom. We saw that when the people of Latin America turned dictatorships into democracies, and the people of South Africa replaced apartheid with a free society, and the people of Indonesia ended their long authoritarian rule. We saw it when Ukrainians in orange scarves demanded that their ballots be counted. We saw it when millions of Afghans and Iraqis defied the terrorists to elect free governments. At a polling station in Baghdad, I was struck by the words of an Iraqi -- he had one leg -- and he told a reporter, "I would have crawled here if I had to." Was democracy -- I ask the critics, was democracy imposed on that man? Was freedom a value he did not share? The truth is that the only ones who have to impose their values are the extremists and the radicals and the tyrants. (Applause.)

Comment [a292]: Assertive/affirming

Comment [a293]: Assertive/informing

And that is why the communists crushed the Prague Spring, and threw an innocent playwright in jail, and trembled at the sight of a Polish Pope. History shows that ultimately, freedom conquers fear. And given a chance, freedom will conquer fear in every nation on Earth. (Applause.)

Comment [a294]: Expressive/blaming

Comment [a295]: Assertive/believing

Another objective -- objection is that ending tyranny will unleash chaos. Critics point to the violence in Afghanistan, or Iraq, or Lebanon as evidence that freedom leaves people less safe. But look who's causing the violence. It's the terrorists, it's the extremists. It is no coincidence that they are targeting young democracies in the Middle East. They know that the success of free societies there is a mortal threat to their ambitions -- and to their very survival. The fact that our enemies are fighting back is not a reason to doubt democracy. It is evidence that they

Comment [a296]: Assertive/informing

Comment [a297]: Expressive/blaming

Comment [a298]: Assertive/suggesting

recognize democracy's power. It is evidence that we are at war. And it is evidence that free nations must do what it takes to prevail. (Applause.)

Comment [a299]: Directive/recommending

Still, some argue that a safer goal would be stability, especially in the Middle East. The problem is that pursuing stability at the expense of liberty does not lead to peace -- it leads to September the 11th, 2001. (Applause.) The policy of tolerating tyranny is a moral and strategic failure. It is a mistake the world must not repeat in the 21st century.

Comment [a300]: Directive/or dering

Others fear that democracy will bring dangerous forces to power, such as Hamas in the Palestinian Territories. Elections will not always turn out the way we hope.

Comment [a301]: Expressive/blaming

Yet democracy consists of more than a single trip to the ballot box. Democracy requires meaningful opposition parties, a vibrant civil society, a government that enforces the law and responds to the needs of its people. Elections can accelerate the creation of such institutions. In a democracy, people will not vote for a life of perpetual violence. To stay in power, elected officials must listen to their people and pursue their desires for peace -- or, in democracies, the voters will replace them through free elections.

Comment [a302]: Assertive/suggesting

Finally, there's the contention that ending tyranny is unrealistic. Well, some argue that extending democracy around the world is simply too difficult to achieve. That's nothing new. We've heard that criticism before throughout history. At every stage of the Cold War, there were those who argued that the Berlin Wall was permanent, and that people behind the Iron Curtain would never overcome their oppressors. History has sent a different message.

The lesson is that freedom will always have its skeptics. But that's not the whole story. There are also people like you, and the loved ones you represent -- men and women with courage to risk everything for your ideals. In his first address as President, Vaclav Havel proclaimed, "People, your government has returned to you!" He was echoing the first speech of Tomas Masaryk -- who was, in turn, quoting the 17th century Czech teacher Comenius. His message was that freedom is timeless. It does not belong to one government or one generation. Freedom is the dream and the right of every person in every nation in every age. (Applause.)

Comment [a303]: Assertive/pr edicting

Comment [a304]: Directive/re commending

Comment [a305]: Assertive/re porting

The United States of America believes deeply in that message. It was the inspiration for our founding, when we declared that "all men are created equal." It was the conviction that led us to help liberate this continent, and stand with the captive nations through their long struggle. It is the truth that guides our nation to oppose radicals and extremists and terror and tyranny in the world today. And it is the reason I have such great confidence in the men and women in this room.

Comment [a306]: Directive/re commending

Comment [a307]: Expressive/ praising

I leave Prague with a certainty that the cause of freedom is not tired, and that its future is in the best of hands. With unbreakable faith in the power of liberty, you will inspire your people, you will lead your nations, and you will change the world.

Comment [a308]: Assertive/b elieving

Comment [a309]: Directive/de manding

Thanks for having me. And may God bless you. (Applause.)

END 4:38 P.M. (Local)

An explanation of an analysis above (June 5, 2007)

S : the speaker/ H : the hearer

Comment a1: S appreciates President Ilves for welcoming him.

Comment a2: S clearly informs his next agenda that is attending the G-8 summit.

Comment a3: S expresses his praising for being among the success and respective people.

Comment a4: S suggests the member of the meeting by putting forward an idea of liberty which becomes the basic need of human being.

Comment a5: S appreciates three important persons who significantly contribute the advance of freedom.

Comment a6: S inform in detail but briefly the history of the Czech Republic which has successfully reformed the tyranny to democratic society.

Comment a7: S affirms his previous information by telling some similar experiences faced by some European countries, such as Poland, Hungary, East Germany, Bulgaria, Romania, and so on.

Comment a8: S strongly believes that the spirit of that reformation was coming from the idea of democracy and freedom.

Comment a9: S blames that the communist who had proposed those entire bad situation.

Comment a10: S strongly affirms that freedom must be completed though it is hard.

Comment a11: S reports what NATO and some European countries have passed during the transition to democracy.

Comment a12: S concludes the final decision of those countries that is peace.

Comment a13: S clearly states that the new threat to freedom is currently coming with its new model.

Comment a14: S blames terrorist based in Afghanistan has opened the case of the new threat to freedom.

Comment a15: S, again, blames Islamic extremists that threaten the free people.

Comment a16: S shows certain facts about the extremists without giving any clear proof.

Comment a17: S puts forward a plan to confront these extremists. S implicitly suggests the hearer to think about his plan.

Comment a18: S strongly believes that the war between the free nations and the extremists is not only a kind of military conflict but also ideological conflict.

Comment a19: S implicitly suggests the hearer to choose between the extremist's way and the moderate society's way.

Comment a20: S ensures the hearers that the main tool used to confront extremists is the spirit of freedom itself.

Comment a21: S explicitly defines the idea of freedom but implicitly recommends the hearers to support the advance of freedom, since it help society achieve human rights.

Comment a22: S clearly suggests the hearers to think about expanding freedom as the only realistic way to protect human being, according to the speaker.

Comment a23: S affirms his previous suggestion that when a country protects human right, its right will automatically be protected.

Comment a24: S implicitly recommends nations to defeat extremists.

Comment a25: S clearly announces the policy of the United States in advancing freedom and democracy as en effort to remove radicalism.

Comment a26: S reports his inaugural address telling his vision of removing tyranny.

Comment a27: S makes a serious promise of standing for liberty.

Comment a28: S clearly informs America's agenda in the advance of freedom.

Comment a29: S implicitly recommends the hearers as the member of the free nation to support the advance of freedom by putting pressure on tyrants.

Comment a30: S reports his meeting to some democratic activists from some parts of the world, such as Burma, Cuba, North Korea, Sudan, and so on.

Comment a31: S informs briefly the life of a Syrian person who has a strong commitment to build a democratic government that respects human rights.

Comment a32: S, again, informs another democratic profile coming from China, Rebiyah Kadeer.

Comment a33: S clearly appreciates the work of Rebiyah and other democratic activist.

Comment a34: S implicitly recommends the hearers to follow what America has proposed to build democratic society.

Comment a35: S expresses his condolence for some democratic activists.

Comment a36: S strongly believes that the democratic activists will achieve success in the future.

Comment a37: S briefly informs the step taken by America to support the advance of freedom.

Comment a38: S reports a profile of Human Right Defenders Fund, one of the efforts taken.

Comment a39: S strongly affirms the step taken by the Czech Republic to protect human right.

Comment a40: S announces the step taken by U.S. ambassador to support the step proposed by Czech Republic above.

Comment a41: S shows some facts about oppression and the process of transition in some countries, such as the North Korea, Iran, and Cuba, but S does not give any detail information to proof his information.

Comment a42: A implicitly recommends the hearers to support the process of transition by insisting free elections, free speech, and free assembly.

Comment a43: S clearly promises to carry out freedom through out the nations who live under tyranny.

Comment a44: S states that the signal of freedom in some countries can be viewed from their progresses.

Comment a45: Following his previous statement about progress made by free nations, S informs some contrastive facts in Venezuela, Uzbekistan, and Vietnam.

Comment a46: S expresses his salute regarding to the rapid progress of democracy and freedom.

Comment a47: S implicitly recommends the hearers especially as the member of the free nation to help other nations build up the advance of liberty and free society.

Comment a48: S proudly reports some efforts done by the United States to support the advance of freedom and democracy, such as working in partnership

with the G-8, assisting Ukraine, Georgia, and Kyrgyzstan, and promoting the young democracy in Lebanon, Afghanistan, and Iraq.

Comment a49: S expresses his praise on the hard effort of those countries in carrying out liberty and free world.

Comment a50: S suggests the hearers to stand together with the United States in promoting freedom as what have done by Egypt and Saudi Arabia.

Comment a51: S explicitly demands the mission of democracy and freedom to be successfully completed through the reformation of political system and refining the free of speech.

Comment a52: S proudly informs the United States' success in pushing up nations toward democracy while having relationship with South Korea and Taiwan during the cold war.

Comment a53: S clearly states the fact that the United States is able to build a strong partnership with countries.

Comment a54: S announces the government's disagreement to China decision regarding to its political system.

Comment a55: S appreciates the hard effort of some societies in taking a part of freedom.

Comment a56: S explicitly states some elements that must be fulfilled in advancing democracy but he implicitly suggests the hearers to complete all those elements as a requirement of a free nation.

Comment a57: S implicitly offers the United States as a partner and recommends the hearers to stand in line with the United States to promote freedom.

Comment a58: S congratulates some nations that have just taken away a tyranny and contribute to the advance of freedom.

Comment a59: S clearly appreciates the Czech Republic and some other countries that contribute and strongly support the advance of freedom and democracy.

Comment a60: S states a strong promise to complete the mission, though it is hard.

Comment a61: S informs some steps and conditions during the process of advancing democracy.

Comment a62: S strongly affirms that the idea of carrying freedom will be successfully completed because freedom is the basic need of every people.

Comment a63: Actually, S affirms his previous idea by informing some facts about the successfulness of some countries, such as Indonesia, Latin America, South Africa, Ukraine, Afghanistan, and Iraq in reforming freedom and democracy.

Comment a64: S blames the communists who did some cruelty and oppression.

Comment a65: By referring to the history, S believes that freedom can defeat fear in every nation.

Comment a66: S strongly affirms that critics toward the violence in some Middle Eastern countries have proved that freedom is a final decision of its people.

Comment a67: S blames the terrorists and extremists who did the violence.

Comment a68: S suggests the hearers by putting the idea that though the enemies are fighting back, the mission of democracy must be kept up.

Comment a69: S explicitly affirms that the mission of democracy must be completed but implicitly recommends the hearers especially to promote the advance of the free nations through the spirit of democracy.

Comment a70: S explicitly orders the hearers to leave the policy of tolerating tyranny.

Comment a71: S clearly blames Hamas in the Palestinian territories that threatens the advance of democracy.

Comment a72: S clearly suggests the completion of democracy by fulfilling its requirement, such as a vibrant civil society, the government that responds the needs of society, free election, and so on.

Comment a73: S concludes that the process of advancing freedom will not always be easy.

Comment a74: S implicitly recommends the hearers to keep up on the idea of advancing freedom, because a lot of similar persons stand for the same idealism.

Comment a75: S affirms his previous ideas by reporting what has been declared by the President Vaclav Havel regarding to the timeless of freedom.

Comment a76: S implicitly recommends the hearers to oppose extremists as what has been done by the United States.

Comment a77: S expresses his admiration to the member of that meeting concerning the spirit of promoting freedom and democracy.

Comment a78: S strongly believes on the desire of the people of Czech Republic in doing some hard efforts to support freedom.

Comment a79: S demands the power of liberty can always be kept in order to inspire other nations to do the same thing and to achieve progress.

The composition of illocutionary act in Bush's speech above and its manner of expression;

A. *Assertive/representative* is mostly performed by the speaker in this occasion.

Practically, he would rather perform utterances that lead to such kind of informing, suggesting, and affirming than reporting, believing, alleging, predicting, and forecasting. The speaker affirms the advance of freedom and democracy by exemplifying successfulness of some European countries in building up a free society. The speaker mostly used explicit expressions by appearing denotative words. The researcher also does not find any ambiguous

expression and figurative sentence in almost the whole assertive/representative illocutionary act expressions.

- B. *Directive*, again, is performed as the second point to be delivered. In detail, the speaker intends to ensure the hearers about the important of having the spirit of freedom, since freedom leads a nation to justice and secure. The speaker also intends to recommend the hearers to promote freedom in order to protect human rights, remove extremists, and establish free election and free societies. In the way the speaker directs, recommends, and ensures the hearers, he did not directly use an imperative sentence or strictly came to the verbs of commanding. The speaker recommends the hearer by giving the real example of the success of democracy, stating a bad effect of extremists, establishing free elections, reporting some steps that USA has done to support the advance of democracy, and so on in order to be followed.
- C. *Commissive* is performed seldom. The speaker intends swear and promise to finish the task to bring democracy and freedom all over parts of the world. The speaker mostly used explicit and clear commissive expressions, such as promising to complete the mission of democracy.
- d. *Expressive* is commonly performed in the way the speaker appreciates the republic of Czech and some other countries that have successfully completed the mission of democracy. In some cases, the speaker uses the expression of blaming to the extremists and terrorists who spread out the ideology of hatred. The speaker used simple, clear, and explicit expressions to express such praise, blaming, and appreciation.

Messages that expressed in Bush's speeches above

Assertive/representative becomes an illocutionary act types which mostly appeared in data 4, so the researcher concludes the main message of Bush's speech from this type of illocutionary acts, but there are also few other types (directive and expressive) included as a supporting opinion.

Message 1: Freedom and democracy are the basic need of human being.

The researcher underlines such utterances that stand for the similar intention. The utterances are below;

You follow different traditions, you practice different faiths, and you face different challenges. But you are united by an unwavering conviction: that freedom is the non-negotiable right of every man, woman, and child, and that the path to lasting peace in our world is liberty. (Comment a4/assertive-suggesting)

Freedom is the design of our maker, and the longing of every soul. Freedom is the best way to unleash the creativity and economic potential of a nation. Freedom is the only ordering of a society that leads to justice. And human freedom is the only way to achieve human rights. (Comment a21/directive-recomending)

That is refuted by the fact that every time people are given a choice, they choose freedom.

I leave Prague with a certainty that the cause of freedom is not tired, and that its future is in the best of hands. With unbreakable faith in the power of liberty, you will inspire your people, you will lead your nations, and you will change the world. (Comment a78-79/assertive-believing, directive-recommending)

From this experience, a clear lesson has emerged: freedom can be resisted, and freedom can be delayed, but freedom cannot be denied. (Comment a10/assertive-affirming)

Expanding freedom is more than a moral imperative -- it is the only realistic way to protect our people in the long run. (Comment a19/assertive-suggesting)

Message 2: The ambition of extremists is to destroy the peacefulness of human life.

The extremists' ambition is to build a totalitarian empire that spans all current and former Muslim lands, including parts of Europe. Their strategy to achieve that goal is to frighten the world into surrender through a ruthless campaign of terrorist murder. (Comment a16/assertive-alleging)

And that is why the communists crushed the Prague spring, and threw an innocent playwright in jail, and trembled at the sight of a polish pope.

But look who's causing the violence. It's the terrorists, it's the extremists.

In dark and repressive corners of the world, whole generations grew up with no voice in their government and no hope in their future. This life of oppression bred deep resentment. And for many, resentment boiled over into radicalism and extremism and violence. The world saw the result on September the 11th, 2001, when terrorists based in Afghanistan sent 19 suicidal men to murder nearly 3,000 innocent people in the United States. (Comment a9/expressive-blaming)

Message 3: America and its allies have taken some steps to promote freedom and remove extremists' oppression.

We're taking new steps to strengthen our support. We recently created a human rights defenders fund, which provides grants for the legal defense and medical expenses of activists arrested or beaten by repressive governments.

We're working with our partners in the G-8 to promote the rise of a vibrant civil society in the Middle East through initiatives like the forum for the future.

We're cooperating side-by-side with the new democracies in Ukraine and Georgia and Kyrgyzstan. We stand firmly behind the people of Lebanon and Afghanistan and Iraq as they defend their democratic gains against extremist enemies.

(Comment a48/assertive-reporting)

The United States is also using our influence to urge valued partners like Egypt and Saudi Arabia and Pakistan to move toward freedom. (Comment

a50/assertive-suggesting)

To confront this enemy, America and our allies have taken the offensive with the full range of our military, intelligence, and law enforcement capabilities.

(Comment a17/assertive-suggesting)

For all these reasons, the United States is committed to the advance of freedom and democracy as the great alternatives to repression and radicalism. (Comment

a25/assertive-announcing)

4.2. Findings

After analyzing the data, the researcher found that the five types of illocutionary acts used in Bush's speeches are performed differently. Assertive, commissive, assertive, and declarative are performed directly. The speaker did not use any figurative language, connotative words, ambiguous expressions, and

figurative sentences. The way the speaker appreciates, thanks, promises, informs, affirms, and reports are all in clear and direct expressions.

However, directive illocutionary act is performed indirectly, though he did not use any figurative language but he did not also strictly ask the hearer to do something. What he did is giving the real example of the successfulness of democracy, stating some good effects of democracy, and stating some bad conditions caused by tyrannical government, extremists, and terrorists. It means that the good things commonly invite people to choose it while the bad things require people to avoid it.

Bush's speech is a presidential speech that was delivered in formal circumstances. From that reason, he should be very careful in delivering a statement.

After reviewing the classification of illocutionary acts performed in Bush's speeches and observing how they were used, the most frequent types of illocutionary acts was interpreted to be the main messages. The researcher listed those messages of each speech below;

1. Data 1 Message 1: The terrorist network should be removed, since it can possibly endangers the security of nations, threaten the life of citizens, and destroy the future of a generation.

Message 2: America and its allies have already assisted and will always be ready to assist the region in the mission of spreading out freedom and democracy.

Message 3: The role played by NATO in assisting the security of the world is significantly needed.

Message 4: Democracy is the right way to build a better life of human being.

2. Data 2 Message 1: The importance of freedom and democracy as the basic need of human being should be required.

Message 2: America is ready to help Brazil especially in advancing democracy and freedom.

Message 3: America has strongly supported the development of economic freedom as one of the component of democracy.

3. Data 3 Message 1: The significant role of *the foundation for the defense of democracies* in the process of defeating terrorism must be fully supported.

Message 2: America has a strong commitment and a long-term goal that is to promote the development of democracy, to secure the peace of the world and to seek the end of tyranny in the world.

Message 3: Iraq and some other Middle Eastern countries are also committed to the progress of democracy offered by America.

Message 4: America and its allies have worked hard to solve the problem of the threat of IED (improvised explosive devices) created by terrorists.

4. Data 4 Message 1: freedom and democracy are the basic need of human being.

Message 2: The ambition of extremists is to destroy the peacefulness of human life.

Message 3: America and its allies have taken some steps to

promote freedom and remove extremists' oppression.

From the main messages listed above, the researcher concluded that the speaker shared the strong commitment of USA and its allies have taken significant steps in promoting the advance of democracy and freedom especially in the Middle Eastern countries, since both democracy and freedom become the principle of life that can possibly offer peace, secure, and wealth.

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSION AND SUGGESTION

5.1. Conclusion

Due to the research problems, the researcher found that the assertive/representative, expressive, and declarative illocutionary act that used were performed directly. Since the researcher did not find any figurative expression, ambiguous words, and connotative words which possibly led to indirect meaning, so it means that the speaker delivered messages through his speech explicitly. However, directive was not performed directly, since the speaker did not explicitly recommend, ask, demand the hearer to do something.

In accordance to this topic, Islamic studies have also developed the study of language in use, though it does not strictly discuss the types of illocutionary act. Koran, for example, as the main source of Islamic studies, contains hundreds or even thousands of illocutionary verbs. The last part of chapter two explains broader and exemplifies some illocutionary verbs in the Koran. It means, the language of the Koran itself is designed very communicatively. From *The Cow* [2.21] that says "O men! serve your Lord Who created you and those before you so that you may guard (against evil)", we clearly find "directive", one of illocutionary act types. Still, *The Cow* [2.52] that says "Then We pardoned you after that so that you might give thanks" expresses an expression of pardoning. Being known that "Expressive" is also included to the illocutionary act types. And some other expressions found in the Koran and Prophet Saying (*Hadist*) which present illocutionary verbs that represent the God's and Prophet's intention. The main consideration of these linguistics phenomena exists in Islamic studies is that

this belief also pays attention on constructing a mutual understanding in communication.

The second problem of this study questioned the basic idea of each speech. Since the researcher limited the data on the issue of democracy, so the basic ideas of Bush's speeches concern on promoting the advance of freedom and democracy and the effort of the United States and its allies in removing the act of extremists and terrorists.

The idea of democracy that linguistically also influences the formulation of illocutionary acts in Bush's speeches has become one of the main focus of Islamic studies. The Koran states clearly some principles of democracy. Let us have a look to *the Cow (al-Baqarah) 256* “[2.256] *There is no compulsion in religion; truly the right way has become clearly distinct from error; therefore, whoever disbelieves in the Shaitan and believes in Allah he indeed has laid hold on the firmest handle, which shall not break off, and Allah is Hearing, Knowing*”. What have been proposed by this verse is that every human being has a freedom to choose a belief and way of life. The 2nd verse of *al-Maidah* ([5.2])...*and help one another in goodness and piety, and do not help one another in sin and aggression; and be careful of (your duty to) Allah; surely Allah is severe in requiting (evil).*) also shared the similar idea

5.2. Suggestion

After drawing a conclusion within the data analysis, the researcher finds some points that hopefully should be covered by the next researchers. Since this study can only classify an utterance of Bush's speeches according to the five types

of illocutionary act and discuss some consideration of social setting very brief, so the next researcher must do some deep analysis and emphasize on how social setting of such utterances determine the language in use.

In accordance to the significance contribution of social setting to the work of language in use, of course there must be a person who stands behind it and as it appeared in Bush's speeches, the next researchers can possibly view how such a very important person does some linguistic manipulation to reach his purpose.

Referring to the point of linguistic manipulation, the next researchers should also draw some considerations in the way people send and respond a message. So, the civil society, especially, can objectively respond ideas, messages, or plans coming from any sources very appropriately.

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APPENDIXES

**DATA 5: PRESIDENT BUSH DISCUSSES IMPORTANCE OF
DEMOCRACY IN MIDDLE EAST (FEBRUARY 4, 2004. WASHINGTON
D.C.)**

2:31 P.M. EST

THE PRESIDENT: Thank you all very much. I'm honored to join you as we welcome a magnificent collection to the Library of Congress. I've always been a great admirer of Sir Winston Churchill, admirer of his career, admirer of his strength, admirer of his character - so much so that I keep a stern-looking bust of Sir Winston in the Oval Office. He watches my every move. (Laughter.)

Comment [EC310]: Expressive/admiring

Like few other men in this or any other age, Churchill is admired throughout the world. And through the writings and his personal effects, we feel the presence of the great man, himself. As people tour this exhibit, I'm sure they'll be able to smell the whiskey and the cigars. (Laughter.)

I appreciate Jim Billington for hosting this exhibit, and for hosting me. It's good to see Marjorie. I appreciate the members of Winston Churchill's family who have come: Lady Mary Soames, who is a daughter; Winston Churchill III, the man bears a mighty name, and his wife, Luce; Celia Sandys, who is a granddaughter. Thank you all for coming. We're honored to have you here in America.

Comment [EC311]: Expressive/appreciating

I'm pleased to see my friend, the Ambassador from the United Kingdom to America, Sir David Manning and Lady Manning here, as well. I appreciate the members of Congress who have come -- the Chairman. We've got a couple of mighty powerful people here, Winston, with us today -- Chairmen Lugar and Warner, Senator Bennett, Congressmen

Bill Young, Doug Bereuter, Jerry Lewis, Tom Petri, Vern Ehlers and Jane Harman. I'm glad you all are here, thanks for taking time to come.

This exhibit bears witness to one of the most varied and consequential lives of modern history. Churchill's 90 years on earth, joined together two ages. He stood in the presence of Queen Victoria, who first reigned in 1837. He was the Prime Minister to Elizabeth II, who reigns today. Sir Winston met Theodore Roosevelt, and he met Richard Nixon.

Comment [EC312]: Assertive/informing

Over his long career, Winston Churchill knew success and he knew failure, but he never passed unnoticed. He was a prisoner in the Boer War, a controversial strategist in the Great War. He was the rallying voice of the Second World War, and a prophet of the Cold War. He helped abolish the sweat shops. He gave coal miners an eight-hour day. He was an early advocate of the tank. And he helped draw boundary lines that remain on the map of the Middle East. He was an extraordinary man.

Comment [EC313]: Assertive/informing

Comment [EC314]: Expressive/praising

In spare moments, pacing and dictating to harried secretaries, he produced 15 books. He said, "History will be kind to me -- for I intend to write it." (Laughter.) History has been kind to Winston Churchill, as it usually is to those who help save the world.

In a decade of political exile during the 1930s, Churchill was dismissed as a nuisance and a crank. When the crisis he predicted arrived, nearly everyone knew that only one man could rescue Britain. The same trait that had made him an outcast eventually made him the leader of his country. Churchill possessed, in one writer's words, an "absolute refusal, unlike many good and prudent men around him, to compromise or to surrender."

Comment [EC315]: Assertive/informing

In the years that followed, as a great enemy was defeated, a great partnership was formed. President Franklin Roosevelt found in Churchill a confidence and resolve that equaled his

own. As they led the allies to victory, they passed many days in each other's company, and grew in respect and friendship. The President once wrote to the Prime Minister, "It is fun to be in the same decade with you." And this sense of fellowship and common purpose between our two nations continues to this day. I have also been privileged to know a fine British leader, a man of conscience and unshakable determination. In his determination to do the right thing, and not the easy thing, I see the spirit of Churchill in Prime Minister Tony Blair. (Applause.)

Comment [EC316]: Assertive/informing

Comment [EC317]: Assertive/stating

Comment [EC318]: Expressive/praising

When World War II ended, Winston Churchill immediately understood that the victory was incomplete. Half of Europe was occupied by an aggressive empire. And one of Churchill's own finest hours came after the war ended in a speech he delivered in Fulton, Missouri. Churchill warned of the new danger facing free peoples. In stark but measured tones, he spoke of the need for free nations to unite against communist expansion. Marshal Stalin denounced the speech as a "call to war." A prominent American journalist called the speech an "almost catastrophic blunder." In fact, Churchill had set a simple truth before the world: that tyranny could not be ignored or appeased without great risk. And he boldly asserted that freedom -- freedom was the right of men and women on both sides of the Iron Curtain.

Churchill understood that the Cold War was not just a standoff of armies, but a conflict of visions -- a clear divide between those who put their faith in ideologies of power, and those who put their faith in the choices of free people. The successors of Churchill and Roosevelt -- leaders like Truman, and Reagan, and Thatcher -- led a confident alliance that held firm as communism collapsed under the weight of its own contradictions.

Today, we are engaged in a different struggle. Instead of an armed empire, we face stateless networks. Instead of massed armies, we face deadly technologies that must be kept out of the hands of terrorists and outlaw regimes.

Comment [EC319]: Assertive/affirming

Yet in some ways, our current struggles or challenges are similar to those Churchill knew.

The outcome of the war on terror depends on our ability to see danger and to answer it with strength and purpose. One by one, we are finding and dealing with the terrorists,

Comment [EC320]: Assertive/stating

drawing tight what Winston Churchill called a "closing net of doom." This war also is a conflict of visions. In their worship of power, their deep hatreds, their blindness to innocence, the terrorists are successors to the murderous ideologies of the 20th century.

Comment [EC321]: Expressive/blaming

And we are the heirs of the tradition of liberty, defenders of the freedom, the conscience and the dignity of every person. Others before us have shown bravery and moral clarity in this cause. The same is now asked of us, and we accept the responsibilities of history.

The tradition of liberty has advocates in every culture and in every religion. Our great challenges support the momentum of freedom in the greater Middle East. The stakes could not be higher. As long as that region is a place of tyranny and despair and anger, it will

Comment [EC322]: Assertive/believing

produce men and movements that threaten the safety of Americans and our friends. We

seek the advance of democracy for the most practical of reasons: because democracies do not support terrorists or threaten the world with weapons of mass murder.

Comment [EC323]: Assertive/affirming

America is pursuing a forward strategy of freedom in the Middle East. We're challenging the enemies of reform, confronting the allies of terror, and expecting a higher standard from our friends. For too long, American policy looked away while men and women were

Comment [EC324]: Assertive/reporting

oppressed, their rights ignored and their hopes stifled. That era is over, and we can be

confident. As in Germany, and Japan, and Eastern Europe, liberty will overcome oppression in the Middle East. (Applause.)

Comment [EC325]: Assertive/forecasting

True democratic reform must come from within. And across the Middle East, reformers are pushing for change. From Morocco, to Jordan, to Qatar, we're seeing elections and new protections for women and the stirring of political pluralism. When the leaders of reform ask for our help, America will give it. (Applause.)

Comment [EC326]: Commisive/offering

I've asked the Congress to double the budget for the National Endowment for Democracy, raising its annual total to \$80 million. We will focus its new work on bringing free elections and free markets and free press and free speech and free labor unions to the Middle East. The National Endowment gave vital service in the Cold War, and now we are renewing its mission of freedom in the war on terror. (Applause.)

Comment [EC327]: Assertive/reporting

Comment [EC328]: Assertive/announcing

Freedom of the press and the free flow of ideas are vital foundations of liberty. To counter through the hateful propaganda that fills the airwaves in the Muslim world and to promote open debate, we're broadcasting the message of tolerance and truth in Arabic and Persian to tens of millions. In some cities of the greater Middle East, our radio stations are rated number one amongst younger listeners. Next week, we will launch a new Middle East television network called, Alhurra -- Arabic for "the free one." The network will broadcast news and movies and sports and entertainment and educational programming to millions of people across the region. Through all these efforts, we are telling the people in the

Comment [EC329]: Assertive/believing

Comment [EC330]: Assertive/reporting

Middle East the truth about the values and the policies of the United States, and the truth always serves the cause of freedom. (Applause.)

Comment [EC331]: Directive/recommending

America is also taking the side of reformers who have begun to change the Middle East.

We're providing loans and business advice to encourage a culture of entrepreneurship in the Middle East. We've established business internships for women, to teach them the skills of enterprise, and to help them achieve social and economic equality. We're supporting the work of judicial reformers who demand independent courts and the rule of law. At the request of countries in the region, we're providing Arabic language textbooks to boys and girls. We're helping education reformers improve their school systems.

Comment [EC332]: Assertive/
reporting

The message to those who long for liberty and those who work for reform is that they can be certain they have a strong ally, a constant ally in the United States of America.

Comment [EC333]: Directive/
recommending

(Applause.)

Our strategy and our resolve are being tested in two countries, in particular. The nation of Afghanistan was once the primary training ground of al Qaeda, the home of a barbaric regime called the Taliban. It now has a new constitution that guarantees free elections and full participation by women. (Applause.)

Comment [EC334]: Assertive/
boasting

The nation of Iraq was for decades an ally of terror ruled by the cruelty and caprice of one man. Today, the people of Iraq are moving toward self-government. Our coalition is

Comment [EC335]: Expressive/
blaming

working with the Iraqi Governing Council to draft a basic law with a bill of rights. Because our coalition acted, terrorists lost a source of reward money for suicide bombings. Because we acted, nations of the Middle East no longer need to fear reckless aggression from a ruthless dictator who had the intent and capability to inflict great harm on his people and people around the world. Saddam Hussein now sits in a prison cell, and Iraqi men and women are no longer carried to torture chambers and rape rooms, and dumped in

mass graves. Because the Baathist regime is history, Iraq is no longer a grave at gathering threat to free nations. Iraq is a free nation. (Applause.)

Comment [EC336]: Assertive/affirming

Freedom still has enemies in Afghanistan and Iraq. All the Baathists and Taliban and terrorists know that if democracy were to be, it would undermine violence -- their hope for violence and innocent death. They understand that if democracy were to be undermined, then the hopes for change throughout the Middle East would be set back. That's what they know. That's what they think. We know that the success of freedom in these nations would be a landmark event in the history of the Middle East, and the history of the world. Across the region, people would see that freedom is the path to progress and national dignity. A thousand lies would stand refuted, falsehoods about the incompatibility of democratic values in Middle Eastern cultures. And all would see, in Afghanistan and Iraq, the success of free institutions at the heart of the greater Middle East.

Comment [EC337]: Commisive/promising

Achieving this vision will be the work of many nations over time, requiring the same strength of will and confidence of purpose that propelled freedom to victory in the defining struggles of the last century. Today, we're at a point of testing, when people and nations show what they're made out of. America will never be intimidated by thugs and assassins. We will do what it takes. We will not leave until the job is done. (Applause.)

Comment [EC338]: Commisive/promising

We will succeed because when given a choice, people everywhere, from all walks of life, from all religions, prefer freedom to violence and terror. We will succeed because human beings are not made by the Almighty God to live in tyranny. We will succeed because who we are -- because even when it is hard, Americans always do what is right.

Comment [EC339]: Assertive/forecasting

Comment [EC340]: Commisive/promising

And we know the work that has fallen to this generation. When great striving is required of us, we will always have an example in the man we honor today. Winston Churchill was a man of extraordinary personal gifts, yet his greatest strength was his unshakable confidence in the power and appeal of freedom. It was the great fortune of mankind that he was there in an hour of peril. And it remains the great duty of mankind to advance the cause of freedom in our time.

Comment [EC341]: Expressive/praising

May God bless the memory of Winston Churchill. May God continue to bless the United States of America. (Applause.)

END 2:52 P.M. EST

An explanation of an analysis above, (February 4, 2004)

S: the speaker/ H: the hearer

Comment EC1: S expresses his admiration to Sir Winston Churchill's successful career and good personality. Churchill's best work are being collected and appreciated by the government of USA.

Comment EC2: S expresses his feeling of appreciation on the exhibition hosted by the government and he honors Churchill's family who are in the place at the moment.

Comment EC3: to open the talk in that exhibition, S is giving brief information about an autobiography of Churchill and at once praising o his hard effort.

Comment EC4: S clearly tells the career process of Churchill in a bit detail, how he was in jailed, how he was being a leader, and so on.

Comment EC5: S expresses his approval toward the hard effort of Winston Churchill.

Comment EC6: Still, S tells the brief history of Churchill regarding to his political movement.

Comment EC7: S explicitly wants to inform audiences about one of the most important person in the history of America, Sir Winston Churchill, his effort in carrying America to Victory, his meeting to Roosevelt which then created a good fellowship and common purpose. S implicitly states that British and America have been in partner since long time ago, therefore both two countries should be an ally in the recent time for their common purpose

Comment EC8: Still, S adds the information about Churchill by underlining his argument about the necessity to ignore the tyranny.

Comment EC9: S expresses his approval to PM Tony Blair who has a common spirit to Churchill.

Comment EC10: after telling what Churchill argued about tyranny, S affirms him by purposing the case about the deadly technology in relation to the terrorist. S implicitly advises people to keep technology from terrorist.

Comment EC11: S clearly states the final decision of war on terror depends mainly to the nation itself. What would be planned, how it would work, and so on.

Comment EC12: S actually blames the purpose of terrorists that share the concept of hatred, blindness to innocence, and claimed as murderous ideology.

Comment EC13: S basically claims that the tyranny offers an anger and hatred which possibly threaten the safety of the country, especially America and its allies. Through this utterance, the speaker believes that his proposition is true.

Comment EC14: S affirms his previous utterance by giving an antithesis of choosing democracy as an alternative ideology of nation to avoid such brutality and discrimination and to take away out the basic idea of such terrorism that is the use of mass murder and weapons as the way to achieve certain goal. At once, the speaker implicitly would like to invite some other countries to use democracy as the concept of national life.

Comment EC15: S straightly reports the decision that is made by American in the case of war on terrorism and seeking for freedom in Middle East. This utterance simply means that according to the speaker himself, Middle East is the place of terrorism where people are threatened and must be saved from the mass murder and weapons. S probably would like also to advise the hearer to view Middle East as the right place where the operation of freedom must be completed.

Comment EC16: S forecasts that the operation of freedom in the Middle East will be completed as it happened in Germany, Japan, and Eastern Europe.

Comment EC17: S offers America's help in promoting democracy and freedom.

Comment EC18: S shows that he is very serious in socializing the concept of democracy trough out the world; one of the steps taken is to raise the national budget for the process of reconciliation.

Comment EC19: S announces and explains in detail what the budget will be used for. He clearly lists and announce to the public several sectors to be focused on reforming democracy in Middle East; election, trade and market, press, speech, and labor union.

Comment EC20: In relation to his explanation about some sectors that must be fulfilled in the process of refining democracy in Middle East, S asserts the freedom of press as the fundamental point in the building of freedom and liberty. By stating this statement, S proposes his belief on that point of view.

Comment EC21: S reports strategies offered by his government to complete the mission of liberty in Middle East. He uses mass media to help building up freedom and democracy issue spread out trough out Middle East. The crucial point is that according to him, Muslim world must reconsider some concept of life.

Comment EC22: S explicitly explains the objective of those efforts listed previously and what the United States tends to achieve. By doing this, S seems to ensure the public about the significant contribution of America in holding up this program in the Middle East. At once, S recommends public to do so.

Comment EC23: S basically affirms his statement by reporting some steps have taken in helping Middle East reaching their liberty. In the broader sense, S implicitly offers some help for other countries that need such similar assistance to the Middle East.

Comment EC24: S explicitly affirms his previous statement about the readiness of the United States to help to achieve democracy, however S implicitly supports and recommends everyone who dedicated himself in refining the concept of democracy to have USA as an ally.

Comment EC25: S supports his previous statement by giving a proof that USA's strategy has been successfully completed in particular regions. S boasts this successfulness.

Comment EC26: S informs the condition of Iraq under the tyranny of Saddam Hussein until the coming of freedom. S implicitly blames and wants hearers compare both two conditions and choose one of them that are better.

Comment EC27: S explicitly affirms his information about the condition of Afghanistan and Iraq by telling the mission of Baathists and Taliban in removing democracy. S proposes some facts before (again) offering the positive effect carried by the concept of freedom.

Comment EC28: S explicitly promises to complete the entire Middle East project and to give up until every single step completely done.

Comment EC29: S optimistically believes that the project in Middle East will be done successfully since everyone accordingly has his or her own right to be free from any violence.

Comment EC30: S forecasts the successfulness of America in building up freedom in Middle East based on his confidence of the right step taken by America.

Comment EC31: S makes a clear promise to complete the mission.

Comment EC32: To close his speech, S expresses his admiration to Winston Churchill.

The composition of illocutionary act in Bush's speech above and its manner of expression;

- A. *Assertive/representative* is mostly performed by the speaker. In detail, the speaker intends to inform, report, affirm, and conclude an advance of democracy more than to state, predict, forecast, believe, announce, and boast. The speaker performs assertive illocutionary acts including informing, predicting, affirming, and etc. very explicit without any connotative words, ambiguous expressions, and figurative sentences.
- B. *Expressive* becomes the second important point after *assertive* that the speaker intends to use in his speech. In detail, the speaker supposed to praise to god in having freedom and admire the struggle of Sir Winston Churchill especially in dedicating himself in the process of promoting democracy and liberty. The way the speaker performs expressive illocutionary acts was also

very explicit or direct since it is an official speech, so there were possibly some direct appreciations and praises to somebody or something.

- C. *Directive* is rarely performed by the speaker. In directing the hearers, the speaker mostly intends to recommend and advise the hearers and American's allies to stand for reforming liberty and democracy especially in the Middle East. In the way the speaker recommends and advises the hearers, he did not directly use an imperative sentence or strictly came to the verbs of commanding and advice. The speaker recommended/directed the hearer by giving the real example of the success of democracy, stating a good side of democracy especially in the Middle Eastern in order to be followed.
- D. *Commissive* is also rarely performed by the speaker. In specific, the speaker intends to make a promise for completing the mission in promoting democracy and to offer a help from America and its allies for those who are committed to support freedom and democracy. In some cases, the speaker used explicit and clear commissive expressions, such as offering USA's helps in supporting the advance of democracy, however in other case, the speaker shares an implicit promise to reach something (completing the mission in the Middle East).

Messages that expressed in Bush's speeches above

Assertive/representative becomes an illocutionary act types which mostly appeared in data 5, so the researcher concludes the main message of Bush's speech from this types of illocutionary acts.

Message 1: the spreading of democracy throughout the world must be completed, since democracy does not allow tyranny, threat, and discrimination.

The researcher underlines such utterances that stand for the similar intention. The utterances are below;

We seek the advance of democracy for the most practical reason: because democracy do not support terrorists threaten the world with weapons of mass murder. (Comment EC14: Assertive-affirming)

Freedom of the press and the free flow of ideas are vital foundation of liberty. (Comment EC20: Assertive-believing)

We will succeed because when given a choice, people everywhere, from all walks of life, from all religions, prefer freedom to violence and terror. We will succeed because human beings are not made by the almighty god to live in tyranny.

(Comment EC30: Assertive-forecasting)

Message 2: America will be glad to help region in reforming freedom and democracy.

The researcher underlines such utterances that stand for the similar intention. The utterances are below;

America is pursuing a forward strategy of freedom in the Middle East. We're challenging the enemies of reform, confronting the allies of terror, and expecting a higher standard from our friends. (Comment EC15: Assertive-reporting)

When the leaders of reform ask our help, America will give it. (Comment EC17: Commissive-offering)

Through these efforts, we're telling the people in the Middle East the truth about the values and the policies of the United States, and the truth always serves the cause of freedom. (Comment EC22: Directive/recommending)

We're providing loans and business advice to encourage a culture of entrepreneurship in the Middle East. We've established business internship for women, to teach them the skills of enterprise, and to help them achieve social and economical equality. (Comment EC23: Assertive-reporting)

The message to those who long for liberty and those who work for reform is that they can certain they have a strong ally, a constant ally in the United States of America. (Comment EC24: Directive-recommending)

Data 6: President discusses freedom and democracy (March 29, 2005. The Rose Garden. White House)

11:25 A.M. EST

THE PRESIDENT: Thank you all. Thank you. Good morning. Welcome to the White House. Please be seated. Senator Warner, it's good to see you, sir. Thank you for coming.

I appreciate citizens from Iraq who have joined us. I appreciate my fellow citizens who have joined us. Thanks for coming.

Comment [a342]: Expressive/thanking

Before I talk about Iraq, I do want to say that on behalf of the American people, Laura and I offer our condolences to the victims of yesterday's earthquake in Indonesia. This

Comment [a343]: Expressive/condoling

earthquake has claimed lives and destroyed buildings in a part of Indonesia that is only now beginning to recover from the destruction caused by the tsunami three months ago.

Comment [a344]: Assertive/informing

Our officials have offered initial assistance and are moving quickly to gather information to determine what additional relief is needed.

Comment [a345]: Assertive/reporting

I appreciate Andrew Natsios of USAID being with us today, and I know he and his team are ready to respond, to help. People of Indonesia can know, as well, that they have our prayers and that our government is ready to assist.

Comment [a346]: Commisive/offering

Just a few minutes ago I met with a group of people dedicated to building a new Iraq. Most of them were born in Iraq. They come from different backgrounds; they practice different religions; they have one thing in common -- they all voted in the January elections. (Applause.)

Comment [a347]: Assertive/reporting

We're also joined today by Iraqi law students visiting the United States for an international competition, by members of Iraq's religious communities in town to learn about democracy, and by others who helped organize the -- Iraq's elections held in the United States. I want to welcome you all. I want to thank you for your strong belief in democracy and freedom. It's a belief that, with their vote, the Iraqi people signal to the world that they intend to claim their liberty and build a future of freedom for their country. And it was a powerful signal.

Comment [a348]: Expressive/thanking

Comment [a349]: Assertive/affirming

I commend the more than 8 million Iraqis who defied the car bombers and assassins to vote that day. (Applause.) I appreciate the determination of the Iraqi electoral workers who withstood threats and intimidation to make a transparent election possible. I salute the courageous Iraqi security forces who risked their lives to protect voters.

Comment [a350]: Expressive/appreciating

By electing 275 men and women to the transitional national assembly, the Iraqi people took another bold step toward self-government. Today, Iraqis took another step on the

road to a free society when the assembly held its second meeting. We expect a new government will be chosen soon and that the assembly will vote to confirm it. We look forward to working with the government that emerges from this process. We're confident that this new government will be inclusive, will respect human rights, and will uphold fundamental freedoms for all Iraqis.

Comment [a351]: Directive/recommending

Comment [a352]: Assertive/pr editing

We have seen many encouraging signs in Iraq. The world has watched Iraqi women vote in enormous numbers. (Applause.) The world has seen more than 80 women take their seats as elected representatives in the new assembly. (Applause.) We've also seen the beginnings of a new national dialogue, as leaders who did well in the last election have reached out to Sunnis who did not participate.

Comment [a353]: Expressive/ saluting

In a democracy, the government must uphold the will of the majority while respecting the rights of minorities. (Applause.) And Iraq's new leaders are determined that the government of a free Iraq will be representative of their country's diverse population. The new transitional national assembly includes people and parties with differing visions for the future of their country. In a democratic Iraq, these differences will be resolved through debate and persuasion, instead of force and intimidation.

Comment [a354]: Directive/de manding

In forming their new government, the Iraqis have shown that the spirit of compromise has survived more than three decades of dictatorship. They will need that spirit in the weeks and months ahead, as they continue the hard work of building their democracy. After choosing the leaders of their new government, the next step will be the drafting of a new constitution for a free and democratic Iraq. In October, that document is scheduled to be put before the Iraqi people in a national referendum. Once the new constitution is approved, Iraqis will return to the polls to elect a permanent, constitutional government.

Comment [a355]: Assertive/re porting

This democracy will need defending. And Iraqi security forces are taking on greater responsibility in the fight against the insurgents and terrorists. Today, more than 145,000

Comment [a356]: Directive/mandating

Iraqis have been trained and are serving courageously across Iraq. In recent weeks, they've taken the lead in offensive operations in places like Baghdad and Samara and Mosul. We will continue to train Iraqis so they can take responsibility for the security of their country, and then our forces will come home with the honor they've earned.

Comment [a357]: Assertive/reporting

Comment [a358]: Declaration/declaring

(Applause.)

Iraqis are taking big steps on a long journey of freedom. A free society requires more than free elections; it also requires free institutions, a vibrant civil society, rule of law, anti-corruption, and the habits of liberty built over generations. By claiming their own freedom, the Iraqis are transforming the region, and they're doing it by example and inspiration, rather than by conquest and domination. (Applause.) The free people of Iraq

Comment [a359]: Directive/mandating

are now doing what Saddam Hussein never could -- making Iraq a positive example for the entire Middle East. (Applause.)

Comment [a360]: Directive/ensuring

Today, people in a long-troubled part of the world are standing up for their freedom. In

Comment [a361]: Assertive/concluding

the last few months, we've witnessed successful elections in Afghanistan, Iraq, and the Palestinian Territories; peaceful demonstrations on the streets of Beirut, and steps toward democratic reform in places like Egypt and Saudi Arabia. The trend is clear: Freedom is

Comment [a362]: Assertive/reporting

on the march. Freedom is the birthright and deep desire of every human soul, and spreading freedom's blessings is the calling of our time. And when freedom and democracy take root in the Middle East, America and the world will be safer and more peaceful. (Applause.)

Comment [a363]: Assertive/believing

I want to thank you all for coming. We ask for God's blessings on the brave souls of Iraq and God continue to bless the American people. Thank you. (Applause.)

Comment [a364]: Directive/asking

END 11:35 A.M. EST

An explanation of a brief analysis above. (March 29, 2005)

S : the speaker/ H : the hearer

Comment a1: S expresses his thanking to some of the important person

Comment a2: S shares his condolence to the victims of Indonesian earthquakes.

Comment a3: S informs the hearers about the condition of environment in a part of Indonesia caused by Tsunami.

Comment a4: S reports that the government of United States has already assisted an aid for the victims.

Comment a5: S ensures that United States will always be ready to offer a help.

Comment a6: S opens the case by reporting his last activity with some Iraqis who have practiced democracy by voting in the January election.

Comment a7: S explicitly expresses his thankfulness for Iraqi's belief on democracy and freedom that supposedly proposed by him.

Comment a8: S actually affirms his appreciation to the people of Iraq who strongly supports democracy and freedom as stated previously by ensuring them that to choose democracy means support the development of Iraq.

Comment a9: S appreciates the people of Iraq who agree and follow the suggestion to leave brutality and take democracy as the concept of life, the workers who dedicated themselves to form fair election, and the security forces who protect the voters.

Comment a10: Firstly, S reports the process of election for the Transitional National Assembly briefly before stating implicitly about recommending the new Iraq government to work with United States.

Comment a11: S predicts that the new government will require some basic needs of the people, such as respecting human rights and upholding freedoms.

Comment a12: S salutes to see progress in Iraq, especially in reforming the new assembly as the representative of the concept of democracy.

Comment a13: S explicitly states one of fundamental requirements in democracy that is the equality among societies. It can be inferred from this statement that S implicitly demands the principle of equality must be done successfully.

Comment 14: S reports what agenda will be conducted in Iraq in the process of renewing the government starting from electing leaders, drafting a constitution, and electing a permanent constitutional government. At once, S may also recommend those steps to be done.

Comment a15: Explicitly, S wants to inform the hearers about the need to defend democracy, but implicitly S recommends Iraqi security forces to protect the process of reforming democracy from terrorists who according to him truly does not want democracy is reformed in Iraq.

Comment a16: To affirm his recommendation above, S reports that there are numbers of security forces who have operated in particular area in Iraq.

Comment a17: S explicitly declares that United States and its allies have taken a part and will always keep up in training Iraqi security forces.

Comment a18: By explaining some other requirements of being free society, such as reforming a vibrant civil society, rule of law, anti-corruption, and habits of liberty, S implicitly demands the government of Iraq to make those requirements come into exist.

Comment a19: S ensures the hearers that he completely believes that Iraqis are able to create clear progress for the country, especially in removing tyranny.

Comment a20: After telling about the process of reforming democracy in Iraq, S concludes his speech by stating that Iraq is not the only one country following the practice of democracy but there are many particular parts of the world do the same thing.

Comment a21: To strengthen his idea, S reports some successful election in particular region.

Comment a22: To ensure what have been stated, S shows his belief that freedom is the best way to reach peace in America and the world.

Comment a23: To close his speech, S asks God's blessing for Iraqi and American people.

The composition of illocutionary act in Bush's speech above and its manner of expression;

- A. *Assertive/representative* is the type of illocutionary act that mostly performed by the speaker in this occasion. He intends to report America's aid given to the victim of tsunami in Indonesia, the recent situation in Iraq where democracy has been started to be practiced, and some steps implemented by U.S. And its coalition in Iraq, while to inform, believe, predict, and conclude as another illocutionary verbs are rarely performed. The speaker performs assertive illocutionary acts including reporting, informing, and etc. in an explicit way by disappearing connotative words, ambiguous expressions, and figurative sentences.
- B. *Directive* is the type of illocutionary act that also performed quiet often. In detail, the speaker performs recommending, demanding, and ensuring to instruct or aim something. However, all these acts are not performed explicitly. The speaker seems only to state something very firmly. The speaker recommended/directed the hearer by stating a good effect of democracy especially in the Middle Eastern in order to be followed.
- C. *Expressive* is the type of illocutionary act that commonly performed in every speech. The speaker intends to appreciate an effort of Iraq security forces

that have protected voters, to salute for the motivation of Iraq people in giving a good response to democracy, to condole the tsunami's victim in Indonesia, and to thank to the member of congress and some Iraq citizens who join the meeting. The way the speaker performs expressive illocutionary acts including appreciating, saluting, thanking and condoling was also very explicit or direct.

- D. *Commissive* is used by the speaker to offer a help and prayer for the victim of tsunami in Indonesia. In this case, the speaker used an explicit and clear commissive expression, such as offering USA's helps for assisting the government of Indonesia concerning victims of Tsunami.
- E. *Declaration* is performed by the speaker to declare an Iraqi forces training program that will be continuously conducted by the United States. The speaker performed an explicit expression of declaration.

Messages that expressed in Bush's speeches above

Assertive/representative becomes an illocutionary act types which mostly appeared in data 6, so the researcher concludes the main message of Bush's speech from this types of illocutionary acts.

Message 1: the transformation of democracy in Iraq shows its brighter future.

The researcher underlines such utterances that stand for the similar intention. The utterances are below;

Just a few minutes ago I met with a group of people dedicated to building a new Iraq. Most of them were born in Iraq. They come from different backgrounds; they

practice different religions; they have one thing in common -- they all voted in the January elections. (Comment a6: Assertive-reporting)

I want to thank you for your strong belief in democracy and freedom. It's a belief that, with their vote, the Iraqi people signal to the world that they intend to claim their liberty and build a future of freedom for their country. And it was a powerful signal. (Comment a8: Assertive-affirming)

In the last few months, we've witnessed successful elections in Afghanistan, Iraq, and the Palestinian territories; peaceful demonstrations on the streets of Beirut, and steps toward democratic reform in places like Egypt and Saudi Arabia.

(Comment a21: Assertive-reporting)

Message 2: The suggestion to keep democracy stays alive, since it creates peace and better life.

The researcher underlines such utterances that stand for the similar intention. The utterances are below;

Today, people in a long-troubled part of the world are standing up for their freedom. (Comment a20: Assertive-concluding)

A free society requires more than free elections; it also requires free institutions, a vibrant civil society, rule of law, anti-corruption, and the habits of liberty built over generations. By claiming their own freedom, the Iraqis are transforming the region, and they're doing it by example and inspiration, rather than by conquest and domination. (Comment a18: Directive-demanding)

The trend is clear: freedom is on the march. Freedom is the birthright and deep desire of every human soul and spreading freedom's blessings is the calling of our

time. And when freedom and democracy take root in the Middle East, America and the world will be safer and more peaceful. (Comment a22: Assertive-believing)

Data 7: President Bush's speech: democracy in Iraq (December 2, 2006)

Good morning. I returned home this week from a visit to the Middle East. On my trip, I met with Prime Minister Maliki of Iraq to discuss how we can improve the situation on the ground in his country and help the Iraqis build a lasting democracy.

Comment [a365]: Assertive/reporting

My meeting with Prime Minister Maliki was our third since he took office six months ago.

With each meeting, I'm coming to know him better, and I'm becoming more impressed by his desire to make the difficult choices that will put his country on a better path. During

Comment [a366]: Assertive/reporting

meeting, I told the Prime Minister that America is ready to make changes to better support the unity government of Iraq, and that several key principles will guide our efforts.

Comment [a367]: Commissive/offering

Comment [a368]: Assertive/announcing

First, the success of Prime Minister Maliki's government is critical to success in Iraq. His unity government was chosen through free elections in which nearly 12 million Iraqis cast their ballots in support of democracy. Our goal in Iraq is to strengthen his democratic government and help Iraq's leaders build a free nation that can govern itself, sustain it and defend itself -- and is an ally in the war on terror.

Comment [a369]: Assertive/announcing

Second, the success of the Iraqi government depends on the success of the Iraqi security forces. The training of Iraqi security forces has been steady, yet we both agreed that we need to do more, and we need to do it faster. The Prime Minister wants to show the people he elected him that he's willing to make the hard decisions necessary to provide security.

Comment [a370]: Directive/ensuring

Comment [a371]: Assertive/affirming

Comment [a372]: Assertive/informing

To do that, he needs larger and more capable Iraqi forces under his control, and he needs them quickly. By helping Iraq's elected leaders get the Iraqi forces they need, we will help Iraq's democratic government become more effective in fighting the terrorists and violent extremists, and in providing security and stability, particularly in Baghdad.

Comment [a373]: Commissive/volunteering

Third, success in Iraq requires strong institutions that will stand the test of time and hardship. Our goal in Iraq is to help Prime Minister Maliki build a country that is united, where the rule of law prevails and the rights of minorities are respected. The Prime Minister made clear that splitting his country into parts is not what the Iraqi people want and that any partition of Iraq would lead to an increase in sectarian violence.

Comment [a374]: Assertive/announcing

Security in Iraq requires sustained action by the Iraqi security forces, yet in the long term, security in Iraq hinges on reconciliation among Iraq's different ethnic and religious communities. And the Prime Minister has committed his government to achieving that goal.

The Prime Minister and I also discussed the review of America's strategy in Iraq that is now nearing completion. As part of this review, I've asked our military leaders in the Pentagon and those on the ground in Iraq to provide their recommendations on the best way forward.

Comment [a375]: Assertive/reporting

Comment [a376]: Directive/demanding

A bipartisan panel, led by former Secretary of State James Baker and former Congressman Lee Hamilton, is also conducting a review. And I look forward to receiving their report next week. I want to hear all advice before I make any decisions about adjustments to our strategy in Iraq.

Comment [a377]: Directive/questioning

I recognize that the recent violence in Iraq has been unsettling. Many people in our country are wondering about the way forward. The work ahead will not be easy, yet by helping Prime Minister Maliki strengthen Iraq's democratic institutions and promote national

reconciliation, our military leaders and diplomats can help put Iraq on a solid path to liberty and democracy. The decisions we make in Iraq will be felt across the broader Middle East.

Comment [a378]: Directive/bidding

Failure in Iraq would embolden the extremists who hate America and want nothing more than to see our demise. It would strengthen the hand of those who are seeking to undermine young democracies across the region and give the extremists an open field to overthrow moderate governments, take control of countries, impose their rule on millions, and threaten the American people. Our Nation must not allow this to happen.

Comment [a379]: Assertive/forecasting

Success in Iraq will require leaders in Washington -- Republicans and Democrats alike -- to come together and find greater consensus on the best path forward. So I will work with leaders in both parties to achieve this goal. Together we can help Iraqis build a free and democratic nation in the heart of the Middle East, strengthen moderates and reformers across the region who are working for peace, and leave our children and grandchildren a secure and hopeful world.

Comment [a380]: Assertive/suggesting

Our Nation must not allow this to happen.

Comment [a381]: Directive/ensuring

Our Nation must not allow this to happen.

Comment [a382]: Directive/forbidding

Success in Iraq will require leaders in Washington -- Republicans and Democrats alike -- to come together and find greater consensus on the best path forward. So I will work with leaders in both parties to achieve this goal. Together we can help Iraqis build a free and democratic nation in the heart of the Middle East, strengthen moderates and reformers across the region who are working for peace, and leave our children and grandchildren a secure and hopeful world.

Comment [a383]: Assertive/predicting

Together we can help Iraqis build a free and democratic nation in the heart of the Middle East, strengthen moderates and reformers across the region who are working for peace, and leave our children and grandchildren a secure and hopeful world.

Comment [a384]: Assertive/suggesting

Together we can help Iraqis build a free and democratic nation in the heart of the Middle East, strengthen moderates and reformers across the region who are working for peace, and leave our children and grandchildren a secure and hopeful world.

Thank you for listening.

An explanation of an analysis above (December 2, 2006)

S : the speaker/ H : the hearer

Comment a1: S reports his visit to the Middle East and his meeting with Prime Minister Maliki to talk about America's help in forming democracy in Iraq.

Comment a2: Still, S reports what have been discussed in his meeting. S also shows his impression to the spirit of Prime Minister Maliki in reforming the new Iraq.

Comment a3: S offers America that is ready to help Iraq to strengthen the new government.

Comment a4: S explicitly lists and announces several points to be reconsidered in the effort of helping Iraq in reforming democracy.

Comment a5: S clearly announces the United States purpose in Iraq that is to spread the spirit of democracy, help Iraq reach free society, and invite Iraq as an ally in the war on terror.

Comment a6: S ensures that the successfulness of reforming democracy relies on the power of Iraqi security forces. S implicitly advises Iraq government to focus mainly in strengthening the security forces to achieve the goal.

Comment a7: S affirms his statement stated that the first step to do is empowering security forces by informing that the government of Iraq and United States has made an agreement on reformulating the system of security forces training.

Comment a8: Still, S basically wants to affirm his previous statement by informing Prime Minister Maliki's desire to make Iraq more secure.

Comment a9: S basically offers some helps especially in empowering Iraq forces. S also ensures that by assisting Iraq in managing the system of security, it means making the world, especially Baghdad is safer from terrorists and extremists.

Comment a10: S announces another United States' goal in Iraq that is to reach the unity of the country where laws and minorities' rights are fully respected.

Comment a11: S reports his discussion with Prime Minister Maliki regarding to America's strategy in Iraq.

Comment a12: S explicitly reports that he has consulted with leaders in Pentagon about the pay such attention to complete America's strategy in Iraq. At once, S also demands especially America's military leaders to focus on formulating the security system in Iraq.

Comment a13: Regarding to America's strategy in Iraq, S requests a report of a bipartisan panel discussing the security system in Iraq to be used as consideration.

Comment a14: S bids that the work in helping Iraq in the process of reconciliation will be very hard but the spread of democracy as the final result will be very useful.

Comment a15: Confidently S forecasts that the work in Iraq will be successfully done and then give a useful contribution in the broader Middle East.

Comment a16: Though explicitly S simply states the case but implicitly he want to suggest to the hearers to fully support all America's decision regarding to Iraq in order not to make extremists embolden because of the failure of America.

Comment a17: S ensures the hearers by opening some possibilities made by an extremist that probably threaten the American people.

Comment a18: In conclusion, S forbids the hearers, especially and the American people generally from letting the extremist take an action.

Comment a19: S predicts that Iraq's successfulness will employ American leaders in working together to help Iraq reforming the free nation.

Comment a20: Before closing the speech, S suggests and invites America people to support democracy and freedom in Iraq in order to safe the world.

The composition of illocutionary act in Bush's speech above and its manner of expression;

- A. *Assertive/representative* is commonly performed as in other the speaker's speech. In this speech, he intends to report his visit to the Middle East, to announce the basic goal of helping Iraq achieve its democracy, to affirm the fact that Iraq must relies on itself, and to inform the real progress made by Iraq in reconstructing democracy and freedom. The speaker performs assertive illocutionary acts including reporting, announcing, affirming, and informing in an explicit expression. There were no connotative words, ambiguous expressions, and figurative sentences.
- B. *Directive* takes a place quite often. The speaker intends to ensure that the independent of Iraqi forces will help much in securing Iraq territories. He also demands military leaders in pentagon to work harder in completing the mission. In the way the speaker ensured and demanded, he did not directly since it was shared the real example of the success of democracy, stating a good side of democracy especially in the Middle Eastern in order to be followed.
- C. *Commissive* is performed not very often. The speaker only offers a strong commitment to help Iraq achieve democracy and freedom. He also volunteers

America and the coalition to fight for terrorists and provide security particularly in Baghdad. In this point, the speaker used explicit and clear commissive expressions of offering USA's helps in supporting the advance of democracy in Iraq and of volunteering USA and its coalition to fight for terrorist.

Messages that expressed in Bush's speeches above

Assertive/representative becomes an illocutionary act types which mostly appeared in data 7, so the researcher concludes the main message of Bush's speech from Assertive illocutionary acts and few other types (directive and commissive) as supporting argument.

Message 1: America supports and helps Iraq in the process of reconstructing democracy.

The researcher underlines such utterances that stand for the similar intention. The utterances are below;

I returned home this week from a visit to the Middle East. On my trip, I met with Prime Minister Maliki of Iraq to discuss how we can improve the situation on the ground in his country and help the Iraqis build a lasting democracy. (Comment

a1: Assertive-reporting)

I told the prime minister that America is ready to make changes to better support the unity government of Iraq. (Comment a3: Commissive-offering)

The prime minister and I also discussed the review of America's strategy in Iraq that is now nearing completion. As part of this review, I've asked our military leaders in the pentagon and those on the ground in Iraq to provide their

recommendations on the best way forward. (Comment a11: Assertive-reporting)

Message 2: America has clear goals in helping Iraq achieve democracy.

The researcher underlines such utterances that stand for the similar intention. The utterances are below;

By helping Iraq's elected leaders get the Iraqi forces they need, we will help Iraq's democratic government become more effective in fighting the terrorists and other violent extremists, and in providing security and stability, particularly in Baghdad. (Comment a9: Commissive-volunteering)

Our goal in Iraq is to strengthen his democratic government and help Iraq's leaders build a free nation that can govern itself, sustain itself, and defend itself -- and is an ally in the war on terror. (Comment a5: Assertive-announcing)

Our goal in Iraq is to help Prime Minister Maliki build a country that is united, where the rule of law prevails and the rights of minorities are respected.

(Comment a10: Assertive-announcing)

The work ahead will not be easy, yet by helping Prime Minister Maliki strengthen Iraq's democratic institutions and promote national reconciliation, our military leaders and diplomats can help put Iraq on a solid path to liberty and democracy. Together we can help Iraqis build a free and democratic nation in the heart of the middle east, strengthen moderates and reformers across the region who are working for peace, and leave our children and grandchildren a more secure and hopeful world. (Comment a14: Directive-bidding)

President Bush Discusses Democracy, Freedom From Turkey

REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT

IN ISTANBUL, TURKEY

AS PREPARED FOR DELIVERY

Distinguished guests, ladies and gentlemen: Laura and I are grateful for the warm hospitality we have received these past three days in the Republic of Turkey. I am honored to visit this beautiful country where two continents meet - a nation that upholds great traditions, and faces the future with confidence. And America is honored to call Turkey an ally and a friend.

Many Americans trace their heritage to Turkey, and Turks have contributed greatly to our national life - including, most recently, a lot of baskets for the Detroit Pistons from Mehmet Okur. I know you're proud that this son of your country helped to win an NBA championship, and America is proud of him as well.

I am grateful to Prime Minister Erdogan and President Sezer for hosting the members of NATO in an historic time for our alliance. For most of its history, NATO existed to deter aggression from a powerful army at the heart of Europe. In this century, NATO looks outward to new threats that gather in secret and bring sudden violence to peaceful cities. We face terrorist networks that rejoice when parents bury their murdered children, or bound men plead for their lives. We face outlaw regimes that give aid and shelter to these killers, and seek weapons of mass murder. We face the challenges of corruption and poverty and disease, which throw whole nations into chaos and despair - the conditions in which terrorism can thrive.

Some on both sides of the Atlantic have questioned whether the NATO alliance still has a great purpose. To find that purpose, they only need to open their eyes. The dangers are in plain sight. The only question is whether we will confront them, or look away and pay a terrible cost.

Over the last few years, NATO has made its decision. Our alliance is restructuring to oppose threats that arise beyond the borders of Europe. NATO is providing security in Afghanistan. NATO has agreed to help train the security forces of a sovereign Iraq - a great advantage and crucial success for the Iraqi people. And in Istanbul we have dedicated ourselves to the advance of reform in the broader Middle East, because all people deserve a just government, and because terror is not the tool of the free. Through decades of the Cold War, our great alliance of liberty never failed in its duties - and we are rising to our duties once again.

The Turkish people understand the terrorists, because you have seen their work, even in the last few days. You have heard the sirens, and witnessed the carnage,

and mourned the dead. After the murders of Muslims, Christians, and Jews in Istanbul last November, a resident of this city said of the terrorists, "They do not have any religion ... They are friends of evil." In one of the attacks, a Muslim woman lost her son Ahmet, her daughter-in-law Berta, and her unborn grandchild. She said, "Today I'm saying goodbye to my son. Tomorrow I'm saying farewell to my Berta. I don't know what [the killers] wanted from my kids. Were they jealous of their happiness?"

The Turkish people have grieved, but your nation is also showing how terrorist violence will be overcome - with courage, and with a firm resolve to defend your just and tolerant society. This land has always been important for its geography - here at the meeting place of Europe, Asia, and the Middle East. Now Turkey has assumed even greater historical importance, because of your character as a nation. Turkey is a strong, secular democracy, a majority Muslim society, and a close ally of free nations. Your country, with 150 years of democratic and social reform, stands as a model to others, and as Europe's bridge to the wider world. Your success is vital to a future of progress and peace in Europe and in the broader Middle East - and the Republic of Turkey can depend on the support and friendship of the United States.

For decades, my country has supported greater unity in Europe - to secure liberty, build prosperity, and remove sources of conflict on this continent. Now the European Union is considering the admission of Turkey, and you are moving rapidly to meet the criteria for membership. Mustafa Kemal Atatürk had a vision of Turkey as a strong nation among other European nations. That dream can be realized by this generation of Turks. America believes that as a European power, Turkey belongs in the European Union. Your membership would also be a crucial advance in relations between the Muslim world and the West, because you are part of both. Including Turkey in the EU would prove that Europe is not the exclusive club of a single religion, and it would expose the "clash of civilizations" as a passing myth of history. Fifteen years ago, an artificial line that divided Europe -- drawn at Yalta - was erased. Now this continent has the opportunity to erase another artificial division - by fully including Turkey in it

Turkey has found its place in the community of democracies by living out its own principles. Muslims are called to seek justice - fairness to all, care for the stranger, compassion for those in need. And you have learned that democracy is the surest way to build a society of justice. The best way to prevent corruption and abuse of power is to hold rulers accountable. The best way to ensure fairness to all is to establish the rule of law. The best way to honor human dignity is to protect human rights. Turkey has found what nations of every culture and every region have found: If justice is the goal, then democracy is the answer.

In some parts of the world, especially in the Middle East, there is wariness toward democracy, often based on misunderstanding. Some people in Muslim cultures identify democracy with the worst of Western popular culture, and want no part of it. And I assure them, when I speak about the blessings of liberty, coarse videos and crass commercialism are not what I have in mind. There is nothing incompatible between democratic values and high standards of decency. For the sake of their families and their culture, citizens of a free society have every right to strive peacefully for a moral society.

Democratic values also do not require citizens to abandon their faith. No democracy can allow religious people to impose their own view of perfection on others, because this invites cruelty and arrogance that are foreign to every faith. And all people in a democracy have the right to their own religious beliefs. But all democracies are made stronger when religious people teach and demonstrate upright conduct - family commitment, respect for the law, and compassion for the weak. Democratic societies should welcome, not fear, the participation of the faithful.

In addition, democracy does not involve automatic agreement with other democracies. Free governments have a reputation for independence, which Turkey has certainly earned. That is the way democracy works. We deal honestly with each other, we make our own decisions - and yet, in the end, the disagreements of the moment are far outweighed by the ideals we share.

Because representative governments reflect their people, every democracy has its own structure, traditions, and opinions. There are, however, certain commitments of free government that do not change from place to place. The promise of democracy is fulfilled in freedom of speech, the rule of law, limits on the power of the state, economic freedom, respect for women, and religious tolerance. These are the values that honor the dignity of every life, and set free the creative energies that lead to progress.

Achieving these commitments of democracy can require decades of effort and reform. In my own country it took generations to throw off slavery, racial segregation, and other practices that violated our ideals. So we do not expect or demand that other societies be transformed in a day. But however long the journey, there is only one destination worth striving for, and that is a society of self-rule and freedom.

Democracy leads to justice within a nation - and the advance of democracy leads to greater security among nations. The reason is clear: Free peoples do not live in endless stagnation, and seethe in resentment, and lash out in envy, rage, and violence. Free peoples do not cling to every grievance of the past - they build and live for the future. This is the experience of countries in the NATO alliance. Bitterness and hostility once divided France and Germany... and Germany and Poland ... and Romania and Hungary. But as those nations grew in liberty, ancient disputes and hatreds have been left to history. And because the people of Europe now live in hope, Europe no longer produces armed ideologies that threaten the peace of the world. Freedom in Europe has brought peace to Europe - and now freedom can bring peace to the broader Middle East.

I believe that freedom is the future of the Middle East, because I believe that freedom is the future of all humanity. And the historic achievement of democracy in the broader Middle East will be a victory shared by all. Millions who now live in oppression and want will finally have a chance to provide for their families and lead hopeful lives. Nations in the region will have greater stability because governments will have greater legitimacy. And nations like Turkey and America will be safer, because a hopeful Middle East will no longer produce ideologies and movements that seek to kill our citizens. This transformation is one of the great and difficult tasks of history. And by our own patience and hard effort, and

with confidence in the peoples of the Middle East, we will finish the work that history has given us.

Democracy, by definition, must be chosen and defended by the people themselves. The future of freedom in the Islamic world will be determined by the citizens of Islamic nations, not by outsiders. And for citizens of the broader Middle East, the alternatives could not be more clear. One alternative is a political doctrine of tyranny, suicide, and murder that goes against the standards of justice found in Islam and every other great religion. The other alternative is a society of justice, where men and women live peacefully and build better lives for themselves and their children. That is the true cause of the people of the Middle East, and that cause can never be served by the murder of the innocent.

This struggle between political extremism and civilized values is unfolding in many places. We see the struggle in Iraq, where killers are attempting to undermine and intimidate a free government. We see the struggle in Iran, where tired and discredited autocrats are trying to hold back the democratic will of a rising generation. We see that struggle in Turkey, where the PKK has abandoned its ceasefire with the Turkish people and resumed violence. We see it in the Holy Land, where terrorist murderers are setting back the good cause of the Palestinian people, who deserve a reformed, peaceful, and democratic state of their own.

The terrorists are ruthless and resourceful, but they will not prevail. Already more than half of the worlds Muslims live under democratically-constituted governments - from Indonesia to West Africa, from Europe to North America. And the ideal of democracy is also powerful and popular in the Middle East. Surveys in Arab nations reveal broad support for representative government and individual liberty. We are seeing reform in Kuwait, and Qatar, and Bahrain, and Yemen, and Jordan, and Morocco. And we are seeing men and women of conscience and courage step forward to advocate democracy and justice in the broader Middle East.

As we found in the Soviet Union, and behind the Iron Curtain, this kind of moral conviction was more powerful than vast armies and prison walls and the will of dictators. And this kind of moral conviction is also more powerful than the whips of the Taliban, or the police state of Saddam Hussein, or the cruel designs of terrorists. The way ahead is long and difficult, yet people of conscience go forward with hope. The rule of fear did not survive in Europe, and the rule of free peoples will come to the Middle East.

Leaders throughout that region, including some friends of the United States, must recognize the direction of events. Any nation that compromises with violent extremists only emboldens them, and invites future violence. Suppressing dissent only increases radicalism. The long-term stability of any government depends on being open to change, and responsive to citizens. By learning these lessons, Turkey has become a great and stable democracy - and America shares your hope that other nations will take this path.

Western nations, including my own, want to be helpful in the democratic progress of the Middle East, yet we know there are suspicions, rooted in centuries of conflict and colonialism. And in the last 60 years, many in the West have added

to this distrust by excusing tyranny in the region, hoping to purchase stability at the price of liberty. But it did not serve the people of the Middle East to betray their hope of freedom. And it has not made Western nations more secure to ignore the cycle of dictatorship and extremism. Instead we have seen the malice grow deeper, and the violence spread, until both have appeared on the streets of our own cities. Some types of hatred will never be appeased; they must be opposed and discredited and defeated by a hopeful alternative - and that alternative is freedom.

Reformers in the broader Middle East are working to build freer and more prosperous societies - and America, the G-8, the EU, Turkey, and NATO have now agreed to support them. Many nations are helping the people of Afghanistan to secure a free government. And NATO now leads a military operation in Afghanistan, in the first action by the alliance outside Europe. In Iraq, a broad coalition - including the military forces of many NATO countries - is helping the people of that country to build a decent and democratic government after decades of corrupt oppression. And NATO is providing support to a Polish-led division.

The government of Iraq has now taken a crucial step forward. In a nation that suffered for decades under brutal tyranny, we have witnessed the transfer of sovereignty and the beginning of self-government. In just 15 months, the Iraqi people have left behind one of the worst regimes in the Middle East, and their country is becoming the world's newest democracy. The world has seen a great event in the history of Iraq, in the history of the Middle East, and in the history of liberty.

The rise of Iraqi democracy is bringing hope to reformers across the Middle East, and sending a very different message to Teheran and Damascus. A free and sovereign Iraq is also a decisive defeat for extremists and terrorists - because their hateful ideology will lose its appeal in a free, tolerant, successful country. The terrorists are doing everything they can to undermine Iraqi democracy, by attacking all who stand for order and justice, and committing terrible crimes to break the will of free nations. The terrorists have the ability to cause suffering and grief, but they do not have the power to alter the outcome in Iraq: The civilized world will keep its resolve ... the leaders of Iraq are strong and determined ... and the people of Iraq will live in freedom.

Iraq still faces hard challenges in the days and months ahead. Iraq's leaders are eager to assume responsibility for their own security, and that is our wish as well. So this week at our summit, NATO agreed to provide assistance in training Iraqi security forces. I am grateful to Turkey and other NATO allies for helping our friends in Iraq to build a nation that governs itself and defends itself.

Our efforts to promote reform and democracy in the Middle East are moving forward. At the NATO summit, we approved the Istanbul Cooperation Initiative, offering to work together with nations of the broader Middle East to fight terrorism, control their borders, and aid the victims of disaster. And we are thankful for the important role that Turkey is playing as a democratic partner in the Broader Middle East Initiative.

For all of our efforts to succeed, however, more is needed than plans and policies. We must strengthen the ties of trust and good will between ourselves and the peoples of the Middle East. And trust and good will come more easily when men and women clear their minds, and their hearts, of suspicion and prejudice and unreasoned fear. When some in my country speak in an ill-informed and insulting manner about the Muslim faith, their words are heard abroad, and do great harm to our cause in the Middle East. When some in the Muslim world incite hatred and murder with conspiracy theories and propaganda, their words are also heard - by a generation of young Muslims who need truth and hope, not lies and anger. All such talk, in America or in the Middle East, is dangerous and reckless and unworthy of any religious tradition. Whatever our cultural differences may be, there should be respect and peace in the House of Abraham.

The Turkish writer Orhan Pamuk has said that the finest view of Istanbul is not from the shores of Europe, or from the shores of Asia, but from a bridge that unites them, and lets you see both. His work has been a bridge between cultures, and so is the Republic of Turkey. The people of this land understand, as Pamuk has observed, that "What is important is not [a] clash of parties, civilizations, cultures, East and West." What is important, he says, is to realize "that other peoples in other continents and civilizations" are "exactly like you."

Ladies and gentlemen, in their need for hope, in their desire for peace, in their right to freedom, the peoples of the Middle East are exactly like you and me. Their birthright of freedom has been denied for too long. And we will do all in our power to help them find the blessings of liberty.

Thank you, and God bless the good people of Turkey.

President Bush Discusses Democracy in the Western Hemisphere

Blue Tree Park Hotel
Brasilia, Brazil

[Trip to Latin America: Brazil](#)

4:23 P.M. (Local)

THE PRESIDENT: Thank you. Boa tarde. Thank you for coming. This is my first trip to Brazil, and Laura and I are really pleased to be here in your capital city. We've had a magnificent stay, had a great visit with President Lula. It's an important visit because Brazil and the United States are close friends. And that's the way it should be. Plus the President and the First Lady gave us an unbelievably good barbeque. (Laughter.) I also commend the President for his commitment to improving the lives of the people here in Brazil.

Our two nations share many things in common. We are both children of the New World, founded in empire and fulfilled in independence. We're united by history and geography. We share the conviction that the future of our hemisphere must be a future of justice and freedom.



Only a generation ago, this was a continent plagued by military dictatorship and civil war. Yet the people of this continent defied the dictators, and they claimed their liberty. We saw the dramatic evidence at the Summit of the Americas that President Lula and I just attended. The delegates from 34 countries that came to this conference all represent democratic governments.

Freedom is the gift of the Almighty to every man and woman in this world - and today this vision is the free consensus of a free Americas. It is a vision that is written into the founding document of the Organization of American States, which calls this hemisphere -- calls on the hemisphere "to offer to man a land of liberty, and a favorable environment for the ... realization of his just aspirations." It is the vision that is given clear direction in the Inter-American Democratic Charter, which declares "the peoples of the Americas have a right to democracy and their governments have an obligation to promote and defend it." And it is a vision that puts what was once a distant dream within our reach: an Americas wholly free and democratic and at peace with ourselves and our neighbors.

As the largest democracy in South America, Brazil is a leader -- and today Brazil is exercising its leadership across the globe. In Africa, Brazil is working to defeat the scourge of HIV/AIDS -- by partnering with America to improve treatment and care and prevention in Portuguese-speaking nations like Mozambique. In this hemisphere, Brazil leads the coalition of the United Nations peacekeeping forces who are helping to restore peace and stability in Haiti. And here at home, Brazil aspires to set an example for the continent by building a just social order where the blessings of liberty are enjoyed by every citizen of this great nation.

Ensuring social justice for the Americas requires choosing between two competing visions. One offers a vision of hope -- it is founded on representative government, integration into the world community, and a faith in the transformative power of freedom in individual lives. The other seeks to roll back the democratic progress of the past two decades by playing to fear, pitting neighbor against neighbor -- and blaming others for their own failures to provide for their people. The choices we make will determine which vision will define the Americas our children inherit --and we must make tough decisions today to ensure a better tomorrow.

As you work for a better tomorrow, Brazil must know you have a strong partner in the United States. Like you, we aspire for a hemisphere where the dignity of every human being is respected. Like you, we believe that the poor and disenfranchised have a special claim on our attention. And like you, we know that we must make good on the promises of democracy.



In the Americas of the 21st century, freedom is the gateway to social justice -- and democracies old and new must work together to build a hemisphere that delivers hope and opportunity for every citizen.

Our common ideal of social justice begins with self-government. The promise of democracy starts with national pride, and independence, and elections. But it does not end there. A country that divides into factions and dwells on old grievances cannot move forward, and risks sliding back into tyranny. A country that unites all its people behind common ideals will multiply in strength and confidence. The successful democracies of the 21st century will not be defined by blood and soil. Successful democracies will be defined by a broader ideal of citizenship -- based on shared principles, and shared responsibilities, and respect for all.

For my own country, the process of becoming a mature, multi-ethnic democracy was lengthy. My country's journey from national independence to equal justice for all meant overcoming the enslavement of millions, and a four-year civil war. Even after slavery ended, a century passed before

the guarantee of equal rights under the law was finally made real. Racial division almost destroyed my country -- and the citizens of the United States learned the false doctrine of "separate but equal" was no basis for a strong and unified America. The only way my country found to rise above the injustices of our history was to reject segregation, to move beyond mere tolerance, and to affirm the brotherhood of all people in our land.

Each democracy has its own character and culture that reflect its unique traditions and history. Yet all free and successful countries share some common characteristics: freedom to worship, freedom of the press, freedom of speech, economic liberty, equal justice under the rule of law, equal citizenship for all -- and the limitation of state power through checks and balances. In many parts of our hemisphere, these institutions of a free society are still young, and they are fragile -- and we must ensure that they are strong for the tasks ahead. To deliver justice, the people must have confidence in their institutions -- and we must replace the rule of man with the rule of law.

Some today suggest that democracy has outlived its usefulness. They have misread history. The Americas has declared democracy "indispensable" for the exercise of human rights. It is the only region in the world that imposes an obligation to defend democracy. For all the growing pains, it is a miracle of history that this young century finds us speaking about the



consolidation of freedom throughout our hemisphere. We must continue our work to help strengthen the institutions of liberty -- because we know that freedom is the only way to ensure that our citizens can lead lives of purpose and dignity. And without democracy there can be no social justice -- because only democracy offers a place at the table for every member of society.

Our common ideal of social justice must include a better life for all our citizens. As elections and democracies have spread across our hemisphere, we see a revolution in expectations. In free societies, citizens will rightly insist that people should not go hungry, that every child deserves the opportunity for a decent education, and that hard work and initiative should be rewarded. And with each new generation that grows up in freedom and democracy, these expectations rise -- and the demands for accountability grow. Either democracies will meet these legitimate demands, or we will yield the future to the enemies of freedom.

The nations of this hemisphere have a moral obligation to help others. They have a moral education to educate their children, and to provide

decent health care. We have a moral duty to make sure our actions are effective. At Monterrey in 2002, the world agreed to a new vision for the way we fight poverty, and curb corruption, and provide aid in this new millennium. Developing countries agreed to take responsibility for their own economic progress through good governance and sound practices and the rule of law -- and developed countries agreed to support these efforts.

My country has sought to implement the Monterrey consensus by changing the way we deliver aid. We have established a new Millennium Challenge Account that increases aid for nations that govern justly, that invest in the education and health of their people, and promote economic freedom. Recently we signed compacts to delivering aid -- Millennium Challenge aid to Honduras and Nicaragua. This new aid will help those countries improve their roads, and diversify their crops, and strengthen property rights, and make their rural businesses more competitive. And in the years ahead, under the leadership of Ambassador Danilovich we hope more countries will follow their example.

My country has also stepped up to meet the humanitarian challenges facing our region and the world by providing millions of dollars bilaterally, especially for education of the children. We understand that you cannot achieve economic prosperity and social justice without educating the children of a country. We also support the Global Fund for HIV/AIDS, to provide care and prevention and support for those suffering from the pandemic. At the 2004 Special Summit in Mexico, the leaders of our hemisphere, including President Lula and me, made a commitment to provide life-saving treatment for at least 600,000 individuals by the next Summit of the Americas. We worked together. We have shown our words are not empty promises. We have helped deliver treatment to more than 670,000 people in this hemisphere -- which surpasses our goal of helping those with HIV/AIDS. And there is more work to be done.

As we expand and improve aid, we are also working to improve the Inter-American Development Bank. Since it was established, this bank has played a major role in the economic development of Latin America and the Caribbean. But as the economies of the Americas further develop, the bank has to change with them. The beginning of President Moreno's tenure gives us a great opportunity to modernize the bank by taking better advantage of global capital markets -- and by tailoring the bank's programs to the real needs of the growing economies on this continent. The private sector is the engine of growth and job creation in this region. The bank must greatly strengthen its role in private sector investment -- especially in small businesses, which are the backbone of a healthy and growing economy. I have asked the United States Treasury Secretary John Snow to work with his counterparts in the hemisphere and at the bank to implement reforms that will ensure that the bank better addresses the needs for economic growth and job creation. They will also discuss a

range of options, including giving grants and debt relief for the poorest of nations.

Increasing aid and relieving debt are important parts of our efforts to lift the burden of poverty from places of suffering -- yet they are not enough. Our goal is to promote opportunity for people throughout the Americas, whether you live in Minnesota or Brazil. And the best way to do this is by expanding free and fair trade.

The United States, Mexico, and Canada took a first step with what's called NAFTA. And trade between our countries has tripled in 10-year period. Our hemisphere has sought to build on this example by committing ourselves to the Free Trade of the Americas that would eliminate barriers across the entire hemisphere -- and I appreciate President Lula's discussion with me today about working to see if we can't make that become a reality. The United States has also made substantial advances toward the goal of hemispheric free trade through bilateral trade agreements with partners such as Chile. And three months ago, we passed through our Congress a trade agreement with the nations of Central America and the Dominican Republic that gives the people of that region jobs and opportunities that come from freer trade and more investment. And at this moment, we're working hard to advance negotiations with the Andean countries and Panama. By working for free, and I repeat, fair trade across this hemisphere, we will bring all our people into the expanding circle of development -- we'll make it easier for those of us who live in this hemisphere to compete with countries like China and India -- but most importantly, trade means jobs for people.

The best opportunity to deliver the blessings of trade to every citizen in this hemisphere is the Doha Round of negotiations in the World Trade Organization. A successful Doha Round will open up markets for farm products, and services, and industrial goods across this hemisphere and across the globe. Under Doha, every nation will gain -- and the developing world stands to gain the most. The World Bank estimates that if the Doha Round passes, 300 million people will be lifted from poverty. We know that from history that developing nations that open themselves up to trade grow at several times the rate of countries that practice protectionism. And the stakes are high, they're really high. The lives and futures of millions of poor people across the globe hang in the balance -- so we must bring the Doha trade talks to a successful conclusion.

The greatest obstacles to a successful Doha Round are the countries that stand firm in the way of dismantling the tariffs, and barriers, and trade-distorting subsidies that isolate the poor on this continent from the great opportunities of the 21st century. Only an ambitious reform agenda in agriculture, and manufactured goods, and services can ensure that the benefits of free and fair trade are enjoyed by all people in all countries.

We agree with Brazil that the agricultural negotiations will unlock the full potential of the Doha Round. Your President has criticized the agricultural subsidies that the developed world pays to its farmers -- trade-distorting subsidies that undercut honest farmers in the developing world. I agree with President Lula. And the United States is leading the way to address this problem.

My administration has offered a bold proposal for Doha that would substantially reduce agricultural tariffs and trade-distorting subsidies in a first stage -- and over a period of fifteen years, eliminate them altogether. Leaders who are concerned about the harmful effects of high tariffs and farm subsidies must move the Doha Round forward. And leaders who want to make progress on agricultural subsidies must use their influence to help the WTO make progress on all aspects of the Doha Round. By completing Doha, we will help build an Americas that lives in liberty, trades in freedom, and grows in prosperity.

Finally, our common ideal of social justice requires safety and security for all our citizens. In many parts of this hemisphere, drug lords, and terrorists, and criminal gangs corrupt democratic societies. When these groups are more powerful than the state, there can be no social justice. So the United States is working with affected countries to restore the rule of law and ensure the safety of ordinary citizens. We are working with the government of Mexico to stop the smugglers who traffic in everything from guns to human beings. We are helping President Uribe and the Colombian people defeat the cocaine cartels and narco-terrorists. We're providing money to help honest farmers grow legitimate crops. We're working with our partners in this region to stop terrorist organizations from using this hemisphere as a base to launder money and to provide support for their operations across the globe.

By protecting the people of the Americas from those who operate outside the law, we strengthen democracy, we promote social justice, and we make prosperity more likely. Citizens who live in fear for their lives because of drug lords, and terrorists, and criminal gangs are not free citizens. So we must continue to work for the day that all citizens can count on their governments to protect them from criminals -- and advance the peace and stability that can only come from freedom.

In the last half-century, the nations of the Americas have overcome enormous challenges: colonialism, and communism, and military dictatorship. The progress we have achieved is the result of tremendous sacrifice and leadership. One such leader was the man who built this beautiful capital as the symbol of Brazilian democracy. President Kubitschek was forced into exile when antidemocratic forces seized control in Brazil. His dream, he said, was to live and die in a free country. At the start of this hopeful new century, the dream of this proud patriot inspires citizens not only in this country, but all around the continent.

The citizens of the Americas look to us, the elected leaders, to make his dream a reality -- and to lead by example. Governments across this hemisphere must be strong, must listen to the people, and must not squander their money. Governments across this hemisphere must be free of corruption. Governments across this hemisphere must be accountable - - and we must live by the same standard we set for others. By making the blessings of freedom real in our hemisphere, we will advance the cause of social justice and set a shining example for the rest of the world.

Thank you for allowing me to come and address you. May God bless Brazil. May God continue to bless our nation, America. Thank you.
(Applause.) END 4:46 P.M. (Local)

President Discusses Freedom and Democracy in Iraq

Dorothy Betts Marvin Theatre
The George Washington University
Washington, D.C.

[Fact Sheet: Strategy for Victory:
Defeating the Terrorists and Training Iraqi
Security Forces](#)

[In Focus: Renewal in Iraq](#)

[In Focus: National Security](#)

 VIDEO (REAL) VIDEO (REAL)

 WHITE HOUSE NEWS

 AUDIO

 EN ESPAÑOL

1:16 P.M. EST

THE PRESIDENT: Thanks for the warm welcome. Cliff, thanks for the introduction. It's a pleasure to be with the Foundation for the Defense of Democracies. This organization was formed in the wake of the September the 11th attacks to fight the ideologies that drive terrorism. You recognized immediately that the war on terror is a struggle between freedom and tyranny -- and that the path to lasting security is to defeat the hateful vision the terrorists are spreading with the hope of freedom and democracy.

The Foundation is making a difference across the world, and I appreciate the difference you're making. You have trained Iraqi women and Iranian students in the principles and practice of democracy, you've translated "democracy readers" into Arabic for distribution across the broader Middle East, you've helped activists across the region organize effective political movements -- so they can help bring about democratic change and ensure the survival of liberty in new democracies. By promoting democratic ideals, and training a new generation of democratic leaders in the Middle East, you are helping us to bring victory in the war on terror -- and I thank you for your hard work in freedom's cause.



I also want to thank the members of the board of the Foundation for the Defense of the Democracies. I want to thank Steve Trachtenberg, the President of George Washington University, and his wife, Fran, for joining us today. Thanks for letting me come to your campus. I'm honored to be here. He informed me that my dad will be giving the graduation speech this year. (Laughter.) And Mother is getting an honorary degree.

(Laughter.) Smart man. (Laughter and applause.) Mr. Secretary, thanks for joining us. I'm proud that Secretary Rumsfeld is with us.

I want to thank Senator Dick Lugar for being with us today. Mr. Chairman, proud you're here. Thanks for coming. I want to thank the members of the United States Congress who have joined us. Congressman Lungren, Adam Schiff, Joe Wilson, Tom Cole and Dan Boren. I appreciate you all taking time to be here today, it means a lot. I want to thank the ambassadors who have joined us. I see two for certain, one from Jordan and one from Israel. Proud you both are here. If there's any ambassadors here, I apologize for not introducing you, and you don't have as good a seat as these two guys. (Laughter.)

The mission of this Foundation is to defeat terror by promoting democracy -- and that is the mission of my administration. Our strategy to protect America is based on a clear premise: the security of our nation depends on the advance of liberty in other nations. On September the 11th, 2001, we saw that problems originating in a failed and oppressive state 7,000 miles away could bring murder and destruction to our country. We saw that dictatorships shelter terrorists, feed resentment and radicalism, and threaten the security of free nations. Democracies replace resentment with hope, democracies respect the rights of their citizens and their neighbors, democracies join the fight against terror. And so America is committed to an historic, long-term goal: To secure the peace of the world, we seek the end of tyranny in our world.

We are making progress in the march of freedom -- and some of the most important progress has taken place in a region that has not known the blessings of liberty: the broader Middle East. Two weeks ago, I got a chance to visit Afghanistan and to see firsthand the transformation that has taken place in that country. Before September the 11th, 2001, Afghanistan was ruled by a cruel regime that oppressed its people, brutalized women, and gave safe haven to the terrorists who attacked America.

Today, the terror camps have been shut down, women are working, boys and girls are going to school, Afghans have voted in free elections -- 25 million people have had the taste of freedom. Taliban and al Qaeda remnants continue to fight Afghanistan's democratic progress. In recent weeks, they have launched new attacks that have killed Afghan civilians and coalition forces. The United States and our allies will stay in the fight against the terrorists, and we'll train Afghan soldiers and police so they can defend their country. The Afghan people are building a vibrant young democracy that is an ally in the war on terror -- and America is proud to have such a determined partner in the cause of freedom. (Applause.)

Next week, we will mark the three-year anniversary of the start of Operation Iraqi Freedom. In less than three years, the Iraqi people have

gone from living under the boot of a brutal tyrant, to liberation, to sovereignty, to free elections, to a constitutional referendum, and last December, to elections for a fully constitutional government. In those December elections, over 11 million Iraqis -- more than 75 percent of the Iraqi voting age population -- defied the terrorists to cast their ballots.

Americans were inspired by the images of Iraqis bringing elderly relatives to the polls, holding up purple ink-stained fingers, dancing in the streets and celebrating their freedom. By their courage, the Iraqi people have spoken and made their intentions clear: they want to live in democracy -- and they are determined to shape their own destiny.

The past few weeks, the world has seen very different images from Iraq -- images of violence, and anger, and despair. We have seen a great house of worship -- the Golden Mosque of Samarra -- in ruins after a brutal terrorist attack. We've seen mass protests in response to provocation. We've seen reprisal attacks by armed militias on Sunni mosques -- and random violence that has taken the lives of hundreds of Iraqi citizens.

The terrorists attacked the Golden Mosque for a reason: They know that they lack the military strength to challenge Iraqi and coalition forces directly -- so their only hope is to try and provoke a civil war. So they attacked one of Shia Islam's holiest sites, hoping to incite violence that would drive Iraqis apart and stop their progress on the path to a free society.

Immediately after the attack, I said that Iraq faced a moment of choosing -- and in the days that followed, the Iraqi people made their choice. They looked into the abyss and did not like what they saw. After the bombing, most Iraqis saw what the perpetrators [sic] of this attack were trying to do: The enemy had failed to stop the January 2005 elections, they failed to stop the constitutional referendum, they failed to stop the December elections, and now they're trying to stop the formation of a unity government. By their response over the past two weeks, Iraqis have shown the world they want a future of freedom and peace -- and they will oppose a violent minority that seeks to take that future away from them by tearing their country apart.

The situation in Iraq is still tense and we're still seeing acts of sectarian violence and reprisal. Yet out of this crisis, we've also seen signs of a hopeful future. We saw the restraint of the Iraqi people in the face of massive provocation. Most Iraqis did not turn to violence, and many chose to show their solidarity by coming together in joint Sunni and Shia prayer services. We saw the leadership of Sunni and Shia clerics who joined together to denounce the bombing and call for restraint. Ayatollah Sistani issued a strong statement denouncing what he called "sectarian sedition," and he urged all Iraqis -- in his words -- "not to be dragged into committing acts that would only please the enemies." We saw the capability of the

Iraqi security forces, who deployed to protect religious sites, enforce a curfew, and restore civil order. We saw the determination of many of Iraq's leaders, who rose to the moment, came together, and acted decisively to diffuse the crisis.

Iraq's leaders know that this is not the last time they will be called to stand together in the face of an outrageous terrorist attack. Iraq's leaders know that they must put aside their differences, reach out across political, religious, and sectarian lines, and form a unity government that will earn the trust and the confidence of all Iraqis. Iraqis now have a chance to show the world that they have learned the lesson of Samarra: A country that divides into factions and dwells on old grievances risks sliding back into tyranny. The only path to a future of peace is the path of unity.

Soon the new parliament will be seated in Baghdad, and this will begin the process of forming a government. Forming a new government will demand negotiation and compromise by the Iraqis; it will require patience by America and our coalition allies.

In the weeks ahead, Americans will likely see a good deal of political maneuvering in Iraq -- as different factions and leaders advance competing agendas and seek their share of political power. Out of this process, a free government will emerge that represents the will of the Iraqi people -- instead of the will of one cruel dictator.

The work ahead in Iraq is hard -- and there will be more difficult moments. The Samarra attack was a clear attempt to ignite a civil war. And we can expect the enemy will try again -- and they will continue to sow violence and destruction designed to stop the emergence of a free and democratic Iraq.

The enemies of a free Iraq are determined -- yet so are the Iraqi people. And so are America and coalition partners. We will not lose our nerve. We will help the Iraqi people succeed. Our goal in Iraq is victory -- and victory will be achieved when the terrorists and Saddamists can no longer threaten Iraq's democracy, when the Iraqi security forces can provide for the safety of their own citizens, and when Iraq is not a safe haven for terrorists to plot new attacks against our nation.

We have a comprehensive strategy for victory in Iraq -- a strategy I laid out in a series of speeches last year. Our strategy has three elements: On the political side, we are helping Iraqis build a strong democracy, so that old resentments will be eased, and the insurgency marginalized. On the economic side, we are continuing reconstruction efforts and helping Iraqis build a modern economy that will give all its citizens a stake in a free and peaceful Iraq. And on the security side, we are striking terrorist targets and training the Iraqi security forces -- which are taking responsibility for more Iraqi territory and becoming increasingly capable of defeating the enemy.

In the coming weeks, I will update the American people on our strategy -- the progress we are making, the lessons we have learned from our experiences, and how we are fixing what hasn't worked. Today, I will discuss the third element of our strategy -- the progress of our efforts to defeat the terrorists and train the Iraqi security forces so they can take the lead in defending their own democracy.

At the end of last year, I described in detail many of the changes we have made to improve the training of Iraqi security forces -- and we saw the fruits of those changes in recent days in Iraq. After the Samarra bombings, it was the Iraqi security forces -- not coalition forces -- that restored order. In the hours after the attack, Iraqi leaders put the Iraqi security forces on alert -- canceling all leaves, and heightening security around mosques and critical sites. Using security plans developed for the December elections, they deployed Iraqi forces in Baghdad and other trouble spots.

Iraqi police manned checkpoints, increased patrols, and ensured that peaceful demonstrators were protected -- while those who turned to violence were arrested. Public order brigades deployed as rapid reaction forces to areas where violence was reported. The 9th Mechanized Division of the Iraqi Army, which was in the midst of a major training event, regrouped and entered the Baghdad City Gates -- taking up assigned positions throughout the city with T-72 tanks and armored infantry vehicles. During the past two weeks, Iraqi security forces conducted more than 200 independent operations -- each of them Iraqi-planned, Iraqi-conducted, and Iraqi-led.

Having Iraqi forces in the lead has been critical to preventing violence from spinning out of control. For example, on the day of the Samarra bombing, the Iraqi national police responded to an armed demonstration in an area immediately adjacent to Sadr City -- where an angry Shia crowd had surrounded the Sunni Al Quds Mosque. The Iraqi Brigade Commander placed his troops -- who were largely Shia -- between the crowd and the mosque, and talked to the crowd using megaphones, and calling for calm and urging them to disperse. After a two-hour standoff, the crowd eventually left without incident -- and the national police remained in position overnight to guard the Mosque until the threat was over. The fact that Iraqis were in the lead and negotiating with their own countrymen helped diffuse a potential confrontation -- and prevented an escalation of violence.

In another Baghdad neighborhood, a similar situation unfolded: a group of armed militia members had gone in and occupied the Al Nida Mosque. An Iraqi Army brigade quickly arrived on the scene -- and the Brigade Commander negotiated with the group and secured their peaceful departure. Once again, because Iraqi forces spoke their language and understood the culture, they were able to convince the Iraqi militia to leave peacefully.

Not all Iraqi units performed as well as others -- and there were some reports of Iraqi units in Eastern Baghdad allowing militia members to pass through checkpoints. But American commanders are closely watching the situation, and they report these incidents appear to be the exception, not the rule. In the weeks since the bombing, the Iraqi security forces turned in a strong performance. From the outset, Iraqi forces understood that if they failed to stand for national unity, the country would slip into anarchy. And so they have stood their ground, and defended their democracy, and brought their nation through one of its most difficult moments since liberation.

General Marty Dempsey, our top commander responsible for training the Iraqis' security forces, says this about their performance: "They were deliberate, poised, even-handed, and professional. They engaged local tribal, political, and religious leaders. They patiently, but deliberately confronted armed groups to let them know that they had control of the situation." He went on to say, "I'm sure we will find instances where they could have performed better, but in the face of immense pressure, they performed very, very well." As a result of their performance, the Iraqi security forces are gaining the confidence of the Iraqi people. And as the Iraqi security forces make progress against the enemy, their morale continues to increase.

When I reported on the progress of the Iraqi security forces last year, I said that there were over 120 Iraqi and police combat battalions [sic] in the fight against the enemy -- and 40 of those were taking the lead in the fight. Today the number of battalions in the fight has increased to more than 130 -- with more than 60 taking the lead. As more Iraqi battalions come on line, these Iraqi forces are assuming responsibility for more territory. Today, Iraqi units have primary responsibility for more than 30,000 square miles of Iraq -- an increase of roughly 20,000 square miles since the beginning of the year. And Iraqi forces are now conducting more independent operations throughout the country than do coalition forces.

This is real progress, but there is more work to be done this year. Our commanders tell me that the Iraqi police still lag behind the Army in training and capabilities -- so one of our major goals in 2006 is to accelerate the training of the Iraqi police. One problem is that some National Police units have been disproportionately Shia -- and there have been some reports of infiltration of the national police by Shia militias. And so we're taking a number of steps to correct this problem:

First, we have begun implementing a program that has been effective with the Iraqi Army -- partnering U.S. battalions with the Iraqi national police battalions. These U.S. forces are working with their Iraqi counterparts -- giving them tactical training so they can defeat the enemy. And they are also teaching them about the role of a professional police force in a democratic system, so they can serve all Iraqis without discrimination.

Second, we are working with the Iraqi leaders to find and remove any leaders in the national police who show evidence of loyalties to militia. For example, last year there were reports that the Second Public Order Brigade contained members of an illegal militia, who were committing abuses. So last December, the Interior Ministry leadership removed the Second Brigade Commander, and replaced him with a new commander -- who then dismissed more than a hundred men with suspected militia ties. Today, this Iraqi police brigade has been transformed into a capable, professional unit -- and during the recent crisis after the Samarra bombing, they performed with courage and distinction.

Finally, we are working with Iraqis to diversify the ranks of the national police, by recruiting more Sunni Arabs. For example, the basic training class for the National Police Public Order forces that graduated last October was less than one percent Sunni. The class graduating in April will include many, many more Sunnis. By ensuring the Public Order forces reflect the general population, Iraqis are making the National Police a truly national institution -- one that is able to serve, protect, and defend all the Iraqi people.

As more capable Iraqi police and soldiers come on line, they will assume responsibility for more territory -- with the goal of having the Iraqis control more territory than the coalition by the end of 2006. And as Iraqis take over more territory, this frees American and Coalition forces to concentrate on training and on hunting down high-value targets like the terrorist Zarqawi and his associates. As Iraqis stand up, America and our coalition will stand down. And my decisions on troop levels will be made based upon the conditions on the ground, and the recommendations of our military commanders -- not artificial timetables set by politicians here in Washington, D.C.

These terrorists know they cannot defeat us militarily -- so they have turned to the weapon of fear. And one of the most brutal weapons at their disposal are improvised explosive devices, or IEDs.

IEDs are bombs made from artillery shells, explosives, and other munitions that can be hidden and detonated remotely. After the terrorists were defeated in battles in Fallujah and Tall Afar, they saw that they could not confront Iraqi or American forces in pitched battles and survive. And so they turned to IEDs -- a weapon that allows them to attack us from a safe distance, without having to face our forces in battle.

The principal victims of IED attacks are innocent Iraqis. The terrorists and insurgents have used IEDs to kill Iraqi children playing in the streets, shoppers at Iraqi malls, and Iraqis lining up at police and army recruiting stations. They use IEDs to strike terror in the hearts of Iraqis, in an attempt to break their confidence in the free future of their country.

The enemy is also using IEDs in their campaign against U.S. and coalition forces in Iraq -- and we are harnessing every available resource to deal with this threat. My administration has established a new high-level organization at the Department of Defense, led by retired four-star General Montgomery Meigs. On Saturday, General Meigs, along with the Secretary of Defense, briefed me at the White House on our plan to defeat the threat of IEDs. Our plan has three elements: targeting, training, and technology.

The first part of our plan is targeting and eliminating the terrorists and bomb makers. Across Iraq, we are on the hunt for the enemy -- capturing and killing the terrorists before they strike, uncovering and disarming their weapons before they go off, and rooting out and destroying bomb making cells so they can't produce more weapons.

Because the Iraqi people are the targets, primarily the targets of the bombers, Iraqis are increasingly providing critical intelligence to help us find the bomb-makers and stop new attacks. The number of tips from Iraqis has grown from 400 last March to over 4,000 in December. For example, just three weeks ago, acting on tips provided by local citizens, coalition forces uncovered a massive IED arsenal hidden in a location northwest of Baghdad. They found and confiscated more than 3,000 pieces of munitions -- in one of the largest weapons caches discovered in that region to date. Just two weeks ago, acting on intelligence from Iraqis, coalition forces uncovered a bomb-making facility northeast of Fallujah. They captured 61 terrorists at the facility and confiscated large numbers of weapons.

In all, during the past six months, Iraqi and coalition forces have found and cleared nearly 4,000 IEDs, uncovered more than 1,800 weapons caches and bomb-making plants, and killed or detained hundreds of terrorists and bomb-makers. We're on the hunt for the enemy -- and we're not going to rest until they've been defeated.

The second part of our plan is to give our forces specialized training to identify and clear IEDs before they explode. Before arriving in Iraq and Afghanistan, our combat units get training on how to counter the threat of IEDs. And to improve our training, last month we established a new IED Joint Center of Excellence headquartered at Fort Irwin, California -- where we're taking lessons learned from the IED fight in Iraq, and sharing them with our troops in the field and those preparing to deploy. This new initiative will ensure that every Army and Marine combat unit headed to Afghanistan and Iraq is prepared for the challenges that IEDs bring to the battlefield.

Before deploying, our troops will train with the equipment they will use in the IED fight, they'll study enemy tactics, and experience live fire training that closely mirrors what they will see when they arrive in the zone of

combat. Our goal with this training is to ensure that when our forces encounter the enemy, that they're ready.

The third part of our plan is to develop new technologies to defend against IEDs. We are putting the best minds in America to work on this effort. The Department of Defense recently gathered some -- gathered 600 leaders from industry and academia, the national laboratories, the National Academy of Sciences, all branches of the military, and every relevant government agency to discuss technology solutions to the IED threat. We now have nearly a hundred projects underway. For security reasons, I'm not going to share the details of the technologies we're developing. The simple reason is, the enemy can use even the smallest details to overcome our defenses.

Earlier this year, a newspaper published details of a new anti-IED technology that was being developed. Within five days of the publication -- using details from that article -- the enemy had posted instructions for defeating this new technology on the Internet. We cannot let the enemy know how we're working to defeat him. But I can assure the American people that my administration is working to put the best technology in the hands of our men and women on the front lines -- and we are mobilizing resources against the IED threat.

I assured General Meigs that he will have the funding and personnel he needs to succeed. In 2004, the administration spent \$150 million to fight the IED threat. This year, we're providing \$3.3 billion to support our efforts to defeat IEDs. These investments are making a difference. Today, nearly half of the IEDs in Iraq are found and disabled before they can be detonated. In the past 18 months, we've cut the casualty rate per IED attack in half. More work needs to be done. Yet by targeting the bomb-makers, and training our forces, and deploying new technologies, we will stay ahead of the enemy, and that will save Iraqi and American lives.

Some of the most powerful IEDs we're seeing in Iraq today includes components that came from Iran. Our Director of National Intelligence, John Negroponte, told the Congress, "Tehran has been responsible for at least some of the increasing lethality of anti-coalition attacks by providing Shia militia with the capability to build improvised explosive devises" in Iraq. Coalition forces have seized IEDs and components that were clearly produced in Iran. Such actions -- along with Iran's support for terrorism and its pursuit of nuclear weapons -- are increasingly isolating Iran, and America will continue to rally the world to confront these threats. (Applause.)

We still have difficult work ahead in Iraq. I wish I could tell you that the violence is waning and that the road ahead will be smooth. It will not. There will be more tough fighting and more days of struggle -- and we will see more images of chaos and carnage in the days and months to come.

The terrorists are losing on the field of battle, so they are fighting this war through the pictures we see on television and in the newspapers every day. They're hoping to shake our resolve and force us to retreat. They are not going to succeed. (Applause.)

The battle lines in Iraq are clearly drawn for the world to see, and there is no middle ground. The enemy will emerge from Iraq one of two ways: emboldened or defeated. The stakes in Iraq are high. By helping Iraqis build a democracy, we will deny the terrorists a safe haven to plan attacks against America. By helping Iraqis build a democracy, we will gain an ally in the war on terror. By helping Iraqis build a democracy, we will inspire reformers across the Middle East. And by helping Iraqis build a democracy, we'll bring hope to a troubled region, and this will make America more secure in the long-term.

Since the morning of September the 11th, we have known that the war on terror would require great sacrifice -- and in this war we have said farewell to some very good men and women. One of those courageous Americans was Sergeant William Scott Kinzer, Jr., who was killed last year by the terrorists while securing polling sites for the Iraqi elections. His mom, Debbie, wrote me a letter. She said: "These words are straight from a shattered but healing mother's heart. ... My son made the decision to join the Army. He believed that what he was involved in would eventually change Iraq and that those changes would be recorded in history books for years to come. ... On his last visit home... I asked him what I would ever do if something happened to him in Iraq. He smiled at me with -- his blue eyes sparkled, as he said, 'Mom, I love my job...If I should die I would die happy, does life get any better than this?'" His mom went on: "Please do not let the voices we hear the loudest change what you and Scott started in Iraq. Please do not... let his dying be in vain. ... Don't let my son have given his all for an unfinished job. ... Please...complete the mission."

I make this promise to Debbie, and all the families of the fallen heroes: We will not let your loved ones dying be in vain. We will finish what we started in Iraq. We will complete the mission. We will leave behind a democracy that can govern itself, sustain itself, and defend itself. (Applause.) And a free Iraq, in the heart of the Middle East, will make the American people more secure for generations to come.

May God bless the families of the fallen. May God bless our troops in the fight. And may God continue to bless the United States of America. (Applause.)

END 1:49 P.M. EST

President Bush Visits Prague, Czech Republic, Discusses Freedom

Large Hall
Czernin Palace
Prague, Czech Republic

[Fact Sheet: Advancing Freedom
and Democracy Around the World
G8 Summit 2007](#)

</NEWS/RELEASES/2007/06/20070605-8.WM.V.HTML>

[PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS
AUDIO](#)

4:07 P.M. (Local)

THE PRESIDENT: President Ilves, Foreign Minister Schwarzenberg, distinguished guests: Laura and I are pleased to be back in Prague, and we appreciate the gracious welcome in this historic hall. Tomorrow I attend the G-8 Summit, where I will meet with the leaders of the world's most powerful economies. This afternoon, I stand with men and women who represent an even greater power -- the power of human conscience.

In this room are dissidents and democratic activists from 17 countries on five continents. You follow different traditions, you practice different faiths, and you face different challenges. But you are united by an unwavering conviction: that freedom is the non-negotiable right of every man, woman, and child, and that the path to lasting peace in our world is liberty. (Applause.)

This conference was conceived by three of the great advocates for freedom in our time: Jose Maria Aznar, Vaclav Havel, and Natan Sharansky. I thank them for the invitation to address this inspiring assembly, and for showing the world that an individual with moral clarity and courage can change the course of history.

It is fitting that we meet in the Czech Republic -- a nation at the heart of Europe, and of the struggle for freedom on this continent. Nine decades ago, Tomas Masaryk proclaimed Czechoslovakia's independence based on the "ideals of modern democracy." That democracy was interrupted, first by the Nazis and then by the communists, who seized power in a shameful coup that left the Foreign Minister dead in the courtyard of this palace.

Through the long darkness of Soviet occupation, the true face of this nation was never in doubt. The world saw it in the reforms of the Prague Spring and the principled demands of Charter 77. Those efforts were met with tanks and truncheons and arrests by secret police. But the violent would not have the final word. In 1989, thousands gathered in Wenceslas Square to call for their freedom. Theaters like the Magic Lantern became headquarters for dissidents. Workers left their factories to support a strike. And within weeks, the regime crumbled. Vaclav Havel went from prisoner of state to head of state. And the people of Czechoslovakia brought down the Iron Curtain with a Velvet Revolution.

Across Europe, similar scenes were unfolding. In Poland, a movement that began in a single shipyard freed people across a nation. In Hungary, mourners gathered at Heroes Square to bury a slain reformer -- and bury their communist regime, too. In East Germany, families came together for prayer meetings -- and found the strength to tear down a wall. Soon, activists emerged from the attics and church basements to reclaim the streets of Bulgaria, and Romania, and Albania, and Latvia, and Lithuania, and Estonia. The Warsaw Pact was dissolved peacefully in this very room. And after seven decades of oppression, the Soviet Union ceased to exist.

Behind these astonishing achievements was the triumph of freedom in the battle of ideas. The communists had an imperial ideology that claimed to know the directions of history. But in the end, it was overpowered by ordinary people who wanted to live their lives, and worship their God, and speak the truth to their children. The communists had the harsh rule of Brezhnev, and Honecker, and Ceausescu. But in the end, it was no match for the vision of Walesa and Havel, the defiance of Sakharov and Sharansky, the resolve of Reagan and Thatcher, and fearless witness of John Paul. From this experience, a clear lesson has emerged: Freedom can be resisted, and freedom can be delayed, but freedom cannot be denied.

In the years since liberation, Central and Eastern European nations have navigated the difficult transition to democracy. Leaders made the tough reforms needed to enter NATO and the European Union. Citizens claimed their freedom in the Balkans and beyond. And now, after centuries of war and suffering, the continent of Europe is at last in peace.

With this new era have come new threats to freedom. In dark and repressive corners of the world, whole generations grew up with no voice in their government and no hope in their future. This life of oppression bred deep resentment. And for many, resentment boiled over into radicalism and extremism and violence. The world saw the result on September the 11th, 2001, when terrorists based in Afghanistan sent 19 suicidal men to murder nearly 3,000 innocent people in the United States.

For some, this attack called for a narrow response. In truth, 9/11 was evidence of a much broader danger -- an international movement of violent Islamic extremists that threatens free people everywhere. The extremists' ambition is to build a totalitarian empire that spans all current and former Muslim lands, including parts of Europe. Their strategy to achieve that goal is to frighten the world into surrender through a ruthless campaign of terrorist murder.

To confront this enemy, America and our allies have taken the offensive with the full range of our military, intelligence, and law enforcement capabilities. Yet this battle is more than a military conflict. Like the Cold War, it's an ideological struggle between two fundamentally different visions of humanity. On one side are the extremists, who promise paradise, but deliver a life of public beatings and repression of women and suicide bombings. On the other side are huge numbers

of moderate men and women -- including millions in the Muslim world -- who believe that every human life has dignity and value that no power on Earth can take away.

The most powerful weapon in the struggle against extremism is not bullets or bombs -- it is the universal appeal of freedom. Freedom is the design of our Maker, and the longing of every soul. Freedom is the best way to unleash the creativity and economic potential of a nation. Freedom is the only ordering of a society that leads to justice. And human freedom is the only way to achieve human rights.

Expanding freedom is more than a moral imperative -- it is the only realistic way to protect our people in the long run. Years ago, Andrei Sakharov warned that a country that does not respect the rights of its own people will not respond to the rights of its neighbors. History proves him right. Governments accountable to their people do not attack each other. Democracies address problems through the political process, instead of blaming outside scapegoats. Young people who can disagree openly with their leaders are less likely to adopt violent ideologies. And nations that commit to freedom for their people will not support extremists -- they will join in defeating them.

For all these reasons, the United States is committed to the advance of freedom and democracy as the great alternatives to repression and radicalism. (Applause.) And we have a historic objective in view. In my second inaugural address, I pledged America to the ultimate goal of ending tyranny in our world. Some have said that qualifies me as a "dissident president." If standing for liberty in the world makes me a dissident, I wear that title with pride. (Applause.)

America pursues our freedom agenda in many ways -- some vocal and visible, others quiet and hidden from view. Ending tyranny requires support for the forces of conscience that undermine repressive societies from within. The Soviet dissident Andrei Amalrik compared a tyrannical state to a soldier who constantly points a gun at his enemy -- until his arms finally tire and the prisoner escapes. The role of the free world is to put pressure on the arms of the world's tyrants -- and strengthen the prisoners who are trying to speed their collapse.

So I meet personally with dissidents and democratic activists from some of the world's worst dictatorships -- including Belarus, and Burma, and Cuba, and North Korea, Sudan, and Zimbabwe. At this conference, I look forward to meeting other dissidents, including some from Iran and Syria. One of those dissidents is Mamoun Homsy. In 2001, this man was an independent member of the Syrian parliament who simply issued a declaration asking the government to begin respecting human rights. For this entirely peaceful act, he was arrested and sent to jail, where he spent several years beside other innocent advocates for a free Syria.

Another dissident I will meet here is Rebiyah Kadeer of China, whose sons have been jailed in what we believe is an act of retaliation for her human rights activities. The talent of men and women like Rebiyah is the greatest resource of

their nations, far more valuable than the weapons of their army or their oil under the ground. America calls on every nation that stifles dissent to end its repression, to trust its people, and to grant its citizens the freedom they deserve. (Applause.)

There are many dissidents who couldn't join us because they are being unjustly imprisoned or held under house arrest. I look forward to the day when a conference like this one include Alexander Kozulin of Belarus, Aung San Suu Kyi of Burma, Oscar Elias Biscet of Cuba, Father Nguyen Van Ly of Vietnam, Ayman Nour of Egypt. (Applause.) The daughter of one of these political prisoners is in this room. I would like to say to her, and all the families: I thank you for your courage. I pray for your comfort and strength. And I call for the immediate and unconditional release of your loved ones. (Applause.)

In the eyes of America, the democratic dissidents today are the democratic leaders of tomorrow. So we're taking new steps to strengthen our support. We recently created a Human Rights Defenders Fund, which provides grants for the legal defense and medical expenses of activists arrested or beaten by repressive governments. I strongly support the Prague Document that your conference plans to issue, which states that "the protection of human rights is critical to international peace and security." And in keeping with the goals of that declaration, I have asked Secretary Rice to send a directive to every U.S. ambassador in an un-free nation: Seek out and meet with activists for democracy. Seek out those who demand human rights. (Applause.)

People living in tyranny need to know they are not forgotten. North Koreans live in a closed society where dissent is brutally suppressed, and they are cut off from their brothers and sisters to the south. The Iranians are a great people who deserve to chart their own future, but they are denied their liberty by a handful of extremists whose pursuit of nuclear weapons prevents their country from taking its rightful place amongst the thriving. The Cubans are desperate for freedom -- and as that nation enters a period of transition, we must insist on free elections and free speech and free assembly. (Applause.) And in Sudan, freedom is denied and basic human rights are violated by a government that pursues genocide against its own citizens. My message to all those who suffer under tyranny is this: We will never excuse your oppressors. We will always stand for your freedom. (Applause.)

Freedom is also under assault in countries that have shown some progress. In Venezuela, elected leaders have resorted to shallow populism to dismantle democratic institutions and tighten their grip on power. The government of Uzbekistan continues to silence independent voices by jailing human rights activists. And Vietnam recently arrested and imprisoned a number of peaceful religious and political activists.

These developments are discouraging, but there are more reasons for optimism. At the start of the 1980s, there were only 45 democracies on Earth. There are now more than 120 democracies -- more people now live in freedom than ever before. And it is the responsibility of those who enjoy the blessings of liberty to help

those who are struggling to establish their free societies. So the United States has nearly doubled funding for democracy projects. We're working with our partners in the G-8 to promote the rise of a vibrant civil society in the Middle East through initiatives like the Forum for the Future. We're cooperating side-by-side with the new democracies in Ukraine and Georgia and Kyrgyzstan. We congratulate the people of Yemen on their landmark presidential election, and the people of Kuwait on elections in which women were able to vote and run for office for the first time. (Applause.) We stand firmly behind the people of Lebanon and Afghanistan and Iraq as they defend their democratic gains against extremist enemies. (Applause.) These people are making tremendous sacrifices for liberty. They deserve the admiration of the free world, and they deserve our unwavering support. (Applause.)

The United States is also using our influence to urge valued partners like Egypt and Saudi Arabia and Pakistan to move toward freedom. These nations have taken brave stands and strong action to confront extremists, along with some steps to expand liberty and transparency. Yet they have a great distance still to travel. The United States will continue to press nations like these to open up their political systems, and give greater voice to their people. Inevitably, this creates tension. But our relationships with these countries are broad enough and deep enough to bear it. As our relationships with South Korea and Taiwan during the Cold War prove, America can maintain a friendship and push a nation toward democracy at the same time. (Applause.)

We're also applying that lesson to our relationships with Russia and China. (Applause.) The United States has strong working relationships with these countries. Our friendship with them is complex. In the areas where we share mutual interests, we work together. In other areas, we have strong disagreements. China's leaders believe that they can continue to open the nation's economy without opening its political system. We disagree. (Applause.) In Russia, reforms that were once promised to empower citizens have been derailed, with troubling implications for democratic development. Part of a good relationship is the ability to talk openly about our disagreements. So the United States will continue to build our relationships with these countries -- and we will do it without abandoning our principles or our values. (Applause.)

We appreciate that free societies take shape at different speeds in different places. One virtue of democracy is that it reflects local history and traditions. Yet there are fundamental elements that all democracies share -- freedom of speech, religion, press, and assembly; rule of law enforced by independent courts; private property rights; and political parties that compete in free and fair elections. (Applause.) These rights and institutions are the foundation of human dignity, and as countries find their own path to freedom, they must find a loyal partner in the United States of America.

Extending the reach of freedom is a mission that unites democracies around the world. Some of the greatest contributions are coming from nations with the freshest memories of tyranny. I appreciate the Czech Republic's support for

human rights projects in Belarus and Burma and Cuba. I thank Germany, and Poland, and the Czech Republic, and Hungary, and Slovenia, and Georgia, Lithuania, Estonia, Croatia for contributing to the new United Nations Democracy Fund. I'm grateful for the commitment many new democracies in Central and Eastern Europe are making to Afghanistan and Iraq. I appreciate that these countries are willing to do the hard work necessary to enable people who want to be free to live in a free society. (Applause.)

In all these ways, the freedom agenda is making a difference. The work has been difficult, and that is not going to change. There will be triumphs and failures, progress and setbacks. Ending tyranny cannot be achieved overnight. And of course, this objective has its critics.

Some say that ending tyranny means "imposing our values" on people who do not share them, or that people live in parts of the world where freedom cannot take hold. That is refuted by the fact that every time people are given a choice, they choose freedom. We saw that when the people of Latin America turned dictatorships into democracies, and the people of South Africa replaced apartheid with a free society, and the people of Indonesia ended their long authoritarian rule. We saw it when Ukrainians in orange scarves demanded that their ballots be counted. We saw it when millions of Afghans and Iraqis defied the terrorists to elect free governments. At a polling station in Baghdad, I was struck by the words of an Iraqi -- he had one leg -- and he told a reporter, "I would have crawled here if I had to." Was democracy -- I ask the critics, was democracy imposed on that man? Was freedom a value he did not share? The truth is that the only ones who have to impose their values are the extremists and the radicals and the tyrants. (Applause.)

And that is why the communists crushed the Prague Spring, and threw an innocent playwright in jail, and trembled at the sight of a Polish Pope. History shows that ultimately, freedom conquers fear. And given a chance, freedom will conquer fear in every nation on Earth. (Applause.)

Another objection -- objection is that ending tyranny will unleash chaos. Critics point to the violence in Afghanistan, or Iraq, or Lebanon as evidence that freedom leaves people less safe. But look who's causing the violence. It's the terrorists, it's the extremists. It is no coincidence that they are targeting young democracies in the Middle East. They know that the success of free societies there is a mortal threat to their ambitions -- and to their very survival. The fact that our enemies are fighting back is not a reason to doubt democracy. It is evidence that they recognize democracy's power. It is evidence that we are at war. And it is evidence that free nations must do what it takes to prevail. (Applause.)

Still, some argue that a safer goal would be stability, especially in the Middle East. The problem is that pursuing stability at the expense of liberty does not lead to peace -- it leads to September the 11th, 2001. (Applause.) The policy of tolerating tyranny is a moral and strategic failure. It is a mistake the world must not repeat in the 21st century.

Others fear that democracy will bring dangerous forces to power, such as Hamas in the Palestinian Territories. Elections will not always turn out the way we hope. Yet democracy consists of more than a single trip to the ballot box. Democracy requires meaningful opposition parties, a vibrant civil society, a government that enforces the law and responds to the needs of its people. Elections can accelerate the creation of such institutions. In a democracy, people will not vote for a life of perpetual violence. To stay in power, elected officials must listen to their people and pursue their desires for peace -- or, in democracies, the voters will replace them through free elections.

Finally, there's the contention that ending tyranny is unrealistic. Well, some argue that extending democracy around the world is simply too difficult to achieve. That's nothing new. We've heard that criticism before throughout history. At every stage of the Cold War, there were those who argued that the Berlin Wall was permanent, and that people behind the Iron Curtain would never overcome their oppressors. History has sent a different message.

The lesson is that freedom will always have its skeptics. But that's not the whole story. There are also people like you, and the loved ones you represent -- men and women with courage to risk everything for your ideals. In his first address as President, Vaclav Havel proclaimed, "People, your government has returned to you!" He was echoing the first speech of Tomas Masaryk -- who was, in turn, quoting the 17th century Czech teacher Comenius. His message was that freedom is timeless. It does not belong to one government or one generation. Freedom is the dream and the right of every person in every nation in every age. (Applause.)

The United States of America believes deeply in that message. It was the inspiration for our founding, when we declared that "all men are created equal." It was the conviction that led us to help liberate this continent, and stand with the captive nations through their long struggle. It is the truth that guides our nation to oppose radicals and extremists and terror and tyranny in the world today. And it is the reason I have such great confidence in the men and women in this room.

I leave Prague with a certainty that the cause of freedom is not tired, and that its future is in the best of hands. With unbreakable faith in the power of liberty, you will inspire your people, you will lead your nations, and you will change the world.


Thanks for having me. And may God bless you. (Applause.)

END 4:38 P.M. (Local)

President Bush Discusses Importance of Democracy in Middle East

Remarks by the President on Winston Churchill and the War on Terror
Library of Congress
Washington, D.C.

2:31 P.M. EST

 VIDEO (REAL) VIDEO (REAL)
 AUDIO

THE PRESIDENT: Thank you all very much.

I'm honored to join you as we welcome a magnificent collection to the Library of Congress. I've always been a great admirer of Sir Winston Churchill, admirer of his career, admirer of his strength, admirer of his character -- so much so that I keep a stern-looking bust of Sir Winston in the Oval Office. He watches my every move. (Laughter.)

Like few other men in this or any other age, Churchill is admired throughout the world. And through the writings and his personal effects, we feel the presence of the great man, himself. As people tour this exhibit, I'm sure they'll be able to smell the whiskey and the cigars. (Laughter.)



I appreciate Jim Billington for hosting this exhibit, and for hosting me. It's good to see Marjorie. I appreciate the members of Winston Churchill's family who have come: Lady Mary Soames, who is a daughter; Winston Churchill III, the man bears a mighty name, and his wife, Luce; Celia Sandys, who is a granddaughter. Thank you all for coming. We're honored to have you here in America.

I'm pleased to see my friend, the Ambassador from the United Kingdom to America, Sir David Manning and Lady Manning here, as well. I appreciate the members of Congress who have come -- the Chairman. We've got a couple of mighty powerful people here, Winston, with us today -- Chairmen Lugar and Warner, Senator Bennett, Congressmen Bill Young, Doug Bereuter, Jerry Lewis, Tom Petri, Vern Ehlers and Jane Harman. I'm glad you all are here, thanks for taking time to come.

This exhibit bears witness to one of the most varied and consequential lives of modern history. Churchill's 90 years on earth, joined together two ages. He stood in the presence of Queen Victoria, who first reigned in 1837. He was the Prime Minister to Elizabeth II, who reigns today. Sir Winston met Theodore Roosevelt, and he met Richard Nixon.

Over his long career, Winston Churchill knew success and he knew failure, but he never passed unnoticed. He was a prisoner in the Boer

War, a controversial strategist in the Great War. He was the rallying voice of the Second World War, and a prophet of the Cold War. He helped abolish the sweat shops. He gave coal miners an eight-hour day. He was an early advocate of the tank. And he helped draw boundary lines that remain on the map of the Middle East. He was an extraordinary man.

In spare moments, pacing and dictating to harried secretaries, he produced 15 books. He said, "History will be kind to me -- for I intend to write it." (Laughter.) History has been kind to Winston Churchill, as it usually is to those who help save the world.

In a decade of political exile during the 1930s, Churchill was dismissed as a nuisance and a crank. When the crisis he predicted arrived, nearly everyone knew that only one man could rescue Britain. The same trait that had made him an outcast eventually made him the leader of his country. Churchill possessed, in one writer's words, an "absolute refusal, unlike many good and prudent men around him, to compromise or to surrender."

In the years that followed, as a great enemy was defeated, a great partnership was formed. President Franklin Roosevelt found in Churchill a confidence and resolve that equaled his own. As they led the allies to victory, they passed many days in each other's company, and grew in respect and friendship. The President once wrote to the Prime Minister, "It is fun to be in the same decade with you." And this sense of fellowship and common purpose between our two nations continues to this day. I have also been privileged to know a fine British leader, a man of conscience and unshakable determination. In his determination to do the right thing, and not the easy thing, I see the spirit of Churchill in Prime Minister Tony Blair. (Applause.)

When World War II ended, Winston Churchill immediately understood that the victory was incomplete. Half of Europe was occupied by an aggressive empire. And one of Churchill's own finest hours came after the war ended in a speech he delivered in Fulton, Missouri. Churchill warned of the new danger facing free peoples. In stark but measured tones, he spoke of the need for free nations to unite against communist expansion. Marshal Stalin denounced the speech as a "call to war." A prominent American journalist called the speech an "almost catastrophic blunder." In fact, Churchill had set a simple truth before the world: that tyranny could not be ignored or appeased without great risk. And he boldly asserted that freedom -- freedom was the right of men and women on both sides of the Iron Curtain.

Churchill understood that the Cold War was not just a standoff of armies, but a conflict of visions -- a clear divide between those who put their faith in ideologies of power, and those who put their faith in the choices of free people. The successors of Churchill and Roosevelt -- leaders like Truman,

and Reagan, and Thatcher -- led a confident alliance that held firm as communism collapsed under the weight of its own contradictions.

Today, we are engaged in a different struggle. Instead of an armed empire, we face stateless networks. Instead of massed armies, we face deadly technologies that must be kept out of the hands of terrorists and outlaw regimes.

Yet in some ways, our current struggles or challenges are similar to those Churchill knew. The outcome of the war on terror depends on our ability to see danger and to answer it with strength and purpose. One by one, we are finding and dealing with the terrorists, drawing tight what Winston Churchill called a "closing net of doom." This war also is a conflict of visions. In their worship of power, their deep hatreds, their blindness to innocence, the terrorists are successors to the murderous ideologies of the 20th century. And we are the heirs of the tradition of liberty, defenders of the freedom, the conscience and the dignity of every person. Others before us have shown bravery and moral clarity in this cause. The same is now asked of us, and we accept the responsibilities of history.

The tradition of liberty has advocates in every culture and in every religion. Our great challenges support the momentum of freedom in the greater Middle East. The stakes could not be higher. As long as that region is a place of tyranny and despair and anger, it will produce men and movements that threaten the safety of Americans and our friends. We seek the advance of democracy for the most practical of reasons: because democracies do not support terrorists or threaten the world with weapons of mass murder.

America is pursuing a forward strategy of freedom in the Middle East. We're challenging the enemies of reform, confronting the allies of terror, and expecting a higher standard from our friends. For too long, American policy looked away while men and women were oppressed, their rights ignored and their hopes stifled. That era is over, and we can be confident. As in Germany, and Japan, and Eastern Europe, liberty will overcome oppression in the Middle East. (Applause.)

True democratic reform must come from within. And across the Middle East, reformers are pushing for change. From Morocco, to Jordan, to Qatar, we're seeing elections and new protections for women and the stirring of political pluralism. When the leaders of reform ask for our help, America will give it. (Applause.)

I've asked the Congress to double the budget for the National Endowment for Democracy, raising its annual total to \$80 million. We will focus its new work on bringing free elections and free markets and free press and free speech and free labor unions to the Middle East. The National Endowment

gave vital service in the Cold War, and now we are renewing its mission of freedom in the war on terror. (Applause.)

Freedom of the press and the free flow of ideas are vital foundations of liberty. To cut through the hateful propaganda that fills the airwaves in the Muslim world and to promote open debate, we're broadcasting the message of tolerance and truth in Arabic and Persian to tens of millions. In some cities of the greater Middle East, our radio stations are rated number one amongst younger listeners. Next week, we will launch a new Middle East television network called, Alhurra -- Arabic for "the free one." The network will broadcast news and movies and sports and entertainment and educational programming to millions of people across the region. Through all these efforts, we are telling the people in the Middle East the truth about the values and the policies of the United States, and the truth always serves the cause of freedom. (Applause.)

America is also taking the side of reformers who have begun to change the Middle East. We're providing loans and business advice to encourage a culture of entrepreneurship in the Middle East. We've established business internships for women, to teach them the skills of enterprise, and to help them achieve social and economic equality. We're supporting the work of judicial reformers who demand independent courts and the rule of law. At the request of countries in the region, we're providing Arabic language textbooks to boys and girls. We're helping education reformers improve their school systems.

The message to those who long for liberty and those who work for reform is that they can be certain they have a strong ally, a constant ally in the United States of America. (Applause.)

Our strategy and our resolve are being tested in two countries, in particular. The nation of Afghanistan was once the primary training ground of al Qaeda, the home of a barbaric regime called the Taliban. It now has a new constitution that guarantees free election and full participation by women. (Applause.)

The nation of Iraq was for decades an ally of terror ruled by the cruelty and caprice of one man. Today, the people of Iraq are moving toward self-government. Our coalition is working with the Iraqi Governing Council to draft a basic law with a bill of rights. Because our coalition acted, terrorists lost a source of reward money for suicide bombings. Because we acted, nations of the Middle East no longer need to fear reckless aggression from a ruthless dictator who had the intent and capability to inflict great harm on his people and people around the world. Saddam Hussein now sits in a prison cell, and Iraqi men and women are no longer carried to torture chambers and rape rooms, and dumped in mass graves. Because the Baathist regime is history, Iraq is no longer a grave and gathering threat to free nations. Iraq is a free nation. (Applause.)

Freedom still has enemies in Afghanistan and Iraq. All the Baathists and Taliban and terrorists know that if democracy were to be, it would undermine violence -- their hope for violence and innocent death. They understand that if democracy were to be undermined, then the hopes for change throughout the Middle East would be set back. That's what they know. That's what they think. We know that the success of freedom in these nations would be a landmark event in the history of the Middle East, and the history of the world. Across the region, people would see that freedom is the path to progress and national dignity. A thousand lies would stand refuted, falsehoods about the incompatibility of democratic values in Middle Eastern cultures. And all would see, in Afghanistan and Iraq, the success of free institutions at the heart of the greater Middle East.

Achieving this vision will be the work of many nations over time, requiring the same strength of will and confidence of purpose that propelled freedom to victory in the defining struggles of the last century. Today, we're at a point of testing, when people and nations show what they're made out of. America will never be intimidated by thugs and assassins. We will do what it takes. We will not leave until the job is done. (Applause.)

We will succeed because when given a choice, people everywhere, from all walks of life, from all religions, prefer freedom to violence and terror. We will succeed because human beings are not made by the Almighty God to live in tyranny. We will succeed because of who we are -- because even when it is hard, Americans always do what is right.

And we know the work that has fallen to this generation. When great striving is required of us, we will always have an example in the man we honor today. Winston Churchill was a man of extraordinary personal gifts, yet his greatest strength was his unshakable confidence in the power and appeal of freedom. It was the great fortune of mankind that he was there in an hour of peril. And it remains the great duty of mankind to advance the cause of freedom in our time.

May God bless the memory of Winston Churchill. May God continue to bless the United States of America. (Applause.)

END 2:52 P.M. EST

President Discusses Freedom and Democracy

The Rose Garden

11:25 A.M. EST

THE PRESIDENT: Thank you all. Thank you. Good morning. Welcome to the White House. Please be seated. Senator Warner, it's good to see you, sir. Thank you for coming. I appreciate citizens from Iraq who have joined us. I appreciate my fellow citizens who have joined us. Thanks for coming.

Before I talk about Iraq, I do want to say that on behalf of the American people, Laura and I offer our condolences to the victims of yesterday's earthquake in Indonesia. This earthquake has claimed lives and destroyed buildings in a part of Indonesia that is only now beginning to recover from the destruction caused by the tsunami three months ago. Our officials have offered initial assistance and are moving quickly to gather information to determine what additional relief is needed.



I appreciate Andrew Natsios of USAID being with us today, and I know he and his team are ready to respond, to help. People of Indonesia can know, as well, that they have our prayers and that our government is ready to assist.

Just a few minutes ago I met with a group of people dedicated to building a new Iraq. Most of them were born in Iraq. They come from different backgrounds; they practice different religions; they have one thing in common -- they all voted in the January elections. (Applause.)

We're also joined today by Iraqi law students visiting the United States for an international competition, by members of Iraq's religious communities in town to learn about democracy, and by others who helped organize the -- Iraq's elections held in the United States. I want to welcome you all. I want to thank you for your strong belief in democracy and freedom. It's a belief that, with their vote, the Iraqi people signal to the world that they intend to claim their liberty and build a future of freedom for their country. And it was a powerful signal.

I commend the more than 8 million Iraqis who defied the car bombers and assassins to vote that day. (Applause.) I appreciate the determination of

the Iraqi electoral workers who withstood threats and intimidation to make a transparent election possible. I salute the courageous Iraqi security forces who risked their lives to protect voters.

By electing 275 men and women to the transitional national assembly, the Iraqi people took another bold step toward self-government. Today, Iraqis took another step on the road to a free society when the assembly held its second meeting. We expect a new government will be chosen soon and that the assembly will vote to confirm it. We look forward to working with the government that emerges from this process. We're confident that this new government will be inclusive, will respect human rights, and will uphold fundamental freedoms for all Iraqis.

We have seen many encouraging signs in Iraq. The world has watched Iraqi women vote in enormous numbers. (Applause.) The world has seen more than 80 women take their seats as elected representatives in the new assembly. (Applause.) We've also seen the beginnings of a new national dialogue, as leaders who did well in the last election have reached out to Sunnis who did not participate.

In a democracy, the government must uphold the will of the majority while respecting the rights of minorities. (Applause.) And Iraq's new leaders are determined that the government of a free Iraq will be representative of their country's diverse population. The new transitional national assembly includes people and parties with differing visions for the future of their country. In a democratic Iraq, these differences will be resolved through debate and persuasion, instead of force and intimidation.



In forming their new government, the Iraqis have shown that the spirit of compromise has survived more than three decades of dictatorship. They will need that spirit in the weeks and months ahead, as they continue the hard work of building their democracy. After choosing the leaders of their new government, the next step will be the drafting of a new constitution for a free and democratic Iraq. In October, that document is scheduled to be put before the Iraqi people in a national referendum. Once the new constitution is approved, Iraqis will return to the polls to elect a permanent, constitutional government.

This democracy will need defending. And Iraqi security forces are taking on greater responsibility in the fight against the insurgents and terrorists. Today, more than 145,000 Iraqis have been trained and are serving courageously across Iraq. In recent weeks, they've taken the lead in offensive operations in places like Baghdad and Samara and Mosul. We

will continue to train Iraqis so they can take responsibility for the security of their country, and then our forces will come home with the honor they've earned. (Applause.)

Iraqis are taking big steps on a long journey of freedom. A free society requires more than free elections; it also requires free institutions, a vibrant civil society, rule of law, anti-corruption, and the habits of liberty built over generations. By claiming their own freedom, the Iraqis are transforming the region, and they're doing it by example and inspiration, rather than by conquest and domination. (Applause.) The free people of Iraq are now doing what Saddam Hussein never could -- making Iraq a positive example for the entire Middle East. (Applause.)

Today, people in a long-troubled part of the world are standing up for their freedom. In the last few months, we've witnessed successful elections in Afghanistan, Iraq, and the Palestinian Territories; peaceful demonstrations on the streets of Beirut, and steps toward democratic reform in places like Egypt and Saudi Arabia. The trend is clear: Freedom is on the march. Freedom is the birthright and deep desire of every human soul, and spreading freedom's blessings is the calling of our time. And when freedom and democracy take root in the Middle East, America and the world will be safer and more peaceful. (Applause.)

I want to thank you all for coming. We ask for God's blessings on the brave souls of Iraq, and God continue to bless the American people. Thank you. (Applause.)

END 11:35 A.M. EST

PRES. BUSH'S SPEECH: DEMOCRACY IN IRAQ

[2006-12-04 10:04]



(Dec. 2, 2006)

Good morning. I returned home this week from a visit to the Middle East. On my trip, I met with Prime Minister Maliki of Iraq to discuss how we can improve the situation on the ground in his country and help the Iraqis build a lasting democracy.

My meeting with Prime Minister Maliki was our third since he took office six months ago. With each meeting, I'm coming to know him better, and I'm becoming more impressed by his desire to make the difficult choices that will put his country on a better path. During our meeting, I told the Prime Minister that America is ready to make changes to better support the unity government of Iraq, and that several key principles will guide our efforts.

First, the success of Prime Minister Maliki's government is critical to success in Iraq. His unity government was chosen through free elections in which nearly 12 million Iraqis cast their ballots in support of democracy. Our goal in Iraq is to strengthen his democratic government and help Iraq's leaders build a free nation that can govern itself, sustain itself, and defend itself -- and is an ally in the war on terror.

Second, the success of the Iraqi government depends on the success of the Iraqi security forces. The training of Iraqi security forces has been steady, yet we both agreed that we need to do more, and we need to do it faster. The Prime Minister wants to show the people who elected him that he's willing to make the hard decisions necessary to provide security.

To do that, he needs larger and more capable Iraqi forces under his control, and he needs them quickly. By helping Iraq's elected leaders get the Iraqi forces they need, we will help Iraq's democratic government become more effective in

fighting the terrorists and other violent extremists, and in providing security and stability, particularly in Baghdad.

Third, success in Iraq requires strong institutions that will stand the test of time and hardship. Our goal in Iraq is to help Prime Minister Maliki build a country that is united, where the rule of law prevails and the rights of minorities are respected. The Prime Minister made clear that splitting his country into parts is not what the Iraqi people want and that any partition of Iraq would lead to an increase in sectarian violence.

Security in Iraq requires sustained action by the Iraqi security forces, yet in the long term, security in Iraq hinges on reconciliation among Iraq's different ethnic and religious communities. And the Prime Minister has committed his government to achieving that goal.

The Prime Minister and I also discussed the review of America's strategy in Iraq that is now nearing completion. As part of this review, I've asked our military leaders in the Pentagon and those on the ground in Iraq to provide their recommendations on the best way forward.

A bipartisan panel, led by former Secretary of State James Baker and former Congressman Lee Hamilton, is also conducting a review. And I look forward to receiving their report next week. I want to hear all advice before I make any decisions about adjustments to our strategy in Iraq.

I recognize that the recent violence in Iraq has been unsettling. Many people in our country are wondering about the way forward. The work ahead will not be easy, yet by helping Prime Minister Maliki strengthen Iraq's democratic institutions and promote national reconciliation, our military leaders and diplomats can help put Iraq on a solid path to liberty and democracy. The decisions we make in Iraq will be felt across the broader Middle East.

Failure in Iraq would embolden the extremists who hate America and want nothing more than to see our demise. It would strengthen the hand of those who are seeking to undermine young democracies across the region and give the

extremists an open field to overthrow moderate governments, take control of countries, impose their rule on millions, and threaten the American people. Our Nation must not allow this to happen.

Success in Iraq will require leaders in Washington -- Republicans and Democrats alike -- to come together and find greater consensus on the best path forward. So I will work with leaders in both parties to achieve this goal. Together we can help Iraqis build a free and democratic nation in the heart of the Middle East, strengthen moderates and reformers across the region who are working for peace, and leave our children and grandchildren a more secure and hopeful world. Thank you for listening.

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Judul Skripsi : A Discourse Analysis of Bush's Speeches on
Democracy Issue through Illocutionary Act Theory

No.	Tanggal	Materi Konsultasi	Tanda Tangan Pembimbing
1.	20 Maret 2007	Konsultasi proposal skripsi	
2.	27 Maret 2007	Revisi proposal skripsi	
3.	9 April 2007	Acc proposal skripsi	
4.	19 April 2007	Konsultasi Bab I, II, III	
5.	28 April 2007	Revisi Bab I, II, III	
6.	22 Mei 2007	Acc Bab I, II, III	
7.	11 Juni 2007	Konsultasi Bab IV	
8.	20 Juli 2007	Revisi Bab IV	
9.	20 Agustus 2007	Acc Bab IV dan konsultasi Bab V	
10.	29 Agustus 2007	Revisi Bab V	
11.	4 September 2007	Acc Bab V	
12.	13 September 2007	Konsultasi keseluruhan bab	
13.	17 September 2007	Acc keseluruhan bab	

Malang, 22 September 2007

Mengetahui,

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