



# "We're a peaceful nation"

KRIGSRETORIK EFTER 11 SEPTEMBER

Brigitte Mral

KBM:S TEMASERIE | 2004:5



KRISBEREDSKAPS  
MYNDIGHETEN

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Titel: "We're a peaceful nation" – Krigsretorik efter 11 september

Utgiven av Krisberedskapsmyndigheten (KBM)

Omslagsfoto: President George W. Bush klädd i flygverall tillsammans med löjtnant Ryan Phillips för att flyga en S-3 Viking till hangarfartyget USS Abraham Lincoln från flygbasen vid North Island i San Diego den 1 maj 2003. Bush flög för att välkomna de 5000 soldaterna ombord på hangarfartyget efter att de kommit hem från kriget i Irak.  
Mike Blake/Reuters/Scanpix

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# Innehåll

<b>KBM:s förord</b>	<b>5</b>
<b>Förord</b>	<b>7</b>
INLEDNING:	
<b>Retorik i kristider</b>	<b>9</b>
<b>Den retoriska upptakten efter 11 september</b>	<b>15</b>
Tema "Krig"	17
Tema "Ondska"	19
Tema "Jakt"	22
14 SEPTEMBER 2001:	
<b>Ground Zero-talet</b>	<b>24</b>
20 SEPTEMBER 2001:	
<b>"Freedom and fear are at war"</b>	<b>27</b>
Tema "Frihet"	31
7 OKTOBER 2001:	
<b>Krigstal Afghanistan</b>	<b>34</b>
Tema "Kvinnoförtryck"	35
29 JANUARI 2002:	
<b>State of the Union</b>	<b>38</b>
7 OKTOBER 2002:	
<b>Cincinnati-talet</b>	<b>40</b>
Tema "Massförstörelsevapen"	42

5 FEBRUARI 2003: <b>Colin Powells tal i FN</b>	<b>44</b>
15 FEBRUARI 2003: <b>Tony Blairs tal</b>	<b>49</b>
16 MARS 2003: <b>Toppmötet på Azorerna</b> Tema "Hjälpssamhet"	<b>52</b> 53
19 MARS 2003: <b>George W. Bushs tal inför Irakinvasionen</b> Tema "Arbete" Tema "Spel och sport"	<b>55</b> 56 57
1 MAJ 2003: <b>George W. Bushs segertal</b>	<b>60</b>
<b>Epilog</b>	<b>63</b>
<b>Referenser</b>	<b>65</b>
<b>Bilagor</b>	<b>67</b>
Bilaga 1. President George W. Bushs tal till nationen den 11 september 2001	67
Bilaga 2. Katedral-talet	69
Bilaga 3. Remarks by the President Upon arrival	71
Bilaga 4. "Freedom and fear are at war"	74
Bilaga 5. Krigstal Afghanistan	79
Bilaga 6. Radio address by Laura Bush to the Nation	81
Bilaga 7. State of the Union	83
Bilaga 8. Cincinnati-talet	89
Bilaga 9. Colin Powells tal i FN	94
Bilaga 10. Tony Blairs tal	111
Bilaga 11. Toppmötet på Azorerna	116
Bilaga 12. George W. Bushs tal inför irakinvasionen	123
Bilaga 13. George W. Bushs segertal	125

# KBM:s förord

När något stort och omvälvande inträffat vill människor ha besked och kräver att ansvariga träder fram på den offentliga scenen. Det har människor krävt i alla tider. Ansvariga politiker måste i sådana situationer visa ledarskap genom att förklara vad som hänt och visa beslutsamhet. De måste förklara vilka åtgärder som kommer att vidtas för att återställa ordning efter det kaos som uppstått. Allt detta måste göras på ett begripligt sätt som ska kläs i en språklig dräkt.

Retoriken, med rötter från antiken, används fortfarande på liknande sätt då som nu. Det handlar om konsten att övertyga. Det går även lika bra att använda metoden för att analysera situationer. Detta är viktigt eftersom vi dagligen och framförallt i orostiden när krig och kriser dominerar agendan, är mottagare av budskap som skall få oss att ta ställning till något.

Ledare som George W. Bush och Tony Blair talade efter den 11 september till sina medborgare och införde sina politiska församlingar om nödvändigheten att gå i krig. Deras motståndare

var varken en stat eller krigsmakt. Det var istället en motståndare utan hemvist som agerar genom ett så kallat nätverk. Situationen var ny och uppgiften att med språkets hjälp övertyga om vad som skulle göras blev stor.

Brigitte Mral, professor i retorik vid Humanistiska institutionen på Örebro universitet, har forskat och författat böcker inom ämnet retorik. Hon analyserar i denna bok vilken roll retorik och propaganda spelar efter den 11 september 2001 fram till Irakkriget. Att analysera hur hotbilder kommuniceras är en viktig del för samhällets krisberedskap. Därför har KBM tagit initiativet till denna studie om retorik och propaganda.

Krisberedskapsmyndigheten (KBM) har till uppgift att stärka samhällets krishanteringsförmåga. Detta gör myndigheten bland annat genom att utveckla metoder för kriskommunikation och krishantering. KBM ska också bedriva omvärldsbevakning, initiera forskning och studier samt förmedla resultat inom området. Denna studie ingår i KBM:s temaserie.

*Henrik Olinder*

Handläggare kriskommunikation, Krisberedskapsmyndigheten



**Bild.** President George W. Bush och försvarsminister Donald Rumsfeld besöker den skadade delen vid försvarshögkvarteret Pentagon den 12 september 2001. FOTO: PAUL J. RICHARDS/AFP

# Förord

*”Ord och bilder är farliga och vi bör vara förfärligt rädda för dem.”*

KURT JOHANNESSON, EXPRESSEN,  
25 OKTOBER 2001

Terroristattackerna i New York den 11 september 2001 innebar början till en ny och skrämmande epok av global osäkerhet. I kristider som dessa, när det gäller att mobilisera eller åtminstone motivera befolkningar till gemensamma åtgärder, startar alltid ett omfattande retoriskt arbete. Människor måste övertygas att så långt möjligt godta ledningens vägval. Övertygad blir man givetvis genom lyckade aktioner och framgångsrika strategier. Men i inledningsskedet och vid varje kritiskt läge behöver strategerna motivera sina åtgärder genom argument, lägesbeskrivningar och framtidsvisioner, alltså med hjälp av retorik. Det gäller att verbalt skapa legitimitet för de aktioner som den politiska och militära ledningen vidtar, i detta fall det så kallade kriget mot terrorismen.

Denna studie belyser vilka retoriska grepp som användes under de två militära aktioner som inleddes som en direkt följd av händelserna den 11 september, de som George W. Bush ibland betecknar som ”battle of Afghanistan”, resp. ”battle of Iraq”.<sup>1</sup> Syftet är att komma fram till en bättre förståelse för krigsstrategernas målinriktade arbete med att definiera världen åt oss. I sitt stora tal inför kongressen, den 20 september 2001, säger Bush: ”... this country will define our times, not be defined by them”.<sup>2</sup> I denna studie ska vi granska hur krigsledningens definitioner av verkligheten ser ut. De europeiska staterna har förhållit sig mycket olika till alliansens, och främst USA:s, tolkning av händelserna samt deras militära konsekvenser. Från svenskt regeringshåll har man varit försiktig avvaktande, även när det gällde de av FN kritiserade aktionerna i Irak våren 2003. I långa stycken har man både från politiker- och mediehåll accepterat

1. Se t.ex. Bushs tal den 1 maj 2003 <http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2003/05/iraq/20030501-15.html>

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



den dominerande tolkningen. Vi har varit utsatta för en stor propaganda-offensiv, och med den snabbhet som händelserna utvecklade sig gavs lite tid för att reflektera över innebörden i beskrivningarna. Denna studie utgör ett försök att fundera över vad som egentligen har sagts från ledande håll om världsläget under de tre år som har gått efter 11 september, vilka begrepp, bilder och berättelser man har använt för att få vårt samtycke. Syftet är inte att vara efterklok utan att ge en hjälp till eftertanke, till en bättre beredskap när det gäller att bemöta propagandistiska kampanjer.

Utgångsmaterialet är några av de hundratals tal som har hållits för att förklara och motivera aktionerna, både från USA:s och Storbritanniens sida. Talen finns med som bilagor i slutet av boken. Det man redan vid en snabb blick på talmaterialet kan konstatera är att det pågick ett mycket medvetet arbete med nyckelbegrepp, värdeord och metaforer, d.v.s. bildrika beskrivningar av det som skedde. Här ska några av

dessa analyseras för att belysa hur man i propagandan snävar in världsbilden till några tydliga motsättningar, svartvita bilder, lätta att ta till sig, lättsmälta och användbara, inte minst för medierna.

Studien omfattar i princip två händelsekedjor, en kring tiden direkt efter 11 september 2001 och krigshandlingarna i Afghanistan, den andra kring Irakkriget 2003. Båda perioderna genererade ett antal huvudbegrepp vars innebörder kommer att analyseras var för sig och över tid för att få en fördjupad förståelse för propagandisternas försök att skapa en ny världsbild. Studien ger dels en kronologisk genomgång av några centrala tal och retoriska situationer, dels, som separata teman, en analys av återkommande retoriska teman och i synnerhet av vaga begrepp och metaforer. Fokus kommer att ligga inte så mycket på hållbarheten i argumentationen utan på själva ordvalet i tal av främst George W. Bush, men också i viss mån av Tony Blair och Colin Powell. Studien inleds med några reflektioner kring begreppen retorik och propaganda.

*Brigitte Mral*

Professor i retorik, Örebro universitet

## Retorik i kristider

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

GEORGE W. BUSH, 7 OKTOBER 2001

Händelserna den 11 september var obegripliga i all sin tragik. För att få en chans att förstå dem myntades av både politiker och journalister en lång rad beteckningar: katastrof, tragedi, massmord, attack, terrorangrepp, attentat och krig, för att bara nämna några. Varje begrepp uttrycker en verklighetsbild, från ödesbestämd olycka över kriminell handling till militär aktion. De utgör långt ifrån ett hjälplöst famlande efter förklaringar utan ger handlingsanvisningar om hur verkligheten och hotet ska hanteras. Bushadministrationen

valde mycket snabbt en krigsmetaforik som beskrev att USA befann sig i ett krigstillstånd, där det skulle finnas vinnare och förlorare: ”Make no mistake about it: underneath our tears is the strong determination of America to win this war. And we will win it.”<sup>3</sup>

Det är en gammal retorisk insikt att en sak uppfattas beroende på hur den betecknas. Namn och begrepp skapar vår verklighetsuppfattning och styr vårt agerande i hög grad. Sedan 11 september befinner vi oss i något som har definierats som ett krigstillstånd av nya dimensioner, det s.k. kriget mot terrorismen. Ett krigstillstånd som har framkallat tidvis närmast dagliga ansträngningar att med språkets hjälp övertyga om dess rättfärdighet. Detta blev inte minst tydligt i samband med förberedelserna och genomförandet av de militära aktionerna i Afghanistan hösten 2001 och i Irak våren 2003. Att starta ett angrepp på ett annat land är alltid ett tvivelaktigt företag, vare sig man väljer att kalla det för krig eller väljer om-

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

skrivningar som t.ex. konflikt, aktioner eller fredsskapande åtgärder. Oavsett benämning, och även om åtgärden kan framstå som legitim, handlar en militär aggression om att befolkningen ska skicka i väg sina söner och döttrar på livsfarliga uppdrag. Den handlar om att avsätta oöverskådliga mängder av finansiella medel ur en oftast redan pressad statsbudget, samt att riskera lika oöverskådliga skador i form av mänskligt lidande och miljöförstöring. För att motivera detta har det i alla tider gjorts stora ansträngningar att övertyga befolkningen om krigens rättfärdighet.

Stora händelser kräver ibland stora ord. I kristider förväntar man sig även i Sverige att politikerna ska bli retoriker och förklara det som sker så att vi kan förstå det, samt ge handlingsanvisningar för framtiden. Men i Sverige är missräksamheten mot patosfylld, känslös, retorik stor, och det finns en hälsosam skepsis mot stora ord. Vi är inte vana vid att politikerna i tid och otid går ut och talar till folket. Statsministern återfinns ytterst sällan i rollen som uttolkare av hela riksdagens, för att inte säga hela folkets, mening. Vi ser därför med viss förvåning på det amerikanska sättet att hantera det offentliga språket som vi ofta finner överdrivet, känsloladdat samt späckat med religiösa termer. Och just därför tenderar vi samtidigt att undervärdera betydelsen av vad som sägs. Vi tar det inte riktigt på allvar, ser det som ”bara retorik”, det

vill säga tomma ord utan täckning och betydelse – och missar därför ofta ordens egentliga innebörd och räckvidd. Vår ovana vid språkliga analyser leder lätt till en underskattning av laddningen i bilder och begrepp, speciellt när de är vaga och mångtydiga. En grundtanke i denna studie är att talen, hur skruvade de än ibland må verka för oss, uttrycker exakt vad som menas, att de inte är ”bara retorik” utan en beskrivning av verkligheten som medför konsekvenser för hur politiken kommer att föras och förstås. För om man ser talen som enbart ordrika skrivbordsprodukter missar man den kraft som finns i ständigt upprepade påståenden och i otydliga men kraftfulla termer och fraser.

Just i detta ”krig mot terrorismen” hopas otydliga men starka värdeord på varandra. Det är gott om ”God terms” och ”Devil terms”, för att använda retorikforskaren Richard M. Weavers begrepp.<sup>4</sup> Han syftar på starkt positivt och negativt laddade ord, gärna arrangerade i motsatspar: frihet – rädsla; civilisation – barbari; krig – fred. Detta pågående krig har alstrat en uppsjö av stora ord och känsloladdade bilder. Händelser har fått sin tolkning i värdeord och metaforer som stundom leder tankarna till det som efter George Orwells dystopi *1984* kallas för ”double talk”, där krig blir fred, angrepp blir ”förebyggande försvar” (preemptive defence), militär invasion blir ”regim-

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4. Weaver (1985), kap. IX, se även Hart (1997), s. 159f

skifte”, ockupation blir ”humanitär intervention”. Denna förvrängning av språket är självklart inget nytt i historien. Manipulation och lögn har varit en basingrediens i krigföringen i alla tider. Och för övrigt har makthavare i alla tider eftersträvat att förklara och försvara svåra och kontroversiella beslut med förskönande omskrivningar. Frågan i dag bör dock vara hur demokratiska samhällen ska förhålla sig till uppenbart vilseledande opinionsbildning, till närmast öppet manipulativ påverkan. Ett sätt vore att öva upp känsligheten för bedrägliga retoriska knep och verbalt fusk. För man behöver inte vara motståndare till militära handlingar för att kräva ett någorlunda rakt och ärligt språk i en krissituation. Ett demokratiskt samhälle har den rationella dialogen som grundpelare. När demokratiska länder går i krig bör man därför kunna kräva en öppen redovisning av skälen för krigets eventuella legitimitet, i stället för det som i den engelskspråkiga litteraturen kallas för ”perception management”<sup>5</sup>, d.v.s. insiktsstyrningen eller indoktrineringen, avsedd att med alla medel, även bedrägliga, skapa och omskapa våra känslor, motiv och resonemang. Visst har kriget debatterats, i medierna och på gatan. Men från styrande håll har det som i alla historiskt jämförbara perioder bedrivits en ensidig, svartvit åsiktspåverkan som borde vara främmande för demokratiska församlingar.

Det så kallade kriget mot terrorismen utgör inte minst ur retorisk synvinkel en unik period. Aldrig tidigare har det hållits så många tal innan, under och efter krigshändelser som under tiden efter 11 september. Gulfkriget och Natos militära aktioner på Balkan, för att ta några andra näraliggande krigshändelser, var också synnerligen talintensiva, men inte i den utsträckningen som vi här har bevittnat och alltjämt kan bevittna. Mediernas intensiva och mer eller mindre kritiska bevakning av händelserna går ofta emot krigsstrategernas intressen och är i varje fall en oberäknelig faktor. Ett sätt att styra opinionsbildningen är att kringgå medierna genom ett direkt tilltal från talarstolar och via utsändning av tal på Internet. Det senare är en relativt ny retorisk strategi som under det nu aktuella skedet har fått allt större betydelse, utan att medierna egentligen har uppmärksammat processen. Avsikten med denna strategi är att tolkningar av skeendena helst inte ska överlätas till journalister utan att ledarna ska kunna ”tala” direkt till medborgarna så fort tillfälle ges eller kan skapas. Den politiska och militära ledningen i främst USA försöker offensivt behålla tolkningsföreträdet genom att ständigt definiera och omdefiniera händelseförloppet. Talen har givetvis också journalister som målgrupp och utformas så att särskilt slående formuleringar kan lyftas in direkt i rubriker och artiklar. Men

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5. Rampton & Stauber (2003), s. 5f

tack vare Internets möjligheter kan talen publiceras i hela sin längd, att läsas, höras eller ses av vem som helst, när som helst. På Vita husets hemsida finns praktiskt taget samtliga offentliga uttalanden av Bush och hans stab samlade.<sup>6</sup> Denna öppna redovisning av allt som har sagts i officiella kanaler ger i sig ett visst intryck av trovärdighet. Men publiceringen av talen är framför allt ett sätt att motverka nyhetsflödets verklighetsbeskrivningar genom att ge egna definitioner av saken.

Med hjälp av språkets möjligheter försöker politikerna beskriva världen för oss så att det gynnar deras politiska, ekonomiska och militära syften. Samtidigt är vi ofta mottagliga för ibland enkla förklaringar. Retorikforskaren Murray Edelman menar att människor just i osäkerhetstider har behov av att någon ordnar den förvirrande verkligheten och ger den mening: "Människor som är ängsliga och förvirrade har ett stort behov av en organiserad politisk ordning – inklusive enkla förklaringar av hoten som skrämmer dem – och av försäkringar om att hoten bemöts."<sup>7</sup> Det är här propagandan kommer in. Propaganda kan enklast definieras som aktiv åsiktspåverkan, en förenklad form av retorik som försöker styra våra tankar och känslor mot ett bestämt mål. Detta sker inte nödvändigtvis alltid utan vårt mer eller mindre medvetna samtycke. När det gäller krig är verklig-

heten hotfull och polariserad till den grad att ensidiga budskap välkomnas av många för att den förvirrande situationen må ges tydligare konturer.

I tider av osäkerhet och i synnerhet i krigstider blir tolkningar av verkligheten oerhört centrala. Händelserna den 11 september skapade extremt stor osäkerhet både i USA och i världen i övrigt och, som en av kommentatorerna skriver: "Den 11 september 2001 blev det inom bara några timmar uppenbart att kommunikation med allmänheten är ett lika viktigt uppdrag som en amerikansk överbefälhavare har i krigstid."<sup>8</sup> Det "krig mot terrorismen" som omedelbart inleddes var inte ägnat att lugna sinnena. Krig är alltid ett osäkert företag, det gäller för de styrande att övertyga människorna om dess nödvändighet och ena nationen för att kunna genomföra projektet. I en analys av den engelska och amerikanska propagandan under första världskriget skrev Harold D. Lasswell redan 1927 om propagandans uppgifter:

"Ingen regering kunde hysa en förhoppning att vinna utan en enad nation bakom sig, och ingen regering kunde ha en enad nation bakom sig om den inte lyckades kontrollera sin befolknings tänkande. Man var tvungen att lita på att civilbefolkningen försåg fronten och krigsindustrin med nya rekryter. Krigets uppoffringar skulle bäras utan klagomål som spred oenig-

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

7. Edelman (1971), s. 65.

8. Dubose, m.fl. (2003), s. 201

het hemma och modlöshet i skyttegravarna.”<sup>9</sup>

Propagandateoretikern Lasswell kommer att citeras upprepade gånger i denna studie då den amerikanska och brittiska krigsretoriken i början av det 21:a århundradet i princip verkar följa de mönster som Lasswell kartlade för åttio år sedan. Propagandans mål är alltså att styra och kontrollera folks tänkande, och dess tekniker är välbeprövade och uppenbart fortfarande framgångsrika.

Propaganda är visserligen ett gammalt begrepp, för första gången använt inom den romersk-katolska kyrkan, som 1622 bildade organisationen *Congregatio de propaganda fide*, Kongregationen för trons utbredande. Propagandans medel att påverka politiska opinioner utvecklades till en maktfaktor under första världskriget, av engelsmännen och amerikanerna, för att sedan bli ett slags normal ingrediens i opinionsbildning i kristider. Propagandabegreppet är, när det gäller allmänt språkbruk, heller inte entydigt negativt. På svenska är exempelvis verbet ”propagera” relativt värdeneutralt. Inom den retoriska forskningen behandlas emellertid propagandan ur etisk synpunkt som den negativa motparten till den klassiska retoriken. Alltsedan Aristoteles ses som retorikens uppgift att göra goda argument mer övertygande och att vaccinera medborgare mot demagogers missbruk av språket och emotionella appeller, d.v.s. propaganda. Etiskt argumente-

rande propagandateoretiker som Stanley B. Cunningham ser propaganda som pseudokommunikation eller språkförfalskning:

“Emedan propaganda världen över betraktas som en ‘kommunikationsform’, är den egentligen mycket simplare än så. Propaganda härmar och utnyttjar visserligen kommunikationsstrukturer och processer, men eftersom propaganda så märkbart avviker från positiva villkor som förtroende, sanningsenlighet och förståelse som normalt förekommer i kommunikation och som vi vanemässigt förväntar oss i våra mångahanda utbyten, förtjänar den egentligen att beskrivas som förfalskad eller pseudokommunikation.”<sup>10</sup>

Och Cunningham menar att enda verkliga motmedlet mot propaganda är den klassiska värtalighetens etiska värderingar. Retoriken i dess klassiska mening kan därmed ses som ett försvar mot propagandisternas ansträngningar. Retorik ger analysverktyg för att kunna förhålla sig kritisk gentemot manipulativ kommunikation. Detta gäller propaganda i alla avseenden, även sådan som är avsedd för ”goda” syften.

Propaganda i sig är emellertid svårdefinierad och svårbedömd och propagandateorierna är många. Den belgiske filosofen och retorikhistorikern Michel Meyer definierar skillnaden mellan retorik och propaganda på följande sätt: ”Oavsett dess form, handlar retorik om det problematiska och det som

9. Lasswell (1927), s. 10

10. Cunningham (2002), s. 177f

kan ifrågasättas. / .../ Manipulation och propaganda fortskrider som om frågan den behandlar redan är löst. *Positiv retorik* å andra sidan klargör frågorna och framlägger argument för eller emot den valda lösningen.”<sup>11</sup>

Kommunikation i demokratier är per definition en pågående dialog mellan olika röster. Man kan också säga att ”positiv retorik” är deliberativ, d.v.s. väger olika ståndpunkter, är inriktad på meningsutbyte och gemensamma överväganden. Därav syns inte mycket till i en krigssituation där man inte anser sig ha råd med att släppa fram avvikande meningar. Här gäller propagandan, den negativa retoriken, eller, om man vill uttrycka saken mera värdeneutralt, den retorik som gynnar avsändaren mer än mottagaren, eller, som propagandaforskarna Garth Jowett och Victoria O’Donnell skriver: ”Propagandisten vill främja sina egna eller en organisations intressen – ibland på mottagarnas bekostnad, ibland inte. Den springande punkten är att propagandisten inte lägger någon större vikt vid publikens väl.”<sup>12</sup>

Krigspropaganda förutsätter krig, pågående eller planerat. USA definierade händelser i samband med 11 september som krigstillstånd. Detta var varken en logisk eller en självklar tolkning av läget, men den gjordes. Just i detta krig var propaganda mycket viktig eftersom motståndet mot kriget var

stort och motiveringen att ge sig in i det ena eller andra landet var svårfunnen. Huvudmålet, att hitta och förgöra terrorister, var och är diffust eftersom det är oklart vilka de är och var de befinner sig. Det har även varit omtvistat om det egentligen fanns hållbara skäl för att ge sig in i Afghanistan och Irak. I det uppkomna nationella krisläget var emellertid ett huvudmål för regeringen Bush att visa handlingskraft och återupprätta nationens självkänsla. De osäkerheter som vidhäftade de olika krigsaktionerna var det nödvändigt att förklara respektive överskylla med hjälp av en retorik som helst inte skulle tillåta invändningar. Vilka argument hade man då som var till synes invändningsfria? Det går att urskilja tre huvudsakliga argumentationslinjer:

- Ondskan/terrorismen måste bekämpas
- Diktatur måste omvandlas till demokrati
- Kvinnoförtrycket måste få ett slut

Det sista argumentet verkar vid första påseende absurt, eftersom man inte kan föra krig mot ett land på grund av att där härskar kvinnoförtryck, men just detta diffusa känslargument drogs fram de gånger krigsföretaget föreföll särskilt tvivelaktigt. Argumentation är sällan rent logisk utan består allt som oftast av en blandning av sak- och känslargument, i propagandan oftast pendlande mellan hot och frälsning.

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11. Meyer (1994), s. 155

12. Jowett & O’Donnell (1992), s. 32

# Den retoriska upptakten efter 11 september

Kriget mot terrorismen förklarades som en reaktion på terrorangreppen den 11 september. Traumatiska situationer som denna kräver ett starkt ledarskap, ett ledarskap som få trodde George W. Bush om att kunna etablera. Historien om hur Bush ”upptäckte retoriken”<sup>13</sup> är också historien om hur en ny retorisk linje skapas i en situation som kräver en omvärdering av världsbilden. George W. Bush var vid tiden före terrorhandlingarna känd för sin retoriska svaghet. Även om några av hans tal hade tagits emot ganska positivt, nådde han i allmänhet inga oratoriska höjder. Han hånades öppet i vissa medier och det fanns (och finns) Internetsidor som häcklar hans felsägningar.<sup>14</sup> Så när katastrofen inträffade och krävde en statsman att lita på fanns inte stor tilltro till hans förmåga att leda nationen. Av säkerhetsskäl tillbringade han större delen av första dagen på Air Force One. Visuellt intressant är att bilderna från de första dagarna som publicerades visar

honom och hans stab i bombarjackor, liksom redo till strid, en retoriskt effektiv klädkod.<sup>15</sup> Den 11 september gjorde Bush bara ett kort uttalande vid en mellanlandning på en flygbas med bl.a. följande ord: ”Make no mistake:

**Bild.** President George W. Bush kommenterar den pågående utredningen om terrorattacken i New York och Washington, vid Camp David den 15 september 2001. Vice president Dick Cheney (till vänster) och utrikesminister Colin Powell (till höger).

FOTO: WILLIAM PHILPOTT/REUTERS



13. Zarefsky (2004)

14. Se t.ex. [www.bushisms.com](http://www.bushisms.com)

15. Se t.ex. <http://www.whitehouse.gov/president/response/>



The United States will hunt down and punish those responsible for these cowardly acts. /.../The resolve of our great nation is being tested. But make no mistake: We will show the world that we will pass this test. God bless.”<sup>16</sup>

Budskapet uppfattades som kraftlöst, det skrevs till och med att det var fejt att han gömde sig halva dagen. David Frum, en av Bushs talsskrivare, kommenterar det mindre lyckade valet av talets sceneri: ”Flygbaser är inte utrustade med tv-studior, så presidenten var tvungen att spela in sitt budskap i ett kallt rum över en skakig digital uppkoppling. Han såg ut och lät som den jagade, inte som jägaren.”<sup>17</sup>

Man kan aldrig veta exakt vad som sades bakom kulisserna, men en någorlunda tillförlitlig källa för bakgrundsinformation om Bushadministrationens retoriska strategi är de olika Bushpositiva krönikörerna som beundrande skriver om administrationens, och talsskrivarnas, alla genidrag. Talsskrivaren David Frum är en av dessa, som just genom sin i grunden positiva och uppskattande hållning ger en avslöjande bild av händelserna.

Det dröjde ganska exakt ett halvt dygn innan Bush trädde fram med ett mer genomarbetat tal, efter intensiva kollektiva formuleringsträngningar. Presidenttal är alltid ett samarbete mellan presidenten och en hel stab av

talsskrivare och politiska sakkunniga, också kallad ”the White House communications shop”, som några andra krönikörer beskriver på följande sätt: ”Det är här som Rove, Bartlett, Gerson och Hughes verkligen gjorde sig förtjänta av sina grader. /.../ Bushs lag av kommunikatörer var aldrig mer ovärderligt. De drog inte upp riktlinjerna för politiken i Afghanistan, men de hjälpte presidenten att snickra ihop varje formellt uttalande han gjorde om kriget – under det att hela världen såg på.”<sup>18</sup>

Utan att konferera med vare sig utrikesminister Powell, försvarsminister Rumsfeld eller vicepresident Cheney hade Bush redan första dagen, med hjälp av talsskrivarna, börjat formulera det som sedan skulle kallas för Bushdoctrin: ”We will make no distinction between the terrorists who committed these acts and those who harbor them.”<sup>19</sup> Till och med hans säkerhetsrådgivare Condoleezza Rice undrade om detta slags långtgående policyförklaringar hörde hemma i ett tal som skulle vara till för att lugna (console) en skakad nation. Washington Post-journalisten Bob Woodward, en något mer kritisk betraktare, skriver: ”Han ville gå ut i tv och vara hårdkokt, visa beslutsamhet men också finna jämvikt – trösta, bevisa att regeringen fungerade och visa nationen att deras president hade klarat sig.”<sup>20</sup>

16. Samtliga citat från George W. Bushs tal är hämtade från <http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/>

17. Frum (2003), s. 119

18. Dubose, Reid & Cannon (2003), s. 204f

19. Se bilaga 1

20. Woodward (2003), s. 30

Talet återkallar i övrigt de under dagen oavbrutet utsända bilderna av de kollapsade tornen som definieras som ett försök att skapa kaos, men också, märkligt nog, reträtt: "These acts of mass murder were intended to frighten our nation into chaos and retreat." Reträtt från vad? Att döma av en kort därefter introducerad metafor, nämligen från att sprida frihetens ljus över världen: "America was targeted for attack because we're the brightest beacon for freedom and opportunity in the world. And no one will keep that light from shining."

Varje talares uppgift är att bedöma den retoriska situationen väl, att se och bemöta dess krav och begränsningar. I detta läge fanns uppenbarligen ett krav att presidenten skulle lugna befolkningen och visa eftertanke. I stället satsade man på en offensiv men vag krigsmetaforik som visserligen markerar beslut-samhet, men också planlöshet.

Men redan här är nyckelbegreppen etablerade: krig, frihet, jakt och ondska (war, freedom, hunting och evil):

"Today, our nation saw evil, the very worst of human nature." Dessa teman, och då speciellt "krig" och "ondska", definierar tillståndet som ett ogripbart hot och de skulle komma att återupprepas i det oändliga. Men vad menas egentligen, vilka associationer och känslor ska de väcka?

## Tema "Krig"

Att definiera situationen som krig var ett slags instinktiv reaktion på händelserna. Det sägs att "we are at war" var den första spontana reaktionen Bush gav när han fick vetskap om attacken.<sup>21</sup> Samtidigt är krig en mycket användbar definition av läget om en regering vill skapa sig handlingsutrymme, eftersom ett krigstillstånd är ett undantagstillstånd med betydande frirum för extraordinära åtgärder. Situationen hade naturligtvis några krigskaraktistika. USA:s territorium hade blivit attackerat av en främmande angripare och många människor hade blivit dödade och skadade. Men andra karakteristika saknades: det fanns ingen krigsförklaring; attacken var inte militär, den kom inte från någon annan stat och USA förklarade i sin tur aldrig formellt krig mot någon annan stat. Händelsen kunde alltså ha definierats på annat sätt: t.ex. som massmord, alltså en kriminell handling, visserligen av groteska proportioner men likväl som en handling som skulle kunna beivras med (internationella) polisiära metoder. Tony Blair var betydligt mer försiktig med sina definitioner. I ett anförande den 12 september använder han ordet attacker och talar om tragedi. På en direkt fråga från en journalist om han vill tala om krigstillstånd svarar han undvikande men inte bekräftande. Två dagar senare talar han om "the hideous and foul events", "an act of wickedness", "act of infamy" och

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21. Zarefsky (2004), s. 139; Frum (2003), s. 141f; Woodward (2002), s. 15f

”outrage”. Den beteckning som Blair genomgående använder för terrorhandlingarna är ”menace”, ett ondskefullt hot. Så hos Blair framstår terroristerna som ondskefulla, men inte som en främmande makt som har förklarat krig. Och han betecknar inte heller de egna planerade aktionerna som krig utan som just aktioner.

Genom att hävda att man är i krig, d.v.s. att terroristerna har lämnat en krigsförklaring, blir extraordinära åtgärder legitima och bör inte ifrågasättas om man inte vill framstå som opatriotisk. Man etablerar ett undantagstillstånd, vilket enligt hävd tillåter långtgående brott mot lagar i fredstid. Politiska beslut behöver inte längre kommuniceras offentligt, som Bush uttryckte sig kort efter attackerna:

“Det här är en regering som inte kommer att prata om hur vi samlar in underrättelser, hur vi vet vad vi skall göra eller vilka våra planer är. När vi skrider till verket kommer vi att kommunicera med er på ett lämpligt sätt. Vi befinner oss i krig. Terrorister har förklarat krig mot Amerika och vi kommer att svara därefter. Jag uppskattar väldigt mycket att det amerikanska folket förstår det. Under planeringsarbetets gång, när vi iscensätter våra strategier, kommer vi att informera er när vi finner det lämpligt.” (Presskonferens 01-09-16)

Men det förefaller som om kriget också kom lägligt för vissa andra av den

amerikanska regeringens intressen.

Som Bob Woodward erfor sa Bush redan den 11 september: ”This is a great opportunity”, därmed menande att det var en chans att förbättra relationerna med supermakter som Ryssland och Kina. ”We have to think of this as an opportunity.”<sup>22</sup>

Hela krigstillståndet efter 11 september har fått rubriken ”War on terrorism”. Detta är ett lika vagt begrepp som ”War on poverty”, som myntades av Lyndon B. Johnson på 60-talet respektive det ”War on drugs” som var Reaganadministrationens initiativ.<sup>23</sup> Både terrorism, fattigdom och droger är luddiga begrepp och det inflationsmässiga bruket av begreppet ”krig” formar en världsbild där samhällsproblem ska lösas genom våldsanvändning. I själva verket är frasen ”war on terrorism” ytterligare ett slags dubbelspråk. Det anknyter till en vana att använda begreppet ”war” om företeelser som alls inte är några krig – och där det inte kan finnas någon slutgiltig seger. För, som medieforskarna Rampton och Stauber skriver: ”Narkotikamissbruk, fattigdom, sjukdomar och terrorism har alla existerat i långa tider och de kommer inte att försvinna bara därför att någon politiker förklarar krig mot dem. Det som däremot i vanliga fall händer är att dessa krig utvecklar permanenta byråkratier som drar resurser och som sänder ut återkommande uppmaningar till befolkningen som ett sätt att kom-

22. Woodward (2002), s. 32.

23. Glover (2002), s. 207ff

**Bild.** Under juli 1942 genomförde National Publishers Association och U.S. Treasury Department en kampanj där cirka 500 tidningar placerade USA:s flagga på omslaget med texten "United we stand". De visade sitt stöd för krigets uppoffringar samtidigt som självständighetsdagen firades. En av dem var tidningen Life. Efter terrorattacken den 11 september 2001 har texten "United We Stand" fått en förnyad betydelse.

pensera det faktum att någon seger inte syns till någonstans."<sup>24</sup>

Att beteckna händelserna som krig var ett retoriskt val med många konsekvenser. Krig kräver nationell enhet, vilket uttrycktes omedelbart genom t.ex. demonstrationer av sammanhållning genom flaggor, bön och andra patriotiska handlingar – och frånvaro av kritisk belysning. Den totala acceptansen av krigsmetaforiken gav, som retorikforskaren David Zarefsky påpekar, "place only for the rhetoric of approval and support". Författaren och debattören Susan Sontag skrev: "Under the slogan United We Stand the call to reflectiveness was associated with dissent, dissent with lack of patriotism."<sup>25</sup> United We Stand är ett element av krigstänkandet som återkallar minnen av inte minst andra världskriget då det användes flitigt i samband med ett intensivt exponerande av den amerikanska flaggan, ett fenomen som var



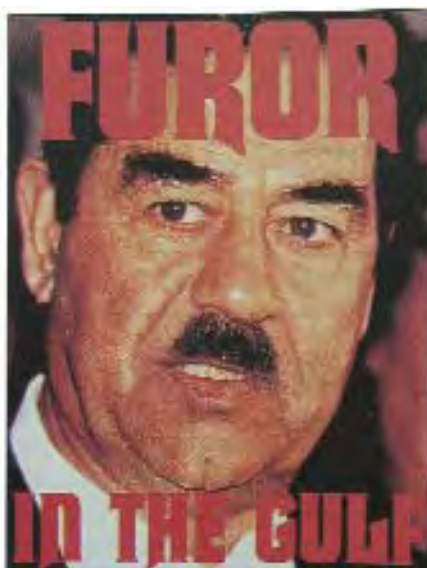
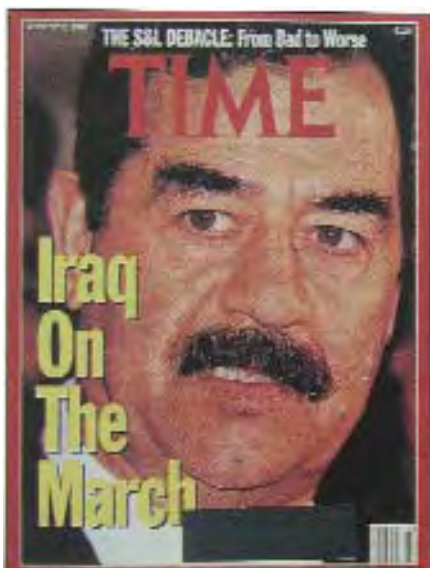
centralt även efter 11 september. En del av detta enighetstänkande är att det begränsar debatten, kritik är en lyx för fredliga tider. Krigstänkandet kräver förståelse för ändrade prioriteringar och för omedelbar militär mobilisering.

## Tema "Ondska"

I sin bok om propaganda skriver Harold D. Lasswell under rubriken "Satanism" att det gäller att låta fienden framstå som ond, demoraliserad och förmäten. Den

24. Rampton & Stauber (2003), s. 128

25. Susan Sontag, "Real Battles and Empty Metaphores" i: New York Times 2002-09-10, s. A 31, citerat i Zarefsky (2004), s. 140



fientliga nationen bör framstå som högmodig, föraktfull och grym: "Any nation who began the War and blocks the peace is incorrigible, wicked and perverse."<sup>26</sup> I första världskriget överbjöd de stridande nationerna, både fransmän, tyskar, engelsmän och amerikaner, varandra i att utmåla motståndarsidans grymheter. I dagens propaganda har det skett en viss förskjutning från att utmåla ett helt folk som grymt och mindervärdigt till att beskriva ledarna i sataniska termer. Redan under förra kriget mot Saddam Hussein utmålades han som den nye Hitler. George Bush den äldre brukade enbart använda förnamnet "Saddam" och betona första stavelsen, vilket inte bara är ett sätt att förminska personen

**Bild.** På tidningarna Time 13 augusti (vänster) och The New Republic 3 september 1990 har samma bild av Saddam Hussein placerats på framsidan. The New Republic har försett Saddam Hussein med en manipulerad hitlerlikt mustasch och texten FUROR IN THE GULF.

utan också osökt leder tankarna till en annan mörkrets furste.<sup>27</sup> Folken framställs som offer, till och med som vänner, eller åtminstone framställer man sig själv som vän till folket, i detta fall det afghanska. Det är folken som ska befrias från tyranner, fienden blir tydlig och konkret. De som ställer sig på tyrannens sida definierar sig själva som fiender och måste bekämpas. Att det då ibland i

26. Lasswell (1927), s. 77

27. Karlberg & Mral (1998), s. 76

stridens hetta blir svårt att skilja mellan vän och fiende framstår plötsligt som begripligt och rimligt. "Collateral damage", d.v.s. oavsiktliga skador på civilpersoner och civila mål, framstår som beklaglig men oundviklig.

I föreliggande fall var de utpekade fienderna, terroristerna, bin Ladin och Saddam Hussein, lätta att identifiera som hotfulla och mordiska. Tidigare erfarenheter gjorde det enkelt att karakterisera dem som onda. Men vad menas med ondska?

Det finns olika synsätt på vad ondska är.<sup>28</sup> Enligt en teori så är det onda något som finns inom vissa människor. Man behöver bara tänka på en del deckarförfattare, inte minst Agatha Christie, som ofta bygger intrigen på att det finns en ond människa/kraft, som är den osynliga handen bakom de onda gärningarna. Denna, som man skulle säga existentiella, syn ser ondska som något oföränderligt, som bör utrotas.

Det andra synsättet, som man kan kalla för strukturellt, säger att det inte finns någon irrationell kraft som heter ondska. De handlingar som man kallar för onda är enligt detta synsätt resultat av komplexa sociala och psykologiska omständigheter som i princip kan korrigeras. Det svenska rättssystemet bygger i grunden på denna syn. Ett annat exempel är försoningskommitténs arbets sätt i Sydafrika. Gärningsmän uppfattar sällan sig själva som onda utan ser sina handlingar som resultat av hämnd för

orättvisor, gudomligt uppdrag, eller andra snäva eller förvrängda motiv.

I ett kristet perspektiv på det goda och det onda omfattar Gamla testamentet i princip den förra, existentiella synen: "öga för öga, tand för tand" (2 Mos 21:24), Nya testamentet däremot den strukturella: "Fader, förlåt dem, de vet inte vad de gör" (Luk 23:34).

Bushadministrationen tycks i princip utgå ifrån den individuella, existentiella synen, med rötter i Gamla testamentet, även om Bush oftast verkar föredra att citera Nya testamentet. Den individuella strategin är betydligt mer användbar i propagandasyfte. Propaganda syftar som sagt till att förenkla verkligheten för att presentera tydliga handlingsalternativ.

Redan i de första meningarna i talet den 11 september använder Bush ordet evil för att beteckna terrorhandlingarna: "evil, despicable acts of terror". Redan några meningar senare har han gått över till en existentiell beskrivning: "Today, our nation saw evil, the very worst of human nature." Bush förankrar begreppet evil redan i detta första tal i ett bibelcitat: "Even though I walk through the valley of the shadow of death, I fear no evil, for You are with me" (Psaltaren 23:4). Därmed ger han också "kriget mot terrorism" en biblisk klangbotten, som ett rättfärdigt krig.

Den 14 september håller Bush ett tal som av en av hans talskrivare betecknas som "fulländat"<sup>29</sup>. Han håller

28. För en närmare begreppsutredning, se Rediehs (2002), s. 65ff

29. Frum (2003), s. 137, se bilaga 2

det i Washington National Cathedral och väljer ett prästerligt tilltal. Huvudtemat är givetvis sorgen över de omkomna, men mycket snabbt kommer han in på att USA kommer att hämnas attackerna och tonfallet blir tydligt krigiskt. Enligt talskrivaren David Frum hade han tidigare gjort klart att han inte ville uttrycka hämndlystnad eller vrede i sina tal: "When he spoke off-the-cuff, he again paraphrased the commandment of Romans 12:21: 'Be not overcome by evil, but overcome evil with good'".<sup>30</sup> Men i detta "fulländade" tal säger han: "... vårt ansvar gentemot historien står redan klart: att bemöta dessa angrepp och befria världen från ondska. Med bakslughet, svek och mord har man fört krig emot oss. Denna nation är fredlig men värd att frukta när dess vrede väckts."

Frum, som hyllar Bushs retoriska förmåga, kommenterar Bushs karakterisering av terroristerna som "the evil ones" mot bakgrund av den amerikanska religiösa mentaliteten så här: "I ett land, där nästan två tredjedelar av befolkningen tror på att djävulen existerar, identifierade Bush Usama bin Ladin som bokstavligen satanisk."<sup>31</sup>

I senare tal blir tanken om onda människor än mer uttalad. Två dagar senare, den 16 september, utvecklar Bush tanken att det onda är knutet till den mänskliga naturen: "We've been warned there are evil people in this world. We've been warned so vividly

– and we'll be alert. Your government is alert. The governors and mayors are alert that evil folks still lurk out there." (Bilaga 3) Och på en presskonferens en månad efter attackerna deklarerar han: "I think it's essential that all moms and dads and citizens tell their children we love them and there is love in the world, but also remind them there are evil people." Dessa onda människor, personifierade av Saddam Hussein och Usama bin Ladin, inte bara dödar utan njuter av det: "they kill thousands of innocent people and then rejoice about it", säger han vid samma presskonferens. Genom att måla upp både ondskans huvudrepresentanter och de personer som skyddar dem, i det skedet talibanerna i Afghanistan, blir det fullt legitimt att förstöra fienden med alla tillgängliga medel. Det ges här inget som helst utrymme för eftertanke eller överväganden, utan fiendebilden är tydlig och åtgärderna givna. Fienden definierades dessutom gärna som ett fegt rovdjur som gömmer sig och som bör drivas fram. En metafor som användes frekvent var därför den om jakten.

## Tema "Jakt"

Redan i första talet efter attackerna formulerar Bush uppgiften i dessa ordalag: "Make no mistake: The United States will hunt down and punish those responsible for these cowardly acts."

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30. Frum (2003), s. 136f

31. Frum (2003), s. 140

Och därmed var även motståndaren definierad som ett fegt, ”omanligt”, och därmed lovligt byte. Som tidigare nämnts använde även talskrivaren David Frum jaktmetaforen för att karakterisera Bushs framtoning den 11 september: ”He looked and sounded like the hunted, not the hunter.”<sup>32</sup> Jaktmetaforen användes av Bush själv på presskonferensen den 15 september: ”we will smoke them out of their holes; we will get them running and we’ll bring them to justice.” Och, i samma presskonferens:

”De kommer att försöka gömma sig, de kommer att försöka undvika USA och våra allierade – men vi kommer inte att låta dem göra det. De kommer att fly till bergen; leta upp hålor att gömma sig i. Vi kommer att göra allt som krävs för att röka ut dem, få dem att ta till flykten igen och vi kommer att ta dem.

Lyssna nu, detta är en underbar nation; vi är ett vänligt sinnat folk. Ingen av oss hade kunnat föreställa sig dessa terroristers barbariska handlingar. Men de har väckt styrkan hos det amerikanska folket och vi kommer att ta dem, vad som än krävs.”

I ett tal den 16 september säger Bush: ”... det amerikanska folket ska veta att min regeringsstab är fast besluten att hitta dem som gjorde detta mot Amerika, jaga dem på flykt och fånga in dem”. Och lite senare: ”Pakistans

ledare /.../ har tillmötesgått vår begäran att hjälpa vårt land att förfölja, att hitta, att röka ut den huvudmisstänkta terroristorganisationen ur dess hålor.”

Hur förhåller sig detta språkbruk till det vardagliga bruket av ”jakt”? Jakt är en sport, man jagar djur. Jakt kan möjligen vara ett sätt att skaffa sig mat, men man jagar inte människor. För att metaforen ska fungera måste motståndaren avhumaniseras, framställas som djur, lömska rovdjur som gömmer sig. Motståndarens feghet kompletterar maktmetaforen:

”Det amerikanska folket är vant vid konflikter där det gällde att inta ett brohuvud, att korsa öken eller kända militära mål. Det kan inträffa. Men just nu är våra motståndare människor som slår till och sedan springer i väg. De gömmer sig i grottor. Vi ska få ut dem därifrån”.

Den underliggande tanken är här att amerikanerna är vana vid att man följer krigets lagar om öppen strid, inte vid lömska fiender som gömmer sig. Amerikaner är inte fega. Under Afghanistan-kriget blev det populärt i Vita huset att bära rödvitblåa plastkort om halsen med mottot: ”These colors don’t run.”<sup>33</sup> Och redan den 16 september sa Bush: ”We’re a nation that can’t be cowed by evil-doers.” Jaktmetaforen i förbindelse med feghet ger fienden en karaktär av omanlighet, lömskhet, gör den till ett lovligt byte.

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32. Frum (2003), s. 119

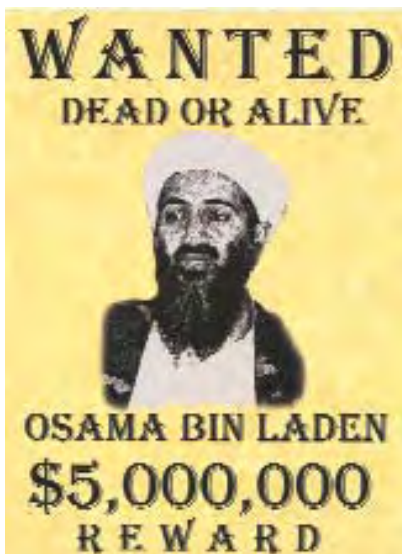
33. Frum (2003), s. 116



14 SEPTEMBER 2001:

## Ground Zero-talet

Det fanns en tveksamhet inför hur Bush skulle klara av de många framträdanden och talskrivarna arbetade för högtryck. Under veckan efter terrorattentaten tillät han sig ändå flera ogenomtänkta uttalanden: han betecknade terroristerna som "folks", knap-



past ett adekvat uttryck när det gäller en angripare. Han talade om korståg, bl.a. i presskonferensen den 16 september – ett missgrepp som reparerades hjälpligt genom att han fick uttala sig upprepade gånger om att muslimer som grupp inte var ansvariga. Som sheriffen i en gammal western förklarade han att han ville ha Usama bin Ladin "dead or alive". Sammantaget var detta ett språk som bedömdes som omoget och hans far och andra krävde att han skulle tona ner sin retorik.<sup>34</sup> Som Bob Woodward skriver: "Den spridda uppfattningen om honom som lättviktare, obekymrad om detaljer, frånvarande, otillgänglig och sannolikt även ignorant, skulle motarbetas. Han hade mycket arbete framför sig."<sup>35</sup>

Enligt mångas bedömning kom vändningen med det s.k. Ground Zero-talet, ett fyra minuters anförande, där Bush visade sin begåvning att göra en spontan bedömning av vad som situationen krävde. Det är en förmåga som

34. Zarefsky (2004), s. 138f

35. Woodward (2003), s. 37

inom retoriken kallas för *kairos*, konsten att hitta de rätta orden vid rätt tidpunkt, respektive skapa själva situationen. Det var inte meningen att han skulle tala, han hade gått dit i en enkel vindjacka (vilket i och för sig också kan ses som ett retoriskt drag): "Bush had gone there to look, and make a show of support to the rescue workers at the site."<sup>36</sup> Men sedan blev han ändå tvungen att säga ett par ord, bara med hjälp av en dåligt fungerande megafon, en scen som har beskrivits så här:

"Presidenten klättrade upp på en utbränd brandbil där han anslöt sig till en pensionerad brandman från New York som hette Bob Beckwith, en av de frivilliga som ställt upp efter attacken. Beckwith försökte klättra ned men Bush lade sin arm om honom och tecknade åt honom att stanna. /.../

'Tack, alla', började Bush. 'Jag vill att ni alla ska veta...'

JAG HÖR INTE! Skrek en av arbetarna i folkmassan. 'Jag kan inte tala högre', protesterade Bush innan han fortsatte. "'dag knäböjer Amerika i bön för de människor som förlorade livet här, ...'

'JAG HÖR INTE', kom en annan röst ur folkmassan.

För en kort stund verkade Bush häpen. Men sedan, fortfarande med armen om den åldrande brandmannens axlar, skrek han tillbaka i sin megafon i en scen som visades över hela världen.

'Jag hör dig. Resten av världen hör dig. Och de som förstörde dessa byggnader kommer snart att höra från oss alla.'<sup>37</sup>

Denna scen är central, därför att Bush här demonstrerar sin egen retoriska begåvning, som kanske inte ligger i formuleringar men i sättet att ta folk och att ta vara på scenens möjligheter så att den gynnar hans retoriska syften: klädseln, situationen, den fysiska närvaron och den fysiska närheten till laddade symboler, i detta fall en frivillig brandman. Man kan givetvis utgå ifrån att scenen i sig är arrangerad. Den är inte minst medieeffektiv då det inte behövs många förklaringar för att budskapet rent visuellt ska bli begripligt. Men Bushs skickliga respons i detta kritiska läge uppfattades som spontan och blev början till en omvärdering av hans ledarförmågor.

De följande dagarna försökte Bush och hans stab att reparera de tidigare misstagen med några högstämda tal, bl.a. syftande till att skilja islam och terrorism åt, men såväl han själv som hans rådgivare kände att han inte uppfyllde de retoriska kraven. Rådgivaren Karen P. Hughes berättade att Bush sa till henne: "This is a defining moment. We have an opportunity to restructure the world toward freedom, and we have to get it right."<sup>38</sup>

Veckorna efter 11 september var förtroendet för Bushs ledarförmåga ändå

36. Dubose, Reid & Cannon (2003), s. 206

37. Dubose, Reid & Cannon (2003), s. 206f

38. Citerat i Zarefsky (2004), s. 139



svagt. Men sedan bestämdes den 20 september som datum för ett tal till nationen, ett extraordinärt tillfälle. Detta var en avgörande punkt för att etablera hans roll som krigsledare, i en situation av stor osäkerhet för så gott som hela världen.

**Bild 6.** President George W. Bush lägger sin arm om brandmannen Bob Beckwith när de står framför spillrorna av World Trade Center den 14 september 2001. De står på en förstörd brandbil. FOTO: DOUG MILLS/AP

20 SEPTEMBER 2001:

## "Freedom and fear are at war"

Det är retoriskt sett viktigt på vilken scen, mot vilken bakgrund, tal hålls och att omgivningarna passar talaren. När det gäller talet den 20 september var scenen återigen väl vald. Karl Rove, Bushs huvudrådgivare, också kallad "Bush's Brain"<sup>39</sup>, kom på idén att Bush skulle hålla det viktiga talet inför kongressen, inte i Ovala rummet. Ett huvudsyfte med tillfället var att stärka Bushs position som talare och ledare, efter de tidigare fadäserna. Rove menade att Bush kom bäst till sin rätt om han fick tala inför en publik, i stället för inför en kameranlinse. Ett ceremoniellt "Tal till nationen" garanterar dessutom traditionellt att hela kongressen, alltså även motståndarna, visar sig välvilliga. Ett annat skäl till att inte Ovala rummet valdes var att detta bedömdes påminna för mycket om kalla kriget med presidenttal som mer talade om vilka aktioner som redan var genomförda, i stället för att be om mandat för

att kunna agera i framtiden. Och detta var inte ett kallt krig utan man skulle arrangera scenen så att aktionerna påminde om andra världskriget: "Så han föreslog att Bush skulle gå tillbaka till det gamla och inte tala från sitt ensamma skrivbord, utan från den talarstol där Woodrow Wilson och Franklin Roosevelt hade begärt sina krigsförklaringar och Harry Truman kungjort Truman-doktrinen. Det var en lysande idé."<sup>40</sup>

Ett tal bör alltid bedömas utifrån den situation som talaren befann sig i. Tal håller man när det finns behov av att bearbeta ett problem verbalt och offentligt. I huvudsak: vilka invändningar försöker talaren att bemöta? Här var uppgiften att ingjuta förtroende och visa handlingskraft, att etablera en trovärdig presidentroll, framstå som den starke man som många önskade sig. Och Bush agerade synnerligen offensivt. Han börjar med en stor eloge till det amerikanska folket som, med räddnings-

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

40. Frum (2003), s. 135f

arbetarna i spetsen, har slutit sig samman och arbetat gemensamt för att svetsa samman nationen: "My fellow citizens, for the last nine days, the entire world has seen for itself the state of our Union – and it is strong." (Bilaga 4) Inom retoriken kallas detta för *delectare*, att fånga publikens uppmärksamhet genom att behaga den och skapa gemenskap mellan talare och åhörare. Han lyfter skeendet omedelbart till en abstrakt värdenivå genom att använda vaga termer och fraser som är svåra att invända emot: "Tonight we are a country awakened to danger and called to defend freedom. /.../ Freedom and fear are at war." Det senare, tämligen obegripliga men ändå till synes tunga, påståendet används för övrigt på webbsidan som rubrik för talet.

I och med detta sätt att omdefiniera skeendena flyttar Bush fokus från de aktuella händelserna till mera allmän-giltiga, eviga värden. Med otydliga och lätt kryptiska formuleringar understryker han det upphöjda i situationen: "Whether we bring our enemies to justice, or bring justice to our enemies, justice will be done."

Vad betyder då justice? Justice, rättvisa men också rätt, är ett av de mest centrala orden i Bushs retorik, tillika en av grundpelarna i den amerikanska självbilden.<sup>41</sup> När man använder ordet rättvisa i Sverige så tänker man på domstolar som dömer till fängelse. I USA, och i varje fall i Bushs egen delstat Texas, döms mördare inte enbart till fängelse utan också till dödsstraff. Så varje gång

Bush använder ordet justice kan det underförstådda budskapet tolkas som att missdådarna ska elimineras. På presskonferensen den 16 september sa han dels att USA är en rättsstat, men också, i samma andetag, att det nu är andra lagar som gäller: "We're a nation of law, a nation of civil rights. We're also a nation under attack. And the Attorney General will address that in a way that I think the American people will understand." Kort innan hade han sagt, apropå reaktioner från Pakistan, Indien och Saudiarabien: "They know my intentions are to find those who did this, find those who encouraged them, find them who house them, find those who comfort them, and bring them to justice." Och senare poängterar han ytterligare genom närmast envisa upprepningar: "I will keep my focus to make sure that not only are these brought to justice, but anybody who's been associated will be brought to justice. Those who harbor terrorists will be brought to justice." Eftersom det rör terrorism kan detta tolkas som en dödsdom, antingen man drar dem inför rätta eller hinner upp dem med vapen någon annanstans. Frasen uttrycker att USA kommer att vara polis, åklagare, domare och bödel på en och samma gång.

I talet den 20 september låter han detta "krig" framstå som något alldeles extraordinärt, som kräver extraordinära åtgärder: "Not one battle but a lengthy campaign." Men samtidigt som han målar upp en lång och osäker kamp

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41. Hart (1997), 238 ff

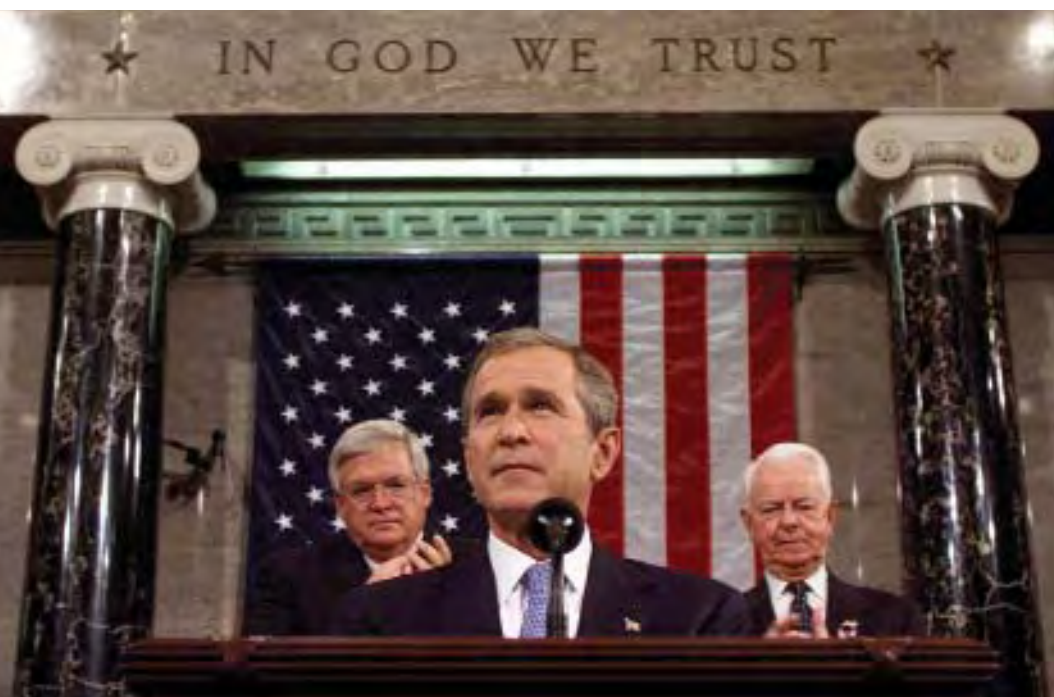
framställs de offer som detta kommer att kräva av det amerikanska folket som relativt obetydliga. Han kräver i själva verket "business as usual", att man ska försöka leva ett vanligt liv, endast försvarat genom högre säkerhetsåtgärder. Som Zarefsky påpekar andas talet huvudsakligen optimism och beslutsamhet, två egenskaper som krävs av en ledare i en krissituation. Ledaren bör visa att han har kontroll och vet vad som bör göras. Det rör sig därmed om ett genuint beredskapstal: striden, även om den är lång, kommer att vinnas, terroristerna kommer att sluta "in history's unmarked grave of discarded lies"; USA kommer att framstå som en befriare: "Our nation, this generation, will lift the dark threat of violence from our people and our future. We will rally the world to this cause by our efforts, by our courage." USA har återigen en historisk mission att befria världen. Det är återigen det utvalda landet och kommer att genomföra missionen framgångsrikt och tveklöst. Han avslutar talet med "We will not tire, we will not falter and we will not fail", vilket är en direkt anspelning på Winston Churchills ord i ett radiotal den 9 februari 1941: "We shall not fail or falter; we shall not weaken or tire... Neither the sudden shock of battle nor the long-drawn trials of vigilance and exertion will wear us down. Give us the tools and we will finish the job."<sup>42</sup> Genom att begränsa handlingsalterna-

tiven i denna krissituation till ett minimum ger talet inget annat val än att acceptera tolkningen.

Talet är späckat med anspelningar på grundläggande drag i den amerikanska självbilden: förutom att man är det utvalda landet också att man står för rättvisa, frihet, att positiva familjevärden värnas, och att man gör allt med Guds välsignelse: "Freedom and fear, justice and cruelty, have always been at war. And we know that God is not neutral between them." Detta är återigen den gammaltestamentliga synen på gott och ont. Tydliga motsättningar och en enkel världsbild. George W. Bush står fast förankrad i den amerikanska politiska tradition som har kallats för "civil religion". Med detta begrepp avses en sammanblandning av politik och religion där Amerika ses som ett nytt Israel och är Guds utvalda land på jorden.<sup>43</sup> Liksom tidigare Ronald Reagan och George Bush den äldre betonar George W. Bush behovet av bön och en stark förankring i klassiskt kristna värderingar. Hos George W. Bush verkar det religiösa språkbruket emellertid mera genuint än hos de flesta tidigare presidenterna, eftersom han är omvittnat from och därmed ger retoriken ett visst mått av trovärdighet. Han kan även bygga sin retorik på presidentämbetets speciella karaktär av upphöjdhed. När en amerikansk politiker väl har blivit president fungerar han och uppfattas som ett slags överstepräst.

42. BBC radio broadcast, Feb 9, 1941

43. Ang. "civil religion" se Lejon, Kjell O.U. (1994)



**Bild.** President George W. Bush, med talman Dennis Hastert (vänster) and Robert Byrd (höger), talar i Kongressen den 20 september 2001 i Washington DC. FOTO: WIN MCNAMEE/PRESSENS BILD

Det fyrtio minuter långa talet, som brukligt i denna situation avbrutet av många applåder, innehåller en uppsjö av konkreta detaljer och några välvalda vaga värdebegrepp. Bush formulerar frågor som människorna ställer – ”Americans are asking...” – för att sedan ge vissa svar och förklaringar: vilka terroristerna är, varför de hatar USA, hur kriget ska utkämpas och vinnas, och vad som förväntas av det amerikanska folket.

Talet är i praktiken en krigsförklaring mot talibanregimen och ett beredskapstal för att skaffa stöd, både inom landet och internationellt. Genom att framhäva att det inte enbart var USA som var målet för attacken, utan hela den civiliserade världen, kräver han underförstått denna världs stöd. Men hans begäran om hjälp och stöd formuleras inte som en vädjan utan som ett hot: ”Every nation in every region now has a choice to make. Either you are with us or you are with the terrorists.” D.v.s. han vädjar inte om hjälp utan kräver att alla nationer bör ingå i en koalition. Och han formulerar tre gånger uttryckligen att terroristerna kommer att förföljas och elimineras

globalt med ”every necessary weapon of war”.

Om man skulle avstå från att se detta som ”bara retorik” säger Bush i princip att USA kommer att ta sig friheten att sätta sig över gängse lagar, även internationella krigslagar, ingripa militärt varhelst man anser det befogat utifrån en hotbild som man inte tänker berätta något om annat än bitvis – och att använda alla slags vapen som man anser nödvändiga för att vinna.

Talet hölls inför kongressen, USA:s demokratiska församling, men det kan knappast betecknas som ett demokratiskt deliberativt tal, d.v.s. ett tal som inbjuder till överläggningar. Han säger inget i stil med: Vi måste diskutera åtgärder i denna kritiska situation, eller: Nu gäller det att visa demokratins överlägsenhet över terrorism genom gemensamt överlagda beslut. Talet är föreskrivande och kategoriskt, markerar auktoritet och tillåter knappast invändningar.

Talet bedömdes i USA:s medier som en stor framgång för presidenten. Han gjorde det som av de flesta amerikaner uppenbart ansågs som passande i situationen, nämligen att först och främst göra sig själv trovärdig som krisledare. Som en kolumnist i New York Times skrev dagen efter: ”Mr. Bush rose to the occasion, finding at times the eloquence that has eluded him in the past.” Andra kolumnister var lika lyriska och hörde i hans tal anklanger tillbaka till Abraham Lincoln och Winston

Churchill och tyckte att Bush nu äntligen verkade ”presidential”.<sup>44</sup>

Religiösa teman var centrala i retoriken direkt efter attackerna. Det gällde att tona ner religiösa motsättningar, men också att definiera de kommande aktionerna som ett gudomligt uppdrag.

Men det tema som är mest centralt i krigsretoriken, som för övrigt i all annan retorik, är ”frihet”.

## Tema ”Frihet”

Frihet är generellt ett av de mest centrala temana i retorisk argumentation, då ingen gärna kan ha invändningar emot det. Målet för all retorik är att skapa gemensamma utgångspunkter som bas för framtida agerande. Har man fått mottagaren att gå med på att friheten är hotad blir även försvarsåtgärderna lättare att driva igenom. Freedom, respektive dess något mera högtidliga synonym ”Liberty”, är också några av de mest centrala värdeorden i amerikansk retorik. Och ett av de mest använda begreppen i George W. Bushs anföranden. Redan i första talet, den 11 september, utgjorde det nyckelordet, i kombination med religiösa ljus- och mörkermetaforer:

”Amerika gjordes till en måltavla därför att vi är den klarast lysande ledlyften för frihet och möjligheter i världen. Och ingen ska hindra det ljuset från att skina. /.../ Vårt land är starkt. Och vår sak är även större än vårt land. Vårt

44. Diskuterat hos Zarefsky (2004)



ideal är mänsklig värdighet; frihet vägledad av samvete och vaktad av fred. Detta är Amerikas ideal och hela mänsklighetens hopp. Det hoppet ledde miljoner människor till denna hamn. Det hoppet lyser fortfarande vår väg. Och ljuset skiner i mörkret. Och mörkret ska icke besegra det.”

I talet den 20 september använder Bush ordet freedom och free tretton gånger. Vad som menas med freedom förklaras inte, termen är obestämd men naturligtvis kraftfull. Talet rubriceras på Vita husets hemsida med citatet: ”Freedom at War with Fear” – vad menas egentligen med det? Frihet blir plötsligt en egen agent, som befinner sig i krig. Och vad menas med fear? Fear är inget självklart motsatt värde till frihet. Visst är rädsla en sorts ofrihet, men vem står då bakom rädslan? Menar han att terroristerna är rädda? Det var de uppenbarligen inte. Uttrycket låter emellertid bra och beslutsamt. Det framstår som en sentens, en allmän sanning, och utgör därmed ett slags upphöjning av själva händelserna.

Freedom används frekvent i Bushs krigsretorik. Inte minst i det varumärke som man diskuterar fram när det gäller kriget mot terrorism. De första dagarna skulle det kallas ”infinite justice”, oändlig rättvisa, men det togs omedelbart tillbaka, eftersom både kristna, judiska och muslimska grupper opponerade sig. Oändlig rättvisa är något som endast Gud har rätt att skipa, menade de, där-

med framstod förslaget som hädiskt.

Tisdagen den 25 september presenterade så försvarsminister Donald Rumsfeld det nya varumärket: Operation Enduring Freedom. Denna beteckning skulle uppenbarligen omfatta hela aktionen för lång tid framöver. Rumsfeld talade om att ”this is not a quick fix... It'll take years, I suspect.” (Detta är ingen snabbis... jag antar att det kommer att ta år.)<sup>45</sup>

Krigsföretag måste säljas in på samma sätt som varor och det görs bl.a. med hjälp av varumärken i form av kodnamn. Detta bruk började under första världskriget då tyska generalstaben gav sina operationer namn som ”Ärkeängeln” och ”Valkyrian”.<sup>46</sup> Ödesmåttade segernamn, som skulle ingjuta hopp och stridsvilja. Men då var dessa kodord inte tänkta att rikta sig till allmänheten utan bara praktiska interna aktionsnamn. Det var först när man gärna ville ha opinionens stöd i förväg, som man hittade på genomtänkta propagandabegrepp. Invasionen i Panama 1989 fick namnet ”Just Cause”, tiden efter invasionen gick under namnet ”Promoting Liberty”.

Freedom och Amerika blir i ”kriget mot terrorismen” näst intill synonyma, freedom lanseras i princip som USA:s varumärke, som i ett tal den 30 oktober 2001: ”Anyone who sets out to destroy freedom must eventually attack America, because we're freedom's home”. Och det tal som Bush höll den 1 maj 2003 innehåller de segervissa raderna:

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

46. Lars Schmidt, ”Kriget säljs in med mördande reklam”, DN 02-09-29



”Vi har engagerat oss i Afghanistans och Iraks frihet och ett fredligt Palestina. Frihetens befämjande är den säkraste strategin för att underminera terrorns lockelse i världen. Där friheten får fäste, där får hatet vika undan för hoppet. Där friheten får fäste, där börjar män och kvinnor sträva efter ett bättre liv på ett

fredligt sätt. Amerikanska värderingar och amerikanska intressen leder i samma riktning. Vi står för människans frihet.”

Det centrala i frihetstemat understryks ytterligare genom en fotosida på Vita husets hemsida, ”Photos of Freedom”, där amerikanska soldater framstår som befriare och välgörare.<sup>47</sup>

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

7 OKTOBER 2001:

## Krigstal Afghanistan

Den 6 oktober håller Bush så ett tal med anledning av de påbörjade aktionerna i Afghanistan. Trots att det fortfarande råder ett chocktillstånd efter 11 september och kraven på vedergällning har varit högljudda har även protester mot en militär lösning av krisen börjat bli alltmer påträngande. Bush betonar inledningsvis att "världen" står bakom aktionen: "We are supported by the collective will of the world." (Bilaga 5) Aktionen definieras i övrigt som "mission": "Your mission is defined; your objectives are clear; your goal is just." Mission är något man får uppifrån, något som kräver upppoffringar, något hedervärt. "Krig" används endast en gång i talet, som beteckning för allt som görs mot terrorismen, intressant nog gällande både fredliga och militära medel: "Denna militära aktion är en del av vårt fälttåg mot terrorismen, ännu en front i ett krig som redan förs med diplomati, underrättelseverksamhet, frysta ekonomiska tillgångar och polismaktens arresteringar av kända terrorister i 38 länder."

I och med denna hopblandning blir begreppet vagt och urvattnat, som om det vore en självklarhet. Genomgående

talas han om vänner och vänskap mellan alla dem som ska hjälpa till att bekämpa terrorism. Andra frekventa positiva värdeord är "peace" (5 gånger) och, förstås, "freedom". "Enduring Freedom" förklaras av George W. Bush i krigstalet den 7 oktober 2001 på följande sätt: "Den militära operationen i dag heter Enduring Freedom (Varaktig frihet). Vi försvarar inte bara våra dyrbara friheter, utan även friheten för människor överallt att kunna leva och uppfostra sina barn utan fruktan."

Aktionen framställs alltså inte som angrepp utan som försvar, det vanliga sättet att försköna krigshandlingar. Den framställs dessutom inte som en krigshandling utan som ett fredsprojekt:

"I dag talar jag till er från The Treaty Room i Vita huset, en plats där amerikanska presidenter har arbetat för fred. Vi är en fredlig nation. Men, som vi så plötsligt och så tragiskt nu har lärt oss, kan det inte finnas någon fred i en värld av plötslig terror. Ställda inför dagens nya hot är det enda sättet att främja freden att förfölja dem som hotar den. Vi bad inte om detta uppdrag men vi kommer att fullfölja det."

Intressant är också här valet av scen, som tydligen bedöms som så pass viktigt att den kommenteras i talet. I The Treaty Room undertecknades bl.a. fredsfördragen med Rumänien, Italien, Ungern samt provstoppsavtalet av John F. Kennedy 1963. Men framför allt undertecknades här, i varje fall enligt Vita husets egen hemsida, FN-stadgan.<sup>48</sup> Scenen ska alltså understryka aktionens fredliga karaktär. Ändå är Bush ovanligt tydlig med vad aktionerna ska handla om. Omskrivningar är alltid intressanta för att förstå undermeningen i vad som sägs, och här är omskrivningarna många redan i inledningen:

”På mina order har USA:s militära styrkor startat anfall mot al-Qaidas träningsläger för terrorister och den talibanska regeringens militära anläggningar i Afghanistan. Dessa noga avvägda handlingar syftar till att avbryta användningen av Afghanistan som en operativ bas för terrorister och angripa den talibanska regeringens militära förmåga.”

Anfall, handlingar, angrepp, operationer etc. annonseras, men endast mot militära mål. Den kritik som fanns och som handlade om krigets civila offer bemöttes med löften om hjälp:

”Samtidigt får det förtryckta afghanska folket lära känna den generositet som finns hos Amerika och våra allierade. När vi slår till mot militära mål kommer vi också att släppa ned mat, medicin och förnödenheter till Afghanistans

svältande och lidande män, kvinnor och barn. Amerikas Förenta Stater är det afghanska folkets vän...”

Medkänslan med civilbefolkningen blir ett alltmer framträdande tema ju längre aktionerna drar ut på tiden och speciellt kvinnornas situation rycks mer och mer i förgrunden.

## Tema "Kvinnoförtryck"

*Fienden är ohyggligt grym och fördärvad i sin krigsföring. /.../ Man kan alltid framhålla kränkningarna av kvinnor, barn, gamla, präster och nunnor, och av sexuella ohyggligheter, stympade fångar och stympade civila.*<sup>49</sup>

Hjälptemat accentuerades i takt med att civila offer blev alltmer synliga. I ett tal den 8 november understryker Bush krigets humanitära sida:

”Från början till slut i denna kamp håller vi fast vid våra värderingar. Till skillnad från fienden har vi respekt för livet. Vi slår inte mot oskyldiga civila. Vi bryr oss om Afghanistans oskyldiga folk, så vi fortsätter att leverera humanitär hjälp, även när deras regering försöker stjäla maten vi skickar. När terroristerna och deras anhang har försvunnit kommer Afghanistans folk och resten av världen att säga: 'Skönt att bli av med dem'.”<sup>50</sup>

48. <http://www.whitehouse.gov/history/eeobtour/indian-treaty.html>

49. Lasswell (1927), s. 81f

50. The text of President George W. Bush's address to America before representatives of firemen, law enforcement officers, and postal workers in Atlanta, Ga. on November 8, 2001.

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

Men när de kritiska rösterna inte lät sig tystas och tv-bilderna av mänskligt lidande blev allt mer påträngande drog man fram det inledningsvis nämnda tredje huvudargumentet, kvinnoförtrycket. Detta introducerades inte av Bush och Blair själva, utan av deras fruor.

Den 17 november 2001 övertog Laura Bush makens plats framför radiomikrofonen för att i presidentens ställe hålla tal till nationen.<sup>51</sup> Denna händelse var anmärkningsvärd av åtminstone två anledningar. För det första hade aldrig förut en presidenthustru hållit det traditionella lördagstalet, och för det andra hade Laura Bush tidigare under det halvår som George W. Bush innehaft presidentämbetet inte profilerat sig nämnvärt i den politiska offent-

ligheten. Talet hade rubriken ”The Taliban’s War Against Women and Children” och kom alltså ca sex veckor efter det att USA hade börjat bomba Afghanistan. Det kom också några dagar efter att bilder på barnlik, offer för USA:s bombningar, hade kablats ut över världen och fått många fler än tidigare att ifrågasätta krigshandlingarna.

Laura Bushs tal är en känslöfylld framställning av talibanernas förtryck av kvinnor och barn, där hon bl.a. berättar att barn ”får inte flyga med drakar; deras mödrar riskerar prygel om de skrattar högt”, och att talibanerna hotar att dra ut fingernaglarna på kvinnor som använder nagellack. Laura Bushs tal ger intrycket att kampen mot terrorism framför allt är en kamp för kvinnornas rättigheter och värdighet: ”Jag hoppas att amerikanerna kommer att ansluta sig till vår familj i kampen för att säkra värdighet och gynnsamma möjligheter för alla Afghanistans kvinnor och barn.” Talibanerna krigar mot kvinnor och barn medan amerikanska familjer kämpar för att rädda dem. Kriget har därmed i Laura Bushs framställning blivit ett slags familjeangelägenhet – och slutsatsen måste bli



**Bild.** Fruarna Cherie Blair (vänster) och Laura Bush (höger) sitter tillsammans och lyssnar på president George W. Bush och premiärminister Tony Blair vid en presskonferens i Rose Garden vid Vita huset den 16 april 2004. FOTO: PAUL J. RICHARDS/AFP

51. Se bilaga 6

att hon i så fall, som maka och moder, givetvis har rätt att yttra sig i frågan.

Två dagar senare höll Cherie Blair, som annars ytterst sällan blandar sig i makens politik offentligt, på 10 Downing Street ett tal mot talibanernas förtryck av kvinnor. Talet går på samma tema och målar upp liknande bilder som Laura Bushs, inklusive det drastiska exemplet med de utdragna naglarna.<sup>52</sup> Hon inleder talet med att framhäva sina egna insatser för mänskliga rättigheter och kvinnors jämställdhet under sin karriär som advokat "and certainly in the last four years alongside Tony since he became Prime Minister". Båda talen uppmärksammades i medierna med viss förvåning som ett nytt drag i kampanjen mot talibanerna och för USA:s och Natos agerande i Afghanistan, ett led i den nya "feminism" som hade kommit upp i propagandan.<sup>53</sup>

Fru Bush och fru Blair är förstås långt ifrån de första "First Ladies" (om uttrycket tillåts för brittiska förhållanden) som engagerar sig i makarnas politik. Man behöver bara tänka på Hillary Clinton och Eleanor Roosevelt. Men en presidenthustru respektive makan till en premiärminister är inga demokratiskt valda politiker. Ändå kan de tilldelas ett avsevärt inflytande, om det passar in i en politisk strategi. För bortsett från att fruarna Bush och Blairs engagemang för de afghanska kvinnorna säkerligen var djupt känt,

så var de också de enda som kunde uttrycka sig i frågan på detta sätt. Det hade låtit minst sagt avvigt om presidenten och premiärministern hade börjat uttala sig om afghanska kvinnor i personligt engagerade termer, även om de efterhand själva drog fram temat gång på gång.

Kvinnotemat diskuterades av talsskrivarna just inför det som man skulle kunna se som segertalet efter Afghanistankriget, Bushs State of the Union den 29 januari 2002. Men kvinnotemat hade fullgjort sin uppgift för den här gången. Det ingick heller inte i de fem "key priorities" som Bushadministrationen, med Condoleezza Rice i spetsen, hade listat redan efter presidentvalet 2000. Där ingick emellertid "to deal decisively with the threat of rogue regimes and hostile powers, which is increasingly taking the forms of the potential for terrorism and the development of weapons of mass destruction (WMD)".<sup>54</sup> I sitt State of the Union-tal 2002 omnämns en av de första gångerna "weapons of mass destruction", i samband med att Bush beskyller Nordkorea, Iran och Irak, i nämnd ordning, för innehav av dessa och betecknar dessa tre länder som "axis of evil" ("ondskans axelmakter"). Därmed kan vi gå över till den andra händelsekedjan, förberedelserna och genomförandet av Irakaktionen.

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

53. Se t.ex. Aftonbladet 2001-11-18: "Bush och Putin – nyblivna feminister"

54. Frum (2003), s. 226

29 JANUARI 2002:

## State of the Union

Den 29 januari 2002 höll Bush sitt årliga tal till nationen, ett tal som i princip var ett segertal efter huvudaktionerna i Afghanistan. (Bilaga 7) I själva verket är just detta tal ett centralt visionstal för fortsättningen av "kriget mot terrorismen", därför att det anger färdriktningen framöver genom den centrala frasen "axis of evil". Bush karakteriserade Iran, Irak och Nordkorea som:

"ondskans axelmakter som rustar för att hota världsfreden. Genom att försöka skaffa sig massförstörelsevapen utgör dessa regimer en allvarlig och växande fara. De skulle kunna förse terrorister med dessa vapen och därmed ge dem resurser som kan mäta sig med deras hat. De skulle kunna angripa våra allierade eller försöka idka utpressning mot USA. I vilket som helst av dessa fall skulle priset för likgiltighet bli katastrofalt."<sup>55</sup>

Metaforen anknyter givetvis till andra världskrigets "axelmakter", i första hand Tyskland, Italien och Japan,

en koalition mot de s.k. allierade, d.v.s. främst Storbritannien, Frankrike, USA och Sovjetunionen. "Axis of evil" är givetvis en missvisande benämning, då den antyder att det skulle finnas en koalition av dessa stater när två i själva verket har varit bittra fiender sedan decennier tillbaka (Iran och Irak) och dessutom inte har haft någon uppenbar koalition med den tredje staten, Nordkorea.

Men propagandistiska bilder fungerar som sagt inte på det logiska planet utan på känslonivå, och här gällde det att måla upp en hotbild. Intressant är hur bilden kom till. David Frum, den redan tidigare citerade talskrivaren, berättar att han, någon månad innan talet skulle hållas, i princip fick en uppmaning av Mike Gerson, en av strategerna i Bushs stab, att hitta på en motivering för ett krig: "Can you sum up in a sentence or two our best case for going after Iraq?" Frum tyckte att han inte gärna kunde måla upp Saddams

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

grymheter de senaste tio åren, bl.a. därför att frågan då stod på tur varför man inte slutförde jobbet vid förra angreppet mot Irak. Inte heller kunde han hänvisa till Saddams påstådda mordförsök mot George Bush den äldre, det vore ändå ett alltför privat skäl för ett krig. Han visste att det inte fanns be- lagda samband mellan Saddam och attackerna den 11 september. Men Bush behövde ett argument som knöt ihop de två. Lösningen blev att gå tillbaka i historien och hitta ett snarlikt tillfälle, nämligen Pearl Harbor. Japan hade varit hänsynslöst och oberäkneligt, det var Saddam också. Dessutom kunde man vänta sig ännu större angrepp om Saddam slöt sig samman med andra i samma slags axel som Japan, Italien och Tyskland, det var bara det att Frum ville koppla ihop Saddam med terroristerna, inte med ett annat land. Detta gjordes i senare omarbetningar av talet. Bl.a. Condoleezza Rice ville gå längre och grep tillbaka på temat massförstörelsevapen och funderade på vilka andra stater som hade dessa vapen, jo, t.ex. Iran och, anmärkningsvärt nog, Nordkorea: "Det försökte utveckla kärnvapen, det hade en historia av hänsynslös aggression och det hade också tills nyligen blivit bortklemat av USA och behövde känna en fastare hand."<sup>56</sup>

Frum's språkbruk här är talande med avseende på den amerikanska självbilden: Nordkorea hade blivit "bortklemat" (cosseted) och behövde känna en fastare hand. Frum kallade sin skapelse "axis of hatred", i anknytning till Bushs tidigare hat-tema. Gerson ville i stället anknyta till Bushs religiösa språkbruk och så blev slutresultatet i talet "axis of evil":

"Nordkorea är en regim som rustar sig med missiler och massförstörelsevapen samtidigt som det låter sin befolkning svälta. Iran försöker energiskt skaffa sig dessa vapen och exporterar terror samtidigt som ett fåtal icke folkvalda förtrycker det iranska folkets hopp om frihet. Irak fortsätter att öppet hävda sin fientlighet mot Amerika och stöder terror. Iraks regim har i över ett decennium hyst hemliga planer på utveckling av mjältbrandsbakterier, nervgas och kärnvapen."

En klassiskt tredelad argumentation, där det starkaste kortet, Irak, kommer sist. Genom uppräkningsordningen av de andra två hoten framstår det visserligen som ett i raden, men samtidigt, genom hopkopplingen, också som mera hotfullt än om han bara hade nämnt Irak som huvudfiende. Och alla tre kopplas ihop av det vaga men skrämmande ordet "evil".

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56. Frum (2003), s. 238



7 OKTOBER 2002:

## Cincinnati-talet

Efter Bushs State of the Union-tal den 29 januari 2002 var det relativt tyst om Irak, men efter ett besök av Tony Blair till årsdagen av 11 september tog beredskapsretoriken fart, d.v.s. det nästan halvårslånga retoriska arbetet med att göra nödvändigheten av Irakkriget trovärdig, genom alltmer upphaussade hotbilder.

Irakkriget 2003 föregicks av en lång rad beredskapstal. Under hela hösten 2002 målade Bush upp det stora hot som Irak utgjorde mot USA, en hotbild lika vag som skrämmande. Iraktemat integrerades emellertid i retoriken kring det s.k. kriget mot terrorismen redan dagarna efter 11 september då bl.a. Donald Rumsfeld undrade om man inte skulle börja agera där. I själva verket jobbade Pentagon redan före attackerna mot World Trade Center (WTC) på en plan om militära aktioner mot Irak. Och när Bush ansåg i största allmänhet att WTC-attentatet utgjorde en god möjlighet att förbättra USA:s globala inflytande, var Rumsfeld mera specifik,

som Woodward, som bevistade ett stort antal möten i säkerhetsrådet, hävdar:

”Före angreppen hade Pentagon jobbat i flera månader på att ta fram ett militärt alternativ för Irak. /.../ Varje seriöst, fullskaligt krig mot terrorismen skulle – förr eller senare – vara tvunget att rikta in målet mot Irak. Rumsfeld tog upp möjligheten att de skulle kunde dra fördel av det tillfälle som terrorist-attackerna erbjöd för att ge sig på Saddam omedelbart.”<sup>57</sup>

Bushs rådgivare, med Karl Rove i spetsen, hade uppenbarligen också klart för sig att Saddam var en enkel och tydlig fiende. James Moore och Wayne Slater, två av de mer eller mindre Bush-beundrande kommentatorerna, beskriver konstruktionen av Irak som fiende så här, med utgångspunkt i Roves agerande och resonemang: ”Vi är goda. Irak är onda. Vi älskar frihet. De gör det inte. Ett klart, lättillgängligt budskap för en väljare som är för upptagen för att hinna fördjupa sig i frågan. Språket får inte vara blodigt. Det handlar om regim-

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57. Woodward, (2002), s. 49

skifte. Inte krig. Rent och antiseptiskt. Mera en procedur än ett fältslag.”<sup>58</sup>

I ett radiotal den 5 oktober betecknar Bush hotet från Saddam Hussein som ”grave and growing” och två dagar senare håller han ett tal i Cincinnati som här ska analyseras närmare, bl.a. därför att det har mycket tydliga beröringspunkter med det tal George Bush den äldre höll vid upptakten till Gulfkriget.<sup>59</sup> Sceneriet är intressant och välvärd. Bush står framför en världskarta i relief med USA i mitten. Internetsidan har bytt till en headline med den irakiska flaggan och en karta över Irak samt texten ”Denial and deception”, och talets rubrik är ”President Bush Outlines Iraqi Threat”. Bush börjar med att tala om ”a great threat to peace, and America’s determination to lead the world in confronting that threat”. (Bilaga 8).

Sedan är hela talet byggt på en skenbar dialog med det amerikanska folket, i form av utförliga svar på frågor som människor ställer sig. Han presenterar samtliga huvudteman i en snabb disposition: ”Many Americans have raised legitimate questions: about the nature of the threat; about the urgency of action – why be concerned now; about the link between Iraq developing weapons of terror, and the wider war on terror.”

Och så försäkrar han åhörarna om att frågorna har diskuterats ”broadly and fully” inom hans administration. ”And tonight, I want to share those

discussions with you.” Han vill alltså ge ett intryck av dels kompetens och eftertanke, dels total öppenhet. Den första frågan, om hotets karaktär, besvaras genom att beskriva Saddam Hussein som den ultimata diktatorn. Han och hans regim beskrivs i termer som:

- mordisk tyrann (murderous tyrant)
- invaderade och ockuperade brutalt en mindre granne (invaded and brutally occupied a small neighbor)
- oförsonligt fiendskap gentemot Förenta Staterna (unrelenting hostility toward the United States)
- regimens skoningslösa natur (merciless nature of its regime)
- mordisk diktator (homicidal dictator)

Den andra frågan, varför det är så bråttom, som väl var den mest aktuella, besvaras först med att, eftersom ”we know” att Hussein har farliga vapen i dag är det knappast någon mening att vänta tills han har ännu fler i morgon. Vad stöder han detta påstående på, det som vi ju nu vet var mer eller mindre gripet ur luften? Bortsett från ett upprepat ”we know” byggt på underrättelseverksamhet, utan belägg, stöder han sig på vapeninspektörerna. Ett argument är ”guilt by association” samt påståenden om samarbete mellan Irak och al-Qaida: ”We know that Iraq and the al Qaeda terrorist network share a common enemy – the United States of America.”

58. Moore & Slater, (2003), s. 287

59. Se analys i Karlberg & Mral (1998), s. 69–79

Sedan tas samma fråga om brådskan upp två gånger till i talet, vilket tyder på tyngden i invändningen. Andra gången använder han den effektiva och senare ofta återanvända metaforen om "the smoking gun", kombinerat med den om svampmolnet: "Vid åsynen av dessa tydliga tecken på fara kan vi inte vänta på det slutgiltiga beviset – den rykande pistolen – som kan visa sig i form av ett svampmoln. /.../ vi har all anledning att vänta oss det värsta, och vi har en angelägen plikt att hindra det värsta från att inträffa."

Bilden av svampmolnet fanns redan före 11 september i den officiella diskursen, bl.a. använd av säkerhetsrådgivaren Condoleezza Rice i ett framträdande på CNN den 8 september 2002: "Problemet är att det alltid kommer att råda en viss osäkerhet kring hur snabbt han kan skaffa sig kärnvapen. Men vi vill inte att den rykande pistolen ska vara ett svampmoln."<sup>60</sup>

Den snitsiga kombinationen av en westernsymbol för genomförda illdåd och kalla krigets nukleära ikon är visuellt stark, därmed lätt att komma ihåg och medieeffektiv. Hotbilden i Cincinnati-talet byggs så gott som utslutande på begreppet "massförstörelsevapen". Termen används, med vissa variationer, 32 gånger i talet och bildade som bekant grunden i Irakargumentationen. Låt oss titta närmare på vad detta uttryck egentligen innebär:

## Tema "Massförstörelsevapen"

För att förstå innebörden i vaga begrepp är ibland enklaste inkörsporten de olika definitioner som uppslagsverken består oss med. Enligt Nationalencyklopedin är massförstörelsevapen:

"/.../ sammanfattande benämning på *kärnvapen* samt *biologiska*, *kemiska* och *radiologiska stridsmedel*, definierad i en FN-resolution 1948. Senare har vissa former av miljöpåverkan i syfte att skada en annan nation tillfogats. Begreppet innefattar således ett antal tekniskt sett disparata, delvis hypotetiska vapentyper eller metoder, och ordet används företrädesvis i politiska sammanhang."

Massförstörelsevapen är alltså ett vagt begrepp, skrämmande men svagt definerat. Det är ett kraftfullt och hotande begrepp som självklart aldrig används för den egna vapenproduktionen utan för fienders vapenarsenal.

Enligt BBC News e-cyclopedia har FBI en definition av massförstörelsevapen (WMD) som även omfattar konventionella sprängmedel: "Ett vapen blir ett massförstörelsevapen när konsekvenserna av dess utlösande överväldigar dem som lokalt förväntas besvara angreppet." Samma uppslagsverk ger också en kommentar till själva ordvalet: "WMD har haft en egen masspåverkan. Dess numera allmänna förekomst har förärat det en plats på Lake Superior

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60. Citerat av Ben Fritz på <http://www.spinsanity.org/>

State Universitys berömda lista över 'felanvända, överanvända och allmänt oanvändbara' ord.<sup>61</sup>

I talen efter 11 september kommer begreppet upp redan före Afghanistan-kriget. På en presskonferens den 11 oktober 2001, alltså en månad efter katastrofen, förklarar Bush, apropå den höga beredskapen inför nya angrepp:

"Vi fick veta att en agent från al-Qaida eventuellt skulle kunna använda ett besprutningsflygplan för att spreja amerikaner med ett biologiskt vapen eller ett kemiskt vapen. Så vi svarade på det /.../ Vi var fullt medvetna om att det krävdes kompletteringar i utrustningen för att ett besprutningsflygplan skulle kunna bli ett massförstörelsevapen, så vi talade med verkstäder i områdena där det fanns besprutningsflygplan."

Särskilt frekvent användes begreppet i samband med mjältbrandsepidemien hösten 2001. Några försändelser som innehöll mjältbrandsbakterier orsakade en global rädsla för nya terrorattacker, den här gången med biologiska vapen. Fem människor dog av smittan i USA och ett stort antal blev smittade. Mjältbrandsspridningen sattes givetvis genast i samband med al-Qaida och underblåste krigsberedskapen. När det efter några veckor visade sig att bakterierna härrörde från amerikanska laboratorier och efter ytterligare någon månad en anställd vid arméns institut för smitt-

samma sjukdomar häktades för brottet försvann nyheten snabbt. Men händelserna satte givetvis djupa spår. Sociologen Danielle R. Egan menar att mjältbrandspaniken, hur befogad den än må ha förefallit, också ledde bort uppmärksamheten från kriget i Afghanistan:

"Användningen av ordet 'massförstörelsevapen' i talet om mjältbrand är det perfekta bländverket, den perfekta sättet att skapa kulturell panik och blindhet inför den kolossala motsägelserna mellan mjältbrand /.../ och det upprepade fällandet av tiotonsbomber över Afghanistan. Den logiska motsägelserna är så uppenbar, men så undanskynd. Hur kan en bakterie, som enkelt kan kureras med en sextiodagarskur med antibiotikan Cipro, ses som ett större hot än de ständiga flyganfallen i Afghanistan?"<sup>62</sup>

Egans jämförelse är givetvis missvisande, inte bara därför att hoten är riktade åt motsatta håll (mjältbrand mot västvärlden, bomberna mot Afghanistan) utan också därför att mjältbrandsbakterier, om de skulle spridas i stor skala, givetvis inte enkelt skulle kunna bekämpas med antibiotika. Men i och med mjältbranden och det som hon kallar för "discursively produced panic" har ändå det vaga begreppet massförstörelsevapen fått en för krigsretoriken välkommen konkret innebörd.

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

62. Egan (2002), s. 8

5 FEBRUARI 2003:

## Colin Powells tal i FN

Hur välkommet framgår bl.a. av det tal som Colin Powell höll den 5 februari 2003, där han lade fram numera ytterst omstridda ”fakta” om Iraks innehav av massförstörelsevapen. (Bilaga 9) Han höll talet drygt en vecka innan de båda vapeninspektörerna Blix och el-Baradei presenterade sina preliminära resultat som allmänt förväntades vara i stort sett negativa. Powells tal bör ses som ett försök att i förväg bemöta dessa expertinsikter, för att föregripa ytterligare protester mot krigsplanerna. Det rör sig om ett mycket långt tal, en timme och 15 minuter, späckat med siffror, citat och bildbevis. Powell säger sig ha två mål med talet, för det första att stödja det han definierar som ”core assessments made by Dr Blix and Dr. El Baradei”, nämligen att Irak varken hade accepterat avvapningen eller kommit med ny information om massförstörelsevapen. Inspektörernas andra poäng, att de inte hade funnit några spår av sådana vapen, nämns inte. Som andra mål anger Powell just att komma med ny information: ”.../ att meddela er vad USA vet om Iraks massförstörelsevapen och Iraks inblandning i terrorism, vilket

också är ämnet för resolution 1441 och andra tidigare resolutioner.”

Detta är givetvis ett problematiskt påstående eftersom det väcker frågan varför inte inspektörerna fick denna information. Om nu USA hade mera långtgående information borde man ju ha hjälpt inspektörerna med denna. Powell bemöter den tänkta invändningen med att man förser även inspektörerna med all relevant information.

Själva bevisföringen är argumentationstekniskt intressant. Det rör sig om en anhopning av exempel, ett överflöd av fakta, bilder, citat och påståenden som enbart genom sin mängd väcker en känsla av trovärdighet. Här ska inte sanningshalten i påståendena granskas utan själva den retoriska formen. Powell grundar hela argumentationen i FN:s säkerhetsråds resolution 1441, som han definierar på följande sätt: ”The purpose of that resolution was to disarm Iraq of its weapons of mass destruction. /.../ Resolution 1441 gave Iraq one last chance, one last chance to come into compliance or to face serious consequences.” Hela det långa talet utgör ett försök att leda i bevis att Irak inte har

visat medgörlighet (compliance). Bevisföringen handlar bara skenbart om att det skulle finnas massförstörelsevapen (där var, som många journalister efteråt konstaterade, de framförda bevisen svaga). Grundtesen är att Irak inte har varit samarbetsvilligt och därmed, underförstått, kommer ”to face serious consequences”. Powell stöder sin trovärdighet i första hand på just resolution 1441, som han nämner inte mindre än 19 gånger.

Talet fanns på Vita husets webbplats där den övergripande rubriken var ”Iraq – Denial and Deception” och sidan presenterar hela bevismaterialet i form av både stillbilder, video- och audioklipp.<sup>63</sup> Powell använder sig av 45 visuella ”bevis” som ska stödja hans argumentation. Enligt klassiska retoriska insikter är exempel, konkreta och lättfattliga bilder, citat och berättelser, det mest effektiva bevismaterialet. Det man kan se, och höra, med egna ögon och öron, har alltid tyngst bevisvärde. Därtill kommer talarens egen trovärdighet, det ethos som han dels har med sig, dels lyckas etablera i talarsituationen.

En talares ethos kan beskrivas som en kombination av den trovärdighet som han har med sig i termer av kompetens, dygder och status och den trovärdighet som han lyckas åstadkomma i själva talarsituationen. Powells trovärdighet som utrikesminister, uppskattad presidentkandidat och erfaren högt uppsatt militär m.m. är givetvis hög. Men eftersom situationen är känslig, de

planerade aktionerna starkt ifrågasatta, inte minst i själva FN-församlingen, och bevisen för att Irak skulle utgöra ett överhängande hot närmast obefintliga, gäller det för Powell att inte bara genom sin person utan också genom sitt framförande återupprätta Bush-administrationens trovärdighet.

Videoupptagningen av talet ger möjlighet att inte bara granska texten utan också framförandet, vilket gör det intressant att granska Powells kroppsspråk. Powell lägger stark emfas bakom orden med hjälp av gester, pauseringar och röstvariationer som indikerar indignation. Han understryker orden genom gestaltande och rytmiska handlingar och genom att knacka i bordet. Han läser alltså inte bara upp en text utan lägger sitt eget ethos i vågskålen, uttrycker med hela kroppen ett djupt engagemang och en djup övertygelse om att bevisföringen håller. Att ge trovärdighet åt det egna engagemanget är en retorisk nödvändighet om man verkligen vill verka övertygande. Detta görs, som här, bäst om även kroppsspråket är engagerat och motsvarar andemeningen i orden.

Talet är fullt av retoriska grepp: retoriska frågor, d.v.s. frågor där svaret är givet, emfas, ironier, indignation, hopningar av hotbilder, skenbar exakthet och vaga påståenden. Powell hävdar 32 gånger ”We know...”, ibland utan att ange någon källa alls, ibland genom att tala om ”human sources”, stundom

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

karaktiserade som ”human sources who are in a position to know facts”. Namn nämns endast undantagsvis.

Det är bildbevisen och deras tolkning som ges störst tyngd. I en krigssituation bör man inte förvänta sig en rationell logisk och sanningsökande argumentation. Men det är klargörande att väga åtminstone några av Powells argument mot ett logiskt förnuftsideal. Enligt detta bör man inte göra sig skyldig till s.k. fallasier, logiska felslut och osakligheter.<sup>64</sup> Utan att behöva gå närmare in på den logiska argumentationsanalysens komplicerade fält kan man ändå dra nytta av dess definitioner av osakligheter. Filosofen Arne Naess har listat några avvikelser från saklighetsidealet i termer av tendentiösa referat, mångtydigheter, beskrivningar samt förhastade slutsatser.<sup>65</sup> Powell erbjuder några skolexempel på dessa och andra fallasier. Ett av hans första ”bevis” för att Saddam Hussein inte gör några ansträngningar till nedrustning är ett kort samtal mellan en påstådd officer från Republikanska gardets högkvarter till en officer på fältet. Efter att ha spelat upp samtalet, med amerikansk översättning, läser han upp det en gång till, med medvetet dramatiserande tonfall:

”Låt mig stanna upp igen och granska beståndsdelarna i detta meddelande:

- De inspekterar den ammunition ni har, ja.
- Ja.
- Ifall det finns förbjuden ammunition.

– Ifall det händelsevis skulle kunna finnas förbjuden ammunition?

– Ja.

– Och vi skickade ett meddelande till er i går om att tömma alla områdena, skrotområdena, de övergivna områdena. Försäkra er om att det inte finns någonting där.”

Intressant är här dels att han med emfas återger det ganska tunna budskapet som alla redan har läst. Men verkligen anmärkningsvärt är att han förvanskar det. För i översättning är näst sista meningen som följer: ”And we sent you a message to inspect the scrap areas, the abandoned areas.” Originalet talar alltså bara om att inspektera skrotområdena och de övergivna områden, medan Powell talar om *alla* områden och inte bara om att inspektera utan att rensa. Originalet kan lika gärna tolkas som att officeraren på fältet ska kontrollera om det verkligen inte finns något kvar ens i skrotet, vilket är en rimlig begäran givet läget. Hos Powell blir detta till att det gäller att medvetet gömma ammunition. I fallasitermer kan man här tala om tendentiöst referat, man kan också kalla det för medvetet felcitat. Av detta och samtalets avslutande kommentar att officeraren ska förstöra budskapet så att ingen ska få se det, drar Powell följande slutsats: ”/.../ de vill inte att det där meddelandet ska hittas, eftersom de försökte rensa upp området för att inte lämna några bevis för att där hade funnits massförstörelsevapen. Och de kan

64. Om fallasier, se på svenska Sigrell (2001), kap. 4

65. Naess (1992), s. 101–115

hävda att ingenting fanns där. Och inspektörerna kan leta hur mycket de vill utan att hitta någonting.

Dessa ansträngningar att dölja saker för inspektörerna är inte en eller två enskilda händelser, tvärtom. Detta är en väsentlig del av en undvikande och bedräglig policy sedan tolv år tillbaka, en policy som är fastlagd på högsta nivå i den irakiska regeringen.”

Hela argumentationen bygger i grunden på att motståndaren har fel därför att han tiger: ”jag har rätt eftersom du inte kan bevisa motsatsen”.

En fallasi som går igenom hela talet är hotargument. Det tydligaste, understruket av ett häpnadsväckande exempel, kommer i mitten av talet där Powell kommer in på temat mjältbrand. Han visar upp ett litet rör med något pulver i och säger:

”Mindre än en tesked av torkade mjältbrandsbakterier, ungefär så här lite – detta är ungefär en tesked – mindre än en tesked av torkade mjältbrandsbakterier i ett kuvert stängde senaten i USA på hösten 2001. Detta tvingade flera hundra personer att underkasta sig akutsjukvård, och två postanställda dog, bara av en mängd ungefär så här stor, inuti ett kuvert.”

Irak deklarerade 8.500 liter mjältbrandsbakterier men UNSCOM uppskattar att Saddam Hussein skulle kunna ha producerat 25.000 liter. Koncentrerat i denna torra form skulle detta räcka för att fylla tiotals och åter tiotals tusen teskedar. Och Saddam Hussein har inte på ett kontrollerbart sätt redovisat ens en enda tesked av detta dödliga material. ”



**Bild.** Utrikesminister Colin Powell håller upp ett rör som han säger kan innehålla mjältbrand när han presenterar bevis om Iraks påstådda vapenprogram i Säkerhetsrådet, Förenta nationerna den 5 februari 2003. FOTO: ELISE AMENDOLA/AP

Man får hoppas att det inte bokstavligen var mjältbrandsbakterier i röret, men man får granska formuleringen noggrant för att se att han faktiskt inte heller påstår det. Men otydligheten är knappast en tillfällighet. Man kan känna igen det klassiska kravet på *evidentia*, ett uppvisande av exakta och slående enskildheter. Siffrorna är till synes ytterst exakta och samtidigt vaga: en tesked och ”tens upon tens upon tens of thousands of teaspoons”. De förefaller vederhäftiga och blir trovärdiga i och med att Colin Powell investerar hela sitt ethos i bevisdemonstrationen. Powell har som sagt sedan tidigare hög trovärdighet som militär och politiker och genom att det är han som lägger



fram dessa ”bevis” med stor emfas finns det i det läget föga anledning att misstro dem. Krigspropaganda räknar som sagt med att folk har kort minne. Och vem kan i detta läge komma ihåg uttalanden från flera år tillbaka?

Själv bör Powell ha varit medveten om att han, om inte medvetet ljög så i varje fall återgav tvivelaktiga uppgifter, för redan i februari 2001 sa han apropå USA:s framgångsrika sanktioner mot Irak och Saddam Hussein: ”Han har inte utvecklat någon betydande förmåga med avseende på massförstörelsevapen. Han har inte förmågan att rikta konventionell vapenmakt mot sina grannar.”<sup>66</sup>

Här har vi alltså ett fall där det ena propagandapåståendet förtar det andra. 2001 skulle han försäkra Iraks grannar om att USA hade läget under kontroll, att flygövervakningen och sanktionerna hade fungerat och var motiverade just genom att de hade förhindrat framställandet av massförstörelsevapen. Två år senare var motsatsen ”sanning”.

Att massförstörelsevapnen var ett svepskäl framgår i dagsläget klart, men få har uttryckt detta så tydligt som Paul Wolfowitz. Den 28 maj 2003 publiceras i ungdomsmagasinet *Vanity Fair* (!) en intervju med biträdande försvarsminister Paul Wolfowitz, där han medger att massförstörelsevapen aldrig var det primära skälet för USA att invadera Irak: ”Av byråkratiska skäl bestämde vi oss för en fråga, massförstörelsevapen, eftersom det var det enda skälet alla kunde vara överens om.”

Vapeninspektörernas arbete har hela tiden varit ett störande inslag. I segerstalet den 1 maj 2003 går Bush så långt som att antyda att de var helt värdelösa och att sökandet efter massförstörelsevapnen startar nu: ”We’ve begun the search for hidden chemical and biological weapons and already know of hundreds of sites that will be investigated.” Det är som om vapeninspektörernas arbete aldrig hade genomförts.

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

15 FEBRUARI 2003:

## Tony Blairs tal

Den 14 februari levererade vapeninspektörerna Blix och el-Baradei sin rapport till FN och dagen efter arrangerades enorma antikrigsdemonstrationer i hela världen. Både i Rom och London räknade man med minst en miljon deltagare.<sup>67</sup> Samma dag höll Tony Blair ett tal vid Labours vårkonferens, närmare bestämt vid Labour's local government, women's and youth conferences, SECC, i Glasgow.<sup>68</sup> Efter några inledande preludier som handlar om att bekräfta Labours roll i regeringsställning och vikten av att stå för och försvara gemensamma värderingar går han genast in på Iraktemat. Talet har fått rubriken "I want to solve the Iraq issue via the United Nations" och han uttalar just de orden. Men något senare villkorar han sin bekännelse till FN på följande vaga sätt: "Ja, låt FN ta itu med Saddam. Men låt FN mena vad det säger; och göra vad det menar." Detta säger han efter att ha dragit en parallell till andra världskriget och Nationernas Förbunds

möjligheter och ansvar att förhindra en invasion av Abessinien:

"I det tidiga skedet av hotet från fascismen, var det ansvarigt för att skydda Abessinien från invasion. Men när det gällde att ta beslutet att genomdriva denna garanti avskräcktes det av krigets fasor. Resten vet vi. Hotet växte; Nationernas Förbund kollapsade; kriget kom." Hotbilden är att om vi missar detta tillfälle, om vi inte agerar nu, kommer allt bara bli värre, precis som det var då. Abessinienexemplet är en av många jämförelser med andra världskriget som dyker upp i krigspropagandan. En hotbildsfallasi genom ett både tendentiöst och vågat bruk av en historisk analogi. Vad det handlade om var att Italien invaderade Abessinien, vilket Nationernas Förbund hade kunnat ingripa mot om inte både Frankrike och Storbritannien hade motsatt sig detta. De ville i stället försöka nå en för Mussolini acceptabel lösning. Så även om Tony Blair här i princip gör Natio-

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67. Se t.ex. DN 03-02-16

68. <http://www.labour.org.uk/tbglasgow/>, bilaga 10

nernas Förbund ansvarigt för andra världskriget var det i själva verket Storbritanniens agerande, tillsammans med Frankrikes, som satte i gång händelserna som skulle leda till andra världskriget. Dåvarande premiärminister Neville Chamberlains senare undfallenhet gentemot Tyskland (Münchenfördraget) ligger som en klangbotten under Tony Blairs agerande. Det gällde för honom att inte göra om Chamberlains misstag. Man förhandlar inte med en skurk utan besegrar honom militärt.

Den retoriska situationen är givetvis kritisk. Miljontals människor är i samma minut ute på gatorna och demonstrerar mot hans övertygelse att krig är nödvändigt. En manifestation som sägs vara den största dittills i Storbritannien. Blair har följande två huvudsakliga argumentationslinjer för att bemöta kritiken:

1. Han vill inte ha krig: "Every time I have asked us to go to war, I have hated it" – men påstår att det var en framgångsrik strategi både i Kosovo och i Afghanistan.
2. Det är mera moraliskt försvarbart att avlägsna Saddam än att inte göra det: "The moral case against war has a moral answer: it is the moral case for removing Saddam."

När det gäller den senare argumentationen utmynnar den i ett direkt angrepp på freds rörelsen för kortsynthet och ansvarslöshet. Krigsmotståndarna beskrivs som känslostyrda personer som visserligen hatar kriget, och för all del

inte gillar Saddam, men inte bryr sig om Saddams offer, vilket han åskådliggör med hjälp av en uppsjö av både konkreta och vaga siffror om vartannat: "Det kommer inte att bli någon marsch för Saddams offer, inga protester angående de tusentals barn som dör i onödan varje år under hans styre, ingen rättmätig vrede över de tortyrkammare som kommer att finnas kvar om han finns kvar vid makten." Genom att jämföra ojämförliga storheter drar han sedan ut sifferexercisen till orimlighetens gräns:

"Men när ni tittar på tv-bilderna från marschen, så betänk detta:

Om det var 500.000 personer i den marschen, så är de ändå färre än dem vilkas död Saddam är ansvarig för.

Om de är en miljon, är de ändå färre än det antal människor som dött i de krig han startat."

Det är naturligtvis ett mycket effektivt sätt att åskådliggöra mängden av offer och samtidigt beskylla motståndaren för brist på perspektiv. Detta underbyggs ytterligare genom citat från e-post från två exilirakier, en man och en kvinna, som kritiserar krigsmotståndarna. Blair säger att principen av ett folkligt motstånd mot kriget tas emot med värme av irakierna eftersom det avslöjar folkets önskan att undvika lidande. Men han säger att den missar poängen – eftersom det irakiska folket behöver bli av med Saddam för att få ett slut på sitt lidande. Det är ett klassiskt retoriskt grepp att argumentera utifrån personligt drabbades erfarenheter

och lägesbeskrivning, ett känslolag argument som är svårt att bemöta. Kriget framställs med andra ord som det mindre av två onda ting. Krigsförespråkarna framställs som moraliskt mer högtstående än krigsmotståndarna.

Men faktum är att när Bush avstår från att överhuvudtaget kommentera demonstrationerna framställer Blair dem i alla fall som en legitim meningsyttring: "Vad är det som får tusentals människor att protestera på gatorna världen över? /.../ Det är en rättskaffens och fullkomligt förståelig avsky för krig. Det är ett moraliskt uppsåt, och

jag respekterar det." Samtidigt som han insinuerar att demonstranterna inte kommer att gå ut på gatorna för alla de offer som ett icke-agerande skulle kräva. Han går därmed så långt att beskylla fredsdemonstranterna för att vara inhumana, medan det stundande kriget framställs som en humanitär handling, en begreppsförvirring som återigen för tankarna till George Orwells "double talk": "Ridding the world of Saddam would be an act of humanity. It is leaving him there that is in truth inhumane."

16 MARS 2003:

## Toppmötet på Azorererna

En eventuell invasion av Irak hade alltså diskuterats i mer än ett halvår och tiden började bli knapp, bl.a. med tanke på sommarhettan. Protesterna mot det stundande kriget var omfattande och globala, och för propagandan gällde det då att låta aktionen så långt som möjligt framstå som icke-krig.

Det uttalande som lämnades av den s.k. transatlantiska koalitionen, d.v.s. George W. Bush, Tony Blair och Spaniens José Maria Aznar under toppmötet på Azorererna den 16 mars 2003, alltså två dagar innan kriget bryter ut, måste betecknas som ett närmast klassiskt exempel på Orwellskt nyspråk. På presskonferensen deklarerade Aznar att man inte hade kommit till Azorererna för att avge en krigsförklaring. De tre makthavarnas uttalanden handlar heller inte om kriget utan om det som ska hända efter kriget. Efter att återigen ha utmålats Saddam Hussein som roten till allt ont och som ansvarig för alla negativa följder framställs koalitionens framtida agerande som en enda stor hjälpkaktion:

”Vi har en vision av ett enat Irak vars gränser respekteras. Hela det irakiska

folket – dess rika blandning av sunni- och shiitiska araber, kurder, turkmener, assyrier, kaldéer och alla de andra – ska njuta frihet, välbstånd och jämlikhet i ett enat land. Vi vill stödja det irakiska folkets strävan efter en representativ regering som håller fast vid mänskliga

**Bild.** Storbritanniens premiärminister Tony Blair (vänster), med Spaniens premiärminister Jose Maria Aznar (andra från vänster) USA:s president George W. Bush och Portugals premiärminister Jose Durao Barroso (höger), talar till medierna vid den USA/Portugisiska flygbasen på Azorererna den 16 mars 2003 efter att de diskuterat Irakkrisen. FOTO: STEFAN ROUSSEAU/AP



rättigheter och rättsstatliga principer som demokratins hörnstenar.”<sup>69</sup>

Krig innebär alltid instabilitet och ovisshet om följderna. Världssamfundet stod inte bakom aktionen som därför av större delen av opinionen bedömdes som högst osäker. Därför var en av de retoriska uppgifterna i detta läge att hävda motsatsen, att låta koalitionen framstå som en tillförlitlig aktör. Detta görs genom att betona det trygga samarbetet: ”/.../ we plan to work in close partnership with international institutions, including the United Nations; our Allies and partners; and bilateral donors”. Säkerheten är ett nyckelord, som återigen ställs i kontrast mot hotet från massförstörelsevapnen: ”Any military presence, should it be necessary, will be temporary and intended to promote security and elimination of weapons of mass destruction;/.../”

Den propagandateknik som här används kan med retorikforskaren Lennart Hellspongs begrepp kallas för förklädnad genom lögn, obestämdhet, försköning och abstraktion.<sup>70</sup>

Löggen om massförstörelsevapnen behöver inte kommenteras en gång till. Obestämdheten ligger i att aktionen beskrivs med vaga termer som ”if conflict occurs”, ”military presence, should it be necessary...”. Försköningen består i att framställa det framtida agerandet som en humanitär välgärning, att ge en vision om en bättre värld efter en eventuell

”konflikt”. Och abstraktionen ligger i att kalla agerandet för ”commitment”, att omdefiniera den planerade militära aggressionen till en fredshandling.

## Tema ”Hjälpssamhet”

Att koalitionen kommer för att hjälpa är ett återkommande tema i hela krigsretoriken efter den 11 september. Att vara ett hjälpsamt och generöst folk är en del av den amerikanska självbilden<sup>71</sup> och därmed ett tacksamt tema för att legitimera krigsaktionerna respektive balansera aggressionshandlingarna. Redan före kriget i Afghanistan, den 6 oktober 2001, betonade Bush det storsinta i aktionerna:

”Även när vi bekämpar ondskefulla regimer är vi generösa mot människorna som de förtrycker. Efter andra världskriget livnärde och återuppbyggde Amerika Japan och Tyskland, och deras folk blev några av våra närmaste vänner i världen.”

Bortsett från att inte alla tyskar och japaner skulle hålla med om det senare påståendet är det intressant om man vill förstå den amerikanska självbilden som Bush bygger sina resonemang på. USA vill inte ha krig, utan fred, det amerikanska folket vill inte kriga utan hjälpa. Den planerade aktionen är bara undantagsvis och påtvinget våldsam. I talet vid själva krigsöppningen, den 8 oktober 2001, underströk Bush åter

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

70. Hellspong (1992), s. 220ff

71. Hart (1997), s. 238f



den vänskapliga avsikten bakom de militära aktionerna:

”Samtidigt kommer det förtryckta afghanska folket att känna av Amerikas och våra allierades generositet. När vi slår till mot militära mål kommer vi också att släppa ned mat, medicin och förnödenheter till Afghanistans svältande och lidande män och kvinnor och barn.”

Den 30 oktober 2001, under det brinnande Afghankriget, bedyrar han: ”Vi är ett generöst folk, ett hänsynsfullt folk som känner smärta och deltar i sorgen när människor mister livet eller när människor skadas. /.../ Under svåra tider har vi visat att vi inte bara är en världsmakt, att vi är ett godhjärtat och modigt folk.”

Bland de ”photo essays” som ligger på Vita huset-sidan finns under rubriken ”Photos” resp. ”Timelines” en länk, ”Helping others”, som till stor del handlar om hjälpaktioner för afghanska barn, och en länk, ”Helping those in need”, som tillhandahåller tal angående hjälpsatser. Det intressanta här är just att båda länkarna nästan enbart handlar om Afghanistan och om kvinnor och barn. En annan samling bilder på barn, som tar emot hjälp från amerikanska soldater, finns under Iraklänkarna: Barnen och kvinnorna är välklädda, välnärda, glada, vackra och tacksamma. Amerikanska soldater framstår som nästan messianska räddare.<sup>72</sup>

Samma tema, nämligen att huvudmålet för aktionerna är hjälpsamhet, tas även upp i talet omedelbart före Irakkriget.

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

19 MARS 2003:

## George W. Bushs tal inför Irakinvasionen

Den 19 mars håller Bush tal med anledning av att de militära aktionerna i Irak har startat. (Bilaga 12) Han gör det denna gången i Ovals rummet, på samma plats där Bush senior annonserade Gulfkriget. På fönsterbrädet bakom skymtar två familjefoton, ett på döttrarna, ett på hunden och frun.

I inledningen av krigstalet definierar Bush aktionerna som ”military operations to disarm Iraq, to free its people and to defend the world from grave danger”. Stora ord, med många undertoner och associationer. ”Operationer” leder tankarna till den i Gulfkriget så omhuldade kliniska krigföringen. Att desarmera någon kan visserligen innebära våldsanvändning, men är en fredskapande åtgärd; enbart Irak står här för militärmakten, eftersom befolkningen ska ”befrias”; och så handlar hela aktionen om försvar, hela världen kommer att försvaras. Kriget är en hjälpaktion: ”Jag vill att amerikaner och hela världen ska veta att koalitionsstyrkorna kommer att göra allt i sin makt för att hindra att oskyldiga civila kommer till skada. /.../ Och att hjälpa irakierna att uppnå ett enat, stabilt och

fritt land kommer att kräva vårt helhjärtade engagemang.”

Vi kommer till Irak med respekt för dess medborgare, för deras stora kultur och deras religioner. Vi har inga ambitioner i Irak utöver att avlägsna ett hot och återföra styrningen av landet till dess egen befolkning.

Ordet ”war” förekommer två gånger, i samband med Saddam Hussein, dels att man vill hindra honom att föra krig, dels att han inte har någon respekt för krigskonventioner. Och för att verkligen understryka det hot man bekämpar talas nu inte längre om ”weapons of mass destruction” utan om ”weapons of mass murder”. I det sammanhanget tas grymhetstemat upp igen:

”I den här konflikten möter Amerika en motståndare som inte bryr sig om krigets konventioner eller moraliska regler. Saddam Hussein har placerat irakiska trupper och materiel i civila områden, i ett försök att använda oskyldiga män, kvinnor och barn som sköldar för sin egen militär – den yttersta skändligheten mot sitt eget folk.”

Eftersom detta tal till större delen är riktat till de stridande förbanden bör



**Bild.** "We Can Do It!" En affisch från andra världskriget skildrar "Rosie the Riveter" som uppmuntrar kvinnor i USA att visa sin styrka och att arbeta för krigets ansträngningar. Denna affisch gjordes på uppdrag av War Production Co-Committee. Bilden säljs nu som souvenir. EN AFFISCH AV J. HOWARD MILLER/CORBIS

detta uttalande tolkas som ett fribrev för att även civila områden kan bli legitima måltavlor – om man misstänker att fienden gömmer sig där. Att fienden förklarar sig anspelar återigen på temat feghet. Den amerikanska militärens karaktär beskrivs däremot med termer som "skill and bravery" samt "honorable and decent spirit". De allierades aktioner beskrivs, förutom som militära operationer, med begrepp som: striking selected targets of military importance, broad and concerted campaign, common defense, remove a threat, decisive force. De är rena, välorganiserade och rättvisa.

Kriget framställs som oundvikligt: "Now that conflict has come", liksom den kommande segern, en nödvändighet i krigspropaganda. Konflikten är en del av USA:s "Work for peace" ("fredsarbete"). Just "work"-metaforen är intressant som en del i det retoriska arbetet med att låta kriget framstå som en normalitet. "And you can know that our forces will be coming home as soon as their work is done."

Business, work och job, samt mission, är återkommande begrepp i Bushs reto-



rik. Amerikansk identitet konstitueras till stor del av att man är ett flitigt folk. Att jobba hårt är en hederssak.<sup>73</sup> Därmed kan även begreppet "arbete" användas propagandistiskt som positivt laddat värdeord.

## Tema "Arbete"

Från första början i händelsekedjorna efter 11 september definierade Bush även kriget mot terrorism som "job". I talet den 16 november 2001 jämför han militära aktioner med civilt arbete: "Jag tror också på våra militära styrkor. Och vi har ett arbete att utföra – precis som bönder och boskapsägare och företagare och fabriksarbetare har ett arbete att utföra. Min regering har

73. Hart (1997), s. 238f

ett arbete att utföra, och vi kommer att göra det. Vi ska rensa världen från illgärningsmännen.”

Vad händer när man definierar ett krig som ett jobb? Metaforen ger aktionen ett slags vardaglighet, något välbekant. Makthavare förutsätter att vi alla vet att var och en genom sitt arbete bör bidra till nationens framgång. Men ett arbete är också en i allra högsta grad civil aktivitet. Vanligtvis välordnad, efter klara regler. Arbete är en nödvändighet. Det har något traditionellt maskulint beslutsamt över sig. Ett arbete är något hedervärt, ett arbete har inte mycket med känslor att göra, förutom yrkesstoltheten. Man ska här inte glömma att den amerikanska försvarsmakten är en yrkeskår.

Ett arbete får man sig tilldelat, det är allvarligt, tryggt och ansvarsfullt. En traditionellt manlig metafor som i den aktuella krigsretoriken intressant nog kompletteras med faktorer som till synes inte har något gemensamt med krig, nämligen spel, sport och underhållning.

## Tema "Spel och sport"

Jakt är bara en av spel- och sportmetaforerna för att beskriva krigshandlingarna som något acceptabelt och välkänt, till och med underhållande. Ett annat exempel på patriotisk lekfullhet i samband med Irakkriget är en utgivning av samlarbilder. Företaget Topps, som ägnar sig åt utgivning av kort på t.ex. idrottsstjärnor, har gett ut en serie på 90 kort under rubriken "Enduring

Freedom". Som oberoende Flak Magazine-skribenten Clay Risen förklarar:

"Vykort med motivet Enduring Freedom (Varaktig frihet) är endast de senaste i en lång rad av 11-septemberkitsch. När blotta tanken på att slå mynt av tragedin är tveivelaktig, går dessa kort ett steg längre genom att visa upp 'Det Nya Kriget mot Terrorismen' som ett roligt och trevligt sätt för barn att få kunskap om dagshändelser."

Korten vänder sig alltså till barn. På baksidan av paketet förklaras den pedagogiska avsikten: "En encyklopedisk förteckning över Amerikas krig mot terrorismen. Korten innehåller biografisk information om civila och militära ledare som anförtrotts uppgiften att leda oss genom denna kamp, statistiska uppgifter och fotografier på militär utrustning."

Topps förklarar själv utgivningen med att samlingen "presenterar det nya kriget mot terrorismen i ett format som barn kan förstå. De störande bilder som upprepas i nationella nyhetssändningar omfattas inte. Topps har valt att fokusera på Amerikas styrka – på dess valda ledare, militärens säkerhet, dess världsomfattande stöd ... och på det amerikanska folkets mod och enighet".

Bilderna är i själva verket ganska intetsägande: Bush pratande i telefon, Condoleezza Rice i talarpose, soldater i formation ("Marines Head Out For Overseas Duty"), men inget som "stör", inget från krigsfälten, inga avancerade vapen, och, som Clay Risen sarkastiskt anmärker, inget om krigets mänskliga sida: "av flyktingläger, skadade soldater

eller protester mot kriget. Det skulle vara 'störande'. Hur som helst är detta det 'Nya Kriget' där de onda blir stekta, de civila undkommer oskadda och amerikanska soldater inte dör. Ett barnvänligt krig, och det betyder också ett vinstvänligt krig. Vem behöver Fox News när det finns produkter som dessa?"

Spelmetaforerna för tankarna till Gulfkriget 1991 där bl.a. svenska medier använde dem för att antyda krigets oundviklighet. Ett spel bör inte avbrytas innan den ena eller andra sidan har vunnit.<sup>74</sup> Även samlarkort användes i propagandan redan under Operation Desert Storm, som Matthew Nadelhaft har analyserat: "Den allmänna förekomsten av sportmetaforer i krigsdiskursen visar hur användbart sport är både som ett konceptuellt verktyg och som ett medel att legitimera något, och den genomslagskraft som sport har i den amerikanska kulturella logiken; dess så gott som omedvetna plats i det amerikanska medvetandet."<sup>75</sup>

Men sport- och lekmetaforer är inte bara användbara i en amerikansk kontext utan ingår i en traditionellt manlig föreställningsvärld där livet framstår som en kampsport. Målet med all social verksamhet blir att vinna över motståndaren och krig är bara den yttersta och fortfarande legitima formen av tävling.<sup>76</sup> Kanske är metaforerna också ett sätt att ge kriget mer mänskliga proportioner, för att inte säga ett underhållningsvärde.

Att Irakkriget sågs som ett slags spel om positioner är retoriskt sett entydigt. Både Bush och Blair använder gärna begreppet "game" för att karakterisera händelserna. I presskonferensen på Azorerna säger Tony Blair exempelvis: "Saddam plays these games and we carry on allowing him to play them." (Bilaga 11) Och på en fråga under samma presskonferens om hur man ska rösta på en andra FN-resolution svarar Bush:

"Jag var killen som sa att de borde rösta. Och ett land röstade – de visade åtminstone sina kort, tror jag. Det är ett gammalt uttryck från Texas, att visa korten när man spelar poker. Frankrike visade sina kort. När jag hade sagt det jag sa, sa de att de skulle lägga in sitt veto mot allt som höll Saddam ansvarig för någonting. Så kort har lagts. Och bara morgondagen kan visa vad det där kortet betydde."<sup>77</sup>

Detta uttalande gav möjligtvis pr-arbetarna idén om den inte minst av medierna omhuldade kortleken med 55 irakiska efterlysta ledare, 54 män och 1 kvinna.

Vincent Brooks, USA-alliansens talesman i högkvarteret i Qatar, förklarar den 11 april 2003 (transkription från SVT1): "Koalitionen har identifierat ledare som spelar en nyckelroll. De måste hittas och ställas inför rätta. Listan upptar 55 personer som kan jagas, dödas eller tas till fånga. Den här kortleken är ett exempel på vad vi delar ut

74. (1992), s. 44ff

75. Nadelhaft (1993), s. 26

76. Om maskulin kampinriktad mentalitet och kommunikation, se Ong (1981)

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



till våra soldater. Den visar personernas ansikten och anger vad personerna haft för roll. Det är 55 kort i leken.”

Det var naturligtvis ett retoriskt genidrag att förvandla fienden till en sällskapslek. Det ger en effekt av förlöjligande, av bagatellisering. På tv-skärmarna kunde amerikanerna följa hur kort efter kort metodiskt samlades in av militären. USA blev vinnaren. Journalisterna hade en tacksam röd tråd att följa. Fienden blev tydlig och begriplig för minsta barn. Kortleken delades först enbart ut till militärerna i Irak,

men fick sedan också rykande åtgång hemmavid, som distributören skriver: ”Ni har sett de här korten på kvällsnyheterna. De har visats i tidningar över hela världen. Nu kan du bli ägare till ett genuint samlarobjekt från Operation Iraqi Freedom. Detta är samma kortlek om 55 kort med bilder på Iraks 52 ’Mest efterlysta’ ledare som delades ut till koalitions soldaterna.”

Kortleken kan nu också köpas som poster, och, som distributören skriver: ”This may be the last time anyone will ever see these faces again.”<sup>78</sup>

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

1 MAJ 2003:

## George W. Bushs "segertal"

*Ett lands kampanda lever av övertygelsen att det finns en god chans att vinna ... Segerillusionen måste näras på grund av det starka sambandet mellan det goda och det starka ... Om vi vinner är Gud på vår sida. Om vi förlorar kan Gud ha varit på den andra sidan.<sup>79</sup>*

I sitt kapitel "The Illusion of Victory" definierar Harold D. Lasswell propagandistens segervisshet i religiösa termer. Om inte vi, som är goda, vinner, har Gud övergett oss, vilket är en demoraliserande insikt. Därför är det viktigt för militärstrategerna att vid någon någorlunda rimlig och trovärdig tidpunkt hävda att slaget är vunnet.

Den 1 maj 2003 håller Bush det tal som skulle kunna betecknas som seger-talet efter ockupationen av Irak. (Bilaga 13) Talet rubriceras dock som "President Bush Announces Major Combat Operations in Iraq Have Ended". Enligt pressekreterare Ari Fleischer ska det just inte uppfattas som segertal och har inga som helst legala konsekvenser:

".../ han vill klargöra för det amerikanska folket, som har riskerat liv och förmögenheter i sin strävan att nå våra mål i Irak, vad som åstadkommits hittills. Och det är något som presidenten påbörjade i sitt tal till nationen, och som han, återigen, vill slutföra genom ett tal till folket. Kriget mot terrorismen kommer att fortsätta. Irak var en fas i kriget mot terrorn. Och presidenten vill diskutera allt detta med det amerikanska folket."

Talet ska alltså anknyta till State of the Union-talet och därmed skenbart avrunda de aktuella aktionerna, göra trovärdigt att denna etapp är slut. Om han hade hållit ett regelrätt segertal borde aktionerna i fortsättningen hålla sig till Genèvekonventionens krav på t.ex. frigivning av krigsfångar.<sup>80</sup> Detta bör ses som en av anledningarna till att det i detta krig inte har förekommit några segerförklaringar.

Bush håller alltså inte talet i Ovala rummet utan på ett krigskepp med det lämpliga namnet USS Abraham Lincoln,

79. Lasswell (1927), s. 102

80. Se kommentar i Fox News: <http://www.foxmarketwire.com/story/0,2933,85588,00.html>

ett atomdrivet hangarfartyg som har varit inblandat dels i aktioner mot Afghanistan, dels i no-fly zone i Irak, dels i det aktuella Irakkriget. Som Fox News skriver: "Pilots flew thousands of bomb-dropping sorties from the deck."<sup>81</sup> Scenen är symbolladdad, med

**Bild.** President George W. Bush talar till besättningen på hangarfartyget USS Abraham Lincoln som går för full maskin mot San Diego i Kalifornien den 1 maj 2003. Vitahuset sade den 29 oktober 2003 att de hade hjälpt till med framtagandet av banderollen med texten "Mission Accomplished" i bakgrunden. FOTO: LARRY DOWNING/REUTERS

jublande återvändande militärer, efter till synes framgångsrika militära aktioner. Ovanför hela sceneriet syns en enorm banderoll, "Mission Accomplished", sannolikt syftande på fartygets mission, men tacksamt antydande att även Bushs mission var uppfylld.

Talet hålls som ett tacktal till militären, där Bush kan vara säker på en mängd applåder. Strategerna vet att Bush gör sig bäst inför en jublande publik och humöret är dessutom på topp efter flygturen. Så här beskriver CNN situationen:

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



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

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

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

The picture-perfect landing, covered live on television, marked the latest effort by the White House to showcase Bush as commander in chief."

Och även om CNN här tillåter sig en mild ironi återger man givetvis här som i andra medier över hela världen tacksamt de effektfulla bilderna.

I själva talet omskrivs det pågående kriget som:

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

Kriget vänds till en ädel handling, med syfte att bevara världsfreden: "In this battle, we have fought for the cause of liberty, and for the peace of the world." Ordet "seger" förekommer först i slutet av talet där Bush låter påskina att slaget om Irak är vunnet, men endast som ett slag i det pågående kriget mot terroristerna: "Slaget om Irak är en seger i kriget mot terrorn som startade den 11 september, 2001 – och som ännu

fortgår. /.../ Vi vet inte när dagen för den slutliga segern är inne, men vi har sett tidvattnet vända"

Denna form av segerviss besvärjelse bör inte minst ses i ljuset av mediernas dramaturgi där det räknades krigsdagar. Genom att förklara att kriget var över fick man också slut på denna dramatiska och ogynnsamma uppräkningslista och ogynnsamma uppräkningslista. Varje dag innebar nya offer och det gällde att tona ner aggressionen och ockupationen. Det gällde också att tona ner omfattningen av förstörelsen och dödandet. Därför hävdar Bush här återigen att man tog till våld endast som en sista utväg. Han säger att i motsats till tidigare krig då man förstörde hela städer har man nu precisionsvapen. Han låter också påskina att de civila inte har fått utstå särskilt mycket:

"Med ny taktik och precisionsvapen kan vi uppnå militära mål utan att utöva våld mot civilbefolkningen. Inget mänskligt påfund kan ta bort tragiken från kriget, men ändå är det ett stort moraliskt framsteg när de skyldiga har mycket mera att frukta av kriget än de oskyldiga."

Återigen påpekas att USA kom som en hjälpare ängel, visserligen hämndängel, men med rättvisa och välvilja i bagaget. Och han framhäver gång på gång irakiernas glädje över "befrielsen": "When Iraqi civilians looked into the faces of our servicemen and women, they saw strength and kindness and goodwill."

# Epilog

När detta skrivs, ett år efter ”segertalet”, har terrorismen och kriget mot terrorismen utvecklats till vad som skulle kunna kallas ett krig mot en osynlig fiende. De globala krigshoten har ökat och propagandansträngningarna intensifierats. Motvilliga medgivanden om att den irakiska hotbilden var överdriven, att massförstörelsevapen inte längre fanns, insikten att kvinnorna knappast har fått bättre villkor någonstans, att demokratiseringsprocessen knappt ens har inletts, samt det faktum att våldet eskalerar efter avslöjandena om amerikansk tortyr hindrar inte propagandastategierna från att hävda att aktionerna var befogade och framgångsrika. Propagandister räknar med att människor har kort minne, att de inte kommer ihåg lögnaktiga propagandistiska iscensättningar som fallet med ”fritagningen” av Jessica Lynch, för att bara ta ett exempel.<sup>82</sup> Och om man händelsevis skulle komma ihåg det, så är det som en hjärtnipande historia om en kvinnlig hjälte, inte som ett propagandaspek-

takel. Bilder dominerar alltid över ord och kritiska analyser står sig slätt i jämförelse med patosfyllda berättelser, ett faktum som även styr mycket av det journalistiska arbetet. Nyhetsrapporteringen prioriterar dramatiseringar och visuella förenklingar framför kritiskt ifrågasättande.<sup>83</sup> Propagandan räknar också lugnt med att de som är satta att kritiskt granska den inte hinner med alla turer. Journalister måste koncentrera sig på dagsfärska händelser och har eller ger sig sällan tid att reflektera över det som sägs. När George W. Bush den 5 april 2004 kommenterar de våldsamma protesterna mot den amerikanska ockupationen med att det här görs försök att styra demokratiprocessen med hjälp av våld, för att sedan slå fast: ”And that is the opposite of democracy”, så visas detta citat visserligen i tv-nyheterna, men ingen journalist kommenterar paradoxen.

Propagandan bygger inte minst på att om man bara upprepar ett illa underbyggt påstående tillräckligt

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82. Se t.ex. Nordström (2003)

83. Jämför Johansson (1992) ang. medierapporteringen från ”Gulfkriget”



många gånger så accepteras det till slut som sanning, i varje fall så länge det behövs för aktionernas genomförande.

Man kan fundera på varför traditionell krigspropaganda i dagens kritiska massmediesamhälle, med välutbildade medborgare som mottagare, fortfarande fungerar. Vi nickar instämmande till vaga, otydliga och tvivelaktiga påståenden som har använts i alla århundraden för att motivera krig: att det är bättre att förekomma än att förekommas; att fienden är ond, grym och omänsklig och därför bör elimineras; att trupperna redan är på plats och därför bör användas; att ett bättre samhällsskick kan åstadkommas med hjälp av våld. Svaret på denna intellektuella gåta är förmodligen enkelt: när det uppstår en hotfull

krissituation med många komplicerade faktorer så tas enkla lösningar tacksamt emot. Ett krig, och i synnerhet ett "kliniskt" sådant, som förkläs till jakt, spel eller arbete blir genom detta jonglerande med ord och metaforer acceptabelt. En fiende som är ond är ett legitimt mål. Ett krig som omtolkas till humanitär insats är inte längre ett krig. I dagens demokratiska samhälle bör vi emellertid ha kommit längre än att nöja oss med enkla, svartvita lösningar, även i akuta krissituationer. Skepsis, tvivel och ifrågasättanden när det gäller krigsstrategernas verklighetsbeskrivningar bör inte bara vara tillåtna utan uppmuntras, premieras och prioriteras för att motverka propagandans övermakt.

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# Bilagor

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

## BILAGA 1. PRESIDENT GEORGE W. BUSH'S TAL TILL NATIONEN DEN 11 SEPTEMBER 2001

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Thank you. Good night, and God bless America.

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

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*Return to this article at:*

*<http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2001/09/20010911-16.html>*

## BILAGA 2. KATEDRAL-TALET

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

God bless America.

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

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*Return to this article at:*

*<http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2001/09/20010914-2.html>*

## BILAGA 3

# Remarks by the President Upon Arrival

### *The South Lawn*

3:23 P.M. EDT

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Thank you all very much.

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

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*<http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2001/09/20010916-2.html>*

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

I will not forget this wound to our country or those who inflicted it. I will not yield; I will not rest; I will not relent in waging this struggle for freedom and security for the American people.

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

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

Thank you. (Applause.)

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

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*Return to this article at:*

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## BILAGA 5. KRIGSTAL AFGHANISTAN

# Presidential Address to the Nation

### *The Treaty Room*

1:00 P.M. EDT

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Thank you. May God continue to bless America.

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

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*Return to this article at:*

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

## BILAGA 6

# Radio Address by Laura Bush to the Nation

*Crawford, Texas*

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

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

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

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

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

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

In America, next week brings Thanksgiving. After the events of the last few months, we'll be

holding our families even closer. And we will be especially thankful for all the blessings of American life. I hope Americans will join our family in working to insure that dignity and opportunity will be secured for all the women and children of Afghanistan.

Have a wonderful holiday, and thank you for listening.

**END**

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*Return to this article at:*

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

## BILAGA 7. STATE OF THE UNION

# President Delivers State of the Union Address

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

and held to the highest standards of conduct. (Applause.)

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

We've been offered a unique opportunity, and we must not let this moment pass. (Applause.)

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

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

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

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

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

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



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

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

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

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

The last time I spoke here, I expressed the hope that life would return to normal. In some ways, it has. In others, it never will. Those of us

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

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

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

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

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

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

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*Return to this article at:*

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

## BILAGA 8. CINCINNATI-TALET

# President Bush Outlines Iraqi Threat

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Some ask how urgent this danger is to America and the world. The danger is already significant, and it only grows worse with time. If we know Saddam Hussein has dangerous weapons today – and we do – does it make any sense for the world to wait to confront him as he grows even stronger and develops even more dangerous weapons?

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

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

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

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

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

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

We know that Iraq and the al Qaeda terrorist network share a common enemy – the United States of America. We know that Iraq and al Qaeda have had high-level contacts that go back a decade. Some al Qaeda leaders who fled Afghanistan went to Iraq. These include one very senior al Qaeda leader who received medical treatment in Baghdad this year, and who has been associated with planning for chemical and biological attacks. We've learned that Iraq has trained al Qaeda members in bomb-making and poisons and deadly gases. And we know that after September the 11th, Saddam Hussein's regime gleefully celebrated the terrorist attacks on America.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

If the Iraqi regime is able to produce, buy, or steal an amount of highly enriched uranium a little larger than a single softball, it could have a nuclear weapon in less than a year. And if we allow that to happen, a terrible line would be crossed. Saddam Hussein would be in a position to blackmail anyone who opposes his aggression. He would be in a position to dominate the Middle East. He would be in a position to

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

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

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

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

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

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

rather than providing for the needs of the Iraqi people.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

America believes that all people are entitled to hope and human rights, to the non-negotiable demands of human dignity. People everywhere prefer freedom to slavery; prosperity to squalor; self-government to the rule of terror and torture. America is a friend to the people of Iraq. Our demands are directed only at the regime that enslaves them and threatens us. When these demands are met, the first and greatest benefit will come to Iraqi men, women and children. The oppression of Kurds, Assyrians, Turkomans, Shi'a, Sunnis and others will be lifted. The long captivity of Iraq will end, and an era of new hope will begin.

Iraq is a land rich in culture, resources, and talent. Freed from the weight of oppression, Iraq's people will be able to share in the progress and prosperity of our time. If military action is necessary, the United States and our allies will help the Iraqi people rebuild their economy, and

create the institutions of liberty in a unified Iraq at peace with its neighbors.

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

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

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

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

May God bless America. (Applause.)

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

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*Return to this article at:*

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**BILAGA 9. COLIN POWELLS TAL I FN**

## U.S. Secretary of State Colin Powell Addresses the U.N. Security Council

**Slide 1**

POWELL: Thank you, Mr. President.

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

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

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

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

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

**Slide 2**

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

POWELL: This council placed the burden on Iraq to comply and disarm and not on the inspectors to find that which Iraq has gone out of its way to conceal for so long. Inspectors are inspectors; they are not detectives.

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

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

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

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

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

I cannot tell you everything that we know. But what I can share with you, when combined

with what all of us have learned over the years, is deeply troubling.

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

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

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

### **Slide 3**

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

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

### **Slide 4**

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

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

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

### **Slide 5**

"I have one."

"Which, from where?"

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

"What?"

"From Al Kendi (ph)."

### **Slide 6**

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

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

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

"I will come to you tomorrow."

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

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

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

### **Slide 7**

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

"For the possibility there are forbidden ammo."

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

### **Slide 8**

"Yes."

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

**POWELL:** Remember the first message, evacuated. This is all part of a system of hiding things and moving things out of the way and making sure they have left nothing behind.

### **Slide 9**

If you go a little further into this message, and you see the specific instructions from headquarters:



“After you have carried out what is contained in this message, destroy the message because I don’t want anyone to see this message.”  
“OK, OK.”

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

For example, let me focus on the now famous declaration that Iraq submitted to this council on December 7. Iraq never had any intention of complying with this council’s mandate.

#### **Slide 10**

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

### Slide 11

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

### Slide 12

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

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

### Slide 13

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

#### **Slide 14**

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

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

#### **Slide 15**

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

#### **Slide 16**

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

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

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

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

#### **Slide 17**

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

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

#### **Slide 18**

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

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

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

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

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

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

Saddam Hussein also said that scientists should be told not to agree to leave Iraq; anyone who agreed to be interviewed outside Iraq would be treated as a spy. This violates 1441.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

**POWELL:** We wrote it this way to give Iraq an early test – to give Iraq an early test. Would they give an honest declaration and would they early on

indicate a willingness to cooperate with the inspectors? It was designed to be an early test.

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

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

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

#### **Slide 19**

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

First, biological weapons. We have talked frequently here about biological weapons. By way of introduction and history, I think there are just three quick points I need to make.

First, you will recall that it took UNSCOM four long and frustrating years to pry – to pry – an admission out of Iraq that it had biological weapons.

Second, when Iraq finally admitted having these weapons in 1995, the quantities were vast. Less than a teaspoon of dry anthrax, a little bit about this amount--this is just about the amount of a teaspoon--less than a teaspoon full of dry anthrax in an envelope shutdown the United States Senate in the fall of 2001. This forced several hundred people to undergo emergency medical treatment and killed two postal workers just from an amount just about this quantity that was inside of an envelope.

**POWELL:** Iraq declared 8,500 liters of anthrax, but UNSCOM estimates that Saddam Hussein could have produced 25,000 liters. If concentrated

into this dry form, this amount would be enough to fill tens upon tens upon tens of thousands of teaspoons. And Saddam Hussein has not verifiably accounted for even one teaspoon-full of this deadly material.

And that is my third point. And it is key. The Iraqis have never accounted for all of the biological weapons they admitted they had and we know they had. They have never accounted for all the organic material used to make them. And they have not accounted for many of the weapons filled with these agents such as there are 400 bombs. This is evidence, not conjecture. This is true. This is all well-documented.

Dr. Blix told this council that Iraq has provided little evidence to verify anthrax production and no convincing evidence of its destruction. It should come as no shock then, that since Saddam Hussein forced out the last inspectors in 1998, we have amassed much intelligence indicating that Iraq is continuing to make these weapons.

One of the most worrisome things that emerges from the thick intelligence file we have on Iraq's biological weapons is the existence of mobile production facilities used to make biological agents.

#### **Slide 20**

**POWELL:** Let me take you inside that intelligence file and share with you what we know from eye witness accounts. We have firsthand descriptions of biological weapons factories on wheels and on rails.

The trucks and train cars are easily moved and are designed to evade detection by inspectors. In a matter of months, they can produce a quantity of biological poison equal to the entire amount that Iraq claimed to have produced in the years prior to the Gulf War.

Although Iraq's mobile production program began in the mid-1990s, U.N. inspectors at the time only had vague hints of such programs. Confirmation came later, in the year 2000.

The source was an eye witness, an Iraqi chemical engineer who supervised one of these facilities. He actually was present during biological agent production runs. He was also at the site when an accident occurred in 1998. Twelve technicians died from exposure to biological agents.

He reported that when UNSCOM was in country and inspecting, the biological weapons agent production always began on Thursdays at midnight because Iraq thought UNSCOM would not inspect on the Muslim Holy Day, Thursday night through Friday. He added that this was important because the units could not be broken down in the middle of a production run, which had to be completed by Friday evening before the inspectors might arrive again.

This defector is currently hiding in another country with the certain knowledge that Saddam Hussein will kill him if he finds him. His eye-witness account of these mobile production facilities has been corroborated by other sources.

A second source, an Iraqi civil engineer in a position to know the details of the program, confirmed the existence of transportable facilities moving on trailers.

A third source, also in a position to know, reported in summer 2002 that Iraq had manufactured mobile production systems mounted on road trailer units and on rail cars.

Finally, a fourth source, an Iraqi major, who defected, confirmed that Iraq has mobile biological research laboratories, in addition to the production facilities I mentioned earlier.

#### **Slide 21**

**POWELL:** We have diagrammed what our sources reported about these mobile facilities. Here you see both truck and rail car-mounted mobile factories. The description our sources gave us of the technical features required by such facilities are highly detailed and extremely accurate. As these drawings based on their description show, we know what the fermenters look like, we know what the tanks, pumps, compressors and other parts look like. We know how they fit together. We know how they work. And we know a great deal about the platforms on which they are mounted.

As shown in this diagram, these factories can be concealed easily, either by moving ordinary-looking trucks and rail cars along Iraq's thousands of miles of highway or track, or by parking them in a garage or warehouse or somewhere in Iraq's extensive system of underground tunnels and bunkers.

**Slide 22**

We know that Iraq has at least seven of these mobile biological agent factories. The truck-mounted ones have at least two or three trucks each. That means that the mobile production facilities are very few, perhaps 18 trucks that we know of--there may be more--but perhaps 18 that we know of. Just imagine trying to find 18 trucks among the thousands and thousands of trucks that travel the roads of Iraq every single day.

It took the inspectors four years to find out that Iraq was making biological agents. How long do you think it will take the inspectors to find even one of these 18 trucks without Iraq coming forward, as they are supposed to, with the information about these kinds of capabilities?

POWELL: Ladies and gentlemen, these are sophisticated facilities. For example, they can produce anthrax and botulinum toxin. In fact, they can produce enough dry biological agent in a single month to kill thousands upon thousands of people. And dry agent of this type is the most lethal form for human beings.

By 1998, U.N. experts agreed that the Iraqis had perfected drying techniques for their biological weapons programs. Now, Iraq has incorporated this drying expertise into these mobile production facilities.

We know from Iraq's past admissions that it has successfully weaponized not only anthrax, but also other biological agents, including botulinum toxin, aflatoxin and ricin.

But Iraq's research efforts did not stop there. Saddam Hussein has investigated dozens of biological agents causing diseases such as gas gangrene, plague, typhus (ph), tetanus, cholera, camelpox and hemorrhagic fever, and he also has the wherewithal to develop smallpox.

**Slide 23**

The Iraqi regime has also developed ways to disburse lethal biological agents, widely and discriminately into the water supply, into the air. For example, Iraq had a program to modify aerial fuel tanks for Mirage jets. This video of an Iraqi test flight obtained by UNSCOM some years ago shows an Iraqi F-1 Mirage jet aircraft. Note the spray coming from beneath the Mirage; that is

2,000 liters of simulated anthrax that a jet is spraying.

In 1995, an Iraqi military officer, Mujahid Sali Abdul Latif (ph), told inspectors that Iraq intended the spray tanks to be mounted onto a MiG-21 that had been converted into an unmanned aerial vehicle, or a UAV. UAVs outfitted with spray tanks constitute an ideal method for launching a terrorist attack using biological weapons.

POWELL: Iraq admitted to producing four spray tanks. But to this day, it has provided no credible evidence that they were destroyed, evidence that was required by the international community.

There can be no doubt that Saddam Hussein has biological weapons and the capability to rapidly produce more, many more. And he has the ability to dispense these lethal poisons and diseases in ways that can cause massive death and destruction. If biological weapons seem too terrible to contemplate, chemical weapons are equally chilling.

**Slide 24**

UNMOVIC already laid out much of this, and it is documented for all of us to read in UNSCOM's 1999 report on the subject.

Let me set the stage with three key points that all of us need to keep in mind: First, Saddam Hussein has used these horrific weapons on another country and on his own people. In fact, in the history of chemical warfare, no country has had more battlefield experience with chemical weapons since World War I than Saddam Hussein's Iraq.

Second, as with biological weapons, Saddam Hussein has never accounted for vast amounts of chemical weaponry: 550 artillery shells with mustard, 30,000 empty munitions and enough precursors to increase his stockpile to as much as 500 tons of chemical agents. If we consider just one category of missing weaponry -- 6,500 bombs from the Iran-Iraq war -- UNMOVIC says the amount of chemical agent in them would be in the order of 1,000 tons. These quantities of chemical weapons are now unaccounted for.

Dr. Blix has quipped that, quote, “Mustard gas is not (inaudible) You are supposed to know what you did with it.”

We believe Saddam Hussein knows what he did with it, and he has not come clean with the international community. We have evidence these weapons existed. What we don't have is evidence from Iraq that they have been destroyed or where they are. That is what we are still waiting for.

Third point, Iraq's record on chemical weapons is replete with lies. It took years for Iraq to finally admit that it had produced four tons of the deadly nerve agent, VX. A single drop of VX on the skin will kill in minutes. Four tons.

The admission only came out after inspectors collected documentation as a result of the defection of Hussein Kamal, Saddam Hussein's late son-in-law. UNSCOM also gained forensic evidence that Iraq had produced VX and put it into weapons for delivery.

POWELL: Yet, to this day, Iraq denies it had ever weaponized VX. And on January 27, UNMOVIC told this council that it has information that conflicts with the Iraqi account of its VX program.

We know that Iraq has embedded key portions of its illicit chemical weapons infrastructure within its legitimate civilian industry. To all outward appearances, even to experts, the infrastructure looks like an ordinary civilian operation. Illicit and legitimate production can go on simultaneously; or, on a dime, this dual-use infrastructure can turn from clandestine to commercial and then back again.

These inspections would be unlikely, any inspections of such facilities would be unlikely to turn up anything prohibited, especially if there is any warning that the inspections are coming. Call it ingenuous or evil genius, but the Iraqis deliberately designed their chemical weapons programs to be inspected. It is infrastructure with a built-in ally.

Under the guise of dual-use infrastructure, Iraq has undertaken an effort to reconstitute facilities that were closely associated with its past program to develop and produce chemical weapons.

For example, Iraq has rebuilt key portions of the Tariq (ph) state establishment. Tariq (ph) includes facilities designed specifically for Iraq's

chemical weapons program and employs key figures from past programs.

That's the production end of Saddam's chemical weapons business. What about the delivery end?

I'm going to show you a small part of a chemical complex called al-Moussaid (ph), a site that Iraq has used for at least three years to transship chemical weapons from production facilities out to the field.

#### Slide 25

In May 2002, our satellites photographed the unusual activity in this picture. Here we see cargo vehicles are again at this transshipment point, and we can see that they are accompanied by a decontamination vehicle associated with biological or chemical weapons activity.

POWELL: What makes this picture significant is that we have a human source who has corroborated that movement of chemical weapons occurred at this site at that time. So it's not just the photo, and it's not an individual seeing the photo. It's the photo and then the knowledge of an individual being brought together to make the case.

#### Slide 26

This photograph of the site taken two months later in July shows not only the previous site, which is the figure in the middle at the top with the bulldozer sign near it, it shows that this previous site, as well as all of the other sites around the site, have been fully bulldozed and graded. The topsoil has been removed. The Iraqis literally removed the crust of the earth from large portions of this site in order to conceal chemical weapons evidence that would be there from years of chemical weapons activity.

To support its deadly biological and chemical weapons programs, Iraq procures needed items from around the world using an extensive clandestine network. What we know comes largely from intercepted communications and human sources who are in a position to know the facts.

Iraq's procurement efforts include equipment that can filter and separate micro-organisms and toxins involved in biological weapons, equipment that can be used to concentrate the agent, growth

media that can be used to continue producing anthrax and botulinum toxin, sterilization equipment for laboratories, glass-lined reactors and specialty pumps that can handle corrosive chemical weapons agents and precursors, large amounts of vinyl chloride, a precursor for nerve and blister agents, and other chemicals such as sodium sulfide, an important mustard agent precursor.

Now, of course, Iraq will argue that these items can also be used for legitimate purposes. But if that is true, why do we have to learn about them by intercepting communications and risking the lives of human agents? With Iraq's well documented history on biological and chemical weapons, why should any of us give Iraq the benefit of the doubt? I don't, and I don't think you will either after you hear this next intercept.

**POWELL:** Just a few weeks ago, we intercepted communications between two commanders in Iraq's Second Republican Guard Corps. One commander is going to be giving an instruction to the other. You will hear as this unfolds that what he wants to communicate to the other guy, he wants to make sure the other guy hears clearly, to the point of repeating it so that it gets written down and completely understood. Listen.

#### **Slide 27**

**POWELL:** Let's review a few selected items of this conversation. Two officers talking to each other on the radio want to make sure that nothing is misunderstood:

"Remove. Remove."

The expression, the expression, "I got it."

#### **Slide 28**

"Nerve agents. Nerve agents. Wherever it comes up."

"Got it."

"Wherever it comes up."

"In the wireless instructions, in the instructions."

"Correction. No. In the wireless instructions."

"Wireless. I got it."

Why does he repeat it that way? Why is he so forceful in making sure this is understood? And why did he focus on wireless instructions? Because the senior officer is concerned that

somebody might be listening. Well, somebody was.

"Nerve agents. Stop talking about it. They are listening to us. Don't give any evidence that we have these horrible agents."

Well, we know that they do. And this kind of conversation confirms it.

Our conservative estimate is that Iraq today has a stockpile of between 100 and 500 tons of chemical weapons agent. That is enough agent to fill 16,000 battlefield rockets.

**POWELL:** Even the low end of 100 tons of agent would enable Saddam Hussein to cause mass casualties across more than 100 square miles of territory, an area nearly 5 times the size of Manhattan.

#### **Slide 29**

Let me remind you that, of the 122 millimeter chemical warheads, that the U.N. inspectors found recently, this discovery could very well be, as has been noted, the tip of the submerged iceberg. The question before us, all my friends, is when will we see the rest of the submerged iceberg?

Saddam Hussein has chemical weapons. Saddam Hussein has used such weapons. And Saddam Hussein has no compunction about using them again, against his neighbors and against his own people.

And we have sources who tell us that he recently has authorized his field commanders to use them. He wouldn't be passing out the orders if he didn't have the weapons or the intent to use them.

We also have sources who tell us that, since the 1980s, Saddam's regime has been experimenting on human beings to perfect its biological or chemical weapons.

A source said that 1,600 death row prisoners were transferred in 1995 to a special unit for such experiments. An eye witness saw prisoners tied down to beds, experiments conducted on them, blood oozing around the victim's mouths and autopsies performed to confirm the effects on the prisoners. Saddam Hussein's humanity – inhumanity has no limits.



### Slide 30

Let me turn now to nuclear weapons. We have no indication that Saddam Hussein has ever abandoned his nuclear weapons program.

On the contrary, we have more than a decade of proof that he remains determined to acquire nuclear weapons.

To fully appreciate the challenge that we face today, remember that, in 1991, the inspectors searched Iraq's primary nuclear weapons facilities for the first time. And they found nothing to conclude that Iraq had a nuclear weapons program.

But based on defector information in May of 1991, Saddam Hussein's lie was exposed. In truth, Saddam Hussein had a massive clandestine nuclear weapons program that covered several different techniques to enrich uranium, including electromagnetic isotope separation, gas centrifuge, and gas diffusion. We estimate that this elicit program cost the Iraqis several billion dollars.

POWELL: Nonetheless, Iraq continued to tell the IAEA that it had no nuclear weapons program. If Saddam had not been stopped, Iraq could have produced a nuclear bomb by 1993, years earlier than most worst-case assessments that had been made before the war.

In 1995, as a result of another defector, we find out that, after his invasion of Kuwait, Saddam Hussein had initiated a crash program to build a crude nuclear weapon in violation of Iraq's U.N. obligations.

Saddam Hussein already possesses two out of the three key components needed to build a nuclear bomb. He has a cadre of nuclear scientists with the expertise, and he has a bomb design.

Since 1998, his efforts to reconstitute his nuclear program have been focused on acquiring the third and last component, sufficient fissile material to produce a nuclear explosion. To make the fissile material, he needs to develop an ability to enrich uranium.

### Slide 31

Saddam Hussein is determined to get his hands on a nuclear bomb. He is so determined that he has made repeated covert attempts to acquire high-specification aluminum tubes from 11 different countries, even after inspections resumed.

These tubes are controlled by the Nuclear Suppliers Group precisely because they can be used as centrifuges for enriching uranium. By now, just about everyone has heard of these tubes, and we all know that there are differences of opinion. There is controversy about what these tubes are for.

Most U.S. experts think they are intended to serve as rotors in centrifuges used to enrich uranium. Other experts, and the Iraqis themselves, argue that they are really to produce the rocket bodies for a conventional weapon, a multiple rocket launcher.

Let me tell you what is not controversial about these tubes. First, all the experts who have analyzed the tubes in our possession agree that they can be adapted for centrifuge use. Second, Iraq had no business buying them for any purpose. They are banned for Iraq.

I am no expert on centrifuge tubes, but just as an old Army trooper, I can tell you a couple of things: First, it strikes me as quite odd that these tubes are manufactured to a tolerance that far exceeds U.S. requirements for comparable rockets.

Maybe Iraqis just manufacture their conventional weapons to a higher standard than we do, but I don't think so.

### Slide 32

POWELL: Second, we actually have examined tubes from several different batches that were seized clandestinely before they reached Baghdad. What we notice in these different batches is a progression to higher and higher levels of specification, including, in the latest batch, an anodized coating on extremely smooth inner and outer surfaces. Why would they continue refining the specifications, go to all that trouble for something that, if it was a rocket, would soon be blown into shrapnel when it went off?

The high tolerance aluminum tubes are only part of the story. We also have intelligence from multiple sources that Iraq is attempting to acquire magnets and high-speed balancing machines; both items can be used in a gas centrifuge program to enrich uranium.

In 1999 and 2000, Iraqi officials negotiated with firms in Romania, India, Russia and Slovenia for the purchase of a magnet production plant. Iraq wanted the plant to produce magnets weighing

20 to 30 grams. That's the same weight as the magnets used in Iraq's gas centrifuge program before the Gulf War. This incident linked with the tubes is another indicator of Iraq's attempt to reconstitute its nuclear weapons program.

Intercepted communications from mid-2000 through last summer show that Iraq front companies sought to buy machines that can be used to balance gas centrifuge rotors. One of these companies also had been involved in a failed effort in 2001 to smuggle aluminum tubes into Iraq.

People will continue to debate this issue, but there is no doubt in my mind, these elicited procurement efforts show that Saddam Hussein is very much focused on putting in place the key missing piece from his nuclear weapons program, the ability to produce fissile material. He also has been busy trying to maintain the other key parts of his nuclear program, particularly his cadre of key nuclear scientists.

It is noteworthy that, over the last 18 months, Saddam Hussein has paid increasing personal attention to Iraq's top nuclear scientists, a group that the governmental-controlled press calls openly, his nuclear mujahedeen. He regularly exhorts them and praises their progress. Progress toward what end?

### Slide 33

Long ago, the Security Council, this council, required Iraq to halt all nuclear activities of any kind.

POWELL: Let me talk now about the systems Iraq is developing to deliver weapons of mass destruction, in particular Iraq's ballistic missiles and unmanned aerial vehicles, UAVs.

### Slide 34

First, missiles. We all remember that before the Gulf War Saddam Hussein's goal was missiles that flew not just hundreds, but thousands of kilometers. He wanted to strike not only his neighbors, but also nations far beyond his borders.

While inspectors destroyed most of the prohibited ballistic missiles, numerous intelligence reports over the past decade, from sources inside Iraq, indicate that Saddam Hussein retains a covert force of up to a few dozen Scud variant ballistic missiles. These are missiles with a range of 650 to 900 kilometers.

We know from intelligence and Iraq's own admissions that Iraq's alleged permitted ballistic missiles, the al-Samud II (ph) and the al-Fatah (ph), violate the 150-kilometer limit established by this council in Resolution 687. These are prohibited systems.

UNMOVIC has also reported that Iraq has illegally imported 380 SA-2 (ph) rocket engines. These are likely for use in the al-Samud II (ph). Their import was illegal on three counts. Resolution 687 prohibited all military shipments into Iraq. UNSCOM specifically prohibited use of these engines in surface-to-surface missiles. And finally, as we have just noted, they are for a system that exceeds the 150-kilometer range limit.

Worst of all, some of these engines were acquired as late as December--after this council passed Resolution 1441.

What I want you to know today is that Iraq has programs that are intended to produce ballistic missiles that fly 1,000 kilometers. One program is pursuing a liquid fuel missile that would be able to fly more than 1,200 kilometers. And you can see from this map, as well as I can, who will be in danger of these missiles.

### Slide 35

As part of this effort, another little piece of evidence, Iraq has built an engine test stand that is larger than anything it has ever had. Notice the dramatic difference in size between the test stand on the left, the old one, and the new one on the right. Note the large exhaust vent. This is where the flame from the engine comes out. The exhaust on the right test stand is five times longer than the one on the left. The one on the left was used for short-range missile. The one on the right is clearly intended for long-range missiles that can fly 1,200 kilometers.

This photograph was taken in April of 2002. Since then, the test stand has been finished and a roof has been put over it so it will be harder for satellites to see what's going on underneath the test stand.

Saddam Hussein's intentions have never changed. He is not developing the missiles for self-defense. These are missiles that Iraq wants in order to project power, to threaten, and to deliver chemical, biological and, if we let him, nuclear warheads.

Now, unmanned aerial vehicles, UAVs.

### Slide 36

Iraq has been working on a variety of UAVs for more than a decade. This is just illustrative of what a UAV would look like. This effort has included attempts to modify for unmanned flight the MiG-21 (ph) and with greater success an aircraft called the L-29 (ph). However, Iraq is now concentrating not on these airplanes, but on developing and testing smaller UAVs, such as this.

UAVs are well suited for dispensing chemical and biological weapons.

POWELL: There is ample evidence that Iraq has dedicated much effort to developing and testing spray devices that could be adapted for UAVs. And of the little that Saddam Hussein told us about UAVs, he has not told the truth. One of these lies is graphically and indisputably demonstrated by intelligence we collected on June 27, last year.

### Slide 37

According to Iraq's December 7 declaration, its UAVs have a range of only 80 kilometers. But we detected one of Iraq's newest UAVs in a test flight that went 500 kilometers nonstop on autopilot in the race track pattern depicted here.

Not only is this test well in excess of the 150 kilometers that the United Nations permits, the test was left out of Iraq's December 7th declaration. The UAV was flown around and around and around in a circle. And so, that its 80 kilometer limit really was 500 kilometers unrefueled and on autopilot, violative of all of its obligations under 1441.

The linkages over the past 10 years between Iraq's UAV program and biological and chemical warfare agents are of deep concern to us. Iraq could use these small UAVs which have a wingspan of only a few meters to deliver biological agents to its neighbors or if transported, to other countries, including the United States.

My friends, the information I have presented to you about these terrible weapons and about Iraq's continued flaunting of its obligations under Security Council Resolution 1441 links to a subject I now want to spend a little bit of time on. And that has to do with terrorism.

### Slide 38

Our concern is not just about these elicit weapons. It's the way that these elicit weapons can be connected to terrorists and terrorist organizations that have no compunction about using such devices against innocent people around the world.

Iraq and terrorism go back decades. Baghdad trains Palestine Liberation Front members in small arms and explosives. Saddam uses the Arab Liberation Front to funnel money to the families of Palestinian suicide bombers in order to prolong the Intifada. And it's no secret that Saddam's own intelligence service was involved in dozens of attacks or attempted assassinations in the 1990s.

But what I want to bring to your attention today is the potentially much more sinister nexus between Iraq and the Al Qaida terrorist network, a nexus that combines classic terrorist organizations and modern methods of murder. Iraq today harbors a deadly terrorist network headed by Abu Musab Al-Zarqawi, an associated collaborator of Osama bin Laden and his Al Qaida lieutenants.

Zarqawi, a Palestinian born in Jordan, fought in the Afghan war more than a decade ago. Returning to Afghanistan in 2000, he oversaw a terrorist training camp. One of his specialties and one of the specialties of this camp is poisons. When our coalition ousted the Taliban, the Zarqawi network helped establish another poison and explosive training center camp. And this camp is located in northeastern Iraq.

### Slide 39

POWELL: You see a picture of this camp. The network is teaching its operatives how to produce ricin and other poisons. Let me remind you how ricin works. Less than a pinch – image a pinch of salt – less than a pinch of ricin, eating just this amount in your food, would cause shock followed by circulatory failure. Death comes within 72 hours and there is no antidote, there is no cure. It is fatal.

### Slide 40

Those helping to run this camp are Zarqawi lieutenants operating in northern Kurdish areas outside Saddam Hussein's controlled Iraq. But Baghdad has an agent in the most senior levels of the radical organization, Ansar al-Islam, that

controls this corner of Iraq. In 2000 this agent offered Al Qaida safe haven in the region. After we swept Al Qaida from Afghanistan, some of its members accepted this safe haven. They remain their today.

Zarqawi's activities are not confined to this small corner of north east Iraq. He traveled to Baghdad in May 2002 for medical treatment, staying in the capital of Iraq for two months while he recuperated to fight another day.

During this stay, nearly two dozen extremists converged on Baghdad and established a base of operations there. These Al Qaida affiliates, based in Baghdad, now coordinate the movement of people, money and supplies into and throughout Iraq for his network, and they've now been operating freely in the capital for more than eight months.

Iraqi officials deny accusations of ties with Al Qaida. These denials are simply not credible. Last year an Al Qaida associate bragged that the situation in Iraq was, quote, "good," that Baghdad could be transited quickly.

We know these affiliates are connected to Zarqawi because they remain even today in regular contact with his direct subordinates, including the poison cell plotters, and they are involved in moving more than money and materiale.

Last year, two suspected Al Qaida operatives were arrested crossing from Iraq into Saudi Arabia. They were linked to associates of the Baghdad cell, and one of them received training in Afghanistan on how to use cyanide. From his terrorist network in Iraq, Zarqawi can direct his network in the Middle East and beyond.

We, in the United States, all of us at the State Department, and the Agency for International Development – we all lost a dear friend with the cold-blooded murder of Mr. Lawrence Foley in Amman, Jordan last October, a despicable act was committed that day. The assassination of an individual whose sole mission was to assist the people of Jordan. The captured assassin says his cell received money and weapons from Zarqawi for that murder.

**POWELL:** After the attack, an associate of the assassin left Jordan to go to Iraq to obtain weapons and explosives for further operations. Iraqi officials

protest that they are not aware of the whereabouts of Zarqawi or of any of his associates. Again, these protests are not credible. We know of Zarqawi's activities in Baghdad. I described them earlier.

And now let me add one other fact. We asked a friendly security service to approach Baghdad about extraditing Zarqawi and providing information about him and his close associates. This service contacted Iraqi officials twice, and we passed details that should have made it easy to find Zarqawi. The network remains in Baghdad. Zarqawi still remains at large to come and go.

As my colleagues around this table and as the citizens they represent in Europe know, Zarqawi's terrorism is not confined to the Middle East. Zarqawi and his network have plotted terrorist actions against countries, including France, Britain, Spain, Italy, Germany and Russia.

#### **Slide 41**

According to detainee Abuwatia (ph), who graduated from Zarqawi's terrorist camp in Afghanistan, tasks at least nine North African extremists from 2001 to travel to Europe to conduct poison and explosive attacks.

Since last year, members of this network have been apprehended in France, Britain, Spain and Italy. By our last count, 116 operatives connected to this global web have been arrested.

#### **Slide 42**

The chart you are seeing shows the network in Europe. We know about this European network, and we know about its links to Zarqawi, because the detainee who provided the information about the targets also provided the names of members of the network.

Three of those he identified by name were arrested in France last December. In the apartments of the terrorists, authorities found circuits for explosive devices and a list of ingredients to make toxins.

The detainee who helped piece this together says the plot also targeted Britain. Later evidence, again, proved him right. When the British unearthed a cell there just last month, one British police officer was murdered during the disruption of the cell.

### Slide 43

We also know that Zarqawi's colleagues have been active in the Pankisi Gorge, Georgia and in Chechnya, Russia. The plotting to which they are linked is not mere chatter. Members of Zarqawi's network say their goal was to kill Russians with toxins.

We are not surprised that Iraq is harboring Zarqawi and his subordinates. This understanding builds on decades long experience with respect to ties between Iraq and Al Qaida.

POWELL: Going back to the early and mid-1990s, when bin Laden was based in Sudan, an Al Qaida source tells us that Saddam and bin Laden reached an understanding that Al Qaida would no longer support activities against Baghdad. Early Al Qaida ties were forged by secret, high-level intelligence service contacts with Al Qaida, secret Iraqi intelligence high-level contacts with Al Qaida.

We know members of both organizations met repeatedly and have met at least eight times at very senior levels since the early 1990s. In 1996, a foreign security service tells us, that bin Laden met with a senior Iraqi intelligence official in Khartoum, and later met the director of the Iraqi intelligence service.

Saddam became more interested as he saw Al Qaida's appalling attacks. A detained Al Qaida member tells us that Saddam was more willing to assist Al Qaida after the 1998 bombings of our embassies in Kenya and Tanzania. Saddam was also impressed by Al Qaida's attacks on the USS Cole in Yemen in October 2000.

Iraqis continued to visit bin Laden in his new home in Afghanistan. A senior defector, one of Saddam's former intelligence chiefs in Europe, says Saddam sent his agents to Afghanistan sometime in the mid-1990s to provide training to Al Qaida members on document forgery.

From the late 1990s until 2001, the Iraqi embassy in Pakistan played the role of liaison to the Al Qaida organization.

Some believe, some claim these contacts do not amount to much. They say Saddam Hussein's secular tyranny and Al Qaida's religious tyranny do not mix. I am not comforted by this thought. Ambition and hatred are enough to bring Iraq and Al Qaida together, enough so Al Qaida

could learn how to build more sophisticated bombs and learn how to forge documents, and enough so that Al Qaida could turn to Iraq for help in acquiring expertise on weapons of mass destruction.

And the record of Saddam Hussein's cooperation with other Islamist terrorist organizations is clear. Hamas, for example, opened an office in Baghdad in 1999, and Iraq has hosted conferences attended by Palestine Islamic Jihad. These groups are at the forefront of sponsoring suicide attacks against Israel.

Al Qaida continues to have a deep interest in acquiring weapons of mass destruction. As with the story of Zarqawi and his network, I can trace the story of a senior terrorist operative telling how Iraq provided training in these weapons to Al Qaida.

Fortunately, this operative is now detained, and he has told his story. I will relate it to you now as he, himself, described it.

This senior Al Qaida terrorist was responsible for one of Al Qaida's training camps in Afghanistan.

POWELL: His information comes first-hand from his personal involvement at senior levels of Al Qaida. He says bin Laden and his top deputy in Afghanistan, deceased Al Qaida leader Muhammad Atif (ph), did not believe that Al Qaida labs in Afghanistan were capable enough to manufacture these chemical or biological agents. They needed to go somewhere else. They had to look outside of Afghanistan for help. Where did they go? Where did they look? They went to Iraq.

The support that (inaudible) describes included Iraq offering chemical or biological weapons training for two Al Qaida associates beginning in December 2000. He says that a militant known as Abu Abdula Al-Iraqi (ph) had been sent to Iraq several times between 1997 and 2000 for help in acquiring poisons and gases. Abdula Al-Iraqi (ph) characterized the relationship he forged with Iraqi officials as successful.

As I said at the outset, none of this should come as a surprise to any of us. Terrorism has been a tool used by Saddam for decades. Saddam was a supporter of terrorism long before these terrorist networks had a name. And this support continues. The nexus of poisons and terror is

new. The nexus of Iraq and terror is old. The combination is lethal.

With this track record, Iraqi denials of supporting terrorism take the place alongside the other Iraqi denials of weapons of mass destruction. It is all a web of lies.

When we confront a regime that harbors ambitions for regional domination, hides weapons of mass destruction and provides haven and active support for terrorists, we are not confronting the past, we are confronting the present. And unless we act, we are confronting an even more frightening future.

#### **Slide 44**

My friends, this has been a long and a detailed presentation. And I thank you for your patience. But there is one more subject that I would like to touch on briefly. And it should be a subject of deep and continuing concern to this council, Saddam Hussein's violations of human rights.

Underlying all that I have said, underlying all the facts and the patterns of behavior that I have identified as Saddam Hussein's contempt for the will of this council, his contempt for the truth and most damning of all, his utter contempt for human life. Saddam Hussein's use of mustard and nerve gas against the Kurds in 1988 was one of the 20th century's most horrible atrocities; 5,000 men, women and children died.

POWELL: His campaign against the Kurds from 1987 to '89 included mass summary executions, disappearances, arbitrary jailing, ethnic cleansing and the destruction of some 2,000 villages. He has also conducted ethnic cleansing against the Shi'a Iraqis and the Marsh Arabs whose culture has flourished for more than a millennium. Saddam Hussein's police state ruthlessly eliminates anyone who dares to dissent. Iraq has more forced disappearance cases than any other country, tens of thousands of people reported missing in the past decade.

Nothing points more clearly to Saddam Hussein's dangerous intentions and the threat he poses to all of us than his calculated cruelty to his own citizens and to his neighbors. Clearly, Saddam Hussein and his regime will stop at nothing until something stops him.

#### **Slide 45**

For more than 20 years, by word and by deed Saddam Hussein has pursued his ambition to dominate Iraq and the broader Middle East using the only means he knows, intimidation, coercion and annihilation of all those who might stand in his way. For Saddam Hussein, possession of the world's most deadly weapons is the ultimate trump card, the one he most hold to fulfill his ambition.

We know that Saddam Hussein is determined to keep his weapons of mass destruction; he's determined to make more. Given Saddam Hussein's history of aggression, given what we know of his grandiose plans, given what we know of his terrorist associations and given his determination to exact revenge on those who oppose him, should we take the risk that he will not some day use these weapons at a time and the place and in the manner of his choosing at a time when the world is in a much weaker position to respond?

The United States will not and cannot run that risk to the American people. Leaving Saddam Hussein in possession of weapons of mass destruction for a few more months or years is not an option, not in a post-September 11th world.

My colleagues, over three months ago this council recognized that Iraq continued to pose a threat to international peace and security, and that Iraq had been and remained in material breach of its disarmament obligations. Today Iraq still poses a threat and Iraq still remains in material breach.

POWELL: Indeed, by its failure to seize on its one last opportunity to come clean and disarm, Iraq has put itself in deeper material breach and closer to the day when it will face serious consequences for its continued defiance of this council.

My colleagues, we have an obligation to our citizens, we have an obligation to this body to see that our resolutions are complied with. We wrote 1441 not in order to go to war, we wrote 1441 to try to preserve the peace. We wrote 1441 to give Iraq one last chance. Iraq is not so far taking that one last chance.

We must not shrink from whatever is ahead of us. We must not fail in our duty and our

responsibility to the citizens of the countries that  
are represented by this body.

Thank you, Mr. President.

**END**

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**BILAGA 10. TONY BLAIRS TAL**

## I want to solve the Iraq issue via the United Nations

*Speech by Prime Minister Tony Blair at Labour's local government, women's and youth conferences, SECC, Glasgow (urklipp)*

The progress we have made, we have made together. I know it is tough right now. I know it is an uncertain time for our country. But we will come through this and we will come through it together.

We will come through it by holding firm to what we believe in. One such belief is in the United Nations. I continue to want to solve the issue of Iraq and weapons of mass destruction through the UN. That is why last November we insisted on putting UN inspectors back into Iraq to disarm it.

Dr Blix reported to the UN yesterday and there will be more time given to inspections. He will report again on 28 February. But let no one forget two things. To anyone familiar with Saddam's tactics of deception and evasion, there is a weary sense of *déjà vu*. As ever, at the last minute, concessions are made. And as ever, it is the long finger that is directing them. The concessions are suspect. Unfortunately the weapons are real.

Last year, 12 long years after the UN first gave him 15 days to produce a full audit of his chemical, biological and nuclear weapons programmes and he denied he had any, we passed UN Resolution 1441. It gave him a "final opportunity" to disarm. It instructed him to co-operate fully with the UN inspectors. Why was the inspection regime so tough? Because for 12 years, he had played a game with the inspectors.

In 1991 Iraq denied it had a biological weapons offensive programme. For four years the

inspectors toiled. It was not until 1995 that Saddam's son-in-law defected to Jordan, explained the true biological weapons programme and it was partially dealt with. He was, of course lured back to Iraq and then murdered.

The time needed is not the time it takes the inspectors to discover the weapons. They are not a detective agency. We played that game for years in the 1990s. The time is the time necessary to make a judgment: is Saddam prepared to co-operate fully or not. If he is, the inspectors can take as much time as they want. If he is not, if this is a repeat of the 1990s – and I believe it is – then let us be under no doubt what is at stake.

By going down the UN route we gave the UN an extraordinary opportunity and a heavy responsibility. The opportunity is to show that we can meet the menace to our world today together, collectively and as a united international community. What a mighty achievement that would be. The responsibility, however, is indeed to deal with it.

The League of Nations also had that opportunity and responsibility back in the 1930s. In the early days of the fascist menace, it had the duty to protect Abyssinia from invasion. But when it came to a decision to enforce that guarantee, the horror of war deterred it. We know the rest. The menace grew; the League of Nations collapsed; war came.

Remember: the UN inspectors would not be within a thousand miles of Baghdad without the threat of force. Saddam would not be making a single concession without the knowledge that forces were gathering against him. I hope, even now, Iraq can be disarmed peacefully, with or



without Saddam. But if we show weakness now, if we allow the plea for more time to become just an excuse for prevarication until the moment for action passes, then it will not only be Saddam who is repeating history. The menace, and not just from Saddam, will grow; the authority of the UN will be lost; and the conflict when it comes will be more bloody. Yes, let the United Nations be the way to deal with Saddam. But let the United Nations mean what it says; and do what it means.

What is the menace we speak of? It is not just Saddam. We are living through insecure times. Wars; terrorist threats; suddenly things that seem alien to us are on our doorstep, threatening our way of life.

Let me try to make sense of it. For hundreds of years, Europe was at war, the boundaries of many nations shifting with each passing army, small countries occupied and re-occupied, their people never at peace. Large countries fought each other literally for decades at a time with only the briefest respite to draw breath before the resumption of hostilities. For my father's generation that was the Europe they were brought up in. Today in Europe former enemies are friends, at one, if not always diplomatically. The EU is a massive achievement of peace and prosperity now set to welcome in the nations who suffered from the other great tyranny of my father's life time and my own: the Soviet Union. For the first 40 years of my life, the reality was the Communist bloc versus the West. Today the Cold War is over. The EU is set to grow to 25, then 30 then more nations. Russia is our partner and we, hers, in her search for a new and democratic beginning. China is developing as a Socialist market economy and is the ally of Europe, and the US.

We don't wake up and fear Russia or China as we did. America is not focussed on the struggle for ideological hegemony between Communism and liberal democracy. The issue is not a clash for conquest between the big powers.

But the old threat has been replaced by a new one. The threat of chaos; disorder; instability. A threat which arises from a perversion of the true faith of Islam, in extremist terrorist groups like Al Qaida. It arises from countries which are unstable, usually repressive dictatorships which use what wealth they have to protect or enhance

their power through chemical, biological or nuclear weapons capability which can cause destruction on a massive scale.

What do they have in common these twins of chaos – terrorism and rogue states with Weapons of Mass Destruction? They are answerable to no democratic mandate, so are unrestrained by the will of ordinary people. They are extreme and inhumane. They detest and fear liberal, democratic and tolerant values. And their aim is to de-stabilise us.

September 11th didn't just kill thousands of innocent people. It was meant to bring down the Western economy. It did not do so. But we live with the effects of it even today in economic confidence. It was meant to divide Muslim and Christian, Arab and Western nations, and to provoke us to hate each other. It didn't succeed but that is what it was trying to do.

These states developing Weapons of Mass Destruction, proliferating them, importing or exporting the scientific expertise, the ballistic missile technology; the companies and individuals helping them: they don't operate within any international treaties. They don't conform to any rules. North Korea is a country whose people are starving and yet can spend billions of dollars trying to perfect a nuclear bomb. Iraq, under Saddam became the first country to use chemical weapons against its own people. Are we sure that if we let him keep and develop such weapons, he would not use them again against his neighbours, against Israel perhaps? Saddam the man who killed a million people in an eight year war with Iran, and then, having lost it, invaded Kuwait? Or the other nations scrabbling to get a foot on the nuclear ladder, are we happy that they do so?

And the terrorist groups already using chemical and biological agents with money to spend, do we really believe that if Al Qaida could get a dirty bomb they wouldn't use it? And then think of the consequences. Already there is fear and anxiety, undermining confidence. Think of the consequences then. Think of a nation using a nuclear device, no matter how small, no matter how distant the land. Think of the chaos it would cause.

That is why Saddam and Weapons of Mass Destruction are important.

Every time I have asked us to go to war, I have hated it. I spent months trying to get Milosevic to stop ethnic cleansing in Kosovo, delaying action while we negotiated endlessly. I agreed with President Bush not to strike Afghanistan after September 11th but instead to offer the Taliban, loathsome though they were, an ultimatum: yield up Al Qaida and we will let you stay. We used force in the end, but in Kosovo only as a last resort, and though I rejoiced with his people at the fall of Milosevic, as I rejoiced with the Afghan people at the fall of the Taliban, I know that amid the necessary military victory there was pain and suffering that brought no joy at all.

At every stage, we should seek to avoid war. But if the threat cannot be removed peacefully, please let us not fall for the delusion that it can be safely ignored. If we do not confront these twin menaces of rogue states with Weapons of Mass Destruction and terrorism, they will not disappear. They will just feed and grow on our weakness.

When people say if you act, you will provoke these people; when they say now: take a lower profile and these people will leave us alone, remember: Al Qaida attacked the US, not the other way round. Were the people of Bali in the forefront of the anti-terror campaign? Did Indonesia 'make itself a target'? The terrorists won't be nice to us if we're nice to them. When Saddam drew us into the Gulf War, he wasn't provoked. He invaded Kuwait.

So: where has it come to? Everyone agrees Saddam must be disarmed. Everyone agrees without disarmament, he is a danger.

No-one seriously believes he is yet co-operating fully. In all honesty, most people don't really believe he ever will. So what holds people back? What brings thousands of people out in protests across the world? And let's not pretend, not really that in March or April or May or June, people will feel different. It's not really an issue of timing or 200 inspectors versus 100. It is a right and entirely understandable hatred of war. It is moral purpose, and I respect that.

It is as one woman put it to me: I abhor the consequences of war.

And I know many in our own Party, many here today will agree with her; and don't under-

stand why I press the case so insistently. And I have given you the geo-political reason – the threat of Weapons of Mass Destruction and its link with terrorism. And I believe it.

If I am honest about it, there is another reason why I feel so strongly about this issue. It is a reason less to do with my being Prime Minister than being a member of the Labour Party, to do with the progressive politics in which we believe. The moral case against war has a moral answer: it is the moral case for removing Saddam. It is not the reason we act. That must be according to the United Nations mandate on Weapons of Mass Destruction. But it is the reason, frankly, why if we do have to act, we should do so with a clear conscience.

Yes, there are consequences of war. If we remove Saddam by force, people will die and some will be innocent. And we must live with the consequences of our actions, even the unintended ones.

But there are also consequences of "stop the war".

If I took that advice, and did not insist on disarmament, yes, there would be no war. But there would still be Saddam. Many of the people marching will say they hate Saddam. But the consequences of taking their advice is that he stays in charge of Iraq, ruling the Iraqi people. A country that in 1978, the year before he seized power, was richer than Malaysia or Portugal. A country where today, 135 out of every 1000 Iraqi children die before the age of five – 70% of these deaths are from diarrhoea and respiratory infections that are easily preventable. Where almost a third of children born in the centre and south of Iraq have chronic malnutrition.

Where 60% of the people depend on Food Aid.

Where half the population of rural areas have no safe water.

Where every year and now, as we speak, tens of thousands of political prisoners languish in appalling conditions in Saddam's jails and are routinely executed.

Where in the past 15 years over 150,000 Shia Moslems in Southern Iraq and Moslem Kurds in Northern Iraq have been butchered; with up to four million Iraqis in exile round the world, including 350,000 now in Britain.

This isn't a regime with Weapons of Mass Destruction that is otherwise benign. This is a regime that contravenes every single principle or value anyone of our politics believes in.

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

I rejoice that we live in a country where peaceful protest is a natural part of our democratic process.

But I ask the marchers to understand this.

I do not seek unpopularity as a badge of honour. But sometimes it is the price of leadership. And the cost of conviction.

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

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

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

Let me read from an e-mail that was sent by a member of the family of one of those four million Iraqi exiles. It is interesting because she is fiercely and I think wrongly critical of America. But in a sense for that reason, it is worth reading.

She addresses it to the anti-war movement.

In one part, she says:

"You may feel that America is trying to blind you from seeing the truth about their real reasons for an invasion. I must argue that in fact, you are still blind to the bigger truths in Iraq.

Saddam has murdered more than a million Iraqis over the past 30 years, are you willing to allow him to kill another million Iraqis?

Saddam rules Iraq using fear – he regularly imprisons, executes and tortures the mass population for no reason whatsoever – this may be hard to believe and you may not even appreciate the extent of such barbaric acts, but believe me you will be hard pressed to find a family in Iraq who have not had a son, father, brother killed, imprisoned, tortured and/or "disappeared" due to Saddam's regime.

Why it is now that you deem it appropriate to voice your disillusion with America's policy in Iraq, when it is right now that the Iraqi people

are being given real hope, however slight and however precarious, that they can live in an Iraq that is free of its horrors?"

We will give the e-mail to delegates. Read it all. It is the reason why I do not shrink from action against Saddam if it proves necessary. Read the letter sent to me by Dr Safa Hashim, who lives here in Glasgow, and who says he is writing despite his fears of Iraqi retribution.

He says the principle of opposing war by the public is received warmly by Iraqis for it reveals the desire of people to avoid suffering. But he says it misses the point - because the Iraqi people need Saddam removed as a way of ending their suffering.

Dr Hashim says:

"The level of their suffering is beyond anything that British people can possibly envisage, let alone understand his obsession to develop and possess weapons of mass destruction. Do the British public know that it is normal practice for Saddam's regime to demand the cost of the bullet used in the execution of their beloved family members and not even to allow a proper funeral?"

If the international community does not take note of the Iraqi people's plight but continues to address it casually this will breed terrorism and extremism within the Iraqi people. This cannot be allowed to happen".

Remember Kosovo where we were told war would de-stabilise the whole of the Balkans and that region now has the best chance of peace in over 100 years?

Remember Afghanistan, where now, despite all the huge problems, there are three million children in school, including for the first time in over two decades one and a half million girls and where two million Afghan exiles from the Taliban have now returned.

So if the result of peace is Saddam staying in power, not disarmed, then I tell you there are consequences paid in blood for that decision too. But these victims will never be seen. They will never feature on our TV screens or inspire millions to take to the streets. But they will exist nonetheless.

Ridding the world of Saddam would be an act of humanity. It is leaving him there that is in truth inhumane.

And if it does come to this, let us be clear: we should be as committed to the humanitarian task of rebuilding Iraq for the Iraqi people as we have been to removing Saddam.

And there will be no stability in the Middle East until there is lasting peace between Israelis and Palestinians based on a secure Israel and a viable Palestinian state. I promise we will not rest until we have used every drop of our influence to achieve it.

Just as we are proud we lead the way on third world debt, on aid, on development, on hope for Africa.

The values that drive our actions abroad are the same values of progress and justice that drive us at home.

**END**

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## BILAGA 11. TOPPMÖTET PÅ AZORERNA

### President Bush: Monday "Moment of Truth" for World on Iraq

*Press Availability with President Bush, Prime Minister Blair, President Aznar, and Prime Minister Barroso, the Azores, Portugal*

**5:30 P.M. (Local)**

PRIME MINISTER BARROSO: Good afternoon, ladies and gentlemen. I am very pleased to welcome here in the Azores the leaders of three friends and allied countries, the United States, Spain and United Kingdom. President Bush, Prime Minister Aznar, and Prime Minister Tony Blair.

This meeting in the Azores also shows the importance of transatlantic relations, and also shows the solidarity among our countries. Actually, these agreements have approved two statements, one statement on transatlantic relations, and a declarative statement on Iraq.

We have joined this initiative and we organized it here in the Azores because we thought this was the last opportunity for a political solution – and this is how we see it, this is the last possibility for a political solution to the problem. Maybe it's a small chance, a small possibility, but even if it's one in one million, it's always worthwhile fighting for a political solution. And I think this is the message that we can get from this Atlantic summit.

As I was saying, for my English-speaking guests, I'll speak English now. First of all, let me say, welcome, George Bush, to Europe. I think it's important that we meet here, in a European country, in Portugal, but in this territory of Azores that is halfway between the continent of

Europe and the continent of America. I think it's not only logistically convenient, it has a special political meaning – the beautiful meaning of our friendship and our commitment to our shared values.

So welcome to all of you. Welcome to you. And I now give the floor to President George Bush.

THE PRESIDENT: Jose, thank you very much for your hospitality. You've done a great job on such short notice. And I'm honored to be standing to here with you and two other friends as we work toward a great cause, and that is peace and security in this world.

We've had a really good discussion. We've been doing a lot of phone talking and it was good to get together and to visit and to talk. And we concluded that tomorrow is a moment of truth for the world. Many nations have voiced a commitment to peace and security. And now they must demonstrate that commitment to peace and security in the only effective way, by supporting the immediate and unconditional disarmament of Saddam Hussein.

The dictator of Iraq and his weapons of mass destruction are a threat to the security of free nations. He is a danger to his neighbors. He's a sponsor of terrorism. He's an obstacle to progress in the Middle East. For decades he has been the cruel, cruel oppressor of the Iraq people.

On this very day 15 years ago, Saddam Hussein launched a chemical weapons attack on the Iraqi village of Halabja. With a single order the Iraqi regime killed thousands of men and women and children, without mercy or without shame. Saddam Hussein has proven he is capable of any

crime. We must not permit his crimes to reach across the world.

Saddam Hussein has a history of mass murder. He possesses the weapons of mass murder. He agrees – he agreed to disarm Iraq of these weapons as a condition for ending the Gulf War over a decade ago. The United Nations Security Council, in Resolution 1441, has declared Iraq in material breach of its longstanding obligations, demanding once again Iraq's full and immediate disarmament, and promised serious consequences if the regime refused to comply. That resolution was passed unanimously and its logic is inescapable; the Iraqi regime will disarm itself, or the Iraqi regime will be disarmed by force. And the regime has not disarmed itself.

Action to remove the threat from Iraq would also allow the Iraqi people to build a better future for their society. And Iraq's liberation would be the beginning, not the end, of our commitment to its people. We will supply humanitarian relief, bring economic sanctions to a swift close, and work for the long-term recovery of Iraq's economy. We'll make sure that Iraq's natural resources are used for the benefit of their owners, the Iraqi people.

Iraq has the potential to be a great nation. Iraq's people are skilled and educated. We'll push as quickly as possible for an Iraqi interim authority to draw upon the talents of Iraq's people to rebuild their nation. We're committed to the goal of a unified Iraq, with democratic institutions of which members of all ethnic and religious groups are treated with dignity and respect.

To achieve this vision, we will work closely with the international community, including the United Nations and our coalition partners. If military force is required, we'll quickly seek new Security Council resolutions to encourage broad participation in the process of helping the Iraqi people to build a free Iraq.

Crucial days lie ahead for the world. I want to thank the leaders here today, and many others, for stepping forward and taking leadership, and showing their resolve in the cause of peace and the cause of security.

Jose Maria.

**PRESIDENT AZNAR:** Good evening everyone. I would firstly like to thank the Prime Minister, Jose Durao, for his hospitality and welcome, which I particularly am grateful for. And I'm very pleased to be in the Azores once again.

I have short remarks on our debate on this situation and on the documents we've agreed on during today's meeting. I'd first like to refer to our document on Atlantic solidarity. We have renewed Atlantic commitment on our common values and principles, in favor of democracy, freedom and the rule of law.

We understand that the expression of this commitment is essential, by way of guarantee of peace, security and international freedom. And I honestly believe that there is no other alternative to the expression of the Atlantic commitment in terms of security. We are committed on a day-to-day fight against new threats, such as terrorism, weapons of mass destruction, and tyrannic regimes that do not comply with international law. They threaten all of us, and we must all act, consequently.

This transatlantic link, this transatlantic solidarity has always been, is, and should continue to be, in my opinion, a great European commitment, and as such, amongst other things, we express it this way – without this commitment, today's Europe could not be understood. And without that commitment, it would be very difficult to picture the Europe of tomorrow.

So I would like to invite our friends, our allies, to leave aside any circumstantial differences and to work together seriously for that commitment of democracy, freedom and peace, so that this becomes a commitment of us all.

We've agreed on launching, on boosting the Middle East peace process, and on our vision that that peace process has to accommodate with all necessary security guarantees and putting an end to terrorism. And this should end with the peaceful coexistence of two states, an independent Palestinian state and the Israeli state.

In view of the situation created by Iraq, with their continued non-compliance of international law, I would like to remind you that we all said before we came here that we were not coming to the Azores to make a declaration of war, that we were coming after having made every possible effort, after having made this effort, continuing to make this effort, to working to achieve the

greatest possible agreement, and for international law to be respected and for U.N. resolutions to be respected.

And we would like to say that we are aware of the fact that this is the last opportunity – the last opportunity expressed in Resolution 1441, adopted unanimously by the Security Council, and that being aware that this is the last opportunity, we are also making the last effort. And we are ready to make this last effort of the very many efforts we've been making throughout these last weeks and months.

We are well aware of the international world public opinion, of its concern. And we are also very well aware of our responsibilities and obligations. If Saddam Hussein wants to disarm and avoid the serious consequences that he has been warned about by the United Nations, he can do so. And nothing in our document, nor in our statement, can prevent him from doing so, if he wants to. So his is the sole responsibility.

Tony.

**PRIME MINISTER BLAIR:** Thank you, Jose Maria. Thank you, Jose, for hosting us today. And I think it's just worth returning to the key point, which is our responsibility to uphold the will of the United Nations set out in Resolution 1441 last November. And for four and a half months, now, we've worked hard to get Saddam to cooperate fully, unconditionally, as that resolution demanded.

Even some days ago we were prepared to set out clear tests that allowed us to conclude whether he was cooperating fully or not, with a clear ultimatum to him if he refused to do so. And the reason we approached it in that is that that is what we agreed in Resolution 1441. This was his final opportunity; he had to disarm unconditionally. Serious consequences would follow if he failed to do so.

And this is really the impasse that we have, because some say there should be no ultimatum, no authorization of force in any new U.N. resolution; instead, more discussion in the event of noncompliance. But the truth is that without a credible ultimatum authorizing force in the event of noncompliance, then more discussion is just more delay, with Saddam remaining armed

with weapons of mass destruction and continuing a brutal, murderous regime in Iraq.

And this game that he is playing is, frankly, a game that he has played over the last 12 years. Disarmament never happens. But instead, the international community is drawn into some perpetual negotiation, gestures designed to divide the international community, but never real and concrete cooperation leading to disarmament.

And there's not a single person on the Security Council that doubts the fact he is not fully cooperating today. Nobody, even those who disagree with the position that we have outlined, is prepared to say there is full cooperation, as 1441 demanded.

Not a single interview has taken place outside of Iraq, even though 1441 provided for it. Still, no proper production or evidence of the destruction, or, for example, – just to take one example, the 10,000 liters of anthrax that the inspectors just a week ago said was unaccounted for. And that is why it is so important that the international community, at this time, gives a strong and unified message.

And I have to say that I really believe that had we given that strong message sometime ago, Saddam might have realized that the games had to stop. So now we have reached the point of decision, and we make a final appeal for there to be that strong, unified message on behalf of the international community that lays down a clear ultimatum to Saddam that authorizes force if he continues to defy the will of the whole of the international community set out in 1441.

We will do all we can in the short time that remains to make a final round of contacts, to see whether there is a way through this impasse. But we are in the final stages, because, after 12 years of failing to disarm him, now is the time when we have to decide.

Two other points, briefly, on the documents that we've put before you. The first is the – President Aznar was just saying to you a moment ago on the transatlantic alliance is, I think, very important. Some of you will have heard me say this before, but let me just repeat it. I believe that Europe and America should stand together on the big issues of the day. I think it is a tragedy when we don't. And that transatlantic alliance is strong and we need to strengthen it still further.

And secondly, we've set out for you that should it come to conflict, we make a pledge to the people of Iraq. As President Bush was just saying to you a moment or two ago, it is the people of Iraq who are the primary victims of Saddam: the thousands of children that die needlessly every year; the people locked up in his prisons or executed simply for showing disagreement with the regime; a country that is potentially prosperous reduced to poverty; 60 percent of the population reliant on food aid.

And what we say is that we will protect Iraq's territorial integrity; we will support representative government that unites Iraq on the democratic basis of human rights and the rule of law; that we will help Iraq rebuild – and not rebuild because of the problems of conflict, where if it comes to that, we will do everything we can to minimize the suffering of the Iraqi people, but rebuild Iraq because of the appalling legacy that the rule of Saddam has left the Iraqi people – and in particular, Iraq's natural resources remain the property of the people of Iraq. And that wealth should be used for the Iraqi people. It is theirs, and will remain so, administered by the U.N. in the way we set out.

Finally, on the Middle East peace process, I welcome very much the statement that President Bush made the other day. I think it's important now. He said he wanted a partner on the Palestinian side. I think the coming appointment of Abu Mazen is so important there. It allows us to take this process forward. The road map give us the way forward. The appointment of Abu Mazen gives us the right partner to take this forward. And I believe that that will demonstrate, and it's important to demonstrate, in particular at this time, that our approach to people in the Middle East, in that troubled region is indeed even-handed. And all of us will work to make sure that that vision of the Middle East, two states, Israel confident of its security, a Palestinian state that is viable, comes about and is made reality.

Thank you.

Q: (Inaudible.)

PRESIDENT BUSH: Yes. They couldn't hear the question.

Q: I was asking the Portuguese Prime Minister, how does he see the result of this summit. Does

the Prime Minister think that starting now, Portugal has more responsibilities with this war that seems to be inevitable?

PRIME MINISTER BARROSO: The results of the summit, as I described them and as all the other heads of state and government said it, too, this summit is – this is the last opportunity for a political solution to this very serious problem for the international community. This has been said here. It's been said here that tomorrow – tomorrow we'll start with these last initiatives towards a political solution. And it's for that reason I am very, very happy with the results of this summit.

Now, coming to our responsibility in case there is a conflict, I must say that the responsibility falls entirely on the dictator Saddam Hussein. He bears the entire responsibility because he has not respected for all of these years international law and consistently violated the U.N. resolutions. And in that case, if there is a conflict, I want to repeat it once more, Portugal will be next – side by side with his allies. And the fact that we are here today in the Azores with the United States, with Spain and with the UK, this is very significant.

As it's been said here before, the transatlantic relationship is very, very important, not only for Europe and for the U.S., but it's very important for the whole world. I remember a few days ago, Kofi Annan in the European conference in Brussels, said the same thing – he said this is very important. It's very important for Europe and the U.S. to remain united and not separate, because the world needs the U.S. and Europe working together towards the same direction, in the same sense – not only about the security, but also fighting under-development and all the other tasks that fall to the international community.

PRESIDENT BUSH: Ron Fournier.

Q: Thank you, Mr. President. Before I ask my question I just want to nail down one thing so there's no confusion. When you talk about tomorrow being the moment of truth, are you saying that is the –

PRESIDENT BUSH: Is this the question, or are you trying to work in two questions?

Q: Yes, sir. (Laughter.) Because there's one thing we need to make clear. When you say tomorrow is the moment of truth, does that mean tomorrow is the last day that the resolution



can be voted up or down, and at the end of the day tomorrow, one way or another the diplomatic window has close?

PRESIDENT BUSH: That's what I'm saying.

Q: Thank you, sir. And now for the question –

PRESIDENT BUSH: And now for your question?

Q: That being the case, regardless –

PRESIDENT BUSH: That being my answer –

Q: Regardless of whether the resolution goes up or down or gets withdrawn, it seems to me you're going to be facing a moment of truth. And given that you've already said you don't think there's very much chance Saddam Hussein is going to disarm, and given that you say you don't think there's very much chance he's going to go to go into exile, aren't we going to war?

PRESIDENT BUSH: Tomorrow is the day that we will determine whether or not diplomacy can work. And we sat and visited about this issue, about how best to spend our time between now and tomorrow. And as Prime Minister Blair said, we'll be working the phones and talking to our partners and talking to those who may now clearly understand the objective, and we'll see how it goes tomorrow.

Saddam Hussein can leave the country, if he's interested in peace. You see, the decision is his to make. And it's been his to make all along as to whether or not there's the use of the military. He got to decide whether he was going to disarm, and he didn't. He can decide whether he wants to leave the country. These are his decisions to make. And thus far he has made bad decisions.

Q: I understand that if tomorrow is the day for taking the final decision, that means that you consider that there's no possible way out through the United Nations because a majority does not support a war action. I would like to know, Mr. Blair, Mr. Bush, whether in that military offensive you count on many countries, whether it's going to be the UK and the U.S. carrying out the military offensive? I understand from what Mr. Blair that you're counting on the U.N. for the reconstruction. Are you going to look for other countries through the United Nations?

And for Mr. Aznar, what is Spain's participation in that military offensive, in addition to your political support?

PRESIDENT BUSH: Resolution 1441, which was unanimously approved, that said Saddam

Hussein would unconditionally disarm, and if he didn't, there would be serious consequences.

The United Nations Security Council looked at the issue four and a half months ago and voted unanimously to say: Disarm immediately and unconditionally, and if you don't, there are going to be serious consequences. The world has spoken. And it did it in a unified voice.

Sorry.

PRIME MINISTER BLAIR: The issue is very simply this, that we cannot have a situation where what happens through the United Nations, having agreed to 1441, having said there would be serious consequences if he does not cooperate fully and unconditionally, what we cannot have is a situation where we simply go back for endless discussion.

Now, we have provided the right diplomatic way through this, which is to lay down a clear ultimatum to Saddam: Cooperate or face disarmament by force. And that is entirely within the logic, the letter, the spirit of 1441. And that is why – all the way through we have tried to provide a diplomatic solution. After over four and a half months since we passed Resolution 1441, we're now three months on from the declaration that Saddam on the 8th of December that not a single person in the international community – not one – believes was an honest declaration of what he had. And yet, 1441 said, the first step of cooperation was to make an honest declaration.

So when people say haven't we exhausted all the diplomatic avenues, we tried exhausting. But understand from our perspective and from the perspective of the security of the world, we cannot simply go back to the Security Council, for this discussion to be superseded by that discussion, to be superseded by another discussion. That's what's happened for 12 years. That's why he's still got the weapons of mass destruction. We have to come to the point of decision. And that really is what the next period of time is going to be about.

PRESIDENT AZNAR: Well, I would like to say that this statement we're making today, as we've all said, it's a last chance, one last attempt to reach the greatest possible consensus amongst ourselves. And I can assure all of you that we've made – we have all made – enormous efforts,

and we're going to continue making these efforts in order to try to reach an agreement, to reach a solution.

We have our own worry, our own responsibility to make U.N. resolutions be abided by. If the Security Council unanimously adopts a resolution – Resolution 1441 – giving one last opportunity to disarm to someone who has weapons of mass destruction and we know he has used them, the Security Council cannot, one year after the other, wait for its resolutions to be implemented. That would be the best way to do away with it altogether. And it could do away with all the United Nations' credibility. And we honestly don't want that to happen.

To me, there is no – you cannot have the same distance between illegality and impunity. And neither Saddam Hussein, nor any other tyrant with weapons of mass destruction can set the rules for international law and the international community.

Q: I'm from the BBC. Can I ask, first of all, Prime Minister Blair – you said that you want a second resolution to be put down and voted on. Could we be clear; is that what's going to happen tomorrow, under all circumstances?

And either way – also, if I may, for President Bush – if you don't get that second resolution, what is the future for the United Nations? You talked about Saddam Hussein dividing world community. Surely, he succeeded.

PRIME MINISTER BLAIR: Well, on your last point, I think this is one of the things that is tragic about this situation, that Saddam plays these games and we carry on allowing him to play them. Now, we will do, in the next period of time, with respect to the resolution, what we believe to be in the interest of the U.N.

But I would say why I think it is so important that even now, at this late stage, we try to get the United Nations to be the root of resolving this – because the threat is there and everyone accepts it: the threat of weapons of mass destruction, the threat of weapons of mass destruction in the hands of terrorists who will cause maximum damage to our people. Everybody accepts the disarmament of Saddam has to happen. Everybody accepts that he was supposed to cooperate fully with the inspectors. Everybody accepts that he is not doing so.

So, whatever the tactics within the U.N. – and that's something we can decide – whatever those tactics, the key point of principle is this: that when we came together last November and laid down Resolution 1441, now is the moment when we decide whether we meant it and it was his final opportunity to disarm, or face serious consequences – or whether, alternatively, we're simply going to drag out the diplomatic process forever. And that's why I say it's the point of decision.

Q: Vote or not?

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

Let me say something about the U.N. It's a very important organization. That's why I went there on September the 12th, 2002, to give the speech, the speech that called the U.N. into account, that said if you're going to pass resolutions, let's make sure your words mean something. Because I understand the wars of the 21st century are going to require incredible international cooperation. We're going to have to cooperate to cut the money of the terrorists, and the ability for nations, dictators who have weapons of mass destruction to provide training and perhaps weapons to terrorist organizations. We need to cooperate, and we are. Our countries up here are cooperating incredibly well.

And the U.N. must mean something. Remember Rwanda, or Kosovo. The U.N. didn't do its job. And we hope tomorrow the U.N. will do its job. If not, all of us need to step back and try to figure out how to make the U.N. work better as we head into the 21st century. Perhaps one way will be, if we use military force, in the post-Saddam Iraq the U.N. will definitely need to have a role. And that way it can begin to get its legs, legs of responsibility back.

But it's important for the U.N. to be able to function well if we're going to keep the peace. And I will work hard to see to it that at least

from our perspective, that the U.N. is able to be – able to be a responsibility body, and when it says something, it means it, for the sake of peace and for the sake of the security, for the capacity to win the war of – the first war of the 21st century, which is the war against terrorism and weapons of mass destruction in the hands of dictators.

Thank you all.

PRIME MINISTER BARROSO: Thank you very much, ladies and gentlemen. This is the end of the conference. Have a good trip.

**END 6:05 P.M. (L)**

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Return to this article at:

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

## BILAGA 12. GEORGE W. BUSHS TAL INFÖR IRAKINVASIONEN

### President George W. Bush Addresses the Nation

*The Oval Office*

**10:16 P.M. EST**

**THE PRESIDENT:** My fellow citizens, at this hour, American and coalition forces are in the early stages of military operations to disarm Iraq, to free its people and to defend the world from grave danger.

On my orders, coalition forces have begun striking selected targets of military importance to undermine Saddam Hussein's ability to wage war. These are opening stages of what will be a broad and concerted campaign. More than 35 countries are giving crucial support – from the use of naval and air bases, to help with intelligence and logistics, to the deployment of combat units. Every nation in this coalition has chosen to bear the duty and share the honor of serving in our common defense.

To all the men and women of the United States Armed Forces now in the Middle East, the peace of a troubled world and the hopes of an oppressed people now depend on you. That trust is well placed.

The enemies you confront will come to know your skill and bravery. The people you liberate will witness the honorable and decent spirit of the American military. In this conflict, America faces an enemy who has no regard for conventions of war or rules of morality. Saddam Hussein has placed Iraqi troops and equipment in civilian areas, attempting to use innocent men, women and children as shields for his own military – a final atrocity against his people.

I want Americans and all the world to know that coalition forces will make every effort to spare innocent civilians from harm. A campaign on the harsh terrain of a nation as large as California could be longer and more difficult than some predict. And helping Iraqis achieve a united, stable and free country will require our sustained commitment.

We come to Iraq with respect for its citizens, for their great civilization and for the religious faiths they practice. We have no ambition in Iraq, except to remove a threat and restore control of that country to its own people.

I know that the families of our military are praying that all those who serve will return safely and soon. Millions of Americans are praying with you for the safety of your loved ones and for the protection of the innocent. For your sacrifice, you have the gratitude and respect of the American people. And you can know that our forces will be coming home as soon as their work is done.

Our nation enters this conflict reluctantly – yet, our purpose is sure. The people of the United States and our friends and allies will not live at the mercy of an outlaw regime that threatens the peace with weapons of mass murder. We will meet that threat now, with our Army, Air Force, Navy, Coast Guard and Marines, so that we do not have to meet it later with armies of fire fighters and police and doctors on the streets of our cities.

Now that conflict has come, the only way to limit its duration is to apply decisive force. And I assure you, this will not be a campaign of half measures, and we will accept no outcome but victory.

My fellow citizens, the dangers to our country and the world will be overcome. We will pass through this time of peril and carry on the work of peace. We will defend our freedom. We will bring freedom to others and we will prevail.

May God bless our country and all who defend her.

**END**

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**BILAGA 13. GEORGE W. BUSH'S SEGERTAL**

## President George W. Bush Announces Major Combat Operations in Iraq Have Ended

*the USS Abraham Lincoln,  
at Sea Off the Coast of San Diego,  
California*

**3:23 P.M. EDT**

**THE PRESIDENT:** Thank you all very much. Admiral Kelly, Captain Card, officers and sailors of the USS Abraham Lincoln, my fellow Americans: Major combat operations in Iraq have ended. In the battle of Iraq, the United States and our allies have prevailed. (Applause.) And now our coalition is engaged in securing and reconstructing that country.

In this battle, we have fought for the cause of liberty, and for the peace of the world. Our nation and our coalition are proud of this accomplishment – yet, it is you, the members of the United States military, who achieved it. Your courage, your willingness to face danger for your country and for each other, made this day possible. Because of you, our nation is more secure. Because of you, the tyrant has fallen, and Iraq is free. (Applause.)

Operation Iraqi Freedom was carried out with a combination of precision and speed and boldness the enemy did not expect, and the world had not seen before. From distant bases or ships at sea, we sent planes and missiles that could destroy an enemy division, or strike a single bunker. Marines and soldiers charged to Baghdad across 350 miles of hostile ground, in one of the swiftest advances of heavy arms in history. You have shown the world the skill and the might of the American Armed Forces.

This nation thanks all the members of our coalition who joined in a noble cause. We thank the Armed Forces of the United Kingdom, Australia, and Poland, who shared in the hardships of war. We thank all the citizens of Iraq who welcomed our troops and joined in the liberation of their own country. And tonight, I have a special word for Secretary Rumsfeld, for General Franks, and for all the men and women who wear the uniform of the United States: America is grateful for a job well done. (Applause.)

The character of our military through history – the daring of Normandy, the fierce courage of Iwo Jima, the decency and idealism that turned enemies into allies – is fully present in this generation. When Iraqi civilians looked into the faces of our servicemen and women, they saw strength and kindness and goodwill. When I look at the members of the United States military, I see the best of our country, and I'm honored to be your Commander-in-Chief. (Applause.)

In the images of falling statues, we have witnessed the arrival of a new era. For a hundred of years of war, culminating in the nuclear age, military technology was designed and deployed to inflict casualties on an ever-growing scale. In defeating Nazi Germany and Imperial Japan, Allied forces destroyed entire cities, while enemy leaders who started the conflict were safe until the final days. Military power was used to end a regime by breaking a nation.

Today, we have the greater power to free a nation by breaking a dangerous and aggressive regime. With new tactics and precision weapons, we can achieve military objectives without directing violence against civilians. No device of man

can remove the tragedy from war; yet it is a great moral advance when the guilty have far more to fear from war than the innocent. (Applause.)

In the images of celebrating Iraqis, we have also seen the ageless appeal of human freedom. Decades of lies and intimidation could not make the Iraqi people love their oppressors or desire their own enslavement. Men and women in every culture need liberty like they need food and water and air. Everywhere that freedom arrives, humanity rejoices; and everywhere that freedom stirs, let tyrants fear. (Applause.)

We have difficult work to do in Iraq. We're bringing order to parts of that country that remain dangerous. We're pursuing and finding leaders of the old regime, who will be held to account for their crimes. We've begun the search for hidden chemical and biological weapons and already know of hundreds of sites that will be investigated. We're helping to rebuild Iraq, where the dictator built palaces for himself, instead of hospitals and schools. And we will stand with the new leaders of Iraq as they establish a government of, by, and for the Iraqi people. (Applause.)

The transition from dictatorship to democracy will take time, but it is worth every effort. Our coalition will stay until our work is done. Then we will leave, and we will leave behind a free Iraq. (Applause.)

The battle of Iraq is one victory in a war on terror that began on September the 11, 2001 – and still goes on. That terrible morning, 19 evil men – the shock troops of a hateful ideology – gave America and the civilized world a glimpse of their ambitions. They imagined, in the words of one terrorist, that September the 11th would be the “beginning of the end of America.” By seeking to turn our cities into killing fields, terrorists and their allies believed that they could destroy this nation's resolve, and force our retreat from the world. They have failed. (Applause.)

In the battle of Afghanistan, we destroyed the Taliban, many terrorists, and the camps where they trained. We continue to help the Afghan people lay roads, restore hospitals, and educate all of their children. Yet we also have dangerous work to complete. As I speak, a Special Operations task force, led by the 82nd Airborne, is on the trail of the terrorists and those who seek to undermine the free government of Afghanistan.

America and our coalition will finish what we have begun. (Applause.)

From Pakistan to the Philippines to the Horn of Africa, we are hunting down al Qaeda killers. Nineteen months ago, I pledged that the terrorists would not escape the patient justice of the United States. And as of tonight, nearly one-half of al Qaeda's senior operatives have been captured or killed. (Applause.)

The liberation of Iraq is a crucial advance in the campaign against terror. We've removed an ally of al Qaeda, and cut off a source of terrorist funding. And this much is certain: No terrorist network will gain weapons of mass destruction from the Iraqi regime, because the regime is no more. (Applause.)

In these 19 months that changed the world, our actions have been focused and deliberate and proportionate to the offense. We have not forgotten the victims of September the 11th – the last phone calls, the cold murder of children, the searches in the rubble. With those attacks, the terrorists and their supporters declared war on the United States. And war is what they got. (Applause.)

Our war against terror is proceeding according to principles that I have made clear to all: Any person involved in committing or planning terrorist attacks against the American people becomes an enemy of this country, and a target of American justice. (Applause.)

Any person, organization, or government that supports, protects, or harbors terrorists is complicit in the murder of the innocent, and equally guilty of terrorist crimes.

Any outlaw regime that has ties to terrorist groups and seeks or possesses weapons of mass destruction is a grave danger to the civilized world – and will be confronted. (Applause.)

And anyone in the world, including the Arab world, who works and sacrifices for freedom has a loyal friend in the United States of America. (Applause.)

Our commitment to liberty is America's tradition – declared at our founding; affirmed in Franklin Roosevelt's Four Freedoms; asserted in the Truman Doctrine and in Ronald Reagan's challenge to an evil empire. We are committed to freedom in Afghanistan, in Iraq, and in a peaceful Palestine. The advance of freedom is the surest

strategy to undermine the appeal of terror in the world. Where freedom takes hold, hatred gives way to hope. When freedom takes hold, men and women turn to the peaceful pursuit of a better life. American values and American interests lead in the same direction: We stand for human liberty. (Applause.)

The United States upholds these principles of security and freedom in many ways – with all the tools of diplomacy, law enforcement, intelligence, and finance. We’re working with a broad coalition of nations that understand the threat and our shared responsibility to meet it. The use of force has been – and remains – our last resort. Yet all can know, friend and foe alike, that our nation has a mission: We will answer threats to our security, and we will defend the peace. (Applause.)

Our mission continues. Al Qaeda is wounded, not destroyed. The scattered cells of the terrorist network still operate in many nations, and we know from daily intelligence that they continue to plot against free people. The proliferation of deadly weapons remains a serious danger. The enemies of freedom are not idle, and neither are we. Our government has taken unprecedented measures to defend the homeland. And we will continue to hunt down the enemy before he can strike. (Applause.)

The war on terror is not over; yet it is not endless. We do not know the day of final victory, but we have seen the turning of the tide. No act of the terrorists will change our purpose, or weaken our resolve, or alter their fate. Their cause is lost. Free nations will press on to victory. (Applause.)

Other nations in history have fought in foreign lands and remained to occupy and exploit. Americans, following a battle, want nothing

more than to return home. And that is your direction tonight. (Applause.) After service in the Afghan – and Iraqi theaters of war – after 100,000 miles, on the longest carrier deployment in recent history, you are homeward bound. (Applause.) Some of you will see new family members for the first time – 150 babies were born while their fathers were on the Lincoln. Your families are proud of you, and your nation will welcome you. (Applause.)

We are mindful, as well, that some good men and women are not making the journey home. One of those who fell, Corporal Jason Mileo, spoke to his parents five days before his death. Jason’s father said, “He called us from the center of Baghdad, not to brag, but to tell us he loved us. Our son was a soldier.”

Every name, every life is a loss to our military, to our nation, and to the loved ones who grieve. There’s no homecoming for these families. Yet we pray, in God’s time, their reunion will come.

Those we lost were last seen on duty. Their final act on this Earth was to fight a great evil and bring liberty to others. All of you – all in this generation of our military – have taken up the highest calling of history. You’re defending your country, and protecting the innocent from harm. And wherever you go, you carry a message of hope – a message that is ancient and ever new. In the words of the prophet Isaiah, “To the captives, ‘come out,’ – and to those in darkness, ‘be free.’”

Thank you for serving our country and our cause. May God bless you all, and may God continue to bless America. (Applause.)

**END 6:27 P.M. PDT**

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## **KBM:S TEMASERIE**

- 2004:5 "We're a peaceful nation"  
Krigsretorik efter 11 september
- 2004:4 Ministermordet  
En studie om myndigheternas kommunikation vid attentatet mot Anna Lindh
- 2004:3 Säkerhet och beredskap i Europeiska unionen
- 2004:2 Stereotyper i vardagen  
Bilder av "de främmande"
- 2004:1 Krisjournalistik eller journalistik i kris?  
En forskningsöversikt om medier, risker och kriser
- 2003:6 Demokratin och mordet på Anna Lindh
- 2003:5 IT och sårbarhet  
Kritiska beroendeförhållanden i den nationella IT-infrastrukturen
- 2003:4 Från osäker källa  
Bevakningen av Irakkriget i svenska medier
- 2003:3 Krisberedskap i omvärlden  
Samordningsstrukturer i fem länder
- 2003:2 Irakkrigets andra dag  
En jämförelse mellan SVT och tidningspressen den 21 mars 2003
- 2003:1 Bagdad-Bob, menige Jessica Lynch och Cirkus Saddam  
Irakkriget iscensatt i svenska medier

## **SPECIAL FEATURE**

- 2004:5 "We're a peaceful nation"  
War Rhetoric after September 11

## **ÖREBRO STUDIES IN RHETORIC**

- 1 Reklam och retorik – 10 fallstudier  
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- 2 We're a peaceful nation – Krigsretorik efter 11 september  
Brigitte Mral, Krisberedskapsmyndigheten, 2004  
ISBN: 91-85053-60-0 ISSN: 1652-3970
- 3 We're a peaceful nation – War rhetoric after September 11  
Brigitte Mral, Swedish Emergency Management Agency, 2004  
ISBN: 91-85053-61-9 ISSN: 1652-3970

## “We're a peaceful nation”

KRIGSRETORIK EFTER 11 SEPTEMBER

“Man kan fundera på varför traditionell krigspropaganda i dagens kritiska massmediesamhälle fortfarande fungerar. Svaret är förmodligen enkelt: när det uppstår en hotfull krissituation med många komplicerade faktorer så tas enkla lösningar tacksamt emot. Ett krig som förknippas med begrepp som jakt, spel eller arbete blir mera acceptabelt. En fiende som är ond är ett legitimt mål. Ett krig som omtolkas till humanitär insats är inte längre ett krig. I dagens demokratiska samhälle bör vi emellertid ha kommit längre än att nöja oss med enkla svar, även i akuta krissituationer. Skepsis, tvivel och ifrågasättanden när det gäller krigsstrategernas verklighetsbeskrivningar bör inte bara vara tillåtna utan uppmuntras, premieras och prioriteras, för att motverka propagandans övermakt.”

*Brigitte Mral*

Denna studie belyser vilka retoriska grepp som användes under de militära aktioner som inleddes som en direkt följd av händelserna den 11 september. Syftet är att komma fram till en bättre förståelse för krigsstrategernas mål- inriktade arbete med att definiera världen åt oss.

**Brigitte Mral** är professor i retorik vid Humanistiska institutionen, Örebro universitet.

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