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Language, nation and political discourse

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Introduction

According to the critical linguistics school of thought linguistic and social processes are connected. For the critical linguists there can be an interrelation between language and how it is used to create and reinforce a cultural stance. Other language analysts such as Bell (1991) believe that there are gaps in this way of thinking. Bell (1991), for example, questions whether the clearly definable relationship between a linguistic choice and a specific ideology as described by critical linguists such as Kress (1983) can, in fact, exist. For Bell (1991: 214), 'The belief that there is ideological significance in every syntactic option, and that, we can identify uniquely what it is, is hard to sustain'.

One aspect of discourse is that it can, in specific contexts (e.g. educational texts, newspapers, magazines and other media), have the effect of reconfirming and reinforcing established cultural attitudes and stances. These stances can be inherent to the existing 'status quo' and can be detected in discourse through the study of specific linguistic devices used in text that aim either explicitly or implicitly to support and regenerate the existing concepts of 'common senses' in a given culture, or society. The first part of this study analyses some examples

of the implicit assumption in discourse written for Australian educational purposes. Specifically, the analysis in chapter one discusses one example of presupposition that can be seen in an educational text: the way that this reference book implicitly protects and promotes its own culture and the difference in the way the discourse refers to other cultures (nations), and implicit assumptions that are made regarding cultures that are different, or that it has less understanding of.

The study then discusses the interrelation between cultural presupposition and language from the point of view of 'critical linguistics', to the political speeches of two Australian politicians from the 20th and 21st centuries. It analyses the rhetorical strategies adopted in taking a stance and in creating alignment between speaker and addressee. The political speech as a discourse genre is analysed by focussing on specific aspects of language used by the speakers to create consensus in the a given addressee group.

The latter part of the study focuses on identification and analysis of implicit assumption in political discourse in English and the ways in which discourse can be constructed to maintain and reinforce existing cultural biases. Specifically, it describes the relationship between language and ideology in relation to speeches and interviews given by politicians during two decisive phases of the Howard government in Australia (illegal immigration, Iraq war). The analysis also takes into consideration aspects of the language used by the media at the time. Here the focus is on identification and analysis of implicit assumption in the discourse of the media in English and the ways in which, through language, the media can reinforce existing cultural biases and in some contexts work towards constructing a sense of 'common sense' within a given culture sharing the same language. The

examples used in this analysis concentrate on aspects of the language used by the Australian media during two critical phases of Australian government policy (illegal immigrants, Iraq war).

Thus, one way in which the culture and the sense 'common sense'[1] of a nation becomes fixed is through it's language. The English language, throughout the centuries, evolved to characterize the English nation, or the beginnings of the English nation. This idea of an English nation for centuries developed only gradually and largely began to be formulated around the era of Henry VIII and later in the Elizabethan era. Authors such as Shakespeare contributed to this with their works written in the vernacular of the time. Shakespeare began to fix the idea of nation and nationalistic feeling in his plays during the 16th and 17th centuries. Many of his plays told the stories of heroic English kings and queens: the leaders of an evolving nation.

1. 'Common sense' as perceived by Gramsci (1971): 'a conception of the world that is implicitly manifest in art, in law, in economic activity and in all manifestations of individual and collective life'.

Chapter I

The interrelation between cultural identity and language in written English discourse

1.1. Introduction

This section of the study discusses the identification of implicit assumption in written discourse in English and the ways in which discourse can be constructed to maintain and reinforce existing cultural (national) values. Texts are analysed to identify the interrelation between cultural presupposition and language. The genre of text examined in chapter one is the educational text (reference book) and the focus is on assumptions that are made in regard to the reader and the reader's cultural stance. The texts are analysed from the point of view of linguistic structures that can be used to create the effect of regenerating and reconfirming the existing 'mainstream' culture. The analysis examines, specifically, the linguistic strategies used by the reference book to describe different countries and different cultures.

1.1.1. *Critical linguistics*

'A discourse colonises the social world imperialistically, from the point of view of one institution' (Kress, 1985:7).

The critical linguistics school of thought (Fowler, Hodge, Kress, Trew, 1979) maintains that the way we view the world is through language, or more specifically through the way language is used. Particular language forms, or particular lexical choices can have the power to create and reinforce ideologies and cultural stances: ideology in the Gramscian (1971) sense of the word as 'common sense'. This conception of ideology is outlined by Fairclough (1989, 84) in his study 'Language and Power' in which he cites Antonio Gramsci's definition of ideology: 'a conception of the world that is implicitly manifest in art, law, in economic activity, and in all manifestations of individual and collective life'. The Gramscian conception sees ideology as the existence of a 'common sense' that is taken for granted in any given society. Fairclough (ibid) extends this concept of 'implicit philosophy' to written and spoken discourse: interpretation of a text is the result of a merging of the content of the text and the 'common sense' values of the reader, or interpreter of the text. For Fairclough (1989: 26) there are three categories, or dimensions in discourse: description, interpretation and explanation. The latter, 'explanation', regards the relationship between interpretation of a text and its social context as well as the relationship between interpretation of a text and its social effects (ibid).

1.1.2. *Critical Linguistics and discourse*

The critical linguistics school of thought also argues:

> … [T]hat all linguistic usage encodes ideological patterns or discursive structures which *mediate* representations of the world in language; that different usages, (e.g. different socio–linguistic varieties or lexical choices or syntactic paraphrases), encode different ideologies, resulting from their different situations and purposes, and that by these means language works as a social practice: … it promulgates a series of versions of

reality and thereby works as a constantly operative part of social processes (Malmkjaer, 1991: 89).

The ideas underlying this type of analysis are based on the theory that it is the text that constructs the reader, the reader interprets the text in relation to her/his own cultural stance and that the constructor of the text and the reader of the text may already have some presuppositions in common. The reader, in this case, may be described as the 'ideal reader'. In other words the 'ideal reader' already (a priori) shares the same, or similar cultural values (the same 'common sense values) as the writer of the text. This concept was put forward by Gunther Kress (1985: 36)' in his study 'Linguistic processes in sociocultural practice', in which he analyses text from the point of view of the interrelation between culture and language. For Kress linguistic and social procedures are totally connected. Kress uses three categories to emphasize the 'total connectedness of linguistic and social processes.' These categories are: discourse, genre and text. For Kress these three categories create social meaning through the tool of language: 'A discourse organises and gives structure to the manner in which a topic, object or process is to be talked about' (Kress: 1985:4).

1.1.3. *Genre and Discourse community*

Swales (1990) defines the concept of discourse community as a group having a common set of goals and whose members agree on the characteristics of the genre, or genres of text utilized by the group. For Swales the expectations that the discourse community has adopted 'may involve appropriacy of topics, the form, functioning and positioning of discoursal elements, and the roles texts play in the operation of the discourse community' (Swales, 1990: 26).

According to Swales' (1990: 24 –27) definition a discourse community:

— has a broadly agreed set of common goals;
— has mechanisms of intercommunication among its members;
— it uses its participatory mechanisms primarily to provide information and feedback;
— utilizes and hence possesses one or more genres in the communicative furtherance of its aims;
— has acquired some specific lexis;
— has a threshold level of members with a suitable degree of relevant content and discoursal expertise.

The concept of discourse community is inherent to the concept of text analysis. According to Hertzberg 'use of the term ''discourse community'' testifies to the increasingly common assumption that discourse operates within conventions defined by communities, be they academic disciplines or social groups (Herzberg, 1986: cited in Swales, 1990: 21).' A discourse community communicates using the discourse genre it has in common with its fellow members. For Swales (1990:45) genre is 'a class of communicative events' adopted by a given discourse community to carry out, and to communicate the aims of the community through use of the genre of the community. A genre normally has 'structure, style, content and intended audience' in common (Ibid:58). For Christie (1985:11), genre consists of the overall structure of the text: it is a text that has 'a staged, orderly sequence of steps through which meanings are made. Christie cites various types of genre in her study: procedural genre, narrative genre, descriptive genre (ibid). Other examples of text genre types are: educational genre (e.g. school textbook), academic genre, scientific genre, bureaucratic genre, newspaper genre.

1.2. Educational Genre

This current study is based on the ideas expressed by Kress in his 1985 work on the linguistic expression of social meaning. in which the author argues that meaning in the social world is constructed through language. In his work Kress analyses the interrelation between culture and language through an analysis of various texts.

> In relation to texts from educational institutions it is important to understand what discourses of knowledge, of morals, of authority, of gender, of power, appear and which of these are dominant in constituting the texts. This can give a revealing insight into the real contents — the hidden curricula — of any occasion within the larger scale processes of education (Kress, 1985: 18).

Texts are taken from an Australian educational textbook and are analysed from the point of view of the messages that are communicated to the reader regarding the way the Australian textbook implicitly or explicitly portrays its own culture and the cultures of other countries. A clear division in the attitude to western and non western countries can be interpreted in many of these texts, and a distinct 'common sense' attitude emerges from the descriptions in these texts. The descriptions chosen regard countries of very different cultural and ethnic backgrounds: Afghanistan, Australia, Indonesia, Iran, Libya, UK, US.

The genre of text according to the Kress (1985) definition is the 'educational text'. In the educational texts chosen the western ideological stance of the author(s) is implicit. For example, Australia may be described as having *'rolling tracts of pastoral land'* and *'magnificent beaches'*. Whereas, a non western country may not be described in such ideal terms. The same book when referring to a non western country (Indonesia) refers to the *'military'* regime and *'demands for*

independence', in other words from the point of view of the 'ideal' western reader it uses implicit negative language.

For Christie (1985: 22), ideologies may be thought of as sets of beliefs, attitudes myths, assumptions and values associated with social groups, institutions and classes. Thus, critical discourse analysis necessarily includes many different aspects of society. Fairclough (1995: 63) singles out three areas of socio–cultural practice as significant in studies on discourse: '… economic, political (concerned with issues of power and ideology), and cultural (concerned with questions of value and identity)'. With written text, the text constructs the reader and the reader interacts with the text. Thus, an Australian educational reference book is likely to present a text which implicitly reflects the ideological categories of the economic and social system characteristic of the Australian western capitalistic reader model. For example, in the text the Australian countryside is described as a tourist attraction, in other words in terms of economics — how it can be exploited economically.

For Kress, all social and cultural processes,

> …[I]nvolve the transmission of cultural values and of social meanings; though in education that is a primary focus. […] All social processes are in part about their own reproduction. […] Education, however, is an institution particularly focused on the reproduction of culture; that is its *raison d'etre*. All social interactions involve displays of power; in education this is highlighted through a characteristic conjunction of knowledge and power (Kress, 1985:1).

The text on Australia constructs and communicates with the ideal western capitalistic reader. Seen from the capitalistic point of view what was once Australian countryside (or, 'bush') has now become a destination for tourists — a source of revenue to boost the Australian economy. *'Tourism is now Australia's largest foreign exchange earner*

‚…' The ideal western reader position as projected in the text is reflected. This section of text is not in the Economics section of the text, however, the emphasis remains on the economic aspect. The 'ideal' reader interacts with the text: the ideal reader implicitly agrees with the western capitalistic ideal of boosting the economy, that nature is to be seen principally as an economic resource.

The principal concern here originates from the capitalistic ideology underlying the text. To quote Kress on this the text implicitly regards 'ways of thinking about nature and the economy, […] in short a certain kind of capitalist ideology.' […] The economic utility of nature and its exploitation are seen 'as an unquestioned (natural) desire, and necessity (Kress, 1989:69).'

1.2.1. *An educational text*

> A discourse provides a set of possible statements about a given area, and organizes and gives structure to the manner in which a particular topic, object, process is to be talked about in that it provides descriptions, rules, permissions and prohibitions of social and individual actions. (Kress, 1985: 7)

The following sections of text taken from the introductory sections of a reference book which gives facts about the countries of the world are analysed to identify the differences between the ways western and non western countries are described to identify the occurrence of possible cultural bias in an educational text. First, it may be appropriate to begin with, the description of Australia:

While Australia is described as having *'rolling tracts of pastoral land'* and '*magnificent beaches'*, a non western country is not described in such idyllic terms. The same reference book when referring to Indonesia — a non western country — does not present such an ideal picture. Although the first part of the paragraph presents a pleasant picture

of a myriad of pacific islands there is a marked change in the second part where a series of negatives are implied.

The language of the two descriptions in their initial introductory sentences is similar. The text on Australia concentrates on the geographical dimensions: *'The world's sixth largest country, Australia is an island continent …'*. Similarly, the text on Indonesia also begins by describing the geography of the country: *'The world's largest archipelago…'*. However, on closer examination a difference in the attitude of the writer of the text emerges in the choice of language forms. Firstly there is a contrast in the number and type of superlative adjectives used in the two texts. The Australia text is more heavily weighted with superlative adjectives (two regarding geographical fact [*largest, most populous*], but also one regarding wealth [*richest*]. The Indonesian text has only one superlative adjective which regards a simple geographical fact (*largest*).

The Australia description continues to depict Australia as a country of idyllic pastoral scenes, or of magnificent beaches. The language used is bright and positive implying a peaceful, and idyllic land: *'rolling tracts'*; *' pastoral*;'; *'magnificent'*; *'the country's richest area'*. Nothing negative is connected with this country, and it has no political problems: at least, this is what is implicit. This is implied from what is not said, as much as from what is said.

For Fowler (1991: 46): 'Unconsciously, readers 'read in' — a more active process than 'reading off', and already existing values (for example, those of patriotism, class, hierarchy, money) are reinforced in the interaction between the producer of the text and the reader. The patriotism of the author of the text on Australia is evident in the discourse, while his/her representation of other cultures that are more alien to him/her, for example Indonesia, seem to hold some implicit criticisms. Also implicit is the Australian 'common sense' attitude

to 'money', or to the economic aspect of the land: the land is seen as something to be exploited as an economic resource: the land is seen as a *'foreign exchange earner'*, sport is seen as something that will give *' a massive economic boost.'*

According to Dow (1995), economics language comes more naturally to people in the western world because it is part of everyday language. Further, she maintains that modern man is an economic man and goes so far as to suggest that the effect of economists on human behaviour 'may have contributed to the pathological need for modern man to gain wealth.' Much of the discourse in the texts examined in this chapter concentrates heavily on the economics aspects of particular features of the countries: this is part of the 'common sense' ideology of the author(s). For example, the 'common sense' attitude in Australia sees sport as a money maker.

Comparing the two texts it may be said that the implied common assumption that characterises the ideal western reader of these texts is: Australia is an ex colony that went in the right direction; Indonesia is an ex colony that went wrong. An important aspect of text analysis is not only what is said in the text, or how it is said, but, also what is not stated in the text. For example, while the negatives are mentioned in the Indonesia text, any mention of negatives is omitted in the Australian text. The constructor of the text, in choosing to either include or exclude statements can be said to be constructing a biased text. As Fairclough (1995: 105) states: 'Before engaging in analysis of what is in the text [...] one needs to attend to the question of what is excluded from it. .... [I]t is also important to be sensitive to absences from the text, to things which might have been 'there', but aren't — or [...] to things which are present in some texts appertaining to a given area of social practice, but not to others.'

What is not said in the Australian text, for example, is reflected in the teaching of Australian history up to recently in Australian schools. The teaching of history was Anglo oriented. Aborigines, for example, existed only to a limited extent in Australian history and in the school texts. According to the historian Macintyre (2003):

> The first Australian histories were not histories of Australia they were histories of British settlement in the antipodes. They were published in London as well as locally and directed to British as well as to Australian readers. [….]. The first academics to practice the discipline of history in Australia, similarly, were not historians of Australia. They were teachers of European, British, imperial and colonial history. Australian history appeared in this curriculum as an aspect of European and British expansion. It was taught comparatively, so that Australia and New Zealand (they were often joined together as Australasian history) were considered along with other societies formed by British settlement. And it was taught sequentially so that the student understood the colonial society as an offspring of the parent, inheriting its traditions, reproducing its institutions and upholding its ideals (Macintyre, 2003: 31, 33).

Macintyre (2003), in his study 'The History Wars', describes the current debate between 'left wing' and 'right wing' historians regarding what constitutes the true Australian history, regarding how (amongst other things) the aboriginal question was largely left out of Australian histories, and regarding how much of the truth about the harshness of the first penal colonies was left out of the early histories. The history of Australia, up to recently, represented the Anglo oriented western capitalistic point of view. For example, Macintyre (2003: 43) cites one Australian anthropologist (Scanner,1968: 5) who labeled this "the great Australian silence" about the relationship between "ourselves and the Aborigines". ' Within this context, when the official, establishment view of Australian

history was questioned, when what had not been said in previous histories was emerging in alternative views of history this was considered to be the 'left wing' interpretation of history. For members of the establishment this constituted a 'black arm band' view of Australian history (prime minister, John Howard: 1996). The question of what is, or was not said is relevant not only to the broad view of history, but also to brief educational texts such as those analysed in this study.

> The analysis of representational processes in a text, therefore, comes down to an account of what choices are made — what is included and what is excluded, what is made explicit or left implicit, what is foregrounded and what is backgrounded, what is thematized and what is unthematized, what process types and categories are drawn upon to represent events and so on (Fairclough, 1995: 104).

Events or facts that are not mentioned is also a selection of information: omission can also mean giving an incomplete view. For Fowler (1991: 11), with regard to newsworthiness, what the constructor of the news chooses too include, or what to exclude constitutes social construction.

> Meaningfulness', with its subsections 'cultural proximity' and 'relevance' is founded on an ideology of ethnocentrism, or what I would prefer to call, more inclusively, homocentrism: a preoccupation with countries, societies and individuals perceived to be like oneself, with boundaries, with defining 'groups' felt to be unlike oneself, alien threatening (Fowler, 1991: 16).

Differently to the 'Australia' text, as the reader moves further into the brief introductory description of Indonesia the text style begins to change and begins to move into implicitly negative concepts. Indonesia, we discover, was a former Dutch colony, that now has a political

scene that is *'dominated by the military'* Not only this, but, it also has conflicts with some of its islands. With regard to Indonesia the lexis chosen gives a negative picture: we are moving into an area of the globe that is not the west, that has attitudes and problems that the west does not have (or that western countries do not admit to having). The lexis used in the section on the description of Indonesia has negative connotations: *'dominated'; 'military'; 'annexed'; 'opposed'*. It may be said that there is discrimination used in the lexical choices. For example, the term '*military*' may have negative connotations depending on the context, depending on the meaning the constructor of the text wishes to imply. Discourse can have the power to discriminate against groups (Fowler, 1991): For Fowler reference to a group can be a means of dealing with discrimination. Group labeling can be a means of 'sorting unequally. The only 'groups' in the Australian text tend to be more neutral: 'people', 'Australians'.

While the introductory description of Indonesia is political and has negative implications, political problems in Australia do not seem to exist (or, there is no need to mention them). Australia is a western country so its politics is democratic and therefore acceptable: this is the implicit message given. Indonesia has a dubious democracy, while Australia will be hosting the Olympic Games. Compare the concluding sentences of both paragraphs:

> *Demands for greater autonomy on outlying islands and for liberation by East Timor, annexed in 1975, have been forcefully opposed*. (Indonesia)
> *In 2000, Sydney will host the millennium Olympics*. (Australia)

The text on Australia reflects what Kress (1985: 77) describes as 'the ideological categories of the economic and social system': the textbook constructs the ideal western capitalistic Australian reader. This is done through ref-

erences, for example to sport, thus implying a common assumption regarding the promotion of sport. It is also done through lexical references to wealth: there is no negative vocabulary in this description.

For Fowler (1991:80) vocabulary outlines the 'objects, concepts processes and relationships' that is the content of communication for a specific culture. It constitutes a large part of the 'ideational structure' of the language: 'a representation of the world *for* a culture; the world as perceived according to the ideological needs of a culture' (ibid: 82). For example, returning to the section of text on tourism in Australia it seems significant that this is not found in the section on economy, but in the section entitled '*Tourism*': there is a heavy emphasis in the tourism section on the economic aspect. This could be taken to imply that tourism in the ideology of the Australian ideal reader has its natural collocation within the category of economics — it is part of the economy. There is a presupposition that the reader knows and agrees that tourism is economics. For example, as mentioned previously in this analysis, seen from the capitalistic point of view what was once simply Australian countryside (or 'bush') has now become destinations for tourists so as to '*boost*' the Australian economy. Thus, it could be said that metaphorically speaking from the Australian capitalistic ideological position: 'bush' is not really bush, it is an economic resource — just as for an economist, perhaps a tree is not simply a tree, it is, rather, a piece of paper, a consumer product.

The first line of the Australian *'Tourism'* section, reflects the ideal western capitalistic reader position as projected by the Australia produced and published textbook: '*Tourism is now Australia's largest foreign exchange earner …'* The language in this section makes use of adjectives with principally positive connotations: *'largest', 'highly',*

'rich', 'massive'. The lexis implies a preferential position for large quantities of all that is mentioned. For example, *'hosting of the Olympic Games in 2000 will give the city (Sydney) a massive boost'*. No mention of the ideals of sport is made here, the attention again remains on the economic aspect. If vocabulary is the expression of the culture, the lexical choices that are made in the above example are choices denoting greatness: greatness in all senses expressing large quantities of economic resources, in other words the kind of language that reinforces and constructs the ideal audience for the reader on Australia.

According to Fowler (1991, 67), 'any aspect of linguistic structure, whether phonological, syntactic, lexical, semantic, pragmatic or textual, can carry ideological significance.' For Halliday (1971: 332–4) the textual function is the means by which 'language makes links with itself and with situations; and discourse becomes possible, because the speaker or writer can produce a text and the listener or reader can recognize one.' Fowler (1991) maintains that the analysis of various linguistic tools are useful in the analysis of ideology in discourse. Amongst these are: syntactic transformation (passive and nominal), lexical structure, modality, speech acts. Fairclough (1989) emphasises other aspects of language, such as, what is present (or absent) in the text, what is backgrounded (or forgrounded), sequence of clauses, choice of positive or negative sentences, logical connectors, verb association.

1.2.1.1. Organisation of grammar

1. *Verb association*. Within the discussion on organisation of grammar one significant aspect to consider is the question of verb association: how verbs can create positive or negative implications. For Fowler (1991: 98), 'In discourse analysis it is relevant to note what types of

verbs the various categories or participants are associated with.' The type of verb used and its category can imply positive, or negative in discourse. For, example, with reference to the texts 1, 2 and 3 above the verbs associated with Australia create positive associations with positive situations (*'draw tourism'*, *'develop tourism'*; 'host the Olympics'; 'hosting the Olympic Games'; 'give the city a massive boost'). In the 'Indonesia' text verbs are not necessarily negative (*'dominated by the military'*; *'demands … for liberation … have been forcefully opposed')* carry negative implications within the context of this text. The associations that are made between verb and object in this discourse implies a negative position towards Indonesia.

2. *Present perfect*. In what other ways is the grammar organized in the two texts? The Australian text is presented in the simple present: clear and simple with no complex grammatical structures. The text on Indonesia, as long as it regards the geography of the country is also in the simple present: clear and simple facts. For the second part of the paragraph, regarding the political issues it moves into present perfect tenses: *'Politics has since been dominated by the military'*. The use of the present perfect here implies that this is the situation up to date: but, it is a situation that should change, (or should be changed). Similarly, when the writer states: *'demands for independence have so far been opposed'*, again the use of present perfect, to describe a phase in Indonesia's history that up to date has been the case, but, the need for and end to this phase is implicit. Furthermore, to avoid designating responsibility the passive form of the present perfect is used. In this way whoever is doing the dominating, or whoever is doing the opposing is not named: the problem exists, but the military, (or whoever is responsible for the problem) is not identified, is not named.

Australia, on the other hand, is moving on further into a bright future and *'will host the millennium Olympics'* The modality expressed in the verb *'will'*, expresses a plain truth. The Australia text thus makes use of modality to express simple, positive facts: in this text, only positive facts are mentioned: there is no 'hedging' around difficult issues through use of present perfects, or through use of other modal forms that express only degrees of certainty (e.g. mood adjuncts such as probably, possibly, perhaps, generally, usually): For Fairclough (1989: 129). 'The ideological interest is in the authenticity claims to knowledge, which are evidenced by modality forms.'

3. *Modality.* 'Modality can informally be regarded as "comment' or 'attitude", obviously by definition ascribable to the source of the text, and explicit or implicit in the linguistic stance taken by the speaker /writer' (Fowler, 1991: 85). In terms of modality, 'comment' as interpreted by Fowler (1991) has four general categories: truth, obligation, permission, desirability.

(1) Truth:

— Expressed with the traditional modal auxiliary verbs such as, *may, will, shall, can, (would, could.);*
— For example, *'Its success in winning the bid to host the 2000 Olympics will further raise its global profile.';*
— Expressed as a straightforward truth claim with normal, non modal verbs (for example: *'arrived'*, (e.g. – *'The first settlers arrived in Australia almost 100.000 years ago…'*);
— Expressed with adverbs such as, *probably, possibly, certainly* (e.g. *'High unemployment during The 1990s has certainly widened the gap between rich and poor.'*);
— Expressed with modal adjectives such as, *likely, unlikely* (e.g. *'Unless there is a radical change in mental-*

ity it is unlikely that Australia will become a republic in the near future.'.

(2) Obligation:

— Expressed with modal auxiliaries such as , *must, should, ought to*.

(3) Permission:

— Expressed with, *may, can*.

(4) Desirability:

— Expressed with evaluative adjectives such as: '*Australia's extensive public health service has standards as high as any in the world*'.

For Halliday modality represents an area of meaning found between 'yes' and 'no': an area between positive and negative polarity (1985/1994: 75). The texts in the examples given are from a learning text and thus, ostensibly, are based on facts about the countries described: interpretation is not required. Modality, thus, is expressed principally as 'truths' about the countries. For example, Indonesia: under the heading of Communications: 'Indonesia's road and shipping infrastructure is also being improved. Ports are being extended and motorway projects include the Jakarta–Bandung link. The toll roads around Jakarta are contracted to President Suharto's daughter, Siti.' (a truth with a normal non modal verb '*are contracted*').

Compare this with Australia under the heading of Communications: 'Improvements in urban transport are a priority, particularly in Sydney, in the run–up to the 2000 Olympic games.' (with the non modal verb '*are*').

The author of the texts exercises authority as author of a learning text in the choice of what is mentioned in the text. What is included in the text can be regarded as 'attitude' — there is an implicit stance taken by the author when she/he states the 'truth' that puts the president's daughter in juxtaposition with the verb '*contracted*'.

4. *Passive transformation.* The notion of Syntactic transformation can be an important factor in discourse analysis. Syntactic transformation is the way in which different sentence types or syntactic formations can be created by using specific rules for transforming one type of sentence into a different type of sentence. Syntactic transformation can be a key instrument for expressing implicit ideology in discourse. A principal example of syntactic transformation is the use of passive transformations. With the active–passive transformations the subject of the active sentence can become the agent of the passive sentence. Passives, may also be without agents (Palmer, 1988: 79).

For example, in the Indonesia text the passive is preferred when information may be best omitted for political reasons. The passive form (without mentioning the agent) is used to say: '*Demands for greater autonomy on outlying islands and for liberation by East Timor, annexed in 1975, have been forcefully opposed*'. Use of the agentless passive in this text is a means of leaving out what could be considered undesirable information. The responsibility for the oppression is removed from the Indonesian government, or from the military regime: the undesirable information is excluded. The responsibility is implied, but not mentioned. 'Agentless passives are a most useful device for not providing irrelevant or undesirable information' (Palmer, 1988, 78). The following sentence, on the other hand, uses the passive form with the agent ('*by the military*'): '*Politics has since been dominated by the*

military.' This is an educational text and the passive here gives a more neutral tone to the sentence: there would be a wide difference between stating: '*Demands for greater autonomy … have been forcefully opposed*' and 'The military regime has forcefully opposed demands for greater autonomy …'. With passive transformation a verb retains its original meaning but the importance of the agent carrying out the action can be neutralized, or the active agent can also be omitted thus removing responsibility.

Moving further into the description of Australia an effective use of passive transformation in discourse can be observed. The textbook maintains a neutral (or non political) language genre regarding, for example, Australian Aborigines and their history and social status since British colonization. Using the agentless passive form the discourse states: 'Until the mid 1960s they were not considered Australian citizens and they were denied the vote.' The use of the agentless passive here removes the responsible party from there active position — the responsibility of the government (or establishment) of the time remains unmentioned.

Here it is a question of not providing undesirable information, or of not mentioning undesirable historical facts: the active subject is left out of the text by opting for use of the agentless passive form. The adoption here of the the agentless passive removes the responsible party from the active position (*'Until the mid 1960s they were not considered Australian citizens and were denied the vote'*). The responsibility of the government of the time is not mentioned in this reference book. The Australian government authority's political responsibility is thus neutralized in the text. Without the passive transformation this text might read very differently, with different implications, for example: '*Until the 1960s Australian governments did not consider the Aborigines to be Australian citizens*

and denied them the vote.' Responsibility is removed from the agent of a racist action. The reference book removes responsibility: it does not say, for example,: 'The government was racist and paternalistic and thus denied political rights and citizenship to Aborigines.' Whereas, the historian Stuart Macintyre (2003), gives the government a clearly active part in the expropriation of the Australian Aborigines' rights. The discourse in Macintyre's text gives the government as the active agent:

> Indigenous people were written out of Australian history following the establishment of the nation–state at the end of the nineteenth century. The new Commonwealth sought racial purity. It deprived Aboriginals of voting rights, excluded them from the body politic and joined with the states to confine them on reserves. (Macintyre, 2003:43)

The agentless passive may be used where no subject is available for the active sentence because the agent is irrelevant or unknown, or it may be used in order to not provide irrelevant information (Palmer (1987: 79): The writer of the text makes an ideological choice when she/he chooses to use the passive form. Use of passive forms in reference to the Aborigines in these text extracts has two functions: either its use omits the agent completely, or it makes the agent passive in what could be considered to be a controversial issue. It removes responsibility from the agent.

5. *Negation*. Negative assertions in the text can have the effect of emphasising one cultural presupposition position whilst implicitly creating contrast with other less acceptable (to the writer) cultural presuppositions. This the effect can be seen, for example, in contrasting the description of the USA with that of Indonesia.

The use of the negations neither/nor focus an emphasis on the advantages of the US in comparison to oth-

er countries. that have more undesirable situations. For example, it has a better situation than China and India: '*it is neither overpopulated (like China and India)'. It has a better situation than Australia:* '(nor) – *under–populated (like Australia)*'. It has advantages compared to Russia and Brazil: '*… nor held hostage to extremes of climate or topography (like Russia and Brazil)*'. Its origins are founded on greater ideals than the other countries: '*.. neither on ethnic unity nor within natural geographical boundaries, but instead on the appeal of some powerful ideas.*'

1.2.1.2. Lexis. Negative versus positive vocabulary

From the point of view of critical linguistics amongst the important features of lexis are: metaphor, positive vocabulary, negative vocabulary (Fowler, 1991). Although the text on the US uses negation, it is used to emphasis positives. There are no negative implications or negative lexis in the text on the USA. There is nothing to imply that there could be negatives also in regard to the USA. The USA has no problems: what is missing in the text also supports the implicit ideology. The writer of the text controls what is included in the text, and what is not included, or what is excluded. The 'common sense' values in this text are: *'democracy and liberty, in both political and in an economic sense, continue to be the guiding lights of the USA — as they were for its founders over 200 years ago.*' However, when the same textbook is describing a non western (and largely non Christian) country (Indonesia) the tendency is toward use of negative vocabulary. With the Indonesia text (text 3, above), while the statements regarding the geography of the country may be regarded as neutral, those regarding the politics have negative implications. It is significant within the context of this analysis and the type of text under analysis that the

only metaphor to be used is that referring to democracy and liberty in the US as 'guiding lights', and, although, amongst the texts examined this is the only example of metaphor, the example is significant in its isolation.

Thus, while the US is a '*guiding light'* to other nations Indonesia has several implied negatives: For example, one negative implied by the writer is the military domination (it lacks democracy); or, it uses force to control claims to independence (*'Demands … for … liberation … have been forcefully opposed'*). The passive structure in the sentence, *'Demands for greater autonomy …. have been forcefully opposed'*, does not state that the Indonesian government uses military force to control the liberation movements, but this is implied — this is what we understand from the use of the agentless passive structure. To quote an Indonesian government spokesman when interviewed by the BBC World Service news on the Djakarta terrorist bombing (in August 2003) commenting on the western media reports: 'When a bomb goes off in New York there is a lot of sympathy for Americans. When a bomb goes off in Indonesia the west thinks there is something wrong with Indonesia.' (BBC World Service [Radio News] 6.08.03).

Comparing the texts on the UK and on Libya positive and negative sentences expressing ideology are evident. As seen above positive language predominates in the UK description. Conversely, a non western, country (Libya) is described less positively as follows:

The implication is that Libya has nothing positive about it: it cannot be accepted by the west. The vocabulary is principally negative. Libya is '*marginalized*', it is under *'UN sanctions'*, it is not a western civilization, and it is marginalized by the west. The implicit message of the discourse again, is originating from presuppostions inherent to a western cultural stance. The textbook gives a particularly negative picture of Libya. It connects it with

'*terrorist groups', 'sanctions', 'bombing'*. Amongst the positives of Libya are the fact that it has 'abundant oil and gas resources' that are useful to the western world: these are the positives of Libya according to the western capitalistic ideological position of the author of the text.

In the description of Libya the text seems to concentrate on the negatives. The ideology of this textbook once again shows its bias towards the west. The author's 'common sense' stance does not conceive the possibility of mentioning any negatives regarding the west. In these texts both what is mentioned and what is not mentioned is indicative of the ideological/cultural bias of the author (s): there are also negative episodes in the history of Australia, the US or the UK that could have been mentioned.

Ideology need not function at the level of consciousness or intentional bias. But ways of expressing things are not natural. Once it is realized that choices have been made, it is also realized that other choices could be made, and that reality could be differently presented (Stubbs, 1996: 93).

Emerging from the western centered stance in this text is the positive bias towards the UK and the negative attitude to Libya. There are specific negative lexical terms in the text that stigmatize Libya: 'however', *'politically marginalized'; 'terrorist groups'; 'sanctions'; 'bombing'*. These words carry negative connotations, thus creating negative associations in the mind of the 'ideal reader'. On the surface, the author(s) of these texts, are simply describing 'truths'. However, it could also be argued that describing only the positive 'truths' regarding one country, while describing also the negative 'truths' regarding other countries amounts to providing an unequal picture. Here, the question of what is included and what is excluded from the text becomes once again crucial in measuring the stance that is taken by the writer. Take

for example, the use of the 'however, in linking two contrasting sections of the paragraph. With regard to the geographical features and resources it is considered from a positive stance, but, the text then continues with the contrasting '*however*', when the political description begins: '*However, it has been politically marginalized.. .*' Thus, contrast is created between geography that can be considered a neutral area and the politics that is considered, from, the ideological stance of the author as negative. In addition, the use of the linker '*also*' adds to the negative stance of the author in his/her view of Libya as a State.

1.2.1.3. Disciplinary formulations

Fairclough (1995:96) defines disciplinary formulations as based on the discourse of discipline. One group pronounces disciplinary measures upon another. For example, in the text on Libya the discourse uses disciplinary formulations such as, 'politically marginalized' or, 'under UN sanctions'. The implication is that Libya has to be disciplined by the world, or a world organization, or by other countries. Important in the analysis of this particular piece of discourse is also the use of the word *'under'*. While, it may or may not be justifiable that Libya has been marginalized, what is not mentioned with regard to the texts on western countries is that perhaps in some of their political policies there could also be cause for marginalization: for example, Australia could be disciplined for its refugee policy. This implies a negative attitude or ideological position in relation to some countries.

In contrast, as mentioned earlier, in the introduction to the section on the UK there is no negative vocabulary. The UK only has positives: the only reference to anything political is its '*prominent role in international*

diplomacy'. In other words the UK as part of the western capitalistic culture (or club) has no connection for example with *'bombings'*, *'terrorist groups'* or with *'sanctions'*. The implicit ideology here is that the UK is on the right side. What the author chooses not to include is a significant ideological choice: the UK is not to be associated, for example, with political oppression or *'massacre'* (text 9) What is highlighted is the importance of the UK in its world role: *'Most of the trade is now with its European partners, although membership of the UN – Security Council gives it a prominent role in International diplomacy.'* One interpretation of the author's 'common sense' here seems to imply that although the UK is part of the EU it is just slightly more important than the rest.

From the description of the UK it is implicit in the text that the UK has no problems of any kind. No mention, therefore, is made of the Irish question, or rather, we learn only that the UK's only land border is with the Republic of Ireland. No mention is made of the history leading up to this fact. We do learn some positive 'facts', however: *'its membership of the UN security council gives it a prominent role in international diplomacy'*. Thus in the UK description there are no 'disciplinary formulations' in the vocabulary or structures. However, the UK as member of the UN security Council can use disciplinary formulations in its discourse regarding other countries (e.g. Iraq).

Implicit judgmental formulations can also be seen in comparing the texts on the US and Iran. *One example of this is,'Iran's active support for Islamic fundamentalist movements has led to strained relations with Central Asian, middle eastern and north African nations, as well as the USA.'*

As mentioned previously the description of the US is predominantly positive. There is an implicit message in this text that portrays the US as being, in some way, an exception: the discourse uses lexis such as *'alone','stands*

apart', 'neither/nor', 'powerful ideas', 'democracy', 'liberty', 'guiding light'. Conversely, the discourse on Iran is dispersed with negative implications. The introduction to Iran is heavily loaded with political matters which, considered from the western capitalistic 'common sense' stance seem dark and negative. The description depends on a series of implied negatives: *'deposed the Shah', 'theocracy', 'militant Islam', 'fundamentalist movements', 'strained relations'*. The presupposition here is that these situations are negative to the west, to the sense of 'common sense' of the authors of the text, as well as to the 'ideal reader'.

1.2.1.4. Clause Sequence

Fairclough (1995) emphasises the importance of global text structure ('what choices are made between alternative available activity types or generic schemata in a given text' [1995: 105]) in discourse analysis. With the texts in this study it is important to consider the choices of content that are made in describing the different countries and the sequences in which the information is given. That is, what can be considered to be foregrounded and what can be considered to be backgrounded, and the linguistic choices that are made in structuring the descriptions (e.g. use of lexis, grammar, metaphor). In his study on media discourse Fairclough emphasises the necessity for a content analysis which permits a 'generalized comparison' (ibid). Transferring these concepts to this educational text analysis it is important, in this case, to make a comparison not only within each text, but also between the different texts to achieve the 'necessary overview' (Fairclough 1995 105). With regard to the two texts 'United States' and 'Indonesia', either description without the other may seem to be a simple factual description, however, on examining the two texts in juxtaposition, when the two are put to-

gether and compared the ideology of the textbook seems evident: some nations are 'guiding lights' while others are portrayed with shadows hanging over them.

Examining the same descriptions (above) the western stance of the authors can be seen in the concluding sentences of the texts. Those regarding the US, UK and Australia — the western Anglo–culture countries all end on a positive note: positive concepts and positive vocabulary. Whereas, those of the non western countries end negatively: Libya is under *'UN sanctions'*, Iran has *'strained relations'* with its neighbouring countries, and China ends with a *'massacre'* and *'aging leaders'* (see below, text 9). The implicit ideology in this educational text maintains and reinforces existing cultural biases. These cultural biases regenerate and reconfirm the existing 'mainstream' cultural attitude of the western capitalistic country.

One way the author of the description of China expresses his/her 'common sense' values is through the use of contrastive connectors: for example, *'but', 'however'*. The cohesive devices used in this text create a contrasting connection between the geographical description of China and the political description. The geographical description uses modality and describes geographical facts, or 'truths'. The political description begins to imply presuppositions: *'China was dominated by Mao Zedong; 'China became an industrial and nuclear power'* (an implied positive quality) — presupposing this is acceptable and compatible with the 'common sense ' values of the ideal western capitalist reader. But, it also *'experienced the disasters of the 1950s Great Leap Forward and the 1960s cultural revolution'* (the negative side). And, similarly, *'Today China is rapidly moving towards a market –oriented economy* (implied good 'common sense'). *However, as the 1989 Tienanmen Square massacre tragically underlined, political reform is not on the agenda of China's aging leadership'*. (implied negatives, and negation *'is not on*

the agenda'). For Fairclough (1989) negative assertions such as, 'political reform is not on the agenda' are used to evoke or to reject: here the author of the text on China is alluding to something that his 'common sense' believes should take place by using the negation to emphasise something that is not taking place: political reform. In the description of China negative language predominates. For example, *'however', massacre, 'tragically', 'not'*.

1.3. Conclusion

For Kress (1988: 22), 'both discourse and genre carry specific and socially determined meanings.' Text analysis which includes the question of cultural and ideological stance aims to identify social and ideological experience and position: this kind of analysis analyses text from the point of view of genre, register, commonly used lexis, and grammatical forms.

One aspect of discourse is that it can, in specific contexts (e.g. educational texts, newspapers, magazines and other media), have the effect of reconfirming and reinforcing established cultural attitudes and stances. These stances can be inherent to the existing 'status quo' and can be detected in discourse through the study of specific linguistic devices used in text that aim either explicitly or implicitly to support and regenerate the existing concepts of 'common senses' in a given culture, or society. This analysis has attempted to identify some examples of the implicit assumption in discourse written for Australian educational purposes.

> In relation to texts from educational institutions it is important to understand what discourses, knowledge of morals, of authority, of gender, or power, appear and which of these are dominant in constituting texts. This can give insight into the

> real contents. — the hidden curricula — of any occasion within the larger scale processes of education. (Kress 1985: 18)

Specifically, the analysis in this chapter discusses one example of presupposition that can be seen in an educational text: the way that this reference book implicitly protects and promotes its own culture and the difference in the way the discourse refers to other cultures (nations), and implicit assumptions that are made regarding cultures that are different, or that it has less understanding of.

According to the critical linguistics school of thought linguistic and social processes are connected. For the critical linguists there can be an interrelation between language and how it is used to create and reinforce a cultural stance. Other language analysts such as Bell (1991) believe that there are gaps in this way of thinking. Bell (1991), for example, questions whether the clearly definable relationship between a linguistic choice and a specific ideology as described by critical linguists such as Kress (1983) can, in fact, exist. For Bell (1991: 214), 'The belief that there is ideological significance in every syntactic option, and that, we can identify uniquely what it is, is hard to sustain'.

Chapter II

Language and national identity: Concepts of 'us' and 'them' in the 21st century

2.1. Expressing nationality

2.1.1. *Fixity of language and nationality*

For authors such as Anderson (1991), in the past, one basic common denominator contributing to the concept of nation and national unity was the development of a fixed language — a language fixed in a written form. The official fixed version of the English language that was beginning to take form in the late middle ages was that of the language of power of the time: the English of the powerful merchant and emerging capitalist classes around the London area. The other common denominator was the common culture and the development of a sense of 'common sense' of the more powerful social groups of the time.

2.1.2. *Language and group identity: Language as representative of social groups within a society*

Extending the notion of language as a characteristic of a national group, Thornborrow (2004) maintains that language can also characterise group identities within a nation. For Thornborrow the linguistic code adopted by

a given social group can have an important part in the establishment of the group identity. For example, Thornborrow citing Labov (1972), states that ' … membership of a group, and the position you hold within that group, either as a core member or as a peripheral member, is accomplished in considerable measure through the language you use' (Thornborrow, 2004: 166).

One example of this is the distinction between some social groups in Australia and how they see and present themselves. In the Australian society, for example, working class groups will still use expressions, such as, 'yous' or 'ys' ['ys' is more familiar, friendly expression used for the 'you' plural pronoun — pronounced /jz/]: e.g. 'What did ys do last night'. Another example of this is the use of the past participle 'done' in place of the past 'did'. It is more colloquial and avoids giving the impression of being too posh or snobbish. Groups in the Australian society, can, in this way maintain their group identity: this is the language accepted by their group.

For example: 'See ys later'
'I done it yesterday'

2.1.3. *Language and 'others': Portraying 'other' social groups within a society*

Further to this theme, Singh (2004) maintains that, within the British society, there is a concept of what she calls a division between 'us' and 'them' between ethnic groups, and that this 'pragmatic division' in meaning of 'us' and 'them' not only divides different ethnic groups within a given society (e.g. Asian English and white English) but that there are also various levels of this pragmatic distinction, for example, the difference in the meaning of 'us' and 'them' in reference to Scottish British and English British which implies different levels

of prejudice. In this case it is a matter of how a particular group in society sees and presents 'other' social, cultural or ethnic groups in that society. For Singh (2004) one example of the 'us'/'them' 'ideological division' characterises certain extreme political parties in Britain.

2.2. Taking a position

2.2.1. *Implicit stance in personal pronoun reference: Concepts of 'us' and 'them' in political discourse*

Concepts of 'us' and 'them' expressed in discourse as applying to different political, social or ethnic groups in society as expressed through use of language recall the theories of the critical linguistics school of thought. For these linguists (Fairclough [1989, 1995], Fowler, [1991]) pronominal references such as 'we', 'us', 'them' can be used to direct the text or discourse to the 'ideal reader' (Kress, 1985), or the the ideal listener. For example, Kress, argues that a text can construct the reader by " … providing a certain 'reading position' from where the text seems unproblematic and 'natural' " (1985:36). For Kress, a reader may already have placed her/himself in the position of 'ideal reader' by being a reader of a particular journal, or today, a reader of a particular website. One example of this is mentioned in the study by Singh (2004, 98) who cites the example of the site of the British National Party. In this case, according to Singh, reference to the reader of the website as 'you', presupposes that the reader shares the same common sense views expressed on the website, and therefore can be defined as the 'ideal reader. For Singh, 'One of the many interesting things about such an angle of telling is the assumptions about ethnic groupings on which it is predicated. … [T]he constant address of the reader as *you,*

interspersed with comments about *our* heritage and country suggests that the intended audience not only belongs to a white British majority, but also, very importantly shares the same beliefs and attitudes' (Singh, 2004: 99).

Analogies can be made between the discourse of the British National Party and the One Nation discourses of the Australian politician Pauline Hanson with reference to the concept of division between ethnic groups in Australia.

2.2.2. *Expressing concepts of inclusion and exclusion in 21st century Australia. Insider–outsider: the 'common sense' of the One Nation Party in Australia–Pronominal reference*

Text 1

Pauline Hanson (Maiden Speech – Federal Parliament of Australia, 10 September, 1998)

Mr. Acting Speaker, immigration and multiculturalism are issues that this government is trying to address but for far too long, ordinary Australians have been kept out of any debate by the major parties. I and most Australians want our immigration policy radically reviewed and that of multiculturalism abolished. I believe we are in danger of being swamped by Asians. Between 1984 and 1995, 40% of all migrants into this country were of Asian origin. [SEE FACT 11]. They have their own culture and religion, form ghettos and do not assimilate. Of course, I will be called racist but if I can invite who I want into my home, then I should have the right to have a say in who comes into my country. A truly multicultural country can NEVER be strong or united and the world is full of failed and tragic examples, ranging from Ireland to Bosnia, to Africa and closer to home, Papua New Guinea. America and Great Britain are currently paying the price.

Mr Acting Speaker, Arthur Calwell was a great Australian and Labour leader and it is a pity that there are not men

> of his stature sitting on the Opposition benches today. Arthur Calwell said and I quote, *''Japan, India, Burma, Ceylon and every new African nation are fiercely anti–white and anti one another. Do we want or need any of these people here? I am one red–blooded Australian who says NO and who speaks for 90% of Australians''*.
> I have no hesitation in echoing the words of Arthur Calwell!
> [...]
> Mr Acting Speaker, abolishing the policy of multiculturalism will save billions of dollars and allow those from ethnic backgrounds to join mainstream Australia, paving the way to a strong, united country.
> Immigration must be halted in the short term, so that our dole queues are not added to, by in many cases, unskilled migrants not fluent in the English language. [SEE FACT 12] This would be one positive step to rescue many young and older Australians from a predicament which has become a national disgrace and crisis.
> I MUST STRESS AT THIS STAGE, THAT I DO NOT CONSIDER THOSE PEOPLE FROM ETHNIC BACKGROUNDS CURRENTLY LIVING IN AUSTRALIA, ANYTHING BUT FIRST CLASS CITIZENS, PROVIDED OF COURSE THAT THEY GIVE THIS COUNTRY THEIR FULL, UNDIVIDED LOYALTY.

In Pauline Hanson's first speech as Member of Parliament the way in which pronominal reference can implicitly include or exclude can be seen. Hanson's use of pronominal references such as 'we', 'my', 'this country' create what Singh (2004) has called a concept of 'otherness' – where the 'other' is singled out for exclusion. With expressions such as 'otherness', or, the "dangerous 'other' " Singh is referring to what she maintains is an implicitly racist attitude to the "ethnic 'other' " (Singh: 2004, 99). Hanson's speech with its references to 'those', 'they', 'their' contributes to creating the 'us' and 'them' division in Australia. For example, the concept of 'us' is expressed with the following pronominal references.

We: I believe **we** are in danger of being swamped by Asians. Between 1984 and 1995 40% of all migrants into this country were of Asian origin.
Do **we** want or need any of these people here?

Our: Immigration must be halted in the short term, so that **our** dole queues are not added to, by in many cases, unskilled migrants not fluent in the English language.

My: (my country)
Of course, I will be called racist but if I can invite who I want into **my** home, then I should have the right to have a say in who comes into **my** country.

The concept of 'them' or the 'dangerous others' is expressed as follows.

They/their: **They** have **their** own culture and religion, form ghettos and do not assimilate.

These: (unskilled migrants)
Do we want or need any of **these** people here?

Those/Their: Mr Acting Speaker, abolishing the policy of multiculturalism will save billions of dollars and allow **those** from ethnic backgrounds to join mainstream Australia, paving the way to a strong, united country.

These are all expressions which imply 'what Singh calls 'otherness' or, the 'ethnic other'. Indeed, Hanson uses a very similar expression in her speech: 'those people from ethnic backgrounds'.

'I must stress at this stage, that I do not consider those people from ethnic backgrounds currently living in Australia, anything but first class citizens, provided of course that they give this country their full undivided loyalty.'

With a statement such as this for Hanson the concept of 'otherness' is possibly more than implicit with the phrase 'people from ethnic backgrounds'. With such an expression the separation of 'us' and 'them' is explicitly expressed. The question of what the word 'ethnic' means needs to be examined here. Does it mean 'otherness'? Does it mean non white? The pragmatic meaning implies that having an 'ethnic background' refers to anyone who is not of white European background. Hanson seems to mean, implicitly, that white–British, or white–European ethnicity does not exist and therefore falls into contradiction in the use of the term *'ethnic'*. Hanson's use of the term *'ethnic'* means 'other', other than white European: 'those people from ethnic backgrounds currently living in Australia'.

Dictionary definitions of '*ethnic*' vary. Some come close to Hanson's use of the term as a group in society that are different from other cultures. The Cambridge Advanced Learners Dictionary (2003) gives two meanings: (1) 'of a national or racial group of people'; and (2) 'from a different race or interesting because characteristic of an ethnic group which is very different from those that are common in western culture: ethnic food, ethnic costume'. The Collins Cobuild Dictionary (1987) gives the following definition: 'ethnic means connected with or relating to different racial groups of people, especially when referring to the native people of a particular region or to racial minorities within a particular country or city'.

Perhaps the real pragmatic meaning of '*ethnic*' in this context as used by Hanson is: 'ethnic minority — a national or racial group living in a country or area which contains a larger group of people of a different race or nationality' from the Collins Learner's Dictionary (2003). For an author such as Singh (2004) the definitions of *'ethnic'* would seem more equal. For Singh also white

Europeans (British) can fall into the category of '*ethnic*'. This becomes evident when she discusses the 'us'/'them' division in the internet discourse of the British National Party. For Singh (2004) the 'us'/'them' 'ideological division' is a characteristic of the language of the British National Party (BNP) a political party which, according to Singh, in its discourse represents an ethnic minority: (a white British minority political group). The language of its political discourse is interspersed with references to *'we' ,'us', 'our'* and *'they', them'*: *'us'* refers to white British people and 'them' refers to non white immigrants (Singh, 2004: 98).

2.2.3. *The government and 'others': 'us' and 'them' in the Prime Minister's discourse*

The concept of nation implies both inclusion as well as exclusion. This can be seen in some of Prime Minister Howard's discourse regarding the illegal immigration issue in Australia. The pronominal reference *'we'* as used by Prime Minister Howard implies not only a concept of inclusiveness but it also excludes. The process of implicit exclusion can also be manifested through the use of 'they/them' in political and media discourse. In some of the speeches given by PM Howard with regard to the question of illegal immigration the concept of nationality can also be seen in terms of a process of exclusion expressed using the pronominal references *'they', 'these', 'their'*. For example, the concept of insider and outsider is implied in the following discourse samples taken from the doorstop interview (text 2, below) given by the Prime Minister (August 2001).

> We will not allow these people to land in Australia. They do not have the legal right to come here. It is not our legal re-

sponsibility. We have acted in accordance with international law but we seek a resolution of the issue as soon as possible.

In the above section of discourse taken from Prime Minister Howard's statement regarding the refugees on the 'Tampa'[1] there is a strong contrast between 'us' and 'them'. The division between 'our' and 'we', and 'them' and 'these' consolidates the concept of exclusion. The argumentation is also based on a discourse of legality, or of law and order. By falling back on a legal discourse Howard is able to strengthen his position.

Text 2

Doorstop interview – the Prime Minister 31 August 2001, Melbourne

… I spoke last night with the Secretary– General of the United Nations to brief him on the contacts that I have had with other countries but I can't go into the detail of that. Australia's position is clear. We will not allow these people to land in Australia. They do not have the legal right to come here. It is not our legal responsibility . We have acted in accordance with international law but we seek a resolution of the issue as soon as possible . It may take some time , people should be aware of that. If it was something that was capable of overnight resolution that would have happened before now but we will of course continue to maintain a strong humanitarian line of supply and support to the people on board this vessel. We're sympathetic to their conditions but we have acted to improve their conditions but we obviously would like to see the matter resolved in a way that is consistent with Australia's interests.

1. The Tampa Affair': In August 2001 a Norwegian cargo ship rescued a group of 460 refugees ('boat people') in Indonesian territorial seas and then, defying the Australian government's refusal to permit entry, entered into Australian seas. The cargo was boarded by Australian SAS troops and was refused entry into an Australian port..

2.2.4. *Lexical Cohesion. Synonym, or near synonym*

Reiteration of lexical items can create cohesion in discourse. According to Halliday, 'Reiteration is a form of lexical cohesion which involves the repetition of a lexical item, at one end of the scale; the use of a general word to refer back to a lexical item, at the other end of the scale; and a number of things in between — the use of a synonym, near synonym, or superordinate' (1979, 278). Some examples of this kind of rhetorical tool are the following synonyms and words with similar meaning from the Hanson text (appendix 1):

— *has dropped; have gone backwards;*
— *woman; mother; parent;*
— *heavy; punitive;*
— *need; want;*
— *inspire; give hope.*

For Halliday et al (1976) since single lexical items do not necessarily have a cohesive function in themselves, but may take on a cohesive function in relation to other lexical items the influence of lexical cohesion and collocational cohesion is not easy to measure. Generally, this kind of cohesive function is seen within the structure of the text. Within their description of lexical cohesion (Cohesion in English, 1976: 288) Halliday et al include the following categories:

Type of lexical cohesion:	Referential relation:
1. Reiteration	
(a) same word (repetiton)	(i) same referent
(b) synonym (or near synonym)	(ii) inclusive
(c) superordinate	(iii) exclusive
(d) general word	(iv) unrelated

Contrastive pair. Lexical cohesion can occur not only with repetition of identical words, but it can also occur with lexical items that are mutually exclusive. For Halliday et al these words, although they are opposites can, because of 'their proximity in a discourse, very definitely contribute to the texture' (1976: 285). Thus lexical items such as contrastive pairs can also contribute to cohesion in discourse. This is a rhetorical device that is used frequently by politicians in their discourse. Contrastive pairs such as the following from the Hanson speech (Appendix 1) create cohesion and contribute to the unity and completeness of her speech in which her main aim is to stress what she believes are the failures of the current political policies in Australia: *black/white; third world/first world; male/female, rejected /addressed.*

— Hasluck's vision was of a single society in which racial emphases were **rejected** and social issues **addressed**;
— Mr Acting Speaker, this nation is being divided into black and white and the present system encourages this.
— We are regarded as a **third world** country with **first world** living conditions;
— Therefore, I call for the introduction of National Service, compulsory, for male and female, upon finishing year 12 or 18 years of age, for a period of 12 months.

Group of three. Throughout history, one strategy used in speech making to gain agreement in the audience is the group of three. The group of three is common to particular cultures in that it can create 'a sense of unity or completeness' in the mind of the reader or listener (Beard, 2000:38). The group of three is an aspect of lexical cohe-

sion that can have the function of completing and emphasising a crucial part of the speaker's argument. It can draw the listener's attention to the part of the discourse the speaker wants to highlight. For example, from the Hanson speech (Appendix 1).

— *'death, misery and heartache'*
'The Family Law Act, which was the child of the disgraceful Senator Lionel Murphy should be repealed. It has brought death, misery and heartache to countless thousands of Australians. Children are treated like pawns in some crazy game of chess.';
— *'unworkable, very unfair and one sided'*
'The Child Support Scheme has become unworkable, very unfair and one sided.';
— *'failed, hypocritical and discriminatory'*
'This is why I am calling for ATSIC to be abolished. It is a failed, hypocritical and discriminatory organisation that has failed dismally, the people it was meant to serve. It will take more than Senator Herron's surgical skills to correct the terminal mess it is in.';
— *'servicing Aboriginals, …. multiculturalists, and a host of other minority groups'*
'We now have a situation where a type of reverse racism is applied to mainstream Australians by those who promote political correctness and those who control the various taxpayer funded ''industries'' that flourish in our society, servicing Aboriginals, multiculturalists, and a host of other minority group;
— *'with huge tax free American dollar salaries, duty free luxury cars and diplomatic status'*
'Australia must review its membership and funding of the UN, as it is a little like ATSIC on a grander

scale, with huge tax free American dollar salaries, duty free luxury cars and diplomatic status.';

— *' "fatcats", bureaucrats and the "do–gooders".'*
'In response to my call for equality for ALL Australians, the most noisy criticism came from the "fatcats", bureaucrats and the "do–gooders".';

— *' their power, money and position'*
'They screamed the loudest because they stand to lose the most; – their power, money and position, all funded by ordinary Australian taxpayers.';

— *'land, monies and facilities'*
'Present governments are encouraging separatism in Australia by providing opportunities, land, monies and facilities, only available to Aboriginals.';

— *'we must have one people, one nation, one flag!'*
'If politicians continue to promote separatism in Australia, then they should not continue to hold their seats in this Parliament. They are not truly representing ALL Australians and I call on the people to throw them out! To survive in peace and harmony, united and strong, we must have ONE PEOPLE, ONE NATION, ONE FLAG!

With this kind of rhetorical tool the speaker wants to highlight a crucial moment in her/his speech, to give a sense of importance, or urgency and to create a sense of completion in the discourse. In other words, this part of the discourse is of high importance and it is complete in itself. The group of three is a rhetorical tool that has been used throughout history in political speeches and particularly in declarations for freedom such as in the American Declaration of Independence, in Abraham Lincoln's Gettysburg Address, by Martin Luther King in his freedom speeches, and also in Winston Churchill's wartime speeches (Jones et al, 2003).

2.2.5. *Negative collocation*

The 'common sense' or 'ideological position' inherent to political discourse can be implied through negative collocations. In the case of the Hanson speech it is in the juxtaposition of negative vocabulary with the expression of the ethnic groups. Singh (2003), in her discussion of negative, collocation cites those used by the British National Party in reference to ethnic groups in Britain. Singh states that 'the consistent and repeated use of […] negative collocations can […] play a significant part in the angles of telling adopted for ethnic minority groups' (Singh, 2003: 100). Negative collocation with regard to Australian immigration policy is also inherent in Hanson's discourse. In the following extracts the negative terms *'danger'*, *'swamped'*, *'unskilled'* and *'not fluent'* are collocated with the Asian ethnic group.

— *'I believe we are in **danger** of being **swamped** by Asians.'*;
— *'Immigration must be halted in the short term, so that our dole queues are not added to, by, in many cases, unskilled migrants not fluent in the English language'.*

2.2.6. *The law and order argument*

According to Fairclough's (1995) argument specific genres and specific discourse styles are often found together. For example, for Fairclough, political discourse genre often makes use of 'economic discourse, discourse of law and order and educational discourse' (1995: 66). Fairclough refers to different discourse types which he defines as 'relatively stabilized configurations of genres and discourses within the order of discourse'(1995, 66). This kind of discourse combination (political speech genre and discourse

of law and order) can be seen in the political discourse of PM Howard. The presupposition in this argument is that if it isn't legal, it isn't right: 'They do not have the **legal right** to come here. It is not our **legal responsibility**. We have acted in accordance with international law …'. In other words the implied meaning in Howard's discourse is that the Australian government's decision is right and justified because it is based on the law. 'I think we have clearly **a right** to defend the integrity of our own border. The other thing that should be remembered is that these people were picked up in the Indonesian search and rescue area of responsibility.' (Text 2)

Again the Prime Minister makes recourse to legal terminology and to the discourse of law and order: 'we have … **a *right* to *defend* …';** 'these people were picked up in the Indonesian search and rescue area of ***responsibility* .'**

Text 3

Jones (journalist):
If therefore as many of my listeners are saying, and I see some letters to the paper, asking if as you just rightly said this container ship was on the way to indonesia , and then your words under duress turned around and headed for Australia, do we have a case of piracy?

Prime Minister:
I've not been advised that we do. I think we have clearly a right to defend the integrity of our own border. The other thing that should be remembered is that these people were picked up in the Indonesian search and rescue area of responsibility . The Norwegian vessel was directed to the sinking Indonesian vessel by an Australian aircraft and somehow or other some of the Norwegians are saying well that means it's our responsibility. I mean that is a bit ridiculous.

(3 September 2001) The Hon. John Howard MP Radio Interview with Journalist Alan Jones.

2.3. Transitivity: foregrounding and backgrounding

Halliday, in his 'An Introduction to Functional Grammar' gives a brief definition of transitivity as 'the system that activates the clause as a representation' (1985: 52). Taking his cue from Halliday (1985) Fowler (1991: 71) states that 'transitivity is the way the clause is used to analyse events and situations as being of certain types.' Thus, for Fowler (ibid) ' Since transitivity makes options available, [….] the choice we make indicates our point of view, is ideologically significant. Fowler, in his description of transitivity, states that 'there are many more distinctions of meaning behind transitivity than the simple syntactic distinction of transitive vs intransitive expresses' (1991: 71). In other words, transitivity refers not only to the transitive and intransitive verb, to whether the verb takes an object or not but also to transitivity as the 'foundation of representation'. For Halliday (1985: 106), 'Language enables human beings to build a mental picture of reality, to make sense of what goes on around them and inside them', and the clause plays an important part in this in that it supplies a means for representing experience. Furthermore, for Halliday (ibid), all aspects of human life ('happening, doing, sensing, meaning and being and becoming') are processed and expressed in the grammar of the clause. One function of the clause is to provide a means of 'imposing order on the endless variation and flow of events (ibid: 106).' It does this by means of the grammatical system of transitivity (ibid).

The way in which the grammatical system of transitivity is used in political discourse, or any other discourse genre can be an indication of the stance of the author of a text, or of a speaker. Transitivity may either lay importance on the role of a subject in an event, or alternatively

it can subtract from the importance of a subject, or actor in a particular situation or event. This may be seen for example in the use of the passive voice. Beard, with regard to transitivity, maintains that 'Responsibility can be attributed by 'emphasising the role of a participant or minimising it' (Beard, 2000: 30). This can be done by grammatically foregrounding or backgrounding information in the clause. For Beard (ibid), 'One of the most obvious ways in which participants can be foregrounded, backgrounded or omitted entirely is by using the active or passive voice.'

For example:

— The management of the factory has laid of 200 of its workers;
— Two hundred factory workers have been laid of.

The first example clearly foregrounds the subjects responsible for the negative action of laying off the workers. There is an actor carrying out the action. Whereas the second example omits mentioning the actor responsible for the negative action. The difference between these two sentences could be an indication of the stance of the person(s) making the statement. The second statement may have been made by those who do not want to emphasise the responsibility of the management in this negative action.

This strategy is evident in Howard's interview regarding what came to be known in the Australian press as the 'Tampa affair'. Much of Prime Minister Howard's discourse during the Tampa affair was aimed at removing responsibility for the issue from the Australian government. For example, in the following statement Howard discusses solutions to the problem while at the same time backgrounding the Australian government's responsibility in resolving the problem.

'If it was something that was capable of overnight resolution that would have happened before now but we will of course continue to maintain a strong humanitarian line of supply and support to the people on board this vessel ' (text 2, above).

In the first part this clause there is no actor carrying out the action. One reason for not foregrounding the role of the government may be to avoid referring to the government as a subject that has not been able to resolve a problem. Thus, the first part of the clause omits mentioning the government. With this kind of intransitive clause with no agent carrying out the action the issue of who should be responsible for resolving the problem is intentionally left vague. Howard, here, does not want to associate himself or his government with this 'responsibility': "It is not our ….. responsibility.' In this way PM Howard, in a sense, disassociates himself, his government and thus the nation from taking responsibility. Analysing transitivity in discourse 'involves looking at the language used to describe what happens, who are the participants (both those who do something and those affected by what is done), and what the circumstances are. This can lead to the attribution of blame or credit' (Beard, 2000: 119).

2.4. Conclusion

Through the analysis of a selection of texts and applying, amongst other things, the theories of the 'critical linguistics' school of thought aspects of implicit assumption and the language strategies used in political discourse genre by the speaker to gain consensus can be identified. For example, some of the language strategies used in political speeches to gain consensus and alignment are found both in the style of the language. For example as far as

style is concerned in the effective use repetition such as the group three, or of parallelism. Another strategy has been found to be the effective use of cohesive devices in text such as lexical cohesion (e.g. synonym, contrastive pair). In the context of the political speech the concept of insider–outsider and concepts of 'common sense' as perceived by the 'critical linguistics' school of thought can be expressed in language, implicitly through effective use of pronoun reference, through strategies of negative collocation and through transitivity.

Chapter III

Language and national identity

3.1. Introduction

3.1.1. *'Common sense', ideology, presupposition, consensus*

In this study the term 'ideology' refers to the beliefs that people hold as being natural and logical (Jones et al 2004). One way those in positions of power holding certain beliefs can influence people is through language. The political speech is one means used to promulgate the ideology in the messages of politicians. Another powerful means of communicating the beliefs and 'common sense' of those in power, and of creating a sense of consensus of the majority is through the rhetoric of the mass media.

According to the critical linguistics school of thought (Kress, Fowler, Trew, Hodge 1979) discourse can be constructed to maintain and reinforce the existing cultural values and beliefs of a given society, or group. It is possible to observe cultural biases in the linguistic devices used in the discourse of a particular group or culture to regenerate and reconfirm the existing 'common sense' values of the society, or group. For example an Australian newspaper text may be likely to present discourse that

implicitly reflects the ideological stances or attitudes of the economic and social system characteristic of the Australian western capitalistic reader model: the discourse is directed towards 'the ideal Australian reader'.[1]

In other words, as Fairclough (1989) maintains, the sense of text is the result of a combination of the content of the text and what is 'in' the reader. This constitutes the 'common–sense' assumption of the reader or 'interpreter', or what Fairclough calls 'members resources'. For Halliday (1995) reality is not only represented and communicated through language but, in a sense, reality can also be constructed through language choices. If reality can be constructed through language choices, it may be within the power of those who are able to use language through the mass media (for example, politicians, journalists) to create specific cultural realities, or 'common sense' values.

One example of this view of 'common sense', or appeal to the emotions and values of the audience can be found in some of Prime Minister John Howard's language in regard to the measures taken by the Australian government to prevent a group of illegal immigrants from entering Australia in August 2001. The focus in this study is on the discourse used by government officials to handle the crisis they were facing when entry into Australia was refused to a group of 'boat people' that the Norwegian cargo ship, the Tampa' had rescued at sea. The Australian media was to label the incident as 'The Tampa Affair'.[2]

1. 'Ideal reader' as described by Kress (1988:36): "The text constructs its ideal reader by providing a certain 'reading position' from where the text seems unproblematic and 'natural".

2. 'The Tampa Affair': see note 1, chapter 2

Text 1

Prime Minister:
We assert the absolute right as a country to control our borders and to decide who comes here. Now, no country can ever give that up, but against that of course we balance our long record as a very humanitarian country stretching back 60–70 years of taking refugees from war torn Europe. I mean we are a very generous people and you've got to balance that against, not having that generosity played upon.

(A Current Affair: Television Interview – 28 August 2001)

In this discourse Mr. Howard uses a series of strategies to create consensus with his audience and to appeal to the 'pathos' of his fellow Australians. First of all there is the frequent use of the pronoun '*we*' (and '*our*' repeated in each sentence). '*We*' is used to establish a more personal connection with the audience. '*We*' is used inclusively: it refers at the same time to both the government and the people (the concept of nationality and the Australian people is implied). The ideal reader (or audience) is, in this case, the Australian people as a whole.

Presupposition is closely interconnected with the concept of common sense. For example, in many of Prime Minister Howard's interviews with journalists with regard to the US/Iraq war in which also Australian troops participated there is presupposition. In the following exchange, Mr. Howard's use of language presupposes the existence of weapons of mass destruction in Iraq and uses the argument of common sense in his argument in favour of Australian military support to America in Iraq.

Text 2

Journalist:
Will it be necessary for the coalition to find weapons of mass destruction to legitimise this military campaign?

> *Prime Minister:*
> Well I have no doubt that at a certain point of time the evidence of non–compliance by Iraq in relation to weapons of mass destruction will be found but I wouldn't … I mean, commonsense tells you that you wouldn't find them along the roadway to Baghdad. I mean commonsense tells you that they've been very carefully hidden, dispersed and any suggestion that you're sort of going to find them in the next little while is a bit unrealistic.
>
> (Press Conference Parliament House Canberra: The Hon John Howard MP: 23 March 2003: http//www.pm.gov.au/interviews/2003/interview 301.html)

The strategy of appeal to common sense is used here not only in the Gramscian[3] sense of ideas and attitudes that are held in common, but the Prime Minister, in fact, appeals directly to the people's common sense in the sense of logical thinking. The presupposition is that everyone knows this is true. Even if there is no evidence of the existence of weapons of mass destruction we are all presumed to know they are there (it is a 'common sense' assumption): there is the presupposition that there are weapons of mass destruction. There is also presupposition in the journalist's question with the use of the word 'legitimise'. Putting the question in this way implies, or presupposes that the campaign is not legitimate: if the campaign needs to be 'legitimised' it is therefore not legitimate. Also the use of the term 'military campaign' is of interest in that it is a more acceptable term than using the term 'war'.

For Fairclough (1989) presupposition can express ideology if the function of the presupposition is to reinforce a

3. Gramsci, A. (1971) – Common sense: ' …a conception of the world that is implicitly manifest in art, in law, in economic activity and in all manifestations of individual and collective life …'

position of power. Fairclough gives the example of a general threatening term used during the cold war years: 'the soviet threat'. Such presuppositions do not evoke specific texts or textual series, but are rather attributed to readers' textual experience in a vague way: while some presuppositions are sometimes drawn from particular texts, in other cases they make general appeal to background knowledge (Fairclough, 1989: 154). For example, Mr. Howard in his discourse often uses the term *'non–compliance'* in relation to Iraq: Iraq's *'non–compliance'* expressed as a nominalized form has become a technical term. This use of *'non–compliance'* as a technical term presupposes that 'non–compliance' is a given fact, it presupposes that Howard's audience has background knowledge of 'non–compliance' and that it is a part of our common sense that this term is to be associated with Iraq. A similar kind of presupposition is found in Prime Minister Howard's comments on *'rogue states'* in texts 3 and 6.

Text 3

Iraq has a long history of acting in defiance of the United Nations resolutions. Iraq has chemical and biological weapons and an aspiration to acquire nuclear weapons. If Iraq does not have taken from it those chemical and biological weapons, other rogue states will think they can imitate Iraq and as more rogue states acquire chemical and biological weapons, so the danger of those weapons falling into the hands of terrorists will multiply.

(Transcript of the Prime Minister, The Hon John Howard MP press Conference, Parliament House, Canberra, March 2003 : http: / / www.pm.gov. au / news / interviews / Interview 286. html)

In the case of Howard and *'rogue states'* the presupposition is attributed to the readers' common sense,

background knowledge of *'rogue states'*. The term *'rogue states' has* been naturalized. In other words it has become part of the normal everyday vocabulary of a specific group of the society holding the same common sense views (Fowler, 1991). Based on background knowledge and common sense ideology the assumptions in this sentence are also that terrorists are not from western nations, and that rogue states are not western states.

The concept of consensus is closely connected to the naturalization of discourse. Implied consensus can be seen in many areas of social discourse. One case is in political speech or discourse: the point of departure of the speech is taken for granted. For example, when a journalists asks the Prime Minister of Australia why Australia is supporting the US attack on Iraq the Prime Minister's reply is based on presupposition and consensus.

Text 4

Journalist:
But why are we and the Americans and the Brits preparing to invade Iraq when 170, 180, 190, other United Nations countries disagree? What do we know that they don't know?
Prime Minister
Well we certainly, we all know that Iraq and chemical and biological weapons, we all know that if Iraq is allowed to keep them other countries will do likewise.
Journalist:
But they are not …

(Transcript of The Prime Minister The Hon John Howard M P, – Interview with Ray Martin 'A Current Affair', channel 9: http://www.pm.gov.au/news /interviews/2003/ Interview 285. html)

With his reply Howard states what he maintains is common knowledge about Iraq and he uses the all in-

clusive '*we*' form. In other words consensus is implied: we all agree. Who '*we*' refers to is left vague. '*We*' could be referring to the Prime Minister and the Australian people? It could refer to the Australian, U.S. and British governments. It could refer to all of these? The strong presupposition in Howard's reply makes it unnecessary for him to formulate a complete sentence. It seems to be sufficient to simply place the words '*Iraq*' and '*chemical and biological weapons'* in juxtaposition without completing the phrase to create the presupposition that Iraq has the weapons. The presupposition then continues with the conditional phrase formed with 'if' and 'will'.

For Jones et al (2004, 43), 'Presuppositions are backgrounded assumptions embedded within a sentence or phrase. These sentences are taken for granted regardless of whether the whole sentence is true'. This kind of presupposition can be constructed in discourse with various language forms: for example, with comparative adjectives, possessives forms, by using questions rather than statements (Ibid).

3.1.2. *Presupposition in question form*

For Jones et al (2004, 43) presupposition is a strategy ''used by journalists to 'position' politicians in an interview or a press conference.'' The following are some examples taken from questions by the press to Prime Minister Howard regarding issues such as illegal immigrants and the war in Iraq.

Text 5

Iraq
Journalist:
Minister? you've emphasised on a number of occasions the importance of joint intelligence gathering, how much in-

> dependent information do we have that may not have been tainted by anything that has been subsequently found in the US and in the UK?'
> *Prime Minister:*
> Well I don't accept that anything's been tainted.
>
> (The Hon. John Howard, Prime Minister MP – Press Conference, Parliament House, Canberra 11 June 2003:: http://www.pm.gov.au/news/interviews/2001/ Interview 219.html)

With the use of the word '*tainted*' in this exchange of dialogue the presupposition in the question is that information has been tainted: the question is not whether information has been '*tainted*', it is 'how much' information has been tainted. The presuppositions of a text are part of it's intertextuality: ''presupposing something is tantamount to assuming that there are other texts (which may or may not actually exist) that are common ground for oneself and one's readers, in which what is now presupposed is explicitly present, part of the 'said'. '' (Fairclough: 1995, 107)

3.2. Rhetoric and political speech genre

Today rhetoric in its most well know form as language aimed to persuade, or to influence, carries negative connotations. Rhetorical language is one of the tools of language used by orators and writers to convince, and sometimes to manipulate audiences or readers. The successful orator, the person who has successful language communication skills can have the power to influence and persuade other people. According to Beard (2000, 36), 'throughout history peoples' understanding of the concept of rhetoric has had two principle meanings: For Aristotle it was used to persuade, it was not seen as a negative concept; for

Plato rhetoric had negative implications, for Plato rhetoric was connected with manipulation of the audience.'

Language can generate power. Ability to exploit language skills or to have use of the more elite forms of language can be also a means gaining to power: ' … having access to prestigious sorts of discourse and powerful subject positions enhances publicly acknowledged status and authority' (Fairclough, 1989, 64) . For Kress (1989, 46): 'The possibility of being a certain kind of speaking and writing subject and therefore a certain kind of social and cultural agent depends on a person's position in and relation to the forms and potentials of speech and of writing'. The successful politician is generally a successful communicator. The successful politician can gain power through the power of language. The successful politician tells his audience, in a convincing way what that audience wants to hear. He uses rhetoric to persuade his audience. Indeed, Beard (2000, 36), for example, poses the question whether the politician's aim in use of rhetoric in political speeches is (a) 'to put forward policies that they genuinely believe in; or (b) to manipulate the audience into agreeing with policies, which really serve only the desire of the politicians to gain, or to keep power'. According to Connor (1996, 65), persuasive language uses, even today, 'Aristotle's triangle' of communication: ethos (the power of the personality of the speaker); pathos (the speaker's appeals to emotion), and logos (appeals to reasoning).

3.2.1. *Press conferences and interviews*

The discourse samples chosen for this analysis are taken from some of the speeches and interviews made by the Prime Minister of Australia: firstly in relation to the 2001 incident regarding a group of Afghan refugees who were

refused entry into Australia which, as mentioned above, was known as 'The Tampa Affair', and secondly in relation to Australia's participation in the 2003 war in Iraq.

According to the views of Critical Linguistics 'any aspect of linguistic structure, whether phonological, syntactic, lexical, semantic, pragmatic or textual, can carry ideological significance …' (Fowler, 1991: 67). The linguistic devices that can be used in text to express implicit ideology can be divided into three broad areas: (a) choice of grammar (e.g use of transitivity, passive transformations, nominal transformations, modality, negative language, noun phrases, impersonalization); (b) choice of lexis (e.g. use of negative vocabulary, use of positive vocabulary, use of metaphor, over–lexicalization); (c) how the text is structured (e.g. what is included or what is excluded in the text, the combination and sequencing of clauses, what is foregrounded, what is backgrounded) (Fowler, 1991; Fairclough, 1989).

3.2.1.1. The legal argument (The Tampa Affair, The war in Iraq)

In the many of the press conferences and interviews given by John Howard with regard to the war in Iraq, the Prime Minister uses the 'legal backing argument'. His justifications are based on the authority of the legal case for attacking Iraq: (e.g. *'sound legal basis'*; *'legal case'*.

Text 6

Iraq

Journalist:
Prime Minister is it the case that only the three combatant nations, the US, the UK and Australia believe that they can have the full authority of the United nations to go to war?

Prime Minister:
I can't speak for other nations, I speak for Australia we have a very sound legal basis for this decision. We have never needed the 18th resolution of the Security Council to bolster our legal case. That's very clear, we wanted the 18th resolution to put more political pressure on Iraq. That's the reason why we wanted it.
Prime Minister:
Iraq has a long history of acting in defiance of the United Nations resolutions. Iraq has chemical and biological weapons and an aspiration to acquire nuclear weapons. If Iraq does not have taken from it those chemical and biological weapons, other rogue states will think they can imitate Iraq and as more rogue states acquire chemical and biological weapons, so the danger of those weapons falling into the hands of terrorists will multiply.
If terrorists acquire weapons of that kind, that would represent a clear, undeniable and lethal threat to a western nation such as Australia. The action that might be taken as a result of this decision has a sound legal basis in the resolutions of the security council that have already been passed. If you go back to resolutions 678, 687 and 1441, you find ample legal authority. That is not only the legal advice that has been tendered to us but it is also almost identically the published view of the Attorney General of the United Kingdom government. It also corresponds with legal advice that has been tendered to the United States government. It is my intention to table in the parliament this afternoon the text of the legal advice that has been provided to the Australian government.
This, of course, is not just a question of legality, it is also a question of what is right in the international interest. We do live in a different world now, a world made more menacing in a quite frightening way by terrorism in a borderless world. And the possibility of weapons of mass destruction falling into the hands of terrorists and the need to take action to prevent that occurring is one of the very strong motivations for the actions that the government has taken.

(Transcript: Prime Minister The Hon John Howard MP Press Conference, Parliament House, Canberra, 18 March 2003: http://www.pm.gov.au/news/interviews/Interview286.html)

The principal form of argumentation in the text above (text 6) makes recourse to the legal authority strategy to support the policy on Iraq. For example:

'this decision has a sound legal basis'
'If you go back to resolution 678, 687 and 1441, you find ample legal authority'
'the legal advice that has been tendered to us'
'the view of the Attorney general of the United Kingdom government'
'the legal advice that has been tendered to the United States government'
'the text of the legal advice that has been provided to the Australian government'

The speaker also uses the moral argument, supported by what Fowler (1991: 211) has called 'ethical vocabulary' such as *'what is right'* The presupposition is that *'what is right'* is agreed internationally; 'What is right' is part of an international 'common sense', that it is in the international interest.

3.2.1.2. Implicit discrimination and the legal argument

One significant aspect of the dialogue used by the Prime Minister with regard to the Tampa is the concentration on the legal aspect of the issue. The legal argument, although, it does not strictly regard a specific linguistic aspect of the text is significant in its role of positioning the speaker in his stance regarding the issue. Here the legal question involves, very closely, a neighbouring country of Australia. The Australian government at the time was maintaining the position that that the country legally obliged to give refuge to these people was Indonesia. Thus, Mr. Howard, in his discourse in text 6 (above),

makes recourse to the legal backing behind his argumentation: the question of law and order. Compliance with the law is presented as his main obligation in this controversial issue and this is paramount to the humanitarian question. The humanitarian question takes second place to the legal question (the rights of Australia to protect its borders), and, implicit in the discourse is the criticism of other countries who are not fulfilling their obligations according to international law.

e.g. *'there was a clear obligation under international law'*
'The government having taken legal advice'
'It is our view that as a matter of international law'

This implicit criticism of the Indonesian government can also be seen in the following statement from the same press conference. Again, in this discourse, the argumentation is based on the appeal to law and includes an implicit criticism of Indonesia in the lines *'… irrespective of the obligation of others under international law'* (implicitly Indonesia).

Text 7

Prime Minister:
We stand ready to provide humanitarian help for the people on board the vessel. That does not in any way compromise the validity of our refusing permission for the vessel to land in Australia. Food, medical supplies medical attention and other humanitarian assistance will be readily made available by Australia. We will also in our communications with the Indonesian Government indicate our willingness to provide financial assistance to that Government to receive back the people in question.
This of course is a very difficult and challenging issue for the Australian community. We have endeavoured and it is evident again in this decision to respond in a humanitarian

fashion. But we simply cannot allow a situation to develop where Australia is seen around the world as a country of easy destination, irrespective of the circumstances, irrespective of the obligation of others under international law and irrespective of the legal status of the people who would seek to come to Australia.
Journalist:
What's been the response of the Indonesian government?
Prime Minister:
We have not had a response yet Robert, we have only just communicated. We discussed the matter this morning at length and we had available to us the advice of our law offices, the advice of customs, the advice of the Defence Force and the advice of DFAT. We had a very lengthy discussion about it and we have put in train the course of action that I have outlined. Given the circumstances that have given rise to this situation, given that the nearest point of possible disembarkation was an Indonesian port, and given as I understand it that it was the intention of the ships captain to take the vessel and the people back to Indonesia it seemed the right thing for Australia to do what it has done.

[Transcript of the Prime Minister The Hon. John Howard MP, joint press conference with the Minister for Immigration — the Hon Philip Ruddock, MP, Parliament House, Canberra http://www.pm.gov.au/news/interviews/2001/interview1187.htm]

In his use of the law and order argument the Prime Minister cites a number of legal authorities to support his argument.

'we had available to us the advice of our law offices'
'the advice of customs'
'the advice of the Defence Force'
'the advice of DFAT'

Again there is implicit criticism of Indonesia: *'it seemed the right thing for Australia to do what it has done'* (implying,

on the other hand that Indonesia has not done the right thing). As the events of the 'Tampa' crisis evolved it became evident that Indonesia was remaining on the edge by not responding to Howard's attempts to communicate. Also implicit in the interview is the information that the Indonesian authorities are snubbing the Australians, avoiding contact so as not to have to deal with the problem, or so as not to be told by the Australians what their international responsibilities are.

3.2.2. *Implicit discrimination and passive forms: The 'political passive'*

The following text, again taken from speeches and interviews made by the Australian Prime Minister in regard to a group of asylum seekers who were refused entry into Australia in August 2000 illustrates how the passive form can be used politically — what may be referred to as 'the political passive'.

Text 8

The Tampa

As has been widely reported in the news, the vessel took on board several hundred people as a result of the vessel on which they had been traveling being becalmed, in circumstances where there was a clear obligation under international law for those people to be taken to the nearest feasible point of disembarkation which we are informed was an Indonesian port called, I think, Merak. I further understand that arrangements had already been tentatively put in place by the Indonesians to receive those people. There have been reports verified by the ship's captain to the effect that some of the people taken on board threatened him and insisted that the vessel set sail for Australian waters. The government having taken legal advice on this matter

> and having considered it very carefully this morning had indicated to the ship's captain that it does not have permission to enter Australian territorial waters. It will not be given permission to land in Australia or any Australian territories. It is our view that as a matter of international law this matter is something that must be resolved between the Government of Indonesia and the Government of Norway. We have already communicated to Norwegian and Indonesian authorities the decision we've taken and the communication made to the ship's captain.
>
> (From Transcript of the Prime Minister (John Howard) Joint Press Conference with the Minister for Immigration (Philip Ruddock), Parliament House Canberra – 27 August 2001)

The agentless passive is used in text 8 to avoid placing parties held to be responsible by the speaker in the active position. The speaker is attempting to be as politically correct as possible in his discourse. Using the passive form enables the person speaking to implicitly criticise the Indonesian government without saying who is responsible. As we go through the press report the implicit criticism of Indonesia is evident. For example:

> '*there was a clear obligation under international law'*
> *'for those people to be taken to the nearest feasible port of disembarkation'*
> *'which we are informed was an Indonesian port called, I think, Merak'*
> *'arrangements had already been tentatively put in place by the Indonesians to receive those people'*

The speaker in this section of discourse dos not directly accuse Indonesia. The criticism is made only cautiously and indirectly with a careful use of verbs in the passive form.

3.2.3. *The Agentless Passive*

The agentless passive can be used to avoid naming the active (responsible) parties. This can work in two ways. Firstly, it may help the person speaking or writing to implicitly criticize the actor without stating directly who is responsible for the action (the agent is implied). Or, secondly, it can be used to avoid naming the actor responsible for the action so that the agent cannot be criticized (the agent conveniently remains vague, or anonymous). If the agent of the action is mentioned the subject or the 'doer' of the action has is in a position that can be interpreted either negatively, or positively. Alternatively the agent of the action can, in a sense, be protected if left unmentioned in the discourse. The agent can also be implied if left unmentioned. Thus, the language structure choices made in the discourse can be a significant factor in directing the listener/reader's attention to what the speaker/writer wishes to emphasise. For Fowler (1991: 78), the passive form can be used so as to delete part of the clause: the agent can be 'deleted leaving responsibility unspecified'.

For example, from text 6 above, '*If Iraq does not have taken from it those chemical and biological weapons .*' This clause omits the agent(s) of the action (The US, The UK and Australia). The emphasis is on Iraq – Iraq is forgrounded, Iraq is the country that is associated with the negative action, rather than the countries who are intending to take the action. There is no mention of who is to carry out the action of removing its weapons: Iraq has to have its weapons 'taken from it'. Iraq seems to be the actor in the phrase. Moreover, in order to leave responsibility only with Iraq in this sentence Howard has had to formulate an awkwardly expressed sentence: '*If Iraq does not have taken from it those chemical and biological weapons, other rogue states will think*

they can imitate Iraq and as more rogue states acquire chemical and biological weapons, so the danger of those weapons falling into the hands of terrorists will multiply'.

The following clauses also omit the agent of the action. In the first case possibly because it is convenient for Howard to camouflage the agents (the US, the UK, and the Australian troops) of the military action that eventually is to be carried out.

'The action that might be taken as a result off this decision'

In the second case because it is convenient to remain vague about who or where the legal advice is coming from.

'the legal advice that has been tendered to us'
'the legal advice that has been tendered to the United states government.'
'the legal advice that has been provided to the Australian government.'

For Fairclough (1989: 125): 'Agentless passives again leave causality and agency unclear.' Thus, there 'can be obfuscation of agency and causality.'

With regard to Mr. Howard's speech on the 'Tampa crisis' in text 10 (below) when the speaker wishes to praise Australia and the Australian people for their exemplary treatment of refugees, possibly for the sake of modesty, he leaves the actor of his statements vague: he chooses to omit the subjects in many of his statements. For example, *'But equally it has to be said that, in the last 20 years no country has been as generous to refugees as Australia.'* The passive form is used in a way that leaves the responsibility of who it is that is making the statement (*'it has to be said …'*) vague: it is a presupposition of a generally agreed opinion

(or 'common sense') that Australia has a reputation of being generous to refugees. The effect of the passive form in this sentence is to de–personalize the speaker, to concentrate on the nation Australia and not on the person making the statement. Thus, the result is that it is not simply the Prime Minister of Australia who believes this, but it is a kind of common is done only cautiously and indirectly with a careful use of verbs in the passive

3.2.4. *Generalization and discrimination*

What has become a well known issue in can be generalized, or levelled through language. Fowler (1991: 175) defines this as 'linguistic conceptual formula' (for example: 'the Y + X affair'). New instances of an issue can be generated using this kind of equation, thus causing 'different matters to be perceived as instances of the same thing'. This can apply to media discourse as well as to political discourse. For example, Fowler's formula may be used to illustrate the levelling of different issues into one general issue. According to John Howard, with regard to Iraq (text 6), the problem begins with the Iraq + weapons of mass destruction issue (X + Y Affair) and then a list of new instances is generated.

> The other rogue states + weapons of mass destruction issue
> The terrorism + weapons of mass destruction issue
> The terrorism + threat to the western world issue
> The terrorism + threat to Australia issue
> The terrorism + borderless world issue

In other words controversial issues are levelled according the same X + Y formula and new instances are created by filling in the slots (Fowler, 1991). Thus, with the rheto-

ric used in the Iraq and weapons of mass destruction issue different questions become part of the same problem. In this way new terminology can also be created: terminology such as, *'a borderless world'*, or *'rogue states'*.

3.2.5 'We': *Iraq*

The discourse above, in text 6, also uses the strategy of the inclusive *'we'* form:

'We have a very sound legal basis'
'We have never needed'
'we wanted the 18th resolution'
' we wanted it'
'our legal case'

The use of *'we'* not only gives support to Howard's decisions in that it is not just Howard who is taking the decisions. He is supported by another general category of people such as the nation (the Australian people), but also*'we'* the government and thus the support also of a powerful authority: *'we'* Australia is 'inclusive' of a powerful institution and an entire population, it thus carries a vast margin of consensus. *'Our'* is used in a similar way (e.g. *' our legal case'*).

'Inclusive uses of *'we'* are a common feature of political discourse. On the one hand they claim solidarity by placing everyone in the same boat, but on the other hand they claim authority in that the leader is claiming the right to speak for the people as a whole. Vagueness about who exactly we identifies and the constantly shifting reference of we are important resources in political discourse' (Fairclough, 1995: 181).

The inclusive *'we'* form is not restricted to spoken language, it is found also in written political discourse. Text

9 (below) represents the government's position with regard to Australia's participation in the war in Iraq: here is a wide use of the inclusive '*we*' pronoun. The text is a written response to a criticism to the government made by a citizen regarding the war in Iraq, and also regarding the Australian government's claim to be upholding commonly agreed social and national values. The government's reply (text 9) contains several presuppositions supported by the use of the '*we*' form. One Australian citizen questioned the government's claims to be acting in defence of Australian values: Australian values of '*openness, freedom and democracy*'. The citizen's letter queried not the government's right to defend the values of the nation, but, rather, the government's concept of '*openness, freedom, and democracy*': the letter maintained that the government, in reality, supported incorrect values of morality. A clear difference in views regarding 'common sense ' values of the society was expressed by the citizen. The following is the government department's reply.

Text 9

14 November 2003

Thank you for your letter to the Prime Minister dated 4 October 2003 regarding the war on terrorism. Your letter has been forwarded to the Minister for Foreign Affairs, and I have been asked to reply on Mr. Downer's behalf.
Australia is a terrorist target because of our values of openness, freedom, and democracy. These values are non–negotiable. Australia will not be blackmailed by terrorists or extremists, and we will continue to stand up for the things that we believe in. Our participation in the war on terrorism is not a war against Islam or any other religion and we will continue to work together with moderate Islamic countries, our friends and allies, in our common struggle to overcome terrorism, which has taken such a terrible toll in our region and else-

> where. There can be no possible justification for terrorist acts, regardless of who the perpetrators of these acts may be. Thank you for bringing your views to the attention of the Government.
>
> Australian Government Department of Foreign Affairs and trade

In the government's reply a sense of a 'common sense' group is created through use of the '*we*' form. The function of the 'we' pronoun in the text above has a similar function to its use in text 8. '*We*' includes the government and the Australian people as a commonly identified group. The statements represented in the letter represent the government and the people of Australia, and contributes to the construction of the common sense identity between government and people.

> *'our values of openness, freedom and democracy'*
> *'we will continue to stand up for the things that we believe in'*
> *'Our participation in the war against terrorism'*
> *'we will continue to work together with moderate Islamic countries'*
> *'our friends and allies'*
> *'in our common struggle to overcome terrorism*
> *'which has taken such a terrible toll in our region'*

The presupposition in text 9 is the statement that it is the values of '*openness, freedom and democracy*' that are under attack by terrorists, and that this is the reason for the war in Iraq. There is the presupposition that the whole nation agrees that the war in Iraq is connected to terrorism, that terrorism is an attack on the values of openness, freedom and democracy and that the whole population agrees on a definition of these values. The'*we*'

pronoun presumes that there is consensus amongst the whole population with regard to Australian values and that there is consensus among the population that these values are under attack. '*We*' creates a sense of a relationship between government and public.

3.2.5.1. 'We': The Tampa

In the following speech by Mr. Howard (text 10) the pronoun '*we*' is used inclusively. At the same time it refers to the Australian people and the government. The construction of the concept of 'we' as a nation can be consolidated by the power of authorities and their use of language of power. '*We*' referring to both government and people is a rhetorical device that can appeal to peoples' sense of common sense, or of 'ideology' (ideology perceived as in the aspects of society that are taken for granted, that connects it to 'common sense' [Fairclough, 1989]). Use of the inclusive '*we*' pronoun is common in political speeches. The following is a statement given by the Australian Prime Minister during the August 2001 'Tampa Crisis'. The inclusive '*we*' in the text below refers to the speaker (writer) and also the listener (reader).

Text 10

> Nobody pretends for a moment that the circumstances from which many people flee are not very distressing . But, equally it has to be said that, in the last 20 years no country has been more generous to refugees than Australia. After the Indo–Chinese events of the 1970s, this country took on a per capita basis, more Indo–Chinese refugees than any other country on earth. We have continued to be a warm, generous recipient of refugees, but we have become increasingly concerned about the increasing flow of people into this country. Every nation has the right to effectively control its borders and to

> decide who comes here and under what circumstances, and Australia has no intention of surrendering or compromising that right. We have taken this action in furtherance of that view. It remains our very strong determination not to allow this vessel or its occupants, save and excepting humanitarian circumstances clearly demonstrated, to land in Australia, and we will take whatever action is needed—within the law, of course—to prevent that occurring.
>
> (Ministerial Statement: Prime Minister of Australia, 29 August 2001)

The speech uses the rhetorical device of indirect reference to the nation (Australia): *'no country,' 'this country'* (2 mentions), *'any other country'*, *'Every nation'*, *'we'* (2 mentions), *'our'*. Through this kind of indirect reference the speaker is underlining the concept of nation and a common constructed identity. The lexical cohesion throughout the text links the speech to nation and nationality (*'we'*) through the constant repetition of these concepts through the same words or through words that are semantically related.

'We have continued to be a warm, generous recipient of refugee'
'we have become increasingly concerned'
'We have taken this action'
'we will take whatever action is needed—within the law'

The pronoun 'our' is used in a similar way.

'our very strong determination'

3.2.6. *Modality*

For Halliday (1994, 80) modality lies somewhere between 'yes' and 'no'. Modality implies polarity: polarity

between 'yes' and 'no'. In text 6 (above – Iraq) the speaker's use of *'will'* expresses the strong conviction of being right about his judgment of Iraq and the possibility of Iraq possessing chemical and biological weapons. In this case the polarity is strongly leaning in the 'yes' direction. An ideological stance is expressed. In text 6 the speaker speaks with the certainty of a Prime Minister towards a situation such as Iraq and chemical weapons. This kind of certainty can be expressed through the use of modal verbs. Also "adverbs such as 'probably', 'certainly', or constructions such as 'It is certain that …' "can express modality (Reah, 1998: 116).

The following clauses from text 6 are examples of modality with modal verbs.

> *'other rogue states will think they can imitate Iraq'*
> *'the danger of those weapons falling into the hands of terrorist will multiply.'*

The speaker, in the case above, has assumed a position of authority on the matter of chemical weapons, on the question of terrorism as well as on the right action to be taken.

Modal expressions signify judgments as to truth ('correct'), likelihood ('certainly', 'might'), desirability ('regrettable'); other modal usages stipulate obligations ('should', 'ought to') and grant permission ('may'). The significance of modality as far as the cueing of an oral model is concerned is that it suggests the presence of an individual subjectivity behind the printed text, who is qualified with the knowledge required to pass judgment, the status to grant leave or assign responsibility' (Fowler, 1991: 64).

The use of 'might' expresses likelihood rather than conviction: Howard's language in the following state-

ment is less polarized. He is more cautious with regard to the action that '*might*' be taken: *'The action that might be taken as a result of this decision has a sound legal basis in the resolutions of the security council that have already been passed.'* For Fowler (1991) with the use of this kind of modal expression (for example: *would, might, will*) the authority can include 'the claim to know inevitably what is going to happen' (ibid).

A large part of Howard's discourse in relation to the Tampa issue uses relational modality with both modal and non modal verbs. For example, in text 8 (above – The Tampa): *'The government has indicated to the ship's captain … that it does not have permission to land in Australia'*. Relational modality is expressed here through the non modal verb '*indicated*'. The government has the authority to 'indicate' rules to others. There is also relational modality in this clause in the non modal verb form '*does not have*'.

Modality is also expressed with the modal verb '*must*': '*… this matter is something that must be resolved between the Government of Indonesia and the Government of Norway'* : it expresses a judgment with regard to the duty of others. Mr. Howard speaks from a position of authority with regard to other countries' duties, a categorical position regarding the duties of others, or of other countries is expressed. For Fowler (1991,64), with modality suppositions can be made as to 'who is qualified with the knowledge required to pass judgment, the status to grant leave or assign responsibility'.

3.3. Conclusion

Language is not only a means of communicating meaning, but it is also a means of creating meaning. Lan-

guage can express both explicit and implicit meaning. Discourse can carry implied ideological positions. The implied ideological position can be expressed through language such as the way certain language features are used: for example, choice of grammatical forms, choice of lexis, the order of items or words in the discourse, juxtaposition choice, choices regarding what is included and what is not included in a piece of discourse.

Amongst the specific aspects of language the critical linguists use to analyse discourse are, for example, how the grammar is organized, (e.g. choice of passive or active forms, use of modality, use of negation, nominalization, use of questions instead of statements to create implicature). Lexical choices such as metaphor, antonyms, synonyms, or the group of three are also important.

Chapter IV

Media language as representation and interpretation of society: newspapers and radio talkback and interviews

4.1. Introduction

The extent to which the media influence society is a debate that has developed with increasing interest since the work of Marshall McLuhan in the 1960s (1962, 1964). In his work McLuhan described modern and ancient media as instruments that are, or were able to effect the culture of a given society. For example, for McLuhan (1962) the period of the Reformation and the spread of information that resulted from the development of the printing press was a revolutionary point in western European history. Today media analysis and language analysis are converging to analyse the ways in which language is used in the media to present events in society according to a particular stance, or from a specific 'common sense' point of view. A specific sense of 'common sense' in a community can be shaped directly through the government and its education system, and also, more indirectly, through the media. Both of these carry out their agenda through the language of the speech community.

'A speech community is… a community sharing knowledge of rules for the conduct and interpretation of speech. Such sharing comprises knowledge of at least

one form of speech, and knowledge also of its patterns of use, …' (Hymes, 1974: 51).

The idea of the existence of a phenomenon of social constructivism goes back to the philosophy of Nietzsche (1876) who maintained that human beings construct meaning through language, that this construction is subjective and that through language man has constructed meaning, categories and hierarchies out of chaos: these forms of order have been created through language. For Nietzsche it is, therefore, the more influential individuals or groups in the society who have the power to define the sense of common sense, or the idea of reality of a given society or of a given historical period. Foucault, developing the ideas of Nietzsche and social constructivism maintained that :

> Each society has its regime of truth, its 'general politics' of truth: that is, the types of discourse which it accepts and makes function as true; the mechanisms and instances which enable one to distinguish true and false statements, the means by which each is sanctioned; the techniques and procedures accorded value in the acquisition of truth; the status of those who are charged with what counts as true (Foucault, 1980: 131).

One way in which the various forms of media contribute to conditioning the society in which they operate is through creating an illusion of consensus. The media are able to construct and present the role models of our modern society, or to present political candidates whose use of 'spin' constructs their public image. The modern politician uses the 'spin doctor' to promote and present his/her image: he/she can create the illusion of consensus through spin, he/she is able to manage his/her visibility and create a concept of consensus through the media.

A Spin doctor is a public relations expert used by politicians to 'channel facts to the media, and to put the best

possible construction on events' (Beard, 2000: 29). 'Spin' in the mediatic sense regards the construction of image, or of events. In the media and in political communications, 'how the spin is placed on a story will depend upon a number of things. These include the overall effect that is desired, either celebrating success or ridiculing failure, the way the information is presented, and what metaphorical uses are brought in to influence the audience's view of events' (Beard, 2000, 29) .

For Fowler (1991) language can be used to mediate reality: 'consensus is posited about a set of *beliefs*, or *values* not *facts'* (1991:50). The media, or the individual (e.g. the Prime Minister refers to consensual, or 'common sense' values within the society to gain support: 'Consensus assumes that, for a given grouping of people, it is a matter of fact that the interests of the whole population are undivided, held in common, and that the whole population acknowledges this 'fact' by subscribing to a certain set of beliefs …' (Fowler, 1991: 49).

4.2. Media Communication: Radio

4.2.1. *The radio Interview, and talkback radio in Australia*

> … [A] party political broadcast may combine political oratory, interview and simulated fireside conversation (Fairclough, 1995: 66).

For Fairclough there is institutional and professional control over the media and in general, those individuals or institutions that hold economic and political power have greater access to the media (1995: 40). However, now there are moves ' … to mitigate the unequal distribution of access. These include extensive use of vox–pop, radio

phone—in programmes, in which members of the audience put questions to or even make comments on public figures, audience discussion programmes, and access programmes in which community groups or individuals are given space for their own material' (Fairclough, 1995: 40).

The medium of communication is also important. For example, for politicians today the use of talkback radio represents a form of unfiltered access to their electorates. For many politicians today the medium of talkback radio has become an important communication strategy used in preference to traditional media. One example of this media use is Tony Blair, recently, in particular, with regard to the Iraq war. Similarly his Australian counterpart, Prime Minister John Howard, has a preference for talkback radio. According to Ward (2002: 24,27):

> Howard distrusted the Canberra Press Gallery journalists, he regarded them as hostile to his liberal government. With talkback radio he was able to transmit a live unedited message preferring this to interviews with print journalists, where he was unable to condition or control what they would write in the final product. Talkback radio permits direct interaction with voters in ways not mediated or filtered by journalistic intervention. It is the electronic side step that politicians are able to use in order to evade informed, persistent questioning by gallery journalists — to avoid the adversial formats which are the foundation of traditional journalism. [….] Howard found talkback radio to be a potent vehicle for communicating with a rather more conservative and ideologically sympathetic audience than he could have reached via more traditional media such as the Australian Broadcasting Commission (ABC) or newspapers such as The Age or The Sydney Morning Herald

4.2.1.1. Presupposition

Presupposition is be created in language by including embedded assumption in the discourse. Assumptions can

be found in statements, or questions that are formulated as true statements whether the whole sentence is true or not (Jones et al, 2004). Statements that are not necessarily true may be implied to be truth. This kind of presupposition can be created in discourse through different language strategies. For Jones et al (Ibid), amongst these are:

— use of comparative adjectives, for example, with regard to refugee policies: '*At the same time the major European powers are proving more tight–fisted in providing funds for refugee camps'* (The Age, editorial, 31/8/2001). This could imply that the European powers are already starting off from a position of *'tight–fistedness';*
— use of possessives (for example, *'Howard's bizarre plan' 'Sending the boat people to Nauru is another wrong move in a crisis of the PM's own making.'* (The Age, editorial., 3/9/2001). This implies that Howard's plan to send the illegal refugees to Nauru is a very strange decision to make;
— subordinate clauses, for example, in reference to the war in Iraq: 'If Iraq does not have taken from it those chemical and biological weapons, other rogue states will think they can imitate Iraq *and as more rogue states acquire chemical and biological weapons, so the danger of those weapons falling into the hands of terrorists will multiply …'* (John Howard, Press Conference March 2003, interview 286. html). This presupposes the existence of *'rogue' states'*, that their aim is to acquire chemical and biological weapons, and that these states are connected with terrorism;
— questions in place of statements, for example, in reference to the war in Iraq: *'The united nations have come out of this badly, have they not? … Why should*

> *France, say, be on the Security Council in 2003 with a population of 60 million and not say Brazil with 176 million, or Japan with 127 million or even Indonesia with 230 million? Do you need reform of the United nations in the light of what happened prior to the Iraq issue*?' The question implies a clear criticism of the United nations and a need for its reform.

Fairclough (1995), in reference to media discourse today, states:

> Where the relationship between interviewer and interviewee once faithfully reflected status–based authority differences, it is now much more open and negotiable, with politician and presenter often talking as equals. … [P]resenters often project themselves as inhabiting, the same common–sense world as their audiences, using a communicative style partly based upon properties of conversation. In accordance with these changes, the discourse of political interviews has changed substantially (Fairclough, 1995: 51).

From the point of view of critical linguistics Prime Minister Howard, in radio interviews and talkback programmes, gave himself the possibility of speaking to 'ideal listeners' who share a similar ideological stance with him. He was able to communicate with 'an older, more conservative listening audience with whom he felt instinctively comfortable' (Ward, 2002: 27). Presupposition occurs frequently in his talkback programmes and interviews, as, for example, in the following interview on the Ray Martin Programme.

Text 1

Martin :
But why are we and the Americans and the Brits preparing to invade Iraq when 170, 180, 190, other United Nations countries disagree? What do we know that they don't know?

Howard:
Well we certainly, we all know that Iraq and chemical and biological weapons, we all know that if Iraq is allowed to keep them other countries will do likewise'
Martin:
But they are not ….
Howard:
Well can I, … but you are asking me why we're doing it, let me speak for Australia, let me explain why I believe we should be doing it. Iraq has these weapons, if Iraq is allowed to keep them other countries think they can do the same, the more countries that have them the more likely it is that they'll get into the hands of terrorists and if that happens that is a threat to every western country, including Australia. Now that is why I feel strongly about this. Most, … there are many countries that support the American position…'

(Transcript of The Prime Minister The Hon John Howard M P, – Interview with Ray Martin 'a Current affair', Channel 9: http://www.pm.gov.au/news/ interviews/2003/ Interview 285. html)

The above reply to the journalist implies several presuppositions. The first presupposition is expressed with the demonstrative pronoun 'these'. Howard implies that it is a given, well known fact that Iraq has chemical weapons: 'Iraq has these weapons'. The use of the demonstrative pronoun '*these*' implies that the weapons are familiar to all of us. It is a given, presupposition and we all know about '*these*' weapons: weapons that we are all familiar with. It is part of our 'common sense' knowledge of the world.

4.2.1.2. Presupposition and modality

The second presupposition in text 1 (above) uses modality to state the certainty that other countries will follow suit: '*other countries think they can do the same*'. Modality can also be created in discourse through use of

non modal verbs. The modality in this clause, with a non modal verb, creates what Fairclough (1989) calls expressive modality. The person in the position of authority (The PM) is able to imply a categorical truth using the simple present tense. The Prime Minister is in a position of authority and can therefore make pronouncements, or presuppositions with respect to what can be considered to be truth. For Fairclough (1989),

> Modality is to do with speaker or writer authority, and there are two dimensions to modality, depending on what direction authority is oriented in. Firstly, if it is a matter of the authority of one participant in relation to others, we have relational modality. Secondly, if it is a matter of the speaker or writer's authority with respect to the truth or probability of a representation of reality, we have expressive modality, i.e. the modality of the speaker/writer's evaluation of truth' (Fairclough, 1989: 126).

The third presupposition in text 1 (*'they'll get into the hands of terrorists'*) also uses expressive modality and is formed using the modal auxiliary verb *'will'*. The speaker uses the modal verb to express his evaluation of the certainty of the situation.The speaker is speaking from the authoritative position of Prime Minister and is making a categorical statement regarding truth.

In the fourth presupposition in text 1 (*'if that happens that is a threat to every western country, including Australia'*), on the other hand,' expressive modality is created with the present simple form of the verb *'to be'*. The presupposition here is that because of Iraq it follows logically that the western countries will be threatened. What is omitted may also be significant in terms of presupposition. What is implied in the discourse is not simply that western countries will be threatened as a logical consequence of Iraq's behaviour but, also, that only western countries will be threatened

(or that non western countries don't count). Non western countries are not mentioned and thus it is implied that either they will not be threatened or that it doesn't interest us if they are. Howard is speaking to the 'ideal listener'. The presupposition is that these facts are known to us all, that one consequence follows logically after the other, that the 'ideal listener' knows that it is true. The statement is presented as fact using modal forms stating the speakers' position in relation to what he sees as a truth.

Modality can express truth, likelihood and certainty, not only with modal verbs, but also through use of other verb types verbs. In text 1 the speaker is stating his position in relation to what he feels are truths through non modal verbs ('think', 'likely'), auxiliary verbs ('is', 'are') and also through modal verbs such as 'will' and 'should':

'why I believe we should be doing it'
'other countries think they can do the same'
'the more likely it is they'll get into the hands of terrorists'
'there are many countries that support the American position.'

4.2.1.3. The Prime Minister and the Australian Language

With discourse analysis it is important to be aware of the genre that is used, and also what register is used. For Fairclough (1995), the register of language used can identify specific levels of common sense in discourse. For example, 'The personalities of presenters are in many cases fashioned from private life — [...], presenters often project themselves as inhabiting the same common–sense world as their audiences, using a communicative style partly based upon properties of conversation. In accordance with these changes, the discourse of political interviews has changed substantially.' (Faiclough,1995: 51).

During the 'Tampa crisis' John Howard made extensive use of media coverage on radio interview programs to present his position on the question of illegal immigration. The following transcript (text 2) taken from a radio interview given by Howard to the journalist/radio interviewer Alan Jones is characteristic of the way in which the discourse of radio interviews can be substantially different, for example, than the door stop interview, or the more formal parliamentary press conference. Both the interviewer and the Prime Minister use less formal, more colloquial, every day language which seems aimed towards a particular 'ideal audience'.

Typical of the discourse in the interview are colloquial expressions such as, *'stick to your guns'*; *'can I ask you a dumb question'*; *'queue jumping'*, or, of Australian expressions such as 'fair dinkum'. The use of colloquial language helps to construct the identity of the 'ideal listener'. Using these kinds of colloquial expressions and typical Australianisms creates a closer link between the listeners and the interviewer (who is representing his listeners/audience) and also between the interviewer and the Prime Minister, who also uses at times a very colloquial, non formal language, for example: *'soft touch'*; *'done over'*. The style of discourse is closely related to the question of cultural identity and cultural values. This use of colloquial language can be seen also in the previous interview (Howard/ Martin – text 1) in the typical Australianism referring to the British as 'the Brits'. This kind of shortening of words is characteristic of Australian colloquial language.

Text 2

The Tampa

Jones:
Prime Minister John Howard, good morning

Prime Minister:
Good morning Alan
Jones:
Well, what are you going to do? Stick to your guns?
(…)
Jones:
Can I ask a dumb question?
(…)
Jones:
A dumb question that most of your listeners are asking you. How could allegedly Muslim refugees or people fleeing Muslim regimes be at any kind of risk in Muslim Indonesia?

Embedded in this so called 'dumb question' is the common sense assumption that it is commonly believed that there is risk, that it would be cruel to send the people back to Indonesia. This is also referring back to a previous text that the ideal readers/listeners of this discourse have in common. In the question there is the presupposition by the journalist that the listeners know which text or conversation he is referring to.

Within the common identity of this group there is the implicit common sense belief that even other Muslims are at risk in Indonesia. There is presupposition in the words '*at risk in Muslim Indonesia*': the implication is that there is risk. There is also implicit ideology in the words 'Muslim regimes'. The journalist does not say simply 'Muslim countries', but he chooses the term 'Muslim regime'. It is clear in the Prime Minister's answer that this is presupposition in the question: the Prime Minister does not take up on it, he does not take the question of risk in Indonesia as a given.

Text 2 (continued)

Howard:
Well they wouldn't be. I wouldn't imagine so.

Jones:
So then why is it heartless and callous and inhumane to be asking Indonesia to take these people back?
Howard:
Well I don't think it is. I mean.
Jones:
Isn't that central to this issue?
Howard:
Of course it's central to this issue. I think it is monstrously unfair to describe Australia as heartless and inhumane. I mean we have the second best refugee record in the world. We take more refugees per capita than any country except Canada. Let me say that again, any country except Canada on a per capita basis . We took more Indo–Chinese refugees on a per capita basis than any country in the world including the United States. This country has had a magnificent refugee record and what we are arguing for in this case is the right to decide in an orderly fair way who will be accepted as a refugee into this country. We are not closing our doors to genuine refugees but we are saying we are unwilling to take people who are queue jumping. We are unwilling to have the integrity of our borders controls compromised. That's what we're arguing for. We're arguing for the right that any country has to decide who comes here and the circumstances in which they will come. But that approach will always include a willingness to take refugees.
Jones:[…]
Prime Minister what many people are asking is, I know you've said I don't want to hypothesize, but what they are asking in the most fair dinkum way is, will you solve this next week? You've already said there's a prospect of 900 or 1000 I think you made the observation in the parliament. There could be another 900 on their way. Will your attitude towards them be the same as your attitude towards these people?
Howard:
This is an awful problem for Australia. On the one hand we want to defend our borders. Rightly so, on the other hand, we are decent people, we don't behave in a way that causes people to drown and to die, we don't shoot people, we don't carry on in that fashion and it's probably because of that that we are seen by many around the world as a soft touch.

Jones:
To that end, you introduced a Border Protection Bill last night and you've been done over.
Howard:
We've been done over by the labour party and the democrats. They blocked it in the senate. […].
Jones:
Yeah, Mr Beazley says what you're doing is seeking power so that any Australian official can take a boat, which is sinking, in which there are life threatening situations involving human beings.

[Transcript of the Prime Minister John Howard MP interview with Alan Jones, Radio 2UE (30 august 2001)]

For Fairclough (1995), three important aspects of sociocultural practice are significant in critical discourse analysis: '… economic, political (concerned with issues of power and ideology), and cultural (concerned with questions of value and identity)' (Fairclough, 1995: 62). The presupposed common identity between the interviewer, the Prime Minister and the listeners in the interview is commonly constructed through the use of popular colloquial language that Australians have in common. This type of language is first introduced by the interviewer and then it is later taken up by the Prime Minister.

4.2.1.4. 'I', and 'We'

Throughout text 2 there is also the use of the personal pronouns '*I*' and '*we*' which establishes a more personal connection between speaker and audience. The Prime Minister is addressing the people personally and he is speaking for the nation as a whole. For example, with regard to the illegal immigrant crisis Howard makes statements such as,

'We want to defend our borders'
'We are decent people'
'we don't behave in a way that causes people to drown and die'
'we don't carry on in that fashion and it's probably because of that'
'we are seen by many around the world as a soft touch'

Howard makes an implicit appeal to Australians' constructed identity. This common identity is built up in the discourse also through the use of the inclusive pronoun '*we*'. The constant use of the pronoun 'we' throughout the dialogue connects the Prime Minister with the people, with a community of people who have the same values. 'We' in this interview refers principally to 'we' the Australian nation (including John Howard [the man] and John Howard [the Prime Minister], 'we' the Australians as a cultural identity.

'We have the second best'
'We take more refugees'
'We took more Indo–Chinese refugees'
'what we are arguing for' (the government)
'We are not closing our doors' (the government and the people)
'We are saying' (government and people)
'we are unwilling to take people who are queue jumping' (government and people)
'*We're arguing for the right that any country has to decide*' (government and people)

The implied meaning here is: we the Australian people and government are a nation and a people who disapprove of cheating, or lack of fair play: this is our common cultural identity. The colloquial, everyday

language identifies with the people: *'closing our doors'*, *'queue jumping'*.

Howard through his radio interviews is able to elaborate a process of what Fairclough (1995: 179) calls a 'construction and reconstruction' of identity of the Australian listener. Through use of the media of radio and with his use of popular, colloquial language and repetition of the pronoun *'we'* intended to include the audience, the government and the authorities the discourse used by the Prime Minister contributes to constructing the common sense of identity between himself and the listeners.

For Fairclough the 'inclusive' use of *'we'* is often used in political discourse. In text 2 the speaker implies that what he is saying represents the view of the Australian people and his perception of their identity. 'Vagueness about who exactly *'we'* identifies, and the constantly shifting reference of we, are important resources in political discourse' (Fairclough, 1995:181).

The use of *'we'*, or of expressions like *'This country'* can reinforce the sense of common sense, the validity of the status quo. It assumes that there exists a kind of consensus amongst the people: '… it is a matter of fact that the interests of the whole population are undivided, held in common and that the whole population acknowledges this fact by subscribing to a certain set of beliefs' (Fowler, 1991: 49). The Australian Prime Minister, for example, is speaking for the Australians when he says *'This country'*, or *'no other country'*. The pronouns *'we'* and *'our'* in the Australian media can refer to consensus amongst the Australian population.

According to Fowler (1991, 50) news values can be homocentric: 'consensus is posited about a set of beliefs, or values not facts'. The language use may, thus, imply a reality that may or may not be factual. For example, the use of expressions such as *'we'*, *'this country'*, *'Australians*

have looked into their hearts' seen in writing in a newspaper can have the effect of creating and implied common sense with regard to the Australian identity. The following text (3) is an example of this.

> Text 3
>
> The Tampa
>
> Australians have looked into their hearts far more genuinely than many other countries … we do have to take a position in relation to these people that says we're just not going to go on accepting a situation where for practical purposes Australia is seen as a country of easy destination even if you do not have a genuine refugee claim.
>
> [Transcript of the Prime Minister John Howard MP interview with Alan Jones, Radio 2UE (30 august 2001)]

Howard constructs his political discourse by combining elements of conservative, liberal and populist discourses. This contributes to the 'construction of an identity' that connects the Prime Minister and the people: it creates a sense of 'a relationship between leader and public' (Fairclough, 1995, 179).

4.3. Media communication: Newspaper discourse

4.3.1. *Socio–historical context*

According to Fairclough (1995, 54) Language is a social practice and it follows that, 'language is a socially and historically situated mode of action, in a dialectic relationship with other facets of the social.' For example the title of the article '*Howard's bizarre plan*' (text 4, below) and the article itself may be better understood when

considering its social context. The discourse is directed to the ideal Australian reader, the reader who can identify with the socio– historical references made within the text. These are, for example, the references made to Australia's history and to its close neighbours (*'Australia's former tiny colony, Nauru'; 'New Zealand, good neighbour that it is'*). Reference is made to Australia's historical and geographical isolation from its people's original European roots. Its political isolation within a predominantly Asian part of the globe (*'It has also emphasized how lonely we are with only Nauru, New Zealand and East Timor being prepared to offer any support.'*)

In discourse analysis, the social and cultural context of the text is also a significant part of the linguistic analysis. For example knowledge of the Australian social, political and geographical context is useful to an analysis of the text and its references to the island of Nauru (*'to buy the cooperation of Australia's former colony Nauru — at what cost it has declined to say'*). It is useful to have exogenous information to understand the implications of this statement (the financial contributions made by Australia to Nauru).

Text 4

The Tampa

Howard's bizarre plan
Sending the boat people to Nauru is another wrong move in a crisis of the PM's own making. The federal government has been able to buy the cooperation of Australia's former colony, Nauru — at what cost it has declined to say — to have the claims of the asylum seekers still languishing on a Norwegian freighter in Australian territorial waters processed anywhere but in Australia. New Zealand, good neighbour that it is, has agreed to process about 150 others. How this will be seen internationally does not need to be imagined, for it is already clear that this saga has done grave damage to our internation-

al standing . It has also emphasised how lonely we are in the region, with only Nauru, new Zealand and East Timor being prepared to offer any support. Far more important, however, than what the rest of the world thinks of us is what we think of ourselves and this crisis has done more to cause dismay and division in the Australian community than any issue in recent memory. For what? So that the Prime Minister John Howard can prove how resolute he is in not allowing any of the asylum seekers to set foot on Australian soil.

The agreement Mr. Howard has been able to broker with Nauru and New Zealand may save face and win him support at the next election, but it is neither an honorable nor a long term solution to the problem Australia along with the rest of the world, has with uninvited asylum seekers. As The Age had argued before, Australia has a perfect right to ensure that its immigration and refugee programs remain orderly. Two things remain clear however: the problem we have with unwanted arrivals is slight compared with that faced by most of the countries we like to compare ourselves with; and the human cargo of the Tampa has been Australia's moral responsibility from the time Australian authorities sent out an alert that a boat bound for Australia was in trouble.

The asylum seekers are still in Australian waters, kept there by a federal Court injunction. United Nations Secretary–general Kofi Annan, to whom Mr. Howard turned for help, has asked for the asylum seekers to be taken ashore and their claims assessed on Christmas Island. This is still the most humane, most practical and least costly course of action. What deterrence will the exercise of sending them to Nauru achieve, when at least some of the refugees will have to be accepted by Australia after their claims have been assessed? Does this mean that in future any boat found trying to enter Australian waters will be turned back? The most effective deterrent to illegal immigration is to assess the claims of asylum seekers quickly and where they are not valid, send them back. Where they are found to be valid, Australia is bound by the international conventions it has signed to take them in. No degree of stubbornness on the part of the Prime Minister can change that.

(The Age (editorial), September 3, 2001)

4.3.2. *The discourse of the newspaper editorial: The Tampa*

> How to make your country a small target
> If New Zealand and Nauru take the asylum–seekers on the Tampa perceptions will change. When people look at the map of the Antipodes, they will seem big and Australia will look small.
>
> (Colin Smith: The Age September 3 2001)

The quotation is a letter to the editor printed in the column adjacent to the editorial entitled 'Howard's bizarre plan' (Text 4, above). It reflects, in synthesis, the main ideas in the editorial. That is, the preoccupation with the way that Australia appears in the eyes of the world, the preoccupation that Australia will no longer be seen as the country that believes, traditionally, in egalitarianism. This is the ideal reader identity that the editorial picks up on, and the decision to include this reader comment makes up part of the choice on the part of the newspaper regarding what it chooses to include in its pages, and what it chooses not to include.

The aim of the editorial is principally to comment on and present the newspaper's stance on an important current issue. The newspaper has the opportunity to address directly its implied ideal reader. The ideal reader can be identified with through various uses of language. For example through the use of modality the editorial (text 4) is able to make judgments and pronouncements regarding the actions of the Prime Minister. The implied ideal reader in many of the editorials regarding the Tampa is the reader who is conscious of the Australian international image as conceived in the lonely isolation of the extremes of the southern hemisphere, far from its European roots. It is the Australian who cares about her/his world image (*'this saga has done grave damage to our international standing'*). It is the

ideal reader who is an '*honourable*' person, a highly moral person, ('*the human cargo of the Tampa has been Australia's moral responsibility from the time Australian authorities sent out an alert.*'). The ideal Australian reader identity is that of a '*humane*' person. With the creation of this kind of 'ideal Australian reader' it is implied that there is a common sense opinion: the Australian identity constructed in this newspaper consists of predominantly positive qualities. The constructed ideal reader can identify with these positive qualities.

4.3.2.1. Editorial authority and modality

For Kress, 'linguistic and social processes are totally connected' (1985: 4) and social meaning is expressed through the linguistic expression of discourse, genre and text: 'A discourse organizes and gives structure to the manner in which a topic, object or process is to be talked about' (Ibid: 7). One example of this is the discourse of the newspaper editorial which can condition the way in which a particular issue will be treated in a given newspaper.

One characteristic of the newspaper editorial is the use of modality in its various forms: expressive modality, relational modality and with the modal verbs ('*will*', '*must*', '*need to*', '*have to*', '*may*'). For example in the newspaper editorial below (text 12), '*Howard's Bizarre plan*' several modal expressions are used:

> *'How this will be seen internationally does not need to be imagined'*
> *'The agreement Mr. Howard has been able to broker with Nauru and New Zealand may save face and win him support at the next election.'*
> *'at least some of the refugees will have to be accepted by Australia.'*

Expressive modality has been defined by Fairclough as the expression of authority and evaluation of truth. For Fairclough (1989) there can be ideological implications in expressive modality in the form of expression of knowledge.

Expressive modality is often used in newspaper editorials as well as in newspaper reports. For example, the use of the present tense verb 'to be' in the following claims to truth are forms of expressive modality, with non modal verbs:

'Sending the boat people to Nauru is another wrong move …'
'The most s effective deterrent to illegal immigration is to assess the claims of asylum seekers quickly and where they are not valid send them back …'
'This is still the most humane, most practical and least costly course of action'

Also the use of the present perfect verb in the following statement expresses an implied truth and is a form of expressive modality.

'the human cargo of the Tampa has been Australia's moral responsibility from the time Australian authorities sent out an alert that a boat bound for Australia was in trouble'

The prevalence of categorical modalities supports a view of the world as transparent — as if it signalled its own meaning to any observer, without the need for interpretation or representation (Fairclough, 1989:129).

4.3.2.2. The editorial and ' we'

For Fairclough (1989), pronouns in English have relational value that is relevant to the concept of 'common

sense. The 'inclusive we', for example, is frequently used in editorials so that the reader as well as the writer are included in the identity of a 'common sense' group. In this way the newspaper claims to represent both itself and its readers (in this case, the Australia people). For example, in the newspaper editorial *'Howard's Bizarre plan'* the newspaper is speaking for itself and the readers (the nation), thus implying that it has the right to speak for others (the Australians).

This use of the 'inclusive we' (including '*our*', '*us*', '*ourselves*') is seen in the following extracts.

> *'this saga has done grave damage to our international standing. '*
> *'It has also emphasised how lonely we are in the region'*
> *'Far more important, however, than what the rest of the world thinks of us is what we think of ourselves.'*
> *'the problem we have with unwanted arrivals is slight compared with that faced by most of the countries we like to compare ourselves with.'*

4.3.2.3. The newspapers and the Australian language. Metaphor and everyday language

At the time of the 'Tampa Crisis' citizens wrote in to the newspapers with their opinions. Many of these criticized the government's decision not to permit the Tampa to enter Australian waters, or to land at an Australian port. Several of these comments emphasised the feeling of isolation of Australians in the South West pacific geographical area. The writer of the following letter has symbolised the isolationist policy of Australia through a story in which he uses the analogy of the Nazi occupation of Holland to explain his sense of isolation in this situation: the same sense of isolation that is expressed

in the editorial of the same newspaper (The Age) of the same day (text 4, above).

In newspaper discourse the issue of illegal immigration is often described in terms of war using analogies and metaphors that regard war. Fighting off illegal immigrants is likened to fighting a battle in war and the arrival of asylum seekers is seen as an invasion. In the letter to the editor (text 5) the writer in his discourse relies on the ironic use of analogy and metaphor to express his feeling of the isolation of Australia, and of his embarrassment resulting from the government's actions in treating the asylum seekers on the Tampa as invaders and sending out military forces to prevent the ship from entering Australian waters. He creates ironic analogies regarding World War II and the Nazi invasion of Holland. The analogies are between Nazi invaders (*'surrender of our invaders'*) and the refugees (*'beaten off an invasion'*). Expressions such as *'threat'* and *'face the world'* are also used as metaphors.

Text 5

The Tampa: A reader's comment (letter to the editor).

Lonely celebration of triumph

As an 11 year old in Nazi Holland, I heard the news of the surrender of our invaders, and immediately rushed out into street with the entire Dutch population to celebrate and dance

Now Australia, my adopted country for the past 47 years has beaten off an invasion by 460 desperate refugees through diverting them in the nick of time to Nauru and New Zealand — both, of course so much bigger in all resects to cope with such a threat .

Hearing the news I immediately rushed out into the street just like all those years ago, yelling and dancing with joy, to my surprise, I found myself totally alone. Now I feel so

> enormously and sickeningly embarrassed. How can I ever face the world again?
>
> (The Age September 3, 2001 [Cornelias van Eyk])

In its two hundred years of history Australian English has developed its own traditional expressions, its own idioms and colloquialisms, its own use of metaphor. Traditional Australian expressions are widely used by the media in Australia. An example of this is in the Sydney Morning Herald news comment/editorial '*Howard hit by ship's Wash'*. Many Australian metaphors (as with other Englishes) come from sport, for example, *'a key player'*, others come form war and battle, for example '*Howard marched into this crisis'; 'Australia's clout'*.

The article (text 6) begins with the analogy of the ship, the Tampa, adrift at sea and portrays the Australian Prime Minister as also metaphorically stranded in deep water (or, in serious political difficulty): '*The position of Captain Arne Rinnan and the Tampa is a metaphor for that of John Howard and Australia in the crisis surrounding the ship and its asylum–seeking cargo*'. The article makes use of what is a mixture of official and colloquial discourse. The use of colloquial and metaphorical vocabulary mixed with official vocabulary work as a kind of translation from official government language to the everyday language of the people (Fairclough, 1995). The newspaper is creating an identity with its readers. It is using its readers' language For example the official statement made by John Howard when he was unable to make contact with the President of Indonesia: '*she's not yet been available to speak to me'*, is reported by the journalist in colloquial language as: *'Howard has been embarrassingly stood up by President Megawatti'*. The journalist also reports this as simply: '*The President* (Megawatti) *didn't call'*.

According to Fairclough, (1995: 71) newspaper reporting using this kind of mixed language can claim 'co–membership, with the audience, of the world of ordinary life and experience from which it is drawn, and a relationship of solidarity between newspaper and audience'. This language strategy can also be used by those in power. Based on the philosophy of Gramsci (1971), for example, for Lombardo, 'people in power in a given culture can impose their metaphors and the way of thinking and acting that goes with them, making them appear to be 'common sense' (1999: 124). For example PM Howard uses metaphor in his method of argument (text 2): Australia does not '*close its doors'* on refugees; or, for example, illegal immigrants are accused of '*queue jumping'*.

Text 6

Howard hit by ship's wash

The position of captain Arne Rinnan and the Tampa is a metaphor for that of John Howard and Australia in the crisis surrounding the ship and its asylum–seeking cargo. The Tampa found itself a pariah. Australia would not accept it and its 460 boat people. Neither would Indonesia. it was in no man's–sea, desperately seeking a haven where it could land. Similarly Australia has been adrift, forced to search for a diplomatic port.
Howard marched into this crisis presumably assuming Australia had the capacity to impose its will. He overestimated Australia's clout. The PM confused what can be done legally and militarily with the ability to achieve a desired outcome. The result has been to put severe strain on Australia's relations with Indonesia, and bring a storm of international criticism that intensifies by the day.
Howard has been embarrassingly stood up by President Megawatti . For the Tampa affair to have been settled quickly she needed to be a key player. Instead, she kept her distance. The PM said on Thursday night he had indicated to Megawatti's office that 'I wish to speak to her today . She's

been tied up in a cabinet meeting. I guess she'll ring me later tonight''. The president didn't call.

By yesterday morning she still hadn't picked up the phone. Asked yesterday on radio , 'Is she avoiding you?'. Howard said: 'Well I'm not saying she is , but she's not yet been able to speak to me. Whether the President chooses to speak to me is a matter for her. It doesn't completely surprise me and I'm not gong to overreact to it.

Suddenly that relationship of 'positive realism' Howard thought he had forged with Megawatti had taken on a whole new meaning. Howard made another revealing admission, which raises a big question.

I felt from the very beginning this is based on knowledge of Indonesia's attitude — that it was going to take a great deal of persuasion to get them to take these boat people back. Plainly they're not inclined to take this boat. I've suspected this from the very beginning.'

If Howard believed on Monday that Indonesia would not accept the asylum seekers why did he embark on a course posited on being able to get them into Indonesia? Where and how did the week go so wrong ? on Monday when Howard announced the Tampa was being denied access to Australian waters, the PM was blunt.

As a matter of International law this matter is something that must be resolved between the government of Indonesia and the government of Norway. We have already communicated to the Norwegian and Indonesian authorities the decision we've taken.' Howard said that after the captain picked up the boat people the expectation had been that they would be taken to Indonesia, and that's where they should go.

Before the captain diverted towards Christmas Island — apparently under threat from people saying they would jump overboard — 'arrangements had already been tentatively put in place by the Indonesians to receive these people.' Howard said. He was asked 'What's been the response of the Indonesian government?' He replied, 'We have not had a response as yet — we have only just communicated'.

Here was the loose thread that unravelled the only logical Australian strategy, Australia could legally deny the ship entry, it could assert, under international law, that since the

people were picked up in the Indonesian search and rescue zone, they should be dropped off in Indonesia. It could claim it has the power legally (although it unsuccessfully tried to get special legislation to reinforce this) to remove the Tampa from Australian waters.

Militarily it obviously can force the ship out (although unless the ship's owners consent to their presence, the defense forces would have to be off the ship as soon as it crossed international waters or Australia could be committing piracy). What Australia could not do was force any other country to take the boat people on the Tampa. Howard ran up against this very obvious limit to Australia's power.

Once Indonesia put its foot down, Australia was forced to scramble and grovel to try to get a way out by finding some other country or countries to process the boat people. It's not surprising that volunteers were hard to find. The failure to understand that Indonesia could not be cajoled or paid off to accept the boat people has been a major miscalculation by Australia.

While Howard now maintains he thought it would be a hard task all along, it beggars belief that on Monday he thought it would be an impossible task. Howard can't have it both ways. Either he judged Jakarta wouldn't come round, in which case he generated a mega crisis without having a clue about how it could be resolved. Or he failed to judge Indonesia's resistance was impregnable, which means he did not understand one of the key players.

It was always going to be extraordinarily difficult to prevail on the Indonesians. As one observer puts it, 'Howard doesn't have enough capital in Jakarta to make a withdrawal of this scale. He only put $5 in [with his visit]'. This points to a big weakness in Howard's grasp of foreign policy. He had too much of an eye to the domestic politics and not enough grasp on the international end.

He should have had an effective fallback strategy if Indonesia would not come to the party. That was all the more necessary if he thought from the start the chances of doing so were low. The desperation of the government was clear yesterday when it was exploring the possibility of boat people being processed by the UN in East Timor. By yesterday this option had disappeared.

> The UN was increasing the pressure on Australia to break the crisis by landing the people, proposing a comprehensive plan for doing so. The message yesterday from the UN High commissioner for refugees, Mary Robinson, was embarrassingly clear.
> 'They should be brought to land and the most appropriate place is Australia. Australia has the primary responsibility. It is pointing too Indonesia — its even pointing to east Timor — but I think its very clear where the responsibility is. I make an appeal to the Australian people — to look into their hearts and to have a humanitarian and human rights approach to this — and to make that known to the politicians'
> To which Howard replied: 'Australians have looked into their hearts far more genuinely than many other countries, … We do have to take a position in relation to these people that says we're just not going to go on accepting a situation where for practical purposes Australia is seen as a country of easy destination even if you do not have a general refugee claim.'
> Last night Australian officials were signaling they believed a solution was in sight, with the asylum seekers being processed in other countries and then distributed among various nations including Australia.
> Given the strength of popular feeling against asylum seekers in general and these ones particularly, it is easy to assert that Howard has been 'poll driven' in what he's done. Yes and no. Howard's instincts coincide with popular opinion. But international politics is more complex than knee–jerk local politics. Howard now has to get his fix in quickly. […].
>
> (Sydney Morning Herald: September 1–2 2001).

According to Fairclough, 'A complex dialectic seems to exist between the media and the conversational discourse of everyday life' (1995, 64). A large part of this everyday conversational discourse in the media consists of metaphorical expressions. Through metaphor,for example, official language can be translated into a language the reader may understand more or identify with more.

Thus, if the newspaper is in more every day colloquial language it may be more likely to be read by those who identify with the issue being discussed. Rhetorical language that uses metaphors such as, *'Howard hit by ship's wash'*; *'Australia has been adrift'*; *'Indonesia put its foot down'*,; *'the loose thread'* can have a stronger emotional effect and can relate more easily to the common sense identity of the reader.

Metaphor can have the function of translating concepts into language that is more easily understood, language that is more easily identified with. For Ortony (1993) metaphors are necessary for transferring abstract concepts into similes that can be understood. The metaphor, in other words, can help understand more literal expression. The Australian ideal reader may identify more with Australian colloquial style in the news paper article. For example, colloquial expressions such as, *'He overestimated Australia's clout'*; *'Howard ran up against this very obvious limit to Australia's power'*; *'Australia was forced to scramble and grovel'* may help the writer to evoke stronger feelings in the Australian reader.

Where the Prime Minister uses more official or formal forms of language to describe a situation that has become difficult for him, the newspaper translates this into more everyday language. In doing this the newspaper is also interpreting the situation according to its own stance. Often, where the speaker explains what is happening in formal, or more neutral language the newspaper tends, in its translation from formal language to more colloquial language, and tends to use metaphors and phrasal verbs that carry negative connotations. For example, during the crisis John Howard was having difficulty contacting the Indonesian Prime Minister his statements to the newspaper were reported in language that could be interpreted as negative.

Mr. Howard	Newspaper
'she's not yet been able to speak to me '	*'She didn't call.'* *'Howard has been embarras singly stood up by President Megawatti'* *'she kept her distance'* *'she still hadn't picked up the phone'*

The newspaper also uses various negative metaphors to describe Indonesia's resistance to helping Australia resolve the problem.

Formal	Colloquial (metaphor)
'Indonesia's resistance' *'Indonesia would not accept the* asylum seekers'	*'Indonesia put its foot down'* *'Indonesia would not come to the party'* *'Jakarta would (not) come round'* *'Indonesia could not be cajo led or paid off'*

Contrasting formal and colloquial forms used in the text are also seen in the different ways of referring to:

— the asylum seekers;

Formal	Colloquial
Tampa asylum seekers	*pariah boat people*

— the level of John Howard's influence on the Indonesian government;

Formal	Colloquial
'Australia had the capacity to impose its will'	*'Australia's clout'* *'Howard doesn't have enough*

'limit to Australia's power'	*capital in Jakarta'* *'grovel'* *'scramble'*

— the level of John Howard's understanding of Australia's relationship with Indonesia.

Formal	Colloquial
positive realism *understand*	*'he did not understand one of the key players'* *'weakness in Howard's grasp of foreign policy'* *'not enough grasp on the inter national end'*

4.4. Stance, Sequence and Juxtaposition

Sequencing in discourse can be an important element in expressing the stance of the writer, or the newspaper. The way the newspaper text focuses on the information is significant in terms of discourse analysis: not only what is said is important but also what is not said can also be significant. According to Fairclough (1995, 104) 'what choices are made — what is included and what is excluded, what is made explicit or left implicit, what is foregrounded and what is backgrounded, what is thematized and what is unthematized,' are significant in terms of representation of ideology and social motivations.

Not only what is included or excluded in the text, but also decisions regarding the sequencing of information or comments can have ideological importance. The importance of sequencing and juxtaposition can include both what is within the text and what is outside the text and it can also include reference to what is included in other texts supposed to have been read previously by the ideal

reader (Fairclough, 1995). The concept of juxtaposition of texts can also be significant from the point of view of ideology. In other words the editorial decision to set out one particular text in juxtaposition to another can represent a decision regarding the stance of the newspaper.

4.4.1. *Clause sequence*

4.4.1.1. Positive juxtaposition

Analysis of the combination and sequencing of clauses in discourse is important in understanding the significance of the way a text has been constructed. For Fairclough (1995:119) this part of the 'global text structure' includes both foregrounding and backgrounding and ideological assumptions 'can also be implied by the mere juxtaposition of sentences'. In the newspaper article '*Nations accusers stand accused*' (text 7) regarding the Tampa Crisis the juxtaposition of the sentences in the latter part of the article is significant.

— *'His [*Fridtjof Nansen*] achievements won him a Nobel Peace Prize, and that spirit lives on in Norway'.*
— *'Australia and Norway share a common tradition of generosity.'*

This juxtaposition of '*Nobel Peace Prize*' and '*Norway*' with '*Australia and Norway*' implies, or presupposes that Australia too could be (or ought to be) in the Nobel Peace Prize league.

Text 7

Nations accusers stand accused
The Howard government has trapped itself in an ugly and unidentifying predicament.

As International aid agencies warn of the humanitarian implications as the Christmas island stand–off continues, the government appears to have left itself no viable exit strategy.
Meanwhile, portrayals of Australia as callous an cold–hearted are gaining currency overseas.
Many will be wondering whether this effort to impose a more rigorous approach to the management of boat people is coming at too high a cost to the nation's reputation.
All of which is distressing and cruelly ironic. If there is a nation less deserving of international odium on the complex questions of refugee settlement, it is probably Australia.
Only a handful of societies can boast as proud a record of providing shelter to those fleeing political, racial or religious persecution.
In another irony it just so happens that one of them is Norway.
That Norway feels so strongly about these issues should come as no surprise. Not just because one of its merchant vessels is caught up in this affair, but also because of its long standing record as an international leader on the rights of refugees.
The tradition dates to the massive humanitarian task of repatriating almost half a million prisoners of war scattered across Europe in the aftermath of world war I .
That effort was led by polar explorer and scientist Fridtjof Nansen, who became the League of Nations' first High Commissioner for Refugees.
His achievements won him a Nobel Peace Prize, and that spirit lives on in Norway.
Australia and Norway share a common tradition of generosity. They are two of only 10 nations in the world with permanent refugee programs. On a per capita basis, both also qualify easily among the top 10 donors to United Nations programs for the care of refugees.

(From, The Age [Melbourne] 31 August 2001)

In the newspaper article '*Nations accusers stand accused'* the sequencing of Norway (and its eminent explorer, scientist and Nobel prize winner) considered in the article a model country in relation to acceptance of refugees pre-

cedes similar praise of Australia's refugee history in the text: *'Only a handful of societies can boast as proud a record of providing shelter to those fleeing political, racial or religious persecution'*. For the ideal reader the implicit message in this statement is: '*as proud a record* [as Australia]'. The explicit message is that Australia is included in this '*handful*' of societies. The article continues with *'In another irony it just so happens that one of the is Norway'*. The implicit message here is that Norway and Australia have similar humanitarian aims with regard to refugees, so that it is un–just to accuse Australia. In the juxtaposition of the two countries Australia is mentioned first and then, secondly, Norway. In other words, Australia is first and then come other countries, such as Norway.

Repetition of key words can also be significant in juxtaposition. For example, throughout the article there is the repetition of the word '*tradition*' in juxtaposition with positive vocabulary (*humanitarian, Nobel Peace Prize, generosity, care*) and in juxtaposition with the two nations Australia and Norway. The article first discusses the highly praised Norwegian tradition of aiding refugees and then is closely followed by a subsequent paragraph which entwines Australia into the highly praised Norwegian tradition. Also the use of synonyms of *'tradition'* such as '*record*' create a lexical chain that links Australia to the positive values of Norway throughout the article.

> *'The tradition dates to the massive humanitarian task of repatriating almost half a million prisoners of war scattered across Europe in the aftermath of World War I.'*
> *'Australia and Norway share a common tradition of generosity.'*

Thus, Australia and Norway's positive aspects are woven into each other through common lexis:

'both also qualify easily among the top ten donors to United Nations programs for the care of refugees' ('Australia and Norway'; 'both'; 'they are two of only ten nations'; 'only a handful of societies'). In diagram form the sequence of the argument is the following:

Norway	=	humanitarian
Norway	=	Nobel prize
Australia	=	tradition of generosity
Australia	=	Norway

As mentioned above, with media (and other text) common sense values can also be found in what is omitted from the text. In the case of text 7, what is omitted is the fact that although Australia has a record or tradition regarding the question of asylum seekers it is only a relatively short track record. Prior to the 1970s Australia could not have been described as a country open to non–European immigration. According to Ling (2004: 48):

> When the White Australia Policy was ended in the early 1970s, the Chinese who were allowed in were largely the English–educated middle class. Their numbers were small and they were keen to assimilate. They took up jobs in the professions and melted into the suburbs. Then Vietnam fell, and the first boatload of refugees arrived in Australia in 1976. Australia responded admirably, in part to appease our conscience, if subconsciously, for supporting the Americans in an unholy war. However, the continuing inflow of these refugees in the ensuing years, through transit camps in Asia, bestirred the dormant scar in our national psyche.

The tone in the second part of text 7, *'Nations' accusers stand accused'*, is in contrast with the first part. The first part of the article regards many positively presented comparisons between Australia and a western country (Norway), and concludes with a paragraph that recommends Austra-

lia to listen to the western countries' criticisms: for example, to Norway, or, hypothetically to the US or to Canada.

> *'Given Norway's moral authority on this issue. The Howard Government should be listening more respectfully than it has — just as it might if Canada or the US, again world leaders in the field, were to make similar criticisms'.*

The article then begins to introduce its comments and judgments regarding the non western countries (for example Indonesia). The tone of the article becomes more negative, and begins with the contrasting connector *'but'*. The way in which connectors are used can also be significant to discourse analysis. For Fairclough, for example, logical connectors 'can cue ideological assumptions' (1989: 131).

4.4.1.2. Negative juxtaposition

Text 8

Nations accusers stand accused — (continued from text 7)

But if there is a prickliness about the Howard Government's attitude, that, in many ways, is also understandable.'
Some of the most pious and indignant voices hurling abuse from afar come from nations with no track record of demonstrating either care or compassion for refugees.
Much had been made of the diplomatic dangers, for example of Australia pushing Indonesia too hard to accept responsibilities.
Yet Indonesia, and neighbouring Malaysia, for that matter seem content to be used as transit lounges for the criminal syndicates engaged in the corrupt but lucrative business of people smuggling .
Indonesia is not a signatory to the 1951 Geneva convention on refugees and does not accept refugees itself.
In the 1970s, Malaysia was admired for providing temporary location for up to a quarter of a million Indo–Chinese refu-

gees. Those day are gone. Singapore does not accept refugees. Period.
Japan's a generous donor to the UN High Commission for Refugees, but last year took in only 16 asylum seekers. In the previous four years it averaged one a year.
As for the Europeans with the honourable exception s of the Scandinavians and the Netherlands, the trend is distinctly in favour of tougher border controls.
At the same time, the major European powers are proving more tight–fisted in providing funds for refugee camps.
As the new UNHCR, Ruud Lubers said pointedly earlier this year: 'At the same time they complain about increasing numbers of asylum seekers and illegal immigrants, the European Union's contributions to the UNHR have declined dramatically.'
In other words, Australia can — and should — have the debate about its refugee policies, and as importantly the debate about what this says of our national values, without dwelling too much on what is said elsewhere.
Most of the critics are all talk, no action.

(The Age, 31 August 2001)

4.4.1.3. Juxtaposition and the East–West divide

Oh, East is East, and West is West, and never the twain shall meet,
Till Earth and Sky stand presently at God's great Judgment Seat;
(Rudyard Kipling (1889): The Ballad of East and West)

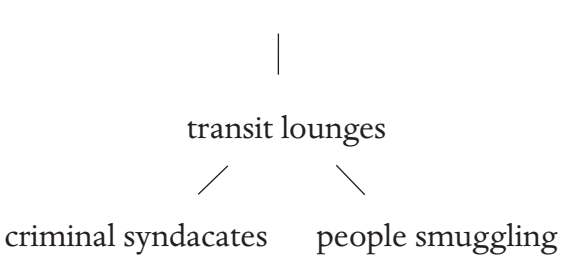
The multicultural society of Australia today is recent. For most of the 20th century the basis of Australia's cultural identity and of it's immigration policy was that of the White Australia Policy the dismantling of which did not begin until the 1970s–1980s with the election of the labour government led by Prime Minister Hawke in 1983. This change of policy was largely based on economic questions. The government wanted closer links with

Australia's Asian neighbours and immigration policies restricting Asian immigration and favouring European immigration were revised. "This was a period when the 'tiger economies' of South– East Asia were booming and pundits predicted that they would soon outstrip the old economies" (Macintyre, 2003, 74). However, even today, many Australians remain diffident regarding their Asian neighbours and hostile to Asian immigration. Some of this diffidence to Asian neighbours can also be sensed in text 7 (above).

4.4.1.4. Discrimination in discourse. Use of negative language

The way in which negative and positive language is used in text 7 implies an east–west divide in the stance taken by the newspaper toward some Asian countries. This divide is created with negative adjectives, negative verbs, negative nouns and negative sentence connectors. With regard to the Asian nations there is a wide use of negatives in the text. The list of negatives referring to Australia's Asian neighbours contrasts strongly with previous sections of the text (7, above) referring to Australia written in principally positive terms. The negative expressions take the form either of adjectives with negative implications in the context (*pious, indignant*); negative verbs associated with a negative noun (*hurling abuse*), negative phrases (*'transit lounges for the criminal syndacates engaged in the corrupt but lucrative business of people smuggling'*). The latter example contains the presupposition (negative), directed to the Australian 'ideal reader' that Indonesia is a place where corruption and criminality thrives. This statement appeals to the newspaper's ideal Australian reader background knowledge of the presupposition that sees Indonesia and (its Asian neighbour

Malaysia) as a place of corruption. Fairclough refers to this kind of 'common sense' as 'intertextual context and presupposition' (1989, 152). If represented in the form of a diagram this piece of discourse could be sketched as follows.



For Fowler, in the analysis of media language it is relevant to note 'with what types of verbs the various categories or participants are associated. Here again, discourse distinguishes the powerful from the disfavoured. […] Those who are disfavoured and discriminated against are likely to be associated with perjorative, or at least low status verbs and adjectives' (Fowler, 1991: 98). For example, many of the comments regarding Indonesia (and its Asian neighbours) in text 8, directed by the newspaper to the presumed Australian 'ideal reader' have negative connotations and use is made of negative verbs:

'Indonesia is not a signatory to the 1951 Geneva convention on refugees and does not accept refugees itself'; '[has] no track record of demonstrating either care or compassion for refugees.' and *'Singapore does not accept refugees. Period'*

Use of negative linkers. Contrastive linkers such as *'yet'*, *'as' 'for'*, *'at the same time'* and *'but'* establish contrast in this discourse between Australia and its Asian neighbours. For example, Indonesia, Malasia and Japan are described

using the negative linkers (*'yet', ' but'*) as follows: *'Yet Indonesia, and neighbouring Malaysia, for that matter seem content to be used as transit lounges for the criminal syndicates engaged in the corrupt but lucrative business of people smuggling.' ;'Japan's a generous donor to the UN High Commission for Refugees, but last year took in only 16 asylum seekers'*. According to Fowler (1991,10), 'Anything that is said or written about the world is articulated from a particular ideological position'.'Meaningfulness: with its subsections of cultural proximity and relevance is founded on an ideology of ethnocentrism, or [...] homocentrism: a preoccupation with countries, societies and individuals perceived to be like oneself; with boundaries; with defining groups felt to be unlike oneself, alien, threatening (Fowler, 1991: 16). In the media this ideology is often manifested in the inclusive 'we' pronoun.

4.5. Conclusion

Throughout history the various forms of media have had significant influence on the society of the time. For analysts of society, of media and, therefore, also of language there is a necessity to be aware of how, and of how much the media can influence and condition. Modern Media play a significant part in forming and maintaining the 'common sense' values of a society. For Dahlgren (2000), for example, in the evaluation of level of democracy in a given society a study of the media is essential. According to Dahlgren (200: 324) ' ... people attend to the media and to civic culture with frames of reference and discursive competencies to a great extent pre–structured by the media'.

Apart from specific aspects of language, amongst the important factors to be taken into consideration in refer-

ence to media analysis there are also macro issues such as layout and type of print (for newspapers, or internet information), camera angle (for television). From the point of view of language analysis, the critical linguistics school of thought, for example, it is not only the grammatical aspects of the language used in the media that are important. For the critical linguists other textual features are also significant. Features such as choice of what information is included or what is not included, for example in a newspaper, choice of juxtaposition of articles on the page of the newspaper, also or choices regarding sequencing within a specific text.

For example, for Fowler (1991:1) 'Language is not neutral, but a highly constructive mediator', so that for media analysts such as Fowler, 'news is socially constructed. What events are reported is not a reflection of the intrinsic importance of those events, but reveals the operation of a complex and artificial set of criteria for selection' (ibid: 2).

Also for analysts such as Bell (1991:161) amongst the important language choices contributing to the way in which information is presented are deletion of information, generalization and construction. On the other hand Bell (161) also puts the methods of critical linguistics analysis in doubt (1991, 214): 'the approach imputes to newsworkers a far more deliberate ideological intervention in news than is supported by current research on news production.' He maintains that the theories of the critical linguists with regard to media analysis 'result in a conspiracy theory of newsworkers's application of syntactic rules such as nominalisation and agent deletion in passives, with large ideological conclusions drawn from equivocal data.' Bell, thus, maintains there is not enough evidence in analysis to support the arguments of the critical linguists. The analysis is inadequate to support the conclusions.

Chapter V

Persuading the people, persuading the nation: Language of nation, language of war — Eleventh Century to Twenty–first Century

5.1. Introduction

Rhetorical language today can refer to oral language as well as to written language. With regard to political speech genre the connection between written text and political speech is interdependent: speeches, generally, are first created as written text and then transformed into the oral form and delivered as speeches. This chapter analyses political speeches given in times of war and the rhetorical strategies adopted to create alignment between speaker and addressee. The speeches discussed include speeches given in various centuries and various wars starting from the attack by the English armies on the Norman French armies in 1415, (as portrayed and written in the16th century by Shakespeare). Then the analysis examines the World War II speeches given by Winston Churchill (20th century), and concludes with the Blair and Bush speeches on the eve of the 2003 military intervention in Iraq (21st century).

5.1.1. *Fixing the language: fixing the nationality*

According to Halliday (1989) the fixity of languages which began as only oral forms took place when it became

necessary, for several reasons, to develop a written form of the language. This fixity of language in the written form evolved along with the development of the fixed community. With the written form of the language communities were able to record and thus reinforce the beliefs, rules and characteristics of their culture: the beginnings of what philosophers such as Nietzsche (1876) and Gramsci (1971) would subsequently define as 'common–sense', or Foucault (1980) would later define as the 'general politics' of truth, or what 'counts as true' within a given society.

For Halliday, although pictures (e.g. cave drawings) can serve a communicative purpose, for example, recording the past they are not language or writing. Writing instead can be considered a part of language: 'it is one kind of expression in language — an alternative to sound' (1989: 14). The exact meaning of the word "writing" is 'a visual representation that is language' (ibid). Consequently 'a language consists of meaning, wording and expression; and the expression may take the form either of sound or of writing'. Thus, one defining characteristic of writing is that it 'can always be read aloud' (ibid). The development of written language was an essential step towards fixing language into a permanent form.

Halliday (1989), describes the development of writing as a consequence of cultural change. Communities and cultures evolved from hunting and gathering (mobile communities) to agricultural settlements (permanent communities), and along with these permanent settlements came changes in social and cultural patterns. Records needed to be kept.

> [P]opulations increased, there was 'division of labour', power structures arose, wealth was distributed and inherited, and goods and services were controlled and exchanged. In certain areas, such as the great river valleys of Egypt, south and

> south–west Asia, and northern China, permanently settled agricultural communities developed highly complex cultural institutions for whose purposes the spoken language was no longer enough. Language had to be reduced to a form where it **existed** rather than simply **happening** — where text could be referred to over and over again, instead of having to be performed each time like the literature and sacred texts of oral communities. In modern jargon, a **process** had to be transformed into a **product**. (Halliday, 1989: 40)

One landmark in the history of record keeping (and control of the population) was the Eleventh Century 'Domesday' book (circa 1085), a written record of all the people and property in William the Conqueror's England. As well as giving him information regarding his subjects' properties the Domesday book was also able to supply William with information regarding how much each individual owed him in taxes. This medieval census gave William I greater power and authority to consolidate his domination of England.

Fixing and reinforcing the customs and beliefs of a given society through written forms of the language can also be a means of establishing, or fixing control in that society. Today, for example, according to educators such as Kress (1985: 46), 'Writing also represents permanence and control rather than the impermanence and flux of speech.' Kress argues that written language is used more in the public social and political domain and while speaking belongs more to the domain of private life, and people in public life adapt modes of writing when speaking. 'For the powerful therefore, there is effectively only one mode, that of writing; both in writing and in speech' (ibid: 46). In an analysis of political speeches it is useful to bear in mind the close connection between written language and spoken language in the public domain and in political speeches.

Today, most people in the western world agree that we are living in historical period known as the third millennium. This is a Christian concept. In the past the concept of Christendom possibly had a stronger influence on the existing societies than the concept of nationality. In the past the concept of Christendom was spread by the Church and by those who were literate in the language of power of the time (Latin).

According to Anderson (1991) the diminishing of the power of Latin in the society of Christendom, for example, in European countries such as Germany and England led to the diminishing of the power of the Church and consequently to the diminishing of the concept that human history depends on divine will. Indeed, according to Anderson (ibid), while these beliefs had continued European people felt that they belonged to a religious community which was borderless and which made up 'The imagined community of Christendom' (ibid). The feeling of belonging to a nation was a concept that developed later with alternative written works written in the local languages. For Anderson (ibid), the crucial factor in the breaking down of the power of Latin was the new technology of printing. With the printing press ideas began to be spread in the local languages: for example, French and English.

For example, in Britain one author who contributed to constructing the idea of nation and nationalistic feeling was the Sixteenth Century playwright William Shakespeare. Playwrights such as Shakespeare whose plays were seen by large numbers of the population of the London area wrote heroic plays and tragedies about the English Kings thus beginning to lay the foundations of a concept of an English nation. These plays were written in the vernacular of that geographical area and of that time: plays such as, King John, Richard II, Henry IV,

Henry V, Henry VI, Richard III, Henry VIII. The popular plays that most promoted the concept of England as a nation were the heroic plays that recounted the lives of patriotic kings such as 'Henry V'. Shakespeare in his works thus began to spread the idea of nation. His works were an important mass medium of his time.

5.1.2. *Genre*

An important point of departure in analysis of discourse is the genre of the text or discourse. For example, whether the discourse items, or texts under analysis belong to the same genre (Swales, 1990). The texts under examination in this study are political speeches made by heads of state in times of war with other states. This political speech genre is generally a statement declaring opposite views to other states, groups, or organizations with opposing views (and ideological stances). For example, the speeches to be discussed in this paper include speeches given in various centuries and during various wars starting from the attack by the English armies on the Norman French armies in 1415, (as portrayed and written in the16th century by Shakespeare). The analysis then goes on to examine the World War II speeches given by Winston Churchill (20th century), and concludes with the Bush speeches on the eve of the 2003 military intervention in Iraq (21st century).

5.2. The Sixteenth Century

In the 16th century and at the beginning of the 17th century Shakespeare (and his Globe Theatre) was one of the vehicles of mass media of his time: a forerunner of global information. Hundreds of people, including Elizabeth

the First, packed into his theatre every week to see his plays. The mass media of the time was the written and oral language of Elizabethan England. Indeed, it could be said that the English of the Elizabethan era and, thus, of Shakespeare represented the beginnings of a global English: the spread of English as a global language to the new world began in the Elizabethan era and the post–Elizabethan era when the pilgrims began to take the English language with them to the American colonies.

Many of Shakespeare's plays (e.g. Henry V) portrayed patriotic characters, and the beginnings of a concept of nation. Various factors such as common laws and administration, the common culture and language of the people, wars against other countries, the media of the time (amongst which were the works of writers such as Shakespeare) made up this concept of nation. With his works Shakespeare contributed to setting out and spreading the commonsense (and ideology) of the England of his time: a strong English nation, a nation that has almost always managed to fight off invasion, a nation that was beginning to set up colonies. This feeling of nation was already present in the 16th century and can be seen in the speeches of Henry V in Shakespeare's '*The life of Henry the Fifth*'. One example of this kind of patriotic discourse is the Henry V speech before the battle at Harfleur, (Henry and his armies are attacking France).

Text 1

France

Before Harfleur

Henry V
Once more unto the breach, dear friends, once more;

Or close the wall up with our English dead .
In peace there's nothing so becomes a man
As modest stillness and humility:
But when the blast of war blows in our ears,
Then imitate the action of the Tiger;
Stiffen the sinews, summon up the blood,
Disguise fair nature with hard–favour'd rage;
Then lend the eye a terrible aspect;
Let it pry through the portage of the head
Like the brass cannon; let the brow o'erwhelm it
As fearfully as doth a galled rock
O'erhand and jutty his confounded base

Swill'd with the wild and wasteful ocean,
Now set the teeth and stretch the nostril wide,
hold hard the breath , and bend up every spirit
To his full height,! On, on you noblest English!
Whose blood is fet from fathers of war–proof
Fathers that, like so many Alexanders,
Have in these parts from morn till even fought,
And sheathed their swords for lack of argument
Dishonour not your mothers; now attent
That those whom you call'd fathers did beget you.
Be copy now to men of grosser blood,
And teach them how to war . And you, good yeomen,
Whose limbs were made in England , show us here
The mettle of your posture; let us swear
That you are worth your breeding ; which I doubt not;
For there is none of you so mean and base
That hath not noble lustre in your eyes.
I see you stand like greyhounds in the slips,
Straining upon the start . The game's afoot;
Follow your spirit ; and upon this charge
Cry 'God for Harry! England and Saint George!'

(King Henry V: Act III, Scene I)

Shakespeare, in the 16th and17th century, was a forerunner to modern political rhetoric. With speeches such as the Henry V speech above (text 1) he was already

setting the style for many of the rhetorical strategies of modern political speech used today. In Shakespeare's work, as in modern political rhetoric, the way pronouns were used was a significant part of the discourse. For example, in the Henry V speech the possessive pronoun '*our*' at the beginning of the speech is an inclusive '*our*'. It is a use of '*our*' which through language creates a cohesive group, a group that is made up of both king and soldiers: there is solidarity in this group, not just an ambitious king. who is out to conquer. In fact, this particular Shakespearian speech is also used today in business training schools as a part of their team–building programs.

With reference to the media today for contemporary language analysts such as Fairclough (1989) the inclusive pronoun '*we*', for example, can be inclusive of both the reader and the writer. In Henry V's speech to his men, rousing them into battle Shakespeare's use of '*our*' has a similar use: it includes, speaker and listener, king and troops. Further on in the Henry V speech the use of the pronoun '*our*' shifts to use of the pronoun '*you*'. The shift to the pronoun '*you*' transfers a feeling of importance and prestige to the troops. The shift from '*our*' to '*you*' creates cohesion between king and soldier, and encourages the troops to believe in the battle that is before them. The shift is from '*our*' (King, Country, Troops) to '*you*' (English, yeomen [people, troops]) and thus, the link is reinforced: '*our*' is inclusive of King and troops, '*you*' is inclusive of all who are in this battle for England. '*Our*' and '*you*' are vital elements of one group: this is a group that is part of a nation (*'… you noblest English'; 'Whose limbs were made in England'*).

Henry V's rhetorical strategy to urge his troops into battle is to address the soldiers intimately as *'dear friends'* ennobling them with *'you noblest English'; 'you good yeo-*

men'; 'Whose limbs were made in England' — he includes them in his circle. They are part of **'***us***'**. They are part of a group fighting for a common cause: *" 'Cry God for Harry! England and Saint George!' "*. They belong to a group who come from the *'blood'*, the *'breeding'* of English *'Fathers'* and *'Mothers'* **:** a group **'***Whose limbs were made in England'***,** who are roused into battle to honour **'***our English dead'*. The common identity of King and country is constructed in this speech. The king and country and the people and the common soldiers are all part of one common group — having the same **'***blood***'.** The pronoun chain *our/our/you/you/us/us* – links the speaker (the king, the state) to the audience: a bond between king and troops is created and the group cause is evoked.

5.2.1. *Political/war speech: Henry V*

5.2.1.1. Contrastive pairs

Contrastive pairs where two parts of the proposition are a form of repetition of opposites in a speech is a rhetorical device that can have the effect of giving emphasis and completion to the sentence or phrase. The discourse becomes complete in the sense that all extremes of the issue have been dealt with. The argument in the discourse covers all possible aspects, for example (from Henry V): *'Morn till even'*; *'mother'* to *'father'*; *'fair nature'* to *'hard … rage'*. In this way the discourse completely rounds of all possibilities, it covers everything, it is complete, therefore it is valid.

> Have in these parts from morn till even fought,
> Dishonour not your mothers; now attent
> That those whom you call'd fathers did beget you.
> Disguise fair nature with hard–favour'd rage;

5.2.1.2. Repetition

Another way of achieving this effect of completion, of validity is through repetition of the same word or repetition of words that are similar, for example (from Henry V): *'wild and wasteful'; 'mean and base'*, *'Follow'* and *'charge'*.

> Swill'd with the wild and wasteful ocean,
> For there is none of you so mean and base
> Follow your spirit; and apon this charge

5.2.1.3. List of three

> One of the best known structural devices in political rhetoric is the use of the three–part statement. For some reason, we seem to find things that are grouped in threes particularly aesthetically pleasing (Jones, Stilwell Peccei, 2004:42) .

For other authors the function of the list of three has a more ideological implication than its aesthetic function. For Fairclough (1989: 188), with lists that place things in connection but do not indicate the way in which they are connected the reader or listener has to interpret the implicit connections. They become involved in the text or dialogue by having to make the 'ideological' connections themselves. According to Atkinson (1984) the 'list of three' is an effective way of gaining approval through a speech. The list of three creates a feeling of unity and completeness. This kind of rhetorical device is used by Henry V (Shakespeare) to accentuate the concluding parts of parts of his speech.: *'Cry 'God for Harry! England and Saint George!'*

The three–part list is a repetition of the same linguistic form, or a similar form. It does not refer only to repetition of the same word, but can refer to the repetition

of different words or forms but with similar meanings. Beard gives as an example of this the first speech by Nelson Mandela after being released from gaol in the 1990s where two three–part lists are used one immediately after the other to begin his speech. (2000, 39): *'Friends, comrades and fellow South Africans. I greet you all in the name of peace, democracy and freedom for all.'* There are echoes of Shakespeare in Mandela's speech. The similarities to the Shakespeare speech by Mark Antony in Julius Caesar are evident: (i.e.*'Friends, Romans, countrymen lend me your ears. I come to bury Caesar, not to praise him …'* [Julius Caesar: Act III, scene III]). The opening words of the speech is in the form of the group of three and the vocabulary is a word chain with similar meaning. Much of political rhetoric today has been strongly influenced by Shakespeare and his works.

The list of three in the final line of the Henry V speech connects a list of names/symbols that identify the English King, the English nation, the guardian saint of England. From the point of view of ideology the three put together (Harry + England + Saint George) might be said to add up to an implied common sense of English nationalism. With the final lines of the speech given before the attack on Harfleur (**'***Cry 'God for Harry! England and Saint George!***'**), the English armies must rally their strength for their King (Harry) and their nation (England, Saint George). The feeling of completion is conveyed through the list of three key names that link up to create the concept of one common cause, one nation.

5.3. Rhetoric in political speeches

In ancient Greece rhetoric was a word used for public speaking, that is, public speaking usually aimed toward

persuasion of the audience to a particular point of view, or stance. A second function of rhetoric was also one of exposition of information. However, over time, rhetoric as a language strategy was also developed with regard to written text, so that rhetoric, today, can refer to oral language as well as written language. With regard to political speech genre the connection between written text and political speech is interdependent in that speeches, as a rule, are first created as written text and then transformed into the oral form as a speech.

5.3.1. *Rhetoric in political (war) speeches of the twentieth and twenty first centuries*

5.3.1.1. The Twentieth Century

Amongst the most well known examples of political (and patriotic) speeches of twentieth century Britain were the World War II speeches given by prime minister Winston Churchill in response to the attempted invasion of Britain by Germany military forces in 1940. Churchill's speeches contain many of the characteristics of a tradition of public speaking and political oratory that has developed over the centuries. Moreover, the 1940 speeches by Churchill to the House of commons in a time of war have several characteristics in common with Shakespeare's Henry V oration cited above (text 1).

Some of the characteristic these two groups of speeches have in common are also used by many of the most successful orators and writers today. By successful is meant writers or speakers who are able to influence other people, or persuade them of their ideas. As previously mentioned, some of the language strategies used in successful persuasion are, for example, use of repetition (of the same, or similar words) and of repetition in

the form of contrastive pairs. Contrastive pairs contain 'two parts which are in some ways in opposition, but in other ways use repetition to make the overall effect' (Beard, 2000: 39). For example, some examples of typical classes or categories of contrastive pairs are could be *new/old; rich/poor; victory/defeat*.

5.3.1.2. Contrast and repetition

Contrast and repetition in political rhetoric involve various linguistic forms such as 'lexical repetition; semantic repetition; and/or contrast including the literal contrasted with the metaphorical; syntactical repetition; and phonological repetition' (Ibid: 40). Lexical links in political discourse can create cohesion in the discourse through use of various types of repetition which can take the form of repetition of the same words, or repetition of similar words, of synonyms, of words with similar meanings. Some examples taken from the Churchill speeches below (texts 2 and 3) are: e.g. *struggles and suffering; victory/survival; power and might; confidence and strength; subjugated and starving; armed and guarded; rescue and liberation*. The repetition of the words is close to the first mention of the word or synonym. From text 3, for example, there is the repetition of the words '*victory*' and '*survival*' in close proximity: 'It is victory, victory at all costs, victory in site of al terror, victory however long and hard the road may be; for without victory there is no survival. Let that be realised; no survival for the British Empire, no survival for all that the British Empire has stood for, no survival…'

Repetition of the same word is a rhetorical device that adds emphasis and importance to what is being said. The speech below (text 2) takes place in a crucial moment in history, the message must be received loud and clear by

the listeners/audience (the House of Commons and nation). For example the constant repetition of the word '*victory*' in the speech (mentioned 5 times). To create contrast and to picture a scenario alternative to victory there is also the repetition of an alternative to the word '*victory*': the expression '*no survival*' is also emphasised (mentioned twice). Also the repetition of '*we*' and the verb '*shall*' plus '*fight*' (7 times) repeated throughout the final crescendo of the final section of the June 4 speech (text 3) creates a sense of cohesion, and of conviction in what is being said.

> We shall go on to the end, we shall fight in France , we shall fight on the seas and oceans, we shall fight with growing confidence and strength in the air, we shall defend our Island, whatever the cost may be, we shall fight on the beaches, we shall fight on the landing grounds, we shall fight in the fields and in the streets, we shall fight in the hills, we shall never surrender.

Text 2

Winston Churchill (extract from the Speech to the House of Commons: May 13, 1940)

> I would say to the House, as I said to those who have joined this government: 'I have nothing to offer but blood, toil, tears and sweat.' We have before us an ordeal of a most grievous kind. We have before us many, many, long months of struggles and suffering. You ask, what is our policy? I can say: It is to wage war, by sea, land and air, with all our might and with all the strength that God can give us; to wage war against a monstrous tyranny, never surpassed in the dark, lamentable catalogue of human crime. That is our policy. You ask what is our aim ? I can answer in one word: It is victory, victory at all costs, victory in site of al terror, victory however long and hard the road may be; for without victory there is no survival. Let that be realised; no survival for the British Empire,

> no survival for all that the British Empire has stood for, no survival for the urge and impulse of the ages, that mankind will move forward towards its goal. But I take up my task with buoyancy and hope. I feel sure that our cause will not be suffered to fail among men. At this time I feel entitled to claim the aid of all, and I say, "come then, let us go forward together with our united strength."

5.3.1.3. Three–part list

Similarly to the Henry V speech the rhetorical strategy of the three–part list is also used in the Churchill speech. Some of the well known examples from Churchill (text 2) are: *'I have nothing to offer but blood, toil, tears and sweat.'*; *'It is to wage war, by sea, land and air'*.

5.3.1.4. Parallelism

Grammatical parallelism is one of the rhetorical tools used in the political speech to make clear to the listener the importance of what is being said: it emphasises what is being said in the speech. Grammatical parallelism is a grammatical form that is repeated in a close sequence. For Morley (1999: 52), use of parallelism is 'a highly patterned rhetorical moment' in discourse. 'The writer is insisting with all the linguistic means s/he has that this is the important part of his message' (ibid: 53). This form is often used by great orators such as the heroes/heroines of Shakespeare's plays, or as was Winston Churchill. Some examples of parallelism from Churchill's war speeches are the following (texts 2 and 3):

— we have: *('We have before us an ordeal of a most grievous kind.'; 'We have before us many, many, long months of struggles and suffering.')* ;

— You ask: *('You ask, what is our policy ; 'You ask what is our aim ?);*
— I can: *('I can say;' ; 'I can answer');*
— What is/that is: *('what is our policy?'; 'That is our policy.');*
— We shall + verb: *(We shall go; we shall fight; we shall defend).*

In this use of grammatical parallelism in the continuous repetition of phrases such as *'We shall fight'*, for example, the speaker is emphasising that what is being said is a vital part of the speech.

5.3.1.5. Reference to religion

Also important in this kind of rhetoric is the reference, to God and religion: *'with all our might and with all the strength that God can give us'*. Churchill appeals to God, as does Henry V, *'Cry 'God for Harry! England and Saint George!'*, and as does Bush further on in this study (text 5).

Text 3

Winston Churchill (extract from the Speech to the House of Commons: June 4, 1940)

We shall go on to the end, we shall fight in France, we shall fight on the seas and oceans, we shall fight with growing confidence and strength in the air, we shall defend our Island, whatever the cost may be, we shall fight on the beaches, we shall fight on the landing grounds, we shall fight in the fields and in the streets, we shall fight in the hills, we shall never surrender, and even if, which I do nor for a moment believe, this island or a large part of it were subjugated and starving, then our Empire beyond the seas, armed and guarded by the British fleet, would carry on the struggle, until, in God's

good time, the New World, with all its power and might , steps forth to the rescue and the liberation of the old.

5.3.1.6. The first person plural pronoun – '*We*'

In political discourse the first person pronoun'*we*'can be used to create a sense of inclusiveness between speaker and listener. Fairclough calls this use the 'inclusive we' (1989, 127). In his speeches Churchill includes within his concept of *'we'* the British nation including all of its people and institutions (prime minister, government, people, armies and therefore, nation). In his concept of *'we'* no one is excluded. His use of *'we'* implies a society with a sense of 'common sense' and a common cause. Some examples from his speeches (texts 2 and 3) are: *'We have before us an ordeal of a most grievous kind.'*; *'We have before us many, many, long months of struggles and suffering'*;. and again the use of 'we shall + verb as in *'We shall go'*; *'we shall fight'*; *'we shall defend'*.

In the Churchill speech, seven centuries after Henry V and his conquest in France at the battle of Agincourt and five centuries after Shakespeare's representation of Henry V in his play the concept of nationality has been consolidated. Churchill addresses himself to the British nation with the inclusive *'we'*. Churchill's inclusive *'we'* includes: people, government, prime minister, armed forces and also Empire. There are ten mentions of the first person plural pronoun *'we'* in Churchill's address to the House of Commons and thus also to the people. He is bringing together the concept of 'we the nation', he is rallying a nation to defend itself from hostile outside forces.

In retrospect, Henry's speech seems directed more to the English as a people an imagined community rather than as a nation. While Henry's speech is oriented more to the glory of battle and of conquest and the nobility

and bravery of English soldiers (directed toward the soldiers in battle) and a less defined national community Churchill's speech is more oriented to the defence of England and oriented toward the defence of freedom and is addressed to the people rather than to the armed forces. The concept of Britain in the twentieth century is a very strong concept which includes not only the British isles, but also an Empire.

In the final part of the Churchill speech to the house of commons the use of the inclusive '*we*' is a significant part of the speech. The use of '*we*' at the end of the speech pulls together all individuals and sections of Britain. It is the culminating point of the final part of the speech where '*we*' includes all the English nation: the PM, the government, the house of commons and the people of the nation. The concept of inclusion then goes on to use of the inclusive '*our*': '*our Empire beyond the seas*'. England, then, in the 20th century is not only a nation but it includes an Empire. The feeling of nationhood and nationalism is greater several centuries after the Henry V (Shakespeare) speech set in the 15th century. There are many similarities in the rhetorical devices characteristic of this speech and in the speech of President George Bush. which is analysed further on.

5.3.2. *The Twenty–first Century*

5.3.2.1. Persuading people, persuading the nation

In his observations on discourse Kress (1985:7) maintains that discourse can 'colonise the social world imperialistically'. According to Kress (ibid), one example of this is nationalistic discourse. For Kress (1985, 10) the individual's speaking position can depend on her/his position in an institution. For example, one task of the political

leader is to create the idea of unification and coherence of a new political grouping and the political speaker can attempt to do this in his/her discourse through specific language strategies (Kress, 1985: 15). As mentioned previously, one language item used in political discourse and in nationalistic discourse is the use of the personal pronouns such as '*we*' and '*us*'. For example, in Prime Minister Tony Blair's speech to the U:S congress in July 2003 the inclusive '*we*' pronoun is used widely and is used to include (or to gain the consensus of) different groups mentioned in different parts of the speech, according to necessity throughout the course of the speech.

The Blair speech (July 18, 2003) to the US Congress (see Appendix 2) collocates the speaker in the position of ally to the US president in a war and in the position of leader of one of two nations joining together in a common cause. The pronoun '*we*' is used inclusively in this speech to refer to a coalition of nations, not just one nation. In the Blair speech to congress the attempt is to create and to a sense of moral and social cohesion between Britain and US in the face of a common cause: a war. The speech attempts, through specific language strategies, to bring together the different groups by creating a sense of cohesion between the two nations. One of these discourse strategies is the use of pronominal references such as '*we*', '*us*', '*them*'.

5.3.2.2. Pronominal reference

'We', Britain and The US. The inclusive use of the pronominal reference '*we*' in the Blair speech refers, principally, to four levels of groups. First of all Blair includes in his concept of '*we*' Britain and the United states. His speech to the US Congress is to support the decision to form a coalition for military intervention in another na-

tion: '*we*' is used in the context of '*we*' the British nation plus the US nation forming a coalition of nations. The speech refers to an already existing sense of cohesion between the US and Britain. A relationship of common interest is implied between the two. The speech by Blair seeks alignment with the audience through references to shared ideas and shared experience of the world, between Britain and the US: the speaker refers to many of the shared past experiences (and future common experience) between the US and Britain.

One way this concept of shared experience is created is through the use of the pronominal reference '*we*' throughout the speech and also in the various references to shared experience in history. One example of this is in the opening lines of the speech: *'We were all reared on battles between great warriors, between great nations, between powerful forces and ideologies that dominated entire continents'*. The speaker also seeks alignment by reference to a shared future and a shared past as in the following: *'… And our job, my nation that watched you grow, that you fought alongside and now fights alongside you, that takes enormous pride in our alliance and great affection in our common bond, our job is to be there with you. You are not going to be alone. We will be with you in this fight for liberty. We will be with you in this fight for liberty. And if our spirit is right and our courage firm, the world will be with us.'* Other examples of '*we*' intended to include the US and Britain are: *'We are bound together as never before…'; 'We are so much more powerful …'; 'we are taught humility …'; 'we have to unify it around an idea…'; 'We must find the strength to fight…'; 'We know that companies and individuals with expertise sell it to the highest bidder…'; 'Can we be sure…'; 'If we are wrong…'; 'if we are right…'; '(if) we do not act…'; 'we will have hesitated…'; 'we should have given leadership…'; 'how we should act…'*.

'We' Britain and Europe. The second group that is formed with the first person plural pronoun is a larger group which includes Britain, the European Union and the United States. The main protagonists in this speech are Britain, the US, Europe and with the repeated use of '*we*' referring to this wide area of nations a sense of strong connection is gradually built up to include all of these into one group. First of all '*we*' the US and Britain is emphasised, then Britain and Europe and subsequently, to widen the sense of cohesion between the western world the group of '*we*' goes on to include all of these: Britain, the US and Europe. '*We*' links the speaker with his audience and presupposes audience alignment with the speaker's position on these issues. Some examples of use of '*we*' pulling together Europe and the US from the text are the following: *'it is not rivalry but partnership we need…'; 'we should not minimize the differences …'; 'we should not let them confound us either…'; 'we need a common will and a shared purpose…'; 'If we split, the rest will play around, play us of…'.*

'We' *Britain, and* 'we' *the world*. In the Blair speech with the use of the '*we*' inclusion in the group moves from the United States and Britain together, to Britain alone (*'We are part of Europe, we want to be…'; 'we also want to be part of changing Europe…'; 'we will be with you in this fight for liberty…')* and then, subsequently, on to include the world. The speaker finally, with the use of '*we*' is speaking also on behalf of the international community, but, only that part of the international community that is in agreement on certain issues. Others are excluded (*'We need a new international regime…'; 'And we need to say clearly to United Nations members…'*). Thus, Blair in his role as British Prime Minister with the use of '*we*' in this context speaks for a vast area of the international community. The use of the

pronouns '*we*' and '*our*' used in this way creates an implied sense of common sense among specific sections of the international community: 'we' may be taken as referring to an imagined international community.

Concepts of 'us' *and* 'them'. The pronouns '*us*' and '*them*' can act in a similar way to the use of '*we*'. In some contexts '*us*' and '*them*' can create a perception of division, of inclusion (*us*), as opposed to exclusion (*them*). For example, in the final parts of the Blair speech the idea of '*us*' and '*them*' is present.

> Tell the world why you're proud of America. Tell them when the Star–Spangled Banner starts, Americans get to their feet, Hispanics, Irish, Italians, Central Europeans, East Europeans, Jews, Muslims, white, Asian, black, those who go back to the early settlers and those whose English is the same as some New York cab drivers I've dealt with, but whose sons and daughters could run for this Congress. Tell them why Americans, one and all, stand upright and respectful. Not because some state official told them to, but because whatever race, colour, class or creed they are, being American means being free.

Concepts of '*us*' and '*them*', and '*you*' and '*me*' ('*our*') expressed in clauses such as: *'countries like yours and mine…'*; *'We are bound together as never before…'; 'Our new world rests on order …'* are in contrast to and exclude other groups, or, for example as in the following extract from the speech.

> And our job, my nation that watched you grow, that you fought alongside and now fights alongside you, that takes enormous pride in our alliance and great affection in our common bond, our job is to be there with you. You are not going to be alone. We will be with you in this fight for liberty. We will be with you in this fight for liberty. And if our spirit is right and our courage firm, the world will be with us…

These other groups are referred to in the following terms: *'other countries… '; 'the threat comes because in another part of our globe… there is shadow and darkness…'; 'Some of these states'*. The emphasis on terms such as the pronouns *'these'* and *'them'* and also the adjectives *'other'* and *'another'* forming implicit negatives describe other groups, other nations that do not share *'our'* values, that are dangerous to *'us'*.

5.3.2.3. Modality

Characteristic of the Blair speech is modality in terms of what Fowler (1991: 85) calls (a) truth, and, (b) obligation. Truth claims through modality can be made with modal verbs and also with non modal verbs (Halliday, 1985; Fowler, 1991). The following are some examples of truth claims from the Blair speech using the modal verb *'can'*:

> *'And the United Nations can then become what it should be: an instrument of action as well as debate.'; 'this battle can't be fought and won only by armies.'; 'there can be no freedom for Africa without justice and no justice without declaring a war on Africa's poverty.'*

Modality with non modal verbs (expressive and relational). Modality can be expressed with verbs other than modal verbs. Fairclough (1989) discusses both relational and expressive modality as expressed with non modal verbs. For example, expressive modality can be seen as 'a categorical commitment of the producer to the truth of the proposition. For example, with the verb *'to be'* Blair makes a categorical commitment to the following statements.

> 'Members of congress, ours are not western values, they are the universal values of the human spirit. and

anywhere, anytime ordinary people are given the chance to choose, the choice is the same.'
'we are bound together as never before'

With expressive modality 'the ideological interest is in the authenticity claims, or claims to knowledge' (Fairclough, 1989: 129). For Fairclough 'the prevalence of categorical modalities supports a view of the world as transparent — as if it signalled its own meaning to any observer, without the need for interpretation or representation (ibid).' For example, Blair is committed to the authenticity of the claims he is making: '*we know that companies or individuals with expertise sell it to the highest bidder*' (regarding nuclear weapons). The commitment of the speaker to this statement is categorical — for him it is a fact. The expressive modality is in the non modal present tense verb '*know*' — it is a fact. According to Fairclough (1989: 126) relational modality regards 'the authority of one participant in relation to others'. With relational modality a speaker or writer makes an implicit authority claim (Fairclough, 1989: 128) that he/she has the authority (or knowledge) to speak for others. In the case of the Blair speech the prime minister is speaking for himself and for his nation, and sometimes for the world. For example, when he states, *'We need a new international regime … '; ' … we need to say clearly to United Nations members …'*; the Prime Minister has the authority to speak for others. It is implicit that he has the authority to speak for the world. This is reinforced in the case above by the use of the inclusive '*we*' which includes both the speaker and the addressee.

Relational 'we'*, and relational modality.* According to Faiclough (1989: 127), 'pronouns in English … have relational values'. For example, for Fairclough, the inclusive

'*we*' can be used to speak on behalf of others. In other words, it can have relational value: it can be used to express an authority claim similar to the authority claim that can be expressed through relational modality. It can be used to claim, implicitly, a relationship. The wide use of the '*we*' pronoun in the Blair speech is inviting the US congress to align with the common US–British cause agreed on between the two leaders. The congress is invited to identify with one group, with one common cause. Along with this use of '*we*' is the use of modality both with modal verbs and with non modal verbs.

Within the category of modal verbs Palmer (1987: 94) includes the modal verbs of possibility and necessity *'may',' can', ',must', ' need to' and 'ought to'* as well as the modal auxiliary verbs *'will'* and *'shall'*. For Palmer there is also a third category which he refers to as 'semi modals': these include *'be bound to',' be able to', 'have (got) to', ' be going to' and 'be willing to'*. These verbs, although not formally modals, are included in the category in that they are 'semantically related to the modals and partially suppletive for them' (Palmer, 1987: 94). The functions of modals are epistemic, deontic or dynamic. The examples below, taken from the Blair speech are deontic in that they express a necessity or an obligation. The '*we*' form in the following expressions tries to link the audience with the common cause and the use of deontic modality reinforces the statements made. The repeated use of *'we need'*, *'we must'*, *'we have to'*, *'we should'* implies a common obligation, or a shared need and implies that one person or group can speak for the other, for example,

'we have to unify it around an idea'
'We must find the strength'
'we should have given leadership'
' how we should act'

' it is not rivalry but partnership we need'
' we should not minimize the differences'
' we should not let them confound us either'
'we need a common will and a shared purpose'
'we need to balance the power of America'
'We need a new international regime'

This kind of relational modality can be seen in the following statement from the Blair speech: *''And we need to say clearly to United Nations members: 'If you engage in the systematic and gross abuse of human rights in defiance of the UN charter, you cannot expect to enjoy the same privileges as those that conform to it.' ''*. The relationship is that of a political leader who has the authority to speak for a group, or an alliance of countries, and at the same time assumes the authority of telling other leaders, or countries what they can or cannot do. This is implicit in the use of *'you'* in the statement by Blair. In the above statement we also see the other side of the coin the *'you'* that excludes, the *'you'* that is on the opposite side to 'we'. It is directed towards *'you'* the others.

In the above quotation from the Blair speech a relationship of *'us'* and *'them'* (the dangerous other) is also clearly implied. Singh (2004) in this respect refers to the concept of *'us'* and *'them'* and how it is reflected in use of language: this concept takes the form the implied 'dangerous other'. For example, Singh sites the British national party in its attempts to 'nurture a feeling of national and cultural unity among *our* people' (Singh, 2004: 98). Although Singh discusses this in terms of ethnicity, the concept can also be transferred to the way some nations perceive other nations as a threat. In the Tony Blair speech to the US congress this idea can be extended to the use of *'you'* and *'they'* as, for example, in the quotation from the speech already mentioned above.

5.3.2.4. Parallelism and repetition

Parallelism. The Blair speech also makes use of other typical rhetorical tools of the political speech. For example, there is also an effective use of parallelism which is created in the speech with grammatical forms such as the following.

— 'between' + adjective + noun are repeated in close sequence (*'We were all reared on battles between great warriors, between great nations, between powerful forces and ideologies that dominated entire continents'*)
– the pronoun 'they' + verb (*'They believe in the trans–Atlantic alliance. They support economic reform.'*)
— 'We' + 'not' + 'ing' verb form (*'We're not fighting for domination'; 'We're not fighting for an American world'; 'We're not fighting for Christianity'*)
— the use of the negative form 'not' + noun ('… *freedom, not tyranny; democracy, not dictatorship; the rule of law, not the rule of the secret police*')
— the imperative verb form 'tell' + the object 'them' *('Tell the world why you're proud of America. Tell them when the Star–Spangled Banner starts, Americans get to their feet, …' . Tell them why Americans, one and all, stand upright and respectful'*)
— Free (not) to: ('Free to raise a family in love and hope; 'Free to earn a living and be rewarded by your own efforts'; 'Free not to bend your knee to any man in fear'; 'Free to be you so long as being you does not impair the freedom of others'

5.3.2.5. Metaphor

Appealingto shared knowledge and experience is also an effective rhetorical tool. For Glucksberg et al, (1993:

422), 'Metaphors are used to communicate a complete patterned set of properties in a shorthand that is understood by members of a speech community who share relevant mutual knowledge …'. Metaphor is a form of communication within a speech community that involves a shared knowledge of the world and it is a rhetorical tool used commonly in political argument. The metaphor is widely used to present an issue in more understandable, down to earth terms that individuals can identify with. Social problems are often expressed in terms of metaphors. For Shon (1993: 138), with metaphor we have '… the carrying over of frames of perspectives from one domain to another … a way of gaining new perspectives of the world'. For example, from the Blair text, terrorism is seen through metaphor as a virus, its deadly, and it spreads rapidly, it is contagious. The terrorists are portrayed as a *'shadow and darkness'*.

For Lakoff and Johnson (1980: 6) metaphor is not simply a question of language, metaphor is also based on the human thought process. Metaphors as linguistic expressions are possible precisely because there are metaphors in a person's conceptual system. Thus, to understand the metaphor it is necessary to have an understanding of the world in general. We understand very well the dangers of illness and disease so that the use of metaphors such as *'virus'* and *'contagious'*, can be quickly convincing. The effect of the metaphor in discourse is immediate. In metaphor one thing equals (is) another, and for Blair terrorism is a virus, so we must act before it spreads: (terrorism = deadly virus, contagion: *'a new and deadly virus has emerged'; 'The virus is terrorism'* ; *The danger is disorder. And in today's world, it can now spread like contagion'*).

In the Blair speech and for those he is aligning with beliefs are weapons (belief = weapon: *'Our ultimate weapon is not our guns, but our beliefs'*), but for those on the other side

chaos is their weapon (chaos = weapon:*'Their weapon is chaos'*). Lack of political freedom equals darkness (lack of political freedom = shadow and darkness: *' … in another part of our globe there is shadow and darkness, where not all the world is free'*). So we must act to bring light into the dark: (liberty = light: *'And what you can bequeath to this anxious world is the light of liberty*?). We identify with and we understand metaphors because they have become part of our way of being, thus, metaphor can be a tool to convince us that something is right.

5.3.3. *The 21st Century: Alignment and consensus*

Within the context of rhetoric as a tool for persuasion Cockcroft and Cockcroft (1992), give three main methods of persuasion: persuasion through personality and stance, persuasion through arousal of emotion and persuasion through reasoning. The modern political orator often uses all three of these in his/her political speech. For example, in the George Bush speech to the nation regarding the war in Iraq the rhetorical strategies of persuasion through stance and emotion are present. For example, there is persuasion through stance (the position taken by the president in his stance against a nation accused of having weapons of mass destruction); persuasion through arousal of emotion such as the emotion of fear as in the words, *'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.'*, or as in *'We will defend our freedom. We will bring freedom to others.'* There is persuasion through arousing the emotion of pride and the emotion of patriotism: *'The enemies you confront will come to know your skill and bravery. The people you liberate will witness the honourable and decent spirit of the American military.'*

Often the aim of the political speech is to confirm consensus in the audience, or very often to change the addressee's opinion or stance on a particular issue. The Bush speech above makes recourse to various rhetorical strategies to achieve consensus. Within this speech, for example, the speaker uses what may be called patriotic discourse.

'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.';
'*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.'*;
'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.'.

There is also religious discourse in the speech.

'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.'
'May god bless our country and all who defend her.'

Text 3

President George W. Bush: speech to the nation: March 2003
My fellow citizens, at this hour American and coalition forces are in the early stages of military operations to disarm

Iraq, to free its people and to defend the world from grave danger.
On my orders, coalition forces have begun striking selected targets of military importance to undermine Saddam Hussein's ability to wage war.
These are the opening stages with 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 honour of serving in our common defence.
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 honourable 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 a sand 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.

The Bush speech (above) reflects several aspects of the 1940 Churchill speech. For example, the repetition of the land, air, sea battles, and the battles in the streets (*'We will meet that threat now with our army, air force, navy, coast guard and marines …'*) reflects the historic speech by Churchill (3.1.2, [text 2]). As with both the Churchill speech and the Blair speech an important part of the discourse is the use of modal verbs (the British *'shall'* and the more American *'will'*) to give conviction to the speeches, to leave no doubt in the nation's mind as to who is right and as to who in the end *will/shall* prevail.

5.3.3.1. Modality

Modality expressing an evaluation of the level of truth of a statement in discourse implies a commitment to the truth of any proposition made by the speaker or, a 'prediction of the degree of liklihood of an event

described taking place or having taken place.' (Fowler, 1991, p. 85). The following statements from the speeches by Bush, Blair and Churchill with the modal verbs '*shall*' and '*will*' imply the speaker's total commitment to the statements made. The constant repetition in parallel forms of the verbs add to the speaker's conviction of the truth of the statements. This commitment to the truth of what is being said aims to convince the addressees (the US Congress, the US people, the US armed forces; the British House of Commons, the British people, the British armed forces) of the total truth of the propositions.

Bush	Blair	Churchill
We will meet that threat now with our army, air force, navy, coast guard and marines,…	We will be with you in this fight for liberty (mentioned twice)	We shall go onto the end
		We shall fight them in France
We will accept no outcome but victory		We shall fight on the seas and ocean
We will pass through this time of peril		We shall fight with growing confidence and strength in the air
We will defend our freedom		
		We shall defend our island
We will bring freedom to others		
		We shall fight in the hills
We will prevail		
		We shall never surrender

5.3.3.2. Religious and patriotic discourse

The Bush speech also compares with the speeches of Churchill and of Henry V in that all three include the strategy of using both religious and patriotic discourse to obtain consensus in their nations/armies, or to persuade their audiences/countrymen that going into battles is the right solution. Bush, as did Churchill and, as did Henry V commands himself to God.

Religious discourse

Bush	Churchill	Henry V
May god bless our country and all who defend her	in God's good time	Cry 'God for Harry! England and Saint George!
Millions of Americans are praying for you		

Patriotic, discourse

Bush	Churchill	Henry V
For your sacrifice you have the gratitude and respect of the American people	we shall defend our is land whatever the cost may be we shall never surrender	On, on you noblest English!
		And you good yeomen,
the people of the united states and our friends and allies will not live at the mercy of an outlaw regime.	without victory there is no survival for all that the British Empire has stood for come then let us go forward together with our united strength	Whose limbs were made in England
		Cry 'god for Harry! England and Saint George!'
My fellow citizens the		

dangers to or country and the world will be overcome	
We will defend our freedom	

5.3.3.3. Pronominal reference: '*we*', '*our*'

The pronouns '*we*' and '*our*' can play an important part in the rhetoric of consensus and persuasion of political discourse. For example the pronouns '*we*' and '*our*' can imply a sense of collectivity between speaker and addressee (Beard, 2000, 24). This use of the 'inclusive' pronouns is common to all of the four of the speeches analysed in this study (Henry V, Winston Churchill, Tony Blair, George. W. Bush). For example, in the Bush speech it is not just Bush who is moving his military forces into Iraq. It is everyone in the US, it is the US as a nation: Bush, his government and his '*fellow citizens*'. '*We*' is used constantly in the Bush speech. Moreover, the inclusive '*our*' is used in a similar way to the inclusive 'we' linking (as in the Henry V speech) the speaker (the king/the president) to the audience: a bond between president and people of the nation (and troops) is formed and the group cause is created: the group in this case is the president, the people and the troops. The use of '*we*' also adds to the effect of creating patriotic discourse. ('*we*' the Americans).

We	Our
we come to Iraq with respect	our common defence
we have no ambition in Iraq	our sustained commitment
we will meet that threat	our nation enters this conflict
	our common defence
	our friends and allies

now
we do not have to meet
it later
we accept no outcome
but victory
we will pass through this
time of peril
we will defend our fre-
edom
we will bring freedom
to others
we will prevail

the dangers to our country
may god bless our country
and all who defend her

These uses of *'we'* and *'our'* create an implicit agreement: we are one, we are in this as a group, as a nation, we are a government, we are a people, we are a nation, and we are also part of a larger coalition, we are part of a worldwide group. The use of *'we'* and *'our'* in this way implies alignment between speaker and addressee.

5.3.3.4. Addressing the people

Similarities can be found in the style of rhetoric used by Bush and by Henry V when addressing the people. For example, there are close similarities between singles phrases.

Henry: *'dear friends'*; *' you noblest English!'*
Bush: *'My fellow citizens'*, (repeated twice)

Both leaders use rhetorical strategies that seek to align the speaker with the people and to imply that they are all part of the same group. For example, *'friends'*, *'fellow citizens'*. It is implicit that they are equals and are involved in the same common cause.

5.3.3.5. Addressing the troops

Similarities can also be seen in the style of rhetoric used by Bush and by Henry V when addressing the troops: for example, the similarities in the references to God and religion (the spiritual motif) and the reference to King and country and its defenders.

Henry: '*Cry 'God for Harry! England and Saint George*!'
Bush: *'May god bless our country and all who defend her'*

Other similarities in the rhetoric of the two speeches are seen in the way in which the two leaders address the troops: for example, in the appeals to pride in the nation and in its armies.

Henry: '*You good yeomen'*
Bush: *'To all the men and women of the United states armed forces'*
Henry: *'That you are worth your breeding; which I doubt not;'*
Bush: *'That trust is well placed'*
Henry: *'show us here. The mettle of your posture'*
Bush: *'to know your skill and bravery'*
Henry: *'Let us swear that you are worth your breeding'*
Bush: *'we will accept no outcome but victory'*
'We will defend our freedom'
'we will prevail'

5.3.3.5. Contrastive pairs, Repetition

The four speeches (Henry V, Churchill, Bush, Blair) contain some of the typical rhetorical strategies of the language of politics commonly used today, for example, use of parallelism; use of the list of three; use of rep-

etition and contrasting pairs. These contrastive pairs are made up of 'two parts which are in some ways in opposition, but in other ways use repetition to make the overall effect,' (Beard, 2000: 39).

Contrastive pairs

Bush	Blair	Churchill	Henry V
men/ women reluctantly/ sure	great warriors/ great nations shadow/ darkness true/peaceful fought/won wearwen values/universal values freedom/tiranny democracy/ dictatorship rule of law/ not rule of the secret police defence/attack divide/unify wrong/right persuasion/ not command great nations/ small (nations) alliance/affection justice/liberty-	speech I seas/oceans confidence/ strength field/streets subjugated/ starving armed/guared new world/old (world)	morn/even peace/war fair/hard teeth/nostril

Repetition. Repetition of synonyms or, words with similar meanings is a rhetorical strategy commonly used in the political speech. Contrast and repetition can be expressed in several different ways: for example, 'lexical repetition; semantic repetition; and/or contrast including the literal contrasted with the metaphorical; syntactical repetition; and phonological repetition.' (Beard, 200: 39).

Bush	Blair	Churchill	Henry V
free/defend broad/concerted skill/bravery honourable/decent safety/protection gratitude/respect phonological repetition: safely/soon bear/share	free /free fought /won shadow/darkness values/values choose/choice	struggle/suffering survival/no survival urge/impulse task/cause victory/victory fight/fight fight/struggle power/might rescue/liberation	mean/ base wild/wasteful follow/charge

List of three. The three part list is an important part of rhetorical tradition in English. It creates a sense of completion. According to Jones et al (2004), 'The importance of the three–part statement as a rhetorical device is widely found in political documents and oratory. Three of the most important three–part statements from the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries are to be found in:

— the cry of the French Revolution: 'Liberté Égalité, Fraternité (liberty, equality, brotherhood)

— the American Declaration of Independence: 'We hold these truths to be self evident: that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty and happiness,'
— Abraham Lincoln's Gettysburg Address: 'that government of the people, by the people and for the people shall not perish from this earth' (Jones and Peccei 2004: 50).

The George W. Bush speech follows this tradition, as did the 1940 Churchill speeches,

e.g., Churchill: 'You ask what is our policy?: … it is to wage war, by sea, land and air'; 'you ask what is our aim?: … It is …, victory at all costs, victory in site of all terror, victory however long and hard the road may be'

Bush: '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.'; '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.'

Similarly to the Bush speech the Blair speech also uses the rhetorical device of the group of three: for example, 'a nation of vastly different culture, tradition, religion'; 'technology, communication, trade and travel.'

Parallelism. Henry V (Shakespeare) also used this rhetorical device as does Bush:

Henry V: 'Stiffen the sinews, summon up the blood','Disguise fair nature with hard–favour'd rage;'

'Now set the teeth and stretch the nostril wide,hold hard the breath , and bend up every spirit To his full height,!

Bush: '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.'

5.4. Conclusions

One of the factors that contributed in the past to a concept of nationality was having a language in common and a common culture. Today, however, this to some extent is changing and with the phenomenon of immigration on a global scale societies are becoming more multi–cultural, with each culture maintaining its own language as well as the official national language.

One way in which the culture and the sense 'common sense' of a nation becomes fixed is through it's language. The English language, throughout the centuries, evolved to characterize the English nation, or the beginnings of the English nation. This idea of an English nation for centuries developed only gradually and largely began to be formulated around the era of Henry VIII and later in the Elizabethan era. Authors such as Shakespeare contributed to this with their works written in the vernacular of the time. Shakespeare began to fix the idea of nation and nationalistic feeling in his plays during the 16th and 17th centuries. Many of his plays told the stories of heroic English kings and queens: the leaders of an evolving nation.

With the advent of the printed text and with the fixity of language it had become possible to spread knowledge

and ideas in the local vernacular languages such as English or French. The spreading of knowledge was no longer monopolised by the language of power Latin, or by those few who knew Latin. For authors such as Anderson (1991) the new technologies such as the printed text that came along with the development of capitalism brought about other social changes. One of these was the shift from the concept of belonging to a national community as opposed to a religious community, in particular, those groups in positions of power in the newly developing capitalistic societies were able to spread their idea of a national community and common sense through the mainstream form of the local languages. In other words one way the concept of nationality was promoted was by particular groups through their language. Today, for linguists, such as, Fairclough, the power of groups or of individuals can be 'achieved through the ideological workings of language' (1989, 2). Consensus can be gained through a skilful use of language and therefore by those who can use language more skilfully than others. The language of persuasion is characteristic of political speeches such as those examined in this study.

However, if language can be a means to increased power and control, it can, at the same time, through increased literacy and through the more rapid communications systems of today also be a means to more democratic societies. For example, internet communications provide a vast potential for the creation of a greater number of interest groups and imagined communities that are not within restricted geographical boundaries and can therefore act toward increasing democracy through more widespread diffusion of knowledge and information.

Appendix

Appendix 1

1. Pauline Hanson (Maiden Speech – Federal Parliament of Australia, 10 September, 1998).

Mr Acting Speaker, in making my first speech in this place, I congratulate you on your election and wish to say how proud I am to be here as the Independent Member for Oxley.
I come here, not as a polished politician but as a woman who has had her fair share of life's knocks. My view on issues is based on common sense and my experience as a mother of four children, a sole parent and a businesswoman running a fish and chip shop. I won the seat of Oxley largely on an issue that has resulted in me being called a racist. That issue related to my comment that Aboriginals received more benefits than non–Aboriginals.
We now have a situation where a type of reverse racism is applied to mainstream Australians by those who promote political correctness and those who control the various taxpayer funded ''industries'' that flourish in our society, servicing Aboriginals, [word obscured in original] multiculturalists, and a host of other minority groups.
In response to my call for equality for ALL Australians, the most noisy criticism came from the ''fatcats'', bureaucrats and the ''do–gooders''. They screamed the loudest because they stand to lose the most; – their power, money and position, all funded by ordinary Australian taxpayers.

Present governments are encouraging separatism in Australia by providing opportunities, land, monies and facilities, only available to Aboriginals.

Along with millions of Australians, I am fed up to the back teeth with the inequalities that are being promoted by the government and paid for by the taxpayer under the assumption that Aboriginals are the most disadvantaged people in Australia [SEE FACT 1].

I do not believe that the colour of one's skin determines whether you are disadvantaged.

Mr Acting Speaker, as Paul Hasluck said in Parliament, in October 1955 (when he was Minister for Territories):

''The distinction I make is this. A social problem is one that concerns the way in which people live together in one society. A racial problem is a problem which confronts two different races who live in two separate societies, even if those societies are side by side. We do not want a society in Australia in which one group enjoy one set of privileges and another group enjoy another set of privileges''.

Hasluck's vision was of a single society in which racial emphases were rejected and social issues addressed.

I totally agree with him and so would the majority of Australians.

But remember, when he gave his speech, he was talking about the privileges white Australians were seen to be enjoying over Aboriginals.

Today, 41 years later, I talk about the exact opposite — the privileges Aboriginals enjoy over other Australians. I have done research on benefits only available to Aboriginals and challenge anyone to tell me how Aboriginals are disadvantaged when they can obtain 3 and 5% housing loans denied to non–Aboriginals. [SEE FACT 2]

Mr Acting Speaker, this nation is being divided into black and white and the present system encourages this. [SEE FACT 3]

I am fed up with being told, ''this is our land''. Well, where the hell do I go? I was born here and so were my parents and children. I will work beside anyone and they will be my equal but I draw the line when told I must pay and continue paying for something that happened over 200 years ago. Like most Australians, I worked for my land — no one gave it to me.

Apart from the $40 million spent so far since MBA, on Native Title claims, the Government has made available $1 billion

for Aborigines and Torres Strait Islanders as compensation for land they cannot claim under Native Title. Bear in mind that the $40 million spent so far on Native Title has gone into the pockets of grateful lawyers and consultants. Not one Native Title has been granted as I speak. [SEE FACT 4]

Mr Acting Speaker, the majority of Aboriginals don't want handouts because they realise that – WELFARE IS KILLING THEM. This quote says it all – ''If you give a man a fish, you feed him for a day. If you teach him how to fish, you feed him for a lifetime''. Those who feed off the Aboriginal industry don't want to see things changed. Look at the Council for Reconciliation. Members receive $290 a day sitting allowance, $320 a day travelling allowance and most of these people also hold other very well paid positions. No wonder they didn't want to resign recently! [SEE FACT 5]

Reconciliation is everyone recognising and treating each other as equals and everyone must be responsible for their own actions. This is why I am calling for ATSIC to be abolished. It is a failed, hypocritical and discriminatory organisation that has failed dismally, the people it was meant to serve. It will take more than Senator Herron's surgical skills to correct the terminal mess it is in. Anyone with a criminal record can and does, hold a position with ATSIC. [SEE FACT 6] I cannot hold my position as a politician if I have a criminal record. Once again, – two sets of rules!

If politicians continue to promote separatism in Australia, then they should not continue to hold their seats in this Parliament. They are not truly representing ALL Australians and I call on the people to throw them out! TO SURVIVE IN PEACE AND HARMONY, UNITED AND STRONG, WE MUST HAVE ONE PEOPLE, ONE NATION, ONE FLAG!

Mr Acting Speaker, the greatest cause of family breakdown is unemployment. This country of ours has the richest mineral deposits in the world, vast rich lands for agriculture and is surrounded by oceans that provide a wealth of seafood and yet, we are $190 billion in debt with an interest bill that is strangling us. [SEE FACT 7]

Youth unemployment between the ages of 15–24 runs at 25% [SEE FACT 8] and even higher in my electorate of Oxley. Statistics (by cooking the books), say that Australia's unemployment is at 8.6% or just under one million people. If

we disregard that one hours work a week classifies a person as employed, then the figure is really between 1.5 and 1.9 million unemployed. This is a crisis that recent governments have ignored because of a lack of will. We are regarded as a third world country with first world living conditions. We have one of the highest interest rates in the world and we owe more money per capita than any other country. All we need is a nail hole in the bottom of the boat and we're sunk!

In real dollar terms, our standard of living has dropped over the past ten years. In the 1960s our wages increase ran at 3% and unemployment at 2%. Today, not only is there no wage increase, we have gone backwards and unemployment is officially 8.6%. The real figure must be close to 12 or 13%.

Mr Acting Speaker, I wish to comment briefly on some social and legal problems encountered by many of my constituents, — problems not restricted just to my electorate of Oxley. I refer to the social and family upheaval created by the Family Law Act and the ramifications of that Act embodied in the Child Support Scheme. The Family Law Act, which was the child of the disgraceful Senator Lionel Murphy should be repealed. It has brought death, misery and heartache to countless thousands of Australians. Children are treated like pawns in some crazy game of chess.

The Child Support Scheme has become unworkable, very unfair and one sided. [SEE FACT 9] Custodial parents can often profit handsomely at the expense of the parent paying child support and in many cases the non–custodial parent simply gives up employment to escape in many cases, the heavy and punitive financial demands. Governments must give to ALL those who have hit life's hurdles, the chance to rebuild and have a future.

Mr Acting Speaker, we have lost all our big Australian industries and icons including Qantas when it sold off 25% of its shares and a controlling interest to British Airways. Now this government wants to sell Telstra, — a company that made $1.2 billion profit last year and will make $2 billion profit this year but first, they want to sack 54,000 employees [SEE FACT 10] to show better profits and share prices. Anyone with business sense knows that you don't sell off your assets especially when they are making money. I may only be

a ''fish and chip shop lady'' but some of these economists need to get their heads out of the text books and get a job in the real world. I wouldn't even let one of them handle my grocery shopping!

Mr Acting Speaker, immigration and multiculturalism are issues that this government is trying to address but for far too long, ordinary Australians have been kept out of any debate by the major parties. I and most Australians want our immigration policy radically reviewed and that of multiculturalism abolished. I believe we are in danger of being swamped by Asians. Between 1984 and 1995, 40% of all migrants into this country were of Asian origin. [SEE FACT 11] They have their own culture and religion, form ghettos and do not assimilate. Of course, I will be called racist but if I can invite who I want into my home, then I should have the right to have a say in who comes into my country. A truly multicultural country can NEVER be strong or united and the world is full of failed and tragic examples, ranging from Ireland to Bosnia, to Africa and closer to home, Papua New Guinea. America and Great Britain are currently paying the price.

Mr Acting Speaker, Arthur Calwell was a great Australian and Labor leader and it is a pity that there are not men of his stature sitting on the Opposition benches today. Arthur Calwell said and I quote, *''Japan, India, Burma, Ceylon and every new African nation are fiercely anti–white and anti one another. Do we want or need any of these people here? I am one red–blooded Australian who says NO and who speaks for 90% of Australians''*.

I have no hesitation in echoing the words of Arthur Calwell!

Mr Acting Speaker, there IS light at the end of the tunnel and there ARE solutions. If this government wants to be fairdinkum, then it must stop kowtowing to financial markets, international organisations, world bankers, investment companies and big business people. The Howard Government must become visionary and be prepared to act, even at the risk of making mistakes.

In this financial year, we will be spending at least $1.5 billion on foreign aid and we cannot be sure that this money will be properly spent, as corruption and mismanagement in many of the recipient countries are legend. Australia must review its

membership and funding of the UN, as it is a little like ATSIC on a grander scale, with huge tax free American dollar salaries, duty free luxury cars and diplomatic status. The World Health Organisation has a lot of its medical experts sitting in Geneva, while hospitals in Africa have no drugs and desperate patients are forced to seek medication on the black market. I am going to find out how many treaties we have signed with the UN, will have them exposed, then call for their repudiation. THE GOVERNMENT SHOULD CEASE ALL FOREIGN AID IMMEDIATELY AND APPLY THE SAVINGS TO GENERATING EMPLOYMENT HERE AT HOME!

Mr Acting Speaker, abolishing the policy of multiculturalism will save billions of dollars and allow those from ethnic backgrounds to join mainstream Australia, paving the way to a strong, united country.

Immigration must be halted in the short term, so that our dole queues are not added to, by in many cases, unskilled migrants not fluent in the English language. [SEE FACT 12] This would be one positive step to rescue many young and older Australians from a predicament which has become a national disgrace and crisis.

I MUST STRESS AT THIS STAGE, THAT I DO NOT CONSIDER THOSE PEOPLE FROM ETHNIC BACKGROUNDS CURRENTLY LIVING IN AUSTRALIA, ANYTHING BUT FIRST CLASS CITIZENS, PROVIDED OF COURSE THAT THEY GIVE THIS COUNTRY THEIR FULL, UNDIVIDED LOYALTY.

Mr Acting Speaker, the Government must be imaginative enough to become involved in the short term at least, in job creating projects that will help establish the foundation for a resurgence of national development and enterprise. Such schemes would be the building of the Alice Springs to Darwin railway line, new roads and ports, water conservation, reafforestation and other sensible and practical environmental projects.

Therefore, I call for the introduction of National Service, compulsory, for male and female, upon finishing year 12 or 18 years of age, for a period of 12 months. This could be a civil service with a touch of military training because I don't feel we can go on living in a dream world for ever and a day, believing that war will never touch our lives again.

The Government must do all it can to help reduce interest rates for business. How can we compete with Japan, Germany and Singapore who enjoy rates of 2, 5.5 and 3.5% respectively? Reduced tariffs on foreign goods that compete with local products only seems to cost Australians their jobs. We must look after our own before lining the pockets of overseas countries and investors at the expense of our living standards and future.

Mr Acting Speaker, time is running out. We may only have 10 – 15 years left to turn things around. Because of our resources and our position in the world, we won't have a say because neighbouring countries such as Japan with 250 million people, China (1.2 billion), India (1 billion), Indonesia (250 million) and Malaysia (300 million) are well aware of our resources and potential. [SEE FACT 13] WAKE UP AUSTRALIA BEFORE IT IS TOO LATE!!!

Australians need and want leaders who can inspire and give hope in difficult times. Now is the time for the Howard Government to accept the challenge.

Mr Acting Speaker, everything I have said is relevant to my electorate of Oxley, which is typical of mainstream Australia. I do have concerns for my country and I am going to do my best to speak my mind and stand up for what I believe in. As an Independent, I am confident that I can look after the needs of the people of Oxley and I will always be guided by their advice. It is refreshing to be able to express my views without having to toe a party line. It has got me into trouble on the odd occasion but I am not going to stop saying what I think.

I consider myself just an ordinary Australian who wants to keep this great country strong and independent and my greatest desire is to see all Australians treat each other as equals, as we travel together towards the new century. I will fight hard to keep my seat in this place but that will depend on the people who sent me here.

Mr Acting Speaker, I thank you for your attention and trust that you will not think me presumptious if I dedicate this speech to the people of Oxley and those other Australians who have supported me. I SALUTE THEM ALL!

Appendix 2

Prime Minister Tony Blair: Speech to the US Congress, 18 July 2003
(http://www.number–10.gov.uk/output/Page4220.asp)

Mr Speaker, Mr Vice President, Honourable Members of Congress. Thank you most sincerely for voting to award me the Congressional Gold Medal. But you, like me, know who the real heroes are: those brave servicemen and women, yours and ours, who fought the war, and risk their lives still. Our tribute to them should be measured in this way: by showing them and their families that they did not strive or die in vain but that through their sacrifice, future generations can live in greater peace, prosperity and hope.

Let me also express my gratitude to President Bush. Through the troubled times since September 11th changed the world, we have been allies and friends. Thank you, Mr President, for your leadership. I feel a most urgent sense of mission about today's world. September 11th was not an isolated event, but a tragic prologue. Iraq; another Act; and many further struggles will be set upon this stage before it's over. There never has been a time when the power of America was so necessary; or so misunderstood; or when, except in the most general sense, a study of history provides so little instruction for our present day.

We were all reared on battles between great warriors, between great nations, between powerful forces and ideologies that dominated entire continents. These were struggles for conquest, for land or money. The wars were fought by massed armies. The leaders were openly acknowledged: the outcomes decisive. Today, none of us expect our soldiers to fight a war on our territory. The immediate threat is not war between the world's powerful nations. Why? Because we all have too much to lose. Because technology, communication, trade and travel are bringing us ever closer. Because in the last 50 years countries like yours and mine have trebled their growth and standard of living. Because even those powers like Russia, China or India, can see the horizon of future wealth clearly and know they are on a steady road toward it. And because all nations that are free, value that freedom, will defend it abso-

lutely but have no wish to trample on the freedom of others. We are bound together as never before. This coming together provides us with unprecedented opportunity but also makes us uniquely vulnerable.

The threat comes because, in another part of the globe, there is shadow and darkness where not all the world is free, where many millions suffer under brutal dictatorship; where a third of our planet lives in a poverty beyond anything even the poorest in our societies can imagine; and where a fanatical strain of religious extremism has arisen, that is a mutation of the true and peaceful faith of Islam and because in the combination of these afflictions, a new and deadly virus has emerged. The virus is terrorism, whose intent to inflict destruction is unconstrained by human feeling; and whose capacity to inflict it is enlarged by technology.

This is a battle that can't be fought or won only by armies. We are so much more powerful in all conventional ways than the terrorist. Yet even in all our might, we are taught humility. In the end, it is not our power alone that will defeat this evil. Our ultimate weapon is not our guns but our beliefs. There is a myth. That though we love freedom, others don't, that our attachment to freedom is a product of our culture. That freedom, democracy, human rights, the rule of law are American values or Western values. That Afghan women were content under the lash of the Taliban. That Saddam was beloved by his people. That Milosevic was Serbia's saviour. Ours are not Western values. They are the universal values of the human spirit and anywhere, any time, ordinary people are given the chance to choose, the choice is the same. Freedom not tyranny. Democracy not dictatorship. The rule of law not the rule of the secret police. The spread of freedom is the best security for the free. It is our last line of defence and our first line of attack. Just as the terrorist seeks to divide humanity in hate, so we have to unify it around an idea and that that idea is liberty. We must find the strength to fight for this idea; and the compassion to make it universal.

Abraham Lincoln said: those that deny freedom to others, deserve it not for themselves. It is a sense of justice that makes moral the love of liberty. In some cases, where our security is under direct threat, we will have recourse to arms.

In others, it will be by force of reason. But in all cases to the same end: that the liberty we seek is not for some but for all. For that is the only true path to victory.

But first, we must explain the danger. Our new world rests on order. The danger is disorder and in today's world it now spreads like contagion. Terrorist and the states that support them don't have large armies or precision weapons. They don't need them. The weapon is chaos. The purpose of terrorism is not the single act of wanton destruction. It is the reaction it seeks to provoke: economic collapse; the backlash; the hatred; the division; the elimination of tolerance; until societies cease to reconcile their differences but become defined by them. Kashmir, the Middle East, Chechyna, Indonesia, Africa. Barely a continent or nation is unscathed. The risk is that terrorism and states developing WMD come together. When people say that risk is fanciful, I say: We know the Taliban supported Al Qaida; we know Iraq under Saddam gave haven to and supported terrorists; we know there are states in the Middle East now actively funding and helping people who regard it as God's will, in the act of suicide to take as many innocent lives with them on their way to God's judgement. Some of these states are desperately trying to acquire nuclear weapons. We know that companies and individuals with expertise sell it to the highest bidder and we know at least one state, North Korea, that lets its people starve whilst spending billions of dollars on developing nuclear weapons and exporting the technology abroad. This isn't fantasy. It is 21st Century reality and it confronts us now.

Can we be sure that terrorism and WMD will join together? Let us say one thing. If we are wrong, we will have destroyed a threat that, at its least is responsible for inhuman carnage and suffering. That is something I am confident history will forgive. But if our critics are wrong, if we are right as I believe with every fibre of instinct and conviction I have that we are, and we do not act, then we will have hesitated in face of this menace, when we should have given leadership. That is something history will not forgive. But precisely because the threat is new, it is not obvious. It turns upside down our concepts of how we should act and when. And it crosses the frontiers of many nations. So just as it redefines our notions of security, so it must refine our notions of diplomacy.

There is no more dangerous theory in international politics today than that we need to balance the power of America with other competitor powers, different poles around which nations gather. Such a theory made sense in 19th Century Europe. It was perforce the position in the Cold War. Today it is an anachronism to be discarded like traditional theories of security. It is dangerous because it is not rivalry but partnership we need; a common will and a shared purpose in the face of a common threat.

Any alliance must start with America and Europe. Believe me if Europe and America are together, the others will work with us. But if we split, all the rest will play around, play us off and nothing but mischief will be the result of it. You may think after recent disagreements it can't be done. But the debate in Europe is open. Iraq showed that, when, never forget, many European nations supported our action and it shows it still, when those that didn't, agreed Resolution 1483 in the UN for Iraq's reconstruction. Today German soldiers lead in Afghanistan. French soldiers lead in the Congo where they stand between peace and a return to genocide. We should not minimise the differences. But we should not let them confound us either. People ask me, after the past months when let us say things were a trifle strained in Europe, why do you persist in wanting Britain at the centre of Europe? I say: maybe if the UK were a group of islands 20 miles off Manhattan I might feel differently; but we're 20 miles off Calais and joined by a Tunnel. We are part of Europe — and want to be.

But we also want to be part of changing Europe. Europe has one potential for weakness. For reasons that are obvious — we spent roughly 1000 years killing each other in large numbers — the political culture of Europe is inevitably based on compromise. Compromise is a fine thing except when based on an illusion. And I don't believe you can compromise with this new form of terrorism. But Europe has a strength. It is a formidable political achievement. Think of its past and think of its unity today. Think of it preparing to reach out even to Turkey, a nation of vastly different culture, tradition and religion, and welcome it in. Now it is at a point of transformation. Next year ten new countries will join. Romania and Bulgaria will follow. Why will these new European mem-

bers transform Europe? Because their scars are recent. Their memories strong. Their relationship with freedom still one of passion not comfortable familiarity.
They believe in the transatlantic alliance. They support economic reform. They want a Europe of nations not a super–state.
They are our allies. And yours. So don't give up on Europe. Work with it.
To be a serious partner, Europe must take on and defeat the crass anti–Americanism that sometimes passes for its political discourse.
What America must do is to show that this is a partnership built on persuasion not command.
Then the other great nations of our world and the small will gather around in one place not many. And our understanding of this threat will become theirs. The United Nations can then become what it should be: an instrument of action as well as debate. The Security Council should be reformed. We need a new international regime on the non–proliferation. And we need to say clearly to UN members: if you engage in the systematic and gross abuse of human rights, in defiance of the UN charter, you can expect the same privileges as those that conform to it. It is not the coalition that determines the mission but the mission, the coalition. I agree. But let us start preferring a coalition and acting alone if we have to; not the other way round.
True, winning wars is not easier that way. But winning the peace is.
And we have to win both. You have an extraordinary record of doing so. Who helped Japan renew or Germany reconstruct or Europe get back on its feet after World War II? America.
So when we invade Afghanistan or Iraq, our responsibility does not end with military victory. Finishing the fighting is not finishing the job. If Afghanistan needs more troops from the international community to police outside Kabul, our duty is to get them. Let us help them eradicate their dependency on the poppy, the crop whose wicked residue turns up on the streets of Britain as heroin to destroy young British lives as much as their harvest warps the lives of Afghans.
We promised Iraq democratic government. We will deliver it.

We promised them the chance to use their oil wealth to build prosperity for all their citizens not a corrupt elite. We will do so.
We will stay with these people, so in need of our help, until the job is done.
And then reflect on this.
How hollow would the charges of American imperialism be when these failed countries are and are seen to be transformed from states of terror to nations of prosperity; from governments of dictatorship to examples of democracy; from sources of instability to beacons of calm.
And how risible would be the claims that these were wars on Muslims, if the world could see these Muslim nations still Muslim but Muslims with some hope for the future not shackled by brutal regimes whose principal victims were the very Muslims they pretended to protect? It would be the most richly observed advertisement for the values of freedom we can imagine. When we removed the Taliban and Saddam Hussein, this was not imperialism. For those oppressed people, it was their liberation. And why can the terrorists even mount an argument in the Muslim world that it isn't? Because there is one cause terrorism rides upon. A cause they have no belief in; but can manipulate.
I want to be very plain. This terrorism will not be defeated without peace in the Middle East between Israel and Palestine. Here it is that the poison is incubated. Here it is that the extremist is able to confuse in the mind of a frighteningly large number of people, the case for a Palestinian state and the destruction of Israel; and to translate this moreover into a battle between East and West; Muslim, Jew and Christian.
We must never compromise the security of the state of Israel.
The state of Israel should be recognised by the entire Arab world.
The vile propaganda used to indoctrinate children not just against Israel but against Jews must cease.
You cannot teach people hate and then ask them to practice peace.
But neither can you teach people peace except by according them dignity and granting them hope.
Innocent Israelis suffer.

So do innocent Palestinians.
The ending of Saddam's regime in Iraq must be the starting point of a new dispensation for the Middle East.
Iraq: free and stable.
Iran and Syria, who give a haven to the rejectionist men of violence, made to realise that the world will no longer countenance it; that the hand of friendship can only be offered them if they resile completely from this malice; but that if they do, that hand will be there for them and their people.
The whole of the region helped towards democracy.
And to symbolise it all, the creation of an independent, viable and democratic Palestinian state side by side with the state of Israel.
What the President is doing in the Middle East is tough but right.
And I thank the President for his support and that of President Clinton before him, and members of this Congress, for our attempts to bring peace to Northern Ireland. One thing I've learnt about peace processes. They're always frustrating, often agonising and occasionally seem hopeless. But for all that, having a peace process is better than not having one.
And why has a resolution of Palestine such a powerful appeal across the world?
Because it embodies an even–handed approach to justice.
Just as when this President recommended and this Congress supported a $15 billion increase in spending on the world's poorest nations to combat HIV/AIDS it was a statement of concern that echoed rightly round the world.
There can be no freedom for Africa without justice; and no justice without declaring war on Africa's poverty, disease and famine with as much vehemence as we remove the tyrant and the terrorist.
In Mexico in September the world should unite and give us a trade round that opens up our markets. I'm for free trade and I'll tell you why. Because we can't say to the poorest people in the world: we want you to be free but just don't try to sell your goods in our market. And because ever since the world started to open up, it has prospered.
That prosperity has to be sustainable too. I remember at one of our earliest international meetings a European Prime

Minister telling President Bush that the solution was simple: just double the tax on American gasoline. He wasn't exactly enthusiastic.

But frankly, we need to go beyond Kyoto. Science and technology is the way. Climate change, deforestation and the voracious drain on natural resources cannot be ignored. Unchecked, these forces will hinder the economic development of the most vulnerable nations first, and ultimately, all nations. We must show the world that we are willing to step up to these challenges around the world and in our own backyard. If this seems a long way from the threat of terror and WMD it is only to say again that the world's security cannot be protected without the world's heart being won.

So: America must listen as well as lead. But don't ever apologise for your values.

Tell the world why you're proud of America. Tell them that when the star–spangled banner starts, Americans get to their feet: Hispanics, Irish, Italians, Central Americans, Eastern Europeans, Jews; white, Asian, black, those who go back to the early settlers and those whose English is the same as some New York cabbies I've dealt with, but whose sons and daughters could run for this Congress.

Tell them why they stand upright and respectful.

Not because some state official told them to. But because whatever race, colour, class or creed they are, being American means being free. That's what makes them proud.

As Britain knows, all predominant power seems for a time invincible; but in fact it is transient. The question is what do you leave behind?

What you can bequeath to this anxious world is the light of liberty.

That is what this struggle against terrorist groups or states is about.

We're not fighting for domination.

We're not fighting for an American world, though we want a world in which America is at ease.

We're not fighting for Christianity but against religious fanaticism of all kinds.

This is not a war of civilisations because each civilisation has a unique capacity to enrich the stock of human heritage.

We are fighting for the inalienable right of human kind, black or white, Christian or not, left, right or merely indifferent, to be free.
Free to raise a family in love and hope.
Free to earn a living and be rewarded by your own efforts.
Free not to bend your knee to any man in fear.
Free to be you so long as being you does not impair the freedom of others.
That's what we're fighting for. And that's a battle worth fighting.
I know its hard on America. And in some small corner of this vast country in Nevada or Idaho, these places I've never been but always wanted to go, there's a guy getting on with his life, perfectly happily, minding his own business, saying to you the political leaders of this nation: why me? Why us? Why America? And the only answer is: because destiny put you in this place in history, in this moment in time and the task is yours to do. And our job, my nation that watched you grow, that you've fought alongside and now fights alongside you, that takes enormous pride in our alliance and great affection in our common bond, our job is to be there with you.
You're not going to be alone. We'll be with you in this fight for liberty. And if our spirit is right, and our courage firm, the world will be with us.

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