



Terms and Conditions of Use of Digitised Theses from Trinity College Library Dublin

Copyright statement

All material supplied by Trinity College Library is protected by copyright (under the Copyright and Related Rights Act, 2000 as amended) and other relevant Intellectual Property Rights. By accessing and using a Digitised Thesis from Trinity College Library you acknowledge that all Intellectual Property Rights in any Works supplied are the sole and exclusive property of the copyright and/or other IPR holder. Specific copyright holders may not be explicitly identified. Use of materials from other sources within a thesis should not be construed as a claim over them.

A non-exclusive, non-transferable licence is hereby granted to those using or reproducing, in whole or in part, the material for valid purposes, providing the copyright owners are acknowledged using the normal conventions. Where specific permission to use material is required, this is identified and such permission must be sought from the copyright holder or agency cited.

Liability statement

By using a Digitised Thesis, I accept that Trinity College Dublin bears no legal responsibility for the accuracy, legality or comprehensiveness of materials contained within the thesis, and that Trinity College Dublin accepts no liability for indirect, consequential, or incidental, damages or losses arising from use of the thesis for whatever reason. Information located in a thesis may be subject to specific use constraints, details of which may not be explicitly described. It is the responsibility of potential and actual users to be aware of such constraints and to abide by them. By making use of material from a digitised thesis, you accept these copyright and disclaimer provisions. Where it is brought to the attention of Trinity College Library that there may be a breach of copyright or other restraint, it is the policy to withdraw or take down access to a thesis while the issue is being resolved.

Access Agreement

By using a Digitised Thesis from Trinity College Library you are bound by the following Terms & Conditions. Please read them carefully.

I have read and I understand the following statement: All material supplied via a Digitised Thesis from Trinity College Library is protected by copyright and other intellectual property rights, and duplication or sale of all or part of any of a thesis is not permitted, except that material may be duplicated by you for your research use or for educational purposes in electronic or print form providing the copyright owners are acknowledged using the normal conventions. You must obtain permission for any other use. Electronic or print copies may not be offered, whether for sale or otherwise to anyone. This copy has been supplied on the understanding that it is copyright material and that no quotation from the thesis may be published without proper acknowledgement.



TRINITY
COLLEGE
DUBLIN

Rhetorical Agency and the Retransmission of Presidential Rhetoric: Southern Baptist Elites and the Global War on Terror

A Dissertation

Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Doctorate of Philosophy

Submitted to the University of Dublin, Trinity College, January, 2017

By

Casey Anderson

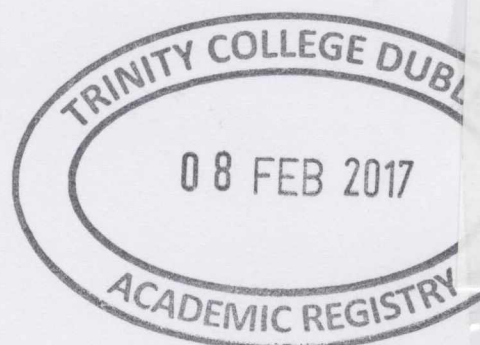
B.A., Illinois College, 2007

M.A., Urbana Theological Seminary, 2009

Dissertation Supervisors:

Dr. Bill McSweeney

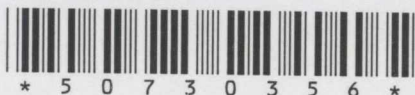
Dr. Gillian Wylie



THESIS

11359.1

50730356



* 5 0 7 3 0 3 5 6 *

PWJ
CONFEDERAL SCHOOL OF
RELIGIONS, PEACE STUDIES
& THEOLOGY

I declare that this thesis has not been submitted as an exercise for a degree at this or any other university and it is entirely my own work.

I agree to deposit this thesis in the University's open access institutional repository or allow the library to do so on my behalf, subject to Irish Copyright Legislation and Trinity College Library conditions of use and acknowledgement.



Thesis 11359

Acknowledgements

I would like to thank my advisors Dr. Bill McSweeney and Dr. Gillian Wylie for their guidance and encouragement. At times they acted not only as advisors but advocates. That advocacy directly impacted my ability to persist in my academic program. My gratitude for your assistance cannot be understated. I would also like to thank my mother and father for their guidance, patience, and unending support. You raised me to value learning and knowledge, to seek new cultural experiences, to ask questions and to preserve. Without those values I would have never begun this academic endeavor; without your support I would have never finished it. I feel in that this, truly, is as much your achievement as mine. I thank my brother Ryan for helping me cope with the stress of a PhD. Program and encouraging me to grow; my friend Conor who was there for me when I felt most defeated and reminded me of the value of my experience beyond the academic credentials I hoped to attain; and Pooja for her unending support and for keeping me looking forward towards my goals.

Thank You,

Casey H. Anderson

Summary

The primary function of this dissertation is to examine the process in which political elites that represent constituencies engage with political narratives created in presidential rhetoric and practice rhetorical agency that either reflects or affects the rhetorical culture of their community. More specifically this dissertation will examine the process by which narratives related to the Global War on Terror (GWOT) are produced by President Bush and his team and then assimilated and sometimes retransmitted by religious leaders from the Southern Baptist Convention (SBC) through an analysis of speeches, interviews, and rhetoric produced for dissemination through Christian media affiliated with the SBC within the United States. The dissertation seeks to answer the primary research question: Do elites within the SBC practice rhetorical agency on Bush's GWOT narrative during the retransmission process and if so how do they do so? To clarify the answer, it also asks if SBC elites do practice agency on the GWOT narrative are the changes designed to change the narrative to reflect the rhetorical culture of the community, or to change the rhetorical culture of the community to conform the product of their discussion of the GWOT to the parameters set by the narrative. Additionally, are the changes significant enough to change the basic presentation of the GWOT within the SBC? To find the answers to these questions this dissertation makes use of a new critical consisting of a synthesis of Neo-Aristotelian Critical Methodology and Weberian interpretive theories related to social action and meaning applied to actions by communities.

Neo-Aristotelian criticism will be used to identify the persuasive elements, known as rhetorical appeals, of the GWOT narrative that specifically target members of the SBC at two stages in the communication process: during construction and retransmission. Examining the rhetorical appeals during the construction of the Bush's GWOT narrative is an important starting point for this project because it will allow for the identification of specific rhetorical appeals that have a relationship to the core values of the SBC.

Weber's ideas on the relationship between shared ideas and values, his ideas on social action, and modern perspectives on social action theory have helped to direct the specific research questions that will be asked in this dissertation. Weber's ideas will also provide a theoretical framework that guides the analysis of the historical and political context of the SBC required by Neo-Aristotelian methodology including the identification of core values that are important in providing meaning to actions and ideas within the community and selection of rhetorical

appeals that can be considered to target conservative evangelicals due to their specific relationship to the community's core values. Additionally, Weber's ideas are essential in interpreting changes that occur within templates for action included in various versions of the GWOT narrative and conflicting meaning applied to issues discussed in the narrative.

The analysis then finds that during the retransmission process SBC Elites actively retransmit many of Bush's rhetorical appeals that connect to their core values and express a high degree of satisfaction for Bush's leadership that is articulated as a sense of shared values. However, through the process of active interpretation they reify Bush's appeals in a way that allows them to redefine the ideas and actions present in the narrative, apply new frames to foreign policy and security issues that reinforce their previously held political positions and theological ideas, and actively argue against Bush's positions that do not fit in with their interpretation of theological or social issues. This practice of rhetorical agency has a significant effect on the retransmitted version of the narrative. Namely, it reinterprets the character of the war in a way that elevates its religious significance and limits the President's ability to define the conflict, creates a value-rational template for support for the war that eliminates neutrality and limits the potential for rational critique and counter argument, and undermines the unity appeals that formed a core part of Bush's coalition building strategy.

Contents

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS	I
SUMMARY	II
CONTENTS	IV
CHAPTER 1: RESEARCH INTRODUCTION	1
Aims and Hypothesis	1
The Scope of the Research - Rhetorical Transmission in the Southern Baptist Convention	5
Theoretical Framework - Weberian Theory and Neo-Aristotelian Analysis of Rhetoric	7
Research Methodology	14
Chapter Outline	19
CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW	24
Rhetorical Power and Presidential Leadership	25
Presidential Rhetoric of George W. Bush	36
Defining the September 11th Attacks and the GWOT Narrative	38
Religious Rhetoric	49
Conclusions	60
CHAPTER 3: THE HISTORICAL AND THEOLOGICAL CONTEXT OF THE SOUTHERN BAPTIST CONVENTION, CONSERVATIVE EVANGELICAL POLITICAL ACTION, AND THE CONNECTION BETWEEN VALUES AND FOREIGN POLICY	62
Identifying the Values of the SBC through its Historical Development	64
The Rise of the Christian Right and Conservative Evangelical Political Activity	73
Specific Policy Goals of the SBC and their Relationship to SBC values and Doctrine	79
Conclusions	88
CHAPTER 4: THE GLOBAL WAR ON TERROR NARRATIVE IN THE DISCOURSE OF GEORGE W. BUSH	91
President Bush, the Christian Right, and the SBC	92

Case Study: The Rhetoric of George W. Bush	100
<i>Ethos</i> : Appeals to Character and Authority	101
<i>Logos</i> : Logical Appeals	114
<i>Pathos</i> : Emotional Appeals	137
Conclusions	148
CHAPTER 5: ADOPTION AND RETRANSMISSION OF THE GLOBAL WAR ON TERROR NARRATIVE BY THE SOUTHERN BAPTIST CONVENTION ELITES	153
Retransmitting the GWOT Narrative	153
Case Study: Identifying the Bush GWOT Narrative in the Rhetoric of Dr. Richard Land	154
<i>Ethos</i> : Appeals to Character and Authority	158
<i>Logos</i> : Logical Appeals	169
<i>Pathos</i> : Emotional Appeals	189
Conclusions Regarding Dr. Land's Rhetoric	198
Analysis of Rhetoric from other SBC Elites	202
Conclusions	216
CHAPTER 6: CONCLUSION	223
Neo-Aristotelian Criticism and Weberian Theories on Social Action and Meaning	226
Suggestions for Further Research	229
BIBLIOGRAPHY	231

Chapter 1: Research Introduction

Aims and Hypothesis

President George W. Bush's Global War on Terror (GWOT) proved to be controversial both domestically and internationally. In an attempt to manage these controversies and foster public support for the GWOT, President Bush crafted a rhetorical narrative that framed issues in a way favorable to his political goals. This narrative has been the subject of many scholarly studies; it has been mapped, analyzed, rebutted, and its relationship to other presidential rhetoric has been explored. These projects have been produced by scholars from various fields including Richard Jackson, Sue Lockett John, Douglas Kellner, S. Kline, Lee Marsden, and J. Maggio.¹ Each scholarly project has provided insight into how the President engaged with the American public and the international audience in order to gain support for foreign and domestic policies related to the GWOT. The narrative itself was designed to tie disparate issues together through an overly simplified presentation of America's place in the world, its conduct in war, and the definition of the moral character of the United States and its enemies.

One role of presidential rhetoric is to facilitate coalition building. Through this process, presidents mobilize different constituencies and tie them together into larger bases of support. The use of rhetoric to provide interpretation of issues, build coalitions around that interpretation, and increase issue salience is often referred to as *the bully pulpit*, or when exclusively in the context of presidential leadership, the *Rhetorical Presidency*.² As the GWOT was a cornerstone of Bush's policy agenda, it is understandable that his administration would seek to mobilize his coalition to support their wartime objectives. President Bush used a strategy designed to mobilize as

¹ Richard Jackson, *Writing the War on Terrorism: Language, Politics and Counter-terrorism* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2005); Sue Lockett John et al., "Going Public, Crisis after Crisis: The Bush Administration and the Press from September 11 to Saddam," *Rhetoric & Public Affairs* 10, no. 2 (2007); Douglas Kellner, "9/11, Spectacles of Terror, and Media Manipulation," *Critical Discourse Studies* 1, no. 1 (2004); S. Kline, "The Culture War Gone Global: 'Family Values' and the Shape of US Foreign Policy," *International Relations* 18, no. 4 (2004); Lee Marsden, *For God's Sake: The Christian Right and US Foreign Policy* (London: Zed Books, 2008); J. Maggio, "The Presidential Rhetoric of Terror: The (Re)Creation of Reality Immediately after 9/11," *Politics & Policy* 35, no. 4 (2007). A more complete discussion will be included in the literature review in Chapter Two.

² Jeffrey Tulis, *The Rhetorical Presidency* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1987) and Samuel Kernell, *Going Public: New Strategies of Presidential Leadership* (Washington, D.C.: CQ Press, 1986). A full discussion of these concepts will appear in Chapter Two.

many members of the conservative base as possible to support his goals.³ Conservative, evangelical Christians were an essential constituency in that coalition and strongly supported his election. It is not surprising then that his rhetoric included persuasive appeals that were relevant to this group and included a plethora of religious language and tropes.

Scholarly projects by Domke and Coe, Christopher Brody Chapp, and others examining the GWOT narrative have focused on Bush's disproportionate use of religious language and ideas in his public statements.⁴ Debates have occurred as to the character of that religious language, the degree to which it is an accurate reflection of George W. Bush's personal faith, the potential impact the language had on conservative evangelical voters, the dangers of using religious language to promote a wartime agenda, and many other topics.⁵ Many of these debates have simultaneously engaged with other research related to the actual impact of the policies the rhetoric promotes, the underlying motivations behind those policies, and voter preference and reactions to both domestic and foreign policy issues. Therefore, the matrix of research related to Bush's use of religious rhetoric in promoting the GWOT has been important in many fields beyond Rhetorical Studies.⁶

Analyses have consistently shown that within the political climate of the United States since 1980, conservative, evangelical Christians have held an important position in the coalition of constituencies targeted by the Republican Party (GOP).⁷ The GOP has increasingly adopted the moral politics that they perceive as core issues for

³ D. Sunshine Hillygus, "Moral Issues and Voter Decision Making in the 2004 Presidential Election," *PS: Political Science and Politics* 38, no. 2 (April 01, 2005). And PBS, "2004: The Base Strategy," PBS Frontline, April 12, 2005, <http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/pages/frontline/shows/architect/rovc/2004.html>.

⁴ Kevin Coe and David Domke, "Petitioners or Prophets? Presidential Discourse, God, and the Ascendancy of Religious Conservatives," *Journal of Communication* 56, no. 2 (2006).; David Scott. Domke and Kevin M. Coe, *The God Strategy: How Religion Became a Political Weapon in America* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008).; Christopher B. Chapp, *Religious Rhetoric and American Politics: The Endurance of Civil Religion in Electoral Campaigns* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2013). More examples will appear in the literature review in Chapter Two.

⁵ A full discussion of these concepts will appear in Chapter Two.

⁶ To paraphrase the definition provided by the Rhetorical Studies Department at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, Rhetorical studies is a field dedicated to the study or the means of persuasion available through the use of symbols in a variety of contexts that focuses on the way in which texts come to have meaning to an audience. The field employs a variety of critical and interpretive methods and includes analysis of all forms of public discourse. UNCCH, "Rhetorical Studies," UNC - Communications Department, accessed May 27, 2016, <http://comm.unc.edu/areas-of-studies/rhetorical-studies/>.

⁷ Andrew J. Bacevich and Elizabeth H. Prodromou, "God Is Not Neutral: Religion and U.S. Foreign Policy after 9/11," *Orbis* 48, no. 1 (2004).; David Scott. Domke and Kevin M. Coe, *The God Strategy: How Religion Became a Political Weapon in America*, 2008.; Robert Freedman, "The Religious Right And The Carter Administration," *The Historical Journal* 48, no. 1 (1999).; John Clifford Green, Mark J. Rozell, and Clyde Wilcox, *The Christian Right in American Politics: Marching to the Millennium* (Washington, D.C.: Georgetown University Press, 2003).; Ted G. Jelen, "The Effects of Religious Separatism on White Protestants in the 1984 Presidential Election," *Sociological Analysis* 48, no. 1 (April 01, 1987). Many others will be covered in Chapter Three.

conservative evangelical Christians. In return, these Christians have increased their support for the party at local, state, and federal levels through donations, voting, and grassroots political action. This process illustrates a common cycle of political agency in which both groups exercise influence on the other in regard to issue salience and agenda-setting. Work on the GWOT has also consistently shown that conservative evangelical Christians exercise this agency on the foreign policy positions of the GOP and that their influence, and therefore effort and resulting support, increased through the Bush presidency.⁸

However, while examinations of Bush's rhetoric have described his use of religious rhetoric as a response to conservative, evangelical support, none has examined the role conservative evangelicals play in exercising rhetorical agency on the narrative to determine if the version of the narrative they retransmit is consistent with the ideas and persuasive purpose of the original crafted in presidential discourse. Differentiating between the many concepts of *agency* is important to this thesis. The general term *agency* refers to an individual's ability to act freely and through one's own will. This definition is not satisfactory to define the process as it relates to rhetoric. Instead, the concept of *rhetorical agency* is used. *Rhetorical agency* is the ability of an individual to affect the rhetorical culture (process of communication and the product of communication norms) within a given community. The divide between process and product is important because it expands the concept beyond how ideas are communicated to the norms associated with listeners and those engaging with rhetoric.⁹ This subject is only growing in importance as presidents are somewhat reliant on outside sources to retransmit their messages to larger audiences. Since the 1970's, viewership for presidential speeches has been in a slow decline.¹⁰ Much of this decline results from developments of other methods of communication or ways to encounter the president's message.¹¹ But many of these methods, especially those related to transmission by the media, provide opportunities for others to exercise their agency on the message. In these cases, political elites, or individuals who act as policy and decision makers, agenda-setters, have a

⁸ A full discussion of these concepts will appear in Chapter Three in the section, "Rise of the Christian Right and Conservative Evangelical Political Activity."

⁹ Cheryl Geisler, "How Ought We to Understand the Concept of Rhetorical Agency? Report from the ARS," *Rhetoric Society Quarterly* 34, no. 3 (2004).

¹⁰ George C. Edwards and Stephen J. Wayne, *Presidential Leadership: Politics and Policy Making* (Belmont, CA: Wadsworth, 2009):125.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 126. Program competition and general viewer disinterest also play a role.

degree of autonomy from social pressure, and generally sit at the top of organized hierarchies, have the access and reach to most affect the message and retransmit it.¹²

This thesis will correct this oversight by employing a cross disciplinary method that makes use of theoretical foundations from social science and an analytical tool from rhetorical studies to examine the process in which political elites that represent constituencies engage with political discourse and practice rhetorical agency that either reflects or affects the rhetorical culture of their community. This thesis is presented as a work in the field of Rhetorical Studies due to its focus on the relationship that exists between elites in political and religious communities as expressed through public discourse. This dissertation hypothesizes that religious and political elites that represented conservative, evangelical, religious constituencies in the United States, particularly the Southern Baptist Convention (SBC), practiced rhetorical agency on the GWOT narrative put forward by the Bush administration. By doing so, they lent authority to the appeals in the narrative while reinforcing arguments in its favor by creating concrete connections to beliefs and doctrines deemed vital to their communities, expanding upon vague appeals that connect to the values of their constituency in an attempt to increase their effectiveness, and providing a call to action specific to members of the community they represent. I posit that the result of these actions fundamentally changes the portrayal of the GWOT in the narrative by ascribing new motives and meanings to actions taken by individuals involved in the conflict and those who engage in social action, either in support of or against it, that are described in the retransmitted version of the narrative. Additionally, the resulting portrayal of the GWOT reinforces the SBC political agenda at the expense of Bush's desired political unity. An important element of this discussion is the idea of rhetorical culture. Put simply, rhetorical culture is the established norms related to the process of communication and the product of that communication within a culture.¹³ Rhetorical culture provides a natural link to Weber's theories on *meaning* of actions. This link will be explored in the theoretical framework section of this chapter.

An interpretive theory drawn from Weber's theories on the protestant ethic and social action will be combined with Neo-Aristotelian criticism, an analytical tool from the field of rhetorical studies that allows for a close examination

¹² Dennis Chong and James N. Druckman, "A Theory of Framing and Opinion Formation in Competitive Elite Environments," *Journal of Communication* 57, no. 1 (2007).

¹³ Thomas B. Farrell, *Norms of Rhetorical Culture* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1993).

of individual elements related to persuasion within a complex narrative. Neo-Aristotelian analysis will be used to examine the GWOT narrative at different stages of its construction within the Bush administration's rhetoric to map the value appeals relevant to the core values of conservative, evangelical Christians that, according to Weber, could act as a motivator for social action. Herein social action taken to support Bush's wartime policies is defined as any action, politically or socially, that is group oriented, the product of shared intention, and has meaning attached to it by the actor. A more specific discussion of social action will occur later in this chapter. Importantly, the argumentative structure used by Bush will be compared to the Weberian categories of social action in order to judge the template for action he provides and the appropriateness of the persuasive appeals it contains in relation to that audience. The same process will then be repeated on public discourse representing the conservative, evangelical constituency.

The Scope of the Research - Rhetorical Transmission in the Southern Baptist Community

Asking how conservative evangelicals in the United States exercise rhetorical agency on presidential rhetoric creates a scope of research that is far too broad to address in this dissertation. While many conservative, evangelical Christians in the United States belong to a larger political movement, termed the Christian right, evangelicalism itself represents a variety of denominations, nondenominational faith communities, and theological belief systems. Because of the time and space requirements on this project, examining rhetoric from each different group that represents varied values and beliefs within the full spectrum of evangelicalism, including liberal evangelicals, centrists, and all elements of the Christian right, would be prohibitive. To further complicate the analysis, the Christian right does not have an official leadership. Several dominant personalities have arisen, but infighting and theological disunity plagued the movement from its early years in the 1980's through its decline and revival in the early 1990's. By the time of George W. Bush's presidency, the movement had been subsumed into normal patterns of coalition building. The lack of organized leadership would further complicate selecting public rhetoric that represents the movement as a whole. To narrow the scope of this study, the discussion will be limited to one group

of conservative evangelicals, who due to their size, structured leadership, organized infrastructure related to political activity, and influence in the Bush administration, are representative of the goals and political activity of the religious right movement: the Southern Baptist Convention (SBC).¹⁴

The Southern Baptist Convention is the United States' largest protestant denomination. It has over 50,000 participating churches or church-like bodies worldwide, has an organized denominational structure, and is highly politically active through both official denominational bodies and unofficial alliances with outside parachurch organizations. It represented 16.2 million members at the end of Bush's presidency, with the large majority residing in the United States.¹⁵ Similar to the Christian right movement, the specific theological beliefs of the SBC are varied, but unifying theological themes stemming from a literalist interpretation of the Bible tie different faith communities together. The SBC does, however, have a statement of faith that affirms general theological concepts while leaving their specific interpretations ambiguous to accommodate their congregationalist beliefs. This statement of faith allows for the denomination to determine who falls outside their understanding of orthodoxy, and therefore, beyond their fellowship.¹⁶ Importantly, the SBC has an official hierarchy that represents its membership. This structure has proven useful politically, as several high ranking members who have made careers of political activity and social engagement were provided great access to the Bush administration.¹⁷ Bush has engaged with the SBC on an official level on many occasions. Its organized structure, large membership, diversity of thought, and official political activity make the SBC an ideal focus for this thesis. Additionally, its political agenda is representative of the greater Christian right movement, and it has a long history of official contact with the Bush administration. Bush's appointment of Richard Land to the U.S. Commission on International Religious Freedom and his close working relationship with him allowed a member of the official SBC hierarchy to represent the Bush administration on matters of faith and foreign policy. Bush also made special effort to directly address SBC leaders and membership, singling out the group as both an important part of his coalition and as representative of his

¹⁴ Chapter Three contains a description of the political action of the Christian right as well as an analysis of the political action of the SBC and their slow integration into the larger movement.

¹⁵ Eileen W. Lindner, *Yearbook of American & Canadian Churches, 2010* (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 2010). The 2010 edition contains information from the year 2008.

¹⁶ Chapter Three contains an analysis of the key ideas and values promoted by the Baptist statement of faith, *The Baptist Faith and Message*. In addition, Chapter Three also contains a discussion in which the core values of evangelical Christianity are identified and demonstrated to exist within the SBC.

¹⁷ More in-depth discussion of the access given to leaders of the Christian Right and to conservative evangelical appointees to the Bush administration will appear in chapter Four and Five.

political agenda. Bush recorded speeches for the Southern Baptist Convention Annual Meeting in the years 2002, 2003, 2004, 2005, and 2007.¹⁸ On several occasions, he sent top representatives from his staff to the SBC Annual Meeting, including Secretary of State, Condoleezza Rice, and Special Assistant, Tim Goeglein.

Theoretical Framework - Weberian Theory and Neo-Aristotelian Analysis of Rhetoric

Max Weber's work predates the modern tension between positivist and anti-positivist schools in Social Science. However, Weber's body of research indicates that he primarily sought rational interpretations and explanations of observed patterns of social behavior.¹⁹ When engaging with empirical evidence, Weber did so as a first step in identifying underlying intentions and motivations of those engaging in social behavior.²⁰ Though this focus places Weber in the realm of anti-positivist, hermeneutical research, it is clear he saw value in the use of empirical evidence as a way to identify correlations that could act as predictors for specific events within specific contexts (albeit context that required further analysis for explanation) but which represented a separate type of sociological knowledge.²¹

This anti-positivist view can be seen in Max Weber's works regarding causative forces and social action. In *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism* Max Weber argued that shared values and beliefs are a causative force of social action.²² Weber viewed the theological viewpoints and social realities that were shared among Protestant nations after the Reformation as a primary cause for the shift in world economic power. That power shifted from

¹⁸ Gerhard Peters and John T. Woolley, "The American Presidency Project," The American Presidency Project, accessed June 01, 2016, <http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/index.php>. This site contains an archive with each speech listed. Also Baptist Press, "Bush Speaks to Southern Baptists, Reiterates Stances on Life Issues, Same-sex 'marriage'" Baptist Press, June 15, 2004, accessed June 01, 2016, <http://www.bpnews.net/18474>.

¹⁹ Sociology (in the sense in which this highly ambiguous word is used here) is a science concerning itself with the interpretive understanding of social action and thereby with a causal explanation of its course and consequences. Max Weber, *Economy and Society* (London: University of California Press, 1978): 4.

²⁰ Max Weber, *Roscher and Knies: The Logic Problems of Historical Economics* (New York: Free Press, 1975):128; Max Weber, "Objectivity in Social Sciences and Social Policy," in *The Methodology of the Social Sciences*, by Max Weber and Edward Shils (Glencoe: Free Press, 1949): 196-110.

²¹ Max Weber, "Objectivity in Social Sciences and Social Policy," 1949:52, 72; Max Weber, *Roscher and Knies: The Logic Problems of Historical Economics*, 1975: 186, 197, 216; Max Weber, *Economy and Society* (London: University of California Press, 1978): 110.

²² Max Weber, *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism* (Lexington, KY: [CreateSpace], 2010).

traditionally wealthy Catholic countries, like Spain and Italy, to Protestant countries, like the Netherlands, England, and Germany, which became wealthy after the Reformation. Stated simply, Weber held that Protestants, and more specifically Calvinists, shared beliefs related to their spiritual well-being that encouraged hard work, reinvestment, and a shunning of extravagant living that all led to success in financial matters. These shared beliefs, coupled with a worldview that characterized success in the real world as evidence of an individual's status regarding predestination, fostered a culture that directly led to the creation of a capitalist economic system. In that culture and economic system, individuals were hard-working, society justified gaining wealth spiritually instead of casting it as a sign of greed, and animosity resulting from class differences was minimized. The rise of capitalism, he argues, was therefore directly caused by the shared ideas of the protestant ethic. This viewpoint stands in direct opposition to Marx's historical materialism, where economic realities are causative in shaping the beliefs and ideas of people in different classes and economic contexts.²³ After his work on the protestant ethic, Weber further defined his stance by defining social action as "when the acting individual attaches meaning to his behavior" and "takes account of the behavior of others and is thereby oriented in its course."²⁴

The belief that shared ideas and values motivate social action is foundational to the research presented in this dissertation. More recent research has attempted to expand on Weber's ideas by developing theories of collective action that explain the relationship between individual desires, collective intention, structures of organizations, and social action.²⁵ In his 1937 work, *The Structure of Social Action*, Talcott Parsons examined the works of Weber and others and identified an underlying theory that is summarized by Coleman, "Individuals were seen as purposeful and goal directed, guided by interests (or 'values' depending on the theorist) and by rewards and constraints imposed by the social environment."²⁶ This theory on individual action was essential to their works on macrosocial phenomenon because it grounded larger social movements in the action of individuals. Parsons attempted to develop a theory of voluntaristic social action in that same work to connect the concepts of individual rational action to large social movements identified by historians and earlier social scientists. Others, like Robert Merton and George Homans,

²³ Ibid.

²⁴ Max Weber, Guenther Roth, and Claus Wittich, *Economy and Society an Outline of Interpretive Sociology* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1978).

²⁵ Terminology often varies from project to project. *Collective intention, we-intention, and group-intention* are all terms used for the unified will of groups to act. Richard P. Bagozzi, "On the Concept of Intentional Social Action in Consumer Behavior," *Journal of Consumer Research* 27, no. 3 (December 01, 2000).

²⁶ James S. Coleman, "Social Theory, Social Research, and a Theory of Action," *American Journal of Sociology* 91, no. 6 (May 01, 1986): 1301. And Talcott Parsons, *The Structure of Social Action* (Glencoe, IL: Free Press, 1949).

challenged Parsons' findings but continued to work towards a theory of action.²⁷ However, by the early 1950's, the field of sociology had moved to more empirically-based, survey-driven research that often used individuals as a metric and lacked the intention-based orientation popular with earlier social theorists examining social action. This movement combined with changing social norms, advances in new communication technologies, and shifting population patterns to lead to research focusing on more individualistic elements. These projects were often driven by interest in specific subgroups of actors within society and often funded or requested by corporate interests.²⁸

By the 1990's, new theories began to arise that took social changes and new research dynamics into account. They specifically focused on how to solve what Coleman calls the micro-to-macro problem: identifying the process through which personal desires become collective action.²⁹ Coleman argued the route to developing a theory lies in examining relationships between different variables within society, examining relationships along the full scale of macro and micro level interactions, and treating the micro-to-macro problem as a series of different problems that inform one another.³⁰ Three important theories have been championed by Gilbert, Tuomela, and Bratman that all subordinate group social action to individual intention. For Gilbert, collective action can only be performed by individual actors that actively understand themselves as part of a collective. This understanding comes from a complex system of obligations and entitlements associated with membership in a collective and results from conditional subordination of individual will to the goals and actions driven by the collective will based on the mutual commitment of others to joint action.³¹ This "I will if you will" concept of group intention is repeated in Tuomela. Yet, Tuomela differs from Gilbert, first by contesting the ontological existence of groups beyond the real relationships between individuals that belong to them, and second by making membership to a group contingent on acceptance of an authority structure to regulate individual relationships and to regulate the transference of individual

²⁷ Robert K. Merton, *Social Theory and Social Structure* (New York: Free Press, 1968). And George Caspar Homans, *Social Behavior: Its Elementary Forms* (New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, 1961).

²⁸ The last issue of corporate interests explains why much of the research done on social action theory has been related to consumer behavior, yet it clearly has wide ranging implications in areas of politics or any other area where groups of individuals mobilize for group action.

²⁹ James S. Coleman, "Social Theory, Social Research, and a Theory of Action", (1986): 1321. This problem is also referred to as the problem of social choice in political science, aggregation in economics, or the problem of transformation in other social sciences.

³⁰ Ibid., 1326.

³¹ Margaret Gilbert, "Walking Together: A Paradigmatic Social Phenomenon," *Midwest Studies In Philosophy* 15, no. 1 (1990) and Margaret Gilbert, *On Social Facts* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1992).

will to the group, thereby producing group intention.³² In each of these theories, shared ideas are instrumental in developing the understanding that all members will participate in the way required by their group and that individual intentions that align to form group intentions are the result of goals derived from consideration of interests or values. Bratman, on the other hand, argues that individuals can actively choose to engage in group action and that group intention results from an interlocking network of individual intentions, mutual knowledge that all individuals have chosen to take part in group action, and coordinated efforts. Shared intention in this model serves three major functions: it coordinates individual intentional action, coordinates planning for group action, and structures a framework from relevant bargaining as to roles of individuals in a group effort.³³ This position does not seem dramatically different from the other two, yet it rejects the need for obligations and entitlements as a motivating factor for individuals and an authority system to regulate the transference of will.³⁴

Though no single unified theory of social action exists, each places an exchange of ideas or an alignment of goals derived from shared values or interests as an essential step in translating individual intention to act to group intention for unified social action. In this way, social action theory acts as a bridge between ideas presented in Weber's *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism* and the modern idea of *The Rhetorical Presidency*, where the president uses public rhetoric to communicate ideas and information to the public, to cultivate a consensus among the public around his policy positions, and position himself as a representative of the people's values, all in an effort to foster social action in support of his political agenda. Where shared ideas and values are necessary to motivate social action, public rhetoric can articulate those ideas and values; where mutual commitment is a prerequisite for transference of will, public rhetoric can articulate a commitment from elites to work towards shared intentions and to direct others in organized unified action.

During the 1990's, scholars in the field of Rhetorical Studies were also struggling to define an interpretive theory that addressed the micro-to-macro problem related to rhetoric: how can one understand the relationship between individual acts of communication and patterns at a societal and universal level? For much of its history, the field of

³² Raimo Tuomela, *The Importance of Us: A Philosophical Study of Basic Social Notions* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1995).

³³ Michael Bratman, "Shared Intention," in *Faces of Intention: Selected Essays on Intention and Agency* (Cambridge, U.K.: Cambridge University Press, 1999).

³⁴ Richard P. Bagozzi, "On the Concept of Intentional Social Action in Consumer Behavior," 2000.

Rhetorical Studies had focused on the persuasive strategies used by speakers and authors to communicate with their immediate audience. This focus was derived from Aristotle's study of rhetoric, and the methods of analysis related to that perspective became known as Neo-Aristotelianism, the single dominate analytical and interpretive paradigm in the field of Rhetorical Studies.³⁵ In the 1960's, Edwin Black criticized Neo-Aristotelianism for its inability to understand universal characteristics of arguments outside specific contexts and therefore its inability to situate historical events and arguments into larger universal patterns.³⁶

In the years that followed, Black's perspective opened the field of Rhetorical Studies to new perspectives and paradigms that allowed scholars to engage in more interdisciplinary research. Neo-Aristotelian \ism fell out of favor until the early 1990's when Thomas Ferrell reintroduced it to the field by focusing on its ability to aid rhetoricians in gaining an understanding of specific meaning of rhetorical actions within a community. He argued that if rhetoric could be used as a means of interpreting actions, then specific norms and ideas within a community must act to guide interpretation instead of universal abstracts. These abstracts, while valuable for categorization, did not allow scholars to pose and answer questions about the meaning of specific rhetorical acts. As stated earlier in the chapter, the norms related to the rhetorical actions of a community and those related to the product of those rhetorical actions came to be known as rhetorical culture. Ferrell also continued Black's movement to embrace interdisciplinary research and provide rhetoricians with new interpretive methodologies to critique discourse through introduction of ideas from psychology, anthropology, and linguistics.³⁷

The importance of Ferrell's work to this project is the natural link it has to Weber's theories on social action. By reorienting Rhetorical Studies towards the norms and rhetorical practices of communities and by rooting the interpretation of rhetorical action in the meaning ascribed to those actions by the community, Ferrell creates a link between Neo-Aristotelian analysis and Weber's concept of *Verstehen*, (meaning).

Weber's method necessarily reduced social concepts and movements to patterns in actions of individuals. But in order to understand action as a metric for social movements, differentiations needed to be made between types of individual action. Therefore, Weber argued that social action was defined only as actions that were done

³⁵ Thomas B. Farrell, *Norms of Rhetorical Culture* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1993).

³⁶ Edwin Black, *Rhetorical Criticism: A Study in Method* (New York: Macmillan, 1965).

³⁷ Thomas B. Farrell, *Norms of Rhetorical Culture*, 1993.

intentionally and were oriented towards the actions of others. Weber argued that the goal of social science research was to identify the *meaning* behind social actions.³⁸ However, Weber also understood that *meaning* was a condition of culture and that *meaning* could only be found in actions that could be understood.³⁹ The *Verstehen* thesis argues that proper interpretation of an act requires the meaning of an act to be defined in the way it is understood by the locals of the culture in which it took place.⁴⁰ Therefore, a meaningful exchange can only take place when both parties understand the *meaning* attached to the object of the exchange in the same specific cultural context. Said another way, *Verstehen* affirms the idea that an act can have different meaning to different communities because the meaning of that act is determined by the cultural context of that community. In relation to rhetoric, the *meaning* ascribed to a rhetorical appeal constitutes a meaningful exchange when both the speaker and audience interpret the act in the same way.

The link between *Verstehen* and the argument put forward in *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism*, that shared values and ideas can act as motivation for social actions, lies partially in Weber's definition of the term *motive*. He defines *motive* as "a complex of subjective meaning which seems to the actor himself or to the observer an adequate ground for the conduct in question".⁴¹ Therefore, the ideas and values shared by that community inform the process of creating meaning for a social action, as represented by the concept of *Verstehen*, which in turn provides justification for actions, as expressed in Weber's definition of motive.

This dissertation's focus on narrative is related to the ability of rhetoric to demonstrate a sense of shared values and ideas. Narrative is a form of rhetoric that is well suited to framing issues, transmitting information, and developing a rhetorical relationship between groups that infuses both parties with agency. Therefore, narrative is a vessel by which a political actor can either echo values and ideas within a community to gain insider status or connect new values and ideas to established elements of the audience's identity to frame issues in new ways.

³⁸ Guy Oakes, "The Verstehen Thesis and the Foundations of Max Weber's Methodology," *History and Theory* 16, no. 1 (February 1977).

³⁹ This idea references the intentional nature of social action. For this reason, in Weber's view some actions cannot be analyzed by a social scientist and fall into the realm of psychology.

⁴⁰ Oakes, "The Verstehen Thesis and the Foundations of Max Weber's Methodology," 1977.

⁴¹ M. Weber and A. M. Henderson, *Max Weber: The Theory of Social and Economic Organization* (London: Free Press of Glencoe, 1964).

One additional element of Weber's work is essential to this dissertation, his categorization of types of social action. Weber created criteria for categorizing social action based on the relationship that exists between action and reason. The two most important categories for this thesis are value-rational social action and instrumental-rational social action. Value-rational social action is action in which the value of the act is determined by the act itself, not on the consequences of the action. Actions of this type are always taken due to some "'command' or 'demand' which in an actor's opinion are binding on him," like religious belief or a deeply-held conviction. Instrumental-rational action is an act that is taken by an individual to bring about a certain end; the value, therefore, is the result the action helps bring about.⁴² These definitions will be important when examining the changes that take place in the GWOT narrative once it is retransmitted by SBC elites, not because of any causative relationship to social action taken by the community, but because of the various structures of arguments that ascribe different meanings and offer conflicting interpretation of motives related to actions described in the narrative.

Weber's ideas on the relationship between shared ideas and values, his ideas on social action, and modern perspectives on social action theory have helped to direct the specific research questions that will be asked in this dissertation related to the role of political elites in the Southern Baptist Convention and their ability to exercise rhetorical agency on the GWOT narrative produced by George W. Bush and his administration through public rhetoric. The primary research question is "Do elites within the SBC practice rhetorical agency on Bush's GWOT narrative during the retransmission process and if so how do they do so?" More specifically,

if SBC elites do practice agency on the GWOT narrative are the changes designed to change the narrative to reflect the rhetorical culture of the community, or to change the rhetorical culture of the community to conform the product of their discussion of the GWOT to the parameters set by the narrative?

The retransmission process here refers to the process of recontextualizing the narrative and presenting it to a new audience.⁴³ In order to answer this question, a number of others must be answered first. Does the GWOT narrative contain sufficient appeals to communicate a shared sense of values and ideas with the SBC and its members? What

⁴² Max Weber and W. G. Runciman, "The Nature of Social Action," in *Max Weber: Selections in Translation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1978), 28.

⁴³ This term will be discussed in more depth in the research methodology section on the following page.

values specific to the SBC does President Bush's GWOT narrative address to motivate SBC members to support his policies? Do SBC elites retransmit the Bush GWOT narrative faithfully in their rhetoric and if so in what ways to they engage with or change the narrative's appeals related to SBC values? How do the changes they make to the narrative reflect the beliefs and political agenda of their community? Are the changes made to the GWOT narrative's rhetorical appeals designed to reflect the rhetorical culture of the SBC or to change the rhetorical culture related to the GWOT to conform to the parameters set by the narrative and aid in accomplishing Bush's rhetorical goals? And Finally, are the changes significant enough to change the basic presentation of the GWOT within the SBC? These questions should not only aid in answering the primary research question but should also provide insights into the relationships that exist between the President and political elites within the religious constituencies he courts.

Research Methodology

In order to address these research questions, this dissertation will examine the process by which narratives are produced by political actors (the President and his team) and assimilated and sometimes retransmitted by religious leaders from the SBC through an analysis of speeches, interviews, and rhetoric produced for dissemination through Christian media affiliated with the SBC within the United States.⁴⁴ The specific elites selected for analysis each represented one element of the SBC's structure during the Bush presidency and had an official relationship with the denomination at a national level. Rhetorical artifacts selected for analysis were selected due to their specific topical relationship to the GWOT. Only discourse that included specific discussion of the GWOT will be included for analysis. The full body of officially archived discourse from each elite was examined and only those works that have a significant focus on the GWOT were selected. However, at times other rhetorical artifacts from these elites

⁴⁴ The Christian media here reflects a delivery method for the discourses of these elite. All Christian media articles analyzed in this dissertation were penned by the elites themselves and were then often distributed and archived by official SBC sources related to their positions. Exceptions include citations of articles in which the elites gave public statements that provide a larger context to the findings of the analysis, but are not subject to analysis. The specific Christian media sources included are the Baptist Press, the official publication of the SBC; the Ethics and Religious Liberty Commission News Letter, and publications or productions by In Touch Ministries, the media outlet for First Baptist Press in Atlanta that acts as the delivery mechanism for all discourse produced by Charles Stanley.

will be cited to provide a larger context. The selected elites and their rhetorical artifacts will be described in greater depth in the chapter outline section.

The persuasive elements and their connections to the values of the SBC within the selected rhetorical artifacts will be examined at two stages: during construction and retransmission. *Construction* of a narrative can simply refer to the creation of a story. However, constructing a political narrative with the intent of influencing millions of people is more complicated. When an orator constructs a narrative designed for persuasion, a story must be created that transmits information and rhetorical appeals while allowing the audience to identify with it in a deep, meaningful way. Since the politician's main objective is to maximize the persuasive effect the narrative has on the audience, the rhetorical appeals must be tailored to a specific audience if that audience is homogeneous; if the audience is heterogeneous, the appeals must be either very general or alternately nuanced enough that the disparate groups comprising the audience interpret appeals differently based on their differing experiences. Persuasion is achieved by creating rhetorical links between the elements of the narrative that have significance for the political agenda being promoted to elements of the narrative that have significance to the audience. Through rhetorical links, the audience is encouraged to make a connection between long-held beliefs and other elements of the narrative as they form their opinions. Rhetorical links can take many forms, from repetition of language, proximity of two topics in the structure of a speech, or any rhetorical device designed to draw attention to the relationship between two topics.⁴⁵

This thesis acknowledges the vast bureaucracy represented by a presidential administration and the complex process an administration uses to construct public discourse. Speech writers, press secretaries, high ranking administration officials, and the president himself may all have input in creating speeches, public statements, and policy appeals. However, as presidential rhetoric is the method through which the president communicates with the American people, the messages it contains can be understood as a reflection of his policy agenda, a tool for persuasion to meet his goals, and subject to the constraints placed on his office by special constituencies or the public at large. Though

⁴⁵ Robert Cockcroft et al., *Persuading People: An Introduction to Rhetoric*, 3rd ed. (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014). This book offers a good introduction to the field of Rhetorical Studies and includes basic descriptions of analytical and interpretive methods. The information presented in this paragraph is a summary of the basics of standard rhetorical analysis and composition and can be found in many other introductory textbooks.

many people play a role in creation of presidential discourse, its effectiveness is contingent on the agency of the president.

The construction of the Bush's GWOT narrative is an important starting point for this project because it will allow for the identification of specific rhetorical appeals that have a relationship to the core values of the SBC. The size limitations placed on this dissertation prevent an exhaustive review of President Bush's public discourse. Instead, this project will seek to analyze a representative sample of Bush's narrative related to the GWOT. In this case, a representative sample must include both speeches with a large enough audience to spread the narrative, in other words, chosen based on their total firsthand viewership, and samples that represent the evolution of the fully-developed cohesive and comprehensive GWOT narrative and its goals. For this reason, speeches will be drawn from two categories: major speeches delivered at key points in the GWOT's timeline and those that achieved the highest total first-hand viewership of Bush's presidency. The specific speeches selected will be listed in the chapter outline section of this chapter. Once identified, the appeals with a specific relationship to SBC values present in Bush's discourse, the ideas they contain, and the values they are connected with will be mapped and the persuasive content they contain can be tracked through the rhetoric presented to the SBC by their elites.

Retransmission refers to the process of broadcasting a narrative to a new audience after an original audience has exercised its agency, or the capacity to exert power, on the message. The most common forms of agency regarding the retransmission of a rhetorical message are reiteration, active interpretation, and recontextualization.⁴⁶ By exercising its agency on a narrative, an audience can adapt and change the content and delivery of the narrative, which could have ramifications on its persuasive value and potential effects. The changes that take place in the narrative during the adoption phase can be observed through the retransmission of the GWOT narrative by SBC elites. The term *retransmission* refers to the moving of the message from one party to another.

In order to study the basic elements of the Bush's GWOT narrative, this thesis will make use of Neo-Aristotelian analysis. The goal of any Neo-Aristotelian project is to judge the potential effectiveness of a piece of discourse or rhetorical artifact in affecting persuasion by examining the persuasive appeals and rhetorical links used by the orator

⁴⁶ Adam Hodges, *The "War on Terror" Narrative: Discourse and Intertextuality in the Construction and Contestation of Sociopolitical Reality* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011), 132.

and judging the degree to which they relate to values and ideas held by the audience.⁴⁷ In order to judge the effectiveness of the persuasive appeals in rhetoric, Neo-Aristotelian criticism first reconstructs and analyzes the context of the discourse by studying the occasion and situation in which the discourse is delivered, examining the relationship that exists between speaker and audience, and determining any constraints placed on the speaker related to his or her rhetorical strategy. By reconstructing the context, the critic can better understand the rhetorical options available to the speaker and the expectations of the audience as well as gain an understanding concerning the complexity of issues presented in the rhetoric and the goals the orator hopes to achieve. The second step is the examination of the discourse itself. In this step, the critic breaks the discourse down into its basic persuasive elements and categorizes them based on the categories derived from the three classic canons of persuasion: the character and authority of the orator (*ethos*), logical arguments (*logos*) and emotional appeals (*pathos*).

Each category of rhetorical appeal serves a different function in the process of persuasion and has a unique role in the process of creating an effective narrative. Additionally, rhetorical appeals often work best when they mingle together in a way that disguises their function. The first category of rhetorical appeal is *ethos*, appeals to the character and authority of the speaker. One of the most difficult steps in any argument, especially in an adversarial context like American politics, is convincing the audience to listen. *Ethos* appeals seek to project the creditability of the speaker to the audience by illustrating respectability and virtue or demonstrating expertise on a given issue. In the case of a narrative, it is not enough for the author to simply recount past achievements or argue the quality of their character. In order to allow the strengths of the narrative structure to take effect, persuasive intent must not become the focus of the argument. Once *ethos* appeals have been made effectively, the trust engendered by the speaker can further minimize resistance to other persuasive appeals in the narrative.

The second form of rhetorical appeal is known as *logos*, logical appeals. Logical appeals relate to the nature of the argument itself. Deductive arguments (*enthymeme*), inductive arguments (*paradeigma*), and any form of empirical or observational evidence given to support a claim would fall into this category.⁴⁸ This type of argument seeks to

⁴⁷ There is a major difference in the way Neo-Aristotelian method is typically used in the field of *Rhetorical Studies* and its use in this project. This thesis does not seek to make a judgment on the rhetoric's effect; instead, it uses Neo-Aristotelianism as an analytical tool to map changes in presentation of the rhetorical narrative.

⁴⁸ While they are included here, in modern times the "nonscientific" arguments associated with inductive reasoning are rarely seen as convincing.

prove to the audience that the speaker is creating a rational case and that the conclusions are based upon verified facts and sound logic. Attempts to clarify the argument can often be understood as appeals to *logos* as well because it is through clear argument that linear logic becomes apparent. Good logical appeals are generally simple to identify in a basic argument because without them, there is no explicit argument. Logical appeals take on many different roles when being crafted into a narrative. The most basic aspect of any narrative is that the events (or arguments) are related and lead to what the audience would consider to be a natural conclusion. The logic of an argumentative narrative strategy must work in the same way because without creating logical links, the final conclusion cannot be justified.

The final category of persuasive appeal is *pathos*, appeals to the emotions and imagination of the audience. *Pathos* appeals target the feelings and motivations of the audience as well as play on their sympathies and preconceptions. *Pathos* appeals can take a number of different forms based on the intended reaction the orator seeks to evoke. Use of emotive language, citing shared experiences, and recounting tragic events are all common forms of *pathos* appeals. By using these tools, an author can engage an audience's imagination and trigger an emotional connection with the speaker through which values, interpretation of issues, and agendas can all be conveyed imaginatively to the audience. When used alongside narrative structure, emotional appeals can mingle with other rhetorical appeals to do more than just evoke emotion or connect arguments to the emotional climate of the audience. Sometimes *pathos* appeals will mingle with *ethos* appeals and further solidify the orator's connection to the audience.⁴⁹ On other occasions, they are also used to create a foundation upon which other arguments can be built or disguise the consequences of supporting a decision

By identifying and categorizing the base elements of the discourse, the critic can describe the appeals and linkages employed in an attempt to bring about a desired effect on the audience. However, the process is complicated when one passage in a rhetorical artifact qualifies as several categories of appeal, depending on the rhetorical function it serves. Therefore, in some cases, the same rhetorical appeal may be discussed in several different contexts. Other elements are also considered at this stage, including the orator's style, delivery, and the rhetorical object's

⁴⁹ There is some overlap between the description of *pathos* and *ethos* in relation to allowing the audience to identify with the speaker. In general, when the rhetoric appeals to the audience's emotions and connects them to the speaker, this is an appeal to *pathos*. When the speaker is described in a way that shows their values are in line with the audience, this is an *ethos* appeal.

organization. In traditional rhetorical studies, the goal is then to identify the effects of the rhetoric that are assessed based on observations of the audience's behavior.⁵⁰ In this thesis, the goal will be to examine the changes that take place related to specific rhetorical appeals to identify the effect the practice of rhetorical agency by the SBC elites has on the narrative.

Using these categories will aid in the examination of the GWOT narrative, both regarding its explicit content and other more implicit rhetorical appeals as well as identifying differences between appeals meant to connect to the general electorate and those with special meaning for the conservative, evangelical community. These categories will also assist to highlight the base elements of arguments and rhetorical relationships that occur in the narrative. Neo-Aristotelian methodology provides a framework within which connections between ideas presented in a narrative and the values of the Southern Baptist community can be systematically identified. The identification of these connections allows the transfer of ideas between President Bush and the Southern Baptist community to be articulated and therefore provides a lens through which the interpretive theories related to Weber's ideas on values, social action, and *meaning* of actions can be applied. Furthermore, by identifying the specific rhetorical appeals and reconstructing the context of the discourse, judgments can be made as to the relationship between specific appeals, the conservative evangelical political agenda, the values of the community, and the template for action created within the narrative.

Chapter Outline

The research methodology will function as the primary guide for the chapter structure of this thesis, based largely on the needs of Neo-Aristotelian methodology and the stages of narrative transmission described in the last section. Neo-Aristotelian method requires the analysis of the context of the rhetorical artifacts being examined prior to the actual rhetorical deconstruction. Chapters Two and Three will fulfill this requirement. Chapter Two will contain

⁵⁰ Brock, Bernard L., Robert Lee Scott, and James W. Chesebro. *Methods of Rhetorical Criticism: A Twentieth-century Perspective*. Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1990.

the literature review for this thesis. It will include research that provides a foundation for the study of presidential leadership related to rhetoric and cross disciplinary work between the fields of Social Science and Rhetorical Studies. Additionally, this chapter will include a review of research related to Bush's construction of a persuasive rhetorical narrative for his Global War on Terror policies following September 11, 2001 and his use of religious language and imagery in his discourse. While this chapter will describe rhetorical strategies related to Bush's faith, a more detailed discussion of the President's faith will occur in Chapter Five. Chapter Three will contain an examination of the primary audience being studied in this project, the Southern Baptist Convention. The chapter will trace its historical and theological development, describe its relationship to the modern Christian right political movement, and describe its political agenda in order to identify the core values of the community that, according to Weber's theories, can act as drivers for social action. These values will be used to provide criteria that aid in the determination of which rhetorical appeals are designed to target the Christian right and members of the SBC. This chapter will provide context for the Neo-Aristotelian analysis of the public rhetoric of the SBC's elite leadership in a later chapter.

Chapter Four will begin the rhetorical deconstruction of the GWOT narrative and will examine the first step in the narrative's chain of transmission, its construction by the Bush administration as represented in the rhetoric of President Bush. As previously stated, speeches will be drawn from two categories: speeches from key points in the GWOT timeline and speeches with the highest viewership of the Bush presidency. Speeches selected from key points in the GWOT timeline include the September 11, 2001 Address, that offered the initial response following the terrorist attacks; the September 20, 2001 Address to the Nation; the March 19, 2003 War Address, announcing the official start of combat operations in Iraq; the May 1, 2003 End of Major Combat in Iraq speech (often referred to as the "mission accomplished" speech due to patriotic visual displays); and Bush's January 15, 2009 Farewell Address, urging the continuation of the GWOT beyond the end of Bush's presidency. Three additional speeches will be included in the analysis because of the high rate of viewership: the 2002, 2003, and 2007 State of the Union Speeches, which each had a total cable audience of over 50 million viewers.⁵¹ Chapter Four will begin with a brief

⁵¹ Statista.com, "State of the Union Address - Number of Viewers 1993-2015 | Statistic," Statista, accessed December 13, 2015, <http://www.statista.com/statistics/252425/state-of-the-union-address-viewer-numbers/>. The total viewership of these speeches were as follows: 2002 - 51.77million, 2003 - 62.06 million, and 2007- 54.49 million. The September 20, 2001 speech would also be included using a viewership criterion because it had an audience of over 80 million.

introduction as to the complicated nature of presidential rhetoric and its use to interact with multiple audiences. This introduction is important for understanding the context of rhetorical appeals that are used to appeal to conservative, evangelical Christians and to aid in narrowing the focus to appeals relevant to the primary research question of this dissertation. It will then include an in-depth discussion of Bush's political relationship to the Christian right developed before 9/11 and a brief discussion of his articulation of his evangelical faith. The body of this chapter will use the Neo-Aristotelian method to identify the rhetorical appeals in Bush's GWOT narrative related to the SBC values identified in Chapter Three and categorize them into one of the three canons of rhetoric based on their persuasive nature in the narrative. Once the appeals are categorized, their connection to Bush's policies and argumentative structure acting as a template for social action will be described. Based on the structure and content of the narrative, the relationship between the values that the appeals target and the meaning they ascribe to actions will be identified. Weberian theories on social action and meaning will guide these discussions. The findings will show that while the GWOT narrative includes many appeals having a specific meaning and relevance to conservative, evangelical Christians and contains information that articulates a sense of shared values between the President and the SBC, support for the GWOT is framed as a product of active consideration of the war's goals and potential achievement. Therefore, while being designed to be persuasive for conservative, evangelical Christians, the narrative is developed around an argumentative structure that establishes an instrumental-rational template for social action that is designed to have persuasive value for non-evangelicals in the audience as well.

Chapter Five will mirror the structure of Chapter Four by providing a brief introduction as to the relationship that existed between the SBC and the Bush White House and the roles of selected elites from the denomination within the administration. This introduction will be followed by an analysis of rhetoric produced by elites within the SBC, using the methodology described above. The findings of this analysis will then be compared to the findings from Chapter Four in order to identify major differences that appear within the SBC elites' retransmission of the GWOT narrative to determine if the changes they made are sufficient to change the rhetorical norms or their results within the SBC related to the GWOT. The SBC is structurally and culturally different from the federal government due to its religious character and congregationalist nature. While the federal government under the Bush administration has a clear figurehead who also holds much of the authority to determine a policy agenda, the SBC's leadership is less centralized, and authority and influence is divided between many individuals. Further, as each congregation maintains local control, sanctioned information can flow from several sources, including pastors, denominational

leaders, or affiliated Christian media. The main analysis of Chapter Five will center on the public rhetoric of Dr. Richard Land. Dr. Land was the head of the Ethics and Religious Liberty Commission (ERLC), the public policy and lobbying arm of the SBC, during the Bush administration. Because the SBC has a rotating presidency with yearly term limits, the head of the ERLC serves as the de-facto spokesperson for political policy issues. Dr. Land has stood in support of the GWOT since its inception, is in a position to actively influence SBC policy goals, had a close relationship to the Bush administration, and had direct access to the President. As a result of these characteristics, his rhetoric is a fitting example of SBC adoption and retransmission of the GWOT narrative. The analysis here will focus on the similarities and differences between rhetorical appeals found in Bush's version of the GWOT narrative that appeal to SBC values and their presentation in Land's rhetoric.

However, other elites within the SBC were also in a position to practice rhetorical agency; therefore, examples of their public discourse have been selected as well. The first is former SBC president Jack Graham, who presided over the SBC during the earliest stages of the GWOT that led up to the invasion of Iraq in 2002-2003 and whose duty it was to articulate the theological direction and cultural goals of the denomination during that time. SBC presidents are important agenda-setters for the denomination; however, they produce very limited public discourse. Graham is the only SBC president serving between the years 2001 and 2008 to discuss the GWOT in his public discourse. The second elite is Dr. Charles Stanley, another former SBC president and head pastor of First Baptist Church in Atlanta, Georgia, who represents the rhetoric of pastors and Christian media personalities who produce radio, television, and internet broadcasts and sermons with a large reach among SBC members. The Congregationalist nature of the SBC necessitates the inclusion of a prominent pastor of an influential congregation. Charles Stanley has the established relationship with the national convention, the prestige within the denomination, and reach of influence (due to his radio show and published books) within the denomination to represent the faith leaders of individual communities while still representing agenda-setters for the denomination. This project will analyze the rhetoric of each of these elites to determine if their articulation of the GWOT differs significantly from Dr. Land's. Once all examples of the SBC elites' rhetoric have been analyzed, it will be shown that SBC elites actively influence the narrative by reinforcing Bush's rhetorical appeals and clarifying their connection to the SBC's core values. Further, this chapter will demonstrate that in contrast to President Bush's rhetoric approach, which is designed around instrumental-rational arguments to encourage support for the GWOT, the SBC elites' rhetoric

makes use of value-rational arguments wherein providing support for the GWOT is characterized as a legitimate end in and of itself through the use of frames that establish support for the war as a religious obligation.

Chapter Six, the conclusion, will summarize the findings of the thesis, provide answers to the research questions, and make suggestions for further research. This chapter will show that the changes made to the GWOT narrative by SBC elites satisfy the criteria for practicing rhetorical agency; instead changing the rhetorical norms of the community and adopting Bush's instrumental rational frames for action related to the GWOT SBC elites shift to a value-rational frame and template for social action in support of the war. While the elites retransmit many of Bush's appeals and actively encourage support for both him and the GWOT, their use of value-rational frames allow them to reinforce common ideas held by the community that actively undermine some of Bush's rhetorical goals related to GWOT narrative, especially those that attempt to draw new groups into his political coalition by focusing on the GWOT as an opportunity for unity. A bibliography and appendix that includes all discourse analyzed in this dissertation will follow the conclusion.

Chapter 2: Literature Review

This project is an examination of the retransmission of President Bush's Global War on Terror (GWOT) narrative by elite leaders of the conservative evangelical community, specifically those of the Southern Baptist Convention, to show how those elites practiced rhetorical agency by reiterating and reshaping the presidential narrative to reflect their own political agenda. In order to differentiate this project from the work that came before it in the fields of Rhetorical Studies and Presidential Studies, I will first provide a literature review beginning with major theories from the fields of Sociology and Rhetorical Studies that form the foundation for this work. Then to establish the scholarly context within which this project is located, I will put forward research which examines the rhetoric of President George W. Bush with emphasis on analysis of his Global War on Terror narrative and use of religious rhetoric.

Because of the wide range of fields engaging with the political rhetoric surrounding the GWOT, the goal of this literature review will be to integrate and generalize current findings regarding the leadership strategies, structure, persuasive characteristics of, and public reaction to Bush's rhetoric across a range of fields. By critically analyzing major projects to identify central issues and lines of argument within the body of literature related to the GWOT, the literature review will demonstrate the cross-disciplinary foundations for this project. The selected studies include pivotal and essential works dealing with Bush's GWOT narrative, its use of religious rhetoric, and its adoption by cultural institutions. The selection of resources has been narrowed further to focus on scholarship that engages Bush's narrative in English, its original language. The literature review will be organized with a conceptual format that chronicles the development of key ideas and theories taking care to track the progression of research methods and findings related to their development. The literature review is structured to aid in demonstrating the pivotal nature of specific projects. It also reflects the inclusion criteria by identifying elements foundational to the research context of this project as they are encountered, plainly identifying unique arguments when they are first presented as to avoid describing unoriginal contributions. Finally, because terminology is not consistent across academic disciplines, an effort is made to identify commonalities, but also to standardize terms and concepts for use throughout this project.

Rhetorical Power and Presidential Leadership

The concept of the rhetorical presidency has become a central feature in presidential scholars' attempts to explain how modern presidents govern. In 1981, Ceaser, Thurow, Tulis and Bessette examined the changing role of mass rhetorical appeals from the Office of the President in "The Rise of the Rhetorical Presidency." They determined that the president's increased reliance on public rhetoric resulted in a new doctrine of presidential leadership that deviated from the founders of the U.S. Constitution's view of the presidency as a "constitutional officer who would rely for his authority on the formal powers granted by the Constitution and on the informal authority that would flow from the office's strategic position."⁵² They argued this constitutional officer model began to change under Theodore Roosevelt, who used political speeches to take issues directly to the public. Yet it was not until the election of Woodrow Wilson that a president offered an alternative theoretical model of presidential power characterized by popular leadership.

In Wilson's model, "The greatest power in modern democratic regimes lay potentially with the popular leader who could sway or - to use his word - 'interpret' the wishes of the people."⁵³ The Wilsonian rhetorical presidency model consists of three characteristics. First, the President should act as the country's policy-making leader by employing "oratory to create an active public opinion that, if necessary, will pressure the Congress into accepting his program."⁵⁴ Second, the President's legitimacy comes from his popular election, which is contingent on his communication with the public. Third, the President must exhibit moral leadership by articulating the public's values and wishes in his rhetoric, essentially infusing rhetoric with a sense of purpose driven by public will.⁵⁵ Ceaser et al. also stressed the importance of advances in technology in mass media and the primary reforms of 1968 in the rise of the rhetorical presidency.

In 1986, Samuel Kernell examined presidential public rhetoric and determined that the key goal for the President was promoting "himself and his policies in Washington by appealing to the American public for support," which he

⁵² James W. Ceaser et al., "The Rise of the Rhetorical Presidency," *Presidential Studies Quarterly* 11, no. 2, Presidential Power and Democratic Constraints: A Prospective and Retrospective Analysis (April 01, 1981), 162.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, 163.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 163.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 163.

called "going public."⁵⁶ Similar to the model proposed by Ceaser et al., Kernell's work, *Going Public*, argues for a model of the American presidency where public rhetoric plays a central role in political leadership. Kernell debated Ceaser et al.'s interpretation of the shift in political philosophy and instead argued the going public model was a natural evolution of presidential leadership that resulted from a changing American culture that was becoming more individually pluralistic and from a rise in modern forms of mass media. Kernell also furthered the discussion by examining the relationship between presidents and their press corps, highlighting the central role of public approval and opinion polling in the chance of successfully going public, and defining the purpose of the going public strategy as a way to influence other political elites, especially Congress.

In 1987, Jeffrey Tulis responded by publishing *The Rhetorical Presidency*, in which he expanded upon the concept of the rhetorical presidency to create a more fully developed model. Tulis used historical analysis to provide evidence that the rhetorical presidency arose from a shift in political philosophy as argued in "The Rise of the Rhetorical Presidency" while delving deeper into its character, limitations, and the potential problems it causes. These problems included alienation of political allies because of failed rhetorical strategies and over-effective strategies leading to legislation that is poorly constructed, designed to meet public demand.⁵⁷ Tulis also highlights what he believed was a greater problem: the oversaturation of the public space with rhetorical crisis that blur the lines between normal politics and crisis politics, leading to a sense of disillusionment in the presidential message or an inappropriate response to normal political processes.

Almost immediately, critiques of *The Rhetorical Presidency* divided academics into groups either supporting the modern presidency's embrace of public rhetoric as a shift in political philosophy or as a natural evolution based largely on a shifting culture. In 1988, Abbott claimed that the constitutional officer described in *The Rhetorical Presidency* did not exist.⁵⁸ He insisted early presidents embraced a political philosophy that connected public rhetoric and the espousal of community values and ideas. As a result, these presidents often had public personas that equated them as champions of republican ideals through carefully crafted rhetoric.⁵⁹ Abbott claims that not only is it

⁵⁶ Samuel Kernell, *Going Public: New Strategies of Presidential Leadership* (Washington, D.C.: CQ Press, 1986), 1.

⁵⁷ Jeffrey Tulis, *The Rhetorical Presidency* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1987).

⁵⁸ Philip Abbott, "Do Presidents Talk Too Much? The Rhetorical Presidency and Its Alternative," *Presidential Studies Quarterly* 18, no. 2 (April 01, 1988): 348.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 349-352.

impossible to neatly untangle rhetoric and action, but removing public rhetoric from presidential leadership would rob the presidency of moral justification, information, and dialogue that allow the public to understand political action. The result would be presidential action that did not require justification to the people and therefore had little accountability.⁶⁰ This view has been validated by several other projects from both the fields of Rhetorical Studies and Social Sciences. Rhetorical scholars Halford Ryan, Stephen Skowronek, Elvin Lim, Stephen Lucas, Richard Ellis and many others have conducted analyses on discourse from pre-modern presidents that demonstrate their use of public rhetoric on policy issues both as fulfillment of their constitutional duties and in outside situations.⁶¹ Political scientist Mel Laracey's work characterizes common arguments contesting *The Rhetorical Presidency's* empirical foundations by highlighting Tulis' narrow definition of presidential communication and arguing that his descriptions of early presidencies were erroneous.⁶²

Yet defenders of the rhetorical presidency have also continued the dialogue.⁶³ Crockett defends the rhetorical presidency criticizing counter evidence as open to interpretation and claiming that no sufficient counter model to the concept of the rhetorical presidency has been developed to explain away the tensions that exist between the constitutional officer model and the popular leader model inherent in the presidency.⁶⁴ George C. Edwards III challenged the very legitimacy of public rhetoric as a form of presidential leadership because the effect of rhetoric

⁶⁰ Ibid., 358-360.

⁶¹ Halford Ross Ryan, *The Inaugural Addresses of Twentieth-century American Presidents* (Westport, CT: Praeger, 1993).; Stephen Skowronek, *The Politics Presidents Make: Leadership from John Adams to George Bush* (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press, 1993). Later publications of this book included a discussion of the rhetoric of President Bill Clinton, and the name was therefore changed to *The Politics Presidents Make: Leadership from John Adams to Bill Clinton* or *The Politics Presidents Make: Leadership from John Adams to William Jefferson Clinton* depending on the publication year and press.; Elvin T. Lim, "Five Trends in Presidential Rhetoric: An Analysis of Rhetoric from George Washington to Bill Clinton," *Presidential Studies Quarterly* 32, no. 2 (2002).; Stephen E. Lucas, "George Washington and the Rhetoric of Presidential Leadership," in *The Presidency and Rhetorical Leadership* (College Station: Texas A & M University Press, 2002) and Stephen E. Lucas, "Present at the Founding: Rhetorical Presidency in the Historical Perspective," in *Before the Rhetorical Presidency* (College Station: Texas A & M University Press, 2008).; Richard Ellis, *Presidential Travel: The Journey from George Washington to George W. Bush* (Lawrence, Kan.: University Press of Kansas, 2008).; For more on this topic, see Martin J. Medhurst, *Before the Rhetorical Presidency* (College Station: Texas A & M University Press, 2008). This work contains 12 essays on pre-modern presidential public rhetoric as well as four essays debating the legitimacy of the rhetorical presidency.

⁶² Mel Laracey, "'The Rhetorical Presidency' Today: How Does It Stand Up?," *Presidential Studies Quarterly* 39, no. 4 (December 01, 2009):911, 921-922,223. Further, Laracey has a body of work that articulates these arguments in greater depth. See Mel Laracey, *Presidents and the People: The Partisan Story of Going Public* (College Station: Texas A & M University Press, 2002) and Mel Laracey, "Talking Without Speaking, and Other Curiosities," in *Before the Rhetorical Presidency* (College Station: Texas A & M University Press, 2008) in which Laracey engages in dialogue with Tulis directly.

⁶³ And Tulis himself, see Jeffery K. Tulis, "On the Forms of Rhetorical Leadership," in *Before the Rhetorical Presidency* (College Station: Texas A & M University Press, 2008). Crockett's paper is included to illustrate this side of the debate largely because Tulis simply reiterates his findings and defends his choice of definitions instead of furthering the discussion with new information or perspectives.

⁶⁴ David A. Crockett, "'The Rhetorical Presidency': Still Standing Tall," *Presidential Studies Quarterly* 39, no. 4 (December 01, 2009): 939.

on an audience cannot be measured.⁶⁵ Yet counter arguments note that Edward's understanding of rhetoric is very limited, and reducing its validity to its ability to be measured in opinion polls shows a lack of knowledge of possible effects rhetoric can have on an audience that are more difficult to measure.⁶⁶ While it is true that determining the exact impact rhetoric has on a community is not possible, the study of rhetoric is valuable to sociology research for its analytic value. An in-depth study of rhetoric allows a scholar to identify a speaker's value priorities, the relationship those priorities have to stated agendas, norms of a speaker's interaction with specific audience, patterns of interpretation used by a speaker to frame events and issues, the relationship between those frames and larger cultural symbols, and many other patterns expressed through argument and communication. Further, the field of Rhetorical Studies offers a variety of interpretive theories that help rhetoricians make sense of rhetorical interactions. Most relevant to this work is the definition of rhetorical culture as argued by T.B. Farrell that mirrors Weber's concept of *Verstehen* by determining meaning of rhetorical acts using the norms and values of the communities that produce them.⁶⁷ Generally, the important role of public rhetoric in modern presidential leadership has been embraced by the academic community, and the practical strategy of developing public rhetoric to persuade voters and influence elites is now referred to as the "rhetorical presidency model."

Published in 1994, *The White House Speaks: Presidential Leadership as Persuasion*, by Craig Allen Smith and Kathy B. Smith, is one of the first projects produced to bridge the gaps between the disciplines of Sociology and Rhetorical Studies. Smith and Smith examine the role of persuasion in presidential leadership and build on the theory of the rhetorical presidency by using rhetorical studies as a guide for development of an "interpretive system model" of presidential leadership that equates presidential power with the ability to persuade.⁶⁸ Their model treats politics as a form of communication and relies on the idea that individuals make their world personally coherent through involuntary and innate processes while creating structures to facilitate social coordination with others. The model attests that the innate processes of needing, symbolizing, preferring, and reasoning are expressed through the structures of laws, language, ideologies, and logic respectively. Because the structures we use to organize socially are guided by our interpretations, the confluence of the processes and structures leads to creation of "interpretive

⁶⁵ George C. Edwards, *On Deaf Ears: The Limits of the Bully Pulpit* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2003).

⁶⁶ Yet, many other including Paul Quirk, Jeffrey Friedman, and David Zarefsky have argued that rhetoric can have effects beyond those that can be measured by opinion polling.

⁶⁷ Thomas B. Farrell, *Norms of Rhetorical Culture*, 1993.

⁶⁸ Craig Allen Smith and Kathy B. Smith, *The White House Speaks: Presidential Leadership as Persuasion* (Westport, CT: Praeger, 1994), 29.

communities" that vie for power.⁶⁹ Therefore, presidential leadership is contingent on persuading individuals to view events with the same focus as the White House. Because a president cannot possibly appeal to all interpretive communities with rhetoric, he must instead build coalitions of communities strong enough to overcome resistance from other interpretive systems.⁷⁰

An important tool for coalition building through presidential rhetoric is the use of narrative structure. As Genette attests, the term narrative has multiple uses.⁷¹ It is most commonly understood as a story-telling device that accounts for events over time, but in the study of political narratives, the definition must take into account the relationship between narrative discourses and the events they describe, whether real or fictitious, and how they provide organizing structure for the human experience. Furet argues narrative plays an essential role in creating significance for an event by providing meaning based on its integration into patterns of other events.⁷² Campbell expands upon Furet by identifying the relationship between an event and the production of its "event-ness" through narrative after the event has occurred.⁷³ Veyne, White, and Suganami, however, have all argued that our understanding of history is contingent on narrative, and that the construction of political realities relies on the temporal unfolding of a narrative plot that is accountable to real-world evidence in its portrayal of characters and events.⁷⁴ Bruner explains the essential elements of narrative: characters with agency to act as directed by an intentional state, a precise context and limited scope of events that is informed by audiences' background knowledge and experiences, and an interpretive element directed by what information is included in (or excluded from) the narrative and how it is expressed.⁷⁵ Green and Brock argue that conveying rhetorical appeals through narrative is an effective strategy to incorporate a

⁶⁹ Ibid., 29

⁷⁰ Finlayson's 2004 work, "Political Science, Political Ideas, and Rhetoric" acknowledges the transformative role the reemergence of rhetorical studies had in the social sciences and argues for further cross disciplinary work between political science and rhetoric as a process to examine the development and expression of political ideas. The important project attempts to focus the field on the essential link between political theory and an understanding of political ideas as they are expressed in rhetoric. Alan Finlayson, "Political Science, Political Ideas and Rhetoric," *Economy and Society* 33, no. 4 (2004).

⁷¹ Gérard Genette, *Narrative Discourse: An Essay in Method* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1980).

⁷² Francois Francois Furet, "From Narrative History to Problem-oriented History," in *The History and Narrative Reader*, by Geoffrey Roberts (London: Routledge, 2001).

⁷³ David Campbell, "Time Is Broken: The Return of the Past in the Response to September 11," *Theory & Event* 5, no. 4 (2001). Event-ness is a term uniquely used by Campbell defined as meaning constructed through relationship to other significant events.

⁷⁴ Paul Veyne, *Writing History: Essay on Epistemology* (Middletown, CT: Wesleyan University Press, 1984): 1-15.; Hidemi Suganami, *On the Causes of War* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996). 175.

⁷⁵ This list is a condensed version of the finding of Jerome Bruner, "The Narrative Construction of Reality," *Critical Inquiry* 18, no. 1 (1991).

number of persuasive effects while disguising their persuasive value that has the potential to impact the beliefs of audiences.⁷⁶

These persuasive effects are achieved through a series of different processes. As early as 1956, Horton and Whol had argued that narrative structure has the ability to reduce resistance to persuasion by fostering a parasocial interaction between the speaker and the audience that gives the illusion of a face-to-face interpersonal relationship. However, this interaction is also characterized by a lack of effective reciprocity in which only one party is able to determine the form of the relationship developed and the content of the message exchanged.⁷⁷ Oatley and Gholamain have studied the ability of a narrative to engage an audience's emotions and found that narrative structure encourages the audience to identify with the characters internalizing their actions and emotions, which reduces counterarguing and increases perceived relevance of the arguments embedded in the narrative.⁷⁸ Moreover, due to their precise context, narratives allow audiences to connect their own experiences to the story to fill in relevant gaps. Strange and Leung expanded upon this research by identifying the ability of a narrative to use emotion to generate causal generalization (creating opinions on causes and solutions to problems) and as a mechanism for agenda-setting.⁷⁹ Green and Brock articulate the persuasive importance of the precise context established by a narrative by explaining that audiences grapple with the narrative portrayal of the world by engaging in narrative transportation, the process by which one is absorbed into a story. The most significant benefit of this narrative transportation is that it draws the audience's attention to the narrative world and away from the argument itself, further disguising rhetorical appeals and reducing attention to weaknesses within an argument.⁸⁰ Additionally, narrative structure is important in integrating events into commonly held metanarratives. Metanarratives can be

⁷⁶ Melanie C. Green and Timothy C. Brock, "The Role of Transportation in the Persuasiveness of Public Narratives.," *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 79, no. 5 (2000). and Melanie C. Green, "Research Challenges in Narrative Persuasion," *Information Design Journal* 16, no. 1 (2008).

⁷⁷ Donald Horton and R. Richard Whol, "Mass Communication and Para-social Interaction: Observations on Intimacy at a Distance," *Psychiatry* 19 (1956). In the case of narrative, the narrator (speaker) has the agency.

⁷⁸ K. Oatley and M. Gholamain, "Emotions and identification: Connections between readers and fiction" in *Emotion and the Arts*, by Mette Hjort and Sue Laver (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997). New York: Oxford University Press. This idea is affirmed by Emily Moyer- Gusé, Robin L. Nabi. 2010. "Explaining the Effects of Narrative in an Entertainment Television Program: Overcoming Resistance to Persuasion." *Human Communication Research* 36, no. 1: 26-52.

⁷⁹ J. J. Strange and C. C. Leung, "How Anecdotal Accounts in News and in Fiction Can Influence Judgments of a Social Problem's Urgency, Causes, and Cures," *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin* 25, no. 4 (1999).

⁸⁰ Melanie C. Green and Timothy C. Brock, "The Role of Transportation in the Persuasiveness of Public Narratives." 2000. this concept was expanded upon in Jennifer Edson Escalas, "Self Referencing and Persuasion: Narrative Transportation versus Analytical Elaboration," *Journal of Consumer Research* 33, no. 4 (2007).

defined as commonly understood narratives that provide meaning or significance to the social and political realities of a society and are often used as analogies to provide context or historical parallels for other events.⁸¹

Narrative also plays a key role in providing meaning to ideographs.⁸² Ideographs are terms that when used in political discourse, employ abstract ideas as support for policy agendas. These terms act as blank signifiers that give the impression of concrete meaning but lack substance, drawing meaning from their association with other terms or their connection to complex social or historical metanarratives.⁸³ In order to be considered an ideograph, a term must be a "culturally bound, high order abstract, used to unify audiences around sets of vaguely defined values."⁸⁴ Their vagueness allows the term to shift between contexts, serve as a cornerstone for ideological constructions with a degree of longevity, and allows individuals to embrace general concepts while filling in gaps in the definition with their own experiences.⁸⁵ Stuckey and Ritter provide the example of <human rights> as an ideograph.⁸⁶ Ideographs are a commonly used to allow presidents to appeal to groups with different interpretive perspectives, build coalitions, and draw connections between terms that would not normally be associated.

Another tool available to presidents is the framing effect, which is often used in conjunction with narrative structure. James A. Druckman surveyed the fields of rhetorical studies and social sciences to reconcile differences in definitions of the framing effect; his resulting definition stated,

a framing effect is said to occur when, in the course of describing an issue or event, a speaker's emphasis on a subset of potentially relevant considerations causes individuals to focus on these considerations when constructing their opinions.⁸⁷

⁸¹ Jackson, *Writing the War on Terrorism: Language, Politics and Counter-terrorism*, 2005. This term is the rhetorical studies equivalent to the term *political myth* in political science. This thesis will use the term metanarrative. For an example see Joanne Esch, "Legitimizing the 'War on Terror': Political Myth in Official-Level Rhetoric," *Political Psychology* 31, no. 3 (2010).

⁸² In rhetorical studies, ideographs are often offset with brackets to indicate their status. Sometimes they are simply italicized. This thesis will work with the more standard version of bracketing. Examples will appear as follows: <freedom>.

⁸³ This term refers to large complex narrative that attempt to comprehensively explain events or social realities based specifically on a set of values the narrative casts as universal. The term was coined by Jean-François Lyotard. In order to be considered a metanarrative, a narrative has to be sufficiently complex and achieve a state of nearly unopposed adoption within a community. Jean-François Lyotard, *The Postmodern Condition: A Report on Knowledge*, trans. Geoffrey Bennington and Brian Massumi (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1984).

⁸⁴ Mary E. Stuckey and Joshua R. Ritter, "George Bush, <Human Rights>, and American Democracy," *Presidential Studies Quarterly* 37, no. 4 (2007).

⁸⁵ Michael C. McGee, "In Search of 'the People': A Rhetorical Alternative," *Quarterly Journal of Speech* 61, no. 3 (1975).

⁸⁶ Mary E. Stuckey and Joshua R. Ritter, "George Bush, <Human Rights>, and American Democracy," 2007.

⁸⁷ Druckman cites work from Gamson and Modigliani; Sniderman and Theriault; Rabin and Tversky and Kahneman as evidence of the comprehensive nature of his definition. Though he does admit more precise definitions are sometimes used in order to

Work by Kinder and Sanders has shown that frames can either act to change how elements of argument are weighed in terms of importance by influencing the salience of specific considerations in relation to others.⁸⁸ Alternately, Sniderman and Theriault show that frames can act to affect overall opinions by distracting from more complex considerations.⁸⁹

Early interpretive models of the framing effect focused on the media's ability to frame, and only later did studies acknowledge the ability of social and political elites to engage in the framing process.⁹⁰ Druckman rightly notes that a large amount of the scholarship regarding framing suggests an interpretative theory of rhetoric that robs the audience of agency when engaging with political discourse. By establishing rhetorical frames, a speaker can limit audience access to consideration beyond those presented in their discourse or can decrease salience of considerations important to competing interpretations of information. Yet several projects have challenged this assumption by providing models of framing that take the audience's rhetorical agency into consideration to limit the effectiveness of framing and impose limits on the speaker's ability to frame. Nelson, Clawson, and Oxley examine psychological research related to framing and posit a model in which audiences exercise agency by weighing issue importance when they encounter frames and actively choose to incorporate frames of issues that reflect their views.⁹¹ Druckman has also focused on identifying the limitations of framing, arguing that a speaker's ability to frame is not the result of a passive, easily duped audience but instead relies on a natural process by which audiences delegate the responsibility of sorting through possible frames to elites. Therefore, in order for elites to effectively frame issues, they must appeal to ethos, earn the trust of the audience, and also prove that they have relevant expertise that

incorporate psychological research on framing studies. James N. Druckman, "On the Limits of Framing Effects: Who Can Frame?," *The Journal of Politics* 63, no. 04 (2001): 1042.

⁸⁸ Donald R. Kinder and Lynn M. Sanders, "Mimicking Political Debate with Survey Questions: The Case of White Opinion on Affirmative Action for Blacks," *Social Cognition* 8, no. 1 (1990).; Druckman also directs the reader to the works R. Kinder and Donald Berinsky, "Making Sense of Issues through Frames: Understanding the Kosovo Crisis" (speech, Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Washington DC, 2000). and Kimberly Ann Gross and Lisa D'Ambrosio, "Media Framing, Causal Attribution and Emotions: An Experimental Investigation of the Framing of Emotion Response." (American Political Science Association, Atlanta, 1999). For other articulations of the same idea in different research contexts.

⁸⁹ Paul M. Sniderman and Sean M. Theriault, "The Dynamics of Political Argument and the" (speech, Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, 1999).

⁹⁰ Shanto Iyengar, *Is Anyone Responsible?: How Television Frames Political Issues* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991)., John Zaller, *The Nature and Origins of Mass Opinion* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992).; Dennis Chong, "Creating Common Frames of Reference on Political Issues," in *Political Persuasion and Attitude Change*, ed. Diana Carole Mutz, Paul M. Sniderman, and Richard A. Brody (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1996).

⁹¹ Thomas E. Nelson, Zoe M. Oxley, and Rosalee A. Clawson, "Toward a Psychology of Framing Effects," *Political Behavior* 19, no. 3 (September 01, 1997). see also Thomas E. Nelson and Zoe M. Oxley, "Issue Framing Effects on Belief Importance and Opinion," *The Journal of Politics* 61, no. 04 (1999).

demonstrates their ability to make reasonable judgments on the subject.⁹² Druckman continued his research by working with Nelson in testing the relationship between elite-driven frames and frames established by interpersonal conversations. They find "conversations that include only common perspectives have no effect on elite framing, but conversations that include conflicting perspectives eliminate elite framing effects."⁹³

Many other projects have examined the framing effect in different contexts within presidential rhetoric. Stuckey's examination of presidential rhetoric results in the argument that the mass media has led to an emphasis of style over content. Yet she still maintains that the role of presidential rhetoric in establishing frames for the public is so important that she reinterprets the president's primary duty as "interpreter-in-chief."⁹⁴ Barker focuses on how political elites frame issues using value-based language.⁹⁵ He examines Republican primary campaigns and compares the success of candidates who use egalitarian frames, personal individualized frames, or non-value based frames. He finds the individualized frames are most effective but highlights their inability to affect all audiences equally. He concludes that understanding an audience's value priorities is important when using the framing effect in political rhetoric.⁹⁶ Mintz and Redd show that framing has been a common feature of foreign policy discourse by highlighting the use of several different types of framing effects and examining their functions.⁹⁷ Riikka Kuusisto examined framing strategies used by world leaders that make use of comparative metaphors to encourage or discourage involvement in war.⁹⁸ By examining the role of story-telling, naming, and descriptive metaphor as frames in the first Gulf War and the Bosnian War, Kuusisto illustrates how definitions of events and actors can be the products of rhetorical frames.

⁹² Druckman, "On the Limits of Framing Effects: Who Can Frame?," 1061.

⁹³ James N. Druckman and Kjersten R. Nelson, "Framing and Deliberation: How Citizens' Conversations Limit Elite Influence," *American Journal of Political Science* 47, no. 4 (2003).

⁹⁴ Mary E. Stuckey, *The President as Interpreter-in-Chief* (Chatham, NJ: Chatham House Publishers, 1991).

⁹⁵ David C. Barker, "Values, Frames, and Persuasion in Presidential Nomination Campaigns," *Political Behavior* 27, no. 4 (2005).

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, 383-388.

⁹⁷ Alex Mintz and Steven Redd, "Framing Effects in International Relations," *Synthese* 135, no. 2, Decision Theory (May 01, 2003). The article differentiates between several types of frames but fails to provide a model on how to evaluate frames. The categories they chose are largely designed to measure the strategy the speaker attempted to use and its success, but no mode of evaluation is put forward. Instead the authors create juxtapositions of frame types like effective/ineffective frames that are mutually exclusive and then describe frames as combinations of categories. The end result are categories that are poorly defined and difficult to verify. However the project does show the variety of forms framing takes, even if it fails providing a method to systematically define them. Further it reinforces Druckman's claims that ethos plays an essential role in framing and Smith's emphasis on interpretive coalitions.

⁹⁸ R. Kuusisto, "Framing the Wars in the Gulf and in Bosnia: The Rhetorical Definitions of the Western Power Leaders in Action," *Journal of Peace Research* 35, no. 5 (September 01, 1998).

In "Presidential Rhetoric and the Power of Definition," David Zarefsky builds upon Kuusisto's argument that definition plays an important role in framing by developing a theoretical framework that reconciles the use of definition and the framing effect with rhetorical study's inability to show a specific effect on the opinions of voters. He argues that presidential rhetoric has the power to define political reality by giving names to complex situations and ideas.⁹⁹ Zarefsky explains that "to choose a definition is, in effect, to plead a cause, as if one were advancing a claim and offering support for it. But through naming [defining] no explicit claim is offered and no support is provided."¹⁰⁰ Frames are applied by creating associations between terms that expand the newly defined reality beyond its original scope, by using dissociation to break apart concepts and distance the newly labeled elements from unpopular elements, or by connecting an idea to condensation symbols, or "symbols which designate no clear referent but 'condense' a host of different meanings and connotations that otherwise might diverge."¹⁰¹ A key point in Zarefsky's research is that traditional discussions of persuasion and changed opinions may not always be useful in judging the rhetorical effect. Zarefsky suggests that framing can be measured by gauging the degree to which the public adopts definitions created by the president and recognizes that even if the definitions do not persuade others to agree with the president's viewpoint, framing can have a significant effect on the way the public engages in debate over the ideas that were defined.¹⁰²

Closely related to the framing effect is the concept of agenda-setting. First described in 1975 by Weaver, McCombs, and Spellman, agenda-setting refers to the process of affecting what issues are evaluated by the public.¹⁰³ D. A. Scheufele has argued that agenda-setting is a function of the cognitive process of accessibility and is an effect that influences the salience, or relative importance, of an issue.¹⁰⁴ Agenda-setting achieves this effect primarily through

⁹⁹ David Zarefsky, "Presidential Rhetoric and the Power of Definition," *Presidential Studies Quarterly* 34, no. 3 (2004).

¹⁰⁰ Ibid., 612.

¹⁰¹ Ibid., 612-613. Zarefsky also includes a fourth option, frame shifting. Frame shifting is essentially redefining a situation by discussing it in a way that is not normally done. Yet, this type of framing is essentially an application of the other 3 methods in a complex situation where naming does not actually take place and would be better considered a general form of the framing effect.

¹⁰² Ibid., 618-619.

¹⁰³ D. H. Weaver, M. E. McCombs, and C. Spellman, "Watergate and the Media: A Case Study of Agenda-Setting," *American Politics Research* 3, no. 4 (1975); Additionally, a complex argument about the relationship between agenda setting and framing exists in academic literature. In 1997 Macombs, a founder of agenda setting theory, posited that that framing is a subcategory of agenda setting, their opponents counter by arguing framing is an outgrowth of attribution theory, casual reasoning, and appeals to principles. Empirical work on the subjects also suggests the two are different processes because framing incorporates more cognitive processes. For a complete treatment of the debate see Dietram A. Scheufele, "Agenda-Setting, Priming, and Framing Revisited: Another Look at Cognitive Effects of Political Communication," *Mass Communication and Society* 3, no. 2-3 (2000). Effects of Political Communication.

¹⁰⁴ "Accessibility is the foundation of a memory-based model of information processing, which assumes that individuals make judgments about other people or issues based on information easily available and retrievable from memory at the time the

frequency. Simply put, agenda-setting takes place to a greater degree the more often an issue is discussed. As with framing, agenda-setting was first credited to the media, but quickly social scientists identified that political elites also functioned as agenda-setters, with the president ranking as the most powerful agenda-setter in the United States political system.¹⁰⁵ Edwards, Woods, and Peake have challenged this idea, saying instead that agendas are influenced by power struggles with Congress and the media, yet follow up research by Peake showed that research challenging the president's role as agenda-setter focused only on highly salient issues.¹⁰⁶ When Peake extended the research to other policy issues, he found that presidents do have significant agenda-setting power. He also concluded that despite the assumption that presidents are most effective at agenda-setting in foreign policy, their ability to set the foreign policy agenda is affected by an issue's prior salience, its relation to national security, and the president's freedom to act based on the realities of international situations.¹⁰⁷ These findings led Peake to argue the agenda-setting process between the media and the president is a reciprocal action that in certain situations can ascribe more agency to one group than the other.¹⁰⁸ Projects by Berkowitz and Andrade and Young have had similar findings.¹⁰⁹

Cohen demonstrated the importance of presidential agenda-setting related to domestic policy issues in his research focusing on the president's ability to influence the public agenda.¹¹⁰ He found that by using persuasive appeals to influence public opinion, a president can influence the perceived importance of an issue; however, it fades from the public agenda unless that president continually rallies the public to it.¹¹¹ Yet, agenda-setting has uses beyond setting the public agenda. Druckman, Jacobs, and Ostermeier have highlighted the ability of the political elite to influence the salience of characteristics of their public image through priming, a sub-process of agenda-setting in which access

question is asked." Scheufele, "Agenda-Setting, Priming, and Framing Revisited: Another Look at Cognitive Effects of Political Communication", 299.

¹⁰⁵ John W. Kingdon, *Agendas, Alternatives, and Public Policies* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1984)., Frank R. Baumgartner and Bryan D. Jones, *Agendas and Instability in American Politics* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1993), and Paul E. Peterson, "The President's Dominance in Foreign Policy Making," *Political Science Quarterly* 109, no. 2 (1994).

¹⁰⁶ B. Dan Wood and Jeffrey S. Peake, "The Dynamics of Foreign Policy Agenda Setting," *The American Political Science Review* 92, no. 1 (1998). and George C. Edwards and B. Dan Wood. "Who Influences Whom? The President, Congress, and the Media," *The American Political Science Review* 93, no. 2 (1999).; Jeffrey S. Peake. "Presidential Agenda Setting in Foreign Policy," *Political Research Quarterly* 54, no. 1 (2001): 69-86.

¹⁰⁷ Peake. "Presidential Agenda Setting in Foreign Policy," 2001:80-82.

¹⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, 80.

¹⁰⁹ Berkowitz, Dan. "Who Sets the Media Agenda? The Ability of Policymakers to Determine News Decisions." In *Public Opinion, the Press, and Public Policy*, by J. David Kenamer. Westport, CT: Praeger, 1992; Lydia Andrade and Garry Young, "Presidential Agenda Setting: Influences on the Emphasis of Foreign Policy," *Political Research Quarterly* 49, no. 3 (1996).

¹¹⁰ Jeffrey E. Cohen, "Presidential Rhetoric and the Public Agenda," *American Journal of Political Science* 39, no. 1 (February 01, 1995).

¹¹¹ *Ibid.*, 102.

to a particular element of memory is enhanced through exposure to other stimulus.¹¹² Rhetorically, priming can work as a sort of memory association, where one term prompts the audience to recall connections to other ideas. Pietryka and Boydston, on the other hand, have shown how politicians have also used agenda-setting to distract from issues on which they hold unpopular views and to motivate voters to support their campaigns.¹¹³ Having examined the scholarship related to rhetoric as a form of presidential leadership and having described key strategies of rhetorical leadership including framing, agenda-setting, and coalition building, the chapter now turns to reviewing literature related to the specific rhetorical strategies employed by President George W. Bush to construct a rhetorical narrative that defined the terrorist attacks on the World Trade Centers on September 11th of 2001 (9/11), the Invasion of Iraq, and the larger Global War on Terror.

Presidential Rhetoric of George W. Bush

The research related to the rhetorical presidency and rhetorical tools available to presidents forms an essential foundation for research related to President Bush's political discourse. This review will show that the literature produced on this subject argues that Bush acted in a way consistent with the rhetorical presidency model of presidential leadership. When designing discourse related to the GWOT, Bush and his administration used the rhetorical tools described in the previous section to frame the interpretation of the events of the September 11th terrorist attacks of 2001 and their response in a way that not only addressed the threat of terrorism but also furthered the administration's broader political agenda in regards to foreign policy and strengthened their political coalition domestically.¹¹⁴

¹¹² James N. Druckman, Lawrence R. Jacobs, and Eric Ostermeier, "Candidate Strategies to Prime Issues and Image," *The Journal of Politics* 66, no. 04 (2004).; Priming deals only with the *ability to recall from memory* element of salience, as opposed to also incorporating relative importance like the more complex agenda setting theory. David H. Weaver, "Thoughts on Agenda Setting, Framing, and Priming," *Journal of Communication* 57, no. 1 (2007).

¹¹³ Matthew T. Pietryka and Amber E. Boydston, "Going Maverick: How Candidates Can Use Agenda-Setting to Influence Citizen Motivations and Offset Unpopular Issue Positions," *Political Behavior* 34, no. 4 (2011).

¹¹⁴ This thesis recognizes the rhetorical repercussions of applying a shorthand term to the attacks of September 11, 2001 including the process of dehistoricizing the events. However the term 9/11 is used throughout academic research on the topic and herein is not a reflection of its mythic status in American culture.

During his first presidential campaign, Bush used a complex rhetorical strategy designed to form a coalition of voters by using the framing effect to unite disparate constituency groups into a political alliance, reflecting Smith and Smith's "interpretive system model."¹¹⁵ Bush's strategy was named compassionate conservatism. Kuypers, Hitchner, Irwin, and Wilson used rhetorical analysis to identify major themes in compassionate conservatism discourse; justice and fairness, entrepreneurship, freedom of choice, responsibility, character, faith, tolerance, and moral leadership were all common and interrelated.¹¹⁶ Compassionate conservatism appealed to conservative ideological themes, re-asserted the moral quality of executive leadership, and rebranded the Republican Party (GOP) to counter an image problem of Clinton-era Republicans that branded them as unsympathetic, especially toward the poor.¹¹⁷ The strategy, developed in part by Marvin Olasky, a conservative Calvinist scholar and author who served at University of Texas at Austin during Bush's governorship, established links between white southerners, Catholics, regular church attendants, and fundamentalist protestants by marrying non-religious conservative ideas with the application of religious values and presenting them as a solution to social and economic problems.¹¹⁸ The focus on moral qualities served to reinforce Bush's *ethos* among his coalition while also reflecting the nature of his coalition and provided frames and agenda-setting strategies that aligned policy positions with the values that tied these communities together. Additionally, the focus on moral qualities allowed compassionate and virtuous motivations supplied by religious traditions to act rhetorically as an impetus for a political agenda.

Crockett notes that while Bush at first avoided the spotlight and showed little skill in oratory, he nevertheless acted in a way consistent with the rhetorical presidency model to cultivate his majority.¹¹⁹ For example, after controversially winning the presidency while losing the popular vote during his re-election, Bush continued the use of compassionate conservatism to build legitimacy for his administration through the "base strategy". This strategy eschewed political compromise and instead relied on the mobilization of the religious right and other conservative constituencies, partly through rhetoric, to flood the vote with conservatives so that they represent as close to 51% of

¹¹⁵ Craig Allen Smith and Kathy B. Smith, *The White House Speaks: Presidential Leadership as Persuasion*, 29.

¹¹⁶ Kuypers, et al., "Compassionate Conservatism: The Rhetorical Reconstruction of Conservative Rhetoric," 2003. Scholarship on compassionate conservatism and its role in Bush's rhetorical strategy will be discussed in the following subsection, entitled "Religious Rhetoric."

¹¹⁷ Jim A. Kuypers, et al., "Compassionate Conservatism: The Rhetorical Reconstruction of Conservative Rhetoric," *American Communications Journal* 6, no. 4 (Summer 2003): 3.

¹¹⁸ Harold Stanley and Richard C. Niemi, "Partisanship, Party Coalitions, and Group Support, 1952-2004," in *Models of Voting in Presidential Elections: The 2000 U.S. Election*, by Herbert F. Weisberg and Clyde Wilcox (Stanford, CA: Stanford Law and Politics, 2004).

¹¹⁹ David A. Crockett, "'The Rhetorical Presidency': Still Standing Tall," 2009.

voters as possible. The “base strategy” was developed by Karl Rove, the Chief Strategist for Bush's first election campaign, Senior Advisor, and Deputy Chief of Staff of Bush's presidential administration. The “base strategy” was then implemented in 2004 by Matthew Dowd, Chief Strategist for Bush's second election campaign.

Another main theme in Bush's political agenda was a neoconservative (neocon) approach to foreign policy. Neo-conservatism is an America-centric political rationale that relies on western morality as a means for regulating the global free market. Common themes of neo-conservatism are promotion of American style democracy abroad, advocating unilateral American action in pursuit of American interests, ready use of militarism, expression of international conflicts in binary terms, and a focus on the moral differences between good and evil or western values and those who oppose them (represented by Islam and communism in different time periods).¹²⁰ Neocons represent another major constituency for Bush's GOP base. The binary moral elements provided a common ground between neocons and the Christian right. This issue will be discussed later in this thesis, but for now, this chapter will focus on scholarship related to Bush's GWOT narrative.

Defining the September 11th Attacks and the GWOT Narrative

Bligh, Kohles, and Meindl highlight a shift in the policy agenda of the Bush administration and Bush's rhetorical strategy following the attack on the World Trade Center on 9/11 that reflects Weber's concept of charismatic leadership.¹²¹ This shift prompted a large increase in support by the public, the media, and Congress.¹²² This stylistic shift accompanied a change in content development strategy that made use of Zarefsky's “power of definition” to develop an overarching public narrative. That narrative created a common understanding of the events of 9/11 and

¹²⁰ W. Brown, “American Nightmare: Neoliberalism, Neo-conservatism, and De-Democratization,” *Political Theory* 34, no. 6 (2006). And Irving Kristol, *Neoconservatism: The Autobiography of an Idea* (New York: Free Press, 1995).

¹²¹ Michelle C. Bligh, Jeffrey C. Kohles, and James R. Meindl, “Charisma under Crisis: Presidential Leadership, Rhetoric, and Media Responses before and after the September 11th Terrorist Attacks,” *The Leadership Quarterly* 15, no. 2 (2004).

¹²² Leadership that causes a following based on personal characteristics of the leader seen to be beyond those of an average individual. Max Weber, Hans Heinrich Gerth, and C. Wright Mills, *From Max Weber: Essays in Sociology* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1946).

built unity around the idea of a military response by using the metaphor of war well before any military action was taken.

In one of the first rhetorical deconstructions of Bush's war rhetoric, "'Our Mission and Our Moment': George W. Bush and September 11th," Murphy argues that the rhetorical decisions made immediately after 9/11 afforded Bush the power to craft public interpretation of the event and the conflicts that followed by defining American identity and his role as America's leader. Murphy claims that this power grew out of three processes. First, Bush adopted a modified genre of war rhetoric that focused nearly exclusively on epideictic rhetoric, allowing him to define a view of the United States by articulating values that ideal Americans possessed.¹²³ Second, he used visual cues in his speeches to replace negative imagery with positive imagery that reinforced his rhetoric. Finally, Bush sought to identify with his audience by establishing a synecdochical relationship with the American people and reflecting their feelings and desires through his words and actions.¹²⁴ Particularly important is Murphy's assertion that the President used complex processes of definition to meet the audience's emotional needs and expectations instead of simply reflecting reality. But as Zarefsky highlights, the development of a public definition of the events of 9/11 was not a quick process even when relying heavily on the metaphor of war. Bush's early statements were filled with rhetorical mistakes that highlighted his struggle to find a balance between *ethos*, *pathos*, and *logos* that met the needs of his audience and developed support for his administration's response.¹²⁵ Thornton and Thornton argue that to overcome this difficulty, the Bush administration relied heavily on the framing effect. They identified several strategies used by the Bush administration to establish rhetorical frames, including the use of binary discourse, connection to metanarratives, and the deployment of such rhetorical tools as metaphor, analogy, amplification, use of visual imagery, and use of popular entertainment tropes.¹²⁶ In some cases, all of these strategies combined to reinforce one another.

¹²³ rhetorical appeals that unite a community around a set of core values

¹²⁴ John M. Murphy, "'Our Mission and Our Moment' George W. Bush and September 11th," *Rhetoric & Public Affairs* 6, no. 4 (2003).

¹²⁵ David Zarefsky, "George W. Bush Discovers Rhetoric: September 20, 2001 and the US Response to Terrorism," in *The Ethos of Rhetoric*, by Michael J. Hyde (Columbia, SC: University of South Carolina Press, 2004): 136-138.

¹²⁶ These strategies are all highlighted in Murphy as well as many other individual works; but it is Jackson who attempts to create a comprehensive list in Jackson, *Writing the War on Terrorism: Language, Politics and Counter-terrorism*, 2005. His work will be referenced throughout this section to highlight connections between research projects.

One of the most powerful frames established in Bush's discourse cast the 9/11 attacks as an act of war, and as a result, cast the United States military response as a justified wartime action. This frame was established through two basic strategies: the use of war rhetoric and the war metaphor. Murphy highlights Bush's use of war rhetoric in his response to the events of 9/11, and Graham, Keenan, and Dowd identify the basic characteristics of the "call to arms" genre of political speech designed to mobilize a country to war in Bush's address to the nation on September 16, 2001. Jackson, Thornton and Thornton, and Croft, all note that other rhetorical frames were available after the attack.¹²⁷ A competing interpretation appeared in Bush's September 12, 2001 speech in which he framed the attacks as criminal activity. By the 14th, Bush had begun to describe the attack as an act of war; eventually legal, legislative, military, domestic security, and intelligence initiatives and operations created a concrete reality out of the rhetorical war on terror.¹²⁸ Yet as Jackson describes, other frames were also used by the President to expand upon his definition. Frames of good versus evil, a new good war that continues the American just war tradition, and finally, 9/11 as an attack on globalization and world commerce.

In "No Shades of Gray: The Binary Discourse of George W. Bush and an Echoing Press," Domke and Coe analyzed Bush's speeches from the aftermath of the 9/11 attacks to the beginning of the war in Iraq for examples of binary discourse, one of the many names for rhetoric developed around dichotomous relationships.¹²⁹ They find that Bush commonly used two different sets of binary ideas to structure his rhetoric and tied other ideas to these structures to include them in the binary relationship; the ideas are good/evil and security/peril. Bush's use of binary discourse was strategically deployed following the 9/11 attacks using the attacks as a central organizing object to reframe old Cold War era binary ideas used to justify war and assuage wartime guilt. While groups of binary ideas were consistently employed, good/evil achieved a much higher rate of usage, partially because as Domke and Coe note, ideas of good and evil are more culturally powerful because of their religious connections. They also found that these binary frames were adopted readily by the media who benefited from an overly simplistic and dramatized view of events. Importantly, moral binary is an important element of the Christian right's worldview and of neo-conservative

¹²⁷ Phil Graham, Thomas Keenan, and Anne-Maree Dowd, "A Call to Arms at the End of History: A Discourse-Historical Analysis of George W. Bush's Declaration of War on Terror," *Discourse & Society* 15, no. 2 (2004).; Patricia M. Thornton and Thomas F. Thornton, "Blowback," in *Collateral Language: A User's Guide to America's New War*, by John Collins and Ross Glover (New York: New York University Press, 2002); Jackson, *Writing the War on Terrorism: Language, Politics and Counter-terrorism*, 2005; Stuart Croft, *Culture, Crisis and America's War on Terror* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006).

¹²⁸ By September 16, this became Bush's dominant metaphor.

¹²⁹ K. Coe, "No Shades of Gray: The Binary Discourse of George W. Bush and an Echoing Press," *Journal of Communication* 54, no. 2 (2004).

ideology providing a natural link between the elements of Bush's compassionate conservatism and neo-conservative rhetoric.

Maggio examined definitions Bush established for the events of 9/11, the GWOT that followed, and the identity of the enemies in that conflict thereby creating a shared interpretation of the situation and establishing powerful frames. He found that in Bush's original attempts to reassure Americans of their safety and provide comfort, Bush defined the events of 9/11 through associations with the parties involved while creating a dichotomous relationship between the United States and its enemy. Importantly, Bush was able to characterize unity as strength and used language that encouraged conformity in order to ensure safety. In doing so, Bush was able to set the parameters that determine the difference between friend and enemy and to cast dissenting voices and potential political opposition as threats to security. This strategy also allowed Bush to create equivalency between allies, specifically Israel and the United States. Using this binary structure, Bush ascribed characteristics of innocence and resilience to the American people while juxtaposing their values with the ideas of indiscriminate violence and cowardice and connecting them to the enemy. These characterizations then helped determine the collective interpretation of the act as an unwarranted attack against an innocent nation by an enemy who is diametrically opposed to its values. The initial descriptions are then expanded by applying further values to the United States and creating a narrative of U.S. history around those values. For example, Maggio highlights Bush's association of the United States and its value system with God, tying themes of providence and destiny to an interpretation of U.S. history.¹³⁰ Through the lens of destiny, the conflict can then be interpreted as a struggle between good and evil, and the United States identity becomes tied to the concept of good. Finally, building the dichotomy between the United States and the newly established ideograph of <terrorists> allowed the President to shift from an unknown enemy to a general one created through disassociation with the values of the audience. Importantly, specific enemies could later be introduced through association with the general enemy of <terrorists>, as was the case with Saddam Hussein in 2002-2003.¹³¹ Bush was able to consistently increase

¹³⁰ J. Maggio, "The Presidential Rhetoric of Terror: The (Re)Creation of Reality Immediately after 9/11," 2007.

¹³¹ J. Maggio, "The Presidential Rhetoric of Terror: The (Re)Creation of Reality Immediately after 9/11," 2007: 821-825., Sue Lockett. John et al., "Going Public, Crisis after Crisis: The Bush Administration and the Press from September 11 to Saddam," 2007. They also note that the shift in GWOT rhetoric towards Iraq was built primarily on the recontextualization of three themes that were already being used to cast the fight against terrorism as a war: the use of 9/11 imagery and connections of third parties to the attackers, the idea of an ever present external threat, and the good versus evil binary. Additionally, the use of brackets here indicates the term terrorists is being used as an ideograph. The application of brackets is standard practice in rhetorical studies and is used here to differentiate the ideograph that takes on the larger meaning of all American enemies the GWOT narrative from a specific sociopolitical definition of terrorism.

the salience of these characterizations by attaching them to heavily emotional language that often implied a sense of urgency or imminent danger, like discourse claiming the Iraqi regime or terrorist groups had access to Weapons of Mass Destruction (WMDs).¹³²

Hodges notes that binary discourse plays an essential role in the narrative structure that allowed President Bush to equate Saddam Hussein and Osama Bin Laden.¹³³ Through narrative, Bush was able to increase connections between Hussein and Bin Laden using binary discourse to create equivalence in their actions, categorize them together as potential allies, or create historical links between 9/11 and future possible attacks by both actors.¹³⁴ Equally important was the use of narrative and vague binary concepts to decrease salient differences between the two.¹³⁵ The same processes of association and disassociation are used to establish the innocent nature of allies, like Israel, by highlighting the determination of the enemy regime to harm them, which additionally characterizes the United States as defenders of the innocent. Merskin continued the study of constructed identity in Bush's binary discourse to highlight the dangers of using vague terms and blank identities. She argues Bush's rhetoric connects Arab identity to the definition of terrorists.¹³⁶ She finds stereotyping, de-individualization, identification with evil, and zero-sum thinking were all used to tie together the abstract identity of blood thirsty and freedom-hating terrorists with groups of Arabs and Muslims.¹³⁷ Ibrahim builds upon Merskin's argument, crediting Islamaphobia with driving political elites to view Islam often in binary terms of either "moderate or extremist, liberal or conservative, reformist or traditional," therefore constructing a view that any organization founded on Islamic principles can be tied to terrorists through association.¹³⁸ By promoting this simplistic binary, even Bush's appeals that were made to differentiate terrorists from other Muslims can be seen as Orientalist because of the narrow self-serving characterization of other Muslims.¹³⁹

¹³² Stephen J. Hartnett and Laura A. Stengrim, "'The Whole Operation of Deception': Reconstructing President Bush's Rhetoric of Weapons of Mass Destruction," *Cultural Studies Critical Methodologies* 4, no. 2 (May 2004).

¹³³ Adam Hodges, "The Narrative Construction of Identity: The Adequation of Saddam Hussein and Osama Bin Laden in The 'War on Terror'" in *Discourse, War and Terrorism*, by Adam Hodges and Chad Nilep (Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 2007).

¹³⁴ Winkler attributes this strategy to a greater pattern of strategic misrepresentation in Bush's preemptive strike rhetoric. Carol Winkler, "Parallels in Preemptive War Rhetoric: Reagan on Libya; Bush 43 on Iraq," *Rhetoric & Public Affairs* 10, no. 2 (2007).

¹³⁵ Ibid., 70-71.

¹³⁶ Debra Merskin, "The Construction of Arabs as Enemies: Post-September 11 Discourse of George W. Bush," *Mass Communication and Society* 7, no. 2 (2004).

¹³⁷ Ibid.

¹³⁸ Anwar Ibrahim, "Radical Islam in Southeast Asia," *Far Eastern Economic Review*, 60th Anniversary Edition (November 2006):1.

¹³⁹ Ibid., 1.

In Zarefsky's discussion of constructed identities, he finds in the days following 9/11, American identity is primarily defined by unity and the U.S. connection to the good side of binary constructs.¹⁴⁰ On a few occasions, more specific American values are highlighted in calls to action. Bush encouraged Americans to maintain the values of capitalism, faith, family, patriotism, patience, and tolerance in their daily lives as a sign that the terrorists had not disrupted American life and culture. Zarefsky also notes Bush purposefully created the impression of a war without cost and asked for no sacrifices of the American public beyond a general support for the troops.¹⁴¹

One example of the strategies discussed above comes from Bush's use of a theme that is representative of American values, the pursuit of human rights. Stuckey and Ritter examine the role of the ideograph <human rights> in Bush's rhetoric and find that it was used in two primary ways: as an idea that was defended by the United States through its wartime policies and as a tool to enhance association and disassociation of parties especially when connected to metanarratives.¹⁴² Essentially Bush argues that America was founded on a belief in human rights, that democracies have a moral mandate to spread these rights, and the administration's wartime policies are designed chiefly to promote human rights. The same language used to make these arguments also create a synonymous construction between <human rights>, <freedom>, and the mission of the United States. Yet when examining the word clusters and narrative connections that give meaning to <human rights>, Stuckey and Ritter find that the term is primarily applied to the idea of economic freedom through unrestricted access to the free market. The ideograph is then used to reinforce neoliberal economic ideas like the establishment of a global economy and neoconservative ideas related to management of that economy through deregulation, de-internationalization, free enterprise, and the imposition of a governing universal moral agenda. Yet these arguments are actually used in a way that shields the market from public scrutiny and promotes political policies that undermine legitimate concepts of human rights, such as the use of torture.¹⁴³

Denike focuses on the effects of human rights discourse and finds that Bush's use equates to co-opting the rhetoric to achieve its antithesis. She argues that when paired with the security state and logic of the preemptive strike, human

¹⁴⁰ Zarefsky, "George W. Bush Discovers Rhetoric: September 20, 2001 and the US Response to Terrorism," 2004.

¹⁴¹ Ibid., 146. This idea is studied directly and reaffirmed in Cole, Timothy. "The Political Rhetoric of Sacrifice and Heroism and US Military Intervention" In *Bring 'em On: Media and Politics in the Iraq War*, by Lee Artz and Yahya R. Kamalipour, 139-54. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2005.

¹⁴² Mary E. Stuckey and Joshua R. Ritter, "George Bush, and American Democracy," (2007).

¹⁴³ Ibid., 658-659.

rights language is effective in reinforcing imperialist ideas and eroding conditions necessary to ensure human rights internationally, especially in areas associate with the United States' enemies.¹⁴⁴ Hancock expanded the argument by classifying Bush's discussion of human rights as its own metanarrative that played an essential role in creating the moral constructs that governed the legitimacy of Bush's policies. He argues that it functioned in ways similar to other metanarratives but notes that the internal logic of this narrative is flawed and, as others have explained, the policies that Bush claims are enacted in support of human rights often undermine them.¹⁴⁵

Jackson explains the <human rights> example illustrates how the framing effect discussed above also functions to establish the GWOT as a moral war that appealed to the idea that Americans had always engaged in conflict for a greater purpose. Yet at the same time, Bush's discourse created a differentiation between the wars of the past and the new kind of conflict that lacked a clearly defined enemy and old rules of warfare. Jackson refers to this construct as the "new good war."¹⁴⁶ The moral nature of the war was established by stressing the legality and just cause of the United States, the proper conduct through which American forces would be expected to act, and the nature of the conflict as a war of last resort.¹⁴⁷ Each of these characteristics was emphasized in connections between the GWOT and larger metanarratives.¹⁴⁸

Four metanarratives were widely used by Bush to establish interpretive context for the GWOT. The first metanarrative creates an analogous relationship between 9/11 and the GWOT to the attacks on Pearl Harbor and World War II (WWII). Bostdorff identifies this connection in her analysis of Bush's early rhetoric and highlights many of same rhetorical purposes described in other research. She argues that these goals were achieved because of Bush's use of the language of Covenant Renewal.¹⁴⁹ This genre is defined by its use of the inclusive language of religiosity, placing blame on agents outside of the community for its troubles, praise for younger generations of the

¹⁴⁴ Margaret Denike, "The Human Rights of Others: Sovereignty, Legitimacy, and "Just Causes" for the "War on Terror"," *Hypatia* 23, no. 2 (2008).

¹⁴⁵ Jan Hancock, "Human Rights Narrative in the George W. Bush Administrations," *Review of International Studies* 37, no. 02 (2010).

¹⁴⁶ Jackson, *Writing the War on Terrorism: Language, Politics and Counter-terrorism*, 2005: 121-150.

¹⁴⁷ Ibid., 121, 124-129, 130-141. Also Winkler highlights Bush's use of the idea of a war of last resort. She finds that Bush's use of rhetoric to cast the enemy as the aggressor, to specify the identity of the enemies, and to depict military force as the option of last resort were all consistent with this subgenre. Winkler, "Parallels in Preemptive War Rhetoric: Reagan on Libya; Bush 43 on Iraq," 2007.

¹⁴⁸ Jackson, *Writing the War on Terrorism: Language, Politics and Counter-terrorism*, 2005: 40-53.

¹⁴⁹ Denise M. Bostdorff, "George W. Bush's Post-September 11 Rhetoric of Covenant Renewal: Upholding the Faith of the Greatest Generation," *Quarterly Journal of Speech* 89, no. 4 (2003).

community, and calls for renewing commitments to values with symbolic connections to the older generation. Following 9/11, Bush defined the outside evil of terrorism and "portrayed the U.S. citizenry as a special people watched over by a benevolent God."¹⁵⁰ Yet Bostdorff claims "the cultural context leading up to September 11 was one in which younger Americans were made highly aware of the contributions of their 'elders'" (the WWII generation), while younger generations suffered from stereotypes that they were selfish and materialistic.¹⁵¹ Therefore, Bush characterized the response to the attacks "as a successful test of character and opportunity for cultural change," calling upon the younger generations of Americans to renew "a sacred, civil covenant in which fulfilling the obligations of citizenship through sacrifice ensures the freedom and rights that Americans enjoy," one that was symbolically associated with the sacrifice of the WWII generation and their conflict against the evils of Fascism and Japanese Imperial expansion.¹⁵² In order to renew this covenant, Americans simply needed to support the GWOT and any effort to confront the new evil of <terrorism>.

David Hoogland Noon expands the examination of Bush's use of historical metanarratives by focusing on their ability to

offer cognitive frameworks through which we might evaluate new information and experience... emotional, even subconscious associations that are equally capable of inspiring, attracting, and recruiting support for a particular political decision.¹⁵³

He notes that Bush had used rhetorical themes related to WWII for multiple purposes in his discourse as early as his 1999 presidential campaign, yet a sharp increase in the frequency of World War II (WWII) references followed 9/11 when Bush began to frame the GWOT through the analogy of WWII. Noon claims that

by casting September 11, 2001, not merely as a national trauma but also as a moment in which the character of the World War II generation was transmitted to its successors, Bush has emphasized those aspects of wartime memory that emphasize historical continuity and national unity.¹⁵⁴

¹⁵⁰ Ibid., 301.

¹⁵¹ Ibid., 299.

¹⁵² Ibid., 201, 306.

¹⁵³ David Hoogland Noon, "Operation Enduring Analogy: World War II, the War on Terror, and the Uses of Historical Memory," *Rhetoric and Public Affairs* 7, no. 3 (October 01, 2004): 340.

¹⁵⁴ Ibid., 358.

By consistently recalling the collective myth of WWII, Bush is able to insinuate that the United States is reliving the events of those times and following the same pattern of action. Yet the analogy itself is designed to not only emphasize certain elements of the past but also to hide dissimilarities between the events. In this case, the relevant similarities are constructed from an oversimplified cultural narrative that stresses the binary good versus evil discourse described earlier by drawing connections between terrorists and Nazis or Fascists and characterizing the United States as

a nation whose global power was 'thrust upon it,'...whose foreign policy has been fundamentally anti-imperialist from its origins and ...that summons its economic and military strength to create a better world without fabricating an empire of its own.¹⁵⁵

The second metanarrative is a historical continuation of the legacy of the United States represented by creating an analogy between the GWOT and the Cold War.¹⁵⁶ Jackson recognizes the limited use of this metanarrative but stresses its importance because of the direct nature of the appeals used to create the analogy. Jackson identifies two major purposes for the connection to this metanarrative. The first is to create an analogous relationship between terrorists and totalitarian regimes based on their desire to destroy the American way of life. The second is to create links between the GWOT and a conflict that ended in victory and was still prominent in the collective memory of a large part of the population.¹⁵⁷

The third metanarrative generally appealed to conflict between civilization and barbarism. Salter argues that this specific narrative has been used consistently over many years in international relations.¹⁵⁸ Slotkin claims that this narrative has special meaning for Americans because it ties to a cultural myth about the founding of the nation and the civilizing of Native Americans. However, Llorente explains that the conflict between "civilized peoples" and barbarians is primarily a binary function designed to devalue those labeled barbarians and establish rhetorical links between motivation of terrorists and the "cruel instincts" of famous barbarians like Attila the Hun. Establishing the

¹⁵⁵ Ibid., 344.

¹⁵⁶ This metanarrative was far less pronounced than that of WWII and is used as a sort of secondary construction. in scholarly literature far less is said about the cold war analogy largely due to its limited use. Jackson, *Writing the War on Terrorism: Language, Politics and Counter-terrorism*, 2005.

¹⁵⁷ Ibid., 45-47.

¹⁵⁸ Mark B. Salter, *Barbarians and Civilization in International Relations* (London: Pluto Press, 2002).

motivations of these "modern day barbarians" as inhumane cruelty serves to reduce counterarguments and avoid examination of other possible causes for grievance against America.¹⁵⁹ The binary structure is then used to once again establish elements of identity through disassociation and creating a clear distinction between *us* and *them* through conceptualizations of the Orientalist construction of the *other*.¹⁶⁰ It also places the GWOT as both a continuation of a timeless moral struggle for civilization and differentiates it from other major conflicts due to the unrelenting chaotic nature of an enemy not defined by state or political ideology.

The final metanarrative is globalization.¹⁶¹ Many scholarly projects have established the importance of globalization in the construction of the political and economic context within which terrorism and the global war on terror exist, but it is important to differentiate the discussion of the real world context of globalization and the rhetorical context of globalization language used by President Bush.¹⁶² Jackson notes Bush's narrative implies a link between civilization and globalization in which globalization is a force that spreads civilization through economic and cultural prosperity. Bush used the target selection of the World Trade Center to characterize 9/11 as an attack on the globalized economy. Bush used references to global economic systems, consumerism, and the idea of modern progress to build a connection between the identity of the United States and its allies and globalization. The primary purposes of this discourse were to classify the threat of relatively small groups of terrorists as a threat against anyone engaging in the global economy and to frame discussions of globalization in a way that minimized American hegemonic influence and the inequality that exists in the global economic system while emphasizing positive aspects of global commerce.¹⁶³ The globalization narrative was particularly relevant to neoconservatives and scholar critiquing Bush's foreign policy. Walter Russell Mead examined Bush's foreign policy in the context of the larger history of American approach to foreign policy and found that it shares a historical concern with global trade, supply

¹⁵⁹ M. Llorente, "Civilization Versus Barbarism," in *Collateral Language: A User's Guide to America's New War*, by John Collins and Ross Glover (New York: New York University Press, 2002).

¹⁶⁰ Merskin "The Construction of Arabs as Enemies: Post-September 11 Discourse of George W. Bush," 2004. This source reinforces this interpretation of the metanarrative specifically. See also Maryam Khalid, "Gender, Orientalism and Representations of the 'Other' in the War on Terror," *Global Change, Peace & Security* 23, no. 1 (2011).

¹⁶¹ This metanarrative received much less attention because of its very limited use and its secondary role to the civilization/barbarian analogy.

¹⁶² For a good introduction, see Jonathan Friedman, *Globalization, the State, and Violence* (Walnut Creek, CA: AltaMira Press, 2003). This collection offers the perspective of multiple scholars from a range of disciplines. Additional sources that provide a good overview of the discussion are Audrey Kurth Cronin, "Behind the Curve: Globalization and International Terrorism," *International Security* 27, no. 3 (2003). and Ekkart Zimmermann, "Globalization and Terrorism," *European Journal of Political Economy* 27 (December 2011).

¹⁶³ Jackson, *Writing the War on Terrorism: Language, Politics and Counter-terrorism*, 2005: 51-53.

chains, and the ability to prevent challenges to American global power in strategic regions.¹⁶⁴ These policy concerns are closely aligned with the globalized economy and Bush's use of this metanarrative represents an attempt to define the administration's approach to foreign economic and security policy using a binary good evil relationship. However, while Mead agrees with some elements of Bush's foreign policy he is highly critical of his handling of traditional international relationships that assisted the United States in maintaining global order and regulating global trade.¹⁶⁵

All of the strategies described above have allowed some, including Elshtain and Land, to claim that the GWOT and the later invasion of Iraq conform to the Christian teachings of just war theory.¹⁶⁶ Indeed, many have noted that the rhetoric of the Bush administration has used language reminiscent of just war theory, actively provided a rationale for the conflict based on just cause, and argued that it is a war of last resort.¹⁶⁷ It is significant that the majority of scholars studying the moral elements of the GWOT, including Crawford, Burke, Marsden, and many leaders of mainline Christian denominations, argue that it, and most specifically the invasion of Iraq, fails to qualify as a just war.¹⁶⁸

Scholars have not only used their research to identify rhetorical strategies at work in Bush's discourse, they have also issued challenges to Bush's use of simplistic binary war rhetoric. Ivie argues that the *us versus them* rhetoric of the Bush administration is antidemocratic because it seeks to control the population through fear and stifle the exchange of ideas and opinions upon which democracy is founded. He uses this argument to call on presidents to embrace democratic rhetoric that empowers social movements and facilitates active civic engagement, like those recommended by scholars studying the negative aspects of the rhetorical presidency model of presidential

¹⁶⁴ Walter Russell Mead, *Power, Terror, Peace, and War: America's Grand Strategy in a World at Risk* (New York: Knopf, 2004), 21-40.

¹⁶⁵ Mead, *Power, Terror, Peace, and War: America's Grand Strategy in a World at Risk*, 2004, 109-138.

¹⁶⁶ Jean Bethke Elshtain, "How to Fight a Just War," in *Worlds in Collision: Terror and the Future of Global Order*, by Ken Booth and Timothy Dunne (Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002) and Richard Land, "A Christian Defense of the War in Iraq," Beliefnet.com, March 2006, <http://www.beliefnet.com/News/2006/03/A-Christian-Defense-Of-The-War-In-Iraq.aspx>.

¹⁶⁷ Anthony Burke, "Just War or Ethical Peace? Moral Discourses of Strategic Violence After 9/11," *International Affairs* 80, no. 2 (2004) and Jackson, *Writing the War on Terrorism: Language, Politics and Counter-Terrorism*, 2005. Many of the projects discussed in this section make similar arguments.

¹⁶⁸ Neta C. Crawford, "Just War Theory and the U.S. Counterterror War," *Perspectives on Politics* 1, no. 1 (March 01, 2003).; Anthony Burke, "Just War or Ethical Peace? Moral Discourses of Strategic Violence After 9/11," 2004.; and Marsden, Lee. "God War and Iraq." In *Religion, Conflict and Military Intervention*, by Rosemary Durward and Lee Marsden, 71-88. Farnham, Surrey: Ashgate, 2009.

leadership.¹⁶⁹ Jackson warns against Bush's rhetorical strategy based on its effects, claiming that use of the new good war construction serves to create the logical parameters and social legitimacy needed to enact policies allowing torture.¹⁷⁰ Dexter makes similar claims but focuses on Bush's use of binary arguments as tools to explain and to excuse a western neo-interventionist framework in which events are de-contextualized and de-politicized while non-western forms of warfare are outlawed. Further, these structures create a moral order that ordains the west as a moral authority beyond reproach and functions to shut down inquiry and deliberation.¹⁷¹ The general rhetorical strategies described above had persuasive value to large segments within the American public. The scholarship on Bush's rhetorical relationship with the Christian right has focused largely on his use of religious rhetoric as a way to appeal to that community. The next section of this chapter will examine scholarship on Bush's use of religious rhetoric.

Religious Rhetoric

Bush's faith is an important starting point for the discussion of his use of religious rhetoric in his discourse because a large amount of scholarly literature on the subject seeks to determine if his rhetoric and policy agenda are calculated political actions or reflections of his sincere faith. Bush's own work, *A Charge to Keep*, is an important starting place for this discussion because it contains his own description of his faith. Essentially the book provides a series of disjointed anecdotes in which he outlines his own views on faith and his political philosophy. An important chapter details Bush's conversion experience. He outlines a series of interactions with Billy Graham in which he is led to a born again experience and is able to overcome alcoholism. In *A Charge to Keep*, he articulates a faith that is

¹⁶⁹ Robert L. Ivie, *Democracy and America's War on Terror* (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2005).x

¹⁷⁰ Richard Jackson, "Language, Policy and the Construction of a Torture Culture in the War on Terrorism," *Review of International Studies* 33, no. 3 (July 01, 2007).

¹⁷¹ Helen Dexter, "New War, Good War and the War on Terror: Explaining, Excusing and Creating Western Neo-interventionism," *Development and Change* 38, no. 6 (November 2007). Not all scholars agree that the only purpose of Bush's rhetoric was to gain support. Engles and Saas argue that the purpose of Bush's war rhetoric was to build acquiescence to war, removing it from the public discussion and shifting mechanisms of accountability away from the public and into the hands of a small group of political elites; Biesecker instead classifies Bush's war rhetoric as a tool to maintain a connection to the pre-9/11 world in which the United States' homogeny was unchallenged by creating cycles of loss and remembrance when memorializing 9/11. Each acknowledges the persuasive effects of the rhetoric in gaining support as separate from its intent. Jeremy Engels and William O. Saas, "On Acquiescence and Ends-Less War: An Inquiry into the New War Rhetoric," *Quarterly Journal of Speech* 99, no. 2 (2013) and George C. Edwards, *On Deaf Ears: The Limits of the Bully Pulpit* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2003).

consistent with many of the common evangelical doctrines, affirms God's role in individual's lives, understands faith as the only way to change hearts, takes the truth of the Bible seriously, and provides direction for his life.¹⁷² Despite being a Methodist, Bush articulates the character of his faith in a way consistent with an evangelical world view.¹⁷³ Bush's second memoir *Decision Points* also reinforces these same ideas.¹⁷⁴

Stephen Mansfield produced the first in-depth examination of President Bush's faith and its relationship to his political identity entitled, *The Faith of George W. Bush*. Mansfield affirms Bush's faith as described by Bush's book, *A Charge to Keep*, and claims it is a core element of his political identity and directly influences his policy decisions. While some discussion is given to Bush's upbringing in Texas, the key spiritual moments focused on by Mansfield are Bush's conversion experience and the spiritual stability provided by his marriage to his wife, Laura. According to Mansfield these experiences lead to a real change in both lifestyle and worldview. Mansfield argues that there is an essential link between Bush's faith, his understanding of the role of God's providence in the history of the United States, and Bush's leadership style and political agenda.¹⁷⁵ The public discourse of the Bush' presidency affirms the key role faith plays in the administrations positions with his use of religious rhetoric.

Religious rhetoric formed a central element in the Bush administration's discourse. As a result, many scholars analyzing President Bush's rhetoric have incorporated discussions of religious themes into their work. Zarefsky, Jackson, Croft, Maggio, Merskin, Bhatia, Bostdorff, and many of the other scholars cited in the sections above, highlight the role of religious rhetoric, especially in regards to the creation of binary relationships and establishing moral frames when defining the GWOT. Their works identify the central role that religious rhetoric played in coalition building, forming consensus around the GWOT narrative, and defining the character of Bush's rhetorical leadership. Additionally, as Bhatia explains by connecting binary concepts to religious identity, the speaker becomes uniquely qualified to cast the "other" as morally devoid and to pass absolute moral judgment. By interpreting sociopolitical issues as religious events, a speaker is able to promote moral absolutism and use emotional appeals

¹⁷² George W. Bush, *A Charge to Keep* (New York: Morrow, 1999). These references permeate the book. The title is even drawn from a traditional Christian hymn. Page 6 contains the first overt statement that affirms the role of divine providence in the history of the United States of America, also chapters 7 and 16 revolve around the main theme of faith and its impact on Bush's life and policies.

¹⁷³ Stephen Mansfield, *The Faith of George W. Bush* (New York: Jeremy P. Tarcher/Penguin, 2003).

¹⁷⁴ George W. Bush, *Decision Points* (New York: Crown Publishers, 2010). Importance of faith and struggle with alcoholism: 4. Encounter with Billy Graham: 30-34. Role of faith and political agenda as activism: 277-278. Am

¹⁷⁵ Ibid.

instead of explaining complex logical arguments.¹⁷⁶ Yet these projects do not represent the totality of work on Bush's use of religious rhetoric. The importance of conservative, evangelical Christians to Bush's coalition, the personal faith of the President, and increasing impact by the Christian right on both domestic and foreign policy made strategic deployment of religious rhetoric an essential, persuasive tool for the Bush administration that fulfilled a wide range of functions.

An important step in analyzing Bush's use of religious rhetoric is to determine its relationship to modern trends in presidential rhetoric. Modern trends have shown an increase in the usage of appeals to Bellah's concept of American civil religion, a collection of quasi-religious social symbols used to promote social integration based upon the concept of a shared value system in American culture, relying heavily on Judeo-Christian traditions and themes.¹⁷⁷ Chapp systematically studied how presidents between 1980 and 2012 have deployed religious rhetoric identifying three separate categories of civil religious speech, highlighting its bipartisan use and demonstrating its effectiveness in gaining electoral support through building of political coalitions.¹⁷⁸

Quantitatively, Domke and Coe show that Bush exceeds the expected use of religious rhetoric compared to trends in modern presidential rhetoric. Domke and Coe identified nearly twice as many religious references in the discourse of President Bush than any other president, excluding Ronald Reagan.¹⁷⁹ While the use of religious rhetoric in presidential discourse has increased since the Reagan presidency, only Reagan and George W. Bush have increased their rate of religious language use, and only they have referenced prophetic claims explaining God's will and interpreted events in relation to that will.¹⁸⁰

¹⁷⁶ Aditi Bhatia, "Religious Metaphor in the Discourse of Illusion: George W. Bush and Osama Bin Laden," *World Englishes* 26, no. 4 (2007).

¹⁷⁷ Robert Bellah, "Civil Religion in America," *Daedalus* 96, no. 1 (Winter 1967). This definition of civil religion is separate from the idea of classical civil religion, or the subordination or appropriation of religion by the state for political gain.

¹⁷⁸ Christopher B. Chapp, *Religious Rhetoric and American Politics: The Endurance of Civil Religion in Electoral Campaigns*, 2013.

¹⁷⁹ These results were achieved with a high rate of intercoder reliability (.94); Kevin Coe and David Domke, "Petitioners or Prophets? Presidential Discourse, God, and the Ascendancy of Religious Conservatives," 2006 and David Scott Domke and Kevin M. Coe, *The God Strategy: How Religion Became a Political Weapon in America*, 2008.

¹⁸⁰ Ibid. Tracked per 1000 words. Both Clinton and George H.W. Bush matched pre-Reagan presidents. Additionally, George W. Bush uses prophetic rhetoric in 40% of his public addresses, matching Reagan, while both George H. W. Bush and Clinton used prophetic language in only 15% of their speeches. Pre-Reagan Democrats tallied 0% and Pre-Reagan Republicans tallied less than 5%.

Representatives of the Bush administration, including Chief Speech Writer, Michael Gerson, and Special Assistant to the President and Deputy Director of the Office of Faith-Based and Community Initiatives, David Kuo, have acknowledged the important role of religious rhetoric in Bush's outreach to religious constituencies, but they have held that it is both natural and healthy in regards to the democratic process.¹⁸¹ During a forum on religion and presidential leadership, Gerson claimed Bush

"attempted to uphold 'principled pluralism' that did not identify with any specific religion, urged tolerance and respect, and avoided connecting purpose of an individual or nation with God and attempted to avoid religious certainty to military or economic policy which belong to the realm of honest debate and practical reason."

¹⁸² Further, he argued that critics of religious rhetoric were motivated by a mistrust of religion itself. However, the majority of scholarly research done by communication scholars and social scientists, some of whose work is discussed below, has shown both quantitatively and qualitatively that Gerson's claims are demonstrably false.¹⁸³

Despite this high rate of usage, Kline claims Bush's religious rhetoric should not be interpreted as an appeal to American civil religion, wherein he argues the concept of evil is a core rhetorical element and is often used to create a juxtaposition that defines America by showing its sacredness in the world.¹⁸⁴ He posits that the use of civil religion is contextual and cannot explain the entirety of moral language used by Bush. Instead, he argues that the use of religious language and the binary of good and evil are a result of President Bush's evangelical faith and neoconservative ideology. Bacevich and Prodromou affirm the idea that the unambiguous theological tone of Bush's discourse on good and evil grew out of a faith that, while not deeply nuanced, was intensely personal. They claim a core element of this faith is a near fatalistic view of the sovereignty of God and an active conflict between good and

¹⁸¹ R. M. Smith, "Religious Rhetoric and the Ethics of Public Discourse: The Case of George W. Bush," *Political Theory* 36, no. 2 (April 01, 2008): 278-279.

¹⁸² Michael Gerson, "Religion, Rhetoric, and the Presidency: A Conversation with Michael Gerson" (lecture, Religion, Rhetoric, and the Presidency: A Conversation with Michael Gerson, Key West, December 2004), <http://www.pewforum.org/2004/12/06/religion-rhetoric-and-the-presidency-a-conversation-with-michael-gerson/>.

¹⁸³ Domke and Coe, Bacevich and Prodromou, Guth, Smith, and Jackson all provide evidence that directly contradicts the claims made by Gerson. Their work and that done by many other scholars is reviewed in this section and will demonstrate that Bush's rhetoric did present a Christian worldview and use religious ideas as underlying support, if not direct motivation, for foreign and domestic policy.

¹⁸⁴ Kline, "The Culture War Gone Global: 'Family Values' and the Shape of US Foreign Policy," 2004.

evil.¹⁸⁵ Bush's personal beliefs and instincts therefore acted as guides when faced with an attack unlike any that his team of policy experts could have anticipated. Janz counterargues that the use of civil religion often accompanies appeals for unity and justification to war, and therefore Bush's good versus evil frame should not be interpreted as engaging in an overtly evangelical agenda.¹⁸⁶

Yet a full understanding of this debate cannot be gained unless sources from those who understood the personal nature of Bush's faith are included in the discussion. David Frum, former speech writer for President Bush and writer who designed the 2002 State of the Union Address that became known for its use of the term 'axis of evil,' produced the book, *The Right Man: The Surprise Presidency of George W. Bush*, in 2003 after he left the administration. The book was the first insider view into the Bush administration, but it serves primarily to justify the assumptions and actions of the administration. Much of the book is devoted to affirming the truth of the administration's positions and reinforcing their claims with the same logic used in Bush's speeches. Importantly for this thesis, Frum, a conservative Jew and prominent member of the neocon movement, discusses Bush's faith and the strong Christian culture within the White House that included "not quite uncompulsory" Bible-study and daily prayer.¹⁸⁷ The book makes a concerted effort to contrast Bush's morality with Clinton's indiscretion going to so far as to compare the dress code each president allowed for their female staff and the cleanliness of the respective administrations.¹⁸⁸ At times, Frum also makes claims concerning Bush's conviction that the Divine played an active role in his administration.¹⁸⁹ In the process, he discusses Bush's faith and leadership, claiming Bush was a strong moral leader who acted as the guiding force for his administration's policies and even dictated the character of its public communication, claiming that Bush's moral character and personal understanding of issues allowed the words crafted by speech writers to be successful. Frum also provides several examples of Bush having a very active role in the crafting of the administration's rhetoric, specifically on speeches related to events he personally cared about and State of the Union Addresses. Yet at times Frum is critical of Bush's rhetorical choices but is careful not to specifically blame either the President or individual speech writers.

¹⁸⁵ Andrew J. Bacevich and Elizabeth H. Prodromou, "God Is Not Neutral: Religion and U.S. Foreign Policy after 9/11," 2004:46.

¹⁸⁶ Nicole Janz, *"And No One Will Keep That Light from Shining: Civil Religion After September 11 in Speeches of George W. Bush"* (Münster: LIT Verlag, 2010).

¹⁸⁷ David Frum, "Into the Mess," in *The Right Man: The Surprise Presidency of George W. Bush* (New York: Random House, 2003).

¹⁸⁸ David Frum, "Warning Light," in *The Right Man: The Surprise Presidency of George W. Bush*, 2003.

¹⁸⁹ David Frum, "The Un-Clinton," in *The Right Man: The Surprise Presidency of George W. Bush*, 2003.

Michael Gerson's statements on Bush's policies from a forum attended during his time working for the Bush administration were described above, but his book offers a more candid assessment of Bush's faith. His book, *Heroic Conservatism*, published in the final year of Bush's presidency, argues for the continuation of a conservative policy agenda aligning with the patterns of compassionate conservatism related to poverty, health, and government morality. Gerson served as Bush's chief speechwriter, and his work combines his argument with a memoir of his time in the Bush administration with some focus on his understanding of the character of the President. Like Frum, Gerson devotes much of the book to defending Bush's policies, using the same strategic misrepresentation and selective evidence present in Bush's own speeches. However, he makes claims that Bush's faith has a direct impact on his policy decisions and describes Bush's own speech and mannerisms as consistent with evangelical Christianity. He also argues that Bush's faith is a foundational element of his character.¹⁹⁰ Gerson's tone and argument mirror too closely the patterns in Bush's moral framing of the GWOT to be accepted at face value, but he does seem sincere in his beliefs about Bush's faith. Gerson also provides important indications that the President played a significant role in crafting the rhetoric of the administration. He provides concrete examples like the one in which Bush chooses to forego the use of "act of war" language in his response to the 9/11 terror attacks changing the essential nature of the speech.¹⁹¹ He cites conversations in which the President personally calls with long lists of edits or discusses important elements he wants include or removed from speeches.¹⁹² But mostly he credits the President with the leadership and influence to create the ideas and culture that are articulated in the administrations rhetoric, even when the specific phrases were crafted by speech writers.¹⁹³

Tim Goeglan's book, *Man in the Middle*, offers another view of Bush's faith from a former aide who had daily interaction with the President. Goeglan served as Special Assistant to the President and Deputy Director of the Office of Public Liaison until a plagiarism scandal forced his resignation in 2008. A key element of Goeglan's job

¹⁹⁰ Michael J. Gerson, *Heroic Conservatism: Why Republicans Need to Embrace America's Ideals (and Why They Deserve to Fail If They Don't)*. New York: HarperOne, 2007: 12, 95-121.

¹⁹¹ Ibid, 69. Importantly Gerson does not always consider Bush's influence positive. In this example he articulates a belief that removing the act of war language was a political calculation that ran counter to Bush's true feelings. He also claims the decision to forgo its use made the President look weak and made the speech inappropriate for the occasion. Bush also describes his direct role in crafting this speech in *Decision Points*, George W. Bush, *Decision Points*, 2010: 127-128.

¹⁹² Michael J. Gerson *Heroic Conservatism*, 2007:75-76.

¹⁹³ Ibid. 71. This idea is expressed many times, but page of *Heroic Conservatism* contains one of the more direct references. This theme is also echoed in George W. Bush, *Decision Points*, 2010: 117-119.

was to coordinate with faith-based organizations, specifically those within the Christian right. In his book, Goeglan provides a defense of many of Bush's policies, but the sections most relevant to this thesis are those that attempt to describe the internal workings of the White House and their relationship to outside groups. Goeglan characterizes Bush's policies related to the Christian right as sincere convictions done out of legitimate concern for what he understood as the greater good. Goeglan also provides intensely personal experiences related to his resignation in which the President's faith plays a key role. Goeglan is unequivocal in his portrayal of Bush's faith as genuine and even deeper than that seen by the public. At times, he affirms Bush's biblical literalism, born again character, compassionate nature, pious prayer life, and belief in American exceptionalism.¹⁹⁴

As these works indicate, the relationship between Bush's religious rhetoric, his personal faith, and his policy positions and political ethic has been a core component in the scholarly debate concerning Bush's presidency. For Guth, both Bush's behavior in office and the context of his electoral and policy strategies are driven by his faith. Guth argues that Bush's focus on culture war policies during his first year in office, his appointment of evangelicals and conservative Catholics to high level posts in his administration, and his consistent reliance on dualistic secular versus religious themes instead of ethnocultural appeals all signify an underlying motivation that fits well with a simplistic, evangelical theology and personal experiences gained while working with evangelical groups on his father's campaign. Guth also finds no reason to doubt Bush's claims that he felt personally *called* by God to run for president. Importantly, the combination of a simplistic view of religious versus secular powers in America and a political strategy that was directed by culture war issues led Bush to receive large amounts of support from conservative evangelical groups, including the Southern Baptist Convention, Assembly of God churches, and Pentecostals.¹⁹⁵

Singer echoes Guth's conclusion on Bush's simplistic theology and finds it is often used implicitly as justification in his rhetoric. Yet Singer's primary concern is to determine the ethical nature of Bush's personal philosophy. He finds that while rhetorically grounding justification for policies in concepts like individual freedoms, sanctity of life, Christian tradition, or utilitarianism, Bush's philosophy is inconsistently applied. By the standards of these

¹⁹⁴ Timothy S. Goeglein, *The Man in the Middle: An Inside Account of Faith and Politics in the George W. Bush Era* (Nashville, TN: B & H Pub., 2011): 8, 93, 190.

¹⁹⁵ James L. Guth, "George W. Bush and Religious Politics," in *High Risk and Big Ambition: The Presidency of George W. Bush*, by Steven E. Schier (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2004).

philosophies, the agenda Bush promotes is in his view unethical and, as Singer claims, is the product of gut reaction, not thoughtful deliberation. Singer focuses on issues like the use of good and evil as themes and rhetorical connections to the just war tradition to ask if Bush's ethical framework is consistent with Christian teachings as his religious rhetoric would suggest, but he finds it Manichaeian and lacking in many of the necessary qualities that would deem it ethical under Christian philosophy.¹⁹⁶

Like Singer, Smith examined the ethical quality of Bush's religious rhetoric. He uses the findings of communications scholars and social scientists to disprove Gerson's claims about the nature of Bush's rhetoric in regards to the democratic process. Instead, Smith upholds the opinions of many of the scholars discussed in this chapter; Bush's religious rhetoric is designed to shut down democratic debate, marginalize political opponents, and make critical inquiry related to policy goals difficult. Smith also examines the ethical standards set by political theorists and attempts to show that Bush's rhetorical strategy would qualify as unethical under most standards, even those set by Bush's own administration.¹⁹⁷

Turek counters scholars who argue that Bush's religious rhetoric is the outgrowth of his own personal theology with a study of Bush's early political career. He argues that Bush's use of religious rhetoric was largely a political development driven by general political trends and demographic shifts as well as a need to find innovative ways to build coalitions that included traditional economic conservatives, independents, evangelical Christians, and neocons.¹⁹⁸ He supports his arguments by tracing the development of Bush's religious rhetoric throughout his political career. Turek finds that early in Bush's career as the Governor of Texas, his rhetoric completely lacked a religious tone and avoided controversial culture war issues. During his first gubernatorial campaign, Bush made public statements articulating his distrust of religion in public governance, including promises not to mix his personal faith and political career. While making his personal pro-life position known, Bush took an accommodating non-committal stance on abortion.¹⁹⁹ Turek notices a major change in Bush's political philosophy and rhetoric coinciding with a policy push for faith-based initiatives. Bush continued to affirm his belief in the separation of

¹⁹⁶ Peter Singer, *The President of Good & Evil: Questioning the Ethics of George W. Bush* (New York: Plume, 2004).

¹⁹⁷ Smith, "Religious Rhetoric and the Ethics of Public Discourse: The Case of George W. Bush," 2008.

¹⁹⁸ Lauren Frances Turek, "Religious Rhetoric and the Evolution of George W. Bush's Political Philosophy," *Journal of American Studies* 48, no. 04 (November 09, 2014).

¹⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, 980.

church and state, but began to frame his resistance to the mixing of religious matters and politics as concern for the purity of the church's mission and his eschewal of religious rhetoric as a belief that it was contrary to Christian teaching to promote yourself as godlier than political rivals. This shift continued as Marvin Olasky aided Bush in developing a strategy incorporating the principles of compassionate conservatism that allowed Bush to court evangelicals without making statements on contentious issues that might alienate independents. By his second campaign, Bush had found success with compassionate conservatism and developed a policy platform with faith-based initiatives serving as a cornerstone that played well nationally with conservatives who wanted to limit the role of government and with evangelical Christians. He continued these themes and a steady increase in the use of religious rhetoric into the 2000 presidential campaign. However, during the primary, Bush largely limited his deployment of religious rhetoric to large audiences, like debates, or specific contexts where he was addressing religious groups. The demographic shift in his potential voter base during the general election led Bush to intensify his use of religious rhetoric and expand its use to social issues.²⁰⁰

Bailey expands the argument that Bush's deployment of Christian themes in his rhetoric is designed to primarily serve a political purpose in his analysis of Bush's campaign biography, *bu*. He finds that in the biography, Bush purposely over-emphasizes, de-emphasizes, or at times misrepresents relevant information about his conversion experience to more closely align it with the structure of the Pauline conversion narrative. This realignment allowed Bush to craft a public image that built an insider relationship with evangelical Christians, to add to his reputation by claiming Rev. Billy Graham as his spiritual mentor, and to declare his past transgressions off limits.²⁰¹ The Pauline conversion narrative consists of a transgression phase, transformation phase, and a commissioning phase. *A Charge to Keep* emphasizes the last two while Bush publicly evaded talking about the transgression phase in depth. However, when politically necessary, Bush would elaborate on his past transgressions but was able to harness the power of the conversion narrative to limit the political damage. As shown, the debate surrounding the relationship between Bush's faith, his political agenda, and his use of religious rhetoric is layered and complex. However, it seems that based on most accounts, the President's faith is sincere and focuses both his worldview and his policies. It is also clear that specific effort is made to articulate his beliefs and agenda in a way that serves a political purpose.

²⁰⁰ Ibid., 93-996.

²⁰¹ David C. Bailey, "Enacting Transformation: George W. Bush and the Pauline Conversion Narrative in 'A Charge to Keep'" *Rhetoric and Public Affairs* 11, no. 2 (July 01, 2008): 227-229.

It is possible that Bush's rhetoric is designed to both accurately reflect his worldview and his understanding of the role of God in the destiny of the United States and also designed in a way that increases its persuasive value to conservative evangelicals. Further, the division between discourse that expresses faith and discourse that qualifies as civil religion is not as definite as some scholarship implies. Theological positions that affirm American exceptionalism can be expressed in ways that elevate American symbols to the level of religion. Yet, appeals to civil religion cannot explain all elements of the religious rhetoric in Bush's discourse, as will be shown in the following chapter. What is clear is that those who defend Bush's discourse as purely an expression of faith and attempt to discredit the idea that Bush deploys religious language as a political strategy are engaging in strategic misrepresentation.

After 9/11, the content of Bush's rhetoric changed and so did the message communicated through his religious rhetoric. As other projects discussed in this chapter have shown, many of the rhetorical frames and metanarratives attached to 9/11 and the GWOT had religious elements. Bacevich and Prodromou argue Bush's response to 9/11 and the good /evil binary that accompanied it were used to marry "the president's no-nonsense evangelicalism with the muscular, highly militarized utopianism of the neoconservative (and largely secular) right."²⁰² They also note that very early on, this view was articulated by Bush and was not a creation of his speechwriters. The religiously charged good /evil binary was instrumental in gaining support of neocon cohorts that had doubts about Bush as a leader and served to rhetorically legitimize the morality of imperial force.²⁰³

While many of the scholars discussed above highlight the vague religious language and binary frames inherent in Bush's religious rhetoric, specific religious arguments have been articulated by communications scholars. Schroepfer uses Stephen Toulmin's method of rhetorical analysis to parse implicit religious arguments in Bush's discourse and present them as explicitly as possible. She finds that while Bush gives the impression of a consistent religious viewpoint, the internal logic of his religious arguments creates an inconsistent ideology that lacks support and thrives on misrepresentation.²⁰⁴ While Hancock, Keller, and others have repeatedly shown the inconsistencies in

²⁰² Andrew J. Bacevich and Elizabeth H. Prodromou, "God Is Not Neutral: Religion and U.S. Foreign Policy after 9/11," *Orbis* 48, no. 1 (2004): 48.

²⁰³ *Ibid.*, 54.

²⁰⁴ Helen Schroepfer, "Pursuing the Enemies of Freedom: Religion in the Persuasive Rhetoric of the Bush Administration," *Political Theology* 9, no. 1 (2008).

Bush's rhetoric and its reliance on misrepresentation, Schroepfer's singular focus on religious arguments and her rhetorical method are unique while reaffirming previous findings. Despite an inconsistent application of theological ideas in Bush's rhetoric, she finds seven specific religious claims can be identified. "God's eternal purpose for humankind is freedom. Freedom means economic independence; freedom necessitates the protection of institutions that build character, such as marriage defined as the union of a man and a woman. Freedom necessarily involves a reliance on the compassion of religious institutions. America has a unique role in bringing about the freedom dictated by divine providence. To accomplish this, America must remain the economic leader of the world. We [the United States] are good and anyone against us is evil."²⁰⁵

The lack of theological consistency in Bush's religious rhetoric is important but should not be interpreted as a sign that his use of religious appeals lacked sophistication. Bailey's work highlights Bush's presentation of Christian themes using structures, tropes, and analogies that have a special meaning to Christian audiences. A year prior, Marsden drew attention to this same idea in an analysis of Bush's second inaugural address in which he identifies links between Bush's democracy-building rhetoric and rhetorical appeals to the religious right. He finds that the ideograph <freedom>, especially when described as "human freedom," serves the dual purpose of appealing to a broad audience and acting as analogy for salvation through faith in Jesus Christ.²⁰⁶ Marsden points out that the ideograph is used in a way that the specific meaning remains ambiguous, but when interpreted from an evangelical worldview, implies that spreading Christian salvation is a requisite for achieving lasting peace internationally, especially in the Middle East. Marsden shows that Bush explicitly links the deepest beliefs of America (i.e. Christianity) to its vital interests internationally, to the will of the founding fathers, and to the exportation of democracy.²⁰⁷ Additionally, he reinforces the analogous relationship between <freedom> and salvation by describing the ideograph in purely religious terms that are generally reserved for descriptions of Christ's saving grace. General religious rhetoric sets the tone of Bush's speech, but more specific coded language, sometimes called church-speak, appeals directly to conservative, evangelical Christians who could easily identify the analogy.²⁰⁸ Gunn

²⁰⁵ Ibid., 41.

²⁰⁶ Lee Marsden, *For God's Sake: The Christian Right and US Foreign Policy*, " 2008: 96-106.

²⁰⁷ Ibid., 96-106.

²⁰⁸ This idea is also supported by the work of Douglas Kellner, "Bushspeak and the Politics of Lying: Presidential Rhetoric in the "War on Terror" *Presidential Studies Quarterly* 37, no. 4 (2007). However, the main focus of Kellner's work is to illustrate Bush's reliance on lying and the purpose it serves. His arguments are convincing and based on scholarly evidence, yet he fails to account for genuine belief as a possible cause for the simplistic binary present in Bush's rhetoric. Further, the last fourth of his

has found similar analogous relationships between veiled language of exorcism and the demonization of political enemies, and Vivian has showed the ingrained use of a jeremiad structure, giving religious significance to rhetoric related to American exceptionalism and neoliberal economic systems.²⁰⁹

Sometimes specific rhetorical connections were enough to show special consideration for conservative evangelical policy positions. Marsden describes in great depth the interrelated nature of foreign policy positions held by conservative, evangelical groups and the Bush administration; he further describes the rhetorical appeals used by Bush to make these connections explicit in several major policy areas: democracy promotion, human rights (especially the right to freedom of religion), international abstinence programs to combat HIV/AIDS, environmental policy that denies the impact of global climate change, and support of Israel.²¹⁰ Each of these policy positions is important in the development of the relationship between the Bush administration and evangelical groups, including both Christian Nationalists and Christian Zionists, and represents the connection between neo-conservatism and the Christian right's political agenda.

Conclusions

Scholars have shown that public rhetoric has played an increasingly important role in presidential leadership during the modern era. Public rhetoric is used to increase issue salience, set the national agenda, shape the public's interpretation of issues and events, and crucially to build political coalitions. Rhetorical scholars have supplemented sociological research by examining the strategies through which presidential rhetoric is deployed. They have found that along with standard lines of argument, rhetorical tools like the framing effect, the power to define, and the creation of narrative allow the president to construct realities that tie together values and ideas from multiple constituencies, forming a political coalition out of diverse interpretative communities. Research on President Bush

article is designed to answer the question, "Why is lying so easy for Bush and his administration?" Unfortunately, this section is filled with ad hominem fallacies and unsubstantiated evidence.

²⁰⁹ Joshua Gunn, "The Rhetoric of Exorcism: George W. Bush and the Return of Political Demonology," *Western Journal of Communication* 68, no. 1 (Winter 2004) and Bradford Vivian, "Neoliberal Epidemic: Rhetorical Form and Commemorative Politics on September 11, 2002," *Quarterly Journal of Speech* 92, no. 1 (2006).

²¹⁰ Marsden, *For God's Sake: The Christian Right and US Foreign Policy*, 2008. Marsden expands on an idea common in many scholarly projects. Kline's "The Culture War Gone Global: 'Family Values' and the Shape of US Foreign Policy" articulates the link between these ideas and the good versus evil binary present in Bush's rhetoric and the unity between domestic culture war ideology and the implementation of foreign policy initiatives. Kline, "The Culture War Gone Global: 'Family Values' and the Shape of US Foreign Policy," 2004.

and his administration has shown that both before and after the 9/11 attacks, Bush followed patterns consistent with this form of leadership. During his entire presidency, appeals to the values and beliefs of conservative, evangelical Christians and the Christian right formed an essential part of his rhetorical strategy and functioned both to provide perceived moral legitimacy for his policy agenda and to galvanize support from a core political constituency. Yet the influence of rhetoric on communities is complex, and many studies of Bush's rhetoric fail to accurately account for the agency of his audience. When audience agency is discussed, it often focuses on individual beliefs. One area that has been overlooked is the agency of political elites representing constituencies to act as gatekeepers or rhetorical middlemen for their communities. This thesis will examine the role elites who were supportive of the President and his policies played when adopting and retransmitting Bush's narrative to their communities. To create a foundation and context for the Neo-Aristotelian analysis which will be applied in this thesis, the following chapter will discuss the Southern Baptist Convention, its political context, history, and values. This context will allow the identification of key values that provide meaning and motivation for social action that can then be used to determine which rhetorical appeals in the GWOT narrative specifically target the SBC through a connection to their core values.

Chapter 3:
The Historical and Theological Context of the Southern Baptist Convention, Conservative Evangelical Political Action, and the Connection between Values and Foreign Policy

This chapter serves an important function in this thesis related both to the analytical method and the interpretive method. The analytical method, Neo-Aristotelian criticism, necessitates an examination of the context in which the rhetorical artifact being analyzed is produced. As the discourses produced by SBC elites occur within the theological and political context of modern SBC activism, this chapter will provide context of the development of the SBC ideas and values related to their group identity and their mobilization for modern political action. This context will allow a more thorough analysis that takes norms and ideas important into the community into consideration. The interpretive methodology requires the identification of core values that are rhetorically shared between President Bush and the SBC as they provide motivation to social action (in this case support for the President and his policies) and give actions meaning based on the norms and ideas of the community. The rhetorical appeals present in the narrative can best be categorized as targeting the SBC for persuasion to encourage political support or social action by identifying a connection to values that act as motivation towards that action. Therefore, the identification of the core SBC values in this chapter is essential in providing criteria by which the specific targeting of SBC membership for persuasion can be identified within Bush's discourse. These values will also play an essential role in judging the meaning applied to appeals based on the rhetorical culture of the SBC community in the rhetoric of SBC elites. However, in order to understand the context of the SBC, a conservative, evangelical denomination, a definition must be provided for the larger category of evangelical Christianity.

Defining evangelicalism can be problematic. Evangelicalism is a large category that includes representatives from many different Protestant denominations, including Anabaptists, Reformed, Lutheran, Pentecostal, Anglican, Methodist, Armenian, Presbyterian, non-denominational, and others.²¹¹ Evangelical congregations embrace a wide range of doctrines, denominational structures, and political positions. The term evangelical has also had different meanings and social connotations at different time periods. In order to understand the unifying features of this extremely diverse group, some historians have attempted to generate a set of values that defines the evangelical movement. Bebbington describes the four values that have largely been agreed upon as biblicism, crucicentrism,

²¹¹ This is not an exhaustive list. Douglas A. Sweeney, *The American Evangelical Story: A History of the Movement* (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Academic, 2005).

conversionism, and activism.²¹² These values can be defined in the following ways: biblicism is embracing the authority of scripture as inerrant and divinely inspired, Crucicentrism is the affirmation of the saving death and resurrection of Jesus Christ, Conversionism is the elevation of the act of being “born again” and making a conscious choice to accept Christ and receive grace to an essential role in the process of salvation, and activism is the outward expression of one’s faith through social action.²¹³ Yet Robert Webber mapped 16 separate subgroups of evangelicals in the United States alone. Some of the groups with the largest numbers of adherents include dispensationalists, conservative evangelicals, progressive evangelicals, black evangelicals, evangelical Anabaptists, and charismatic evangelicals.²¹⁴ Johnston and Dayton have declared that evangelicals are so diverse that no definition could possibly encompass every community that identifies itself as evangelical.²¹⁵ This chapter acknowledges the diversity within the evangelical community but accepts the broad definition of evangelicalism as acceptance of the four values described by Bebbington.

This chapter will focus on politically conservative members of evangelical Christianity who form a core group of the Christian right political movement. More specifically, it will use the Southern Baptist Convention (SBC) as a case study to examine how political elites of the largest conservative evangelical denomination in the United States transmit political rhetorical narratives to their membership. The SBC has been selected as a representative of the Christian right due to their total membership, their organized denominational structure, a set of theological beliefs consistent with those held by the larger movement, and finally their history of institutional support of the Bush administration.²¹⁶

Since 1979, the SBC has been largely controlled by leaders who hold a fundamentalist theological perspective that has become increasingly common in its membership. In order to understand how the SBC fits into the greater

²¹²D. W. Bebbington, *Evangelicalism in Modern Britain: A History from the 1730s to the 1980s* (London: Unwin Hyman, 1989). Also “What Is an Evangelical?,” accessed March/April, 2009, <http://www.nae.net/church-and-faith-partners/what-is-an-evangelical>.

²¹³ Evangelical theologian Alister McGrath adds two additional values: the acceptance of the Lordship of the Holy Spirit and the importance of a Christian community for Christian fellowship, nourishment, and growth. This project uses the more inclusive set of values accepted by the National Association of Evangelicals but recognizes that the definition is debated. Alister E. McGrath, *Evangelicalism & the Future of Christianity* (Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press, 1995).

²¹⁴ Douglas A. Sweeney, *The American Evangelical Story: A History of the Movement*, 2005.

²¹⁵ Donald W. Dayton and Robert K. Johnston, *The Variety of American Evangelicalism* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1991).

²¹⁶ These criteria were listed in Chapter One; they will be expanded upon in the discussion later in this chapter and in Chapter Four.

context of the political landscape of the United States, this section will define the core values of the SBC and the theological innovations that influence their conservative base, situate the SBC within the larger political movement of the Christian right by summarizing the movement's involvement in political action, and finally demonstrate the connection that exists between the SBC's values and their political action within the Christian right by examining relevant sections of their doctrinal statements and convention adopted resolutions.

Identifying the Values of the SBC throughout its Historical Development

The beginnings of the evangelical movement can be traced back to the Great Awakening of the 1730's and 40's. The Great Awakening started a pattern of conflict and division within denominations in America that pitted liberalism against conservative religious ideas that would last into the modern era. Backlash occurred initially against the old, influential denominations of the American colonies which had embraced liberalism, excluded many segments of the population from the political process, and were perceived by many as overly intellectual and elitist.²¹⁷ The efforts of Methodist preachers like Jonathon Edwards, John Wesley, and George Whitefield reinvigorated the faith of many through revivals that preached an emotionally engaging brand of Christianity that contrasted with the highly theological, intellectual focus of the old, hierarchical denominations. This new populist theology centered around a literal interpretation of scripture, the saving grace of Christ's death and resurrection, and stressed the conversion experience expressed through a grassroots approach to community and activism.²¹⁸ Communities that embraced Methodism gradually integrated those ideas with social values common in the colonies, including republicanism, the idea that the virtue of the people was directly reflected through their exercise of political power.²¹⁹ The result was a newly empowered laity that sought greater control over denominational governance and expressed their religious ideas through participation in the political process.

²¹⁷Dietmar Rothermund, "Political Factions and the Great Awakening," *Pennsylvania History* 26, no. 4 (October 01, 1959).

²¹⁸Ibid.

²¹⁹James T. Kloppenburg, "The Virtues of Liberalism: Christianity, Republicanism, and Ethics in Early American Discourse," *Journal of American History* 74 (1987).

The Baptists, a recently founded denomination of less than 5000 members, were heavily influence by the Great Awakening and embraced the evangelical values it championed.²²⁰ Conversionism became a foundational tenant of the denomination's identity due to the community's belief that only adult confessing Christians could be baptized into the church.²²¹ Other defining characteristics of the Baptist movement were their strict congregationalist attitude, lack of official church hierarchy, mistrust of theological authorities and education, strong anti-knowledge and anti-education bias, and a Bible-centric faith.²²² In some cases, Baptist communities refused to pay for a professional minister to lead their churches and simply chose a respected member of the laity to guide them.²²³

Initially, Baptists were mistrusted and persecuted by Anglican authorities in the American colonies.²²⁴ By the 1770's, some Baptists had gained sympathy due to their ill-treatment and drew in members through their faithful response to persecution. Driven by their values of republicanism and activism, Baptists began to form state-wide organizations that were designed to pursue political goals. A top priority for Baptists became the fight to ensure religious liberty. Their political struggle reinforced their commitment to activism and further incorporated political engagement into the culture of the denomination. The founding of the United States and the political changes of the early republic saw their goal of religious freedom realized. With no unifying political agenda or activist mission to unite the Baptists, intra-denominational conflict caused by theological differences began to arise.²²⁵ In response, non-authoritative committees began to form in an attempt to build productive relationships among the congregationalist Baptist churches.²²⁶ Eventually Baptists' anti-intellectualism allowed them to move past theological differences and develop a unity based around political action and the ability of individuals to bring about change within their government.

Evangelicalism's commitment to its core values grew following the American Revolution and into the second Great Awakening that occurred throughout the end of the 1700's and early 1800's. The changing social and economic

²²⁰ Charles F. Irons, "The Spiritual Fruits of Revolution: Disestablishment and the Rise of the Virginia Baptists," *The Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* 109, no. 2 (2001): 160.

²²¹ Ibid., 165; and Jessica Lee Flinchum, "Reluctant Revolutionaries: the Philadelphia Baptist Association and the American Revolution," *Pennsylvania History* 74, no. 2 (April 01, 2007): 181-182.

²²² Ibid., 164.

²²³ Mark A. Noll, *The Old Religion in a New World: The History of North American Christianity* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2002), 68.

²²⁴ Ibid., 160-162.

²²⁵ Charles F. Irons, "The Spiritual Fruits of Revolution: Disestablishment and the Rise of the Virginia Baptists," 2001.

²²⁶ Ibid., 165-170.

realities of life in the United States were catalysts for the development of voluntary societies founded by religious communities designed to affect change in the greater society of the United States through activism. These activist societies became a core element of religious organization and forced clergy to change their role as community leaders to include the duties of professional organizers. In turn, members of these societies took over some of the religious leaders' former responsibilities, including teaching and evangelism, helping to foster a biblicentric faith that placed power in the hands of members. Among evangelical denominations like Methodists and Baptists, this process resulted in the normalization of egalitarianism and individualistic anti-intellectualism, especially among frontier communities where waves of revivals recruited new, uneducated members to the church.²²⁷ Among denominations that embraced liberal theological developments, voluntary societies promoted the understanding that it was possible to conform to the religious covenant established between God and his chosen people who could then bring about the fulfillment of divine prophecy. This belief led to an increase in popularity for the post-millennial movement, an eschatological belief affirming a literal second coming of Jesus Christ resulting from a period of sanctification of society and evangelical success. The movement also helped the spread of social liberalism. The result of the spread of these ideas was an increase in political crusades among both conservatives and liberals. These crusades came into conflict most prominently over the issue of slavery.

Early in their history, Baptists were much less rigid in regard to their racial relationships than most other denominations and granted significant rights and privileges to black members.²²⁸ But by the 1800's, conflicting viewpoints on slavery arose that largely correlated to geographic regions. Northern Baptists began to push for abolition, and while in some southern and western states there was abolitionist support, the majority of the frontier Baptist communities actively defended the institution of slavery. Activism and biblicism intertwined in each group with southerners producing scriptural defenses of slavery and northerners citing biblical condemnation of slavery as their motivation for action.²²⁹

²²⁷ Tetsuo Scott Miyakawa, *Protestants and Pioneers: Individualism and Conformity on the American Frontier* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1964). and Timothy Lawrence Smith. *Revivalism and Social Reform: American Protestantism on the Eve of the Civil War*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1980.

²²⁸ Miyakawa, *Protestants and Pioneers: Individualism and Conformity on the American Frontier*, 1964; Orville W. Taylor, "Baptists and Slavery in Arkansas: Relationships and Attitudes," *The Arkansas Historical Quarterly* 38, no. 3 (October 01, 1979); and Walter B. Posey, "The Baptists and Slavery in the Lower Mississippi Valley," *The Journal of Negro History* 41, no. 2 (April 01, 1956).

²²⁹ Walter B. Posey, "The Baptists and Slavery in the Lower Mississippi Valley," *The Journal of Negro History* 41, no. 2 (April 01, 1956): 125-127. This article provides a summary of the debates that took place in public notices and letters produced by northern and southern Baptist state conventions. And Taylor, "Baptists and Slavery in Arkansas: Relationships and Attitudes,"

On May 8, 1845, an official split occurred in the denomination, and the Southern Baptist Convention was formed. This split divided the more religiously conservative and slavery-supporting southern Baptists from the more religiously liberal, abolitionist northern Baptists. By the time of the schism, the Southern Baptist Convention could truly be classified as an evangelical denomination. Their adherence to believer baptism situated the values of conversionism and crucicentrism as core tenants of their faith. Their conservative, religious character fostered a literal interpretation of scripture, and the anti-intellectual bias of their clergy and communities ensured that scripture held a privileged place above theology. Their history of political activism and a denominational organization structured around voluntary societies created an emphasis on activism. In the years that followed, tension between conservative evangelicals and more liberal members of mainline denominations would rise.²³⁰

One of the most significant theological changes of the late 1800's was the development of the literalist eschatological doctrine of premillennial dispensationalism, often simply referred to as dispensationalism. Dispensationalism argues that biblical covenants are tied to a series of historical epochs, known as dispensations, and that the events of the end times can be accurately predicted by interpreting biblical prophecy. Importantly, dispensationalism makes a distinction between the nation of Israel and the Christian Church and declares that the fulfillment of God's promise to the people of Israel will usher in the second coming of Christ.²³¹ These end-time events will end the final dispensation, the church age, in which most dispensationalist theologies agree humanity currently lives. A dispensationalist viewpoint affirms a literal interpretation of the Book of Revelations and holds that Christ will physically return before the end times and vanquish the Anti-Christ, and only after these events are completed can the Kingdom of God reign on earth.²³² Dispensationalism appeals strongly to the biblicism and crucicentrism of evangelicalism while also allowing for activism to play an active part in ushering in the end times by bringing about fulfillment of biblical prophecy.²³³ Additionally, the affirmation of the Devil's literal presence in

1979: 219-226, which uses first hand documents to examine positions on slavery from Baptist community leaders in Arkansas to typify rhetoric of the time in slave holding states.

²³⁰ Mainline denominations were those traditionally connected to the orthodox hierarchies of New England and Europe including but not limited to Presbyterians, Lutherans, and Anglicans.

²³¹ Richard Cimino, "'No God in Common': American Evangelical Discourse on Islam after 9/11," *Review of Religious Research* 47, no. 2 (December 2005). And Martin Durham, "Evangelical Protestantism and Foreign Policy in the United States after September 11," *Patterns of Prejudice* 38, no. 2 (2004), doi:10.1080/00313220410001692349.

²³² Nilay Saiya, "Onward Christian Soldiers: American Dispensationalists, George W. Bush and the Middle East," *Holy Land Studies* 11, no. 2, 178-179.

²³³ Premillennial dispensationalism is a complex doctrine that influences modern political attitudes of its followers in a variety of ways. More specific elements of the doctrine will be discussed in the following chapters. For a good synopsis of the topic, especially as it relates to the GWOT or support for the state of Israel, see any of the following sources: Michael S. Northcott, *An*

human affairs, , sometimes known as the concept of spiritual warfare, creates a sense of necessity to "fight the good fight" when engaging in value- rational political activity, even when political activity is seen as ineffective because of the imminent nature of the apocalypse.²³⁴ Dispensationalism would become a core doctrine in conservative evangelicalism and was embraced by many Bible institutions, denominations, and influential evangelists. The spread of Dispensationalism was aided by the Third Great Awakening in the 1880's and the 1908 publication of the Scofield Reference Bible, a Bible that made the teachings of premillennial dispensationalism accessible to a wide audience.

The fundamentalist elements that are now present within the SBC grew out of the fundamentalist – modernist controversy of the early 20th century.²³⁵ In 1913, conservative Christian leaders published a compilation of 90 essays called *The Fundamentals: a Testimony to the Truth*.²³⁶ This work outlined key theological doctrines deemed to be core theological components of conservative Christianity: biblical inspiration and inerrancy of scripture (Biblicism), the virgin birth of Jesus, the death of Christ as atonement for sin crucicentrism), the physical resurrection of Jesus, and the historical accuracy of Jesus' miracles. This publication provided a set of criteria by which the fundamentalist movement differentiated itself and gave rise to the first true Christian fundamentalists.²³⁷ These criteria were developed in response to what was perceived as liberal challenges to biblical authority, scholarship on the historical nature of scripture from the field of Higher Criticism, which had been gaining popularity in the United States since the late 1880's. Importantly, a subgroup also existed within the fundamentalist

Angel Directs the Storm, 58-68.; Lee Marsden, *For God's Sake*, 179-184.; Yaakov Ariel, "Israel in Contemporary Evangelical Christian Millennial Thought," *Numen* 59, no. 5-6 (2012).

²³⁴ Clyde Wilcox, Sharon Linzey, and Ted G. Jelen, "Reluctant Warriors: Premillennialism and Politics in the Moral Majority," *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion* 30, no. 3 (September 1991): 255.

²³⁵ It can be very difficult to define fundamentalism because of the term's varied use in public discourse and the debate that surrounds it in scholarship. Herein, fundamentalism can be defined by Antoun's research into fundamentalists as a sociological category defined by "a religiously based cognitive and affective orientation to the world characterized by protest against change and the ideological orientation of modernism;" Almond et al.'s characterization of fundamentalism as "a discernible pattern of religious militancy by which self-styled 'true believers' attempt to arrest the erosion of religious identity, fortify the borders of religious community, and create viable alternatives to secular institutions and behaviors;" and the specific theological stance that the five beliefs are an essential element for anyone to be considered Christian. Richard T. Antoun, *Understanding Fundamentalism: Christian, Islamic, and Jewish Movements* (Walnut Creek, CA: AltaMira Press, 2001): 153-154. and Gabriel A. Almond, R. Scott Appleby, and Emmanuel Sivan, *Strong Religion: The Rise of Fundamentalisms around the World* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2003), 14.

²³⁶ *The Fundamentals*, as it will be referred to for the remainder of this thesis, was originally a series of essays by a wide variety of religious sources. The earliest of these essays can be traced back to 1905. The date given in this section refers to the mass publication of these essays in one collected volume that contained edits from the original version. Additional essays would be added until 1915.

²³⁷ Michael Lienesch, *In the Beginning: Fundamentalism, the Scopes Trial, and the Making of the Antievolution Movement* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2007), 9.

movement that added a sixth criterion to the essential beliefs of Christianity, the affirmation of premillennial dispensationalism.²³⁸

The publication of *The Fundamentals* drew the battle lines within denominations. Over the next 20 years, nearly every mainstream denomination would be rocked by theological debates in order to reconcile traditional Christian beliefs with innovations in academic study of scripture, scientific advancement, forces of industrialization and urbanization, and new philosophical ideologies.²³⁹ The fundamentalist - modernist controversy in the north pushed many fundamentalists out of mainline churches where they formed separate denominations or started nondenominational churches. In order to combat the rise of liberal forces, these churches formed coalitions with other fundamentalist groups.

Fundamentalists, once united as a movement, took political action on several fronts: antipathy to foreign influences, resentment of urban industrialism, and resistance to modern scientific theory. In relation to these issues, evolution gained a symbolic meaning.²⁴⁰ Evangelical activism inspired Fundamentalist organizations to lobby state legislatures to remove evolution from school curricula.²⁴¹ In the south, where the public school system was undergoing major expansion, several states proved receptive and outlawed evolution in public schools.²⁴² Tennessee was one such state, and in 1925, John Thomas Scopes violated that law to intentionally cause a court challenge. The case officially named *The State of Tennessee v. John Thomas Scopes*, but more commonly known as the Scopes Monkey Trial, immediately became a "show trial" designed to draw as much national attention as possible and was one of the largest news stories of the time. The prosecution and the interests of fundamentalist Christians and their anti-evolution biblical-based positions were represented by William Jennings Bryant.²⁴³ The pro-evolution position largely adhered to by liberals, scientists, and constituencies who viewed the trial as a violation of civil liberties was represented by Clarence Darrow. Eventually the prosecution won the case (though the decision was eventually

²³⁸ Ibid., 8-16.

²³⁹ George Marsden credits the rise of fundamentalism as a reaction to this modernist movement. The process was a gradual continuation of resentment and discomfort with societal change dating all the way back to the reconstruction era. George M. Marsden, *Fundamentalism and American Culture: The Shaping of the Twentieth-century Evangelicalism: 1870-1925* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1982).

²⁴⁰ Michael Lienesch, *In the Beginning: Fundamentalism, the Scopes Trial, and the Making of the Antievolution Movement*, 2007: 84-91.

²⁴¹ Edward J. Larson, *Summer for the Gods: The Scopes Trial and America's Continuing Debate over Science and Religion* (New York: Basic Books, 1997).

²⁴² Ibid.

²⁴³ Ibid.

overturned) but the trial had put the fundamentalists' beliefs on display, and it was the defense who won public opinion.²⁴⁴ The resulting ridicule of fundamentalist beliefs and shift in popular opinion drove fundamentalists out of the public forum until after World War II. But while they retreated from public view, they actively sought to establish institutions that reflected their beliefs, including ecclesiastical bodies, educational institutions, and publishing houses.

In the south, the SBC was still the dominant cultural force, included very few true modernists, supported a conservative social order, and affirmed their religious views through the five key criteria laid out in *The Fundamentals*.²⁴⁵ The SBC had also become nearly exclusively premillennialist, with a large number of members identifying as dispensationalist. The controversy of the 1920's took place between fundamentalists and well-educated, moderate, conservative groups that rejected modernism but sought to reconcile their theology with scholarly and scientific innovation. Far-right fundamentalists attempted to impose a hardline theological stance on the denomination, actively working against the congregationalist beliefs that had been central to the denomination's identity. The main priority for the more centrist SBC leadership was to maintain denominational unity as they believed that the SBC was the only denomination equipped to evangelize the world and should not allow theological disputes to interfere with their evangelistic mission.²⁴⁶ In order to temporarily pacify antagonistic fundamentalists within their own ranks, SBC leadership made compromises in the name of denominational unity. The result was a nearly uniform rejection of the ecumenical movement, higher criticism, the social gospel, and evolution.²⁴⁷ Most of these issues already aligned with the denomination's general trends. In 1925, the denomination signed its very first confession of faith entitled, "The Statement of Baptist Faith and Message," which for the first time codified Baptist beliefs and served as a minor victory for fundamentalists.

In the 1930's-1940's, moderates continued to hold onto leadership positions in the denomination. But as secularism penetrated the south, the SBC adopted a separatist approach, shifting their focus inward.²⁴⁸ By the 1950's, major

²⁴⁴ Ibid.

²⁴⁵ Thompson argues none existed within the SBC because of their conservative nature. James J. Thompson, *Tried as by Fire: Southern Baptists and the Religious Controversies of the 1920s* (Macon, GA: Mercer University Press, 1982): 139

²⁴⁶ Bill Leonard, *God's Last and Only Hope: The Fragmentation of the Southern Baptist Convention* (Grand Rapids, MI: W.B. Eerdmans, 1990).

²⁴⁷ Ibid., 14,66.

²⁴⁸ Barry Hankins, "Southern Baptists and Northern Evangelicals: Cultural Factors and the Nature of Religious Alliances," *Religion and American Culture: A Journal of Interpretation* 7, no. 2 (1997): 277.

scandals tore through seminaries of the SBC as fundamentalists, who feared the encroachment of liberal theology, worked to purge liberal faculty from their institutions.²⁴⁹ The 1958 removal of professors at Southern Seminary and the 1961 publication of *The Message of Genesis* by Ralph Elliott typify the internal battles between moderates and fundamentalists.²⁵⁰ In both cases, faculty of seminaries were censored and removed for producing work that challenged a literalist interpretation of scripture, and a fundamentalist agenda was supported at the denominational level. In 1963, "The Statement of Baptist Faith and Message" was expanded and edited. The resulting document was again a compromise between moderates and the far right within the denomination. Even more theologically conservative than the original, it allowed seminaries to place stricter theological restrictions on their professors and institutionalized fundamentalist anti-intellectualism.²⁵¹

The seminary controversies were the opening shots of an offensive, coordinated by fundamentalist members of the SBC leadership, designed to purge the denomination of liberal influence. Paul Pressler, W.A. Criswell, and Paige Patterson orchestrated a series of internal political campaigns that led to the election of fundamentalist leaders of state conventions, SBC boards, and the elevation of fundamentalists to leadership positions in seminaries. These elections, combined with strategic firings of moderate employees in the church hierarchy and systematic hiring of conservatives, led to a thorough takeover of the denomination. The process would take 20 years, but by the 1990's, every major institution within the SBC was controlled by fundamentalists. As a result, over 1900 moderate SBC churches withdrew from the denomination. The SBC experienced a resurgence of strong political mobilization in the 1980's, marked by the creation of its public policy arm, the Ethics and Religious Liberty Commission (ERLC), and formation of partnerships with conservative advocacy organizations.²⁵² Their major partners included Focus on the Family and the Family Research Council. Focus on the Family is a religiously conservative social action group with

²⁴⁹ Hankins and Marsden interpret these actions as the early stages of fundamentalist aggression against the moderate leadership of the SBC that would eventually lead to the denomination's takeover. Yet Wills, a conservative Southern Baptist scholar from the Southern Baptist Seminary, counters this interpretation by claiming that it was liberals who were attempting to force their views on the majority of SBC members and stage a revolt against the denomination. Wills presents a good summary of events as they happened yet he fails to differentiate between the fundamentalist minority responsible for the takeover and the conservative majority, instead characterizing fundamentalists as theologically unified with the rest of the denomination. Likewise, he characterizes the SBC as a denomination of orthodox theology represented by the fundamentalist position and never addresses the denomination's history of congregationalism and diversity.

²⁵⁰ Gregory Wills, "Progressive Theology and Southern Baptist Controversies of the 1950s and 1960s," *Southern Baptist Journal of Theology* 7 (Spring 2003): 16-21 and Barry Hankins, "Southern Baptists and Northern Evangelicals: Cultural Factors and the Nature of Religious Alliances," 1997: 276-277.

²⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 20-21.

²⁵² The ERLC was originally called the Christian Life Commission but was restructured and renamed in 1992.

the mission of promoting a socially conservative, Christocentric political platform focused on home and family and fostering interdenominational support for that platform. The Family Research Council was originally the lobbying arm of Focus on the Family but separated from the organization in 1992 for administrative reasons; they currently continue the lobbying and political engagement strategy consistent with their original mission.²⁵³ Furthermore, despite their congregationalist history, the national agencies hold great power because they control the training of pastors through the seminaries and the production of materials used in nearly every congregation for administration, Christian education, Bible study, and worship.²⁵⁴

To articulate their commitment to political activism, the SBC created a resolution on political engagement that stated,

we plead with all Christians to exercise vigorously their responsibilities to participate in the political process by registering to vote, educating themselves about the issues, and voting according to their biblical beliefs, convictions, and values... we encourage our churches regularly to teach and preach biblical truth on moral issues and to urge their members to vote according to their beliefs, convictions, and values; ... we call on candidates for political office to endorse the Judeo-Christian beliefs, convictions, and values upon which society should rest...²⁵⁵

Further, the SBC charged the ERLC to work at all levels of public policy, engaging in political lobbying, creating informational material related to political issues, and training churches on how to preach and teach about political issues. This restructuring coincided with the organization and mobilization of the Christian right political movement. Though the SBC occasionally came into conflict with some Christian right organizations, it had a strong presence in the Moral Majority from its beginning. As early as 1980, the laity within the SBC shared many of the same political and social positions on issues as members of the Christian right.²⁵⁶ An alliance was born from the common cause of the two groups relating to a national agenda that resisted modernization. The doctrinal beliefs that

²⁵³ Focus on the Family, "About Focus on the Family," Focus on the Family, accessed May 30, 2016, <http://www.focusonthefamily.com/about>. and Family Research Council, "About: History," Family Research Council, accessed May 30, 2016, <http://www.frc.org/historymission>.

²⁵⁴ Nancy T. Ammerman, "Southern Baptists and the New Christian Right," *Review of Religious Research* 32, no. 3 (1991):227.

²⁵⁵ Southern Baptist Convention, "On Political Engagement," Southern Baptist Convention, June 2008, accessed June 06, 2016, <http://www.sbc.net/resolutions/1188/on-political-engagement>.

²⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 228.

drove this alliance manifested in campaigns on social issues.²⁵⁷ In concert with official SBC driven action by the ERLC and International Missions Board (IMB), an increase in political activity occurred amongst an increasing numbers of clergy as the SBC became engaged with outside Christian right political organizations.²⁵⁸ By the 1990's, patterns of political involvement would emerge that were representative of action by both the SBC and the Christian right groups.²⁵⁹ By 1993, the fundamentalist takeover of the SBC was complete, and by the middle of the Clinton presidency, the political goals of the denomination and those of the Christian right had aligned. The next section in this chapter will provide context for the political action of the SBC by discussing the rise of the Christian right as a political movement and discussing the patterns of political involvement that became important within that movement. Later, the specific political issues championed by the SBC during the Bush administration will be drawn out of resolutions passed at the national convention and their connection to SBC values, defined in "The Statement of Baptist Faith and Message" will be explored. However, the context of the Christian right's political action is important to situate activism of the SBC within larger modern sociopolitical patterns.

The Rise of the Christian Right and Conservative Evangelical Political Activity

Following the Scopes Trial, fundamentalists had retreated from public politics and had instead built alliances, established alternative educational institutions, and lobbied government in a less visible way. The schisms and debates that grew out of the fundamentalist split triggered the emergence of competing visions of religiosity's purpose in the United States. Slowly this led to renewed engagement in the public sphere that emphasized individual piety and transformation of culture through personal interaction.

The issue of desegregation was largely responsible for bringing fundamentalists back into the mainstream political arena and transitioning their focus from individualistic cultural change to organized political activity. The 1970's desegregation laws forced private religious educational institutions to integrate. Bob Jones University was a

²⁵⁷ Ibid., 228.

²⁵⁸ Ibid., 229

²⁵⁹ Ibid., 229.

fundamentalist, evangelical school that resisted desegregation by passing a number of racially discriminatory policies. The federal government responded by revoking the University's tax exemption status.²⁶⁰ Many evangelicals and fundamentalists interpreted Bob Jones University's loss of tax-exempt status as government intrusion into religious matters and began to mobilize politically. While the Bob Jones University cases may have acted as a catalyst, political action taken by the newly formed movement gained strength and urgency with the ruling of the Supreme Court in the 1973 case, *Roe v. Wade* that made abortion legal in the United States. From that point, political action taken by the Christian right movement branched into many other areas including anti-abortion activism, support for prayer in public schools, lobbying for obscenity and pornography laws, opposition to equal treatment under the law for homosexuals, and foreign policy in the Middle East.²⁶¹ The rise of political participation accompanied what Wuthnow refers to as a "restructuring of American religion." The late 1970's saw the creation of religious "special interest groups" that engaged in political activity. These special interest groups reinvigorated the faithful as the great awakenings had in the past and also exacerbated tensions between liberal and conservative groups.²⁶²

In its early years, the primary leader of the religious right was Jerry Falwell. In 1979, he founded the Moral Majority, which grew to be the most powerful religious right organization of the early 1980's. The Moral Majority had an estimated membership between 58,000 and 3,000,000.²⁶³ The early membership of the Moral Majority consisted of fundamentalists who were intolerant of the more moderate conservative evangelicals and Pentecostals,²⁶⁴ alienating potential allies like the SBC.

Groups like the Moral Majority²⁶⁵ mobilized their supporters by promoting a culture war thesis in which liberalism and secularism were attacked through the use of moralistic language and scripture to support political arguments,

²⁶⁰ The first major case was *Bob Jones University v. Schultz* in 1971. Reversals, other lawsuits, and appeals meant that the issue was not resolved until the Supreme Court ruled against Bob Jones University in 1983.

²⁶¹ William C. Martin, *With God on Our Side: The Rise of the Religious Right in America* (New York: Broadway Books, 2005).

²⁶² Wuthnow, *The Restructuring of American Religion*, 1988.

²⁶³ Matthew C. Moen, "From Revolution to Evolution: The Changing Nature of the Christian Right," *Sociology of Religion* 55, no. 3 (1994): 348.

²⁶⁴ A. Shupe and W. Stacey, "The Moral Majority Constituency" in *The New Christian Right: Mobilization and Legitimation* (Hawthorne, NY: Aldine Pub., 1983), Clyde Wilcox, "Evangelicals and Fundamentalists in the New Christian Right: Religious Differences in the Ohio Moral Majority," *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion* 25, no. 3 (1986).

²⁶⁵ Other major national organizations of this early period included Christian Roundtable, Concerned Women for America, and Christian Voice. Many other small local groups also engaged in grassroots political activity for the religious right.

while other theological interpretations of political issues were attacked or dismissed.²⁶⁶ The value of activism encouraged engagement in both local and national politics, and the grassroots nature of the evangelical movement created an effective apparatus for mobilizing communities. Scriptural authority and the premillennialist world view provided certainty and interpretive frames for the moral nature of their political agenda, and the Calvinist belief in the community of the "elect" led to a strong insider/outsider understanding of the relationship between the evangelical community and the secular world that encouraged support for political candidates and community leaders considered one of their own.²⁶⁷

The Presidency of Jimmy Carter, a self-proclaimed evangelical who originally drew support from the Christian right but ultimately alienated them with liberal policies, saw the Christian right organize in support of the Republican Party (GOP).²⁶⁸ During the 1980 election season, the Moral Majority and other fundamentalist Christian political organizations launched themselves into the national political arena. They espoused a political agenda built around moral issues drawn from fundamentalist biblicism and political issues that promoted their understanding of the United States as a Christian nation. During the Presidential campaign, Ronald Reagan actively courted the Moral Majority and the rest of the Christian right with speeches, public appearances, and the appointment of Rev. Robert Billings, the first Executive Director of the Moral Majority, to the position of official campaign advisor. Reagan's support combined with the Christian right's disillusionment with Carter, resulted in the movement shifting its support to the GOP. The Christian right saw immediate and beneficial returns for their outspoken support of Reagan. The newly elected president appointed several members of the Christian right to government positions and the cabinet, including anti-abortion activist C. Everett Koop as Surgeon General and Robert Billings to a leadership position in the Department of Education.

²⁶⁶ Heinz, D. "The Struggle to Define America." In *The New Christian Right: Mobilization and Legitimation*, 133-48. Hawthorne, NY: Aldine Pub., 1983.; Matthew C. Moen, "From Revolution to Evolution: The Changing Nature of the Christian Right," 1994.

²⁶⁷ The criteria for an Insider doctrine were developed in Robert K. Merton, "Insiders and Outsiders: A Chapter in the Sociology of Knowledge," *American Journal of Sociology* 78, no. 1 (1972): 36. The Christian right's status as an Insider group is steeped in their strict membership based on an ascribed status determined by the doctrine of election, their exclusive claims to group-based truth stemming from biblicism and prophetic interpretation, and a strong mistrust of outsiders that can be seen in their rejection of the ecumenical movement. The issue will be discussed in greater depth in Chapter Four where many appeals to the Insider doctrine are described.

²⁶⁸ Garland A. Haas, *Jimmy Carter and the Politics of Frustration* (Jefferson, NC: McFarland &, 1992), 89. Specific issues of contention were Carter's liberal political stances on the IRS/ private school issues, feminism and the Equal Rights Amendment, gay rights, abortion, failing to appoint evangelicals to his cabinet, and establishment of the Federal Department of Education.

Over the next four years, Reagan continued to give consideration to the Christian right, used an unprecedented amount of religious language, made appearances at major religious right events, and kept issues they valued in the public spotlight. At the same time, Reagan distanced himself from more mainline denominations and organizations.²⁶⁹ With continuing appeals to moral conservatism, Reagan was able to expand the appeal of the GOP beyond its traditional voting base, especially among white southerners. By continuing to support the Christian right's moral agenda, Reagan ensured moral issues would remain salient into the 1984 election and could act as wedge issue to gain support among those who agreed with the GOP's social agenda but were against its hawkish nature or fiscal politics.

Going into the 1984 election, Reagan once again had support of the Moral Majority and affiliated organizations, but they played very little role in his victory over Walter Mondale.²⁷⁰ The Moral Majority and the fundamentalist movement had alienated a large percentage of the general public with inflammatory comments towards those who did not share their perspective, their fundraising campaigns, and their leadership scandals.

The 1988 election tested the alliance between the GOP and the Christian right. Pat Robertson launched an unsuccessful primary campaign against Vice President George H.W. Bush that highlighted the conflict occurring within the GOP. Political amateurs, largely from the Christian right, supported Robertson's campaign and were characterized by extremism and factionalism. Yet support for Robertson among the Christian right was not monolithic, and despite early setbacks, Bush easily won the primary and the White House.²⁷¹

Penning notes that the failure of the Robertson campaign and the subsequent decline and collapse of many Christian right organizations in the late 1980's prompted politically minded evangelicals and fundamentalists to seek new ways to influence GOP politics, thereby ushering in a restructuring of religious alliances in the American political arena.²⁷² Importantly, new groups looked for ways to minimize the internal conflicts that characterized the Moral

²⁶⁹ The political distance created between the Reagan administration and mainline denominations was publicly displayed on the lead up to the 1984 election when he publically declined to appear at the United Methodist's bicentennial convention but made many appearances before Christian right groups. At the time, the United Methodists were the country's second largest denomination.

²⁷⁰ Stephen D. Johnson and Joseph B. Tamney, "The Christian Right and the 1984 Presidential Election," *Review of Religious Research* 27, no. 2 (1985).

²⁷¹ Stephen D. Johnson, Joseph B. Tamney, and Ronald Burton, "Pat Robertson: Who Supported His Candidacy for President?," *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion* 28, no. 4 (1989) and Andrew Preston, "The Politics of Realism and Religion: Christian Responses to Bush's New World Order" *Diplomatic History* 34, no. 1 (2010).

²⁷² James M. Penning, "Pat Robertson and the GOP: 1988 and Beyond," *Sociology of Religion* 55, no. 3, (1994).

Majority and other evangelical groups of the 1980's. Robertson co-founded the Christian Coalition, which increased its outreach to all conservative Christians, including Catholics and in some cases also Jews. This process effectively completed the restructuring of religion described by Wuthnow, organizing religious culture around political alliances of conservative or liberal interest groups.²⁷³ Denominations still played a role in organizing like-minded communities, but salient divisions now reflected the ideological spectrum of social and political values instead of theological conflicts. This time period also saw the absorption of the SBC's political activities into the larger Christian right movement that was now less burdened by offensive leaders who denigrated those who did not share their specific political beliefs.

While initially the Christian right was supportive of President George H.W. Bush, they were quickly alienated by his lack of responsiveness to their causes.²⁷⁴ The time period marked a rise in evangelical interest in foreign policy, specifically human rights issues and the exportation of democracy as a means to open new areas to the gospel. Bush occasionally sought the Christian right's support by using moral rhetoric to explain foreign policy, but when enacting that policy, he focused on gains related to a realist foreign policy perspective. The most significant foreign policy issue for the Christian right was Bush's failure to invade Iraq and remove Saddam Hussein at the conclusion of the Gulf War. Dispensationalists, who supported the war because of their belief that it was essential to fulfilling biblical prophecy, saw Bush's solution as incomplete while groups like the SBC, who supported the war for moral reasons, saw leaving a human rights abusing dictator in power as a betrayal to their values.²⁷⁵ In the end, the Christian right did not turn out in significant numbers for Bush's reelection campaign, and he was defeated by Bill Clinton.

Despite identifying as a Baptist, Bill Clinton was not popular with the Christian right or the SBC. Though Democrats won the presidency, the religious right continued its political operations, making large gains in state legislatures and Congress, successfully pushing moral issues into the core of the GOP platform, and cultivating a culture war thesis in the public sphere. The Christian right used their lobbying power and exposure in the public sphere to increase their attempts to influence foreign policy, focusing specifically on the plight of Christians in

²⁷³ Wuthnow, *The Restructuring of American Religion: Society and Faith since World War II*, 1988.

²⁷⁴ Andrew Preston, "The Politics of Realism and Religion: Christian Responses to Bush's New World Order", 2010.

²⁷⁵ Ibid.

southern Sudan and opposing the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women.²⁷⁶ Within the SBC, the denomination's official publishing house produced information documents that were distributed to congregations designed to reinforce the legitimacy of the Christian right's political agenda. At the same time, major sex scandals during Clinton's presidency led to a renewed importance of moral politics and a strong conservative backlash that set the stage for the presidential campaign of George W. Bush, with its focus of compassionate conservatism and its emphasis on morality and family values.

As discussed in the last chapter, courting the religious right became an essential component of George W. Bush's election strategy and strategy of governing. Bush's administration granted unparalleled access to the Christian right and had close relationships with several members of the SBC's leadership. His administration was very responsive to their political agenda, and in return, the denomination supported many of his policies. Bush pushed for legislation on a number of domestic issues prized by evangelicals, including furthering abortion bans, banning federal funding for stem cell research, supporting the defense of marriage act, and many others.

Bush's commitment to the evangelical agenda also extended into foreign policy where faith-based initiatives gave them unprecedented access to influence and actively implement policy abroad with federal support. With the creation of the Center for Faith-Based and Community Initiatives (CFBCI) within the United States Agency for International Development (USAID), Bush began a process of redistributing federal aid dollars to religious organizations that supported his political goals while strongly favoring evangelical Christian groups as recipients of funds. The CFBCI, which was tasked with overseeing the fair distribution of those federal dollars, was headed up by a series of evangelical Christians. Top leaders of the Christian right were placed in leadership positions at USAID, including Andrew Natsios as the administrator of the organization, Dr. Anne Peterson as the global health director, Benjamin Horman as chair of the USAID advisory board, and Terri Hasdorf as director of the CFBCI.²⁷⁷

Bush's strategy of appointing evangelicals to high-ranking positions in his administration went well beyond USAID. Bush appointed evangelicals to his cabinet, upper echelons of the White House staff, the courts, and as heads of federal agencies, all of whom helped shape U.S. foreign policy. Many were evangelicals who had worked in the

²⁷⁶ Marsden, *For God's Sake*, 34.

²⁷⁷ Each of these individuals had run Christian right organizations or major branches of them related to their area of expertise. Lee Marsden, *For God's Sake*, 126.

political realm. Others had more symbolic value as religious leaders who represented conservative denominations or prominent religious organizations, like those who worked for USAID or Richard Land, head of the SBC's ERLC, who was appointed to the U.S. Commission on International Religious Freedom and to an honorary delegation that visited Israel to celebrate its 60th anniversary. Other major foreign policy wins for evangelicals included the reestablishment of the Mexico City Policy in which international non-governmental organizations were barred from receiving federal funding if they performed or promoted abortions using their own private funding. Additionally, passage of the Sudan Peace Act, achieving NGO delegate and observer status at the United Nations, U.S. rejection of the Kyoto Protocol, passing numerous congressional resolutions in support of Israel, and abandonment of Bush's Road Map to Peace policies were political victories for evangelical Christians. Other, more symbolic actions were also taken by Bush, such as the implementation of the National Day of Prayer.

Now that the general political patterns of the Christian right have been discussed, it is possible to move back to the specific topic of the SBC's political agenda to situate the denomination's goals within the larger political movement. The political activity within the denomination has mirrored the activity of the Christian right, but the involvement of individual congregations in different political actions has been varied. Therefore, in order to determine the denomination-wide, political agenda of the SBC, we must examine the specific beliefs of the denomination represented by "The Statement of Baptist Faith and Message" and resolutions adopted as the national level by the convention.

Specific Policy Goals of the SBC and their Relationship to SBC Values and Doctrine

Weber argues that shared values and ideas are motivators for communities to take social action. The specific agenda of the SBC supports this idea. Since the 1980's, fundamentalists within the SBC, and socially conservative evangelicals in general, have mobilized in relation to domestic policy issues by taking positions justified by connection to their core values and beliefs as expressed in theological doctrine. The SBC's doctrinal statement, *The Baptist Faith and Message*, was updated in 2000 and articulates a commitment to biblicism, crucicentrism, conversionism, and activism, both explicitly and with specific statements on a wide range of theological issues.

These issues outline specific theological interpretations that directly inform opinions on many political issues relevant to the Bush presidency.

Biblicism is affirmed in Article I - The Scriptures. It states,

The Holy Bible was written by men divinely inspired and is God's revelation of Himself to man. It is a perfect treasure of divine instruction. It has God for its author, salvation for its end, and truth, without any mixture of error, for its matter. Therefore, all Scripture is totally true and trustworthy...²⁷⁸

Crucicentrism is directly affirmed in Article IV - Salvation, where the Baptist doctrine of the atonement is summarized, Article V - God's purpose of Grace, where the relationship between election and salvation is articulated and alluded to in a number of other references to the saving nature of Christ and the evangelic mission of the church.²⁷⁹ Conversionism is affirmed in Article VII - Baptism and the Lord's Supper, in which baptism is outlined as a condition of membership.²⁸⁰ Finally, activism is described explicitly or alluded to in eight separate articles, including those on evangelism and mission, the Christian and social order, cooperation, stewardship, education, religious liberty, war and peace, and the family.²⁸¹

The commitment to activism affirmed by the SBC drives its social action on many issues, but prominent domestic political action campaigns have included pro-life advocacy, family values, education reform, religious freedom campaigns, and social justice reform. Each of these categories has in turn encompassed several more specific issues that are connected to theological ideas that are articulations of the four core values. Pro-life advocacy includes anti-abortion work, campaigning against the use of birth control, and resistance to stem cell research and largely relates to the literalist interpretation of the biblical principles of creation and sanctity of human life created in the image of God. This principle is articulated in *the Baptist Faith and Message*, Article III- Man, which states "the sacredness of

²⁷⁸ Southern Baptist Convention, "The Baptist Faith and Message," Southern Baptist Convention, Article I, accessed December 04, 2015, <http://www.sbc.net/bfm2000/bfm2000.asp>.

²⁷⁹ Ibid., Article IV and Article V.

²⁸⁰ Ibid., Article VII.

²⁸¹ Ibid., Article XI-XVIII.

human personality is evident in that God created man in His own image, and in that Christ died for man; therefore, every person of every race possesses full dignity and is worthy of respect and Christian love.”²⁸²

The family values agenda includes issues related to traditional structure of families, including those that establish men as the head of the household, defining sexual morality, supporting abstinence-only sexual education programs in schools, and opposing extending marriage rights to the Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender, and Queer (LGBTQ) community. Political campaigns related to these issues have opposed the Equal Rights Amendment, equal pay for women, access to women's healthcare (which is also related to pro-life advocacy), pornography and obscenity, marriage outside wedlock, divorce, and a number of anti-LGBTQ issues. These actions are again informed by a biblicentric view in which biblical covenants are seen as the only legitimate template for marriage. The SBC highlights these issues as some of the most important issues facing society and uses culture war language to stress their importance.²⁸³ Family is described in *The Baptist Faith and Message*, Article XVII:

God has ordained the family as the foundational institution of human society... Marriage is the uniting of one man and one woman in covenant commitment for a lifetime. It is God's unique gift to reveal the union between Christ and His church and to provide for the man and the woman in marriage the framework for intimate companionship, the channel of sexual expression according to biblical standards, and the means for procreation of the human race... The marriage relationship models the way God relates to His people....²⁸⁴

The ideas defining the SBC's position on education are found in the *Baptist Faith and Message*, Article XII, and are characterized as an essential element of the life of the church wherein the church is commanded to support education on equal terms with mission and benevolence. However, strict limits are placed on education:

In Christian education there should be a proper balance between academic freedom and academic responsibility. Freedom in any orderly relationship of human life is always limited and never absolute. The freedom of a teacher in a Christian school, college, or seminary is limited by the pre-

²⁸² Ibid., Article III

²⁸³ Ibid., Article XVII.

²⁸⁴ Ibid., Article XVII

eminence of Jesus Christ, by the authoritative nature of the Scriptures, and by the distinct purpose for which the school exists.²⁸⁵

Importantly, this passage subordinates education to biblical literalism and directs the cause of education to support the evangelistic goals of the church. Domestic religious freedom campaigns tie closely to campaigns for family values and education reform because they are essentially concerned with government intrusion in religious affairs. These campaigns take a much different form from those that encourage religious freedom abroad, but both are driven by the belief that the church's work of social reform and evangelism should be unhindered by any government interference.²⁸⁶ Article XVII -- Religious Liberty articulates this belief:

The state has no right to impose penalties for religious opinions of any kind. The state has no right to impose taxes for the support of any form of religion. A free church in a free state is the Christian ideal, and this implies the right of free and unhindered access to God on the part of all men, and the right to form and propagate opinions in the sphere of religion without interference by the civil power.²⁸⁷

Social Justice Reform activism ties directly to the SBC's evangelistic mission. The ERLC website describes their role in the social justice movement as preparing churches to "carry out the Great Commission while also caring for the common good of civil society."²⁸⁸

In this case, the common good of society should be interpreted to mean those positions that are consistent with church teachings as the motivation for social action is defined as "obligation to seek to make the will of Christ supreme in our own lives and in human society."²⁸⁹ *The Baptist Faith and Message* reinforces this idea with references to the role of activism in "any good cause" as a pathway to evangelism that subordinates social goals to

²⁸⁵ Ibid., Article XII

²⁸⁶ At the time this dissertation was written, the concept of religious liberty was primarily being used in public political discourse to oppose gay marriage. The Christian right argues that the government cannot change the definition of marriage because it is ordained by God. Yet, they are criticized for failing to differentiate between religious sacraments and cultural conventions that fall outside the purview of the church.

²⁸⁷ Southern Baptist Convention, "The Baptist Faith and Message," XVII.

²⁸⁸ Southern Baptist Convention, "Ethics and Religious Liberty Commission," Southern Baptist Convention, The Issues, accessed December 04, 2015, <http://www.sbc.net/aboutus/entities/erlc.asp>.

²⁸⁹ Southern Baptist Convention, "The Baptist Faith and Message," Article XV.

doctrinal positions and the evangelistic mission by reminding its adherents to be "careful to act in the spirit of love without compromising their loyalty to Christ and His truth."²⁹⁰

Of more concern to this project is the foreign policy agenda pursued by the SBC and the Christian right. The SBC attempts to affect foreign policy by many of the same political routes used to pursue domestic agendas through their ties to grassroots organizations, their partnerships with such think tanks as Focus on the Family, or through the large corporate structure of the ERLC and its lobbying machine. However, foreign aid programs that implement these policies and often receive federal dollars are organized through the SBC's International Missions Board.

The primary international focus of the Christian right is evangelism. This focus is also held by the SBC. The promotion of democracy abroad is directly related to the Christian right's ability to evangelize. Freedom of religion is a core element of the United States' model of democracy. By supporting the spreading of that freedom, evangelists can open up new places for missionary activity. Importantly, democracy creates the potential for the Christian right to influence governmental policy in foreign countries through the establishment of Christian institutions and the eventual election of Christian candidates. The Christian right supported spreading democracy during the Cold War as a way to advance religious freedom and evangelize to those trapped behind the Iron Curtain. Additionally, the Christian right pushed for the invasion of Iraq during the first Gulf War. As George W. Bush engaged in the GWOT and the invasion of Iraq, strong support for the democratization of the Middle East came from the SBC and the Christian right. In 2003, an official resolution drafted by the SBC expressing support for the invasion of Iraq ends by calling for the spread of "economic, political, and religious freedom" to the people of Iraq.²⁹¹ While the concept of democracy is rarely directly connected to evangelism, numerous resolutions have called for the countries to embrace freedom of religion or called the U.S. government to promote it through diplomatic means or by exerting influence following military conflicts.²⁹² Further, the *Baptist Faith and Message* Article XVII- Religious Liberty explicitly links the ideal form of government to religious freedom, stating

²⁹⁰ Ibid. Article XV.

²⁹¹ Southern Baptist Convention, "On The Liberation of Iraq," Southern Baptist Convention, accessed December 7, 2015, <http://www.sbc.net/resolutions/1126/on-the-liberation-of-iraq>.

²⁹² Southern Baptist Convention, "On The Liberation of Iraq," Southern Baptist Convention, accessed December 7, 2015, <http://www.sbc.net/resolutions/1126/on-the-liberation-of-iraq>; Southern Baptist Convention, "Resolution Concerning The Persecution Of Religion In Russia," Southern Baptist Convention, accessed December 7, 2015, <http://www.sbc.net/resolutions/920/resolution-concerning-the-persecution-of-religion-in-russia>; Southern Baptist Convention, "Resolution Concerning Communism And Other Forms Of Tyranny," Southern Baptist Convention, accessed December 7, 2015,

A free church in a free state is the Christian ideal, and this implies the right of free and unhindered access to God on the part of all men, and the right to form and propagate opinions in the sphere of religion without interference by the civil power.²⁹³

According to the ERLC, freedom of religion is considered one of the most important political issues for the SBC.²⁹⁴

The SBC and Christian right also support human rights in so far as they parallel ethical standards derived from a literal interpretation of scripture. Many have noted that the Christian right's agenda on human rights actively undermines human rights efforts of more liberal or secular groups. In some cases, the agenda is harmful to groups like women or homosexuals; from the Christian right's perspective, only an ethic of human rights grounded in biblical tradition is legitimate. For the SBC, this means that international human rights positions are related to ideas of human dignity that inform positions or issues like abortion and family values. Therefore, the ERLC explains that it seeks to help Christians "navigate complex issues related to human dignity, including abortion, artificial reproductive technology, and sex trafficking."²⁹⁵ *The Baptist Faith and Message* articulates this relationship in its statement on Christians and the Social Order:

Christians should oppose racism, every form of greed, selfishness, and vice, and all forms of sexual immorality, including adultery, homosexuality, and pornography. We should work to provide for the orphaned, the needy, the abused, the aged, the helpless, and the sick. We should speak on behalf of the unborn and contend for the sanctity of all human life from conception to natural death.²⁹⁶

Despite the litany of issues that can be tied to human rights, the primary focus of the Christian right, related to human rights, has been ending religious persecution of Christians. The SBC has been particularly influential in this area through the leadership of Dr. Richard Land, who serves on the U.S. Commission on International Religious

<http://www.sbc.net/resolutions/357/resolution-concerning-communism-and-other-forms-of-tyranny>.; and Southern Baptist Convention, "On The Genocide In Sudan," Southern Baptist Convention, accessed December 7, 2015, <http://www.sbc.net/resolutions/962/on-the-genocide-in-sudan>. This is a small sample, not an exhaustive list.

²⁹³ Southern Baptist Convention, "The Baptist Faith and Message," Article XVII.

²⁹⁴ Southern Baptist Convention, "Ethics and Religious Liberty Commission," Southern Baptist Convention, The Issues, accessed December 04, 2015, <http://www.sbc.net/aboutus/entities/erlc.asp>.

²⁹⁵ Ibid.

²⁹⁶ Southern Baptist Convention, "The Baptist Faith and Message," XV.

Freedom. He and other evangelical leaders actively pressured the Bush administration into taking action in Sudan. In response to Bush's action, the SBC passed two resolutions that praised the President and encouraged their membership to continue to focus their efforts on the region.²⁹⁷

The SBC has also invested heavily in AIDS prevention globally, but they have condemned safe sex education and medical remedies as "counterproductive" or "failed."²⁹⁸ Instead, the SBC and the Christian right focus solely on abstinence before marriage and fidelity in marriage as the only effective and biblical solution to the AIDS epidemic.²⁹⁹ Likewise, women's rights issues are often a focus of international human rights campaigns by the SBC. Yet these campaigns occur with very strict limits and do not include provisions for women's reproductive health. In each case, federal support of conservative faith-based initiatives led to reduced funding or complete replacement of more liberal programs that had seen success. Through this human rights activism, the Christian right is able to engage in evangelism and mission while simultaneously hindering the work of secular or liberal groups who use tactics the Christian right finds amoral. Their human rights ethos is strictly constrained by the value of biblicism and at times resembles a dominionist agenda. Dominion Theology is a Christian nationalist ideology that mandates Christians to take control of secular institutions and establish laws based on biblical teachings. Dominion theology also affirms a historical viewpoint that argues the United States has always been a Christian nation and believes in the religious supremacy of Christianity to the detriment of other religious groups in the population.³⁰⁰

The SBC's *Baptist Faith and Message* makes no mention of Israel, nor is it discussed in any great length in any of the ERLC's goal statements. While the denominationalist nature of the SBC may prevent positions on Israel from determining status of fellowship, leaders of the SBC have ensured that the denomination falls in line with the Christian Zionist tradition. A commentary published on the ERLC, produced by Barrett Duke, Vice President of the ERLC's Washington office, lays out an argument in support of Israel. The case is based around three general arguments: a historical argument based on the perfect historical nature of scripture that argues Israel was given to

²⁹⁷ Southern Baptist Convention, "On the Genocide in Sudan," 2001 and Southern Baptist Convention, "On the Conflict in the Western Sudanese Region of Darfur," Southern Baptist Convention, accessed December 8, 2015, <http://www.sbc.net/resolutions/1155/on-the-conflict-in-the-western-sudanese-region-of-darfur>.

²⁹⁸ Southern Baptist Convention, "On the Global AIDS Crisis," Southern Baptist Convention, accessed December 8, 2015, <http://www.sbc.net/resolutions/1131/on-the-global-aids-crisis>.

²⁹⁹ Ibid.

³⁰⁰ Bruce Barron, *Heaven on Earth?: The Social & Political Agendas of Dominion Theology* (Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan, 1992). And Jeremy Brooke Straughn, "America as a 'Christian Nation'? Understanding Religious Boundaries of National Identity in the United States," *Sociology of Religion* 71, no. 3 (October 01, 2010).

the Jews by God and that God has demonstrated his blessing through historical events; an ideological argument that supports Israel because of their democratic values of civilian participation in government, protection of minorities, and commitment to free market economics; and a Christian Zionist theological argument that upholds the Jews as God's chosen people.³⁰¹

SBC's foreign policy agenda related to Israel is also influenced by the eschatological belief held by the majority of its membership and leadership, premillennial dispensationalism. This view conforms to the biblicist tenants outlined in the *Baptist Faith and Message* related to the end times, "Jesus Christ will return personally and visibly in glory to the earth; the dead will be raised; and Christ will judge all men in righteousness..."³⁰² While some other literalist eschatological views are affirmed within the denomination, they are less popular and marginalized by the leadership.³⁰³ This specific form of premillennialism, sometimes referred to as Zionist dispensationalism, affirms that Israel plays a pivotal role in divine prophesy and that Israel's covenant with God cannot be broken and is not replaced by God's covenant with the church. The modern state of Israel is seen as a fulfillment of God's promise to the Jewish people, and therefore Christians, as members of God's kingdom, are obligated to support the state.³⁰⁴ Through Lifeway Publishing, the SBC produces a number of resources that are disseminated to their congregations and clergy to educate them on the subject of Israel and its importance in premillennial eschatology as well as multiple fiction books related to the end times that promote this theological position.³⁰⁵

Support for Israel is also prominent in the larger Christian right and was one of the founding principles for both the moral majority and Christian coalition. The alliance between the Christian right and the State of Israel did not

³⁰¹ Barret Duke, "I Support Israel," Ethics and Religious Liberty Commission of the Southern Baptist Convention, September 26, 2012, <http://erlc.com/article/i-support-israel>.

³⁰² Southern Baptist Convention, "The Baptist Faith and Message," Article X.

³⁰³ Ammerran indicates that in the early 1990's, only one quarter of Southern Baptists questioned premillennialist beliefs and that the hierarchy of the SBC is actively attempting to enforce a fundamentalist orthodoxy on the denomination spreading this belief and driving out more moderate voices. Nancy T. Ammerran, *Baptist Battles: Social Change and Religious Conflict in the Southern Baptist Convention* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1990), 76. and Nancy T. Ammerran, "Southern Baptists and the New Christian Right," *Review of Religious Research* 32, no. 3 (1991): 227-228. This idea is supported by Steven Lemke, provost of New Orleans Baptist Theological Seminary in his speech to a conference for SBC leadership. Steve W. Lemke, "The Future of Southern Baptists as Evangelicals" (lecture, Maintaining Baptist Distinctive Conference, Mid-America Baptist Theological Seminary, Cordova, Tennessee, April 2005).

³⁰⁴ See footnote 226 for references and summary of premillennialist beliefs.

³⁰⁵ Lifeway is the modern incarnation of the Sunday School Board Southern Baptist Convention, "LifeWay Christian Resources," Southern Baptist Convention, accessed December 14, 2015, <http://www.sbc.net/aboutus/entities/lifeway.asp>. and Lifeway, "LifeWay: Your Source for Bible Studies, Christian Books, Bibles, and More...," LifeWay.com, accessed December 14, 2015, <http://www.lifeway.com/>.

develop from any theological support for the Jewish faith but instead developed from a concern for the advancement of the millennial kingdom. According to dispensationalists, the millennial kingdom can only consist of born-again Christians, and it attempts to convert the Jewish people.³⁰⁶ Years of cooperation, financial support, and political lobbying on behalf of Israel have accompanied increases in Christian mission and evangelism to Jews in Israel.³⁰⁷ This increase, coupled with dramatically differing social agendas, has created a complicated relationship between American Jews and the Christian right but has not diminished their support for Israel's security. The opposite is also true; missions and evangelistic programs targeting Jews have increased awareness of Israel's concerns and role in premillennial eschatology, increasing its salience among the religious right's membership. The importance of Premillennial Dispensationalism also led to the embrace of concepts related to spiritual warfare on a denominational level, with several former SBC presidents, including Bobby Welch and Charles Stanley, making that theological topic a focus of both their ministry and their political stance related to the Middle East.³⁰⁸

A common political position within the Christian right is support for an aggressive defense of the State of Israel. While the SBC is careful not to make calls for war, they do affirm military action that conforms to just war theory, and through several resolutions acknowledge Israel's right to take military action against its enemies in self-defense. In addition, support for Israel in the ongoing Israeli/ Palestinian conflict influences the anti-Islamic bias within the Christian right, which was exacerbated by the 9/11 attacks and the Global War on Terror. The result has been a more outspoken criticism of Islam and an increase in Islamophobia. The SBC once again represents a plurality of views, but denominational doctrine stresses the exclusivity of Christ as means of salvation, which translates into a basic rejection of Islam. Some elite-level rhetoric has been inflammatory, such as former SBC president Jerry Vines' reference to the Prophet Mohammad as a "demon-possessed pedophile."³⁰⁹ Others, like Dr. Land, have tempered their rhetoric, but made their opposition to Islam clear. Land has even publically stated that he

³⁰⁶ Ariel, "Israel in Contemporary Evangelical Christian Millennial Thought," 457, 473, 481.

³⁰⁷ Ibid., 482.

³⁰⁸ The concept of spiritual warfare is a common theme in the sermons of both men and has a large presence in the denomination as a whole. The following citations are of articles or sermons in which specific links are made between foreign policy in the middle east: Bobby Welch, "Ear-Ripping-Off Battles with Satan," Southern Baptist President Bobby Welch on Spiritual Warfare and Battles with Satan, January 21, 2005, section goes here, accessed April 20, 2016, <http://www.beliefnet.com/faiths/christianity/2005/01/ear-ripping-off-battles-with-satan.aspx>. and Charles Stanley, writer, "A Nation at War," in *In Touch with Charles Stanley*, February 16, 2003.

³⁰⁹ Richard Cimino, "'No God in Common:' American Evangelical Discourse on Islam after 9/11," 2005: 163.

did not believe Islam worshiped the same God as Christianity.³¹⁰ It is important to note that fundamentalist and charismatic Christians have long renounced Islam, but Cimino noted a marked increase in criticisms following 9/11, especially in regards to arguments that Islam is violent in nature, Muslims do not worship the same God as Christians, and that Mohammad was influenced by the devil.³¹¹

Conclusion

An examination of the history and development of the Southern Baptist Convention affirms that the denomination has arisen from traditions that embraced or has been imbued with the evangelical values of Biblicism, crucicentrism, conversionism, and activism. Their denominationalist nature ensures that specific theological positions required to maintain fellowship with the SBC are vague and open to interpretation. Yet their statement of faith affirms these four values as central to their identity. The primary value that informs nearly all other positions is their Biblicism, a strict literalist interpretation of the Bible. Crucicentrism and conversionism both stem from scripture and both drive the motivation of the denomination to win souls to Christ. They further establish an insider/outsider relationship that exists between the faithful and the fallen world that focuses of the denomination on the conversion experience. Activism allows the SBC to act out their other values and make a direct impact on the world around them. Each of these values has been strengthened and refined through the course of the SBC's history and is upheld in the *Baptist Faith and Message*.

The SBC has often defined itself by the political differences it has held with other Baptists. Following their split with northern Baptists after the U.S. Civil War, their pro-slavery stance aligned them even more closely with conservative southern culture that struggled against industrialization, progressive race relations, and growing federal influence. Their conservative nature grew until the rise of fundamentalism. Eventually a fundamentalist takeover of the denomination occurred that coincided with the rise of the religious right. The fundamentalist leadership began to more strictly enforce their literalist perspectives and quashed progressivism within the hierarchy of the denomination and its official institutions including their seminaries, state leadership boards, and their publishing house. The literalist interpretation of the Bible, promoted by fundamentalism, informs the political issues they

³¹⁰Richard Land, "President Bush, Faith Convictions, and Media Cynicism," Beliefnet, December 2003, <http://www.beliefnet.com/News/Politics/2003/12/President-Bush-Faith-Convictions-And-Media-Cynicism.aspx>.

³¹¹ Richard Cimino, "'No God in Common:' American Evangelical Discourse on Islam after 9/11."

engage with and theological requirements for fellowship. Contrary to their denominationalist character, their positions on some political issues are defined in their statement of faith, including LGBTQ issues, women's role in the family, abortion, and the role of Christianity in the public sphere.

Their conservative social agenda, commitment to activism, and the increased emphasis on political activity promoted by fundamentalist leadership led to the creation or redefinition of organizations primarily designed to engage in political activity or mission work, including the IMB and the ERLC. The SBC also built relationships with outside Christian political organizations and think tanks, which eventually led to a partnership with the Christian right. Their importance to the religious right in terms of manpower and organizational support results from their reach and numbers. Currently, the SBC is the largest conservative evangelical denomination in the United States.

When it comes to foreign policy, theology is important for the SBC, and it influences everything from positions on war to public health initiatives, like AIDS prevention. One significant theological position that influences the SBC's position on the GWOT is eschatology. While the *Baptist Faith and Message* does not specifically define an eschatological perspective, it does require a literalist interpretation of the end times, and the premillennialism interpretation is the most common within the denomination. As with their other political positions, foreign policy perspectives are influenced by their core values and theological beliefs. A premillennialism dispensationalist perspective dramatically affects an interpretation of politics in the Middle East, the nature of conflicts that take place there, and the characterization of actors involved, including an increasingly hostile attitude towards Islam and sympathy for the State of Israel.

Now that the core values and ideas of the SBC have been identified, they will serve as criteria to judge the degree to which rhetorical appeals in Bush's presentation of the GWOT narrative target the SBC and the larger community of the religious right for persuasion. In keeping with Weber's ideas on shared values, rhetorical appeals that are designed to specifically target the SBC must incorporate the values and ideas important to the SBC in order to maximize their persuasive value. The chapter that follows will examine the GWOT narrative during its construction in Bush's discourse. It will begin with a discussion of Bush's relationship to the conservative, evangelical community and the context within which the GWOT narrative was produced. Then a neo-Aristotelian analysis will be used to determine which rhetorical appeals in the narrative specifically target conservative evangelicals,

providing a map of appeals that can be compared to evangelical retransmission of the narrative, specifically by elites from the SBC.

Chapter 4: The Global War on Terror Narrative in the Discourse of George W. Bush

This chapter will argue that rhetorical appeals within the discourse of George W. Bush are designed to appeal to a conservative evangelical Christian audience by signaling a shared sense of values and ideas with that community. Bush uses these appeals to characterize the United States as a country whose value system is represented by conservative evangelicals and characterizes that value system as the target of Islamic extremism. Further, he defines the Global War on Terror (GWOT) as a conflict consistent with the Christian concept of just war theory, draws connections between the war's objectives and Christian mission work and activism, articulates a worldview consistent with conservative Christian theological principles, and uses references to his personal faith and domestic agenda to cast himself as an insider within the conservative evangelical community deserving of political support.

Importantly, the core values of the evangelical movement will act as criteria to determine what appeals can appropriately be judged as targeting this audience. These criteria were selected due to Weber's argument that shared values provide motivation for social action and that specific ideas shared within a community or between groups provide norms (in this case rhetorical norms) that give group-specific meaning to actions. According to social action theory, this shared meaning must be present to categorize action as social since it provides a foundation for group orientation. In the next chapter, the base set of ideas present in the rhetorical appeals connected to evangelical values identified in the Bush narrative will be used as a metric to measure the degree to which political and social elites within the Southern Baptist Convention adopted the ideas present in Bush's GWOT narrative. The changes or similarity in the evangelical presentation of these appeals will then be used as the subject of analysis regarding these elites' practice of rhetorical agency on the narrative.

The analysis in this chapter will begin with a brief discussion of the relationship that developed between President Bush and the Christian right in the years before September 11th, 2001, placing a special emphasis on the actions Bush took to court the group's largest organized denomination, the Southern Baptist Convention. The second section of this chapter will contain the Neo-Aristotelian analysis of Bush's post 9/11 rhetoric and identify the rhetorical appeals that target conservative evangelicals in an attempt to gain their support for the war.

It is important to note that this dissertation does not attempt to provide a comprehensive map of the rhetorical appeals contained in Bush's GWOT narrative.³¹² Instead, it will focus on only those appeals with specific connection to a conservative, evangelical audience. The nature of presidential leadership and the process of coalition building necessitate that presidential discourse makes appeals to a wide variety of constituencies. In most cases, presidential rhetoric attempts to engage as large an audience as possible and appeal to a multitude of constituencies through rhetorical appeals with general applicability. Sometimes this task is more nuanced, and appeals are designed to have specific meaning for one group while still maintaining a general enough character to have broad persuasive value. Ideographs are just one practical example of this strategy.

The key Weberian concept to understanding a rhetorical appeal's ability to have differed meanings when encountered by different constituencies is the idea of *Verstehen* (understanding). In accordance with the concept of *Verstehen*, the norms and values within a given community are an essential touchstone when determining the *meaning* of rhetorical appeals encountered by that community. This idea is mirrored in Ferrell's concept of rhetorical culture that argues the norms and ideas within a community do not only allow that community to interpret meaning of rhetorical acts but are essential in understanding rhetorical acts made by that community. In the case of a rhetorical appeal with multiple functions, the orator can rely on different *meanings* being attached to different actions and different phrases by different communities with different rhetorical cultures. An understanding of the values and ideas in different interpretive communities can be used in an attempt to elicit different responses from constituencies using the same rhetorical signals.

President Bush, the Christian Right, and the SBC

The discussion of conservative evangelicals in Chapter Three has illustrated their historical ties to the American political system; the way in which their values of biblicism, crucicentrism, activism, and conversionism are reflected

³¹² This research has been done elsewhere. Specific projects of this nature were described in the literature review in Chapter Two.

in the character of their communities' political action; the common political agendas associated with the conservative evangelical political platform; and their importance to the modern political landscape in the United States. Additionally, Chapter Three argued that the SBC serves as a representative denomination for the Christian right movement and has articulated the direct connection between the above-mentioned values and the SBC's specific political agenda.

Chapter Two has shown that numerous scholars have either analyzed the political climate leading up to the Bush presidency or analyzed Bush's campaign rhetoric and concluded that Bush's alliance with the Christian right was by no means natural or certain. Instead, it has been shown through these analyses that Bush used a series of political and rhetorical strategies to make inroads with the religious right and brand their political agenda in a way that was more appealing to centrists. His immediate needs were twofold: articulate a connection between his political goals and those of the religious right and demonstrate the moral quality of his leadership, thereby building his *ethos* with their community. The relationship that resulted from this strategy served as a foundation for Bush's rhetorical campaign to gain the support of the religious right for the GWOT. An essential strategy in developing that relationship was compassionate conservatism, and although it has already been outlined, it is important to highlight specific links used in the compassionate conservatism strategy to appeals to the values of the Christian right. Many of these links related to specific political issues, but the general construct of compassionate conservatism provided a religious frame for Bush's policy agenda that was eventually used to tie disparate political issues, including military policy related to the GWOT, together using conservative evangelical values.

The specific political issues emphasized in Bush's compassionate conservatism were not new developments. Compassionate conservatism can instead be considered a rebranding of the Republican political agenda. Bush's rhetorical strategy was a divergence from the combative language surrounding moral issues that had previously been common and was designed to appeal to a broader audience, including centrists, by describing political issues in relation to values that could be easily accepted by all instead of by focusing on the contentious issues themselves.

Bush's use of compassionate conservatism as a central campaign and governing strategy provided him with the opportunity to court the Christian right by unifying their political agenda and his own. Champions of compassionate conservatism claimed that it was compassion for the poor and downtrodden that formed the center of their domestic agenda. For many, this compassion had close links to religious beliefs. One of the seminal works on compassionate

conservatism, *Renewing American Compassion*, makes an explicit connection between the social welfare agenda of compassionate conservatism and the Christian doctrine of original sin. The author, Marvin Olasky, explains how the fallen nature of men leads them to expect “something for nothing.”³¹³ Liberal social programs were based on the belief that people were naturally inclined towards goodness and therefore sought “coercive philanthropy” through redistribution of wealth. Conservatives rejected this idea and instead believed personal responsibility to be the most important characteristic of a workable welfare system.³¹⁴

The logic of Olasky’s argument implied it was through irresponsibility, laziness, or sinful action that the poor were poor or stayed poor, and fostering personal responsibility would solve the problem of poverty. Therefore, because sin is inherent in human nature, the liberal social system could not work. Instead the idea of compassion should become a central component in the new conservative ideology. The key tactics to developing broad appeal for compassionate conservatism were focusing on the individual instead of the system and combining support for compassionate acts with fostering personal responsibility.³¹⁵ Welfare reform, abstinence programs, and faith-based initiatives would become hallmark programs under compassionate conservatism.³¹⁶ Not only did this ideology appeal to the worldview of the Christian right, but the political agenda promoted by it was closely aligned with the political agenda held by many conservative, evangelical congregations. Regarding values, activism is one of the defining characteristics of the evangelical movement, and compassionate conservatism framed its political agenda in a way that made it compatible with the evangelical need to engage with the world through Christian action. Furthermore, the domestic policy put forward by Bush and other compassionate conservatism advocates actively recognized and encouraged Christian social action by funding church-based organizations with government money.

The marriage between conservative values and evangelical social action is interesting in relation to Weber’s theories on social actions because it provides a template for politically motivated, value-rational social action within the evangelical community. The value of evangelicals’ actions, as described by compassionate conservatism, is derived from their nature as an expression of their faith. The end goals of sanctifying society and gaining converts certainly have important real-world ramifications for the community, but the drive for evangelicals to take these actions

³¹³ Marvin Olasky, *Renewing American Compassion* (New York: Free Press, 1996) 64.

³¹⁴ Ibid. 64.

³¹⁵ Myron Magnet, “What Is Compassionate Conservatism?,” *The Wall Street Journal* (New York), February 5, 1999.

³¹⁶ Government sponsored programs run by private faith-based organizations, such as churches.

results from divine mandate communicated through scripture.³¹⁷ Likewise, compassionate conservatism reinterprets traditional conservative ideology by removing emphasis from the political result of actions taken and instead stressing the need to take action that is based on compassion. The value of supporting political agendas held by compassionate conservatism is derived from acting out a belief in compassion and the importance of individual responsibility in society, not through the achievement of end goals, such as ending entitlement programs or restricting access to abortion. Yet for those that disagree with the religious values espoused by the Christian right, compassionate conservatism still provides an instrumental-rational template for action by making claims to the effective nature of faith-based programs to solve social problems.

In order to demonstrate his moral authority to an evangelical Christian audience, Bush used compassionate conservatism to employ two other techniques. First, he rhetorically connected himself, the Office of the President (or the Republican Party during election time), and the country as a whole to the core values of evangelical Christianity. Second, he made a public show of his faith to cast himself as an insider with the evangelical community through references to faith, public prayers, and overt religious language.

Bush's need to acquire insider status is important because of the Insider doctrine held by many fundamentalist Christian groups, of which the SBC is one. This doctrine was described by Robert Merton, who argued that certain groups put forward "a matter of epistemological principle that particular groups in each moment of history have monopolistic access to particular kinds of knowledge."³¹⁸ And that "In the weaker, more empirical form, the claim holds that some groups have privileged access, with other groups also being able to acquire that knowledge for themselves but at greater risk and cost."³¹⁹ The doctrine essentially claims that only insiders can understand insider knowledge. This doctrine reflects debates in sociology and other fields related to the ability of scholars to interpret meaning and motives of communities. Weber discussed this very issue; however, in this case, the doctrine is held by a specific group leading to credentialism based on ascribed status and a "methodological solipsism" in which knowledge is restricted to subjective experience that deems all outsiders unable to understand something outside

³¹⁷ Furthermore, ideas related to the Christian community of the elect relate to an understanding of the act of evangelism. Robert Selph, *Southern Baptists and the Doctrine of Election*. Berryville, VA: Hess, 1998.

³¹⁸ Robert K. Merton, "Insiders and Outsiders: A Chapter in the Sociology of Knowledge," *American Journal of Sociology* 78, no. 1 (1972): 102.

³¹⁹ *Ibid.* 102.

their own experience. Additional elements of Insider doctrine include an ethnocentric view that leads to an enhanced sense of group prestige and value and a xenophobia that encourages distrust or even more negative feelings towards outsiders.

Merton argues, "The actual intellectual interchange between Insiders and Outsiders – in which each adopts perspectives from the other – is often obscured by the rhetoric that accompanies intergroup conflict."³²⁰ As described in Chapter Three, the Christian right displayed a strong Insider doctrine based upon their adherence to Biblicism that establishes their religious superiority and unique claim to biblical truths and the doctrine of election that defines salvation as an ascribed status.³²¹ By demonstrating that Bush shares the community's values, ideas, and motivations, the president could attempt to dispel of any mistrust the group would have when dealing with an outsider and make use of the pride, elevated sense of group prestige, and insecurities that inform the group's identity. However, affirming a commitment to the same political agenda would not be enough to fulfill this requirement. Instead, Bush needed to show that his actions were motivated by those values and ideas, and therefore his actions had a shared sense of meaning with the actions taken by the Christian right.

Often overt themes and references were used to make Bush's case to the Christian right. Bush used the rhetorical theme of *values* often in his campaign for president and his early presidency. The term <values> was used as an ideograph, and its meaning was provided through rhetorical bridges that forged an implied connection between American values, conservative values, the Office of the President, Bush's personal values, and the values of conservative, evangelical Christians. Links were often formed between the term values and other vague terms like *faith, hope, culture, life, and justice*. President Bush selected his language carefully when forming rhetorical connections and often left specific terms undefined, allowing the audience to attach their own preconceived notions to the argument. Through these rhetorical bridges, the implication is created that casts the Christian right political agenda, including pro-life movement and abstinence-only programs, as products of the cultural values shared by all Americans. At other times, the rhetorical connections formed between <values> and Bush's political agenda served

³²⁰ Ibid., 36.

³²¹ Many projects have identified the patterns described by Merton in the religious right, including K. D. Wald and J. C. Corey, "The Christian Right and Public Policy: Social Movement Elites as Institutional Activists," *State Politics & Policy Quarterly* 2, no. 2 (2002) who focus on the nature of their institutional organization and influence within organizations and Nathaniel J. Klemp, *The Morality of Spin: Virtue and Vice in Political Rhetoric and the Christian Right* (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2012), who specifically examines the polarizing nature of moral rhetoric within the group.

to elevate positions held by the Christian right to the level of cultural values.³²² In these cases, the language of unity is often connected to calls to action that characterize Bush's agenda as a response to the will of the American people.

Bush often drew direct connections between faith and political issues by using language that had specific meaning to the Christian right. This special language was often explicitly used to reference less controversial topics with broad support, like faith-based initiatives. The following example shows this strategy in use. In Bush's GOP nomination acceptance address, he discusses faith-based initiatives by providing examples of the type of charities that government did not currently fund at a federal level but would once his legislation was passed. He states,

I think of Mary Jo Copeland, whose ministry called 'Sharing and Caring Hands' serves 1,000 meals a week in Minneapolis, Minnesota. Each day, Mary Jo washes the feet of the homeless, and then sends them off with new socks and shoes. 'Look after your feet,' she tells them... 'They must carry you a long way in this world, and then all the way to God.' Government cannot do this work. It can feed the body, but it cannot reach the soul. Yet government can take the side of these groups, helping the helper, encouraging the inspired.³²³

In this example, the concept of charity is characterized as a duty of the government, mandated by the people, but religious ministry is held up as the most effective form of charity. The language targets Bush's conservative religious audience by using the religious term *ministry* instead of a neutral term like *charity*, invoking God's name directly, and creating a dichotomy between the bureaucratic government-run welfare programs and religious ministries. On a deeper level, this example also reflects another component of the conservative agenda: that of privatization as an alternative to the government-run welfare system. The example also connects privatization to religious institutions. All of the above mentioned points could be viewed as inclusive of any religious audience, whether Christian, Muslim, Jewish, or any other. However, Weber's concept of *Verstehen* is important in this section because the meaning applied to the act of foot washing is derived from cultural norms within a community. The allusion to foot washing holds special significance to Christians and is especially important to evangelical communities, which in some cases elevate the act to the level of an ordinance.³²⁴ So while it is true that religious

³²² Or several other surrogates for <values> like <ideals>.

³²³ Ibid.

³²⁴ Most notably many Baptist denominations.

audiences of all types may run faith-based programs, which could receive government support, it is clear from the wording of this passage that Bush is showing his particular support for the evangelical movement and targeting them specifically with his rhetoric.³²⁵

The close rhetorical relationship that exists between religious values and civic values in Bush's early portrayal of the American identity signals two main objectives. The first is to integrate Christian values into the more general understanding of the American identity in a visible way that is consistent with the Christian right's understanding of the United States as a chosen nation. The second is to demonstrate to evangelical Christians that they are being included as an important cultural force in determining American identity. These two objectives illustrate the agency the evangelical community had in contributing to the policy agenda of the early Bush presidency and Bush's concern for developing a close relationship with evangelicals.

Bush also used religious language to publicly express his personal faith and establish his identity as an evangelical Christian. While there is no reason to doubt that these references are honest and accurate reflections of the former President's beliefs, they have a further function: these statements help him identify with an evangelical audience and therefore build his credibility within that audience. Bush's references to faith consistently employ themes of conversionism and biblicism. In Chapter Two, the discussion of Bush's biography, *A Charge to Keep*, showed the key role Bush's own conversion narrative played in his political campaigns.³²⁶ Statements like the following in his Acceptance Address were designed to demonstrate the key role faith played in Bush's life and approach to governance. Bush stated,

When I act, you will know my reasons ...When I speak, you will know my heart. I believe in tolerance, not in spite of my faith, but because of it. I believe in a God who calls us, not to judge

³²⁵ The faith-based initiative (FBI) debate during 2000-2001 was rather complex. It is inaccurate to say that all evangelicals would support the idea, just as it would be inaccurate to say all conservatives supported it. However, as this Pew Forum survey shows, conservatives were more likely than liberals to support FBI's while evangelicals were the most likely religious denomination to support them; over 50% of these two groups were strongly favorable or in favor of Government support of FBI's. Pew Forum for Religious and Public Life, *Faith-Based Funding Backed, But Church-State Doubts Abound*, report, April 10, 2001, accessed November 30, 2010, <http://people-press.org/reports/pdf/15.pdf>.

³²⁶ See pages 56-57- and 66-67.

our neighbors, but to love them. I believe in grace, because I have seen it ... In peace, because I have felt it ... In forgiveness, because I have needed it.³²⁷

There are a multitude of examples of these direct references to personal faith, and in each case, Bush focuses his audience on the importance of the biblical message in his life or his understanding that the biblical message has the power to change individuals and society. This strategy, above any other, holds the key to gaining insider status with the Christian right. The conversion experience is a rite that confers membership to the evangelical community.³²⁸ But Bush's conversion experience does not just claim insider status on account of his own personal experience; he applies conversionism and Biblicism to his political agenda, characterizing these values as motivations for his social action.

Once the religious right had been courted through rhetoric and policy initiatives, lent their approval to Bush's policy agenda, and supported his election, Bush rewarded them with special consideration. Chapter Three has already described some of the policies and political appointments that validated conservative evangelical support.³²⁹ For Southern Baptists, the creation of the Office of Faith-Based and Community Initiatives funneled federal dollars directly to official Baptist missions and charities and legitimized their approach at both an international and domestic level. The appointment of Dr. Richard Land to the U.S. Commission on International Religious Freedom gave high-ranking representatives a continuing voice in the administration. Bush also took care to continually receive input from conservative evangelical elites during weekly conference calls with Christian right leaders, including Land. Bush also had a notable official presence related to the SBC. Special speeches were regularly recorded for the SBC Annual Meetings that referenced Bush's own personal faith, thanked the SBC for their support and good work, and articulated an agenda that matched their value system.

³²⁷ George W. Bush, "GOP Nomination Acceptance Address" (speech, GOP National Convention, First Union Center, Philadelphia, PA, August 3, 2000).

³²⁸ It has been previously mentioned that the Christian right holds an Insider doctrine, and that those ideologies are often contingent on ascribed, not acquired, status. Further, it has been noted that the real boundaries of group membership are far more fluid and complex than characterized in work on the insider/outsider divide. While the conversion experience and choice to act in a way consistent with the Christian right's sense of values could be seen as creating an acquired status, the doctrine of election and the perception that the agency to change hearts and minds is reserved for God makes membership into the *chosen* community of the religious right an ascribed status with a degree of permanence, at least in so far as insiders in the Christian right are concerned.

³²⁹ Page 91.

Case Study: The War on Terror Rhetoric of George W. Bush

In the first few months of Bush's presidency, there were many ceremonial speeches, like his Inauguration Address, which helped to establish his identity with the American people, solidify the reputation he built during his presidential campaign, and promote his new policy initiatives. But on September 11, 2001, the political agenda of the Bush presidency changed in response to the terrorist attacks and the resulting shift in foreign policy goals of the administration.

Richard Jackson claims,

[the GWOT narrative is]... not simply an objective or natural reflection of reality; nor is it accidental or incidental... Rather it is a deliberately and meticulously composed set of words, assumptions, metaphors, grammatical forms, myths and forms of knowledge... that is designed to achieve a number of key political goals: to normalize and legitimize the current counter-terrorist approach; to empower the authorities and shield them from criticism; to discipline domestic society by marginalizing dissent or protest; and to enforce national unity by reifying a narrow conception of national identity... it is an exercise of power.³³⁰

Essentially, Jackson argues that through language, Bush characterized the events of 9/11 and the global conflict that followed in a way that conformed to his domestic and foreign policy agendas.

The purposeful construction of a narrative necessitated a complex series of arguments to be woven into Bush's public rhetoric. Further, the narrative needed to gain broad support with a general audience while maintaining a favored position with his political coalition. But to motivate support from the Christian right, an important member of that coalition, Bush had to engage that community with an exchange of ideas and a demonstration of a shared sense of values. That goal was accomplished through specific rhetorical appeals that targeted the community and tied their values to the general themes of the GWOT narrative.

³³⁰ Jackson, *Writing the War on Terrorism: Language, Politics and Counter-terrorism*, 2005:2.

In order to provide a representative sample of Bush’s public discourse, the speeches analyzed in the following section will include major addresses from the entire length of Bush’s wartime presidency. Additionally, to ensure the relevance of the speeches to the American public, the speeches selected had the broadest reach, as measured by viewership, or were selected from pivotal moments in the GWOT. To ensure the quality of analysis, the number of speeches subjected to in-depth, neo-Aristotelian analysis was limited to eight, lest length limits of this project limit possible discussion. The speeches selected are as follows: September 11, 2001 9/11 Terrorist Attacks Response; the September 20, 2001 Address to the Nation; the March 19, 2003 War Address; the May 1, 2003 End of Major Combat in Iraq Speech; Bush’s January 15, 2009 Farewell Address and the 2002, 2003, and 2007 State of the Union Addresses. As explained in Chapter One, the State of the Union speeches were selected for their total viewership while the others were selected because they represent pivotal moments in the GWOT.³³¹ The analysis that follows will be divided into three parts based on the canons of rhetoric related to the rhetorical appeals being identified and will occur in the order of *ethos*, *logos*, and *pathos*. While these types of appeals will be discussed separately, the way they link to and reinforce one another is important in narrative and will be discussed in each section.

Ethos: Appeals to Character and Authority

Ethos appeals primarily function to demonstrate the speaker’s authority or develop or develop a rhetorical persona for the speaker that facilitates parasocial interaction with the audience. Page 20 of the first chapter contains a more in-depth description of the role of *ethos* appeals in the process of persuasion. In this section, *ethos* appeals designed to persuade evangelical Christians to support the GWOT, the relationship of those appeals to core evangelical values, and the relationship of those appeals to Weber’s categories of social action will be identified. For the Bush administration to make a persuasive argument to the American public regarding the declaration of the GWOT and its continuing goals, they needed to establish an authoritative voice. Establishing this authority was a twofold process. First, the President needed to prove that he had the authority and expertise to make a decision on

³³¹ See page 23.

the issue; second, he had to prove he had the moral character to make the just decision. While these appeals had persuasive value to the Christian right, they were not designed specifically for them. Instead, in order to maintain the support of the Christian right constituency, President Bush continually made use of the same *ethos*-building strategies that he used with his compassionate conservatism strategy. Namely, he rhetorically connected himself, the Office of the President, and the country as a whole to the core values of evangelical Christianity. He showed that he supported a political agenda important to conservative, evangelical Christians. Finally, he made a public show of his faith, referenced faith and prayer, and employed religious language across the whole of his rhetoric to cast himself as an insider with the evangelical community.

While many of these appeals do not directly link to ideas about the GWOT, it is important to remember that *ethos* is designed to reinforce the positive character of the speaker which in turn makes *logos* and *pathos* more effective. By demonstrating a consistent commitment to the evangelical political agenda and characterizing himself as a conservative, evangelical insider through references to his own personal faith and a shared evangelical worldview, Bush designed his rhetoric to foster a sense of trust within that community that could be effective in gaining their support in non-religious matters.

In Bush's brief speech, "Response to the September 11th 2001 Terrorist Attacks," he makes several *ethos* appeals designed to demonstrate his leadership by referring to steps he took earlier in the day to manage the emergency response and to begin an investigation into the parties responsible. While this speech is very short and does not contain much elaboration on its main themes, it still includes language that reinforces Bush's status as an insider with the Christian right. This language appears in a section that encourages the audience to pray for the victims of the attack. He says,

Tonight I ask for your prayers for all those who grieve, for the children whose worlds have been shattered, for all whose sense of safety and security has been threatened. And I pray they will be comforted by a power greater than any of us, spoken through the ages in Psalm 23: 'Even though I walk through the valley of the shadow of death, I fear no evil, for You are with me.'³³²

³³² George W. Bush, "Text of Bush's Address," CNN, September 11, 2001, <http://edition.cnn.com/2001/US/09/11/bush.speech.text/>.

These words are significant in the context of the speech as one of the key themes can be identified as the perseverance of the American people and American culture in response to danger and loss. The *ethos* statement here, located three lines before the speech's closing, directly articulates a point developed throughout the whole speech, that the values and character of America are foundational to its ability to persevere in a crisis, but it does so with an overt reference to scripture that connects themes developed in the speech relating the American identity to religious acts.

It is significant that even in a speech with such a narrow focus, responding to the events of 9/11, the value of biblicism is represented by affirming the power of prayer and quoting scripture. This allusion served an important function regarding *ethos*: building Bush's status as a Christian insider by providing scriptural support for the logical and emotional arguments being made in the speech and affirming the importance of scripture by citing it on such a grave occasion. The reference to prayer also reinforces the idea that Bush shares a Christian worldview with the Christian right, who actively affirm the power of prayer to impact daily life and individuals at the deepest level. Additionally, this one example thematically ties into a pattern of references to prayer and quotation of scripture that develops throughout the course of Bush's discourse. Additional calls to prayer or references that acknowledge the power of prayer exist in the majority of speeches analyzed in this project, including the September 20, 2001 Address to the Nation; the March 19, 2003 War Address; the May 1, 2003 End of Major Combat in Iraq Speech; the 2007 State of the Union Address; and the January 15, 2009 Farewell Address.

Nine days later, Bush delivered the first speech that contained a well-constructed narrative definition of the events of 9/11 and the administration's response. The *ethos* appeals in Bush's September 20, 2001 Address to the Nation begins with a reference to prayer. Here Bush uses prayer as a signal of unity,

We have seen the state of our Union in the endurance of rescuers, working past exhaustion. We have seen the unfurling of flags, the lighting of candles, the giving of blood, the saying of prayers -- in English, Hebrew, and Arabic. We have seen the decency of a loving and giving people who have made the grief of strangers their own.³³³

³³³ Ibid.

This statement serves three separate rhetorical functions: it connects symbols of American strength, perseverance, and memorialization to the religious action of prayer, thereby tying together religious concepts and the American identity; it demonstrates a unity among the three Abrahamic faiths related to the morality of the GWOT; and it espouses values of compassion and faith. The first and third function can be characterized as *ethos* appeals, while the second fits into a pattern of *logos* that will be discussed in the next section of this analysis.

Another reference to prayer later in the speech reads as follows, "Please continue praying for the victims of terror and their families, for those in uniform, and for our great country. Prayer has comforted us in sorrow, and will help strengthen us for the journey ahead."³³⁴ These *ethos* appeals fit into the larger framework of Bellah's civic religion. In an attempt to create unity within the American public, presidents create a picture of the American identity using civil religious language that defines the ideas and values of America. Common ideas used to represent these core values are *individualism*, *courage*, *freedom*, and *equality*. Here, instead of using vague ideographs, Bush is uniting the audience around the experience of the 9/11 attack, which in the course of Bush's rhetoric becomes a defining moment in the development of the American identity. Beyond creating a sense of unity, connecting a message to the American identity serves to balance competing claims within the social and political spheres in the United States, advances the cultural perception as to what defines citizenship, and renders certain groups or viewpoints more visible than others.³³⁵ Connecting the American identity to conservative, evangelical values gives the conservative, evangelical community a privileged status in relation to these ideas. When focusing on specific elements of the American identity, the President is able to rhetorically minimize the diversity of opinion within the American public while connecting his own agenda to ideas and values considered important by the general audience.³³⁶

These examples also highlight that rhetorical appeals with a special meaning for the Christian right and those designed to gain support from the general public can be difficult to untangle because an appeal can be interpreted differently by different audiences. As referenced in Chapter Two, within academic discourse, there is a significant debate concerning Bush's use of religious language and the concept of civic religion.³³⁷ However, it is worth noting that since the effectiveness of an appeal is determined largely by the meaning applied to an action or symbol by

³³⁴ Ibid.

³³⁵ Mary E. Stuckey, *Defining Americans: The Presidency and National Identity* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2004).

³³⁶ Ibid.

³³⁷ Page 58-62.

specific communities, as described in Weber's concept of *Verstehen*, if Bush's compassionate conservatism *ethos* appeals are effective with the Christian right, even appeals that can be classified as civic religion can be interpreted as statements that build an insider relationship with that community.

Bush's September 20, 2001 Address to the Nation also contains remarks that allowed him to characterize himself as a defender of the American people. This general *ethos* appeal is designed to build the parasocial relationship between the persona crafted by the President and his audience by articulating a sense of shared feelings and ideas and to demonstrate the quality of the President's wartime leadership.³³⁸ Bush begins to create his wartime leadership persona by saying, "I will not forget this wound to our country or those who inflicted it. I will not yield; I will not rest; I will not relent in waging this struggle for freedom and security for the American people."³³⁹ An important element of Bush's self-characterization is establishing himself as a defender of the American people. In this speech, the defender persona does not specifically target the Christian right. It would, however, eventually connect with Bush's support for the religious right's political agenda, as will be shown in the *logos* section, and self-characterization as a conservative evangelical insider by casting him as a culture warrior who defended the ideals of the Christian right.

Several months later, Bush delivered his first post-9/11 State of the Union Address. Bush's 2002 State of the Union Address continues to make use of the *ethos* building strategy of characterizing Bush as an evangelical insider by directly promoting political issues championed by the Christian right. He states,

Members, you and I will work together in the months ahead on other issues: productive farm policy; a cleaner environment; broader homeownership, especially among minorities; and ways to encourage the good work of charities and faith-based groups. I ask you to join me on these important domestic issues in the same spirit of cooperation we've applied to our war against terrorism.³⁴⁰

³³⁸ The *pathos* elements of the strategy will be discussed later in this chapter under the pathos section

³³⁹ George W. Bush, "Address to the Nation," 2001.

³⁴⁰ George W. Bush, "State of the Union 2002" (speech, State of the Union, Washington D.C., January 29, 2002), <http://www.presidentialrhetoric.com/speeches/01.29.02.html>.

Here his tone mirrors his compassionate conservatism rhetoric by stressing compromise and alluding to the political policies that helped him rebrand the conservative political agenda. He then uses the unity developed among representatives of the legislative branch from the shared experience of the GWOT to issue a call for cooperation on domestic policies and in so doing characterizes the GWOT as a unifying cultural event.

Later in this speech, Bush says, "This time of adversity offers a unique moment of opportunity, a moment we must seize to change our culture. Through the gathering momentum of millions of acts of service and decency and kindness, I know we can overcome evil with greater good."³⁴¹ The *ethos* appeals in this statement are important because they signal an elevation of the domestic policies championed by Bush and his use of compassionate conservatism to a culture war, as indicated by the direct reference to "changing culture."³⁴² The statement implies a moral division between those who accept Bush's vision for American culture, which is characterized as in need of change, and those who do not. Bush explains that victory can be brought about by "acts of service" and "decency," which are both terms that connect to Bush's compassionate conservatism strategy.³⁴³ By framing the culture war as a battle between good and evil and implying that "acts of service" have a transformative power on culture, Bush is both affirming a perspective essential to the Christian right movement and directly appealing to the value of activism.³⁴⁴

Immediately following this statement, Bush says,

And we have a great opportunity during this time of war to lead the world toward the values that will bring lasting peace. All fathers and mothers, in all societies, want their children to be educated and live free from poverty and violence. No people on Earth yearn to be oppressed or aspire to servitude or eagerly await the midnight knock of the secret police.³⁴⁵

The proximity of the statement links the culture war referenced in the last paragraph to the GWOT and its goals. Importantly, the values referred to are defined by the earlier statement, which promotes values consistent with the

³⁴¹ Ibid.

³⁴² Ibid.

³⁴³ Ibid.

³⁴⁴ Ibid.

³⁴⁵ Ibid.

compassionate conservatism message and the view of the Christian right. Additionally, this statement creates a global scope for activism related to the culture war. The evangelical value of activism can create culture change that can both redeem American society and carry the values that redeemed American culture to the rest of the world. The framing also reinforces the divide between the good quality of American actions that help people and the evil of those who don't embrace Bush's vision who bring "poverty and violence."³⁴⁶ The statement cultivates Bush's *ethos* by reinforcing his developing defender persona and expanding the reach of that persona to both the conservative Christian domestic agenda and the freedoms of people all over the world. The statement also contains a call to unified action that is rooted in its relationship to the shared experience of 9/11 and the GWOT, which as described is portrayed as a unifying cultural event. While the culture war type division is present in this series of statements, it implies that the population of the United States is unified in their goals to change the culture.

The speech's most explicit connection between Christian themes and American identity comes in the following statement:

We've come to know truths that we will never question: Evil is real, and it must be opposed. Beyond all differences of race or creed, we are one country, mourning together and facing danger together. Deep in the American character, there is honor, and it is stronger than cynicism. And many have discovered again that even in tragedy—especially in tragedy—God is near.³⁴⁷

Here we see many of the previously described strategies overtly repeated: references to religious concepts that reflect an evangelical worldview, connections between religious language and the goals of the GWOT, and the use of the shared experiences of the 9/11 attacks to build unity. The phrase "evil is real, and it must be opposed" alludes to the existence of spiritual warfare, an important theological idea in which evil and good actively struggle for the control of human souls and influence on the physical world. This idea is relevant to dispensational premillennialism where the forces of good and evil will physically battle for the fate of the world. The *logos* appeals analyzed later in this chapter will explore the connection between good and evil to the GWOT, but as an *ethos* appeal, any language

³⁴⁶ Ibid.

³⁴⁷ Ibid.

that reflects commonly held ideas within the conservative, evangelical community can signal a shared sense of ideas that attempt to build the impression that Bush is as an insider.

Bush's 2003 State of the Union Address was delivered at a time when the GWOT had become the most visible policy of the Bush administration but had not yet expanded into the invasion of Iraq. The speech is divided into two sections: one that focuses on domestic policy and the other that makes a persuasive case for the invasion of Iraq. Bush's *ethos* appeals that specifically target evangelicals can most clearly be seen in his outline of domestic policy objectives. He says,

Our fourth goal is to apply the compassion of America to the deepest problems of America. For so many in our country, the homeless and the fatherless, the addicted, the need is great. Yet there's power, wonder-working power, in the goodness and idealism and faith of the American people. Americans are doing the work of compassion every day, visiting prisoners, providing shelter for battered women, bringing companionship to lonely seniors. These good works deserve our praise. They deserve our personal support, and when appropriate, they deserve the assistance of the federal government. I urge you to pass both my Faith-Based Initiative and the Citizen Service Act, to encourage acts of compassion that can transform America, one heart and one soul at a time...³⁴⁸

This section of the State of the Union Address returns to the message of Bush's compassionate conservatism: compassion drives the conservative social agenda and faith-driven work is more effective at leading to societal and personal change than government programs. The policy itself is important in appealing to the Christian right, but the language used to make the argument also has special significance to that audience. Bush's use of "Yet there's power, wonder-working power..." draws from the refrain in the famous hymn, "There is Power in the Blood", written by Lewis E. Jones, "There is power, power, wonder-working power in the blood of the lamb."³⁴⁹ This hymn is well-known and commonly used in evangelical churches. The reference to a Christian hymn would be obvious to

³⁴⁸ George W. Bush, "State of the Union Address (January 28, 2003)," Miller Center, accessed February 21, 2016, <http://millercenter.org/president/gwbush/speeches/speech-4541>.

³⁴⁹ Timeless Truths, "There Is Power in the Blood," There Is Power in the Blood, accessed March 09, 2016, http://library.timelesstruths.org/music/There_Is_Power_in_the_Blood/.

many regular church-goers and is significant because it creates a rhetorical connection between the saving power of the Blood of Christ and the values of the American people that are substituted for the phrase "blood of the lamb" in Bush's version. The examples of actions that follow this appeal are all common Christian ministries, and Bush makes their religious nature explicit when explaining that they deserve government support and are examples of programs that could be helped by the Faith-Based Initiative. Finally, Bush makes the most overt references to religious concepts by tying the transformation of America to actions that affect the soul.

Together these statements make an argument that the values of the American people are actively being reshaped by Christian activism and that the central element of change that leads to cultural transformation is change of the heart and soul. The rhetorical connection between Christ's blood and American values makes the case implicitly, while the reference to Christian charities changing hearts and souls makes it overtly. This one section of the 2003 State of the Union Address affirms both the transformative power of Christian activism and establishes an implicit rhetorical link that promotes ideas of crucicentrism in relation to the renewal of American culture.

Bush returns to the topic of faith-based initiatives when describing his policies to combat drug addiction saying,

Our nation is blessed with recovery programs that do amazing work. One of them is found at the Healing Place Church in Baton Rouge, Louisiana. A man in the program said, 'God does miracles in people's lives, and you never think it could be you.' Tonight let us bring to all Americans who struggle with drug addiction this message of hope: The miracle of recovery is possible, and it could be you.³⁵⁰

Here Bush champions the idea that religious ministries are an effective alternative to government programs. But again, overt religious language is used. This time, however, God is directly cited as the source of change. Further, the change that occurs is labeled as a miracle, creating the implication that the same results could not be achieved by secular programs. Not only does the statement argue for the Faith-Based Initiative program that had the support of

³⁵⁰ George W. Bush, "State of the Union (January 28, 2003)," 2003.

the Christian right, it makes the most overt references to crucicentrism and conversionism of any statements seen so far.

The relationship between Bush's discourse and the topic of faith-based initiatives is important when considering Weber's categories of social action. While Bush uses examples of Christian activism that directly relates to the spiritual and evangelistic mission of the Christian right and affirms the transformative power of crucicentrism and conversionism, his argumentative structure places emphasis on the value of this activism being derived from its effectiveness to fix social problems. Compassionate conservatism argues that social ills can be remedied through the application of Christian principles and that faith-based initiatives offer a more effective alternative to traditional government welfare programs. They are characterized as effective due to their religious nature and their ability to affect the soul, but their value as a replacement for social programs is derived from their effectiveness. This argument creates an instrumental-rational template for action in which the people, through government spending, fund activism that is most effective at achieving a goal. This observation is important because it defines the rational for implementing faith-based initiatives at a national level, as per Zarefsky's power of definition.³⁵¹

Yet the potential effectiveness of this appeal for an evangelical community is derived from the meaning applied to the actions of the Christian activists. The use of terms like *ministry*, *wonder working power*, and *miracle* all imply an evangelistic focus that when interpreted from the position of conservative, evangelical theology derives its value from fulfilling divine mandate, making the actions value-rational action. The difference between the meaning applied to action in Bush's argument and the potential meaning applied to action in an evangelical interpretation of the narrative highlights the importance of the concepts of *Verstehen* and rhetorical culture to constructing a narrative. While the different interpretive frame allows the same appeals to be effective with multiple communities, difference in interoperation and definition can cause an inconsistency in the message. This inconsistency is not particularly important to Bush's insider status because its effectiveness is more contingent on an evangelical interpretation of his discourse than the interpretation of outsiders as will be discussed in the next chapter, yet it is important to the effective coalition-building required to implement policy. The problem is illustrated in the

³⁵¹ See chapter Two page 38-39.

reservations many conservative evangelical leaders had when considering support for the Faith-Based Initiative policy due to their potential fear of government interference in religious affairs.³⁵²

References to faith-based initiatives are not the only statements that demonstrate Bush's commitment to the Christian right's political agenda. Towards the end of the domestic policy section, of the 2003 State of the Union Address, Bush shows his support for the pro-life movement saying,

We are building a more welcoming society, a culture that values every life. And in this work, we must not overlook the weakest among us. I ask you to protect infants at the very hour of their birth and end the practice of partial-birth abortion. And because no human life should be started or ended as the object of an experiment, I ask you to set a high standard for humanity and pass a law against all human cloning.³⁵³

The reference here is straightforward: Bush is against abortion and human cloning. This statement acknowledges Bush's position on one of the most important political issues for the Christian right and makes an explicit stance on an issue that Bush regularly avoided discussing in his campaign for president. Significantly, it also reinforces the defender persona Bush had cultivated through its reference to fetuses as "the weakest among us."³⁵⁴

Despite the overt appeals to Christian themes in the domestic agenda section of the 2003 State of the Union Address, there are very few *ethos* appeals that directly apply to the Christian right in the GWOT policy section of the speech. Only one other major reference to faith or God occurs and its main function is *logos* related. This lack of direct *ethos* appeals to the religious right in Bush's war rhetoric fits a larger pattern in which Bush concentrates his efforts to develop authority with conservative evangelical Christians to domestic issues. Bush relied on the use of compassionate conservatism, visibly championing the Christian right's domestic agenda, and characterizing himself as an insider in the conservative evangelical community to inform their judgment of his leadership quality and moral character. However, these qualities do not exist in isolation, but instead of creating alternative *ethos* appeals related

³⁵³ Ibid.

³⁵⁴ Ibid.

to the GWOT, he connects domestic issues to the GWOT through *logos* appeals that will be discussed in the next section.

Bush's 2003 War Message, delivered on March 19, 2003 to inform Americans of the commencement of the invasion of Iraq, is constructed largely of *logos* appeals that make a case for the just cause of the invasion and *pathos* appeals designed to make the *logos* case more effective. There are very few general *ethos* appeals present and none can be specifically cited as having a special relevance to the Christian right or the SBC.

The 2003 End of Major Combat in Iraq Speech contains only one rhetorical appeal that directly targets the Christian right and reinforces Bush's *ethos* with that community. Speaking on the topic of spreading freedom, Bush addresses the military members gathered to hear his speech,

You're defending your country, and protecting the innocent from harm. And wherever you go, you carry a message of hope -- a message that is ancient and ever new. In the words of the prophet Isaiah, "To the captives, 'come out,' -- and to those in darkness, 'be free.'"³⁵⁵

This is one of only two direct quotations of scripture found in the speeches analyzed for this project. The rhetorical appeal achieves multiple goals that include creating a logical connection between the goals of the GWOT and religious mandates; reinforcing Bush's insider status with the evangelical community with references to scripture; and establishing the U.S. military, and their Commander and Chief by proxy, as defenders of ideals rhetorically connected to Christianity by the use of references to scripture. The logical connection will be discussed further in the *logos* section of this chapter, but the development of insider status with the evangelical community and the reinforcement of the defender persona are represented. At this point, these two themes had become common, and this example clearly shows their usage in a speech primarily focused on the GWOT military operations.

Bush's 2007 State of the Union Address lacks any significant *ethos* appeals targeting conservative Christians. The President's specific goals in this speech are to develop a new domestic policy agenda and encourage support for the continued war effort. The speech reflects these goals by being heavily *logos* focused.³⁵⁶

³⁵⁵ George W. Bush, "George W. Bush, The End of Combat in Iraq—May 1, 2003," PresidentialRhetoric.com, accessed February 21, 2016, <http://www.presidentialrhetoric.com/speeches/05.01.03.html>.

³⁵⁶ George W. Bush, "State of the Union 2007" (speech, State of the Union 2007, Senate Chamber, Washington D.C., January 23, 2007), <http://millercenter.org/president/gwbush/speeches/speech-4455>.

Bush's "Farewell Address to the Nation" was delivered at the very end of his presidency, after Barack Obama had been elected as his successor. This speech contrasts with the majority of speeches analyzed in this project because of its focus on Bush's legacy instead of forward-looking policy. The speech deals largely with the GWOT and national security; in so doing, it reinforces a logical pattern seen throughout the rest of Bush's rhetoric. However, three elements of this speech are relevant to the *ethos* President Bush built with conservative, evangelical Christians. First, this speech counts Bush's progress related to the Christian right political agendas as an accomplishment separate from his work on the GWOT. The two policy positions that are explicitly supported are anti-abortion legislation and funding for faith-based initiatives. In a list of accomplishments, Bush states, "The addicted and suffering are finding new hope through faith-based programs. Vulnerable human life is better protected."³⁵⁷ Bush again brings up the topic of faith-based initiatives when he reads a list of his special guests for the evening, "We see America's character in...Julio Medina, a former inmate who leads a faith-based program to help prisoners returning to society."³⁵⁸ In this example, Bush returns to the previously used theme of conversionism when he subtly draws attention to the ability of faith to reform people's spirit. An expression of Bush's commitment to the Christian right agenda in the Farewell Address to the Nation is important because it shows the consistency of Bush's support for public policies designed to appeal to conservative evangelicals throughout his entire presidency. Second, the speech is opened with a discussion of American democracy and is closed with a prayer asking God's blessing on the Office of the President, the new President-elect, and on the people of the United States of America. Structurally, these two discussions are tied together by allusions to the peaceful change in power that takes place when a new president is elected, creating additional connections between religious language and the democratic process of the United States. The opening of the speech serves to draw attention to specific events representative of American democracy while the closing prayer articulates God's role in guiding the destiny of the United States. While elevation of American civic tradition is consistent with the use of civil religion, the affirmation of God's providence and the idea that the United States is a chosen nation are important beliefs in the Christian right. Lastly, Bush once again echoes a Christian worldview. The prayer itself is one example of a Christian worldview as it reflects the view that God

³⁵⁷ George W. Bush, "The Farewell Address" (speech, Washington D.C., January 15, 2009),

<http://www.presidentialrhetoric.com/speeches/01.15.09.html>.

³⁵⁸ Ibid.

plays an active part in the events of the world, especially in the United States. In an example from earlier in the speech, Bush states,

As we address these challenges—and others we cannot foresee tonight—America must maintain our moral clarity. I’ve often spoken to you about good and evil, and this has made some uncomfortable. But good and evil are present in this world, and between the two of them there can be no compromise.³⁵⁹

This statement alludes to the role of God in the American story. When this argument acts as an *ethos* appeal, it represents Bush’s articulation of the theme of spiritual warfare; as discussed in Chapter Three this theme is commonly held within the SBC.³⁶⁰

Logos: Logical Appeals

The GWOT narrative contained numerous *logos* appeals, as every explicit argument, connection to a policy agenda, stated goal, and structural comparisons had to be in some way evaluated by the audience logically. Many of these appeals were discussed in the review of literature in Chapter Two. This project will not attempt to track all of the logical appeals in Bush’s narrative. Instead, it will focus on several recurring *logos* appeals that formed the foundation of Bush’s logical arguments that had specific relevance to conservative evangelical Christians. Within the Bush GWOT narrative, there are two distinct logical strands, or chains of logical appeals, that link to one another in a linear fashion and that are especially relevant to evangelical attitudes.

The first logical strand defines the character of the United States and contrasts it to the character of the enemies they will face in the GWOT. This character-based *logos* strand consists of several logical links. The first link creates a complete dichotomy between the United States and its enemies that is rooted in the concept of American values.

³⁵⁹ Ibid.

³⁶⁰ Page 79, 99-100.

This dichotomy is then expanded to American allies, and links are created between the terrorists who committed the 9/11 attacks and other enemies of America. Finally, this logical strand connects the United States to the will of the divine and elevates the GWOT to a struggle between good and evil with religious significance.

The second action-based logical chain is similar to the first, but instead of focusing on the character of actors in the GWOT, it relates to the actions and goals of separate parties. The good or evil portrayals of actors in the GWOT that are established in the first logical chain are reinforced through examples of real life or hypothetical actions. These actions are connected to values that are either representative of or opposed to those held by an idealized version of America, or of specific target audiences like the Christian right. Other *logos* appeals with significance to the Christian right will also be described in the following analysis. However, these appeals are often informed by the two major logical strands or integrated into the binary structure they create and will therefore be described when they are encountered.

The September 11th Response to the Terrorist Attacks begins the process of defining the actors in the GWOT and their moral character. Yet, because of the lack of information available at the time, the speech accomplishes this goal in very general terms. The main *logos* construct in this speech was the establishment of a good versus evil binary that connected both the character and actions of the United States and <terrorists> (used here as an ideograph and blank signifier for America's enemies) to moral judgments. Bush begins the speech with the statement, "Today, our fellow citizens, our way of life, our very freedom came under attack in a series of deliberate and deadly terrorist acts."³⁶¹ This line explicitly creates a dichotomy between the American way of life and <terrorists>. Shortly after this line, Bush states, "Thousands of lives were suddenly ended by evil, despicable acts of terror."³⁶² Thus, Bush creates a direct link between the evil side of the binary and the actions of the terrorists. Bush continues, "America was targeted for attack because we're the brightest beacon for freedom and opportunity in the world. And no one will keep that light from shining."³⁶³ Here American is connected to the good side of the binary. Then Bush completes the binary with a direct contrast,

³⁶¹ George W. Bush, "Text of Bush's Address," 2001.

³⁶² Ibid.

³⁶³ Ibid.

Today, our nation saw evil, the very worst of human nature, and we responded with the best of America, with the daring of our rescue workers, with the caring for strangers and neighbors who came to give blood and help in any way they could.³⁶⁴

This statement highlights terrorist actions that kill and are motivated by evil contrasting them with American actions that aid and care for others motivated by good. Several other statements reinforce the binary before the close of the speech. In this dichotomy, both the character-based and action-based *logos* chains intermingle to the extent that they are nearly indistinguishable.

The second speech analyzed, The Address to the Nation on September 20, 2001, allows Bush to continue to develop the binary by further establishing the logical chains that would have relevance to the Christian right. The Address to the Nation provides clear examples of how the President created a dichotomy between the United States and <terrorists> from the beginning of the GWOT. In this speech, Bush uses repeated modifiers to create a dualistic relationship between the United States and terrorism. Some of the most important words and phrases describing the United States and its actions are as follows: *strong, confidence, resolute, determined, courage, liberty, justice, called to defend freedom, respect, freedom of religion, freedom of speech, freedom to vote and assemble and disagree with one another, take defensive measures, we will come together, joined together, and rightness of our cause.*³⁶⁵ Each of these words or phrases reflects on the essential qualities of America that the President uses to define the American identity. Many of these words are modifiers that express the noble character of America and its ability to persevere after a catastrophe; they are specifically chosen to be appropriate for the occasion. Yet, the terms also serve other functions: to establish the qualities that define insiders and outsiders in the conflict, emphasize mythic concepts related to American values, and characterize the country as unified. Bush solidifies these ideas by demonstrating America's character through the actions of its people following the 9/11 terrorist attacks and by articulating a respect for tolerance in American culture. Bush points to compassionate acts of American citizens, saying, "We have seen the decency of a loving and giving people who have made the grief of strangers their own."³⁶⁶ He highlights America's compassion for oppressed peoples, saying, "The United States respects the people of Afghanistan -- after

³⁶⁴ Ibid.

³⁶⁵ George W. Bush, "Address to the Nation," 2001.

³⁶⁶ Ibid.

all, we are currently its largest source of humanitarian aid.”³⁶⁷ And he affirms America’s tolerance and commitment to freedom of religion, “I also want to speak tonight directly to Muslims throughout the world. We respect your faith. It’s practiced freely by many millions of Americans and by millions more in countries that America counts as friends.”³⁶⁸

Bush continues this logical chain by referencing the unified nature of those that embrace American values and virtues, thereby expanding the nature of the conflict to a global scale. The most prominent example of this form of appeal in this speech appears in a long section describing the outpouring of support for the United States following the September 11th attacks. Bush states,

And on behalf of the American people, I thank the world for its outpouring of support. America will never forget the sounds of our National Anthem playing at Buckingham Palace, on the streets of Paris, and at Berlin’s Brandenburg Gate. We will not forget South Korean children gathering to pray outside our embassy in Seoul, or the prayers of sympathy offered at a mosque in Cairo. We will not forget moments of silence and days of mourning in Australia and Africa and Latin America. Nor will we forget the citizens of 80 other nations who died with our own: dozens of Pakistanis; more than 130 Israelis; more than 250 citizens of India; men and women from El Salvador, Iran, Mexico and Japan; and hundreds of British citizens. America has no truer friend than Great Britain.³⁶⁹

In this passage, support for America is explicitly identified and rhetorically illustrated by references to the important symbol of the American national anthem. Twelve countries are named specifically; they include traditional allies, countries that have conflicts with the United States, prominent political actors in the Middle East, and countries on opposite sides of long lasting conflicts. The passage is designed to create the impression that the target of the terrorist attacks is something that is larger than the United States and that the support the United States has received transcends traditional conflicts and notions of ally or enemy. This idea is made more explicit in the following statement:

³⁶⁷ Ibid.

³⁶⁸ Ibid.

³⁶⁹ Ibid.

This is not, however, just America's fight. And what is at stake is not just America's freedom. This is the world's fight. This is civilization's fight. This is the fight of all who believe in progress and pluralism, tolerance and freedom. We ask every nation to join us. We will ask, and we will need, the help of police forces, intelligence services, and banking systems around the world. The United States is grateful that many nations and many international organizations have already responded - with sympathy and with support. Nations from Latin America, to Asia, to Africa, to Europe, to the Islamic world. Perhaps the NATO Charter reflects best the attitude of the world: An attack on one is an attack on all... The civilized world is rallying to America's side.³⁷⁰

In the next link in the character-based logical chain, the binary is expanded beyond just earthly concerns. The President links the United States to the will of the Divine and through the rhetorical binary portrays the <terrorists> as God's opponents. Towards the end of the speech, Bush states, "The course of this conflict is not known, yet its outcome is certain. Freedom and fear, justice and cruelty, have always been at war, and we know that God is not neutral between them."³⁷¹ With this statement, President Bush directly states that God is on the side of the United States in the War on Terror. This sentiment is intended to dramatically change the nature of the GWOT. Instead of being a war between two political entities or a defensive war waged by a state protecting itself from a non-regular military force, this language attempts to elevate it from an earthly matter to one of religious importance. Once the Divine is attached to the event, the morality of the situation is placed in the realm of absolutes. The United States is rhetorically established as the champion of good. This statement implies that if the United States leads in a conflict in which God has taken a side, there can be no doubt that it holds the moral high ground.

While for some audiences a connection between the Divine and the United States would be perceived simply as embellished war rhetoric, among a Christian audience, it has far more significance. By linking the divine to the GWOT, the President creates a situation in which evangelical Christians have a moral duty to support the war effort. The GWOT becomes a physical manifestation of a spiritual struggle affirmed by many within the Christian right. If it is accepted that the moral imperatives related to the GWOT are connected to the Divine will, then support for the GWOT becomes a form of social action connected to the core evangelical value of activism. Tying the moral status

³⁷⁰ Ibid.

³⁷¹ Ibid.

of evil to terrorists, often associated with Islamic extremism, also plays into preconceived notions of those with a premillennial view of the end-times that is well represented in the conservative evangelical community. This specific insider interpretation of these rhetorical appeals relies on the acceptance of a form of insider truth, represented by a biblicist interpretation of the end-times derived from acceptance of theological beliefs of the Christian right and conservative evangelical community. Grounding the character based *logos* chain in biblicism, by affirming a form of spiritual warfare consistent with premillennial dispensationalism, allows the good versus evil binary to target the religious right with increased salience.

The character-based logical chain also consists of appeals that define the character of America's enemies, providing a framework to build the binary. In this speech, America's enemies are given names: al-Qaeda and the Taliban government of Afghanistan. But they are referred to more broadly as the *terrorists*. Throughout the discussion of the GWOT, the rhetorical use of the term <terrorist> would evolve well beyond its technical definition or previous usage in international discourse to the point that it took on the characteristics of an ideograph, which is how it will be treated in this thesis. The terrorists and their actions are described or identified in this speech using the following terms: *enemies of freedom, act of war, murderers, radical, fringe form of Islamic extremism, hide, plot evil and destruction, repressing, threatening, blaspheme, traitors to their own faith, hate, kill not just to end lives... end a way of life, abandoning every value except the will to power, follow a path of fascism, Nazism, and totalitarianism.*³⁷² The terms here are carefully crafted to characterize al-Qaeda as antithetical to American values and the American way of life. In Bush's rhetoric, <terrorists> are not only those connected with the specific enemies identified in this speech but instead represent the worst aspects of the human condition: they are power hungry, seek to control and exploit, reject values and faith, revel in killing and destruction, and are cowards who target civilians and hide from military and police forces.³⁷³

Bush defines the character of <terrorists> in numerous ways. He states, "They are the same murderers indicted for bombing American embassies in Tanzania and Kenya, and responsible for bombing the USS Cole."³⁷⁴ He also says, "The terrorists practice a fringe form of Islamic extremism that has been rejected by Muslim scholars and the vast

³⁷² Ibid.

³⁷³ Ibid. These ideas are all summary statements within this speech.

³⁷⁴ Ibid.

majority of Muslim clerics -- a fringe movement that perverts the peaceful teachings of Islam."³⁷⁵ He furthers his argument saying,

Americans are asking, why do they hate us? They hate what we see right here in this chamber -- a democratically elected government. Their leaders are self-appointed. They hate our freedoms -- our freedom of religion, our freedom of speech, our freedom to vote and assemble and disagree with each other.³⁷⁶

Each of these statements uses loaded language to create a perception that terrorists are motivated by a predilection for violence instead of a political agenda or any rational consideration. The dichotomy created between the United States and terrorists is made explicitly with references to the most sacred ideas and structures in the American democratic process. The binary is presented as a clash between antithetical ideologies with no hope of compromise.

The characterization of terrorists is also elevated to an international level, creating a threat that was not localized to Afghanistan. Bush states, "We condemn the Taliban regime. It is not only repressing its own people, it is threatening people everywhere by sponsoring and sheltering and supplying terrorists. By aiding and abetting murder, the Taliban regime is committing murder."³⁷⁷ In this statement, the mirror of Bush's international unity appeal is present, in which support for Al-Qaeda qualifies the Taliban as a target of retaliation. Bush then makes more general comparisons that characterize the <terrorists> as a global ideological threat, "They are the heirs of all the murderous ideologies of the 20th century. By sacrificing human life to serve their radical visions -- by abandoning every value except the will to power -- they follow in the path of fascism, and Nazism, and totalitarianism. And they will follow that path all the way, to where it ends: in history's unmarked grave of discarded lies."³⁷⁸ Here not only are ties created to the worst ideologies in the American metanarratives, but their failure, and the eventual American victory is portrayed as inevitable. These characterizations are problematic in that there are many relevant differences between al-Qaeda and the regimes or ideological systems mentioned, but the rhetorical connection is not

³⁷⁵ Ibid.

³⁷⁶ Ibid.

³⁷⁷ Ibid.

³⁷⁸ Ibid.

designed to explain facts, only to create logical connections in the minds of the audience that amplify the threat posed by terrorism.

These character-based appeals all rely on the use of terms that are diametrically opposed to one another to create a dichotomy between the two groups. Where the United States is portrayed as courageous and respectful of other cultures, the terrorists are said to hide in caves and are filled with hate; where the United States is portrayed as promoting peace and freedom, the terrorists are represented as oppressing others and murdering those who will not follow their fringe form of Islam and support their extremist agendas.³⁷⁹ This characterization of both the United States and its enemies serves as the foundation of a binary logical chain used throughout the entirety of Bush's presidency that serves as justification for the global scope of the war on terror.³⁸⁰

The second action-based logical chain was built into the narrative alongside the first. In many cases, speeches contained elements of chains, intermixing appeals from each and allowing them to inform and reinforce one another. The first series of logical appeals in the second logical chain was designed to define the mission and goals of the United States in the GWOT and portray them as moral necessities. In the September 20th, Address to the Nation, Bush uses descriptions of American action, as opposed to character, to further establish the good/evil binary. Many of Bush's references to American action in this speech are vague, but either directly state or passively imply a positive moral quality. For example, Bush states, "Our grief has turned to anger, and anger to resolution. Whether we bring our enemies to justice, or bring justice to our enemies, justice will be done." He also says, "Fellow citizens, we'll meet violence with patient justice -- assured of the rightness of our cause, and confident of the victories to come."³⁸¹ Despite his ambiguity, he does provide a list of demands to the Taliban regime of Afghanistan that includes many specific objectives framed as ways to protect freedoms:

And tonight, the United States of America makes the following demands on the Taliban: Deliver to United States' authorities all the leaders of al-Qaeda who hide in your land. Release all foreign nationals, including American citizens, you have unjustly imprisoned. Protect foreign journalists,

³⁷⁹ Ibid.

³⁸⁰ Richard Jackson, *Writing the War on Terrorism: Language, Politics and Counter-terrorism* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2005) 59-91.

³⁸¹ George W. Bush, "Address to the Nation," 2001.

diplomats and aid workers in your country. Close immediately and permanently every terrorist training camp in Afghanistan, and hand over every terrorist, and every person in their support structure, to appropriate authorities. Give the United States full access to terrorist training camps, so we can make sure they are no longer operating.³⁸²

All of these statements characterize the goals of the United States as acts of justice or self-defense and reinforce a moral high ground by connecting them to a concern for the safety and freedom of others. The contrasting rhetorical appeals articulate the goals and actions of the <terrorists> in much more concrete term and are found most explicitly stated in the following passage, “al-Qaeda is to terror what the mafia is to crime. But its goal is not making money; its goal is remaking the world -- and imposing its radical beliefs on people everywhere.”³⁸³ The idea of imposing a radical belief system that strips people of their freedom becomes a consistent theme in the articulation of al-Qaeda’s goals across the whole of the speech.

The second link in this logical chain ties the moral binary related to each party’s actions to the goals of Christian right social action and the values by which they are informed. The most overt use of this strategy is contained in the following statement,

They want to overthrow existing governments in many Muslim countries, such as Egypt, Saudi Arabia, and Jordan. They want to drive Israel out of the Middle East. They want to drive Christians and Jews out of vast regions of Asia and Africa³⁸⁴

Here the goals of al-Qaeda are identified as directly contradictory to the value of freedom of religion, an issue that is a high priority to American evangelicals who emphasis conversions and activism. Additionally, references to Israel tie into the Christian right’s political support for Israel and their affirmation of the end-times doctrine of dispensationalism. By characterizing the goals of the <terrorists> as diametrically opposed to the Christian right agenda, Bush can create a passive argument that they should support the war for their own political reasons. These same ideas are referenced multiple times in this speech.

³⁸² Ibid.

³⁸³ Ibid.

³⁸⁴ Ibid.

The relationship between the logical appeals in this speech and the prophetic rhetoric used by Bush linking the United States to the will of the Divine is important in relation to Weber's ideas on social action. For many audiences, the goals and motivations that drive support for the GWOT are important because of the practical impact the war could have on individual lives or on societies. Support derived from this type of motivation can be categorized as an instrumental-rational form of social action. However, tying God to the character of actors in the GWOT could create a characterization of support for the war as a moral mandate for members of the Christian right based not in relation to its end goals, but as a moral imperative where the act has value in and of itself. This connection would make support for the GWOT a value-rational action. While Bush does not directly argue for this kind of support, articulating the actions of the GWOT as motivated by values held by the Christian right and making overtures to premillennial theology that affirms a cosmic level conflict centered on the Middle East introduces elements into the narrative that could be used to create a template for action in which conservative Christians support the war for theological reasons. However, while these themes are introduced onto the narrative by Bush, the focus of his argument is specifically focused on achieving a series of goal that have instrumental-rational value related to their potential outcome.

This speech also contains a logical chain that proved contentious among the Christian right. During the process of rhetorically isolating the <terrorists>, Bush makes a differentiation between those who profess a form of radical Islam and those who embrace a peaceful form of Islam, like American Muslims and sovereign Muslim states that ally with the United States. He states,

I also want to speak tonight directly to Muslims throughout the world. We respect your faith. It's practiced freely by many millions of Americans, and by millions more in countries that America counts as friends. Its teachings are good and peaceful, and those who commit evil in the name of Allah blaspheme the name of Allah... The terrorists are traitors to their own faith, trying, in effect, to hijack Islam itself. The enemy of America is not our many Muslim friends; it is not our many Arab friends. Our enemy is a radical network of terrorists, and every government that supports them.³⁸⁵

³⁸⁵ Ibid.

This statement fits into larger patterns within Bush's logical chain that draws a dichotomy between the United States, which values freedom of religion, and <terrorists>, who have an oppressive religious structure and are motivated by violence. Here moderate Muslims, who are considered American allies are connected to the good side of the binary. Yet, from a practical perspective, the statement here also serves to avoid alienating a portion of the American population or potential global allies. As mentioned in Chapter Two, Merskin, Ibrahim, and Khalid believed Bush's rhetoric actually promoted Orientalism by restricting what was acceptable in regard to Muslim identity, but on the surface this statement demonstrates a concern for the Muslim point of view. Further, it avoids characterizing the GWOT as a Christian war, but instead keeps the focus on the good/evil binary. It is beyond the scope of this thesis to determine the sincerity or effectiveness of this sentiment.³⁸⁶ However, as will be shown in the next chapter, the tolerant sentiment expressed here in relation to Islam did prove problematic for Bush in relation to the Christian right.

Several months after the September 11th attacks, when the GWOT had escalated, the President gave the 2002 State of the Union Address. This speech contains a continuation and reification of the binary *logical* chains developed in the last speech. The appeals intermingle with one another to allow the character and actions of the parties involved in the GWOT to reinforce the underlying binary argument. Yet, while the President continued to build the dichotomous relationship between the United States and al-Qaeda, the tone and theme of this speech were slightly different from the 9/20/01 Address to the Nation. Where before Bush spoke in general terms designed to highlight the spirit of the United States and vilify terrorists, in this speech, the President took the opportunity to provide an outline of specific goals the United States hoped to achieve in the GWOT and to articulate previously discussed concepts with real life examples.

The speech begins with a list of victories achieved since the speech on September 20, 2001. Bush says,

In four short months, our nation has comforted the victims, begun to rebuild New York and the Pentagon, rallied a great coalition, captured, arrested, and rid the world of thousands of terrorists,

³⁸⁶ See page 48 and 53. The author of this thesis does not contest the scholarly consensus on this issue.

destroyed Afghanistan's terrorist training camps, saved a people from starvation, and freed a country from brutal oppression.³⁸⁷

In some cases, victories are mentioned in passing, but in others, they are described in vivid language full of patriotic imagery and rhetorical flourishes as in the following statement,

The American flag flies again over our embassy in Kabul. Terrorists who once occupied Afghanistan now occupy cells at Guantanamo Bay. And terrorist leaders who urged followers to sacrifice their lives are running for their own.³⁸⁸

These victories are juxtaposed with a description of the terrorists' actions before American intervention, as is the case in the following statement, "The mothers and daughters of Afghanistan were captives in their own homes, forbidden from working or going to school. Today women are free." These descriptions serve to ground the goals of the GWOT in real-life situations, demonstrate the moral nature of the actions being taken, and use an instrumental-rational argument in an attempt to encourage support for the GWOT based on the goals it achieves. They also reinforce the good/evil binary that formed the basic logical argument of Bush's characterization of the GWOT whereby the morality of the actions taken by the United States is rhetorically proven through examples of the change that has taken place as a result of military and homeland security actions. The same strategy of juxtaposition is used to reference a continuing threat. "Our military has put the terror training camps of Afghanistan out of business, yet camps still exist in at least a dozen countries."

These action-based *logos* appeals accompany many character-based *logos* appeals. Bush reiterates the evil nature of America's enemies with statements like, "We have seen the depth of our enemies' hatred in videos where they laugh about the loss of innocent life. And the depth of their hatred is equaled by the madness of the destruction they design."³⁸⁹ And "Our enemies send other people's children on missions of suicide and murder. They embrace tyranny and death as a cause and a creed..."³⁹⁰ In some cases, these appeals are contrasted with references to the

³⁸⁷ George W. Bush, "State of the Union 2002," 2002.

³⁸⁸ Ibid.

³⁸⁹ Ibid.

³⁹⁰ Ibid.

positive traits of American character, “We stand for a different choice, made long ago on the day of our founding. We affirm it again today. We choose freedom and the dignity of every life.”³⁹¹

In this State of the Union Address, Bush does not allow the specific accomplishments of the U.S. military to speak for themselves, instead he connects them to explicit statements concerning the long-term goals of the GWOT. These long-term goals are then used to establish the nature of the GWOT as a just war fought out of necessity.³⁹² The two main goals described in this speech are as follows:

First, we will shut down terrorist camps, disrupt terrorist plans, and bring terrorists to justice.

And, second, we must prevent the terrorists and regimes who seek chemical, biological or nuclear weapons from threatening the United States and the world.³⁹³

The wording in this statement is very important. The first goal speaks of specific actions that are being taken to thwart terror, and it does so in a way that implies a moral judgment has been made. The second goal implies a continuing threat of extreme proportions. The identity of the enemy is expanded beyond just terrorist groups to “regimes” and the unity of Americans and their allies is once again stressed. In these statements, the terrorists are not being arrested or charged with crimes, instead they are being “brought to justice.” When considered in the context of the GWOT, this phrase is ripe with implications, namely that the United States is on the side of justice, military action is required, and the terrorists fall outside the realm of criminal justice. Therefore, the implication is that any fate that befalls the terrorists, including death, is well deserved. This phrase alludes to a moral judgment. Later in the speech, this judgment is made explicit with the statement “our cause is just.”³⁹⁴ The idea is then repeated when rhetorical connections are made between the term *justice* and the United States.

The theme of justice is a common element of both the American identity and the traditional understanding of America’s mission in the world represented in other major metanarratives, including those concerning World War II, the Cold War, and civilization versus the barbarians. The frames established by the GWOT narrative connect America’s goals and mission to these meta-narratives so it is unsurprising that the goals of the GWOT are consistent

³⁹¹ Ibid.

³⁹² Jackson, *Writing the War on Terrorism: Language, Politics and Counter-terrorism*, 2005.

³⁹³ George W. Bush, “State of the Union 2002,” 2002.

³⁹⁴ Ibid.

with this view of America. It would be inappropriate to characterize the use of the term *justice* as a persuasive appeal designed to promote consensus within the evangelical community, but the term has special significance to a Christian audience. As previously demonstrated, the GWOT narrative is designed to frame interpretation but does so in a way that allows audiences to attach their own values and preconceived notions to the narrative, which serves to minimize counterargument. The concept of justice is a central theme in Christianity and one which has a wide range of interpretations. The President never clarifies his understanding of the term *justice*. From context, it can be seen that there is an important moral judgment being made, and the President believes that the United States is acting with moral authority; therefore, he believes its actions are just. But without specifically defining justice, it is difficult to see any deeper meaning in its use.

As a logical appeal, the ambiguous nature of the term *justice* illustrates a specific effort to force communities to actively engage with the President's rhetoric, making them embrace the narrative by applying their own definition to its terms and reconciling the ideas it contains with the values they espouse. This ambiguity has the added benefit of allowing the President to avoid alienating any group by defining justice too narrowly. By avoiding any type of clarification of the term justice, the focus stays on the logical case being made by the President, while the aspects of narrative that lower resistance to persuasion, like narrative transportation and parasocial interaction, are allowed to affect the audience. In this way, the term *justice* primarily functions to demonstrate the rightness of the actions and goals of the GWOT.

The language used to describe the second goal, preventing "the terrorists and regimes who seek chemical, biological or nuclear weapons from threatening the United States,"³⁹⁵ is also significant because it makes a direct rhetorical connection between terrorists and regimes that are in control of nation states, thereby continuing to expand the scope of the logical chains that create relationships between international actors on the basis of their good/evil character or actions. Later in this speech, Bush links several "nations supporting terror" to one another and casts them as significant risks to the security of the United States. These countries are Iran, Iraq, and North Korea, and each is described in ways that place it in direct conflict with American values. Bush refers to them collectively as an "Axis of Evil," using the language of World War II in an attempt to create a rhetorical connection between these groups

³⁹⁵ Ibid.

and Nazism, primarily through the assumption that they share an evil nature.³⁹⁶ The connection between America and God is also once again articulated with the statement, “Deep in the American character, there is honor, and it is stronger than cynicism. And many have discovered again that even in tragedy—especially in tragedy—God is near.”³⁹⁷ Bush uses this statement in the closing lines of the Address, once again elevating the importance of the GWOT and implying a theological scope.

Finally, a new *logos* appeal appears in this speech that echoes the *ethos* appeals related to activism and the transformation of American culture discussed earlier in the chapter. Bush delivers a long statement, using the language of covenant renewal,

None of us would ever wish the evil that was done on September 11. Yet, after America was attacked, it was as if our entire country looked into a mirror and saw our better selves. We were reminded that we are citizens with obligations to each other, to our country, and to history. We began to think less of the goods we can accumulate and more about the good we can do. For too long our culture has said, “If it feels good, do it.” Now America is embracing a new ethic and a new creed, “Let’s roll.” In the sacrifice of soldiers, the fierce brotherhood of firefighters, and the bravery and generosity of ordinary citizens, we have glimpsed what a new culture of responsibility could look like. We want to be a nation that serves goals larger than self. We’ve been offered a unique opportunity, and we must not let this moment pass.³⁹⁸

The logical argument here is complex. Bush points to elements of American culture that are shallow, including self-centeredness and materialism, which contrast with his characterization of American culture thus far in the narrative. Yet, it also argues that the 9/11 attacks acted as a transformative moment in which American society was changed and began to look to “goals larger than self.”³⁹⁹ This statement is then tied to a list of actions Americans can take to help transform their society that are reminiscent of actions promoted by compassionate conservatism. In this way, Bush links activism and a form of cultural sanctification that served as cornerstones of his domestic agenda to

³⁹⁶ Ibid. The connection between these three countries would later be found to be baseless, but the rhetorical purpose was not restricted by the counter-factual nature of the argument.

³⁹⁷ George W. Bush, “State of the Union 2002,” 2002.

³⁹⁸ Ibid.

³⁹⁹ Ibid.

international policy inspired by a change in spirit brought about by the 9/11 attacks. Importantly, he then uses this assumption as a foundation for military action in the GWOT,

And we have a great opportunity during this time of war to lead the world toward the values that will bring lasting peace...America will lead by defending liberty and justice because they are right and true and unchanging for all people everywhere.⁴⁰⁰

The 2003 State of the Union Address contains a large section on domestic policy, but the main logical argument of the speech is that Saddam Hussein and his regime in Iraq pose an imminent danger to the United States and that the United States is therefore morally justified to take military action against Iraq. This argument is made by using the same logical chains identified in the earlier speeches and by tying Iraq to the evil side of the good/evil binary. Bush begins the speech with a focus on domestic policy and places heavy emphasis on his faith-based initiatives. He also encourages support for other policies through the revival of compassionate conservatism rhetoric characteristically filled with direct references to faith and allusions to conservative evangelical values, as discussed in the *ethos* section.

Interestingly, he transitions into his discussion of the GWOT by characterizing his foreign policy goals as extensions of the same values that motivate his compassionate conservative domestic policy saying,

The qualities of courage and compassion that we strive for in America also determine our conduct abroad. The American flag stands for more than our power and our interests. Our Founders dedicated this country to the cause of human dignity, the rights of every person, and the possibilities of every life. This conviction leads us into the world to help the afflicted and defend the peace and confound the designs of evil men.⁴⁰¹

Not only does Bush once again articulate the good/evil binary, but by using compassion as a key signifier representative of a domestic agenda motivated by the values espoused by the Christian right, Bush attempts to focus that constituency on foreign policy gains.

⁴⁰⁰ Ibid.

⁴⁰¹ George W. Bush, "State of the Union (January 28, 2003)," 2003.

Bush continues by directly citing increases in security, infrastructure, education, and humanitarian related aid as positive outcomes from the GWOT. In the same statement, he references support for Israel and concludes by saying,

More than 60 percent of international food aid comes as a gift from the people of the United States. As our nation moves troops and builds alliances to make our world safer, we must also remember our calling as a blessed country is to make the world better.⁴⁰²

Another link to Bush's compassionate conservatism is made here through references to different categories of foreign aid, areas in which evangelical churches can apply for federal funding for foreign missions through faith-based initiatives. Moreover, Bush's assertion that the United States is a "blessed nation" is another example of prophetic language used to connect the United States to the will of God.⁴⁰³

All of the references mentioned occur in one passage that is directly preceded by the *ethos* building passages referencing "Healing Place Church" and "a culture that values life" cited on page 124. In isolation, each of these statements would have significance to an audience that shared the values of the Christian right. Together, they create an instrumental-rational argument that logically demonstrates the positive gains the Christian right has made in the domestic arena by supporting President Bush and by drawing attention to the possible gains they could make in the foreign policy realm by supporting the GWOT.

The speech then contains a section that lauds American victories in the GWOT. Bush summarizes his argument, saying, "We have the terrorists on the run. We're keeping them on the run. One by one, the terrorists are learning the meaning of American justice."⁴⁰⁴ Here again Bush uses the term *justice* in a way that implies a moral judgment has been made but removes it from any due process. These concerns are minimized rhetorically by continuing to build upon the moral character of America, thereby influencing the interpretation of *American justice*. In the following statement, Bush highlights the past history of moral military intervention connected to common American metanarratives,

⁴⁰² Ibid.

⁴⁰³ Ibid

⁴⁰⁴ Ibid.

This threat is new. America's duty is familiar. Throughout the 20th century, small groups of men seized control of great nations, built armies and arsenals, and set out to dominate the weak and intimidate the world. In each case, their ambitions of cruelty and murder had no limit. In each case, the ambitions of Hitlerism, militarism, and communism were defeated by the will of free peoples, by the strength of great alliances, and by the might of the United States of America.⁴⁰⁵

Here the United States is shown as a protector of the weak and the antithesis of cruel and murderous ideologies. The terms *murderous* and *cruel* have been applied to <terrorists> in various forms throughout Bush's narrative, and direct links have been created between the specific ideologies mentioned and regimes that Bush is arguing pose a threat to the United States. Once again, Bush uses the power of false analogy to establish a binary between the *good* United States and its *bad* enemies, whether they be enemies of the past, present, or future.

Bush continues to reinforce the positive characterization of the United States through a litany of actions the United States is taking to ensure they conduct the war in a just way, including creating a multinational coalition, seeking proper recourse through the United Nations, pursuing diplomatic and economic options, and protecting innocent civilians from harm.⁴⁰⁶ Bush also uses the moral character of America to cast the GWOT as a war of last resort saying,

We seek peace. We strive for peace. And sometimes peace must be defended. A future lived at the mercy of terrible threats is no peace at all. If war is forced upon us, we will fight in a just cause and by just means, sparing, in every way we can, the innocent. And if war is forced upon us, we will fight with the full force and might of the United States military, and we will prevail.⁴⁰⁷

The consistent reference to *justice*, just cause, and just conduct in war serve a function beyond highlighting the moral character of the United States. They act as signals to the Christian right that the United States is bound by the Christian principle of just war theory. Bush is careful never to cite the theological doctrine, leaving the audience to interpret his appeals according to their own beliefs. Just war theory is a theological doctrine, refined by Christian

⁴⁰⁵ Ibid.

⁴⁰⁶ Ibid.

⁴⁰⁷ Ibid.

theologians like Augustine and Thomas Aquinas, that judges the moral nature of a conflict based on a series of practical criteria based strongly on the presumption against war and violence. These criteria are divided into two categories *jus ad bellum*, the right to conduct war, and *jus in bello*, just action in warfare. The right to conduct warfare is based on the following ideas: just cause, based on the protection of innocents or intervention for humanitarian reasons; lawful authority; comparative justice, one's cause must be superior to the other in terms of theory and practice; right intention, war must be conducted with a moral purpose; last resort, all other options have been attempted and failed; probability of success, lest a war of lost cause produce undue suffering. Just conduct in warfare is determined by the following criteria: proportionality of ends in which the good achieved must outweigh the negative consequences and just conduct in war. Just conduct in war can be defined by these criteria: discrimination of means, only military targets are acceptable for attack and only the minimum required force to achieve victory may be used; proportionality of means, no action may be done that makes the war unjust because of its overwhelmingly negative consequences; right intention, the aim of all actions must be to achieve peace as quickly as possible; and according to some interpretations, fair treatment of prisoners of war.⁴⁰⁸

Importantly, while the GWOT is characterized as a moral necessity in the earliest forms of Bush's war narrative, the connection to just war theory does not originate in Bush's rhetoric and will be discussed in greater depth in the next chapter. However, regardless of its origin, veiled references to just war criteria become a consistent theme in Bush's GWOT narrative. The adoption of this strategy demonstrates Bush's desire to ground the moral character of the war in the beliefs and ideas held by the evangelical community. The convergence between Bush's use of just war criteria and the common use of just war theory in SBC elites' rhetoric will be demonstrated in the next chapter.

While the just war appeals implicitly argue that the United States is acting in accordance with Christian teaching, elsewhere Bush makes the connection between the United States' goals in the GWOT and God more explicitly. He states, "Americans are a free people, who know that freedom is the right of every person and the future of every nation. The liberty we prize is not America's gift to the world, it is God's gift to humanity."⁴⁰⁹ With this statement,

⁴⁰⁸ The definitions of just war theory provided herein are paraphrases of the summaries of just war doctrine found in Brian Hallett, "Just War Criteria," in *Encyclopedia of Violence, Peace, and Conflict, Three-Volume Set*, by Lester R. Kurtz and Jennifer E. Turpin (Burlington: Academic Press, 1999); Alex J. Bellamy, *Just Wars: From Cicero to Iraq* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2006); and Catholic Answers, "Documents," Just War Doctrine, accessed March 13, 2016, <http://www.catholic.com/documents/just-war-doctrine>.

⁴⁰⁹ George W. Bush, "State of the Union (January 28, 2003)," 2003

Bush creates an analogous relationship between freedom and God's will. The goal of spreading freedom is routinely used to justify the GWOT, and by elevating it to the level of divine mandate, Bush can passively argue that the United States is God's agent.

Bush completes his speech by once again tying the United States to God. He states,

We Americans have faith in us, but not in ourselves alone. We do not know—we do not claim to know all the ways of providence, yet we can trust in them, placing our confidence in the loving God behind all of life and all of history. May He guide us now. And may God continue to bless the United States of America.⁴¹⁰

This statement not only reinforces American's moral nature, it creates an impression that God's guidance leads to the natural conclusion of the United States engaging in the GWOT and achieving victory.

As seen in other speeches, when Bush used *logos* to establish the good side of the binary, he simultaneously constructs the evil side of the binary. In this speech, Bush repeats the strategy of highlighting the evil actions and character of <terrorists>. He also continues to create rhetorical links between terrorism and nations he deems a threat to the United States and its interests by grouping them together in the evil side of the good/evil binary. His specific targets in this speech are again North Korea, Iran, and most importantly Iraq. Regarding North Korea and Iran, Bush highlights several actions on both a domestic and international scale that establish them as a threat and characterize them as oppressive to their own people before explaining steps the United States will take to curb their international influence.⁴¹¹ Bush devotes a major section of the speech to Iraq, making a logical case as to why the United States is justified in intervening against Saddam Hussein's regime. It is beyond the scope of this thesis to outline the whole anti-Iraq argument and its factual failings, but an important part of the argument is tying Iraq to terrorism and to evil actions. Several quotations demonstrate this strategy.⁴¹²

⁴¹⁰ Ibid.

⁴¹¹ Ibid.

⁴¹² The speech is provided in its entirety in the appendices. A full quarter of the speech makes a persuasive argument for intervention in Iraq. Providing every example of *logos* appeals that either defines Saddam Hussein as evil through his actions or through character descriptions would be prohibitive due to the length requirements of this dissertation. Additionally, as Bush uses the strategy of repetition, the analysis would become redundant. However, other prominent examples include reference to Hussein attempting to construct weapons of mass destruction, references to Hussein disregarding international disarmament and human rights agreements, and references to his desires to dominate through force.

Before September 11, many in the world believed that Saddam Hussein could be contained. But chemical agents, lethal viruses, and shadowy terrorist networks are not easily contained. Imagine those 19 hijackers with other weapons and other plans, this time armed by Saddam Hussein. It would take one vial, one canister, one crate slipped into this country to bring a day of horror like none we have ever known.⁴¹³

Here the link between Saddam Hussein and terrorists is made explicit, although it is entirely fabricated, and intervention is characterized as necessary to prevent another attack on American soil. The following quotation highlights the evil and oppressive nature of Saddam Hussein's actions.

The dictator who is assembling the world's most dangerous weapons has already used them on whole villages, leaving thousands of his own citizens dead, blind, or disfigured. Iraqi refugees tell us how forced confessions are obtained by torturing children while their parents are made to watch. International human rights groups have cataloged other methods used in the torture chambers of Iraq: electric shock, burning with hot irons, dripping acid on the skin, mutilation with electric drills, cutting out tongues, and rape. If this is not evil, then evil has no meaning.⁴¹⁴

This quotation offers the most extreme example of Bush's characterization of Saddam Hussein. The use of chemical weapons on innocents, systematic torture and rape, and atrocities against children are used to construct a definition of the Iraqi regime. While these actions could be left to speak for themselves, Bush explicitly defines Hussein's character by applying the term evil. This statement serves the same purpose as tying the United States to God rhetorically, but in reverse. The good/evil binary is made explicit through the actions of the two sides in the GWOT.

Bush's War Message, from March 19, 2003 contains information about the invasion of Iraq and an exaltation of the men and women of the United States military. Bush once again uses *logos* appeals to construct a binary that fits into rhetorical patterns already identified. Yet, this speech does contain references relevant to the Christian right. Specifically, the *logos* appeals used to construct a moral binary also provide assurances that the United States is acting in accordance to just war theory. Bush cites the goals of disarming Iraq and limiting their capability to

⁴¹³ George W. Bush, "State of the Union (January 28, 2003)," 2003.

⁴¹⁴ Ibid.

conduct war that relate to the idea of proportionality. He promises that America will prevent civilian casualties when possible satisfying the criteria of distinction. And he argues that the United States has just cause, even though it is launching a preemptive strike.

The End of Major Combat Operations Speech on May 1, 2003 continues the pattern of logical appeals identified thus far. Focus is placed on the continuing nature of the GWOT, as Bush incorrectly identifies an end to major combat operations in Iraq. He further argues for a continued military presence in Iraq and Afghanistan while providing assurances that the United States is not an occupying force. Importantly, Bush continues to build the good/evil binary, demonstrate the worldwide scope of the GWOT, highlight the unified nature of the international community against terrorism, and provide assurances that the United States acts in accordance with the just war concepts of distinction and proportionality.⁴¹⁵ The 2007 State of the Union Address similarly lacks innovative *logos* appeals targeting the Christian right, and makes few references to religious rhetoric at all.

Bush's farewell speech similarly lacks new forms of *logos* appeals. Instead, it reinforces the appeals already made as Bush reiterates the rightness of the main policy objective of his presidency, the GWOT. The most significant *logos* appeal designed to target a more general audience in this speech is the continued exaltation of American military and law enforcement personnel. His appeals targeting the Christian right are displayed in his renewed characterization of the GWOT as an opportunity for transformation for the United States and American culture and the continuation of the good/evil binary.⁴¹⁶

Bush's opening lines include the reference, "The first decade of this new century has been a period of consequence—a time set apart."⁴¹⁷ This reference defines the time of the GWOT as a demarcation from what came before it. It echoes ideas discussed in the 2002 State of the Union Address in which Bush describes the change in attitude that took place following the 9/11 attacks as the country recommitted itself to its moral principles. The sentiment is repeated later in the speech when Bush says, "The decades ahead will bring more hard choices for our country, and there are some guiding principles that should shape our course."⁴¹⁸ However, in order to draw meaning

⁴¹⁵ George W. Bush, "George W. Bush, The End of Combat in Iraq—May 1, 2003," 2003.

⁴¹⁶ George W. Bush, "The Farewell Address", 2009.

⁴¹⁷ Ibid.

⁴¹⁸ Ibid.

out of these two statements, it is important to understand the “guiding principles”⁴¹⁹ to which Bush refers. The first is a continuation of offensive military strikes against enemies abroad. The second is a definition of American character that establishes that the United States was innocent in the GWOT and that its true goal is advancing freedom. The final principle is articulated through the most explicit and complete example of the good/evil binary present in any of the speeches analyzed. Bush states,

As we address these challenges—and others we cannot foresee tonight—America must maintain our moral clarity. I’ve often spoken to you about good and evil, and this has made some uncomfortable. But good and evil are present in this world, and between the two of them there can be no compromise. Murdering the innocent to advance an ideology is wrong every time, everywhere. Freeing people from oppression and despair is eternally right. This nation must continue to speak out for justice and truth. We must always be willing to act in their defense—and to advance the cause of peace.⁴²⁰

Here Bush explicitly references the dichotomy between good and evil, grounds the end goals of the parties involved in the GWOT in their good or evil character, and uses examples of actions taken by the United States to reinforce its good nature. But, most important for a conservative, evangelical audience is the statement, “good and evil are present in this world and between the two of them there can be no compromise.”⁴²¹ This statement occurs in the speech following a section in which Bush references opposition to his public discussion of good and evil. However, in actuality, the opposition is usually related to Bush’s use of religious or prophetic language. The way the statement is phrased also suggests that some doubt the truth of his binary worldview, pitting a biblicist, literal interpretation of good and evil in the world against more liberal interpretations that reject that idea. Through this statement, Bush reminds the audience that there is an interpretive divide in the population of the United States, suggests that his GWOT policies acknowledged the biblicist perspective, and encourages the public to accept this worldview. The *logos* appeals that characterize the GWOT as a time of transformation and those that encourage the public to embrace a literal interpretation of the concepts of good and evil in the world combine to characterize the

⁴¹⁹ Ibid.

⁴²⁰ Ibid.

⁴²¹ Ibid.

GWOT as a time when this literal interpretation was embraced and led to security for the American people and the advancement of freedom around the world, once again characterizing 9/11 as a shared transformative experience. Yet, despite the moral language and veiled references to a conservative, evangelical worldview, the logic of this speech once again leads to an instrumental-rational interpretation of support for the war. Bush's logical case throughout all of his speeches encourages support for the Global War on Terror because it achieves moral goals.

***Pathos*: Emotional Appeals**

Pathos appeals act to influence the emotions of the audience, either evoking emotional reactions in the audience or responding to their emotional state, this form of appeal is described in Chapter One on page 21. It is important to note that the use of *pathos* appeals raises significant questions of agency and ethical practice in the use of public rhetoric. The description of the effects of *pathos* appeals is not intended to characterize the audience as without agency or passive in the rhetorical exchange. Instead, the explanation of *pathos* highlights possible effects on an audience. However, in studies related to *pathos*, Brinton and Numan, Bekerman, and Kaplan have noted that *pathos* appeals have the ability to be used to manipulate the audience to their detriment.⁴²² The possibility of manipulation raises ethical concerns related to the nature of rhetoric. It is beyond the scope of this thesis to judge individual reactions to specific appeals. However, as critical assessment often provides a defense against the persuasive quality of rhetoric, this thesis will argue that Bush's use of *pathos* appeals is designed to prevent critical assessment. Therefore, if Bush's *pathos* appeals functioned as designed, they would be unethical in the same way as strategic misrepresentation, which Winkler has identified as a key element of Bush's argument for invasion of Iraq.⁴²³

It is difficult to overstate the importance of emotion in shaping the rhetoric of the Bush administration. The administration appealed to the emotional vulnerabilities of the audience and recognized a real frustration in key political constituencies associated with the First Iraq War as well as the political fallout of 9/11. The emotional

⁴²² Alan Brinton, "Pathos and the "Appeal to Emotion: An Aristotelian Analysis," *History of Philosophy Quarterly* 5, no. 3 (July 01, 1988) and Yair Neuman, Zvi Bekerman, and Avi Kaplan, "Rhetoric as the Contextual Manipulation of Self and Nonself," *Research on Language & Social Interaction* 35, no. 1 (2002).

⁴²³ Winkler, "Parallels in Preemptive War Rhetoric: Reagan on Libya; Bush 43 on Iraq," 2007.

context of the events surrounding 9/11 required consideration during formulation of the rhetorical approach of the Bush administration and when communicating its policy agenda in order to define the 9/11 attacks event in a way that suited its political and social agenda.⁴²⁴ President Bush incorporated emotion into his rhetoric very early in his presidency, but it was not until the September 11th attacks and his shift to war rhetoric that appeals to *pathos* became a foundational element of his rhetorical strategy. However, the analysis of *pathos* appeals in Bush's speeches will show that Bush's *pathos* appeals with significance to the Christian right were not part of unique lines of argument targeting that audience but were instead built upon appeals that targeted a general audience. Therefore, this section will contain a more in-depth discussion of rhetorical appeals that targeted a general audience than previous sections. This discussion is necessary because these appeals form the foundation on which the *pathos* appeals relevant to the Christian right were built.

Bush's September 11th Response to the Nation is filled with emotional language and descriptive imagery that begins to define the events related to the terrorist attack. This speech contains two recurring forms of *pathos* appeals: those that directly reference emotional states signaling an understanding of the audience's feelings and projecting a sense of solidarity, and those that are designed to meet the emotional needs of the audience in the specific rhetorical context of the 9/11 attacks.

Early in the speech, Bush makes a statement that combines both forms of *pathos* appeals in order to direct and acknowledge the audience's emotional connections related to the event. He describes "The pictures of airplanes flying into buildings, fires burning, huge structures collapsing, have filled us with disbelief, terrible sadness and a quiet, unyielding anger."⁴²⁵ Descriptive imagery is used to direct the audience towards a specific series of emotions; these emotions are then made explicit and characterized as a shared experience, creating a connection between the speaker and the audience, and thereby reinforcing the *ethos* of the speaker. Bush continues,

These acts of mass murder were intended to frighten our nation into chaos and retreat. But they have failed. Our country is strong. A great people has been moved to defend a great nation. Terrorist attacks can shake the foundations of our biggest buildings, but they cannot touch the

⁴²⁴ The process of defining a situation rhetorically is explained by Zarefsky's power of definition as described on page 38.

⁴²⁵ George W. Bush, "Text of Bush's Address," 2001.

foundation of America. These acts shatter steel, but they cannot dent the steel of American resolve.⁴²⁶

Here, the goals of the terrorist attack and the resulting response from the American people is framed in emotional language, establishing a dichotomy between the emotion of fear, and the emotional response characterized as appropriate by the President: resolve. This dichotomy serves to reinforce the *logos* binary developed in this speech while simultaneously providing reassurance for those who do feel fear that the “foundation of America” remains strong.

Bush continues to attempt to meet the emotional needs of the audience by providing assurances that action is being taken to ensure America’s safety and citing the stability of American institutions. He says,

Our first priority is to get help to those who have been injured and to take every precaution to protect our citizens at home and around the world from further attacks. The functions of our government continue without interruption. Federal agencies in Washington which had to be evacuated today are reopening for essential personnel tonight and will be open for business tomorrow. Our financial institutions remain strong, and the American economy will be open for business as well.⁴²⁷

In essence, he makes claims that the government will prevent another attack and that the American way of life will continue.

Nothing in these *pathos* appeals has a specific relevance to the Christian right or conservative evangelicals. However, as the appeals were designed to target all Americans and characterize the event as a shared experience, they were applicable to that subgroup as well. Yet Bush does end his speech with the scriptural quotation, “Even though I walk through the valley of the shadow of death, I fear no evil, for You are with me.”⁴²⁸ This specific Bible verse directly relates to the idea of perseverance in the face of danger or plight. It is specifically chosen to be appropriate for the rhetorical situation and shows special consideration to Christians, for whom it would have the

⁴²⁶ Ibid.

⁴²⁷ Ibid.

⁴²⁸ Ibid.

most significance. This passage was discussed earlier in this chapter, but as passages in rhetoric can function in multiple ways the significance of it in this discussion is its emotional appeal. As a *pathos* appeal, it builds upon other *pathos* appeals that reassured the American people by lending the authority of scripture to Bush's characterization of events.

In the September 20, 2001 Address to the Nation, President Bush expands the scope of topics connected to his emotional appeals while continuing his *pathos* strategy of projecting solidarity, validating their anger and frustration, and providing reassurance. These strategies are used in statements that highlighted the resilient spirit of America, identified an enemy that the United States could retaliate against, and detailed a plan to restructure American homeland security procedures and policies. By connecting each discussion, Bush makes the case that the United States was not helpless against the terrorist threat.

Within the first few lines of the speech, Bush also introduces a new type of *pathos* appeal. He says,

In the normal course of events, Presidents come to this chamber to report on the State of the Union. Tonight, no such report is needed. It has already been delivered by the American people. We have seen it in the courage of passengers, who rushed terrorists to save others on the ground -- passengers like an exceptional man named Todd Beamer. And would you please help me to welcome his wife, Lisa Beamer, here tonight.⁴²⁹

Repeating themes from the previous speech, Bush provides reassurance that America is strong and resilient. He then uses examples of individual actions that highlight a response to terrorism that demonstrates ideal emotional qualities. In this example, terrorist actions are met with strength and courage instead of fear. Importantly, he also populates the narrative he is constructing about the GWOT with characters that provide an emotional example for the audience to idealize, act as symbols and sources of pride, and provide an outlet for parasocial interaction. In this example, Todd Beamer is idealized while a sympathetic connection can be formed through parasocial interaction with Lisa Beamer.

⁴²⁹ George W. Bush, "Address to the Nation", 2001.

This strategy is used multiple times in this speech and focuses the audience on several characters that all act as proxies for the desired emotional response: resilience and bravery in the face of terror.

But Bush does not rely on this strategy alone to guide emotion. He uses explicit emotional language that describes the emotional course taken by Americans working through their experience and directs the appropriate response by providing a template, "Tonight we are a country awakened to danger and called to defend freedom. Our grief has turned to anger, and anger to resolution. Whether we bring our enemies to justice, or bring justice to our enemies, justice will be done."⁴³⁰ Bush cites the natural emotional reactions to the September 11th attacks while guiding the listener to a sense of resolution and to the desire to seek justice. The importance of justice to the GWOT's *logos* appeals has been described. This statement uses *pathos* to reinforce the strength of those *logos* appeals. It also contains another evolution of Bush's *pathos* strategy, connecting reminders of a continuing threat to appeals designed to reassure Americans of their security.

The pattern of reassurance and threat repeat throughout this speech. For example, Bush states,

Our nation has been put on notice: We are not immune from attack. We will take defensive measures against terrorism to protect Americans. Today, dozens of federal departments and agencies, as well as state and local governments, have responsibilities affecting homeland security. These efforts must be coordinated at the highest level. So tonight I announce the creation of a Cabinet-level position reporting directly to me -- the Office of Homeland Security.⁴³¹

Here Bush alludes to a present threat and then names action being taken to protect the United States.

It may seem contradictory that Bush's rhetoric sought to sooth the anxiety of the American public while also reminding them of the continued threat of terrorism. However, social scientists have noted that anxiety and perceived threat are very distinct reactions to traumatic situations.⁴³² Though they are related, the reactions caused by each feeling can be vastly different. Like anger, perceived threat can cause an intolerance at both the political

⁴³⁰ Ibid.

⁴³¹ Ibid.

⁴³² Leonie Huddy et al., "Threat, Anxiety, and Support of Antiterrorism Policies," *American Journal of Political Science* 49, no. 3 (July 2005).

and personal level.⁴³³ Perception of an external threat also causes increased support for political candidates seen as strong, forceful, and active and support of more authoritarian actions by those candidates.⁴³⁴ Based on these psychological concepts, it is easy to see the potential benefits of reminding the American public of an external threat and the usefulness it could have in reinforcing *logos* and *ethos* appeals or reducing counter arguing to the ideas presented in Bush's GWOT narrative.

As the September 20th Address to the Nation continued, Bush refined another form of *pathos* appeal, demonstrating a sense of solidarity amongst the population. This form of appeal must be differentiated from the *logos* appeals that stressed unity among the United States population and its allies and *ethos* appeals designed to create an insider status with evangelical Christians. Bush's solidarity appeals continue to construct the idea that the 9/11 attacks were a shared experience for the population and that all Americans are emotionally experiencing the same processes. Bush uses himself as a surrogate for the American people in his most overt expression of solidarity saying,

...finally, please continue praying for the victims of terror and their families, for those in uniform, and for our great country. Prayer has comforted us in sorrow, and will help strengthen us for the journey ahead. Tonight I thank my fellow Americans for what you have already done and for what you will do.⁴³⁵

In this statement, the use of the term *us* characterizes both Bush and the audience as a collective, sharing an experience. Bush's thanks are designed to show a genuine emotional connection with the President, enabling the audience to experience parasocial interaction with his emotional state. It is significant that in this expression of personal emotion, Bush gives privileged status to religious audiences with reference to prayer, thus adding emotional support to *ethos* arguments. Bush continues by using repetition to make the solidarity explicit,

⁴³³ Ibid.

⁴³⁴ Stewart J. H. McCann, "Threatening Times, 'Strong' Presidential Popular Vote Winners, and the Victory Margin, 1824-1964.," *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 73, no. 1 (1997), doi:10.1037//0022-3514.73.1.160. and Stephen M. Sales, "Threat as a Factor in Authoritarianism: An Analysis of Archival Data," *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 28, no. 1 (1973), doi:10.1037/h0035588. See also Richard M Doty, Bill E. Peterson, and David G. Winter. "Threat and Authoritarianism in the United States, 1978- 1987," *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 61 no. 4 (1991):629- 40.

⁴³⁵ George W. Bush, "Address to the Nation," 2001.

We will come together to give law enforcement the additional tools it needs to track down terror here at home. We will come together to strengthen our intelligence capabilities to know the plans of terrorists before they act, and find them before they strike. We will come together to take active steps that strengthen America's economy, and put our people back to work.⁴³⁶

Finally, the speech closes with a repetition of *pathos* appeals designed to comfort the public expressed in a way that has special significance to the Christian right,

The course of this conflict is not known, yet its outcome is certain. Freedom and fear, justice and cruelty, have always been at war, and we know that God is not neutral between them. Fellow citizens, we'll meet violence with patient justice -- assured of the rightness of our cause and confident of the victories to come. In all that lies before us, may God grant us wisdom, and may He watch over the United States of America.⁴³⁷

The *pathos* element of this statement is meant to inspire confidence, the emotion it directly cites, by characterizing the GWOT as a predetermined conflict in which victory is assured, and it does so by emotionally connecting the audience to the *logos* binary it references. Special significance for the Christian right is derived predominantly from the *logos* implications of this statement. Yet, by framing confidence in the outcome of the GWOT as a matter of faith, Bush encourages people of faith to be confident in the war effort. Despite an emphasis on faith, this rhetorical appeal does not shift the value of the war away from its end goals.

The 2002 State of the Union Address lacks significant developments of the *pathos* appeals in Bush's narrative beyond the expansion of fear-based appeals, highlighting a continuing threat to America and the repetition of *pathos* strategies already identified. The major *pathos* innovation in this speech relates to appeals that highlight a continuing threat to America and occurs when these fear-based appeals are connected to *logos* appeals that expand the scope of the GWOT. Bush uses this strategy in the following statement:

⁴³⁶ Ibid.

⁴³⁷ Ibid.

North Korea is a regime arming with missiles and weapons of mass destruction, while starving its citizens. Iran aggressively pursues these weapons and exports terror, while an unelected few repress the Iranian people's hope for freedom. Iraq continues to flaunt its hostility toward America and to support terror. The Iraqi regime has plotted to develop anthrax and nerve gas and nuclear weapons for over a decade. This is a regime that has already used poison gas to murder thousands of its own citizens, leaving the bodies of mothers huddled over their dead children.⁴³⁸

Here the good/evil *logos* binary is reinforced by describing these nations as an ever present threat to the United States. By building fear of these external enemies, Bush provides *pathos*-based legitimization for expanding the GWOT. The purpose of highlighting a continuing danger in this section is the same as in others: it is designed to increase support for a political action that is characterized as providing security for the United States.

In this speech, Bush also continues to use stories about individuals affected by terrorism to provide opportunities for the audience to achieve parasocial interaction with characters in the narrative, but he does so by using increasingly emotional language. In one example He states,

For many Americans, these four months have brought sorrow and pain that will never completely go away. Every day a retired firefighter returns to Ground Zero to feel closer to his two sons who died there. At a memorial in New York, a little boy left his football with a note for his lost father: "Dear Daddy, please take this to heaven. I don't want to play football until I can play with you again someday."⁴³⁹

The emotional language used here is designed to allow the listener to better connect to the narrative, as is required for narrative transportation. The strategy of populating the narrative with characters and using them to direct the audience's emotional state is designed to guide the audience's interpretation of the event away from rational critique and towards the characterization created by the narrative.

⁴³⁸ George W. Bush, "State of the Union 2002," 2002.

⁴³⁹ Ibid.

The 2003 State of the Union Address continues the *pathos* patterns identified in the previous speeches with significant emphasis placed on referencing the devastation of the 9/11 terror attacks or on building an outside imminent threat as support for security policies. However, the changing context and goals of the Bush administration lead to subtle evolution of these appeals. Bush makes the following statement when introducing his domestic security agenda,

Our war against terror is a contest of will in which perseverance is power. In the ruins of two towers, at the western wall of the Pentagon, on a field in Pennsylvania, this nation made a pledge, and we renew that pledge tonight: Whatever the duration of this struggle and whatever the difficulties, we will not permit the triumph of violence in the affairs of men; free people will set the course of history.⁴⁴⁰

In this statement, emotional language is used to remind the audience of the emotions they felt on September 11, 2001. The passage of time that occurred between this speech and the 2002 State of the Union Address and the absence of another attack on American soil had allowed many in the audience to return to their normal way of life. Therefore, to make use of the same fear and anger present following the 9/11 attacks, Bush needed to actively direct the audience towards those emotions. Likewise, the assurances that follow and the security policies they preface do not respond to the current emotional condition of the audience, as they were designed to do in the time period immediately following the 9/11 attacks, nor are they a product of requirements placed on the rhetorical genre of State of the Union Addresses. The function of this *pathos* strategy is constant: to predispose the audience to support the policies that follow by reinforcing *logos* appeals with emotional support. But, the usage here represents the rhetorical injection of fear instead of a response to audience expectations.⁴⁴¹

The tone and construction of this passage indicates a shift in Bush's war rhetoric. The discussion of national security changed from one of reassurance to one of ominousness. Instead of promising security in an attempt to relieve anxiety, the President focused on the need for continued security, fostering the perception of a terrorist

⁴⁴⁰ George W. Bush, "State of the Union (January 28, 2003)," 2003.

⁴⁴¹ It could be argued that the time passing between the 9/20/2001 Address to the Nation and the 2002 State of the Union is sufficient to characterize fear appeals in that speech as contrived as well, which is why a discussion of fear as an emotional motivator is included in that section.

threat, which was then used to justify controversial actions. A controversial security measure would often be mentioned in close proximity to reminders of the horror of 9/11, which were described in very emotional terms.

This shift can also be identified in Bush's discussion of Iraq. He claims,

Year after year, Saddam Hussein has gone to elaborate lengths, spent enormous sums, taken great risks to build and keep weapons of mass destruction. But why? The only possible explanation, the only possible use he could have for those weapons, is to dominate, intimidate, or attack.⁴⁴²

This statement is followed by logical appeals that connect Iraq to al-Qaida and claims that Iraq was in possession of weapons of mass destruction, both of which were later conclusively found to be false. Bush continues,

Before September 11, many in the world believed that Saddam Hussein could be contained. But chemical agents, lethal viruses, and shadowy terrorist networks are not easily contained. Imagine those 19 hijackers with other weapons and other plans, this time armed by Saddam Hussein. It would take one vial, one canister, one crate slipped into this country to bring a day of horror like none we have ever known. We will do everything in our power to make sure that that day never comes.⁴⁴³

In the first statement, the use of a rhetorical question draws the reader to the explicitly stated conclusion, and then hypotheticals are provided that direct the audience to imagine a catastrophic attack on the United States and present the attack as an imminent danger. The use of these hypotheticals is designed to encourage narrative transportation and encourage the audience to emotionally react to the described events, thereby distancing them from a rational argument open to critique.

This statement is directly followed by an evolution of *pathos* appeals that build a sense of solidarity. Bush states,

Some have said we must not act until the threat is imminent. Since when have terrorists and tyrants announced their intentions, politely putting us on notice before they strike? If this threat is

⁴⁴² George W. Bush, "State of the Union (January 28, 2003)," 2003.

⁴⁴³ Ibid.

permitted to fully and suddenly emerge, all actions, all words, and all recriminations would come too late.⁴⁴⁴

In this statement, Bush once again makes the case for an imminent threat with fear of an attack acting as the central justification for action. However, where before Bush used the ideas of unity and appeals to a shared emotional experience to reassure the American public, here he uses them as a way to silence dissenting voices. The statement even goes so far as to sarcastically imply that established international norms related to preemptive strikes are naive. Taken as a whole, these passages reference 9/11 in order to focus the audience on emotions of fear and anger, build an imminent threat by constructing a story with no basis in fact and no supporting evidence, then marginalize political opponents with dissenting views by characterizing their arguments as unrealistic. These passages further focus the audience on the consequences of Bush's constructed story through language that encourages fear and anger. The patterns developed in this speech would last for the remainder of Bush's presidency. However, the next two speeches analyzed contain a departure from that pattern, due in large part to the specific occasion of the speech.

The March 19, 2003 War Message announcing the invasion of Iraq lacks most of the *pathos* appeals discussed above. The *pathos* appeals it contains largely express thanks or a sense of pride in the military but have no direct connection to a conservative, evangelical Christian audience.⁴⁴⁵ The May 1, 2003 End of Major Combat in Iraq Speech similarly lacks many of the emotional appeals present in the other speeches analyzed to this point. The *pathos* appeals that do appear mirror those from the March 19th War Message.

The 2007 State of the Union Address returns to previously identified patterns. These patterns include using references to the 9/11 attacks to build anxiety related to the continued threat of terrorism; encouraging support for Bush's security policies; and introducing stories about people as proxies for such ideal emotional reactions as pride in America, courage, selflessness, and gratitude to those fighting in the GWOT.⁴⁴⁶

While Bush's Farewell Address to the Nation differs from the other speeches in regards to its rhetorical context, the speech makes use of the same *pathos* appeals described above. Farewell speeches by presidents often relate to their

⁴⁴⁴ Ibid.

⁴⁴⁵ George W. Bush, "George W. Bush, War Message—March 19, 2003," 2003.

⁴⁴⁶ George W. Bush, "State of the Union 2007" 2007.

legacy, and Bush's is no different. But, in retrospectively justifying his actions and arguing for the continuation of his policies, he does not use a different *pathos* strategy from those identified earlier in this section.

The relationship between Bush's *pathos* appeals and social action is difficult to outline because of the wide variety of potential effects these appeals can have on an audience. However, a consistent pattern developed in Bush's rhetoric in which emotional appeals, especially those related to fear and pride, are used to create support for specific policy positions. Even in cases in which *pathos* appeals are used to reinforce character-based *logos* appeals, they are used to demonstrate a need for Bush's wartime policies, to justify and demonstrate the effectiveness of those policies, or to provide support for further decisions made by the administration. In the case of fear appeals, the *pathos* appeals are used to develop urgency for instrumental-rational social action. On the rare event that a *pathos* appeal is connected to the worldview of the Christian right or to the value of biblicism, they too are used to build support for the end goals of policies, not to encourage action that gains its value from the expression of conservative evangelical values.

Conclusions

This chapter has focused specifically on rhetorical appeals that relate to a conservative evangelical audience or strategies that were used to reinforce the perceived persuasive quality of those appeals (as shown in the *pathos* section). The identification of these specific appeals builds on works by Jackson, Hodges, and others who have traced the general structure and content of the GWOT narrative and identified its consistent use throughout American political and public discourse.

The analysis also provides answers to two of the secondary research questions that will be used to determine if SBC elites practice rhetorical agency on the GWOT narrative and the way their practice of rhetorical agency affects the narrative in retransmission. The first research question answered is "Does the GWOT narrative contain sufficient appeals to communicate a shared sense of values and ideas with the SBC and its members?" This question can be answered in the affirmative. As shown in the *ethos* section of the analysis, Bush actively demonstrates a knowledge

of the worldview, values, theological beliefs, and political agenda of the Christian right in his attempt to foster an insider status with the Christian right. More significantly, Bush is able to demonstrate he understands the meaning they ascribe to ideas and actions and their motivations. His rhetorical strategy then makes use of this understanding when seeking support for policies by framing these strategies in ways consistent with the beliefs of the conservative evangelical community. Further, he is able to characterize himself and his presidency as active representations of those ideas and values in action through his conversion narrative or the portrayal of his presidency and policies as the result of Christian activism. Importantly, as seen in the *ethos* and *logos* sections, the GWOT narrative connects these ideas to wartime policies and frames the GWOT in a way that reflects evangelical, theological beliefs and general worldview.

The second question is “What values specific to the SBC does President Bush's GWOT narrative address to motivate SBC members to support his policies?” Bush makes use of all four core values identified in Chapter Three: activism, biblicism, crucicentrism, and conversionism. The specific connections between these values and Bush's rhetorical appeals have already been outlined in this chapter and will be summarized in the following description of findings. These appeals provide criteria through which the SBC's adoption of Bush's GWOT narrative can be assessed and analyzed.

The analysis of rhetorical appeals designed to foster *ethos* with the Christian right in the selected speeches from the Bush administration has identified the repeated use of three separate types of rhetorical appeals used to accomplish two separate rhetorical goals related to *ethos*. Bush demonstrates his personal faith through references to prayer and scripture, articulates a commitment to a political agenda consistent with the political agenda of the Christian right, and elevates concepts consistent with a conservative evangelical worldview to the level of cultural symbols for the American identity. Bush's appeals often link to specific values of conservative evangelicals. Bush makes a clear rhetorical emphasis on demonstrating his commitment to biblicism and Christian activism in both his general patterns of speech and his specific agendas related to both domestic and foreign policy issues. Additionally, he fosters a sense that his policies take seriously the power of conversions to change individuals, and he relies on the resulting societal change to sanctify society and bring about the Christian right ideal. Bush uses this template as a real-life example of the power of activism, thus acknowledging and encouraging conversionism and crucicentrism.

These three types of rhetorical appeals are used in an attempt to establish an insider status with the Christian right and to cultivate a persona that can be understood as a defender of conservative, evangelical values and ideals. The basic usage of the three types of rhetorical appeals continues the rhetorical patterns developed during Bush's use of compassionate conservatism. However, through the course of the GWOT, these same rhetorical appeals are connected to the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan or deployed in such a way that they intersect with characterizations of American culture that inform the goals and moral quality of the wars, thus creating important links between the GWOT and the *ethos* the President cultivates with the religious right.

The analysis of *logos* in these speeches has identified several strands of logical appeals relevant to the religious right and a conservative, evangelical audience. Of these strands of logical appeals, the most prominent are the character-based chain and action-based chain that form the basis of a good/evil binary in which the United States is rhetorically connected to the will of God while <terrorists>, used as a blank signifier for America's enemies of all sorts, are equated with evil. The character-based *logos* chain initially created a moral dichotomy between the United States and <terrorists>. Over the course of Bush's presidency, this *logos* chain was used to frame the GWOT as a battle between good and evil, to expand the conflict to one of global significance, and to elevate the GWOT's significance to evangelical Christians by attaching religious significance to the character of the United States. The action-based logical chain reinforced the binary and was then used to create rhetorical connections between the actions of the United States; compassionate conservatism; political issues related to the religious right's foreign policy agenda; the evangelical values of activism, biblicism, and conversionism; and theological ideas of premillennialism and just war theory. The action-based chain was used to ground the moral binary in real-world events interpreted through the lens of Bush's definition of the GWOT. Importantly, when constructing a logical case for the invasion of Iraq, Bush also cites specific political issues of great importance to the Christian right, such as concern for the state of Israel, freedom of religion, and government funding for overseas mission organizations. Further, on occasion, Bush cites the same values that act as motivation for his compassionate conservatism agenda as motivations to engage in the GWOT. Other important logical chains with significance to the conservative evangelical audience were related to the characterization of Islam as a peaceful religion and the characterization of the GWOT as a transformative time for the spirit of the United States through conversion stories.

The examination of *pathos* appeals in these speeches reveals Bush's reliance on appeals designed to target a general audience. While these appeals can still be effective with the Christian right, they are not specially designed to connect to their values. The most prominent forms of *pathos* appeals are those that attempt to build a sense of imminent threat then provide reassurance that the administration's policies will provide security or prosperity. Appeals that populate the narrative with characters and encourage the audience to experience parasocial interaction and narrative transportation are also prominent. As are solidarity appeals that characterize the 9/11 attacks as a shared emotional experience. In some cases, when making these appeals, Bush does reflect the value of biblicism by either quoting scripture relevant to the rhetorical occasion or articulating a worldview consistent with a literalist interpretation of the Bible. Yet these situations are outgrowths of the general *pathos* appeal that are simply reinforced with a Christian audience as opposed to a unique form of appeal with unique meaning to that community.

The connection between ideas in the GWOT narrative and evangelical values has a significant impact on the narrative's relationship to social action. Generally, the narrative is designed to provide a template for instrumental-rational action or constructed around an instrumental-rational argument that derives the war's value from the accomplishment of a specific set of goals, as identified in the *logos* and *pathos* sections of this analysis. The narrative is created in a way designed to focus the audience on specific elements of the war, both minimizing the role of counterarguments and encouraging the audience to think about the end results of actions, or in some cases inaction. Each type of rhetorical appeal is designed to articulate the character of the GWOT or define a specific element of it, but the rhetorical appeals are used as foundations or support for specific arguments focusing on the end goals of the GWOT, the importance of taking action, or as justification of policy decisions based on their end results. This strategy illustrates the President's expectation that his audience will support action based on the understanding that the result of the action is necessary and just.

The major exception to the establishment of an instrumental-rational template in Bush's rhetoric occurs in the use of compassionate conservatism. As noted in the beginning of this chapter, this rhetorical strategy embraces a form of value-rational action and elevates its position within the Republican domestic policy platform. However, Bush's use of the strategy following his election generally frames ideas in relation to the results of actions, not the value of actions themselves. Examples related to domestic and foreign policy demonstrate Bush's strategy of encouraging support for specific policy goals and his focus on cause/effect arguments to legitimize decisions. Additionally,

when providing examples of policy successes, whether it is rehabilitating drug users because of funding faith-based initiatives or spreading freedom and democracy in the GWOT, the focus is kept on results. As President Bush acts as an agenda-setter for the government, he uses the bully pulpit to advocate for policy and is responsible for maintaining a coalition of which the Christian right is only one part. By focusing on instrumental-rational action, Bush can achieve these goals while broadening his appeal beyond what would be possible with a value-rational focus. Yet Bush's use of compassionate conservatism is an essential part of his outreach to the Christian right because it signifies his ability to exchange ideas with the conservative, evangelical community while demonstrating his understanding of the meaning their community places on social and political action. Bush also articulates this understanding when he characterizes political gains related to compassionate conservatism as the products of Christian activism and characterizes the policies that result from the Christian right's mobilization in support of Bush as a renewal of American culture. Thus, Bush creates a powerful analogy in which activism, in the form of civic participation and motivated by evangelical values, sanctifies society by spreading those values that are analogous to the conversion experience in which the acceptance of Christian ideas leads to salvation and a transformation of spirit. Significantly, Bush then claims these same values motivate the GWOT, providing an opportunity to sanctify the world through eliminating terrorism and opening the Middle East to more Christian activism.

Chapter 5:

Adoption and Retransmission of the Global War on Terror Narrative by Southern Baptist Convention Elites

This chapter contains an analysis of Southern Baptist Convention (SBC) elite rhetoric regarding the Global War on Terror (GWOT) while identifying rhetorical appeals adopted from George Bush's GWOT narrative and tracking the way those appeals are changed or reinforced. When relevant rhetorical appeals are identified in these pieces, their usage in evangelical rhetoric will be compared to their use in President Bush's war rhetoric to determine if SBC elites frame their arguments in a way that is consistent with the President's narrative. By tracking these rhetorical appeals, a better understanding of the process by which the narrative retransmitted to a conservative evangelical audience by their own elites can be gained, and the relationship between the new portrayal of the narrative, the norms, values, and rhetorical culture of the SBC, and Weber's theories on social action can be examined. This chapter does not seek to show that consensus was reached on any political issue within the membership of the SBC but instead focuses on the presentation of political agendas related to the GWOT in elite rhetoric and the relationship between the practice of rhetorical agency on the GWOT narrative and the rhetorical culture of the SBC.

Retransmitting the GWOT Narrative

In the process of retransmitting the GWOT narrative, the evangelical community has the opportunity to exercise their agency on the narrative. Typical forms of agency practiced by a community when retransmitting a narrative are reiteration, active interpretation, and recontextualization. Reiteration deals with the audience's decisions concerning information included in their retransmission of a narrative and the active decision to retransmit the narrative. Reiteration is essentially reinforcement through repetition. Active interpretation is the process by which the audience engages with rhetorical appeals, critiques arguments, and develops opinions on issues presented in the narrative.⁴⁴⁷

⁴⁴⁷ Adam Hodges, *The "War on Terror" Narrative: Discourse and Intertextuality in the Construction and Contestation of Sociopolitical Reality*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2011.

Through active interpretation, both individuals and the community wrestle with how to interpret the rhetorical appeals in a narrative and the issues they inform. In some cases, the rhetorical appeal may be accepted at face value, whereas other times they are expanded upon or connected to important values and ideas held by the interpreter. Recontextualization is the act of articulating or applying the ideas in the message in a different context than the one in which it was encountered.⁴⁴⁸ In the context of evangelical retransmission of the GWOT narrative, refined appeals are spread through the community as they are retransmitted through channels already trusted and in place, whether it be from the pulpit to congregations, word of mouth among individuals, or through specialty media like Christian radio channels and Christian internet news sites.

While the methodology of this analysis is consistent with the analysis in the earlier chapters, there are some important differences to note. First, the identification of rhetorical appeals will be divided into categories dependent on how the rhetorical appeals functioned in the original context of Bush's GWOT narrative. That is to say that rhetorical appeals used by President Bush as *ethos* appeals will be categorized in this chapter as *ethos* appeals because their function in the original narrative was to build the credibility of the President, whether in the retransmission their categorization technically changed or not.

Because the focus here is on rhetorical appeals that make up the GWOT narrative, there will be other significant rhetorical appeals that appear in the rhetoric of SBC elites that will not be represented in this analysis. The goal here is to determine if the GWOT narrative is present in SBC rhetoric and to illustrate the differences that appear in the SBC's retransmission of the GWOT narrative's appeals.

Case Study: Identifying the Bush GWOT Narrative in the Rhetoric of Rev. Dr. Richard Land

As the President of the Ethics and Religious Liberties Commission of the Southern Baptist Convention of the United States, Dr. Richard Land spearheads the public policy initiatives and sets the political agenda on social and moral

⁴⁴⁸⁴⁴⁸ Ibid.

issues for over 16 million evangelicals in over 45,000 individual congregations and faith communities.⁴⁴⁹ His prominent role heading the political wing of the SBC positioned him to actively affect public policy and attempt to influence the opinions and actions of conservative evangelical Christians throughout the United States. Throughout his career he has cultivated influence well beyond the membership of the SBC through his roles as a nationally syndicated radio talk show host⁴⁵⁰ and editor of *The Christian Post*, an online newspaper with a monthly readership of 7.5 million⁴⁵¹ unique visitors.⁴⁵² In 2001, Land was appointed to the United States Commission on International Religious Freedom (USCIRF) by President Bush and served for a total of five terms for the organization. The USCIRF is a federal government commission charged with reviewing facts related to violations of religious freedoms all over the world and with making policy recommendations to the executive and legislative branches of the U.S. federal government.

This appointment ensured Dr. Land would maintain access to the upper echelons of the Bush administrations, including to the President himself, in the form of policy advice on matters of religious freedom. Dr. Land was also invited to take part in weekly conference calls with the President, or his aid Tim Goeglein, and a number of other Christian right leaders so that the President could be kept informed of conservative evangelical issues and take measure of the attitudes of that community. The close professional relationship that developed between Dr. Land and President Bush made Land an important surrogate for the President when dealing with the SBC and the larger evangelical community. Land was also the only serving high ranking member of a major conservative evangelical denomination with an official federal position appointed by the Bush administration. Land's influence in the SBC, actively directing their political outreach, ensured that Bush's administration would have influence in SBC policy, while Land's role as policy advisor gave the SBC's political agenda some salience in the White House. The close relationship between Land and Bush also demonstrates the potential agency high ranking elites can have when

⁴⁴⁹ The Ethics & Religious Liberty Commission, "The Ethics & Religious Liberty Commission," The Ethics & Religious Liberty Commission, accessed October 27, 2012, <http://erlc.com/erlc/about/>.

⁴⁵⁰ Prior to 2012, Dr. Land hosted *Richard Land Live!* Currently he co-hosts *For Faith & Family*. *For Faith & Family* is carried by 250 stations across the United States. Press@drichardland.com, "About Dr. Richard Land," Dr. Richard Land, accessed October 27, 2012, <http://www.drrichardland.com/about>.

⁴⁵¹ Christian Post, "2012 Media Kit," ChristianPost.com, About Us, accessed October 27, 2012, <http://www.christianpost.com/services/christian-advertising/downloads/mediakit2012.pdf>.

⁴⁵² The readership of *Christian Post* was 1.3 million monthly visitors in 2008, showing a large increase in the online media presence in the last few years, and indicating a growing influence for Dr. Land and the other contributors to this news source. Christian Post, "2008 Media Kit," ChristianPost.com, Demographics, accessed October 27, 2012, http://www.christianpost.com/mediakit/download/cp_mediakit_offline.pdf.

engaging with politicians. As will be shown in this chapter, Land actively introduced just war theory as part of the GWOT narrative before Bush incorporated it into his rhetoric, illustrating the reciprocal nature of rhetorical agency in constituent/politician relationships.

It is important to note that the rhetorical context in which Dr. Land produced his public discourse was very different from that of President Bush. Land's position in the SBC did not necessitate he produce public speeches. Instead, his public discourse was delivered primarily through articles or open letters penned for public consumption. These articles were largely published through official SBC publications or on websites run by the SBC. They also generally had a narrow focus related to one political issue or were designed to respond to specific political events. These articles specifically targeted SBC members and were distributed in ways that facilitated SBC member access. Yet, other forms of discourse were also important for Land, including public interviews and articles written as a guest contributor for non-SBC media. These forms of discourse were important in allowing Land to take his message to the wider range of evangelical audiences as well as the general public.

To allow for comparisons between the appeals in the Bush GWOT narrative and their retransmission by Dr. Land it is necessary to select a representative sample of Land's discourse by examining discourse equivalent to that of Bush; meaning pieces are selected that span the GWOT years of the Bush presidency, that were designed to reach a broad audience, and that are directly related to important elements of the GWOT. These categories correlate to the selection of Bush's speeches ranging from across the GWOT years of his presidency, selected for total viewership, and selected due to their importance to the GWOT timeline. Additionally, as the analysis of Bush's rhetoric has shown, sometimes issues unrelated to the GWOT are connected to the GWOT through rhetorical links. Articles with a narrow focus on topics not related to the GWOT will not be the subject of direct Neo-Aristotelian analysis. However, in some cases they are important in understanding the degree to which Land makes use of rhetorical appeals identified in the analysis. In these cases, they will be cited.

The list of articles and interviews analyzed is as follows. In October of 2002, as a response to a letter penned by Wilton Gregory on behalf of the United States Conference of Catholic Bishops that condemned any preemptive military action taken against Iraq and characterized such an action as a violation of just war theory, Dr. Land and a group of evangelical leaders penned an open letter to President Bush, outlining their support for the preemptive

invasion of Iraq based on the same doctrine.⁴⁵³ This work, often called the Land Letter, is the most prominent example of public discourse produced by Land and will be included because of both its relevance to the GWOT and the reach it had among the general public. Following the production of the Land Letter, Pope John Paul II and Archbishop Renato Raffaele Martino would also denounce the invasion of Iraq on behalf of the Vatican.⁴⁵⁴ Other high profile clergy representing other Christian denominations, including George Carey the Arch Bishop of Canterbury, joined the early opposition of the Invasion of Iraq.⁴⁵⁵ The difference between the reaction of the Vatican and the Elites of the Christian right illustrates the diversity of thought among Christian faith groups and their ability to argue contrasting positions using the same doctrines. It also represents an attempt by the Christian right to establish themselves as a moral authority greater than the Vatican as well as a practical example of the restructuring of religious alliances along ideological lines.

Two interviews, one by PBS Frontline and one produced by Beliefnet.com, will also be included to represent the discourse that was disseminated widely to the general public. The discourse related to important elements of the GWOT will be drawn from the large body of articles Land produced for the SBC to inform its members of political issues. Six articles in this body of work were created to directly address the GWOT; they are entitled: "Draining the Swamps of Terrorists," "Seeking Justice in the Midst of Terror," "The Time has Arrived: Bush's Policy on Iraq Meets Just War Criteria," "This is Not Vietnam," "What would King Have Said About Saddam," and "Key to World Peace: Religious Freedom." These sources were produced from 2002-2007.

⁴⁵³ Wilton D. Gregory, "Letter to President Bush on Iraq," United States Conference of Catholic Bishops, September 13, 2002, accessed April 20, 2016, <http://www.usccb.org/issues-and-action/human-life-and-dignity/global-issues/middle-east/iraq/letter-to-president-bush-from-bishop-gregory-on-iraq-2002-09-13.cfm>. Additionally, two months later the conference would reaffirm this position with a letter to Bush drafted under the authority of the whole organization.

⁴⁵⁴ Associated Press, "Vatican Strongly Opposes Iraq War | Fox News," Fox News, March 12, 2003, <http://www.foxnews.com/story/2003/03/12/vatican-strongly-opposes-iraq-war.html>. Other criticisms from the Catholic Church would come before the Invasion of Iraq and included pleas from Pope John Paul II to avoid the war. See BBC, "Pope Warns against Iraq War," BBC News, December 25, 2002, <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/europe/2605367.stm>.

⁴⁵⁵ Jonathan Petre, "Carey 'wary' of Attack on Iraq," The Telegraph, September 30, 2002, accessed April 20, 2016, <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/uknews/1408680/Carey-wary-of-attack-on-Iraq.html>.

Appeals to *Ethos*

The *ethos* appeals described in this analysis refer to the *ethos* appeals that appear in Bush's GWOT narrative. In Land's public discourse, he makes little effort to strengthen his own credibility with his audience through *ethos* appeals. As a respected representative of the evangelical community, Land's *ethos* is largely proven by his credentials, his actions taken on behalf of the community and his insider status as an evangelical Christian. Yet the rhetorical appeals classified as *ethos* appeals in the Bush GWOT narrative are well represented. This section will show that Land actively retransmits Bush's *ethos* appeals related to Bush's insider status and his role as a defender of conservative evangelical political agenda, a role often referred to by the Christian right as a 'culture warrior'.

The PBS interview is a compilation of two separate interviews with Dr. Richard Land on November 18, 2003 and February 4, 2004 (presented by PBS as a unified account). This interview provides the bulk of the evidence that Land actively retransmitted Bush's *ethos* appeals in his discourse. The presence of these appeals can largely be attributed to the variety of subjects discussed by Dr. Land and the comparatively narrow focus of his other writings. This interview will be discussed first because of its comprehensive nature. This analysis of this interview will also allow for the identifications of patterns that would otherwise only appear when examining the whole corpus of Land's discourse, as it does not solely focus on national security or the GWOT but instead incorporates that discussion into a larger, general discussion of evangelical political concerns and the Bush presidency.

In total, 37 different questions are asked, and Dr. Land provides a coherent message on how he understands the relationship between conservative evangelical Christians (whom he often simply refers to as evangelicals) and the President and how he feels the President is reacting to conservative evangelical political action. The very first question asked of Land in the PBS interviews relates to the reception Southern Baptists received from the Bush White House. Dr. Land answers as follows:

Well, there's no question this is the most receptive White House to our concerns and to our perspective of any White House that I've dealt with, and I've dealt with every White House from Reagan on. In the Reagan administration, they would usually return our phone calls. In the Bush 41 administration, they often would return our phone calls, but not quite as quickly, and

sometimes not quite as receptively. In the Clinton administration, they quit accepting our phone calls after a while. In this administration, they call us, and they say, "What is your take on this? How does your group feel about this?" I don't know if there's any question that this administration understands that Southern Baptists and other evangelicals are a very significant part of their coalition.⁴⁵⁶

By describing the relationship each president has had with evangelicals, Dr. Land effectively illustrates the generally positive relationships evangelicals share with Republican presidents and then juxtaposes that relationship with a negative description of the Clinton administration creating an insider/outsider contrast between the conservative evangelical community represented by the SBC and Republicans and Democrats, respectively. This contrast also allows Land to highlight the unique nature of his experience with the Bush White House, where the President actively seeks the opinion and support of conservative evangelicals instead of simply responding to their requests. This strategy effectively elevates Bush status because of his special concern for evangelical opinions even among Republican insiders. The unique relationship is then reinforced with the use of the word *coalition*, stressing the essential role evangelicals play in Bush's political base.

As identified in Chapter Three, the Christian right generally displays characteristics consistent with an Insider doctrine.⁴⁵⁷ Therefore, Land's characterization of Bush as an insider is significant because it affirms Bush's access to group-based claims of truth, in this case related to the biblical message and moral authority, which provide a power and trust within the community not accessible to outsiders. Further, it ascribes a common meaning to actions by Bush and the community while implying a sense that their actions are products of the same motivation. The heightened sense of group solidarity that occurs within communities who exhibit characteristics of the insider doctrine diminishes counter arguing amongst insiders while increasing distrust of those labeled as outsiders, in this case Democrats represented by the Clinton presidency. Land also demonstrates a heightened sense of group prestige with his statement that evangelicals are a "very significant part of their coalition." This final statement is designed by Land to be interpreted as a statement of fact, but is actually an argument being put forward to the general

⁴⁵⁶ Public Broadcasting System, "Interview Richard Land," PBS, April 29, 2004, <http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/pages/frontline/shows/jesus/interviews/land.html>.

⁴⁵⁷ Pg. 108. Robert K. Merton, "Insiders and Outsiders: A Chapter in the Sociology of Knowledge," 1972

audience of the interview that evangelicals play an important political role in America. The argument is repeated throughout this interview using a variety of techniques.

Land reinforces Bush's insider status in his response to the follow-up question, "What do you think is going on here? Do you think it's simply because Bush is an evangelical himself?"⁴⁵⁸ Land replies:

I think that there's no question that this president expresses his faith in overtly evangelical terms in a way that is much more recognizable, much more identifiable as being quote, "one of us" than the presidents that I've known in my lifetime. And I can remember every president from Eisenhower on. That, I think, comes from the fact that he was essentially raised in Midland, Texas, in his formative years... Well, of course, the very warp and woof of the life in the society in which George W. was raised is a very different one. It's an evangelical one. It is one in which faith is something you talk about a good deal. You're encouraged to talk about it, and people talk about it with each other. He knows the lingo, he knows the style, and he has the substance. You know, Bill Clinton knew the language. Bill Clinton could talk like a Southern Baptist evangelist when he wanted to. But they hated what he was doing with it, because they were in fundamental disagreement with him about so many very important social issues. Now we have a president who they feel like really sees the world the way they see it, understands them, is sympathetic to them, and has an administration that understands that they are a very important part of a governing coalition for a Republican president.⁴⁵⁹

Two separate rhetorical strategies are unfolding here. Firstly, Bush's evangelical convictions are articulated through a direct statement in the first line and then through a discussion of his upbringing. This discussion portrays Bush as a member of a community which embraces evangelical values and accredits his use of faith-based language and tropes as products of the norms of that community. Additionally, the insider/outsider relationships that were established in Land's earlier answer are expanded in this example. Once again the Bush/Clinton divide is being highlighted, but this time the characterization of Clinton portrays him as actively deceiving evangelical Christians by using language

⁴⁵⁸ Public Broadcasting System, "Interview Richard Land," 2004.

⁴⁵⁹ Ibid.

familiar and comfortable to that audience while acting in a way contrary to their beliefs and values. By focusing on the differences between the characters of the two Presidents, Land not only criticizes Clinton but in emphasizing his contrast to Bush also alludes the nature of Bush's rhetoric is genuine. The final sentence of this statement is particularly important in relation to Weber's concept of *Verstehen*, as it signals that Land affirms that Bush shares a sense of meaning and understanding, through a similarly shared worldview with members of the conservative evangelical community. This section highlights the public nature of the President's faith, drawing attention to one of the common strategies Bush used to build his *ethos* identified in Chapter Four.

As the interview continues, Land becomes more explicit about the relationship between the President's faith and his actions on public policy. When asked if the President was considered pro-life, Dr. Land says the following:

He is. George Bush is pro-life. Let me tell you the difference between George Bush and Ronald Reagan. Ronald Reagan was pro-life by gut instinct. It just horrified him. The whole process horrified him. He just couldn't conceive of people arguing that people ought to be able to routinely kill unborn babies. But it was more of a traditional value, American value, and Western civilization kind of gut instinct with him. With George W. Bush, it is a settled faith conviction, and I'll take settled faith convictions over gut instincts anytime.⁴⁶⁰

Importantly, he further articulates the President's position when he is asked to clarify the term "settled faith conviction."

He believes that the Bible is very clear that life begins at conception that God is involved when conception takes place, which is what the Bible clearly teaches... The president comes out of that [sic] evangelical faith. It's part of the warp and woof of his being. He is offended at very basic levels that we have a society that kills approximately one out every three babies conceived.⁴⁶¹

Here Land identifies the President's position on abortion and actively defines Bush's faith as the motivation for that position. Land then affirms the role biblicism plays in Bush's decision-making process. Land also reinforces the

⁴⁶⁰ Public Broadcasting System, "Interview Richard Land," 2004.

⁴⁶¹ Ibid.

hierarchy he has already created between true insider status and simple political alliance. Land illustrates this hierarchy by contrasting Bush's position with President Reagan's. When using this strategy, Land is careful not to criticize the conservative icon but is still able to build Bush's *ethos* with the evangelical community by showing his conviction to conservative evangelical values and the resulting support for their political agenda as surpassing even that of the President that first gave the evangelical political agenda so much power in American politics. Furthermore, Land draws a distinction between traditional American values and evangelical values. The results of the two are the same, an opposition to abortion, but it is the motivations of each that differ, and Land's statements clearly rank value-rational motivations derived from belief in scriptural authority above more instrumental-rational motivations as represented by traditional political thought.

In the last statement, Land used the rhetorical power of definition to make an explicit argument about the character of Bush's faith, rhetorically defining Bush's beliefs for his audience. It is important to note that this definition is based on an interpretation of motivations for actions and the meaning applied to actions. Next he defines the relationship those perceived beliefs have on Bush's actions as president when asked to "talk a little bit about what President Bush has done with this belief [his biblical-based opposition to abortion], and how he sort of made a difference for you."⁴⁶² Land connects the insider/outsider relationship that exists between evangelicals and politicians in Washington with the President's active support on the issue of the rights of unborn babies. He says,

Well, on the embryonic stem cell research speech that he gave, I believe he did more in one speech to humanize unborn babies to the American people than has been done by any other one speech in the history of the country since *Roe v. Wade*. I thought it was a magnificent speech. You look at the polls afterwards, two-thirds of the people disagreed with him before the speech. Two-thirds of the people agreed with him after the speech. I believe it was a fundamental sea change in the way the American people began to look at unborn babies in the womb. He was under tremendous pressure to compromise on the embryonic stem cell research issue from Republicans, who get a lot of money from stem cell research, and who were putting enormous pressure on the president.

⁴⁶² Ibid.

Instead, he fulfilled his campaign promise, and gave a very principled speech with a very principled approach.⁴⁶³

Land highlights the President's active support for the evangelical agenda and then directly connects it to the insider relationship he shares with evangelicals. Instead of contrasting Bush's relationship with conservative evangelicals with the typical adversary of the Christian right, the Democrats, Dr. Land highlights the special nature of Bush's relationship to evangelicals amongst Republicans. Bush is contrasted with other Republicans who, though usually politically aligned with evangelical Christians, are shown here as acting in ways motivated by self-interest and taking actions contrary to evangelical values and beliefs. Importantly, the meaning given to Bush's actions is affected by his motive for action (as defined in the previous answer as Bible-based opposition); Bush's insider status is reinforced by characterizing his actions as directly motivated by a sense of values he shares with the Christian right, thus making Bush's policy speeches and actions a form of Christian activism. This message is reinforced through repetition of the term *principled* in its application to both Bush's speech and his approach to governing. This is an important example of Land actively interpreting the motivation for the President's actions and ascribing meaning to those actions based on the values of the SBC. This process ties into Weber's *Verstehen* thesis because, in the process of creating insider status, Land applies the values and ideas of the community to Bush's actions in a way that conforms them to the norms of the community, regardless of the meaning of the actions from a political perspective.

In this quotation, Land also highlights another characteristic of Bush's approach to governing: its effectiveness. According to Land, this effectiveness is represented by a shift in support on the issue of the rights of unborn children and a fundamental change in the way the issue is perceived among the general public. Importantly, as the point of contrast between the governing styles being compared is motivation for social action, an implicit argument is made that actions motivated by a commitment to the beliefs and values of the conservative evangelical community are more effective. This contrast makes an implicit argument for the effectiveness of evangelical activism and argues that Bush's actions are superior in both moral quality and effectiveness compared to other actions taken by Republicans on the same issue. The language is also reminiscent of Bush's discourse describing compassionate

⁴⁶³ Ibid.

conservatism, with the major difference that Land explicitly roots political action in the value of biblicism, while Bush often framed political action as a means of achieving an end goal. Yet, despite small differences the strategy in these passages mirrors Bush's *ethos* strategy of citing support for the evangelical political agenda.

Though abortion is one of the main topics of discussion in this interview, the rhetorical strategy of linking Bush to the Christian right's political agenda is representative of Land's discourse on a number of issues. When discussing the topic of same-sex marriage, Land argues that Bush represents conservative evangelicals and the SBC's view as well. The interviewer asks, "This summer President Bush talked about gay marriage. He spoke about it in the Rose Garden. Tell me what your input was in that." Land responds by claiming he had no input but was not surprised at the President's position. He continues by saying,

I think most of the Baptists were not surprised, but were very gratified by the president's speech in the Rose Garden, in which he said, 'Look, I think that marriage ought to be between a man and a woman.' Now of course, in saying that, he's saying what 70 percent of Americans believe. He's saying what most of Western civilization has believed for most of its existence... We're glad he's on our side of the culture war.⁴⁶⁴

The explicit reference to the culture war and the affirmation that Bush has taken the side of the SBC illustrates Land's retransmission of Bush's own *ethos* appeals in which he cultivates a defender persona related to the conservative evangelical agenda. He continues to say that religious affiliation is the fault line that separates sides in the culture war and uses general voting patterns to argue that religious people support Bush. The culture war is an important construction in Land's discourse, and it will be discussed in greater depth in the *logos* section but here, the *ethos* qualities of the reference relate to Bush's insider status.

Bush's support for the Christian right's political agenda is consistently referenced in Land's discourse. One example comes from Land's discussion of Human Trafficking in this interview. When discussing human trafficking Land gives credit to the evangelical community for bringing the issue to the President's attention. Then when asked

⁴⁶⁴ Ibid.

how the evangelical community influenced Bush so that he would include the issue in a speech to the U.N. Land says,

We had made it clear this is a very important issue to us, and to our constituencies. The president understood that. He was as horrified as any person would be. Once you become aware of this, how can you not be horrified by it? It is as cruel and as inhumane an activity as goes on anywhere in the world. I mean, I can't even begin to imagine the horror of being a child that is sold into sexual slavery. As I understand it [the President discussing the topic of Human Trafficking in a speech to the UN.], it [the inclusion of the topic] was part of the president saying, 'Look, you either live up to your responsibilities -- only together can we deal with this.' We made him aware of how important it was to us, but this was an easy sell. I mean, he was as horrified by it as we were.⁴⁶⁵

Land's statement is designed to call attention to the responsiveness of the President to the SBC's agenda and elevates the status of the Christian right as a foreign policy agenda-setter. Other *logos* elements appear in this statement, like the inclusion of a moral binary, yet as *ethos* it once again reinforces Bush's insider status and his defender persona. This time, however, that persona is expanded to an international context and Bush is presented as a protector of the weak. In other examples of Land's public discourse, he commonly calls attention to Bush's support for the Christian right's political agenda on a variety of issues.⁴⁶⁶

Land also argues that the President's insider status with the Christian right serves as grounds for evangelicals to trust his rhetoric and take him at his word. When asked about the President's use of religious language, Land counters the idea that it is a political strategy and instead explains:

⁴⁶⁵ Ibid.

⁴⁶⁶ For references related to **abortion and Stem cell research** see: Richard Land, "He Held the Line," Ethics and Religious Liberty Commission of the Southern Baptist Convention, August 10, 2001, <https://erlc.com/article/he-held-the-line>.; Richard Land, "ERLC Unveils Legislative Agenda for 2005," The Ethics and Religious Liberty Commission of the Southern Baptist Convention, January 15, 2005, accessed April 19, 2016, <https://erlc.com/article/erlc-unveils-legislative-agenda-for-2005-05v6i1>. **Religious freedom:** Richard Land, "The Prayer Breakfast and a President Who Feels Our Pain," The Ethics and Religious Liberty Commission of the Southern Baptist Convention, February 1, 2001, <https://erlc.com/article/the-prayer-breakfast-and-a-president-who-feels-our-pain>. **Faith Based Initiatives:** Richard Land, "Constitutionally Safe, Religiously Dangerous?," The Ethics and Religious Liberty Commission of the Southern Baptist Convention, March 7, 2001, <https://erlc.com/article/constitutionally-safe-religiously-dangerous>.

I think this idea that the president is signaling things to evangelicals is way too complex. I just don't think that that's the way that this administration works. Gerson is one of his chief speechwriters; he is an evangelical. I thought, at the time of its delivery, that his inaugural address was one of the best inaugural addresses that has ever been delivered by an American president -- one of the most eloquent, one of the most religious that's been in a long time... Bush's language, yes, it is more overtly religious and is much more comfortable talking about God and talking about divine power than would be the case with his immediate predecessors. But he's standing in a long American tradition here. I don't think that there's any conscious effort to signal things to evangelicals. His chief speechwriter is an evangelical. One of the reasons that this president is so effective as a speaker is that he says what he thinks, and he thinks what he says. ...⁴⁶⁷

Land's statement portrays Bush's speech as a product of his thoughts and beliefs instead of calculated political statements. He claims that the religious tone and content in Bush's speeches is a reflection of the President's faith and worldview. This statement partially counters criticism from Bush's opponents, but, if Land's statement is genuine, it also highlights the trust that develops within a community that embraces an insider doctrine. If Land's statement is not genuine and is instead a political calculation, it represents an attempt to encourage trust and overcome mistrust of outsiders.

The President's faith serves as a major focus of Land's first interview. In all, it contains 14 direct statements about the President's faith or beliefs the President held because of his faith. In relation to the GWOT, there is one declaration of the President's evangelical faith that stands out. The interviewer for PBS asks Land,

A lot of people on the left have charged that [use of religious language relating to the mission of the U.S.A.] is a bad thing. Thinking that you're doing God's will is a very big thought, and means that America is God's country, that we're on a mission, that we're on some sort of jihad ourselves. Can you respond to that?⁴⁶⁸

⁴⁶⁷ Ibid.

⁴⁶⁸ Ibid.

Land provides a response that focuses on the President's faith, "The problem with the left is that some of them don't think God has a side. George Bush and most of George Bush's supporters believe God has a side."⁴⁶⁹ For an evangelical, the language here is unequivocal confirmation of Bush's identification with their worldview. This rhetorical appeal makes a direct statement about the *ethos* of the President, and does it in a way that explicitly links to *logos* appeals in Bush's GWOT narrative. The statement itself also highlights the status of liberals as outsiders.

Land's answers in this interview show that, in his opinion, Bush has the authority and expertise to make difficult decisions and that his moral character means his decisions are the product of good judgment and evangelical values. A major part of Land's message focuses on illustrating the sense of trust between the President and evangelical Christians and articulating how that trust comes from a shared sense of values and beliefs. Land also argues that progress is being made on several political issues important to evangelicals and highlights both the President's role in this progress and the effectiveness of efforts made by the evangelical community. Land could have communicated this message to his audience in many different ways, but his chosen method was to make use of the *ethos* related arguments used by the President in constructing his GWOT narrative: highlighting active presidential support of the evangelical political agenda and reminding the audience of the public nature of the President's faith.

The remainder of the analysis related to *ethos* finds that Dr. Land's interview "A Christian Defense of the War in Iraq," does not contain any of the *ethos* appeals that appear in his PBS interview. The lack of *ethos* appeals is largely due to the interview's brevity and its pinpoint focus on the War in Iraq, though it does still convey support for the President's opinions and agendas. However, as the second interview is largely Land presenting his opinion on the GWOT, much of that support is articulated through *logos* and *pathos* appeals.⁴⁷⁰ These *logos* and *pathos* appeals will be described in detail later in this chapter.

Likewise, Land's body of articles and open letters generally do not transmit Bush's *ethos* appeals. Once again, this absence is the product of Land's narrow focus. It is important to note that the transmission of *ethos* appeals from Bush's GWOT narrative actually functions as *logos* in Land's work. Both the general argument that Bush is an insider and the related argument that he can be trusted to act morally are logical constructs that are used to reinforce

⁴⁶⁹ Ibid.

⁴⁷⁰ Richard Land, "A Christian Defense of the War in Iraq," Beliefnet.com, March 2006, <http://www.beliefnet.com/News/2006/03/A-Christian-Defense-Of-The-War-In-Iraq.aspx>.

other *logos* strands. Therefore, the *ethos* appeals from Bush's narrative are only present when they are a required element of the logical case being made in an article. The brevity of Land's articles and narrow focus on specific elements of the GWOT often limits the need to establish a case that Bush is a conservative evangelical insider. Yet, on a few occasions, the articles do contain references to the quality of Bush's judgment. The Land Letter opens with a statement praising Bush,

...we are writing to express our deep appreciation for your bold, courageous, and visionary leadership. Americans everywhere have been inspired by your eloquent and clear articulation of our nation's highest ideals of freedom and of our resolve to defend that freedom both here and across the globe.⁴⁷¹

Here the quality of Bush's character and leadership are extolled and his defender persona is affirmed. In the article, "Seeking Justice in the Midst of Terror," Land states, "I salute President Bush for his determination to conduct an all-out campaign 'to rout out and whip terrorism.' In the face of the unrefined evil of terrorism, this is the only 'just' thing to do."⁴⁷² Here Land praises Bush's character and affirms the moral nature of his decision-making. This idea is repeated in "The Time has Arrived: Bush's Policy on Iraq meets Just War Criteria" when Land says, "I am extremely grateful that we have a President who has learned the costly lessons of the twentieth century and who is determined to lead America and the world to a far different and better future in the twenty first century."⁴⁷³ These examples show Land's support for Bush's character in their simplest form.

Land does not, however, adopt all of Bush's *ethos* strategies to support his argument that Bush is an evangelical insider. Land does not create rhetorical connections between evangelical views and symbols of America, nor does he highlight the unity between American culture and the Christian right. At certain points, he does show how the values of the two should be generally similar, but Land does not seek to minimize differences that occur between segments of the culture. Instead he highlights divisions that exist between segments of American society. The

⁴⁷¹ Richard Land, "The So-called 'Land Letter,'" Ethics and Religious Liberty Commission of the Southern Baptist Convention, October 3, 2003, <https://erlc.com/article/the-so-called-land-letter/>.

⁴⁷² Richard Land, "Seeking Justice in the Midst of Terror," Ethics and Religious Liberty Commission of the Southern Baptist Convention, accessed October 8, 2001, <https://erlc.com/article/seeking-justice-in-the-midst-of-terror>.

⁴⁷³ Richard Land, "The Time Has Arrived: Bush Policy on Iraq Meets Just War Criteria," Ethics and Religious Liberty Commission of the Southern Baptist Convention, February 06, 2003, <https://erlc.com/article/the-time-has-arrived>.

simple explanation for this appeals absence is that Land does not seek to build a coalition. While Bush uses this appeal to elevate the status of evangelicals and make them a more visible segment of America, he still needs to maintain support of other groups. Land has no such requirement and is able instead to use more relevant arguments to reify Bush's insider status.

Appeals to *Logos*

Unlike the *ethos* appeals from Bush's GWOT narrative, the narrative's *logos* appeals are well represented in the majority of Land's discourse. Therefore, this section will follow the chronological format used in Chapter Four in order to show the way the *logos* case expanded and adapted during the course of the GWOT.

The article, "Draining the Swamps of Terrorism," was published on October 8, 2001, the day after the first military actions in the war in Afghanistan and just over two weeks after Bush's September 20th Address to the Nation. In this article, Land actively retransmits the President's war frame for the 9/11 terrorist attacks. He continues by retransmitting the moral binary established in Bush's rhetoric using both the character-based *logos* chain and the action-based *logos* chain. The character-based *logos* chain is largely established through the application of terms to the <terrorists> ideograph including *evil* and *fanatical*. When the character-based *logos* chain is coupled with the action-based *logos* chain that extolls the positive goals of the United States, the difference between the evil nature of the <terrorists> and the good nature of the United States is made clearer.

When introducing the action-based binary, Land states,

One of the many examples of the moral difference between the United States and its allies, i.e. the civilized world, and our opponents, the forces of barbarism and terror, is that we are taking great pains to minimize civilian, noncombatant casualties and we are targeting only legitimate military

targets. The terrorists deliberately attacked our civilian population in an attempt to inflict maximum loss of human life, all of it noncombatant.⁴⁷⁴

This statement directly references a moral binary, evokes the civilization versus barbarians metanarrative, and makes reference to the *jus in bello* concepts of distinction and proportionality. The distinction between combatant and civilian shown by the United States is then directly contrasted to actions taken by <terrorists> to provide a concrete example related to just war theory in the statement,

The terrorists deliberately attacked our civilian population in an attempt to inflict maximum loss of human life, all of it noncombatant. We hold the Taliban accountable for aiding and abetting these murderous thugs. We have a duty to answer acts of terrorism.⁴⁷⁵

The wording of this statement, specifically the phrase “duty to answer,” alludes to the just war principle of right intention. Land essentially argues that responding to an injustice qualifies as just cause.⁴⁷⁶

Land later reinforces the binary by calling attention to Bush’s decision to provide humanitarian aid to civilians in Afghanistan and citing the United States’ invasion of Afghanistan as a defensive action conducted when all diplomatic efforts failed. The characterization of the war in Afghanistan as a defensive action allows it to fulfill the just war criterion of last resort. Importantly, while making this case, Land demonstrates a commitment to biblicism, saying, “The 13th chapter of the Book of Romans tells us that government has the biblical authority to use lethal

⁴⁷⁴ Richard Land, “Draining the Swamp of Terrorists,” Ethics and Religious Liberty Commission of the Southern Baptist Convention, October 08, 2001, <https://erlc.com/article/draining-the-swamp-of-terrorists>.

⁴⁷⁵ Ibid. Also the actual facts related to this argument are far more complex than Land expresses, showing his unwillingness to critically assess the promises of the Bush administration. Many human rights organizations criticized the United States and coalition forces for failing to take significant steps to protect against civilian casualties. Center for Civilians in Conflict, “Afghanistan,” Center for Civilians in Conflict, accessed May 2, 2016, <http://civiliansinconflict.org/our-work/countries/afghanistan/>; The Watson Institute for International and Public Affairs, “Afghan Civilians,” The Watson Institute for International and Public Affairs, March 2015, <http://watson.brown.edu/costsofwar/costs/human/civilians/afghan/>; Additionally, in the course of the conflict, over 26,000 civilian deaths directly related to the war have been documented in Afghanistan, with between 112,00 and 175,000 civilians killed in Iraq. Determining the number killed by U.S. forces is difficult as no official data before 2008 were kept (or released) by the U.S. military. However, recent studies have shown that between 10%-20% of civilian casualties were caused by coalition forces or allied parties. The data indicate that that percentage declines yearly. J. Bohannon, “Counting the Dead in Afghanistan,” *Science* 331, no. 6022 (2011). American Association for the Advancement of Science, “Data and Documents,” *Science*, accessed May 02, 2016, <http://science.sciencemag.org/content/331/6022/1256/suppl/DC1>; Iraq Body Count, “Iraq Body Count Database,” Iraq Body Count, October 2015, <https://www.iraqbodycount.org/database/>.

⁴⁷⁶ Land is not without basis, yet what qualifies as just cause and right intent is a topic widely debated. For more in-depth discussion of this concept and interpretations of just war theory, see Jeff McMahan, “Just Cause for War,” *Ethics & International Affairs* 19, no. 03 (2005): 7-10.

force to exact justice.”⁴⁷⁷ By paraphrasing the book of Romans, Land constructs the argument that the United States government constitutes a just authority and therefore fulfills another criterion of just war theory. While the character-based and action-based appeals in this article are both related to criteria of just war theory, Land does not yet specifically cite the doctrine. However, the presence of just war language from this early date is important because it highlights the ability for elites of important constituencies to reframe important issues while situating the new frames into narratives constructed by politicians. The simple logical construction of this article and the arguments used to construct the moral binary that is present are consistent with the Bush narrative as it appeared in Bush’s speeches from this early stage in the GWOT. Land’s most significant rhetorical element adopted from Bush is the use of the moral binary to justify action against <terrorists> and his assertion that the same moral authority justifies action against Afghanistan.

Land’s second publication on that same day, “Seeking Justice in the Midst of Terror,” briefly explains just war theory and argues that under that doctrine the United States government, represented primarily by the President and Congress, constitutes a legitimate authority with the power to conduct war. The fact that Land produced two articles that were published on the same day illustrates the compartmentalized nature and narrow focus of his writing. It also provides evidence that despite the fact that just war theory went unnamed in the previous article, it was a foundational element of Land’s rhetorical strategy from the earliest stages of his GWOT discourse.

This article follows similar *logos* patterns as the last. Land continues to build the character-based appeals related to the good/evil binary by applying modifiers to the <terrorists> ideograph or equivalent parties. This time he includes *unrefined evil*, *ghastly*, *cowardly villains*, and *madness*. However, when he reinforces the binary through the action-based chain of logical appeals, his justifications also expands the character-based *logos* chain to connect the United States to God.⁴⁷⁸ When outlining the proper response to terrorism, Land states,

We have a duty to answer acts of terrorism. As Christians, we must pray for our enemies, and we cannot seek personal vengeance. However, we should expect our government to exact justice. Any

⁴⁷⁷Richard Land, “Draining the Swamp of Terrorists,” 2001.

⁴⁷⁸ Richard Land, “Seeking Justice in the Midst of Terror,” Ethics and Religious Liberty Commission of the Southern Baptist Convention, October 08, 2001, <https://erlc.com/article/seeking-justice-in-the-midst-of-terror>.

military action will be designed to thwart the ability of this enemy to continue its ghastly campaign of terror.⁴⁷⁹

The actions here are divided between an evil campaign of terror and the just act of thwarting the enemies' combat abilities, an idea consistent with the just war theory criteria of *jus in bello* proportionality, military necessity, and *jus ad bellum* right intention. Land is also clear to defend against the idea that the invasion of Afghanistan is an act of vengeance, which would be contrary to Christian teaching.

Land also defines the way the expectation that governments can seek justice relates to just war theory and provides an historical example. He then elaborates on the biblical foundations for just war theory by citing the same passage referenced in "Draining the Swamps of Terrorism." He states,

The key Scripture passage supporting just-war theory is Romans 13:4. The Apostle Paul writes that it is God who ordains the secular state to reward good and to punish evil. God established the state to 'bear the sword,' that is, to use lethal force to keep the peace and maintain justice.⁴⁸⁰

In this statement that once again garners its authority from the value of biblicism, the connection between action and character occurs in a way that connects the United States' character with God. The state, the United States of America in the example of the GWOT, is directly mandated by God to use lethal force to punish evil. The character of the United States as a chosen nation aligns it with the will of God; God's will then dictates the action that must be taken and frames that action as an essential duty of the divinely established state. A final quotation provides context for the scope of the divinely ordained battle for justice. Land states, "Sadly, the resort to armed conflict is the price human beings must periodically pay for the right to live in a moral universe."⁴⁸¹ The conflict is characterized as essential in maintaining morality in the world, demonstrating both a moral and worldwide scope for the GWOT.

Land's next work, *The Land Letter*, was published October 3, 2002, and consists of a step by step justification of the invasion of Iraq using the criteria set forth by just war theory. Every element of just war theory is discussed. Land argues that the invasion meets every requirement of the doctrine. He provides evidence to support his judgment by

⁴⁷⁹ Ibid.

⁴⁸⁰ Ibid.

⁴⁸¹ Ibid.

citing past actions taken by Saddam Hussein, predicting hypothetical outcomes of inaction, and providing references from Bush's speeches that discuss American goals and military tactics⁴⁸². Land does not call into question any of the information provided by the Bush administration, readily accepting their characterization of events and relationships in Iraq.⁴⁸³

The Land Letter actively retransmits the moral dichotomy present in Bush's rhetoric. Character-based appeals are generally reserved for Saddam Hussein. A representative example of Land's description of Saddam Hussein is in the following statement, "He stands convicted by his own record as a brutal dictator who cannot be trusted to abide by any agreement he makes."⁴⁸⁴ There is an implicit argument, supported by the use of Bush's statements as evidence, that Hussein contrasts to Bush in regards to trustworthiness and that they stand as proxies for their representative parties. Land provides an even more extreme connection between Hussein and the evil side of the binary when he addresses proportionality. He argues that the harm caused by the invasion will be less than the damage Hussein would cause to his own people or the rest of the world if he goes unchallenged. He then creates an analogy between Saddam Hussein and Adolf Hitler saying,

How different and how much safer would the history of the twentieth century have been had the allies confronted Hitler when he illegally reoccupied the Rhineland in 1936 in clear violation of Germany's treaty agreements? It is at least possible that tens of millions of the lives lost in World War II might not have been lost if the Allies had enforced treaty compliance then instead of appeasing a murderous dictator.⁴⁸⁵

This statement also serves to tie the Invasion of Iraq to the larger American metanarrative of World War II, a common tactic used in Bush's discourse.

⁴⁸² Richard Land, "The So-called 'Land Letter,'" 2003.

⁴⁸³ The complete lack of critical assessment regarding the Bush administration's arguments is a common theme in Land's rhetoric. This thesis does not attempt to assess Land's motivations on that subject, but rhetorically they are presented as fact. Further, Land articulates a sense of trust in the President and even once evidence showed the President mislead the country about important details on the GWOT, Land does not criticize his presentation of facts related to military matters.

⁴⁸⁴ Richard Land, "The So-called 'Land Letter,'" 2003.

⁴⁸⁵ Ibid.

The action-based *logos* appeals are more numerous in the letter. They form the basic evidence for Land's argument. While arguing that the invasion has just intent, Land states, "Our nation does not intend to destroy, conquer, or exploit Iraq."⁴⁸⁶ While characterizing the invasion as a war of last resort, Land says about Hussein, "he prevaricates and obfuscates, he continues to obtain and develop the weapons of mass destruction which he will use to terrorize the world community of nations."⁴⁸⁷ Similar action-based appeals that connect the United States to good and Saddam Hussein to evil are present in the arguments related to all seven criteria of just war theory. This letter represents the single most comprehensive case that the invasion of Iraq is a just war in Land's body of discourse. However, it is important to note that very little factual evidence is provided related to the goals of the United States beyond that taken directly from the President's rhetoric. This observation is essential in judging the degree to which the Bush GWOT narrative was adopted by Land. While his argument concerning just war theory predates the President's allusions to the doctrine, it is the President's definition of the events of 9/11 and the following conflict, rhetorical frames, binary *logos* structure, and interpretation of relevant evidence that Land transmits to his audience as justification for his conclusions about just war theory. While the timeline for the development of the *logos* chains that connect the actions of the United States in the GWOT to just war theory show Land contributing this innovative leap to the larger narrative, the use of Bush's arguments as a foundation show that a consistent narrative was used between the two men with both contributing to the agency of its development.⁴⁸⁸

Land's article, "The Time has Arrived: Bush Policy on Iraq Meets Just War Criteria," published February 6, 2003, is constructed from the Land Letter in its entirety, sections of "Seeking Justice in the Midst of Terror" that introduce just war theory, and a section of an interview with Dr. Land published that same day by the German newspaper *Rheinischer Merkur*.⁴⁸⁹ The majority of the *logos* appeals from this article have already been discussed. The new section of text repeats previous patterns by reinforcing the evil character of <terrorists> with the term "bloodthirsty" and other modifiers.⁴⁹⁰ It uses biblical references to lend authority to the argument that just war theory is applicable

⁴⁸⁶ Ibid.

⁴⁸⁷ Ibid.

⁴⁸⁸ This thesis does not seek to argue that Land was the first to use a just war frame to describe the GWOT. Innovative refers here to the exchange between the parties of the SBC and the Bush administration. Like culture war discourse, just war theory is a common theme in the Christian right.

⁴⁸⁹ Richard Land, "The Time Has Arrived: Bush Policy on Iraq Meets Just War Criteria," 2003.

⁴⁹⁰ Ibid.

and should be used to assess the GWOT.⁴⁹¹ Additionally, new appeals are included that justify a case for “anticipatory self-defense.” These appeals are drawn directly from arguments made by Condoleezza Rice, Bush’s National Security Advisor at the time, and use her own words as evidence. In the closing statement, Land states,

Conducting war in a just manner is an act of Christian love that seeks to accomplish the divinely ordained duty of the state: to punish and restrain evil and to protect and reward good. The Bush administration’s policy vis-à-vis Saddam Hussein fits well within the framework of Just War theory.⁴⁹²

This statement represents an evolution of Land’s *logos* appeals that changes the entire argument related to just war theory. Just war is expressed as an act of Christian love. This language is reminiscent of Bush’s compassionate conservatism discourse and its eventual expansion to include foreign policy issues and serve as justification for the GWOT, by means of promoting democracy and freedom abroad. The statement also represents the repeated claim that pursuit of just war is divinely mandated; the state must punish evil in order to comply with its divinely ordained duty.

Land’s argument effectively characterizes the GWOT as a form of value-rational action for those who accept the values of biblicism and activism, making support for the war value-rational as well. While the logic of the just war theory could appeal to an instrumental-rational form of support for an audience who does not affirm the value of biblicism, for the conservative evangelical, the value of the act is directly related to fulfilling religious obligations. Said another way, the actions and ends may determine if a war is just, as the evidence provided in the Land Letter attempted to do, but once the judgment is made, conducting just war becomes an act that’s value is derived from the state’s role in submitting to divine authority and supporting the state in that action is an act whose value is derived from an individual’s submission to that authority.

Land’s “This is not Vietnam,” published on March 19, 2003, the day of the first combat operations in the invasion of Iraq and the day of the delivery of Bush’s War message, serves as a response to criticism of the invasion. The

⁴⁹¹ Previous references to the Book of Romans are used alongside quotations from Luke 3:14. However, Land’s interpretation of the reference to Luke is difficult to support and somewhat unrelated to the context of the passage. This example is consistent with Land’s use of proof texting as an argumentative strategy.

⁴⁹² Richard Land, “The Time Has Arrived: Bush Policy on Iraq Meets Just War Criteria,” 2003.

specific target of this article is a statement delivered by Bob Edgar, a member of a delegation from the National Council of Churches, critical of the Bush Administration's decision to go to war in Iraq. The article criticizes Edgar by using *ad hominem* arguments, arguing he fails to understand the nature of evil in the world and by once again arguing that the invasion of Iraq meets just war criteria. Here Land returns to the same *logos* strategies related to just war theory used in the articles already reviewed.⁴⁹³

The article, "What Would King Have Said about Saddam," also published to the ERLC's website on March 19, 2003, serves as another response to criticisms of the invasion of Iraq. It is difficult to pinpoint the exact catalyst that triggered this message from Land, but it is likely related to a series of high profile protests that took place in cities across the world. In addition, prominent members of the American civil rights movement, most notably Rev. Jesse Jackson, made public statements calling for demonstrations against the war.⁴⁹⁴ The article itself argues that Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., would support the invasion of Iraq on the basis of the moral binary that exists between the United States and Saddam Hussein.

Land frames his argument in the following statement, "Martin Luther King Jr. once said of Dietrich Bonhoeffer, the martyred World War II pastor, 'if your opponent has a conscience, then follow Gandhi. But if you enemy has no conscience, like Hitler, then follow Bonhoeffer.'"⁴⁹⁵ This statement uses a quotation from King that focuses on the contrast between peaceful protest, exemplified by Ghandi, and the use of violence to combat evil as exemplified by Bonhoeffer, a theologian and former pacifist who attempted to assassinate Hitler. The essential characteristic that defines Land's framing in this article is the good/evil binary that characterizes the parties involved. The leadership of the United States, namely President Bush, is characterized as an actor that has a conscience and reaches logical conclusions in the best interest of the people he governs. That characterization is a contrast to the characterization of Saddam Hussein, who is defined as an evil actor who acts without conscience or reason. Land once again focuses mostly on Saddam Hussein while using some of the strongest character-based language seen thus far. He introduces Saddam Hussein as a character of "implacable evil" and continues, "With Saddam Hussein, we are dealing with a

⁴⁹³ Richard Land, "This Is Not Vietnam," Ethics and Religious Liberty Commission of the Southern Baptist Convention, March 19, 2003, <https://erlc.com/article/this-is-not-vietnam>.

⁴⁹⁴ CNN, "Jackson: Not Too Late to Stop War," CNN.com, February 15, 2003, <https://web.archive.org/web/20080524170950/http://www.cnn.com/2003/WORLD/meast/02/15/sprj.irq.protests.europe.quotes/>.

⁴⁹⁵ Richard Land, "What Would King Have Said About Saddam?," Ethics and Religious Liberty Commission of the Southern Baptist Convention, March 19, 2003, <https://erlc.com/article/what-would-king-have-said-about-saddam>.

sadomasochistic sociopath who has murdered his way to absolute power. His hero is Joseph Stalin, a man who rivals Hitler in the annals of perpetrators of monstrous evil”⁴⁹⁶ Land then repeats claims that Saddam has weapons of mass destruction and has used them on his neighbors, once again making use of the action-based appeals to support the binary.

The moral binary is reinforced in Land’s explanation of Bonhoeffer’s actions, in which Bonhoeffer is portrayed as motivated by religious convictions to confront evil. He is labeled a *martyr*; the word has profound significance and is defined by an individual’s choice to take action motivated by faith at the cost of their own life. Further, his actions are defined as an act of “costly grace,” a form of grace named by Bonhoeffer in his theological works that demands absolute submission to the will of God at great cost to an individual.⁴⁹⁷ By labeling Bonhoeffer’s actions in such a way, Land elevates the actions to the level of value-rational action, deriving their meaning from a divine mandate to oppose evil. The characterization provides a powerful example for evangelical Christians in regards to orientating their decision on support for the GWOT.

The argument is book-ended by two statements directed at those protesting the invasion. Land begins by asking, “Is the enemy of the anti-war movement Saddam Hussein, or President Bush?” and ends with,

I ask those who demonstrate and protest this potential war to contemplate this question. Is their opponent President Bush or Saddam Hussein? If their opponent is Bush, then protest peacefully, because he has a conscience to which they may appeal ... But if the enemy is a conscience-less Hussein—as I believe he is—then, like Bonhoeffer, do we not have a moral imperative to use force to oppose such evil?⁴⁹⁸

These statements serve multiple functions. They introduce the false dilemma used in Bush’s binary that relies on the *with us or against us* mentality, marking the repetition of another part of Bush’s logical chain. They also act to marginalize political opposition to the GWOT by implying their motivation is attacking Bush or supporting Saddam

⁴⁹⁶ Ibid. The use of sadomasochistic here is not supported by any evidence. It is doubtful any evidence exists to support this claim. Either Land confused the term with the term *sadist* or it represents the imprecise nature by which modifiers were attached to Hussein while constructing the moral binary. In either case, the rhetorical purpose is the same.

⁴⁹⁷ Richard Land, “What Would King Have Said About Saddam?,” 2003. And Dietrich Bonhoeffer, *The Cost of Discipleship* (New York: Macmillan, 1959), 45-49.

⁴⁹⁸ Richard Land, “What Would King Have Said About Saddam?,” 2003

Hussein instead of engaging in legitimate critique of the war. This appeal is particularly important in relation to Land's *ethos* appeals that characterize Bush as a conservative evangelical insider because its designed function is to focus insiders on the perceived hostility that outsiders have for the group and relies on their mistrust of outsiders to encourage them to identify with the president because of their shared position on the good side of the binary construction. Finally, the final statement reinforces the idea that value-rational action should be taken to oppose evil with the use of the term *moral imperative*.

Land's PBS interview contrasts with his articles in terms of scope, style and target audience. While the articles discuss one issue, the interview questions range across many topics. Where the articles are concise arguments with a limited number of rhetorical strategies, the interview encourages Land to elaborate on answers and make use of different themes and frames. Land's articles are published by the ERLC for the primary audience of members of the SBC, whereas the PBS audience is the general public, and Land's interview answers represent his attempts to articulate the SBC's position to that group. Considering the differences above, it is not surprising that when providing answers for the PBS interview, Land makes use of different *logos* appeals than in the articles. However, the interview answers also contain several examples of strategies already seen, most significantly the use of biblical citation to support the United States' authority to conduct war. This strategy once again grounds Land's argument in the value of biblicism.

Land's portrayal of Bush's character and leadership then feeds into a larger logical construct: the culture war. Bush's rhetoric was often designed to create unity behind his policies but used culture war language on occasion to promote his defender persona and expand it beyond the GWOT to the role of defending conservative evangelical values and agendas. As a *logos* appeal, Bush's veiled culture war language often served to demonstrate a link between the values that motivated his domestic agenda and the values that motivated his foreign policy. Land is not concerned with unity. Instead, he makes many direct references to the culture war, focusing on the division within American culture. However, his use of culture war language is still designed to serve many of the same functions as Bush's culture war language: reinforcing *ethos* appeals, establishing the moral quality of policies based on a moral binary, marginalizing political opposition, and creating links between domestic and foreign policy by focusing on the motivating values for each. Yet for Land, establishing the logical construct of the culture war was a multiple-step process.

Land begins making use of culture war rhetoric when asked about the topic of same-sex marriage. He states,

I don't think that the average liberal has ever understood, or will ever understand the depth of that issue in igniting evangelical Christians to participation in the public policy process. When we went to a baby being killed every 20 seconds, three babies a minute, 180 babies an hour within six months after *Roe v. Wade*, it ignited the evangelical movement to get involved in the public policy process in a way that nothing else ever has. The only issue that even begins to touch it, in my experience, is the same-sex marriage movement.⁴⁹⁹

In this statement, Land defines the fault lines in the culture war. Liberals are on one side, evangelical Christians (Land does not acknowledge the diversity of opinion among evangelicals and his references create the impression of a hegemonic conservatism among the faith group) are on the other. Importantly, Land characterizes the Christians as moved to stand against the murder of babies, his term for abortion, and names their preferred form of action as political activism. An analogous relationship is then created between same-sex marriages and abortion, creating a moral equivalency between same-sex marriage and what Land characterizes as murder.

When asked why the SBC “cares so much,” Land responds, “We believe that marriage is a divinely ordained institution. It's the foundational building block of human society. That's why all human societies have been built on that foundation or building block of marriage. It's usually been defined the same way, almost overwhelmingly defined the same way.”⁵⁰⁰ This statement establishes a biblical authority for the conservative evangelical side of the culture war and creates a rhetorical link between their beliefs and the beliefs that governed traditional society, alluding to a civilization versus barbarian metanarrative. These statements are then followed with a description of the enemy in the culture war, an alliance between secularists and the majority of the Supreme Court. This side is referred to by Land as the “relativist neo-pagan side.”⁵⁰¹ The use of paganism also reinforces the culture war's connection to the civilization versus barbarism metanarrative. Additionally, the use of these loaded terms highlights Land's implicit bias because of his blatant mischaracterization of his opponents. Many of the characterizations and facts he uses are at best unfair and at worst outright false. However, in using this extreme terminology, he creates a

⁴⁹⁹ Public Broadcasting System, “Interview Richard Land,” 2004.

⁵⁰⁰ Ibid.

⁵⁰¹ Ibid.

logical dichotomy that is designed to necessitate those who affirm the value of biblicism to support his conservative evangelical side in the binary.

The following question asks Land about his strategy to stop same-sex marriage. His answer includes an escalation of language with the use of military framing, “we have soldiers, and our soldiers go out and get active and they're involved. You know, we will have 43,000 Southern Baptist churches, and [in] probably 40,000 of them, the federal marriage amendment will get mentioned favorably.”⁵⁰² Once again activism is cited as the method by which change can be brought about, but here the reference expands beyond traditional political activism to include activism at the pulpit. The template for cultural change provided by Land mirrors that described by Bush with his compassionate conservatism agenda but incorporates militaristic language. Both compassionate conservatism and the culture war agenda acknowledge the values of biblicism and activism and encourage the same processes for change, political engagement. However, Bush's framing focused more on unity and provided a hopeful message that incorporated the idea of renewal into the call to change American culture and subtly suggested that religious activism was more effective than secular action. Land makes that argument explicitly by highlighting the role congregations will play in promoting a political agenda while using forceful terms that emphasize the division that exists among the population.

Later, after a series of questions that require Land to elaborate on his position, he claims,

If the Supreme Court's going to be arguing the homosexual agenda -- which Scalia says, emphatically, they are, that they've taken sides in the culture war -- then we don't see where it's not fair for the president to take sides too. We're glad he's on our side of the culture war.⁵⁰³

Here Land establishes Bush's culture warrior persona and creates a logical equivalence between Bush and the conservative evangelical community. Immediately following, this connection is used to tie together conservative evangelical values and American values. Land states,

⁵⁰² Ibid.

⁵⁰³ Ibid.

The culture war is an interesting thing. We read a statement and an article the other day and the divide that used to be about race [now] is about region and religion. Basically, it breaks down to this enormous fault line. On one side of this fault line, you have people who have a traditional view of morality. Some would call it Judeo-Christian values. Others would just call it traditional American values. Those were pretty synonymous for most of our history. Some things are always right; some things are always wrong; and if you accept a society in which that's not true, then anything becomes possible... When demographers began to break down the nature of those counties (who voted for Bush), what they found was that the traditional views and the traditional values predominated in the counties that voted for George W. Bush.⁵⁰⁴

Land's statement continues to build upon the insider relationship the President has with the evangelical community; however, he uses that relationship as a proxy for the value system of the United States, making the values that the President and the evangelical community share central to their vision for the entire country. This shared vision ties into the GWOT narrative binary constructed between the U.S. and <terrorists>. Through the use of *logos* appeals, Land is able to ground the good side of the binary to the Judeo-Christian tradition and its values, use that authority to justify his positions in the culture war, highlight Bush's position on that side, and tie his position to the core values of the United States. For evangelicals who affirm Land's perspective, the values they share with the President become one element of America's character that is threatened by their enemies, be it liberals, as is the case with culture war rhetoric, or <terrorists>, as mentioned later in the interview and in other sources.

Land then transitions to a discussion of foreign policy; in which he focuses the audience on the effects of conservative evangelical activism in international affairs. He introduces the topic of mass-killings in Sudan saying,

The Sudan should be important to all Americans, because you've had over 2 million people killed, primarily for their religious faith and because they refused to convert to a rather radical form of Islam. What you've had happening in the Sudan over the last 15 years is nothing less than a

⁵⁰⁴ Ibid. Parenthesis in the original transcript.

genocidal war against the black African Christians and animists in the south by the Arabist north...⁵⁰⁵

The framing used defines the conflict as one based around the concept of religious freedom, an important foreign policy issue for conservative evangelicals and an issue that influenced the Christian right's position on the first Gulf War.

Land then mentions how difficult it has been to mobilize support for Sudanese Christians among the general public in the United States and attributes the difficulty to their race. He introduces the concept of activism by claiming evangelical responsibility for bringing the issue into the political arena. Within this argument, there is an implicit argument that while the general public and political class disregards Sudan due to race, conservative evangelicals do not discriminate based on race. When asked how evangelicals made a difference, he replies,

I think we have to go back to the foundation of the International Day of Prayer for the Persecuted Church. We literally had over 100,000 churches of various denominations who observed International Day of Prayer for the Persecuted Church. Sudan was sort of the poster child for this movement, how Christians were being persecuted in the Sudan. When you get 100,000 churches focused on this, they begin to talk to their congressmen. You have people going over and purchasing slaves in the slave market, and redeeming them out of slavery.⁵⁰⁶

This response characterizes the actions of conservative evangelicals as a form of grass roots political activism. It also clearly characterizes their action as motivated by concern for the persecuted church and in line with human rights doctrines. This argument contrasts to the earlier description of "radical Islam," which is portrayed as violating those standards, thereby reinforcing the good/evil dichotomy and tangentially connecting it to parties involved in the GWOT.⁵⁰⁷ Land continues by establishing a link between the evangelical movement that lobbied for action in Sudan and President Bush, who is characterized as an eager ally and someone naturally inclined to stand up for human rights.

⁵⁰⁵ Ibid. From context it is clear Land means Islamist and implies the term should be connected to extremism. The term Arabist is used but is an erroneous characterization of the ethnic conflict.

⁵⁰⁶ Ibid.

⁵⁰⁷ Ibid.

This section of the interview is important because it affords Land the opportunity to articulate the motivations behind the Christian right's involvement in the foreign policy arena, to link those motivations unequivocally to the good side of the binary that was retransmitted from Bush's rhetoric, and to characterize evangelical activism as an especially effective form of political engagement that achieves results not normally possible for constituencies. All of these strategies are present within Bush's GWOT narrative to a lesser degree. Land's discussion here represents his reification of general concepts in the narrative using the example of Sudan.

After once again describing the unprecedented relationship Bush had with conservative evangelicals, Land ties the foreign policy positions of both the SBC and the Bush administration, which he characterizes as motivated by a concern for human rights, to the divine will. He states,

The problem with the left is that some of them don't think God has a side. George Bush and most of George Bush's supporters believe God has a side, and we believe that side is freedom. We believe that side is democracy. We believe that side is respect for basic human rights. We don't see the world starkly in terms of black and white. But we do see that there is a good and there is an evil.⁵⁰⁸

Here the moral binary is once again repeated. Bush's agenda is defined by the spread of freedom, democracy and human rights, the specific link to the GWOT is implied, and most importantly the connection to God is made and contrasted with those who would either stand for evil or allow it to occur.⁵⁰⁹

Land continues by making the contrast explicit, saying, "there is no moral equivalence between Saddam Hussein and the United States of America. There is no moral equivalence between the radical Islamic jihadists and the United States of America."⁵¹⁰ This statement once again ties the conservative evangelical foreign policy positions to the GWOT and roots their character in the moral binary. It also makes the connection between the parties in Sudan and those involved in the GWOT explicit.

⁵⁰⁸ Ibid.

⁵⁰⁹ Ibid.

⁵¹⁰ Ibid.

The remainder of the interview reinforces the dichotomy between Bush and his enemies, including both the political left and the enemies in the GWOT. The same themes are repeated, and on several occasions, Land directly cites divine mandate in advancing freedom, the common frame used to promote the goals of the GWOT. For example, he states, "I believe that the United States of America has a divinely given responsibility to hold up the flame of freedom, and whenever possible, to advance it."⁵¹¹ He also ends the interview with the statement,

We needed to re-democratize the Middle East, and that was going to be very difficult to do with Saddam Hussein in power. I think that there's also a very high trust level among white evangelicals and President George W. Bush. If he said that this is what we needed to do, then they were willing to give him the benefit of the doubt in doing it.⁵¹²

Both of these quotations discuss practical goals of the GWOT, but the connection to divine mandate allows for a possible interpretation of support for the GWOT as a value-rational action. Furthermore, throughout the interview, Land clearly provides a value-rational template for Christian activism in his descriptions of both domestic and foreign policy. This activism is directly tied to the GWOT, providing an association between support for the war and activism motivated by acceptance of divine authority in the form of biblicism. The final statement also reiterates the connection between Bush and evangelicals and their position on the good side of the good/evil binary.

Land's "A Christian Defense of the War in Iraq" interview returns to the pattern of narrowly focused discourse represented by his articles, yet it has a similar style to the PBS interview described previously. The topic of this interview can be broadly defined as military foreign policy, but it is more specifically concerned with the Iraq war. The content of the interview differs from other discussions of Iraq, mostly in regards to the different context brought by three years of war and largely reflects the changing realities related to assumptions made at the onset of the war. For example, Land acknowledges that no weapons of mass destruction were found in Iraq, but he argues that not only would they have played little part in the justification for the war, that his trust in Bush's decision making remains strong. Despite the difference in context, the lines of logic, general arguments, and specific *logos* appeals are largely repeated from those already described.⁵¹³

⁵¹¹ Ibid.

⁵¹² Ibid.

⁵¹³ Land, Richard. "A Christian Defense of the War in Iraq," 2006.

Land's major argument in this interview is that the war in Iraq does meet the requirements of just war theory. He reinforces his assessment with appeals that focus the listener on the moral binary. He establishes the binary with action-based appeals by using examples of religious freedom and democracy promotion as proof of the righteous goals of the United States while citing atrocities committed by Saddam and a pattern of violating UN resolutions as proof of his evil intentions. Land's argument that the United States seeks to bring freedom and democracy to Iraq also elevates these two concepts by first connecting them to the founding principles of the United States, then by arguing they have scriptural foundations. He further links American values to scripture by arguing that the founding fathers "were people who were operating mostly from a Judeo-Christian worldview."⁵¹⁴ And that "they understood that to be what the Bible taught."⁵¹⁵ Other elements of just war theory are discussed, and in each case, the war in Iraq is characterized as fulfilling its criteria.

There are, however, two appeals that are unique to this interview. The first occurs when describing the way Land reflects on the war in Iraq as a Christian. He states,

I would also say that there's a very important principle in scripture that says that to whom much is given, much is required. As an American, I have been given much. We have freedoms that we didn't die for, we have freedoms that we haven't sacrificed much for. To use a biblical metaphor, we drink from wells we didn't dig, and we live in houses we didn't build...But we have been given much. And to whom much is given, much is required. And I believe that makes it incumbent upon us as Americans to help others when we can to secure the same freedom that we have. The idea of American exceptionalism is not a doctrine of empire, it's not a doctrine of domination, it's a doctrine of responsibility and obligation. We have a responsibility and an obligation based upon the blessings that have been showered upon us as a nation and as a people to help others when we can.⁵¹⁶

Here Land makes an argument not previously seen: Americans are obligated to share their blessings with the world. This argument is supported with biblical reference, though he only cites generalized biblical principles as opposed to

⁵¹⁴ Ibid.

⁵¹⁵ Ibid.

⁵¹⁶ Ibid.

referencing chapter and verse as seen in other documents. Importantly, the logic here represents the value of activism. The process mirrors any other form of Christian activism, in which action is taken, motivated by belief or divine mandate, to reform society in a way consistent with Christian beliefs. Land once again characterizes the mission of the United States in Iraq as motivated by biblical teaching and required by divine mandate as indicated by the term *responsibility*, suggesting its value-rational quality where the value of the act is determined by the act itself not the end result.

The second unique argument occurs in Land's discussion of Sudan, used to explain the criteria of just war theory. When asked if the United States should intervene in Sudan, he states,

This is a genocide going on in Sudan, and one of the tests is, when you can do something and you don't, then you become culpable morally for not having done something. I believe that the United States and the international community are culpable for what happened in Rwanda. It didn't have to happen; it could have been stopped with minimal effort and minimal sacrifice on the part of the western powers. We just didn't care enough to do it, and it's morally reprehensible.

⁵¹⁷ This statement goes beyond any justification for the war in Iraq yet seen in terms of forcefulness. Land makes a direct claim that if the United States has the opportunity to engage in just war, then it is morally obligated to. Yet the statement itself is framed around the concept of proportionality and therefore does not go so far as to argue for value-rational action, instead leaving the motivation for action open to the interpretation of individual readers. It also represents the expansion of the GWOT to an undefined international level, as was seen in Bush's discourse. Land has previously stated that the United States has a duty to confront terrorism, but this is the first instance in which he argues broader action is *required* instead of simply arguing it is justified.

Land's final article in this analysis, "Key to World Peace: Religious Freedom," was published on the ERLC website on May 22, 2007. The article specifically describes Land's desire that promoting religious freedom will become a core element of U.S. foreign policy. In the article, he continues the use of previously identified *logos* appeals, including creating connections to larger metanarratives and connecting religious freedom to democracy promotion.

⁵¹⁷ Ibid.

Land also argues that promoting religious freedom abroad has positive economic and social benefits for the United States. Finally, he argues it is the only way to achieve lasting peace. The connection to the GWOT is never made explicit, yet it is clear that by focusing justification for democracy building on promotion of human rights and expansion of religious freedom, Land is making an implicit argument for the justification of the war in Iraq and continued operations in the GWOT.⁵¹⁸

Yet one topic that was often an element of Bush's GWOT narrative, the nature of Islam, was not present in any of the articles analyzed. However, it is important to note that Land did discuss the issue, simply not in these articles. Land's discussion of Islam is limited but does occur in several other articles and interviews. In the article, "Separation of Mosque and State," Land calls into question whether Islam is ever a peaceful religion, saying,

Since the terrorist attacks of September 11 — which, let's remember, were done in the name of Islam — there have been many discussions about whether this violence represents true Islam, or whether it is an aberration or just one faction within that religion. Much evidence has been presented to argue that Islam has many manifestations. What about the fact that in most countries where Islam dominates there is little, if any, freedom of religion? In Saudi Arabia, it is a crime to build any non-Muslim house of worship. In many Islamic countries, converting from Islam to any other faith is punishable by death. These are not excesses from a distant past, but present persecution and intolerance.⁵¹⁹

Earlier, in 2002, he articulates this same doubt on his radio show, "Richard Land Live!" During this show, he questions why peaceful Muslims aren't protesting violence, characterizes Muslim countries as violent and genocidal, and claims that any moderate-minded Muslims would face potential violence from their own families for speaking out against terrorism.⁵²⁰ On another occasion, he discusses Islam as a preface to a discussion of abortion. He states,

⁵¹⁸ Richard Land, "Key to World Peace: Religious Freedom," Ethics and Religious Liberty Commission of the Southern Baptist Convention, May 22, 2007, <https://erlc.com/article/key-to-world-peace-religious-freedom>.

⁵¹⁹ Richard Land, "Separation of Mosque and State?" Ethics and Religious Liberty Commission of the Southern Baptist Convention, August 22, 2002, <https://erlc.com/article/separation-of-mosque-and-state>.

⁵²⁰ Baptist Press, "Richard Land Inquires of Islam Where Are Its Peaceful Followers," Baptist Press, August 28, 2002, <http://www.bpnews.net/14119>.

It is now clear that a 'death cult' has taken root within Islam. These fanatical enemies of freedom will as soon rain death and mayhem upon a schoolyard of innocent children (Muslim as well as non-Muslim) as they will attack a military vehicle.⁵²¹

This language is unequivocal in its condemnation of Islam and makes no distinction between radical Islam or any other form. Finally, when asked in an interview about President Bush's comments that Muslims and Christians worship the same God, Land stated that the President was "Simply mistaken... We should always remember that he is commander in chief, not theologian in chief. The Bible is clear on this: The one and true god is Jehovah, and his only begotten son is Jesus Christ."⁵²² So while Land's specific comments about Islam are not nearly as numerous as his defense of the war in Iraq, and did not feature in the articles analyzed for this project, it is important to note that his characterization is much different from President Bush's and marks a divergence from Bush's GWOT narrative.

Land also deviates from Bush on an important topic related to Bush's compassionate conservatism: faith-based initiatives. In general, Land is highly critical of the program due to the possibility for government overreach in religious affairs. Interestingly, this criticism is often paired with statements that are highly supportive of Bush's faith-based policies and acknowledgements that the programs work. During an interview with PBS, Land discusses faith-based initiatives and begins by affirming the President's motives as good and acknowledging that the programs work and have a positive benefit for society. He then turns more critical by describing the government's inability to discriminate between types of religious charities. He explains that if the government is to fund Baptist, Catholic, or Jewish charities, it will also be forced to fund Black Muslim charities. He then explains that the government should never be allowed to define which religious groups are "kosher" and implies that the result is a no-win scenario. This interview not only articulates resistance based on the possibility for government interference in religious matters, it also displays an anti-Muslim bias.⁵²³

Land also produced an article on the topic entitled "Constitutionally Safe, Religiously Dangerous?" Land uses the same strategy seen in the PBS interview. He praises President Bush, commends his motives, and reaffirms his

⁵²¹ Richard Land, "Contending with the 'Cults of Death,'" Ethics and Religious Liberty Commission of the Southern Baptist Convention, September 19, 2007, <https://erlc.com/article/contending-with-the-cults-of-death>.

⁵²² Richard Land, "President Bush, Faith Convictions, and Media Cynicism," Beliefnet.com, December 2003, <http://www.beliefnet.com/News/Politics/2003/12/President-Bush-Faith-Convictions-And-Media-Cynicism.aspx>.

⁵²³ Public Broadcasting System. "The Faith-Based Initiative Controversy," 2004.

commitment to conservative Christians. He then criticizes the Faith-Based Initiatives program for the potential to create government overreach in religious affairs. Land develops the argument in an interesting way that reinforces Bush's insider status saying,

the government gives funding to religious groups, then it must oversee how the money is used-- and, we fear, how churches spread their message. That worry, coupled with the knowledge that Bush will not always be president and that one of his successors may have a far less favorable posture toward faith-based groups, causes many religious Americans grave reservations.⁵²⁴

So while Land is critical of the program, that criticism never translates to criticism of Bush.

Appeals to *Pathos*

The rhetorical context of Land's interviews is drastically different from the situations in which the President delivered speeches related to the GWOT. Consequently, the ways Land presents the Bush GWOT narrative's *pathos* appeals are also different. For example, after the 9/11 attacks, the President engaged the public of the United States with a rhetorical message designed to reassure them and instill a sense of American resolve. Land is not in a position to achieve the same rhetorical goals as Bush, and therefore, his rhetoric is designed to function differently. Additionally, his articles and interviews contain arguments related to major events but are not delivered via the same medium as President Bush's speeches and lack the ability to engage a comparably sized audience. Therefore, instead of using *pathos* in an attempt to evoke emotions, when transmitting Bush's emotional appeals, Land generally tends to draw attention to the positive quality of the President's emotional leadership, directing his audience to recall emotions that solidify the President's reputation with an evangelical audience and reinforce logical constructs that

⁵²⁴ Baptist Press, "FIRST-PERSON Government Oversight: Ominous Cloud over Aid to Faith-based initiatives," Baptist Press, March 13, 2001, accessed June 01, 2016, <http://www.bpnews.net/10475/firstperson-government-oversight-ominous-cloud-over-aid-to-faithbased-initiatives>. Land's article was recently removed from the ERLC archives. This article by Baptist press is an exact copy under a different title. The title is different because Baptist press article naming conventions attempt to provide a summary of content in article names.

justify the presidential agenda. In this way, he retransmits some of Bush's *pathos* appeals as support for character-based or logical arguments.

However, in order for Land's discourse to be truly effective, he was also required to engage the audience with unique *pathos* appeals appropriate to his rhetorical context. These appeals were designed to engage the emotions of his specific audience. He did so through a unique set of *pathos* appeals that specifically target his evangelical constituency. At times, these appeals achieved the same rhetorical goals as Bush's *pathos* strategy, and on occasion, the appeals deviated from those goals to serve Land's rhetorical agenda.

When *pathos* appeals are present in Land's articles, they are often used to support *logos*. In "Draining the Swamps of Terrorism," Land uses *pathos* appeals to reinforce the logical case that engaging in the GWOT is a just and necessary action. Land limits his *pathos* strategy to appeals designed to build a sense of imminent threat. While discussing the differences between the U.S. and <terrorists>, Land calls attention to the deliberate targeting of civilians in the United States. Later he states,

Bin Laden and his fanatical followers will not stop until they are disabled and disarmed. We must remove their safe havens and camps that allow them to strike at a time of their choosing against innocent men, women and children.⁵²⁵

Here the continuing threat is explicitly stated and used as justification for military action. Then the potential consequences of inaction are highlighted with the reference to attacks against innocents. This *pathos* appeal directly correlates with those used by President Bush in his early speeches related to the GWOT.

Significant references to *pathos* appeals are then absent from any article produced by Land until the publication of the Land Letter. In the Land Letter, Land once again restricts his use of *pathos* to building a sense of imminent threat. In this document, Land first makes use of this appeal when arguing that the invasion of Iraq is a war of last resort. He says,

⁵²⁵ Richard Land, "Draining the Swamp of Terrorists," 2001.

The world has been waiting for more than a decade for the Iraqi regime to fulfill its agreement to destroy all of its weapons of mass destruction, to cease producing them or the long-range missiles to deliver them in the future, and to allow thorough and rigorous inspections to verify their compliance. They have not, and will not, do so and any further delay in forcing the regime's compliance would be reckless irresponsibility in the face of grave and growing danger.⁵²⁶

The references to weapons of mass destruction and long-range missiles are designed to build a sense of anxiety before Land directly references a growing threat. Once again, these appeals are used to provide justification for an action, the invasion of Iraq.

When addressing the issue of proportionality, Land states,

We believe that the cost of not dealing with this threat now will only succeed in greatly increasing the cost in human lives and suffering when an even more heavily armed and dangerous Saddam Hussein must be confronted at some date in the not too distant future. We believe that every day of delay significantly increases the risk of far greater human suffering in the future than acting now would entail.⁵²⁷

This statement repeats the patterns already identified related to threat-building *pathos* appeals. Among the articles analyzed, this pattern is repeated in "The Time has Arrived: Bush Policy on Iraq Meets Just War Criteria" and "What would King have said about Saddam?"⁵²⁸ These are the only significant *pathos* appeals that appear in Land's articles.

Land's responses in the PBS interview do not make use of *pathos* appeals designed to build an external threat related to terrorism or Saddam Hussein. The absence can be explained by the topics of the discussion: the SBC's political agenda, their support for President Bush, and Bush's character as an evangelical Christian. However, Land does use a *pathos* strategy designed to build a sense of external threat related to domestic policy issues that reinforces *logos*

⁵²⁶ Richard Land, "The So-called 'Land Letter'", 2003.

⁵²⁷ Ibid.

⁵²⁸ Richard Land, "The Time Has Arrived: Bush Policy on Iraq Meets Just War Criteria," 2003. and Richard Land, "What Would King Have Said About Saddam?," 2003.

arguments about the culture war. This strategy is used when discussing the issue of same-sex marriage. When referencing the issue, Land calls attention to the makeup of the Supreme Court, saying, "the majority of this court has now taken sides in the culture war, and they're not on the Judeo-Christian side."⁵²⁹ He continues,

.. in light of what the Massachusetts Supreme Court has done -- throwing down the gauntlet now in a 4-3 decision, saying that the Massachusetts constitution requires same-sex marriages. At that point, we had no choice but to either accept same-sex marriage or stop it through a federal marriage amendment, because immediately, what's going to happen in the 13 states that don't have Defense of Marriage Acts, is that once this marriage ruling goes into effect, there will be same-sex marriages in Massachusetts [and] the states that don't have Defense of Marriage Acts will be forced to recognize those marriages. Then, GLAD or somebody, some homosexual advocacy organization, is going to go into federal court and is going to argue that the full faith and credit clause of the Constitution requires every state -- even those who have DOMAs, Defense of Marriage Acts -- to recognize the same-sex marriages that are performed in Massachusetts.⁵³⁰

This passage mirrors the structure of threat-building *pathos* appeals seen in the presentation of both Bush's and Land's GWOT discourse. The external threat is explicitly stated, it is then used as justification for an action being discussed, and finally the hypothetical consequences of inaction are described in a way that highlights the negative ramifications for the target audience. In this case, the target audience consists of those viewers, listeners, or readers who hold conservative evangelical values and affirm ideas derived from those values, namely, a biblicist interpretation of the nature of marriage defined as a divinely established union between one man and one woman. In this specific example, the external threats identified are state Supreme Court precedent and actions taken by gay rights advocacy groups; those threats are used to justify a federal constitutional amendment, and the potential consequences are defined as forced recognition of same-sex marriages. In the questions that follow, Land then articulates a belief that such recognition would do irreparable harm to the biblically ordained institution of marriage and would act to undermine the moral nature of American culture.⁵³¹ While his argument is largely based on

⁵²⁹ Public Broadcasting System, "Interview Richard Land," 2004.

⁵³⁰ Ibid.

⁵³¹ Ibid.

hyperbole and oversimplified evidence related to demographic trends, it is designed to potentially provide emotional support for Land's logical construction about the culture war and reinforce *ethos* appeals related to President Bush's defender persona.

While the uses of threat-based appeals in this interview are limited, Land does make use of other *pathos* strategies that were not present in Bush's discourse. In a strategy uniquely targeting the SBC and members of the Christian right, Land uses consistent references to the importance of evangelical Christians designed to foster a sense of pride among his constituents. On three occasions, he directly states the political importance of conservative evangelicals to President Bush and the GOP. Land's argument is laid out in his answer to the interviewer's first question about Bush's reception to feedback from the SBC. Land states,

I don't know if there's any question that this administration understands that Southern Baptists and other evangelicals are a very significant part of their coalition. By some estimates, 40 percent of their raw vote came from evangelicals. Mr. Bush carried every state in which there was a significant Southern Baptist presence.⁵³²

The structure is simple. Evangelicals are important to Bush because they make up a significant percentage of his support and won him the election. Later, Land explains that the conservative evangelical constituency is not only important to Bush because of political realities but because a shared world view. When drawing comparisons between Bush and Clinton, Land says,

Now we have a president who they feel like really sees the world the way they see it, understands them, is sympathetic to them, and has an administration that understands that they are a very important part of a governing coalition for a Republican president.⁵³³

Here the argument is expanded to incorporate Bush's insider status within the Christian right. The argument is then repeated when drawing a contrast between Bush and Reagan.⁵³⁴

⁵³² Ibid.

⁵³³ Ibid.

⁵³⁴ Ibid.

The structure and content of this type of appeal are closely related to those identified in the *logos* and *ethos* sections, once again demonstrating how one appeal can serve multiple rhetorical purposes. This section gains its *pathos* qualities from its relationship to the insider ideology held by the Christian right and among many segments of the evangelical movement. As noted in Chapter Four, groups that hold an insider doctrine often hold an elevated sense of group prestige and specific insecurities related to their group identity. The appeals described here demonstrate both of those characteristics. They articulate a sense of prestige related to their importance as an essential element of the governing coalition; take credit for a significant contribution to Bush's victory; and present data that while consistent with scholarly analysis in relation to voting patterns, minimizes the role and impact of other important constituencies in the Bush coalition. The same appeals are designed to implicitly demonstrate that supporting George W. Bush will not lead to the kind of discontent the Christian right experienced with the GOP's responsiveness to their political agenda during the presidency of George H.W. Bush.⁵³⁵ Fostering a sense of pride in the group and countering arguments related to group insecurity can rhetorically function to reinforce messages about the importance of political engagement, an essential, implicit argument in the culture war construction.

Dr. Land also makes use of a *pathos* strategy that was not available to President Bush because it is specifically designed to highlight the emotional quality of Bush's leadership and retransmit the substance of Bush's emotional appeals without copying their form. When asked "Can you talk about how the President comforted the nation after September 11?" Land responds with the statement,

I think that we saw the real George Bush. Clearly the President understood immediately what was at stake. He understood that we had been attacked. He understood ... that courage in the president puts calcium in the backbone of the nation... He understood the role that presidential leadership plays. I think those of us who knew George W. Bush before 9/11 would say to you that there are few people we've known that would be better to be in charge in a crisis, because he's a man who really tries to get to the crux of things anyway.⁵³⁶

⁵³⁵ See Chapter Three page 88 - 89.

⁵³⁶ Public Broadcasting System, "Interview Richard Land," 2004.

It would be impossible for Land to use the same rhetorical strategy as the President because of the drastically different rhetorical context of his discourse. Instead, the key to this appeal lies in its relationship to the question being asked. The question itself is asked in such a way that it provides the emotional frame for the answer. It is from the question that we learn that the President is taking action and that his goal is to comfort a grieving nation. Land simply affirms that information and provides an elaboration on the idea that the President was the author of some of the comfort felt by the American people. His elaboration is grounded in the character of the President, who his description portrays as genuine, astute, emotionally attuned to the needs of the American people, courageous, a strong leader, and in touch with the emotional needs of the people who needed a sense of courage and resolve. The rhetorical function, therefore, is not to provide comfort and attempt to build unity, as was the case in presidential discourse. Instead, the primary goal is to reinforce Land's *ethos* related argument about the President. By answering the question in this manner, Land both gives President Bush credit for meeting the emotional needs of his people and directs the audience's attention back to the President's *ethos*.

Another discussion of the President's *pathos* appeals takes place later in the interview, though Land still does not directly name the emotions being appealed to or the fact that the President is making emotional appeals at all. Land is asked the following question: "Soon after 9/11, did you feel that Bush's mission essentially had changed, that it was, in a sense, his destiny?" The interviewer then asks how this early event ties into the concept of divine providence. It is interesting that Land does not initially discuss divine providence or answer the question asked of him; instead, he responds with an elaboration upon the answer given in the last paragraph. He answers,

My first reaction to 9/11, after the initial shock, was that I was grateful that George W. Bush was president, and grateful that his opponent in the 2000 election was not. I felt that this president was equipped to grasp the essentials, the bare, stark essentials of the situation, and what needed to be done far better than his predecessor or his opponent in the 2000 election... I thought America needed that. It needed someone who wasn't going to sit around and think about, "Now what have we done to make these people mad at us?" but "We've been attacked, and when we've been attacked, we're at war." Our war is against terrorism, worldwide, and it's a war that we're going to win. We understand the war. We understand the nature of the opponent. We're going to mobilize

our resources, and we're going to win this war. We're going to win it for ourselves, and we're going to win it for the cause of freedom and liberty for the whole world.⁵³⁷

Many of the Bush GWOT narrative rhetorical appeals appear in this single statement, but in relation to *pathos* appeals, two specific parts of the statement are revealing. The first is the connection between the phrases, "I felt that this president was equipped to grasp the essentials... and what needed to be done" and, "I thought America needed that." This connection once again illustrates the President responding to the needs of the American people and taking action in an appropriate manner. The phrase also begins with "I felt," indicating again that Land, as a member of the general public of the United States, was personally, emotionally reassured by the President's leadership.

The second important part of this statement is the juxtaposition between the two possible approaches to dealing with the 9/11 attacks, "to sit around and think about, 'Now what have we done to make these people mad at us?'" and the description of Bush taking action to respond to the attack and engage in war. This statement is in part a continuation of the dichotomy Land creates between Bush and his political opposition. But, there is more to this statement; it reflects the process of dehistoricization endemic in the GWOT narrative in which the historical context of 9/11 is removed and replaced with the narrative's portrayal of events. It also highlights the mentality Bush's *pathos* appeals were designed to foster after the attacks, wherein the American public was encouraged to channel their anger and frustration into resolve and support for military action against those who had attacked the United States. The way Land describes the thought process is even evocative of that emotional state; it jumps from realization that the United States was attacked to a direct declaration of war and then an escalation of that war well beyond the original attackers, not just al-Qaida. Despite the emotional context of the statement, Land attempts to portray this process as an indication of Bush's clarity of thought and sound, logical reasoning. Both of these strategies once again shift the usage of the *pathos* appeals from developing unity among the population to reinforcing *ethos* appeals related to the President and his character.

The final piece of Land's discourse analyzed is the interview, "A Christian Defense of the War in Iraq". It contains appeals consistent with the patterns already identified related to threat-based appeals and one significant deviation from that pattern that mirrors Bush's *pathos* strategy in the final years of his administration, the use of characters to

⁵³⁷ Ibid.

foster parasocial interaction. When asked about the justification of the war in Iraq by Beliefnet.com, Land responds by saying that the justification does not lie in Saddam Hussein's possession of Weapons of Mass Destruction (WMDs), but instead with his failure to comply with the agreements made after the first Gulf War. He says,

...So finally, after 12 years, we continued the war against the man who was a very dangerous and de-stabilizing influence. We're seeing now, with the release of these documents that have just been released to the public, that the connections between Saddam Hussein and terrorists were far more extensive than some had believed. Whether he had weapons of mass destruction, and of course everybody believed that he did... The idea that he could reconstitute these weapons, and because of the extensive contacts and relationships and the thousands of terrorists he was personally allowing to be trained in his country...that he might give some anthrax or some ricin or some other biological weapons, which could be used against the United States, to terrorists. Given a post-9/11 world, I don't think that's something we can allow to happen before we respond.⁵³⁸

Here justification for the invasion of Iraq is rooted in his characterization of Saddam Hussein as an imminent threat to the United States, citing a just cause consistent with just war theory, but framing the statement in a way that focuses the audience on the consequences of inaction instead of the values being illustrated through action. This statement is one of the few in which Land justifies the GWOT as an instrumental-rational act because it focuses the audience on cause and effect of military action. Though Hussein had been eliminated, justification for action is reinforced by directing the audience to consider future inaction. This passage once again demonstrates Land's usage of threat-based *pathos* appeals as a form of support for his *logos*-based arguments.

Later in this interview, Land makes use of a single appeal that populates his narrative with characters and attempts to foster parasocial interaction. Land states,

At the World Economic Forum in Davos, I had a chance to spend about an hour with the speaker of the Iraqi Assembly, who is a Sunni Muslim, and he was very optimistic about the future. He went out of his way to say thank you. He said, 'I want to thank you and your country for all the

⁵³⁸ Land, Richard. "A Christian Defense of the War in Iraq." 2006.

wonderful young men and women that you've sent and continue to send to help us secure and defend our freedom. We are very grateful.' Somehow that doesn't seem to make it on CBS and ABC and NBC and CNN and The New York Times. But many of us have other sources.⁵³⁹

In this statement, Land uses a narrative structure to illustrate a point about the American news media and the bias he perceives within their coverage of the GWOT and the President. Land uses the character of a Muslim man as a target for the audience's parasocial interaction. To foster parasocial interaction, characters act as proxies for the emotional state the orator encourages the audience to enter, or draw attention to the emotional elements of an argument with which the orator desires the audience to interact. The Sunni Muslim provides a sense of sincerity with his story, which is then contrasted with the way the major liberal news networks portray the war. He is also used to project a feeling of gratitude towards the United States military. This sense of gratitude is rhetorically crafted to be derived from the fact that the military accomplished Bush's stated goals in Iraq. Through this process, Land makes use of a common strategy present in Bush's version of the GWOT narrative. Therefore, this appeal functions to serve the same goal as many of Land's other *pathos* appeals: justify the war in Iraq. Yet, when considering Land's full presentation of the GWOT narrative, this *pathos* appeal is a unique deviation from his normal rhetorical pattern, at least in relation to its form.

Conclusions Regarding Dr. Land's Rhetoric

The analysis of Dr. Land's discourse has shown that he actively retransmits many of the rhetorical appeals present in Bush's GWOT narrative but in doing so displays a specific for the conservative evangelical audience with an emphasis on members of the SBC. Evidence for this concern is found both in the print medium, articles written by Land and published and archived by the SBC, and the worldview that frames the message. Land exercises agency in the reinterpretation and reiteration of the narrative to focus his audience on Bush's insider relationship with the conservative evangelical community and apply frames to the issues connected to the GWOT narrative that are

⁵³⁹ Ibid.

consistent with a conservative evangelical worldview. The most significant changes to Bush's persuasive appeals targeting conservative evangelical Christians in Land's retransmission of the narrative are the characterization of Bush's actions as value-rational actions and the introduction of just war theory to provide meaning for the GWOT. These two changes allow Land to argue that the evangelical community he represents should support the policies of President Bush and to characterize that support as an expression of their faith. Additionally, Land emphasizes the evangelical values of activism and biblicism while largely ignoring crucentrism and conversionism.

The characterization of Bush's actions related to domestic and foreign policy as value-rational actions relies heavily on Land's ability to establish Bush as a conservative evangelical insider, which in turn allows Land to interpret the meaning and motivation for Bush's actions in a way consistent with the values and ideas held by the community. Land's argument, that he can provide a proper interpretation of Bush's motivation for action and the meaning behind those actions, relies heavily on Weber's *Verstehen*, that meaning is a condition of culture and must be understood based on the norms and standards of the culture in which it took place. Land's argument that Bush is a faithful member of a conservative evangelical community give Land, as a prominent leader in that community, the ability to interpret that meaning faithfully. Additionally, the insider doctrine allows Land to capitalize on ideas related to group-based claims of truth and distrust of outsiders to contest other interpretations of the meaning and motivation behind Bush's actions and attempt to marginalize political opposition.

Significantly, Land builds the characterization of Bush as a faithful member of the evangelical community whose actions are an expression of his personal faith. During this process, Land assimilates arguments related to these themes drawn from the Bush's narrative into his own rhetorical strategy through the use of *ethos* appeals. Land makes these arguments by explaining President Bush's actions and motives related to political issues important to the SBC. The focus on Bush's insider relationship is established through Land's active interpretation of Bush's statements and public discourse, by contrasting the reception the SBC receives from the Bush administration with the reception it receives from other politicians, and by constructing a *logos* chain related to the culture war that highlights cultural cleavage between insiders and outsiders related to the Christian right's political agenda.

The most overt statements related to the motivations and meaning Land applies to Bush's actions take the form of direct statements crediting Bush's evangelical character or faith as driving forces for political positions. Land also

specifically references Bush's belief that his actions are consistent with God's will and his belief that his presidency was divine providence. When less overt references are made to the president's faith they are often rhetorically tied to biblicism by providing a biblical justification for actions taken, or by applying terminology that makes the link to biblical authority clear.

Direct statements regarding Bush's insider status are contrasted to other politicians who make use of evangelical language or who court conservative evangelicals for political gain. The comparisons to political opponents provide examples of the danger of outsiders masquerading as evangelical Christians and provide contrast for Land's assertion that Bush is trustworthy due to his genuine faith. Alternately, the contrast between Bush and political allies, represented largely by members of the GOP, is designed to elevate Bush's position above other allies and is supported almost exclusively with arguments that Bush is a true insider motivated by his faith.

Through the contrast between Bush and other conservative allies, Land provides a template for value-rational activism based on the actions taken by the President and the support given to the President by Land himself. As stated, Land specifically argues that the President's policies, whether on abortion, the GWOT, or any other topic, are an expression of the values and ideas he holds that are derived from his evangelical faith. Land's argument makes specific claims as to the meaning and motivation behind Bush's actions that go well beyond anything the President directly states and in so doing establishes those policies as an example of value-rational action. Importantly, these actions are all characterized as more effective than actions taken by other allies for political gain. Land further reinforces this idea with *pathos* references that are designed to build pride among his constituents and highlight their ability to use activism to be political agenda setters. In this template, Land also passively creates a hierarchy in which value-rational action is superior to instrumental-rational action. The most significant example of this hierarchy can be seen in Land's PBS interview discussion of Bush, Reagan, and Bush's settled faith conviction.

Eventually the value-rational characterization of Bush's actions is expanded to foreign policy and serves as a foundation for Land's arguments related to the GWOT. Essentially, Land argues that Bush's foreign policy is a product of his desire to promote religious freedom and human rights, which are granted by God as a right for all people. This framing is reinforced with use of the good/evil binary *logos*. Though never directly stated, the

religious freedom agenda is closely related to evangelical mission work and the value of conversionism. This subtle allusion is Land's only reference to conversionism or the evangelistic mission of the SBC.

A major development in Land's discourse is the introduction of just war theory. This Christian doctrine forms the core of Land's entire argument about the invasion of Iraq and the larger GWOT. Land uses both action-based and character-based *logos* appeals that construct Bush's moral binary, threat-based *pathos* appeals, and consistent references to scripture to classify the GWOT as a just war and provide the doctrine with authority among his constituency. In many ways the introduction of this doctrine simply provides a Christian frame to other pro-war arguments. However, Bush did eventually adopt veiled references to the doctrine and the criteria it lays out into his own discourse, demonstrating the circular nature of rhetorical agency between politician and constituency.

The most significant development related to just war theory in Land's discourse is once again the characterization of engaging in just war as a value-rational action. While many rhetorical appeals are used by Land to make this case implicitly, during his interview, "A Christian defense of the War in Iraq," Land directly states that it is a divinely mandated duty of the state to conduct just war, and that if a state does not act, it is morally culpable for any atrocity committed due to their inaction. Importantly, his discussion of Dietrich Bonhoeffer also provides a lens through which the doctrine is interpreted that promotes value-rational action. Bonhoeffer is established as a template for the conduct of just warfare and is granted the title of martyr because he submitted to divine will and attempted, but failed, to kill Adolf Hitler. The value of his action is determined from acting in accordance to his faith, not any practical result.

Finally, three significant deviations from Bush rhetoric have been identified. One of the unique deviations of Land's discourse can be seen in an elaboration of the culture war construct. Land does not seek to retransmit the unity-based appeals from Bush's version of the narrative. Instead, he focuses on the division within American society, framed by the culture war construct that separates conservative evangelical Christians from liberalism. This construct is actively tied to the good/evil binary and characterizes core values of the SBC as under threat from liberals, mirroring the way the narrative presents a threat to the American way of life posed by terrorism. A second is seen in his characterization of Islam. Though not prevalent in the articles analyzed because of their narrow focus, elsewhere Land is critical of the religion, characterizing it as evil and contesting Bush's appeals that seek to

differentiate moderate Islam from terrorism. This issue once again highlights Land's lack of concern with the goal of unifying the American people, and instead illustrates his primary concern with his own constituency and their viewpoints. The third is Land's perspective on faith-based initiatives. Land consistently frames the Faith-Based Initiatives program as possible government overreach into religious affairs. While he admits a belief that the programs are effective, he still warns religious communities to be careful when accepting government funds and highlights the government requirement to treat all religions equally, including Islam, Hare Krishnas, and Scientology, which are all used as an ontological *other* in relation to Baptists. Importantly though, his criticism of the policy is never elevated to criticism of Bush. In fact, the motives for Bush's actions are extolled, and his insider status with conservative evangelicals is affirmed.

Analysis of Rhetoric from other SBC Elites

In this section, the limited discourse related to the GWOT produced by other selected SBC national level political elites will be analyzed. The subjects of the analysis are representative of various influential forces within the denomination. The SBC itself is still strictly congregationalist, but state conventions allow congregations to organize around geographical regions to share resources and exert influence on the denomination. The national convention of the SBC likewise allows representatives of state conventions to convene and direct the course of the denomination at a national level by influencing cooperative programs run by the denomination. The national convention also maintains an administrative unit that oversees various organizations including the seminaries associated with the denomination. The president of the SBC oversees the national convention and its administrative functions while also acting as a figurehead. The administrative function of the denomination also includes several boards and organizations that oversee the use of pooled resources to achieve specific tasks. Those groups most relevant to the GWOT are the International Missions Board, that oversees SBC mission and evangelistic activities across the globe, and the Ethics and Religious Liberty Commission (ELRC), that directs the political activity of the denomination and handles their lobbying efforts at both state and national levels. The rhetoric of Dr. Richard Land represents the political elite heading the ERLC. This analysis will include a major speech delivered by former SBC

president Jack Graham and two pieces of discourse from influential mega-church pastor and Christian media personality Charles Stanley, who is included to represent influential congregational leaders who have the ability to spread their message among large sections of the SBC membership. Graham served as SBC president from 2002-2003 while Stanley also occupied the post of SBC president from 1984-1986. Brief statements given to the Baptist press by International Missions Board Vice President of Global Engagement, John Brady will also be cited, however there are no archived records of major address or public rhetoric given by Brady beyond reports on the International Missions Board's spending and membership delivered at the national convention meeting. Importantly, this section will have a different structure from the others in this thesis. Because a range of authors and rhetorical artifacts are being examined, the section will be broken up by author and not by type of rhetorical appeal.

The first piece of rhetoric analyzed is Jack Graham's 2003 Baptist Convention Address. While the president of the SBC acts as an agenda-setter for the denomination, their official duties only include a few opportunities to deliver public rhetoric. Graham gave several speeches related to politics, but in only one did he discuss the GWOT. SBC President Jack Graham's 2003 Baptist Convention Address mirrors other SBC convention addresses delivered during the years of Bush's presidency. Its main theme is evangelism.⁵⁴⁰ It has secondary themes of living a Christian life style and engaging in works-based mission. The culture war is also a prominent feature. The speech begins by establishing a theme, describe by Graham as "the kingdom mission," meaning a lifestyle that embraces biblical principles and has a direct effect on the surrounding culture through mission and evangelism.⁵⁴¹ Graham challenges Southern Baptists to embrace a kingdom mission mentality and engage in activism to usher in "their finest hour."⁵⁴² He then elaborates on his theme by building a definition for "the kingdom" by providing descriptions of that concept taken directly from the gospels and providing an interpretation of those examples.⁵⁴³ Specifically, he refers to the call issued by Christ for people to be the "salt of the earth...and the light of the

⁵⁴⁰ Every other SBC president's speech at a national convention during the years of the Bush Presidency had the primary focus of evangelism.

⁵⁴¹ Jack Graham, "President's Address" (speech, Southern Baptist Convention Annual Meeting, The Civic Palaza, Phoenix, Arizona, June 17, 2003).

⁵⁴² Jack Graham, "President's Address," 2003.

⁵⁴³ Ibid.

world.”⁵⁴⁴ He then explains that the reference to salt should be interpreted by Southern Baptists as a reference to evangelism, while light should be interpreted as godly living that draws attention to the Christian message.

This lengthy section does not directly relate to the GWOT, but it does contain *pathos* appeals that are designed to build a sense of pride among SBC members due to their unique ability to influence culture. This section also includes *logos* appeals used to build the culture war construct around a moral binary. The initial passage that introduces the binary follows:

...My life can make a difference eternally for the kingdom of God. Because the world is a decaying and dark place, our salt and light is absolutely necessary. God has called every Christian, every church, and the Southern Baptist Convention to use our influence for the Word of God and the testimony of Jesus. We are living in an ever darkening and increasingly decaying world. In particular, we are living in a time when it appears that man is inventing new ways to demonstrate his sinful depravity. We see the decay now more than ever.⁵⁴⁵

In this passage, the church is characterized as being in opposition to modern culture, referred to by Graham as “the world.”⁵⁴⁶ The world is firmly connected to the evil side of the binary through the use of terms like *decaying* and *wicked*. Graham charges the church to engage in Christian activism to counter the negative elements of the culture. Graham then accredits the darkness present in the world to sin, argues that the state of affairs in the world is worsening, and rhetorically connects that state of affairs to eschatology by introducing scriptural references from 2 Timothy 3:13 related to human sinfulness in the end times. Graham makes use of this simple culture war binary later in the sermon to return to his main themes of evangelism and living a godly lifestyle while touching on specific political issues like abortion. As described in Chapter Four, the culture war construct is not unique to the GWOT narrative. During the Bush presidency, all but one of the SBC’s presidents incorporated the culture war into their convention speeches. It had similarly been a common theme in many convention addresses and sermons for the years leading up to Bush’s election.⁵⁴⁷

⁵⁴⁴ Ibid.

⁵⁴⁵ Ibid.

⁵⁴⁶ Ibid.

⁵⁴⁷ James Merritt, “President’s Address” (speech, Southern Baptist Convention Annual Meeting, The Americas Center, St. Louis, Missouri, June 11, 2002).; Jack Graham, “President’s Address” (speech, Southern Baptist Convention Annual Meeting, Indiana

It is within the introduction of the culture war, during his discussion of evil in the world, that Graham introduces the topic of terrorism. He says,

But then came 9/11. We were barely into the twenty-first century when our world exploded, America was attacked, and once again we recognized the face of evil, and the weight of sin. If you doubt the enormity of evil, then read Romans 1. It reads like headlines in the local newspapers.⁵⁴⁸

This statement places the acts of 9/11 on the side of evil in the binary. However, the passage also implies that the attacks were a product of sin. Graham then once again states that Christian activism is the answer to such evil and challenges SBC members to engage in evangelism and act as an example of a Christian life.

After long elaboration on the salt and light metaphors, Graham returns to the topic of 9/11 and the GWOT. He uses examples from the context of the GWOT to show examples of Christian activism.

At the end of Operation Iraqi Freedom, who was first in line, in the name of Jesus, with packages of love and food for the Iraqi people? Our Southern Baptist missionaries and missionary personnel—that's who! They were right there, being salt and light in the darkness.⁵⁴⁹

In this example of activism, the war in Iraq is connected to international mission activity. The important rhetorical element of this statement is that mission work in Iraq is situated into the larger rhetorical construct of the culture war, and it is indicative of a global scope that relies on evangelical theological interpretations of evil and evangelism. This idea is reflective of rhetorical appeals in Bush's discourse that provided templates for activism related to faith-based initiatives in which the culture war was situated within the good/evil binary and expanded to include international issues. It also parallels Bush's emphasis on the ability for those tied to the good side of the binary to influence culture, domestically and abroad.

Convention Center, Indianapolis, Indiana, June 21, 2004).; Bobby Welch, "President's Address" (speech, Southern Baptist Convention Annual Meeting, Gaylord Entertainment Center, Nashville, Tennessee, June 21, 2005); Bobby Welch, "President's Address" (speech, Southern Baptist Convention Annual Meeting, Greensboro Coliseum, Greensboro, North Carolina, June 16, 2006); Frank Page, "President's Address" (speech, Southern Baptist Convention Annual Meeting, Henry B. Gonzalez Convention Center, San Antonio, Texas, June 12, 2007).

⁵⁴⁸ Jack Graham, "President's Address," 2003.

⁵⁴⁹ Ibid.

At this time in the GWOT, the idea that Iraq was the next great opportunity for mission work was popular in the SBC. The idea has previously established connections to the Christian right's foreign policy and democracy building agendas. This concept was also present in the few public statements given by John Brady, Vice President of Global Engagement for SBC's International Missions Board. Brady referred to the invasion of Iraq as "a pivotal moment in history" in which "It is through us [the SBC] that He [God] wants to work in this troubled part of the world."⁵⁵⁰ Brady encouraged the SBC to focus on small communities cut off from major resources of international aid agencies and to make evangelism a focus of their aid work.⁵⁵¹ In another instance, Brady linked the goals of the SBC to the goals of the U.S. military, creating parallels between the sacrifice of U.S. troops in Iraq to ensure political freedom to the efforts of the SBC to spread spiritual freedom in Iraq.⁵⁵² The mobilization of resources for mission and evangelism, embraced by the head of the International Missions Board, provides context for the international scope of Graham's frame.

Graham follows the Iraq mission example with one that emphasizes the role of SBC military chaplains, who are characterized as active participants in the GWOT, and their evangelistic goal within the military structure. He reifies the idea with the following story:

I never will forget the story of Private James Keil, who was baptized there in the desert hole in the ground. Bottled water was poured into that hole in the ground in the desert. He professed his faith in Jesus Christ, and was baptized as a follower of Christ by a chaplain. Then, on that fateful night in the opening salvoes of the war, he and the maintenance group that turned the wrong way were ambushed, and Private James Keil went out into eternity. But, he went out into eternity with Jesus Christ in his heart forever, because God's men were there sharing the love, hope, and gospel of Jesus. That's being salt and light.⁵⁵³

⁵⁵⁰ Baptist Press, "'Pivotal Moment in History' Ahead in Iraq for Christian Relief Efforts," Baptist Press, April 17, 2003, <http://www.bpnews.net/15737>.

⁵⁵¹ Ibid.

⁵⁵² Baptist Press, "Iraq's Need for Peace Cries out for Prayer & Action, Worker Says," Baptist Press, April 10, 2003, <http://www.bpnews.net/15679>.

⁵⁵³ Jack Graham, "President's Address," 2003.

This story articulates the SBC's commitment to conversionism. It makes use of the *pathos* strategies of populating a narrative with characters that are used to foster parasocial interaction and attempting to make use of pride-based appeals targeting SBC membership by focusing on their effectiveness at mission work. Importantly, the parasocial interaction is employed by Graham to achieve nearly identical purposes as those used by President Bush: to diminish rational critique of the war, to attempt to focus the audience on an emotional state more beneficial to the speaker, and to reinforce the binary by articulating a sacrifice made by individuals fighting for the side of good.

The final passage relevant to the GWOT follows the story of Private Keil. The passage is a description of SBC mission and outreach in New York City following the 9/11 attacks. Graham says,

America was attacked on 9/11 and our world was rocked, our nation was terrorized, and New York City was left in shambles. I will never forget going to ground zero and seeing the devastation. If you saw it, you know that it takes your breath away to know the pain, loss, and suffering—families whose dads didn't come home and whose lives are forever changed because of the attack of murderous thugs and terrorists. But Southern Baptists were there being salt and light in the aftermath.⁵⁵⁴

Once again terrorism is used as an example of a great evil. In this example, reference to the emotional state of the nation after 9/11 and descriptions of suffering are used in an attempt to evoke an emotional reaction that reinforces the moral binary. SBC activism is then used to represent the good side of the binary and characterized as an act that combats the forces of evil. Graham elaborates on this last point,

Our North American Mission Board mobilized hundreds of men and women to go to ground zero. Our own minister of missions, Ross Robinson, went with them. Ross could hardly talk without weeping for the next month, having seen the work of evil in that place. But, Southern Baptists were there in the love and name of Jesus, loving families, taking care of kids, and most of all sharing the good news of Jesus Christ, the gospel.⁵⁵⁵

⁵⁵⁴ Ibid.

⁵⁵⁵ Ibid.

Emotional language is used to continue to reinforce the binary while mission work and evangelism are put forward as a template to demonstrate the power of activism. This passage is followed immediately by yet another statement designed to make use of pride-based appeals that articulate the special ability of the SBC to change culture and combat the forces of evil. That statement is then used to transition back to a long description on the SBC's role in the culture war and descriptions of the way in which the culture is becoming more depraved.

Graham's speech makes use of a simplified version of the moral binary present in Bush's GWOT narrative. Yet, this binary language is situated within the larger topic of evangelism and is directly connected to a literalist interpretation of scripture and eschatology. The application of the evangelism frame is consistent with the conservative, evangelical political agenda related to foreign policy and its relationship to democracy building to promote religious freedom. However, despite some similarities, the use of the evangelism frame deviates from Bush's presentation of the GWOT narrative that ties the war to democracy building but never directly to evangelistic mission. It is also a significant departure from the frames applied to the binary in Land's discourse.

Graham's rhetoric also makes use of *logos* appeals related to the construction of the culture war typical of the discourse of the religious right. Importantly, the presentation of this *logos* construction not only focuses on domestic issues but is expanded to an international context through references to the war in Iraq and the 9/11 attacks. This strategy mirrors the way the culture war is used in Bush's discourse and importantly is tied to the value of activism and framed in a way that attempts to focus the audience on the potential for activism to change cultures abroad. The primary difference in the presentation of the culture war construction in Graham's discourse and Bush's discourse is, once again, the explicit focus on evangelism. Graham is careful not to specifically discuss the validity of the war, but instead he focuses on the opportunity it presents the SBC to fulfill their evangelistic mission. The same year this speech was given, the SBC passed a resolution in support of the war in Iraq, but it is not mentioned in this speech. Without direct statements related to support for the war, it is impossible to determine if Graham would articulate a value-rational argument or instrumental-rational argument in favor of Bush's wartime policy agenda. In other speeches related to the presidential election, Graham is explicit that political activities done

by the SBC should be a reflection of their core values and beliefs, but he focuses on issues like same-sex marriage and abortion without mentioning the GWOT.⁵⁵⁶

Other rhetorical strategies are also reminiscent of strategies from Bush's version of the GWOT narrative and are used in the same way as Bush's appeals, like the use of stories to promote parasocial interaction. However, these appeals largely function to reinforce the moral binary and are subject to the same recontextualization that embeds the rest of the binary within the evangelism frame. It is worth noting that while Graham did publicly support Bush, nowhere in this speech were the *ethos* appeals related to Bush's insider status retransmitted.

Together Land, Graham, and Brady represent national level political elites within the SBC who were in a position to direct the agenda and efforts of the denomination. The analysis of their retransmission of the rhetorical appeals targeting the Christian right from Bush's GWOT narrative provide insight into the official positions of the denomination and the attempts of their leadership to recontextualize the narrative to suit their political and spiritual goals. However, the congregationalist nature of the SBC means individual spiritual elites, in the form of pastors and Christian media personalities, also have the ability to engage the SBC membership rhetorically and attempt to influence the denomination's rhetorical culture. One example of rhetoric produced by a spiritual leader with a wide reach within the denomination will also be analyzed.

Dr. Charles Stanley is the Senior Pastor of First Baptist Church in Atlanta, a mega-church with a membership of over 14,000.⁵⁵⁷ Stanley is the founder of In Touch Ministries, host of the "In Touch with Dr. Charles Stanley" show, former President of the Southern Baptist Convention, and the *New York Times* bestselling author of more than 50 books.⁵⁵⁸ Dr. Stanley was also a signatory of the Land Letter and a vocal supporter of President Bush. His former presidency has afforded him with a high level of prestige within the SBC and his status as an author and broadcaster ensures his message has a wide reach. Though most of Stanley's work deals with matters of family, evangelical living, relationships, or spiritual issues, Dr. Stanley has publicly supported the GWOT and devoted several episodes

⁵⁵⁶ Ibid.

⁵⁵⁷ Beliefnet.com, "Charles Stanley: Satan 'Always Attacks the Mind'" Beliefnet.com, October 8, 2004, <http://www.beliefnet.com/faiths/christianity/2004/10/charles-stanley-satan-always-attacks-the-mind.aspx>.

⁵⁵⁸ In Touch Ministries, "Dr. Charles F. Stanley," About Dr. Charles Stanley, accessed December 04, 2012, <http://www.intouch.org/about/about-dr.-charles-stanley>.

of his radio show to the topics of war and terrorism.⁵⁵⁹ While during his tenure as SBC president from 1984-1986, Stanley held political power in the denomination, his role during the Bush presidency was only as a church leader and media personality. Analysis of Dr. Stanley's discourse provides an example of the retransmission of the GWOT narrative by a spiritual leader within the denomination that can be contrasted with the way it was retransmitted by the denomination's political leaders, providing a more complete view of rhetorical strategies used by the denomination's elites.

Stanley delivered weekly sermons and radio shows for a large part of his career. Unfortunately, the majority of these sermons and shows have not been preserved or archived. Of the material still accessible, only one rhetorical artifact is specifically designed to address the GWOT; it is a sermon entitled "A Nation at War" and was delivered on "In Touch with Dr. Charles Stanley" on February 16, 2003. However, Stanley also discusses the concepts of war, terrorism, and political support for President Bush in a Beliefnet.com interview from October 8, 2004 entitled "Charles Stanley: 'Satan Always Attacks the Mind.'" These two rhetorical artifacts illustrate the contrasting forms of Stanley's public discourse. Stanley's sermons often have a very limited focus while his interviews and books cover a much broader range of topics.

The brief sermon, "A Nation at War," is an exploration of the biblical message on war. The sermon lacks any of the *ethos* appeals present in Bush's GWOT narrative. The lack of *ethos* is reflective of the narrow focus of the sermon's theme. The sermon similarly lacks any *pathos* appeals present in Bush's original narrative. However, the *logos* appeals used by Bush are well represented, though because of stylistic differences, they are recontextualized to take different forms. Importantly, Stanley is purposely vague in his discussion of war, treating it as a hypothetical instead of referencing the GWOT specifically. Additionally, Bush is not named, and references to the country and its government lack partisan divisions or expanded political context, despite a heavy emphasis on the moral binary.

The *logos* appeals present in Stanley's "A Nation at War" take three forms: biblically supported arguments that God is not anti-war, biblically supported arguments that nations are divinely bestowed with the authority to conduct war, and biblically supported arguments related to a Christian's divinely mandated duty to support a war. The basic

⁵⁵⁹ Also broadcast on television and via the Internet at Intouch.org. The term radio show is used in this thesis because that was the original format.

premise of just war theory is also present in Stanley's message, but he does not cite the theological construction specifically. Instead, he anchors his argument in biblicism by providing a series of proof-texted verses that are interpreted to support divinely inspired warfare contingent on the criteria of just cause and just authority.⁵⁶⁰

Stanley makes direct statements about the will and actions of God, claiming that God is "not excited about war" but that God at times wills and actively requires war. This perspective is made explicit in the statement

God battles with people who oppose Him, who fight against Him and His followers. So, even though He hates war, God is not against it. Throughout the Old Testament, there are examples of God using warfare to carry out His plans, to punish the wicked and preserve His people.⁵⁶¹

This perspective is supported with biblical citations provided to the listeners from Deuteronomy 9:4-6; Deuteronomy 20; Jeremiah 5; and Numbers 33:55-56. He continues,

You may think, 'How could God do that?' He says in Isaiah 55:9, 'My ways are higher than your ways and my thoughts are higher than your thoughts.' God has divine reasons for choosing to use war as a vehicle to accomplish His will.⁵⁶²

The *logos* strategy in this section of the sermon is not complex. Stanley uses scriptural references to argue that God is not anti-war, claims the purpose of God's support of war is to punish God's enemies, and then cites biblical passages that quash counterargument from his audience by challenging them not to question his interpretation of scripture and accept that they cannot understand God. Additionally, imbedded in this statement is a binary structure that divides God and his followers from their opponents. God's opponents are labeled *wicked* making their connection to the evil side of the binary explicit.

Stanley then moves to his discussion of the role of government in war. He states,

In Scripture, God clearly establishes the government's responsibilities and authority over us, as well. In Romans 13:1 and 4, Paul writes, "every person is to be in subjection to the governing

⁵⁶⁰ Charles Stanley, writer, "A Nation at War," in *In Touch with Charles Stanley*, February 16, 2003.

⁵⁶¹ Ibid.

⁵⁶² Ibid.

authorities. For there is no authority except from God, and those which exist are established by God. . .for it [the government] is a minister of God to you for good. But if you do what is evil, be afraid; for it does not bear the sword for nothing; for it is a minister of God, an avenger who brings wrath on the one who practices evil.” God ordains the government with the right to promote good and restrain evil. This includes wickedness that exists within the nation, as well as any wicked persons or countries that threaten foreign nations.⁵⁶³

The quotation from Romans 13:1 and 4 establishes biblical authority for an argument that the government’s authority to conduct war is a product of God’s will. Stanley’s interpretation of the verse then reinforces the binary by explicitly tying government to the good side of the binary and foreign nations that pose a threat to another nation to the evil side. Stanley’s consistent references to “we” and the context of his primary audience, members of the SBC in the United States, allows the listener to understand the America-centric nature of his argument.⁵⁶⁴ The passage above also establishes the state as a just authority when determining the right to conduct warfare. The criterion of just cause is then immediately established when Stanley states, “Therefore, a government has biblical grounds to go to war in the nation’s defense or to liberate others in the world that are enslaved.”⁵⁶⁵ The just causes defined are defense and advancement of freedom, which are both consistent with justification provided for the GWOT in Bush’s discourse and other SBC sources.

In the last section of Stanley’s sermon, he makes a clear value-rational argument for supporting war. He begins by stating “The Bible also instructs citizens in the proper way to respond when their country goes to war. For example, it is a violation of the Word of God to refuse to defend your country if ordered.” He then attempts to counter arguments for pacifism by arguing that killing in war does not qualify as murder and states,

if called, it is a citizen’s national and biblical responsibility to defend his country.

Even if we do not actually participate in the fighting, we are also called to create unity and

⁵⁶³ Ibid.

⁵⁶⁴ Ibid.

⁵⁶⁵ Ibid.

harmony within the country. We need to support whatever decisions our nation makes, as long as they do not directly violate the Word of God.⁵⁶⁶

The value-rational nature of this argument stems from the characterization of support for the war as biblically mandated. This mandate goes beyond fighting; it applies to citizen support as well. The reference to unity and harmony is designed to marginalize political and social opposition to the war. This is evident when Stanley explicitly argues that anti-war protests cannot be justified or defended.

After summarizing his earlier arguments, Stanley ends his sermon with the statement,

This is a frightening time for all of the world's citizens, but it is also a time for God's people to rise up as a unified body against the global threat of evil and terror. I challenge you, as a child of God, to respond to this conflict as He desires: with an attitude of prayer, submission, and an unwavering dependence upon your heavenly Father.⁵⁶⁷

This final statement once again connects support for the war to God's will and challenges the audience to take Christian action in support of the war.

Stanley's Beliefnet.com interview "Charles Stanley: Satan 'Always Attacks the Mind,'" deals specifically with the topic of evil, but is included in this project because it is one of the few pieces of public rhetoric still available where Stanley deals, albeit briefly, with the topic of terrorism. Stanley introduces the topic in the answer to the first question. When asked why he writes books about the topic of evil and Satan, Stanley states,

Because we're living in a fearful time. Since 9/11 people have become more afraid than before, because of terrorism. There's a lot of confusion about evil, where it's all coming from. What is it? Is this something I'm just feeling inside or is there a devil, is there evil? What the book does is clarify that there is evil. There is someone [the devil] behind the evil, and his motives and objectives are very clear to destroy us in many ways.⁵⁶⁸

⁵⁶⁶ Ibid.

⁵⁶⁷ Ibid.

⁵⁶⁸ Beliefnet.com, "Charles Stanley: Satan 'Always Attacks the Mind,'" 2004.

This statement links terrorism and evil. Further, it argues that the source of all evil, including terrorism, is Satan.

This initial statement begins to develop the evil side of the moral binary and position it in direct opposition to the audience, identified through the use of the collective “us.” The binary is further established in the following questions in which the dichotomous relationship between God and evil is defined. Importantly, this binary discourse differs significantly from other examples identified in this thesis. Instead of using the character-based and action-based appeals seen previously, Stanley applies the frame of spiritual warfare. Within this frame, every issue is reduced to a binary between submission to God or action that is against God. No middle ground is presented, and no evidence or context is provided beyond Stanley’s own interpretation. This interview conspicuously lacks any supporting arguments, even those based on biblical authority.

After discussing the nature of spiritual warfare, Stanley is asked to discuss President Bush. After a few questions in which Stanley describes their interactions, he begins to describe his views on the President and the GWOT. He says,

When the whole issue of the war was going on and I preached the message, ‘A Nation at War,’ we got 865,000 phone calls. The whole theme of it [the sermon] was why it's biblical for a nation to go to war.... I got mail and letters and calls from people from the military, you name it.⁵⁶⁹

When asked if people agreed with him he elaborated saying,

Oh, absolutely. All these people who called and wrote emails, we sent them a little brochure that had a section in it, how to pray each day for the president and the serviceman and so forth. Then there was a part you can tear off and fill out a note to the president. I'm sure that somewhere along the way, [Bush] must have found out about that, because he got thousands and thousands of them, which I'm sure was an encouragement to him.⁵⁷⁰

⁵⁶⁹ Ibid.

⁵⁷⁰ *ibid.*

In this passage, Stanley articulates a belief in biblically supported warfare, and by using rhetorical links to Christian activism in support of the GWOT, he characterizes it as a war that falls into that category. This connection further reinforces the moral binary when the United States is explicitly connected to the good side during Stanley's statement, "God has blessed America as no other nation on earth."⁵⁷¹ Stanley's discussion of the prayer brochures also demonstrates a commitment to activism, defined here by the Christian action of prayer taken in support of the President. This prayer is significant considering the spiritual warfare frame present in this interview and the group-oriented nature of the prayer itself and the logistical actions taken to facilitate group prayer.

He finishes the interview with a discussion of Bush's faith. When asked why some might think unilateral action in the GWOT is unwarranted aggression Stanley redirects the question by first affirming some people are against the war, then implying the cause is a hatred for Bush. He states, "No president has been so hated and despised as President Bush. And neither has any president been so open about his faith."⁵⁷² The statement about Bush's faith is a non-sequitur argument but one that the interviewer chooses to respond to by asking the question "What about Jimmy Carter?"⁵⁷³ Stanley then elaborates on his previous statement saying,

Well, I'll include him [Carter] for the simple reason that no president has been so open about his faith, and lived it out, in the big basic issues, as President Bush. He's not ashamed of that. He talks about Jesus Christ and his faith, and it's interesting that people are so totally opposed to him and talk about him wearing his religion on his sleeve. President Reagan was a Christian, and President Carter certainly claimed to be a Christian. And you never heard all that kind of just horrible statements and accusations about either one of them, though Reagan had his time. But President Bush, it's a whole different story. I think God put him there, that's my conviction. God placed him there.⁵⁷⁴

This statement ties Bush to the good side of the binary through an acknowledgement of his faith and a direct statement that connects Bush to the will of God. It also characterizes objection to Bush as objection to his faith. By

⁵⁷¹ *ibid.*

⁵⁷² *Ibid.*

⁵⁷³ *Ibid.*

⁵⁷⁴ *Ibid.*

making use of the *logos* binary construct and retransmitting *ethos* appeals that cast Bush as an evangelical insider because of his faith, Stanley grounds the GWOT and Bush's leadership in the larger frame of spiritual warfare, providing religious significance to the conflict.

When Stanley's two pieces of discourse are considered together, patterns emerge. Stanley consistently uses the good/evil binary using the most overt theologically loaded language yet seen. He has a reliance on Bible-based authority when providing evidence and his discourse completely lacks of any other form of support for logical arguments or interpretations of events. He uses a value-rational argument that characterizes support for war as an act of submission to the will of God, going so far as to claim that protest and disagreement cannot be justified. Finally, Stanley specifically encourages prayer as a form of Christian activism. The above patterns highlight Stanley's use of appeals related to biblicism and activism. Conversionism and crucentrism are once again absent. Stanley also adopts only the most basic of Bush's original *logos* and *ethos* appeals, but specifically uses the moral binary and the argument that Bush is an evangelical insider as focal points for his larger argument that Christians are required to support the GWOT. Because of the recontextualization process and the application of the spiritual warfare claim no forms similar to Bush's *pathos* appeals are present.⁵⁷⁵

Conclusions

This chapter has discussed the retransmission of the Bush GWOT narrative by SBC elites through tracking their narratives' rhetorical appeals targeting conservative evangelical Christians especially Southern Baptists. When taken as a whole, SBC discourse related to the GWOT contains many of the rhetorical appeals from the GWOT narrative, and these appeals are used in a way that is consistent with the GWOT narrative produced by President Bush. Namely, the appeals are designed to establish the credibility of the President by casting him as an insider of the evangelical community, characterizing the GWOT as a moral action, developing a dichotomy between the moral character of the United States and its enemies, connecting the goals and character of the United States to God,

⁵⁷⁵ Threat-based *pathos* appeals are used by Stanley, but the threat he articulates is a spiritual one cause by Satan, not the threat of terrorism. They are similar in form but do not qualify as retransmission of Bush's appeals.

establishing emotional frames that strengthen other appeals, and providing root support for the GWOT and Bush's wartime policies in the evangelical values of activism, biblicism, and conversionism.

The stark difference in style, form, and context of each author will be important issues when answering the thesis's research questions related to the SBC's retransmission of Bush's rhetorical appeals targeting conservative, evangelical Christians. The first question this chapter needs to address is whether SBC elites retransmit the Bush GWOT narrative faithfully in their rhetoric, and if so, in what ways do they engage with or change the narrative's appeals related to SBC values? The specific rhetorical appeals retransmitted by the SBC elites have been described in the analysis and some general patterns have emerged.

The *ethos* appeals in both Dr. Land's and Dr. Stanley's retransmission of the GWOT narrative are consistent with those present in the Bush narrative designed to characterize Bush as a conservative, evangelical insider. Both men build upon Bush's original *ethos* appeals by using President Bush as an example when providing a template for political activism. Importantly, when building Bush's insider status, Land and Stanley actively interpret the motivations for and meaning behind Bush's actions in support of the Christian right's political platform. They create the characterization that Bush is motivated by faith. They supply additional meaning for Bush's actions by applying frames to policy issues that connect to commonly held beliefs within the SBC or the four core values identified in Chapter Three. Land repeatedly uses the culture war or just war theory as overarching frames while Stanley makes use of the culture war frame and the idea of spiritual warfare. Both men also imply or directly state that it was divine providence that put Bush in the Whitehouse. All of these forms of appeals are designed to reinforce the insider status created by their *ethos* appeals, but they also create a value-rational template for engaging in activism while minimizing counterarguments related to a rational critique of Bush's policies. In contrast to the retransmission of the *ethos* present in the rhetoric of Land and Stanley, discourse produced by Jack Graham and brief statements given to the Baptist Press by John Brady related to the GWOT did not contain any references to President Bush or any *ethos* related appeals from the original version of the narrative.

The *logos* appeals from Bush's original narrative are very well represented in SBC elite retransmission. The most pervasive *logos* appeals are those that construct a moral binary related to the GWOT. In Land's and Graham's discourse, both the action-based and character-based chains of appeals are used in the construction of the moral binary. Stanley restricts his construction of the binary to the use of character-based appeals. The retransmission of

this binary frame is significant because, as described in Chapter Four, many other frames were available. Yet, the binary frame has also been attributed to Bush's own theological beliefs, meaning that it could naturally reflect the worldview of conservative evangelicals. Therefore, the way in which the binary is framed during retransmission is important in determining the elites' practice of rhetorical agency. Significantly, each of the elites examined used a different frame to transmit the binary.

Land's preferred frames were just war theory and the culture war. Land's use of just war theory predates Bush's introduction of the theme in his own discourse and demonstrates a significant practice of rhetorical agency, illustrating the power of elites within a constituency to influence the rhetorical norms of politicians targeting their communities. The application of the just war frame is consistent with Bush's original binary strategy. In both cases the binary is designed to achieve the following goals: to establish a dichotomous relationship between the United States and terrorism, to expand the scope of the GWOT to global significance, to connect terrorists and other potential enemies, to connect the United States and its allies, and a to link the parties on the good side of the binary and the Divine. Just war theory can best be understood as a reification of the general moral binary that connects it to a specific doctrine thereby grounding the characterization of the United States and <terrorists> in biblicism and Christian theological doctrine designed to increase the binary's relevance to Land's audience. Land's use of just war theory also provides a template for Christian activism on a global scale based on its characterization as a moral duty of Christians to engage in just war and the use of just cause arguments related to freedom of religion and human rights.

While Land's use of just war theory is consistent with the *logos* appeals in Bush's rhetoric, his use of the culture war construct is a significant divergence from Bush's rhetorical strategy. In both Bush's and Land's discourse, the culture war construct was designed to encourage political support for President Bush and his political agenda due to its similarity to the Christian right's political goals. Similarly, in both cases the culture war references made significant use of the moral binary, its expansion to international issues, and its elevation to religious significance. However, Bush was rhetorically constrained by his role as a coalition builder and his need to appeal to various constituencies within the general public. Land did not design his discourse for a general audience and did not have the same political constraints as Bush; instead, he focused on divisions within the United States in an attempt to motivate support based on a shared value system that is characterized as antithetical to the values held by political

opposition. The cultural fault line highlighted by Land demonized opposing segments of the American public, portrayed cultural conservatives as defenders of western and Christian values by establishing a moral binary between the two sides of the political conflict, and described that conflict in overtly hostile military terminology. Biblicism was used to provide an authoritative foundation for the conservative side of the culture war and activism was promoted as a way to engage in the conflict. It is noteworthy that political activism was Land's focus, but that activism was nuanced to imply activism is a product of SBC values instead of an end in and of itself. The culture war was connected to the GWOT through expansion of SBC activism to an international level where it served the same function as activism at a domestic level: to preserve Christian values and promote conservative evangelical positions. Land's use of the culture war construct more overtly reinforced the *ethos* appeals from the Bush version of the GWOT narrative by ascribing meaning to Bush's actions, where Bush was forced to walk a fine line between a culture war defender persona and a unifying force for the country.

Graham's and Stanley's use of the *logos* binary is far less complex than the version present in Bush's original narrative or in Land's retransmission. Each one used the basic good/evil structure to describe the war. However, instead of building justification of the war on both action-based and character-based appeals that gradually expand the war's scope and importance, they focused solely on the character-based chain and the relationship between the United States and God. Graham only described the GWOT through the lens of evangelistic activism, connecting the war in Iraq and the humanitarian response to terrorism as opportunities for mission and evangelism. This evangelism frame was also present in Brady's statements and did connect to Bush's discussion of compassionate conservatism, its power to lead to cultural change, and its eventual expansion to an international scope through the GWOT. It is not worthy that these connections are made considering Bush never specifically referenced evangelism. Additionally, Graham may have articulated support for the war, but when defining the binary, it is the SBC that he connected to God. The SBC's actions were the singular focus of Graham's speech. <terrorists> were connected to the evil side of the binary in a way consistent with Bush's discourse, but the restriction of scope to the SBC on the good side is a significant change. The culture war is also heavily represented in Graham's rhetoric and it is presented in a way more closely resembling Land's description than Bush's. Graham used this construction in an attempt to focus his audience on evangelistic activity and to make political activism contingent upon an expression of the SBC's value system.

Stanley's use of the moral binary was articulated through the frame of spiritual warfare. Instead of introducing the parties in the GWOT and gradually expanding the binary to incorporate ideas about God and evil, Stanley began with God and evil and moved to provide examples of evil in the world by citing terrorism. He later characterized support for the war as biblically mandated and in keeping with God's will, firmly connecting the war to the good side of the binary. Stanley only used reference to just cause and just authority, elements of the just war theory. He did not apply a just war theory frame but instead focused on biblical arguments that inform those criteria. Stanley's extreme focus on God's will and Satan's role in causing evil reinforced the binary. However, the divisive nature of the spiritual warfare frame also allowed Stanley to characterize anything he is against as stemming from Satan's influence, including opposition to the war, which he claimed is indefensible from a biblical perspective.

Of all the SBC elites examined, only Land constantly employed *pathos* appeals in the same way Bush does. Land makes use of many appeals designed to build a sense of imminent threat related to terrorism. Yet Land also expanded the use of these appeals beyond their terrorism context and applied them to the culture war, building a sense of imminent threat related to liberalism. Land also made use of a new form of *pathos* appeal designed to build a sense of pride among the SBC and reinforce *ethos* appeals related to insider doctrine. Graham also made use of these appeals. However, neither Graham nor Stanley actively retransmitted any of the original *pathos* appeals from Bush's narrative, even when they use similar *pathos* strategies, like the use of characters to provide parasocial interaction.

In some cases, the SBC elite actively argued against Bush's positions that form important parts of his GWOT narrative, presenting another perspective. One example of this different perspective is Land's discourse on Muslims. He did not retransmit Bush's argument that Muslim extremists are fundamentally different from normal Muslims. Instead, he argued that Islam is fundamentally violent. Another example can be seen in his discourse on faith-based initiative in which he warns of potential government overreach.

The second question that must be answered in this chapter is "how do the changes to the narrative made by SBC elites reflect the beliefs and political agenda of their community?" The changes present in the GWOT narrative are all related to specific beliefs held by the SBC or the Christian right. Often the changes are the result of mediating the already present frames through theological perspectives that are consistent with the SBC value of biblicism. The examples of the application of just war theory, spiritual warfare, and evangelistic mission to the good/evil binary are

all reflections of this process. In each case, the result of applying the new theological or social frame shifts the logic of the argument to one that is consistent with biblical authority. With just war theory, a series of criteria are outlined to prove that the GWOT is just, as defined by biblical authority, removing the possibility for counter-argument. Stanley's spiritual warfare frame reduces the opportunity for counter-argument even further by subordinating all rational argument to a prophetic interpretation of the will of God based on Stanley's own interpretation of scripture. Graham's use of the evangelism frame shifts the focus away from legitimizing the war entirely and instead works to motivate the SBC towards Christian activism in the form of evangelism and mission work, reflecting both the values of activism and conversionism. However, his evangelism frame is also supported primarily through interpretation of biblical text and reflects the denomination's interpretation of the biblical message as one that places supreme importance on the process of evangelism above all else.

It is very important to note affirmation of divine providence, the idea that the United States is a chosen nation, and the exclusive truth of the Christian scriptures, are all present in these discourses. One of the major deviations from Bush's message identified in this thesis is related to the supremacy of Christianity. In the few instances when the nature of Islam is discussed in these discourses, it is always portrayed very negatively. Where Bush attempted to highlight similarities between Christianity and Islam, the SBC elites rejected that idea. Yet, many of these references come from sources that are separate from discussions of the GWOT and therefore fall outside the analysis of this dissertation. More consistent in this rhetoric is the use of the culture war to focus on the social cleavage within the United States. This difference also directly relates to the belief of the SBC that Christians are a people uniquely chosen by God and that the biblical message is antithetical to any opposing viewpoints. The emphasis on division within the culture war frame was designed to allow the SBC elites to characterize Christian activism as the only truly effective form of change, to focus their audience on cultural wedge issues that relate to their interpretation of scripture, to create rhetorical links between unrelated topics, and to take advantage of insider claims to truth thereby marginalizing outsider opinions. The changes made in each of these cases represent a change in meaning, as it relates to the *Verstehen* thesis, that recontextualize ideas that are vague or inconsistent with conservative evangelical norms to reshape them into ideas consistent with those norms. This process facilitates the elite's ability to characterize Bush as an insider, but subordinates the political goals and persuasive value of Bush's rhetorical appeals to the goals of the elites.

The differences between the appeals of the SBC elites reflect the different rhetorical context of the national political elites in the SBC hierarchy. Each elite examined made changes to the narrative that reflected the goals and responsibilities consistent with their position. As president, Graham had the responsibility of directing the denomination in a way consistent with the will of the state conventions and individual congregations. The focus on the common SBC themes of the culture war and evangelism represents the shared emphasis on activism and conversionism within the denomination. The limited focus on political issues reflects the congregationalist nature of the denomination and the division of power that exists between the president and the ERLC, which acts as the political arm. Brady's few comments similarly reflect the narrow focus and authority of the International Missions Board and its potential role in the denomination, as it relates to Iraq. Stanley articulated the focus of his sermon as an exploration of the biblical message on war. His stated goal is to inform his listeners and congregation of the proper way to react to war as an evangelical Christian, as directed by scripture. This goal is reflective of his role as a congregational leader guiding his church members through biblical interpretation of modern issues. It also reflects a concern for larger cultural issues, befitting of a nationally broadcast media personality. Land's discourse focused much more on political issues reflecting the role of the ERLC. His discourse displayed the most direct relationship to the GWOT; Land designed it to mobilize political support, make use of rhetorical appeals that emphasized divisions within the American public based on conflicting values that marginalized political opposition, and apply frames to political issues that were consistent with evangelical values in an attempt to guide interpretation of the issues. Through the use of the just war theory frame, Land was able to expand the ERLC's political activism to an international stage through the topics of democracy-building and human rights while the use of the culture war frame provided urgency for the need to engage in political social action. *Pathos* appeals in the SBC elite presentation of the narrative were often used to reinforce *logos* and *ethos* appeals and were designed to fit the specific rhetorical context of each speaker; therefore, *pathos* appeals are minor elements of the SBC retransmission. Now that the changes to Bush's narrative made by SBC elites have been identified the final chapter will compare the versions to explain the effects of the SBC elite's practice of rhetorical agency has had on the narrative and interpret how those changes relate to Weber's theories.

Chapter 6: Conclusions

This thesis asks, do elites within the SBC practice rhetorical agency on Bush's GWOT narrative during the retransmission process, and if so, how do they do so? The analysis has shown that the SBC elites do practice significant rhetorical agency in several ways. They use active interpretation in which motivation for and meaning of actions made by the President are conformed to the norms of the community. They apply new frames to the GWOT that reify the general moral binary and connect it to specific doctrines or biblical ideas. They selectively retransmit appeals that emphasize elements of the narrative important to their individual political agendas and deemphasize elements that are not. They reinforce the moral authority of arguments by connecting them to scripture. They recontextualize the culture war frame to emphasize cultural cleavage within the United States. They also create templates for value-rational social action. Each of these strategies has a significant impact on the narrative. Yet the retransmission of the GWOT was not a monolithic act, and each member of the elite made changes to the narrative that reflected their position within the denomination and their specific rhetorical agenda.

Despite the differences in retransmission, patterns emerge that provide the answer to the following question: are the changes made to the GWOT narrative's rhetorical appeals designed to reflect the rhetorical culture of the SBC or to change the rhetorical culture related to the GWOT to conform to the parameters set by the narrative and aid in accomplishing Bush's rhetorical goals? The analysis has shown that the changes made by SBC elite primarily recontextualize the narrative so that it fits into the larger rhetorical culture of the SBC by applying frames that are common to that community and its agenda. Important elements of this frame match norms that occur within the SBC identified in chapter three including: spiritual warfare derived from an affirmation of premillennial dispensationalism, the culture war thesis that focuses Christian moral supremacy, dominionism represented by the conquest of political institutions through activism, and foreign policy that primarily focuses on religious freedom and evangelistic mission.⁵⁷⁶ During the process of reifying rhetorical appeals, connections are made between more general ideas and specific doctrines that are already a common part of the rhetorical culture of the SBC. When

⁵⁷⁶ Each of these themes were represented in the discussion of SBC core values and political ideas in the "Specific Policy Goals of the SBC and their Relationship to SBC values and Doctrine" section of chapter Three. Additionally, each theme, when present in SBC elite discourse undermines Bush's unity appeals by promoting Christian supremacy or focusing the audience on division within the culture.

retransmitting Bush's *ethos* appeals designed to build his insider status, the elites actively interpret the meaning behind Bush's actions in a way that fits the norms of the community, reflecting the importance of Weber's *Verstehen* thesis in relation to understanding meaning and motives. Many examples have been identified in which similar strategies were used to refine the narrative to increase its saliency and relevance to the SBC membership. In relation to this question, the important element of that process is whether the changes made introduce new considerations to the SBC that fundamentally shift their positions and agendas. None has been identified. Instead, the SBC elites simply incorporate elements of the narrative that further their goals and change those that do not to conform to strategies already in place.

This finding challenges any characterization that conservative evangelicals lack agency when engaging with political rhetoric and demonstrates the need to consider value priorities when designing rhetoric that appeals to constituencies that hold Insider doctrine. However, the findings clearly identify separate sets of value priorities and rhetorical which goals exist between the President and the SBC. This finding conflicts with theories that suggest Bush's political goals were beholden to the Christian right. Instead this thesis illustrates a complex cycle of rhetorical agency in which politicians and political elites produce discourse designed to persuade an audience to take specific actions related to specific goals while borrowing and recontextualizing rhetorical innovations from one another but conforming the innovations to their preexisting rhetorical culture. Several examples of SBC recontextualization were provided in Chapter Five. Examples of just war theory frames and culture war frames in Bush's rhetoric also signal recontextualization as they are applied in a way that promotes Bush's goal of a unified American public instead of the original version present in SBC discourse that emphasizes division.

There is one last question that must be answered to provide a complete understanding of the effects of those changes. Are the differences between Bush's appeals and those of the SBC elites significant enough to change the basic presentation of the GWOT within the SBC? The application of new frames and infusion of biblicism in the argumentative structure justifying the GWOT are important in determining if the retransmitted version of the narrative is essentially different than that put forward by President Bush. After the analysis, this thesis has determined that the SBC retransmission is essentially different in an important way. Where President Bush creates a narrative designed to justify the GWOT and encourage political support for his wartime policies using an instrumental-rational argument, in which the value of the war is derived from the end goals it achieves, the SBC elite

present a narrative designed to justify the GWOT and encourage political support for Bush's wartime policies using value-rational arguments in which the value of supporting the war is derived from submission to God's will.

The *logos* frames applied by SBC elites all subordinate logic and argument to biblical authority and divine will. Support for the war is characterized as a Christian duty; the audience is told that opposing the war cannot be justified biblically, and templates of value-rational action are used repeatedly to illustrate the proper response to war. Importantly, the consequences of supporting the war and the direct effects of the war are not given priority; instead, the value is derived from participating in the battle against evil, not the results of victory. *Ethos* appeals that establish Bush as an evangelical insider are used to provide meaning to Bush's actions consistent with the norms of the community while interpreting his motivations in a way consistent with value-rational action. A hierarchy is established between value-rational and instrumental-rational support for political agendas in which value-rational action is promoted as more effective and more important. In each pro-war argument, the value of supporting the war is derived from the act of supporting the war and the relationship between that act and divine mandate.

Applying value-rational arguments as frames for the GWOT narrative fundamentally changes the nature of both the conflict and any social action taken in support of the conflict by requiring absolute adherence. Tying these arguments to the core values of biblicism and activism ensures that value-rational support is established as a community norm within the SBC. Tying the arguments to Insider doctrine through both *ethos* appeals and the *logos* construct of the culture war emphasizes the importance for SBC members to adhere to that norm based on the meaning applied to it. And laying out value-rational templates for action demonstrates a desired course of action when considering action related to the GWOT. When all of these issues are combined with direct prophetic statements about the will of God and culpability of those who do not engage in just war, the character of the narrative is changed from one that characterizes it as an important earthly struggle in support of universal, god-granted values to one that has spiritual significance with very real consequences for the audience related to their group identity and theological beliefs. The connection to group identity and divine command elevates support for the GWOT as a new fault line in the culture war with implied ability to influence insider or outsider status.

This portrayal contrasts strongly with the one present in Bush's narrative and undermines the message of unity that was an essential piece of the original version. These unity appeals are an important part of Bush's coalition-building strategy, and undermining them has the potential to limit Bush's ability to engage in rhetorical leadership designed to

motivate the SBC and the Christian right to join in cooperative political relationships with other constituencies. The SBC elite's retransmitted version of the narrative contains frames that limit Bush's ability to define the GWOT in a way beneficial to his policy agenda. Yet it has been shown that the changes in the narrative have not diminished the SBC's attempts to encourage support for President Bush. Bush's *ethos* and *logos* appeals designed to increase the salience of policy issues related to the GWOT are retransmitted in a way that preserves Bush's ability to act as an agenda-setter. Therefore, the elite's deviation from the original narrative does not represent a rejection of the President or the GWOT. Instead, it highlights the willingness of the SBC elites to attempt to mobilize support for Bush in a way that serves their own agenda and reinforces their own ideas and values.

Neo-Aristotelian Criticism and Weberian Theories on Social Action and Meaning

A significant component of this thesis was the confluence of Neo-Aristotelian critical method and Weberian theories on social action and meaning as an interpretive framework. Neo-Aristotelian criticism is designed to identify the specific means of persuasion used within a rhetorical artifact and judge its appropriateness to a given situation. This thesis was specifically concerned with presidential rhetoric, which sociologists and rhetoricians have shown is used to achieve specific functions in presidential leadership including agenda-setting, coalition building, and defining events and ideas in a way beneficial to the president (often through framing). These elements of leadership at their core are designed to mobilize the public to take group-oriented, intentional action in support of specific policy agendas.⁵⁷⁷ Weber's theories provide an interpretive model that allows sociologists to understand those actions, the meaning a community ascribes to them, and the community's motivations for engaging in action. The connection between Weber and Neo-Aristotelian methods occurs when examining the way rhetoric is designed to appeal to specific communities in an attempt to motivate action or to determine the meaning a specific community ascribes to actions described in their rhetoric. By making use of both Neo-Aristotelian method and Weber's theories, this thesis has identified SBC elite's practice of rhetorical agency on Bush's GWOT narrative and allowed for an interpretation

⁵⁷⁷ Different models of presidential rhetorical leadership define the specific acts differently but all qualify under Weber's definition of social action. For more discussion of the models of presidential leadership and the social action they attempt to inspire see Chapter Two, pages 28-32.

of the effects of that agency on the narrative and its relationship to the templates for social action it provides. Three specific links between Neo-Aristotelian criticism and Weber's theories made these findings possible.

The first, important step in the analytical process of this thesis was determining the forms of rhetorical appeals that were used to target the SBC. Weber's theories on social action were influential in making this decision. As the goal of presidential rhetorical leadership is to encourage support in the form of social action, and as Weber holds that a shared sense of values can motivate social action, rhetorical appeals designed to communicate a shared sense of values became the focus of the analysis. After an analysis of the historical and political context of the SBC, four core values consistent with those identified by Bebbington were identified. Using Neo-Aristotelian criticism, many rhetorical appeals that connected to these values were identified in Bush's GWOT narrative and tracked through the retransmission process.⁵⁷⁸ The combination of Weber's theories on social action and Neo-Aristotelian criticism provided more precise criteria for appeals included or excluded for analysis. As a result, this thesis was able to focus specifically on rhetorical appeals specifically relevant to the Christian right and the SBC instead of using a general survey of religious sounding rhetoric. Chapter Two highlighted the conflict that exists within academia over Bush's use of religious rhetoric based on its characterization as a reflection of beliefs and values or its characterization as a continuation of patterns related to civic religion. The use of Weber's theories as an interpretive framework and the resulting focus on rhetoric connected to the values of the SBC allowed this thesis to determine what religious language served a special, persuasive function beyond those present in general patterns of civic religion.

The second, important link between Neo-Aristotelian criticism and Weber's theories is present in the interpretation of implied meaning and motivations for actions present within narratives or in the development of templates for social action. Weber's *Verstehen* thesis focuses on the way meaning is applied to actions within a community and argues that those meanings are a product of the norms and common ideas held within that community. Likewise, in rhetoric, the meaning behind ideas and actions that take place within a narrative are determined primarily by the norms of the community that produces that narrative. When dealing with transmission of a message from one community or interest group to another, the ability to understand the different meanings applied to different actions

⁵⁷⁸ Bebbington, *Evangelicalism in Modern Britain: A History from the 1730s to the 1980s*, 1989.

is essential in determining both the persuasive strategy being used and its appropriateness for a specific audience. The exploration of the specific context of both speaker and audience required by Neo-Aristotelian criticism is strengthened when special attention is paid to the preconceived notions held by the two parties and to the difference in norms and culture. Further, when identifying the practice of rhetorical agency in retransmission of a narrative, understanding the implications of change made to the narrative relies on determining the meaning and motivation the new version of the narrative applies to actions. For example, without the influence of the *Verstehen* thesis, the complexities of Land's retransmission of *ethos* appeals related to Bush's insider status would be more difficult to identify. The appeals are transmitted in roughly the same way and serve a similar purpose. However, by focusing on the meaning applied to actions in the narrative, the recontextualization of Bush's actions that conform them to value-rational patterns of faith-based activism becomes apparent. The contrast between the original version of instrumental-rational activism and the retransmitted value-rational interpretation action is subtle but has the potential to impact both the persuasive value of the appeal and the resulting template for social actions constructed in the narrative.

The *Verstehen* thesis is closely related to theories related to rhetorical culture, but rhetorical culture limits the study to the rhetorical norms of a community, such as the application of common frames, tropes, and stylistic or argumentative patterns. Rhetorical culture maintains a local community focus and directs rhetorical interpretation to take the context of the community seriously, but combining this view with the *Verstehen* thesis provides opportunity to interpret deeper patterns and connections in the discourse related to meaning and motives.

Finally, the third use of Weber's categories for social-action as interpretive framework was essential in examining the relationship between actions present in the narrative and the values of the community. The use of these categories was made possible by the confluence of Neo-Aristotelian criticism's ability to identify specific rhetorical appeals across the process of retransmission and the *Verstehen* thesis' guidance in interpreting the different meaning attached to those appeals. Once templates for action were identified and the meaning attached to actions was examined, the kind of social action present in the narrative could be categorized and the category of social action the author attempted to motivate could be determined. As the analysis has shown, at times the difference in presentation of rhetorical appeals between Bush and SBC elites was minor, but by retransmitting the narrative in a way that characterized support for the GWOT or the GWOT itself as a form of value-rational action, the SBC elites were able

to fundamentally change the way the war was defined and undermine elements of Bush's narrative that did not serve their specific goals. The effects of their strategy highlighted their ability to limit presidential leadership related to both the power of definition and the process of coalition building.

Suggestions for Further Research

This thesis has demonstrated the usefulness in identifying the practice of rhetorical agency related to the construction of templates for social action and the process by which meaning and motivations for actions are ascribed to actions within narratives. It has also demonstrated a significant deviation from Bush's original narrative in the use of frames that redefine the character of the GWOT within SBC rhetoric. The length constraints of this thesis and the need to analyze Bush's discourse to identify a set of base-line rhetorical appeals that connect to the core, evangelical values has limited the number of SBC sources that could be examined. It would be valuable for future research to examine more examples of SBC elite rhetoric in an attempt to identify patterns that exist within subgroups of the SBC. For example, an expanded analysis of congregational leadership's sermons related to the GWOT could be examined to see if the narrative is consistently retransmitted in a way that attempts to focus the audience on theological concerns related to the agenda of a spiritual leader. Similarly, rhetoric produced by leaders of SBC affiliated political action campaigns could be examined to determine if the way they frame the GWOT is consistent with Land's discourse that characterizes support for the war as another fault line in the culture war. Examining the rhetoric of subgroups related to the congregationalist nature of the denomination and the division of labor that exists within communities would be a valuable step to see if the patterns identified are consistently retransmitted by lower tier elites.

This thesis has also highlighted the active recontextualization of the Bush narrative to serve the rhetorical needs of SBC elites and the resulting limitation of the President's rhetorical leadership in relation to coalition building and the power of definition. It would be valuable to repeat this process using the rhetoric of other denominations and the politicians that court them to determine if the same type of rhetorical exchange that takes place between Bush and the SBC elite is also present. Likewise, it would be useful to examine the discourse of elites from other important

constituencies and compare it to President Bush's discourse in order to see if these constituencies also adapt Bush's narrative in a way that limits his power of definition and coalition-building ability in order to meet their own rhetorical goals. The focus on value-based rhetorical appeals to identify appeals targeting specific constituencies will allow for an analysis of the specific persuasive strategies designed to motivate these constituencies to take social action. The result of these forms of continuing research could identify other important aspects of the rhetorical relationship that exists between the President and his or her base constituencies.

Finally, the method used in this thesis could be applied to a variety of other topics. Examining the exercise of agency by SBC elites on Bush's narratives related to any other issue could determine if the recontextualization process is consistently used to elevate the SBC's agenda at the expense of the President's ability to engage in rhetorical leadership in the community or if it is unique to a specific set of issues due to their relationship to specific values of the community. Other important topics could include any political issue like environmental regulation, immigration, or organized labor. Preexisting frames exist for each of the issues within the Christian right. Projects that track the changes that occur in SBC elite retransmission of presidential narratives related to these issues could confirm that the SBC elites consistently subordinate other narratives to their own rhetorical goals and the degree to which they were willing to adapt the narratives while still maintaining support for the President.

Bibliography

- Abbott, Philip. "Do Presidents Talk Too Much? The Rhetorical Presidency and Its Alternative." *Presidential Studies Quarterly* 18, no. 2 (April 01, 1988): 347-62.
- Abramowitz, Alan I., and Walter J. Stone. "The Bush Effect: Polarization, Turnout, and Activism in the 2004 Presidential Election." *Presidential Studies Quarterly* 36, no. 2 (2006): 141-54.
- Almond, Gabriel A., R. Scott Appleby, and Emmanuel Sivan. *Strong Religion: The Rise of Fundamentalisms around the World*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2003.
- Ammerran, Nancy T. *Baptist Battles: Social Change and Religious Conflict in the Southern Baptist Convention*. New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1990.
- Ammerran, Nancy T. "Southern Baptists and the New Christian Right." *Review of Religious Research* 32, no. 3 (1991): 213-35.
- Andrade, Lydia, and Garry Young. "Presidential Agenda Setting: Influences on the Emphasis of Foreign Policy." *Political Research Quarterly* 49, no. 3 (1996): 591-605.
- Antoun, Richard T. *Understanding Fundamentalism: Christian, Islamic, and Jewish Movements*. Walnut Creek, CA: AltaMira Press, 2001.
- Ariel, Yaakov. "Israel in Contemporary Evangelical Christian Millennial Thought." *Numen* 59, no. 5-6 (2012): 456-85.
- Associated Press, "Vatican Strongly Opposes Iraq War | Fox News," Fox News, March 12, 2003, <http://www.foxnews.com/story/2003/03/12/vatican-strongly-opposes-iraq-war.html>.
- Bacevich, Andrew J., and Elizabeth H. Prodromou. "God Is Not Neutral: Religion and U.S. Foreign Policy after 9/11." *Orbis* 48, no. 1 (2004): 43-54.
- Bagozzi, Richard P. "On the Concept of Intentional Social Action in Consumer Behavior." *Journal of Consumer Research* 27, no. 3 (December 01, 2000): 388-96.
- Bailey, David C. "Enacting Transformation: George W. Bush and the Pauline Conversion Narrative in 'A Charge to Keep'" *Rhetoric and Public Affairs* 11, no. 2 (July 01, 2008): 215-41.
- Baptist Press. "Bush Speaks to Southern Baptists, Reiterates Stances on Life Issues, Same-sex 'marriage'" Baptist Press. June 15, 2004. Accessed June 01, 2016. <http://www.bpnews.net/18474>.
- Baptist Press. "FIRST-PERSON Government Oversight: Ominous Cloud over Aid to Faith-based Initiatives." Baptist Press. March 13, 2001. Accessed June 01, 2016. <http://www.bpnews.net/10475/firstperson-government-oversight-ominous-cloud-over-aid-to-faithbased-initiatives>.
- Baptist Press. "Iraq's Need for Peace Cries out for Prayer & Action, Worker Says." Baptist Press. April 10, 2003. <http://www.bpnews.net/15679>.
- Baptist Press. "'Pivotal Moment in History' Ahead in Iraq for Christian Relief Efforts." Baptist Press. April 17, 2003. <http://www.bpnews.net/15737>.
- Baptist Press. "Richard Land Inquires of Islam Where Are Its Peaceful Followers." Baptist Press. August 28, 2002. <http://www.bpnews.net/14119>.
- Barker, David C. "Values, Frames, and Persuasion in Presidential Nomination Campaigns." *Political Behavior* 27, no. 4 (2005): 375-94.

- Barron, Bruce. *Heaven on Earth?: The Social & Political Agendas of Dominion Theology*. Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan, 1992.
- Baumgartner, Frank R., and Bryan D. Jones. *Agendas and Instability in American Politics*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1993.
- BBC, "Pope Warns against Iraq War," BBC News, December 25, 2002, <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/europe/2605367.stm>.
- Bebbington, D. W. *Evangelicalism in Modern Britain: A History from the 1730s to the 1980s*. London: Unwin Hyman, 1989.
- Beliefnet.com. "Charles Stanley: Satan 'Always Attacks the Mind'" Beliefnet.com. October 8, 2004. <http://www.beliefnet.com/faiths/christianity/2004/10/charles-stanley-satan-always-attacks-the-mind.aspx>.
- Bellah, Robert. "Civil Religion in America." *Dædalus* 96, no. 1 (Winter 1967): 1-21.
- Bellamy, Alex J. *Just Wars: From Cicero to Iraq*. Cambridge: Polity Press, 2006.
- Berkowitz, Dan. "Who Sets the Media Agenda? The Ability of Policymakers to Determine News Decisions." In *Public Opinion, the Press, and Public Policy*, by J. David. Kenamer. Westport, CT: Praeger, 1992.
- Bhatia, Aditi. "Religious Metaphor in the Discourse of Illusion: George W. Bush and Osama Bin Laden." *World Englishes* 26, no. 4 (2007): 507-24.
- Black, Edwin. *Rhetorical Criticism: A Study in Method*. New York: Macmillan, 1965.
- Bligh, Michelle C., Jeffrey C. Kohles, and James R. Meindl. "Charisma under Crisis: Presidential Leadership, Rhetoric, and Media Responses before and after the September 11th Terrorist Attacks." *The Leadership Quarterly* 15, no. 2 (2004): 211-39.
- Bligh, Michelle C., Jeffrey C. Kohles, and James R. Meindl. "Charting the Language of Leadership: A Methodological Investigation of President Bush and the Crisis of 9/11." *Journal of Applied Psychology* 89, no. 3 (2004): 562-74.
- Bohannon, J. "Counting the Dead in Afghanistan." *Science* 331, no. 6022 (2011): 1256-260.
- Bostdorff, Denise M. "George W. Bush's Post-September 11 Rhetoric of Covenant Renewal: Upholding the Faith of the Greatest Generation." *Quarterly Journal of Speech* 89, no. 4 (2003): 293-319.
- Bratman, Michael. "Shared Intention." In *Faces of Intention: Selected Essays on Intention and Agency*, 109-29. Cambridge, U.K.: Cambridge University Press, 1999.
- Brinton, Alan. "Pathos and the 'Appeal to Emotion': An Aristotelian Analysis." *History of Philosophy Quarterly* 5, no. 3 (July 01, 1988): 207-19.
- Brock, Bernard L., Robert Lee Scott, and James W. Chesebro. *Methods of Rhetorical Criticism: A Twentieth-century Perspective*. Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1990.
- Brown, W. "American Nightmare: Neoliberalism, Neoconservatism, and De-Democratization." *Political Theory* 34, no. 6 (2006): 690-714.
- Bruner, Jerome. "The Narrative Construction of Reality." *Critical Inquiry* 18, no. 1 (1991): 1-21.
- Bush, George W. *A Charge to Keep*. New York: Morrow, 1999.
- Bush, George W. *Decision Points*. New York: Crown Publishers, 2010.

- Bush, George W. "The Farewell Address." Speech, Washington D.C., January 15, 2009. <http://www.presidentialrhetoric.com/speeches/01.15.09.html>.
- Bush, George W. "George W. Bush, Address to the Nation—September 20, 2001." PresidentialRhetoric.com. Accessed August 21, 2013. <http://www.presidentialrhetoric.com/speeches/09.20.01.html>.
- Bush, George W. "George W. Bush, The End of Combat in Iraq—May 1, 2003." PresidentialRhetoric.com. Accessed February 21, 2016. <http://www.presidentialrhetoric.com/speeches/05.01.03.html>.
- Bush, George W. "George W. Bush, War Message—March 19, 2003." PresidentialRhetoric.com. Accessed February 21, 2016. <http://www.presidentialrhetoric.com/speeches/03.19.03.html>.
- Bush, George W. "GOP Nomination Acceptance Address." Speech, GOP National Convention, First Union Center, Philadelphia, PA, August 3, 2000.
- Bush, George W. "Inaugural Address." Speech, Presidential Inauguration, Washington D.C., January 20, 2001. Accessed December 8, 2010. <http://www.presidentialrhetoric.com/speeches/01.20.01.html>.
- Bush, George W. "Remarks by President Bush to the Southern Baptist Convention Annual Meeting." PRNewswire. June 21, 2005. <http://www.prnewswire.com/news-releases/remarks-by-president-bush-to-the-southern-baptist-convention-annual-meeting-54759307.html>.
- Bush, George W. "Remarks by President Bush Via Satellite to the Southern Baptist Convention Annual Meeting." PRNewswire. June 13, 2007. <http://www.prnewswire.com/news-releases/remarks-by-president-bush-via-satellite-to-the-southern-baptist-convention-annual-meeting-58070517.html>.
- Bush, George W. "State of the Union Address (January 28, 2003)." Miller Center. Accessed February 21, 2016. <http://millercenter.org/president/gwbush/speeches/speech-4541>.
- Bush, George W. "State of the Union Address (January 29, 2002)." Miller Center. Accessed February 21, 2016. <http://millercenter.org/president/gwbush/speeches/speech-4540>.
- Bush, George W. "State of the Union 2007." Speech, State of the Union 2007, Senate Chamber, Washington D.C., January 23, 2007. <http://millercenter.org/president/gwbush/speeches/speech-4455>.
- Bush, George W. "Text of Bush's Address." CNN. September 11, 2001. <http://edition.cnn.com/2001/US/09/11/bush.speech.text/>.
- Burke, Anthony. "Just War or Ethical Peace? Moral Discourses of Strategic Violence After 9/11." *International Affairs Int Affairs* 80, no. 2 (2004): 329-53.
- Campbell, David. "Time Is Broken: The Return of the Past In the Response to September 11." *Theory & Event* 5, no. 4 (2001).
- Campbell, Karlyn Kohrs., and Kathleen Hall. Jamieson. *Deeds Done in Words: Presidential Rhetoric and the Genres of Governance*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1990.
- Catholic Answers. "Documents." Just War Doctrine. Accessed March 13, 2016. <http://www.catholic.com/documents/just-war-doctrine>.
- Ceaser, James W., Glen E. Thurow, Jeffrey Tulis, and Joseph M. Bessette. "The Rise of the Rhetorical Presidency." *Presidential Studies Quarterly* 11, no. 2, Presidential Power and Democratic Constraints: A Prospective and Retrospective Analysis (April 01, 1981): 158-71.
- Chapp, Christopher B. *Religious Rhetoric and American Politics: The Endurance of Civil Religion in Electoral Campaigns*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2013.

- Center for Civilians in Conflict. "Afghanastan." Center for Civilians in Conflict. Accessed May 2, 2016.
<http://civiliansinconflict.org/our-work/countries/afghanistan/>.
- Christian Post, "2012 Media Kit," ChristianPost.com, About Us, accessed October 27, 2012,
<http://www.christianpost.com/services/christian-advertising/downloads/mediakit2012.pdf>.
- Christian Post, "2008 Media Kit," ChristianPost.com, Demographics, accessed October 27, 2012,
http://www.christianpost.com/mediakit/download/cp_mediakit_offline.pdf.
- Chong, Dennis. "Creating Common Frames of Reference on Political Issues." In *Political Persuasion and Attitude Change*, edited by Diana Carole. Mutz, Paul M. Sniderman, and Richard A. Brody. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1996.
- Chong, Dennis, and James N. Druckman. "A Theory of Framing and Opinion Formation in Competitive Elite Environments." *Journal of Communication* 57, no. 1 (2007): 99-118.
- Cimino, Richard. "'No God in Common:' American Evangelical Discourse on Islam after 9/11." *Review of Religious Research* 47, no. 2 (2005): 162-72.
- CNN, "Jackson: Not Too Late to Stop War," CNN.com, February 15, 2003,
<https://web.archive.org/web/20080524170950/http://www.cnn.com/2003/WORLD/meast/02/15/sprj.iqr.protests.europe.quotes/>.
- Cockcroft, Robert, Susan M. Cockcroft, Craig Hamilton, and Laura Hidalgo Downing. *Persuading People: An Introduction to Rhetoric*. 3rd ed. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014.
- Coe, K. "No Shades of Gray: The Binary Discourse of George W. Bush and an Echoing Press." *Journal of Communication* 54, no. 2 (2004): 234-52.
- Coe, Kevin, and David Domke. "Petitioners or Prophets? Presidential Discourse, God, and the Ascendancy of Religious Conservatives." *Journal of Communication* 56, no. 2 (2006): 309-30.
- Cohen, Jeffrey E. "Presidential Rhetoric and the Public Agenda." *American Journal of Political Science* 39, no. 1 (February 01, 1995): 87-107.
- Cole, Timothy. *Bring 'em On: Media and Politics in the Iraq War*. By Lee Artz and Yahya R. Kamalipour. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2005. 139-54.
- Coleman, James S. "Social Theory, Social Research, and a Theory of Action." *American Journal of Sociology* 91, no. 6 (May 01, 1986): 1309-335.
- Crawford, Neta C. "Just War Theory and the U.S. Counterterror War." *Perspectives on Politics* 1, no. 1 (March 01, 2003): 5-25.
- Crockett, David A. "'The Rhetorical Presidency': Still Standing Tall." *Presidential Studies Quarterly* 39, no. 4 (December 01, 2009): 465-86.
- Croft, Stuart. *Culture, Crisis and America's War on Terror*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006.
- Cronin, Audrey Kurth. "Behind the Curve: Globalization and International Terrorism." *International Security* 27, no. 3 (2003): 30-58.
- Dayton, Donald W., and Robert K. Johnston. *The Variety of American Evangelicalism*. Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1991.
- Denike, Margaret. "The Human Rights of Others: Sovereignty, Legitimacy, and 'Just Causes' for the 'War on Terror'." *Hypatia* 23, no. 2 (2008): 95-121.

- Dexter, Helen. "New War, Good War and the War on Terror: Explaining, Excusing and Creating Western Neo-interventionism." *Development and Change* 38, no. 6 (November 2007): 1055-071.
- Domke, David Scott., and Kevin M. Coe. *The God Strategy: How Religion Became a Political Weapon in America*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008.
- Doty, Richard M., Bill E. Peterson, and David G. Winter. "Threat and Authoritarianism in the United States, 1978-1987." *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 61, no. 4 (1991): 629-40.
- Drrichardland.com, "About Dr. Richard Land," Dr. Richard Land, accessed October 27, 2012, <http://www.drrichardland.com/about>.
- Druckman, James N. "On the Limits of Framing Effects: Who Can Frame?" *The Journal of Politics* 63, no. 04 (2001).
- Druckman, James N., and Justin W. Holmes. "Does Presidential Rhetoric Matter? Priming and Presidential Approval." *Presidential Studies Quarterly* 34, no. 4 (December 2004).
- Druckman, James N., and Kjersten R. Nelson. "Framing and Deliberation: How Citizens' Conversations Limit Elite Influence." *American Journal of Political Science* 47, no. 4 (2003): 729-45.
- Druckman, James N., Lawrence R. Jacobs, and Eric Ostermeier. "Candidate Strategies to Prime Issues and Image." *The Journal of Politics* 66, no. 04 (2004): 1180-202.
- Duke, Barret. "I Support Israel." Ethics and Religious Liberty Commission of the Southern Baptist Convention. September 26, 2012. <http://erlc.com/article/i-support-israel>.
- Durham, Martin. "Evangelical Protestantism and Foreign Policy in the United States after September 11." *Patterns of Prejudice* 38, no. 2 (2004): 145-58.
- Edwards, George C. *On Deaf Ears: The Limits of the Bully Pulpit*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2003.
- Edwards, George C., and Stephen J. Wayne. *Presidential Leadership: Politics and Policy Making*. Belmont, CA: Wadsworth, 2009.
- Edwards, George C., and B. Dan Wood. "Who Influences Whom? The President, Congress, and the Media." *The American Political Science Review* 93, no. 2 (1999): 327-44.
- Ekström, Mats. "Causal Explanation of Social Action: The Contribution of Max Weber and of Critical Realism to a Generative View of Causal Explanation in Social Science." *Acta Sociologica* 35, no. 2 (January 01, 1992): 107-22.
- Ellis, Richard. *Presidential Travel: The Journey from George Washington to George W. Bush*. Lawrence, Kan.: University Press of Kansas, 2008.
- Elshtain, Jean Bethke. "How to Fight a Just War." In *Worlds in Collision: Terror and the Future of Global Order*, by Ken Booth and Timothy Dunne. Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002.
- Engels, Jeremy, and William O. Saas. "On Acquiescence and Ends-Less War: An Inquiry into the New War Rhetoric." *Quarterly Journal of Speech* 99, no. 2 (2013): 225-32.
- Escalas, Jennifer Edson. "Self-Referencing and Persuasion: Narrative Transportation versus Analytical Elaboration." *Journal of Consumer Research* 33, no. 4 (2007).
- Esch, Joanne. "Legitimizing the "War on Terror": Political Myth in Official-Level Rhetoric." *Political Psychology* 31, no. 3 (2010): 357-91.
- Ethics & Religious Liberty Commission, "About the Ethics & Religious Liberty Commission," The Ethics & Religious Liberty Commission, accessed October 27, 2012, <http://erlc.com/erlc/about/>.

- Family Research Council. "About: History." Family Research Council. Accessed May 30, 2016.
<http://www.frc.org/historymission>.
- Farrell, Thomas B. *Norms of Rhetorical Culture*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1993.
- Finlayson, Alan. "Political Science, Political Ideas and Rhetoric." *Economy and Society* 33, no. 4 (2004): 528-49.
- Flinchum, Jessica Lee. "Reluctant Revolutionaries: The Philadelphia Baptists Association and the American Revolution." *Pennsylvania History* 74, no. 2 (April 01, 2007): 173-93.
- Focus on the Family. "About Focus on the Family." Focus on the Family. Accessed May 30, 2016.
<http://www.focusonthefamily.com/about>.
- Freedman, Robert. "The Religious Right and The Carter Administration." *The Historical Journal* 48, no. 1 (1999): 231-60.
- Friedman, Jonathan. *Globalization, the State, and Violence*. Walnut Creek, CA: AltaMira Press, 2003.
- Frum, David. "Into the Mess." In *The Right Man: The Surprise Presidency of George W. Bush*. New York: Random House, 2003.
- Furet, Francois. "From Narrative History to Problem-oriented History." In *The History and Narrative Reader*, by Geoffrey Roberts, 269-80. London: Routledge, 2001.
- Geisler, Cheryl. "How Ought We to Understand the Concept of Rhetorical Agency? Report from the ARS." *Rhetoric Society Quarterly* 34, no. 3 (2004): 9-17.
- Genette, Gérard. *Narrative Discourse: An Essay in Method*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1980.
- Gerson, Michael J. *Heroic Conservatism: Why Republicans Need to Embrace America's Ideals (and Why They Deserve to Fail If They Don't)*. New York: HarperOne, 2007.
- Gerson, Michael. "Religion, Rhetoric, and the Presidency: A Conversation with Michael Gerson." Lecture, Religion, Rhetoric, and the Presidency: A Conversation with Michael Gerson, Key West, December 2004.
<http://www.pewforum.org/2004/12/06/religion-rhetoric-and-the-presidency-a-conversation-with-michael-gerson/>.
- Gilbert, Margaret. *On Social Facts*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1992.
- Gilbert, Margaret. "Walking Together: A Paradigmatic Social Phenomenon." *Midwest Studies in Philosophy* 15, no. 1 (1990): 1-14.
- Goeglein, Timothy S. *The Man in the Middle: An inside Account of Faith and Politics in the George W. Bush Era*. Nashville, TN: B & H Pub., 2011.
- Graham, Jack. "President's Address." Speech, Southern Baptist Convention Annual Convention Meeting, Indiana Convention Center, Indianapolis, Indiana, June 21, 2004.
- Graham, Jack. "President's Address." Speech, Southern Baptist Convention Annual Convention Meeting, The Civic Palaza, Phoenix, Arizona, June 17, 2003.
- Graham, Phil, Thomas Keenan, and Anne-Maree Dowd. "A Call to Arms at the End of History: A Discourse—Historical Analysis of George W. Bush's Declaration of War on Terror." *Discourse Soc Discourse & Society* 15, no. 2 (2004): 199-221.
- Green, John Clifford, Mark J. Rozell, and Clyde Wilcox. *The Christian Right in American Politics: Marching to the Millennium*. Washington, D.C.: Georgetown University Press, 2003.

- Green, Melanie C. "Research Challenges in Narrative Persuasion." *Information Design Journal* 16, no. 1 (2008): 47-52.
- Green, Melanie C., and Timothy C. Brock. "The Role of Transportation in the Persuasiveness of Public Narratives." *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 79, no. 5 (2000): 701-21.
- Gregory, Wilton D. "Letter to President Bush on Iraq." United States Conference of Catholic Bishops. September 13, 2002. Accessed April 20, 2016. <http://www.usccb.org/issues-and-action/human-life-and-dignity/global-issues/middle-east/iraq/letter-to-president-bush-from-bishop-gregory-on-iraq-2002-09-13.cfm>.
- Gross, Kimberly Ann, and Lisa D'Ambrosio. "Media Framing, Causal Attribution and Emotions: An Experimental Investigation of the Framing of Emotion Response.", American Political Science Association, 1999.
- Gunn, Joshua. "The Rhetoric of Exorcism: George W. Bush and the Return of Political Demonology." *Western Journal of Communication* 68, no. 1 (Winter 2004): 1-23.
- Guth, James L. "George W Bush and Religious Politics." In *High Risk and Big Ambition: The Presidency of George W. Bush*, by Steven E. Schier, 145-65. Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2004.
- Haas, Garland A. *Jimmy Carter and the Politics of Frustration*. Jefferson, NC: McFarland &, 1992.
- Hallett, Brian. "Just War Criteria." In *Encyclopedia of Violence, Peace, and Conflict, Three-Volume Set*, by Lester R. Kurtz and Jennifer E. Turpin, 283-93. Burlington: Academic Press, 1999.
- Hancock, Jan. "Human Rights Narrative in the George W. Bush Administrations." *Rev. Int. Stud. Review of International Studies* 37, no. 02 (2010): 805-23.
- Hankins, Barry. "Southern Baptists and Northern Evangelicals: Cultural Factors and the Nature of Religious Alliances." *Religion and American Culture: A Journal of Interpretation* 7, no. 2 (1997): 271-98.
- Hartnett, Stephen J., and Laura A. Stengrim. "'The Whole Operation of Deception': Reconstructing President Bush's Rhetoric of Weapons of Mass Destruction." *Cultural Studies Critical Methodologies* 4, no. 2 (May 2004): 152-97.
- Heinz, D. "The Struggle to Define America." In *The New Christian Right: Mobilization and Legitimation*, 133-48. Hawthorne, NY: Aldine Pub., 1983.
- Hillygus, D. Sunshine. "Moral Issues and Voter Decision Making in the 2004 Presidential Election." *PS: Political Science and Politics* 38, no. 2 (April 01, 2005): 201-09.
- Hodges, Adam. "The Narrative Construction of Identity: The Adequation of Saddam Hussein and Osama Bin Laden in The 'War on Terror'" In *Discourse, War and Terrorism*, by Adam Hodges and Chad Nilep. Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 2007.
- Hodges, Adam. *The "War on Terror" Narrative: Discourse and Intertextuality in the Construction and Contestation of Sociopolitical Reality*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2011.
- Homans, George Caspar. *Social Behavior: Its Elementary Forms*. New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, 1961.
- Horton, Donald, and R. Richard Whol. "'Mass Communication and Para-social Interaction: Observations on Intimacy at a Distance.'" *Psychiatry* 19 (1956).
- Huddy, Leonie, Stanley Feldman, Charles Taber, and Gallya Lahav. "Threat, Anxiety, and Support of Antiterrorism Policies." *American Journal of Political Science* 49, no. 3 (July 2005): 593-608.
- Ibrahim, Anwar. "Radical Islam in Southeast Asia." *Far Eastern Economic Review*, 60th Anniversary Edition (November 2006).

- In Touch Ministries, "Dr. Charles F. Stanley," About Dr. Charles Stanley, accessed December 04, 2012, <http://www.intouch.org/about/about-dr.-charles-stanley>.
- Iraq Body Count. "Iraq Body Count Database." Iraq Body Count. October 2015. <https://www.iraqbodycount.org/database/>.
- Irons, Charles F. "The Spiritual Fruits of Revolution: Disestablishment and the Rise of the Virginia Baptists." *The Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* 109, no. 2 (2001): 159-86.
- Ivie, Robert L. *Democracy and America's War on Terror*. Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2005.
- Iyengar, Shanto. *Is Anyone Responsible?: How Television Frames Political Issues*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991.
- Jackson, Richard. "Language, Policy and the Construction of a Torture Culture in the War on Terrorism." *Review of International Studies* 33, no. 3 (July 01, 2007): 353-71.
- Jackson, Richard. *Writing the War on Terrorism: Language, Politics and Counter-terrorism*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2005.
- Janz, Nicole. *"And No One Will Keep That Light from Shining": Civil Religion After September 11 in Speeches of George W. Bush*. Münster: LIT Verlag, 2010.
- Jelen, Ted G. "The Effects of Religious Separatism on White Protestants in the 1984 Presidential Election." *Sociological Analysis* 48, no. 1 (April 01, 1987): 30-45.
- Johnson, Stephen D., and Joseph B. Tamney. "The Christian Right and the 1980 Presidential Election." *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion* 21, no. 2 (1982): 123-31.
- Johnson, Stephen D., Joseph B. Tamney, and Ronald Burton. "Pat Robertson: Who Supported His Candidacy for President?" *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion* 28, no. 4 (1989): 387-99.
- John, Sue Lockett., David Scott. Domke, Kevin M. Coe, and Erica S. Graham. "Going Public, Crisis after Crisis: The Bush Administration and the Press from September 11 to Saddam." *Rhetoric & Public Affairs* 10, no. 2 (2007): 195-220.
- Kassimeris, George, and Leonie Jackson. "The West, the Rest, and the 'war on Terror': Representation of Muslims in Neoconservative Media Discourse." *Contemporary Politics* 17, no. 1 (2011): 19-33.
- Kellner, Douglas. "Bushspeak and the Politics of Lying: Presidential Rhetoric in the 'War on Terror'" *Presidential Studies Quarterly* 37, no. 4 (2007): 622-45.
- Kellner, Douglas. "9/11, Spectacles of Terror, and Media Manipulation." *Critical Discourse Studies* 1, no. 1 (2004): 41-64.
- Kernell, Samuel. *Going Public: New Strategies of Presidential Leadership*. Washington, D.C.: CQ Press, 1986.
- Khalid, Maryam. "Gender, Orientalism and Representations of the 'Other' in the War on Terror." *Global Change, Peace & Security* 23, no. 1 (2011): 15-29.
- Klemp, Nathaniel J. *The Morality of Spin: Virtue and Vice in Political Rhetoric and the Christian Right*. Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2012.
- Kinder, R., and Donald Berinsky. "Making Sense of Issues through Frames: Under-standing the Kosovo Crisis." Speech, Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Washington DC, 2000.
- Kinder, Donald R., and Lynn M. Sanders. "Mimicking Political Debate with Survey Questions: The Case of White Opinion on Affirmative Action for Blacks." *Social Cognition* 8, no. 1 (1990): 73-103.

- Kingdon, John W. *Agendas, Alternatives, and Public Policies*. Boston: Little, Brown, 1984.
- Kline, S. "The Culture War Gone Global: 'Family Values' and the Shape of US Foreign Policy." *International Relations* 18, no. 4 (2004): 453-66.
- Kloppenburg, James T. "The Virtues of Liberalism: Christianity, Republicanism, and Ethics in Early American Discourse." *Journal of American History* 74 (1987): 9-37.
- Kristol, Irving. *Neoconservatism: The Autobiography of an Idea*. New York: Free Press, 1995.
- Kuusisto, R. "Framing the Wars in the Gulf and in Bosnia: The Rhetorical Definitions of the Western Power Leaders in Action." *Journal of Peace Research* 35, no. 5 (September 01, 1998): 603-20.
- Kuypers, Jim A., Megan Hitchner, James Irwin, and Alexander Wilson. "Compassionate Conservatism: The Rhetorical Reconstruction of Conservative Rhetoric." *American Communications Journal* 6, no. 4 (Summer 2003).
- Land, Richard. "A Christian Defense of the War in Iraq." Beliefnet.com. March 2006.
<http://www.beliefnet.com/News/2006/03/A-Christian-Defense-Of-The-War-In-Iraq.aspx>.
- Land, Richard. "Constitutionally Safe, Religiously Dangerous?," Ethics and Religious Liberty Commission of the Southern Baptist Convention. March 7, 2001. Accessed April 19, 2016.
<http://erlc.com/articles/constitutionally-safe-religiously-dangerous>
- Land, Richard. "Constitutionally Safe, Religiously Dangerous?" Beliefnet. July 23, 2009. Accessed May 29, 2016.
<http://www.beliefnet.com/news/politics/2001/03/constitutionally-safe-religiously-dangerous.aspx>.
- Land, Richard. "Contending with the "cults of Death"." Ethics and Religious Liberty Commission of the Southern Baptist Convention. September 19, 2007. Accessed April 19, 2016. <https://erlc.com/article/contending-with-the-cults-of-death>.
- Land, Richard. "Draining the Swamp of Terrorists." Ethics and Religious Liberty Commission of the Southern Baptist Convention. October 08, 2001. Accessed April 19, 2016. <https://erlc.com/article/draining-the-swamp-of-terrorists>.
- Land, Richard. "He Held the Line." Beliefnet. July 23, 2009. Accessed May 29, 2016.
<http://www.beliefnet.com/entertainment/2001/08/he-held-the-line.aspx>.
- Land, Richard. "He Held the Line." Ethics and Religious Liberty Commission of the Southern Baptist Convention. August 10, 2001. Accessed April 19, 2016. <https://erlc.com/article/he-held-the-line>.
- Land, Richard. "The Prayer Breakfast and a President Who Feels Our Pain." Beliefnet. July 23, 2009. Accessed May 29, 2016. <http://www.beliefnet.com/news/politics/2001/02/the-prayer-breakfast-and-a-president-who-feels-our-pain.aspx>.
- Land, Richard. "The Prayer Breakfast and a President Who Feels Our Pain." The Ethics and Religious Liberty Commission of the Southern Baptist Convention. February 1, 2001. Accessed April 19, 2016.
<https://erlc.com/article/the-prayer-breakfast-and-a-president-who-feels-our-pain>
- Land, Richard. "President Bush, Faith Convictions, and Media Cynicism." Beliefnet. December 2003.
<http://www.beliefnet.com/News/Politics/2003/12/President-Bush-Faith-Convictions-And-Media-Cynicism.aspx>.
- Land, Richard. "Seeking Justice in the Midst of Terror." Ethics and Religious Liberty Commission of the Southern Baptist Convention. October 08, 2001. Accessed April 19, 2016. <https://erlc.com/article/seeking-justice-in-the-midst-of-terror>.

- Land, Richard. "The So-called 'Land Letter'." Ethics and Religious Liberty Commission of the Southern Baptist Convention. October 3, 2003. Accessed April 19, 2016. <https://erlc.com/article/the-so-called-land-letter/>.
- Land, Richard. "This Is Not Vietnam." Ethics and Religious Liberty Commission of the Southern Baptist Convention. March 19, 2003. Accessed April 19, 2016. <https://erlc.com/article/this-is-not-vietnam>.
- Land, Richard. "The Time Has Arrived: Bush Policy on Iraq Meets Just War Criteria." Ethics and Religious Liberty Commission of the Southern Baptist Convention. February 06, 2003. Accessed April 19, 2016. <https://erlc.com/article/the-time-has-arrived>.
- Land, Richard. "What Would King Have Said About Saddam?" Ethics and Religious Liberty Commission of the Southern Baptist Convention. March 19, 2003. Accessed April 19, 2016. <https://erlc.com/article/what-would-king-have-said-about-saddam>.
- Laracey, Mel. *Presidents and the People: The Partisan Story of Going Public*. College Station: Texas A & M University Press, 2002.
- Laracey, Mel. "Talking Without Speaking, and Other Curiosities." In *Before the Rhetorical Presidency*. College Station: Texas A & M University Press, 2008.
- Laracey, Mel. "'The Rhetorical Presidency' Today: How Does It Stand Up?" *Presidential Studies Quarterly* 39, no. 4 (December 01, 2009): 908-31.
- Larson, Edward J. *Summer for the Gods: The Scopes Trial and America's Continuing Debate over Science and Religion*. New York: BasicBooks, 1997.
- Lemke, Steve W. "The Future of Southern Baptists as Evangelicals." Lecture, Maintaining Baptist Distinctives Conference, Mid-America Baptist Theological Seminary, Cordova, Tennessee, April 2005.
- Leonard, Bill. *God's Last and Only Hope: The Fragmentation of the Southern Baptist Convention*. Grand Rapids, MI: W.B. Eerdmans, 1990.
- Lienesch, Michael. *In the Beginning: Fundamentalism, the Scopes Trial, and the Making of the Antievolution Movement*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2007.
- Lim, Elvin T. "Five Trends in Presidential Rhetoric: An Analysis of Rhetoric from George Washington to Bill Clinton." *Presidential Studies Quarterly* 32, no. 2 (2002): 328-48.
- Lindner, Eileen W. *Yearbook of American & Canadian Churches, 2010*. Nashville: Abingdon Press, 2010.
- Lipset, Seymour, and Earl Raab. "The Election of the Evangelicals." *Commentary*, no. 71 (1981): 25-31.
- LLorente, M. "Civilization Versus Barbarism." In *Collateral Language: A User's Guide to America's New War*, by John Collins and Ross Glover. New York: New York University Press, 2002.
- Lucas, Stephen E. "George Washington and the Rhetoric of Presidential Leadership." In *The Presidency and Rhetorical Leadership*. College Station: Texas A & M University Press, 2002.
- Lucas, Stephen E. "Present at the Founding: Rhetorical Presidency in the Historical Perspective." In *Before the Rhetorical Presidency*. College Station: Texas A & M University Press, 2008.
- Lyotard, Jean-François. *The Postmodern Condition: A Report on Knowledge*. Translated by Geoffrey Bennington and Brian Massumi. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1984.
- Maggio, J. "The Presidential Rhetoric of Terror: The (Re)Creation of Reality Immediately after 9/11." *Politics & Policy* 35, no. 4 (2007): 810-35.
- Magnet, Myron. "What Is Compassionate Conservatism?" *The Wall Street Journal* (New York), February 5, 1999.

- Mansfield, Stephen. *The Faith of George W. Bush*. New York: Jeremy P. Tarcher/Penguin, 2003.
- Marsden, George M. *Fundamentalism and American Culture: The Shaping of the Twentieth-century Evangelicalism: 1870-1925*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1982.
- Marsden, Lee. *For God's Sake: The Christian Right and US Foreign Policy*. London: Zed Books, 2008.
- Marsden, Lee. "God War and Iraq." In *Religion, Conflict and Military Intervention*, by Rosemary Durward and Lee Marsden, 71-88. Farnham, Surrey: Ashgate, 2009.
- Martin, William C. *With God on Our Side: The Rise of the Religious Right in America*. New York: Broadway Books, 2005.
- McCann, Stewart J. H. "Threatening Times, 'strong' Presidential Popular Vote Winners, and the Victory Margin, 1824-1964." *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 73, no. 1 (1997): 160-70.
- McGee, Michael C. "In Search of 'the People': A Rhetorical Alternative." *Quarterly Journal of Speech* 61, no. 3 (1975).
- McGrath, Alister E. *Evangelicalism & the Future of Christianity*. Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press, 1995.
- McMahan, Jeff. "Just Cause for War." *Ethics & International Affairs* 19, no. 03 (2005): 1-21.
- Mead, Walter Russell. *Power, Terror, Peace, and War: America's Grand Strategy in a World at Risk*. New York: Knopf, 2004.
- Medhurst, Martin J. *Before the Rhetorical Presidency*. College Station: Texas A & M University Press, 2008.
- Merritt, James. "President's Address." Speech, Southern Baptist Convention Annual Convention Meeting, The Americas Center, St. Louis, Missouri, June 11, 2002.
- Merskin, Debra. "The Construction of Arabs as Enemies: Post-September 11 Discourse of George W. Bush." *Mass Communication and Society* 7, no. 2 (2004): 157-75.
- Merton, Robert K. "Insiders and Outsiders: A Chapter in the Sociology of Knowledge." *American Journal of Sociology* 78, no. 1 (1972): 9-47.
- Merton, Robert K. *Social Theory and Social Structure*. New York: Free Press, 1968.
- Mintz, Alex, and Steven Redd. "Framing Effects in International Relations." *Synthese* 135, no. 2, Decision Theory (May 01, 2003): 193-213.
- Miyakawa, Tetsuo Scott. *Protestants and Pioneers: Individualism and Conformity on the American Frontier*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1964.
- Moen, Matthew C. "From Revolution to Evolution: The Changing Nature of the Christian Right." *Sociology of Religion* 55, no. 3 (1994): 345-57.
- Moyer-Gusé, Emily, and Robin L. Nabi. "Explaining the Effects of Narrative in an Entertainment Television Program: Overcoming Resistance to Persuasion." *Human Communication Research* 36, no. 1 (2010): 26-52.
- Murphy, John M. "'Our Mission and Our Moment' George W. Bush and September 11th." *Rhetoric & Public Affairs* 6, no. 4 (2003): 607-32.
- Nelson, Thomas E., and Zoe M. Oxley. "Issue Framing Effects on Belief Importance and Opinion." *The Journal of Politics* 61, no. 04 (1999): 1040-67.

- Nelson, Thomas E., Zoe M. Oxley, and Rosalee A. Clawson. "Toward a Psychology of Framing Effects." *Political Behavior* 19, no. 3 (September 01, 1997): 221-46.
- Noll, Mark A. *The Old Religion in a New World: The History of North American Christianity*. Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2002.
- Noon, David Hoogland. "Operation Enduring Analogy: World War II, the War on Terror, and the Uses of Historical Memory." *Rhetoric and Public Affairs* 7, no. 3 (October 01, 2004): 339-65.
- Northcott, Michael S. *An Angel Directs the Storm: Apocalyptic Religion and American Empire*. London: SCM, 2007.
- Neuman, Yair, Zvi Bekerman, and Avi Kaplan. "Rhetoric as the Contextual Manipulation of Self and Nonself." *Research on Language & Social Interaction* 35, no. 1 (2002): 93-112.
- Oakes, Guy. "The Verstehen Thesis and the Foundations of Max Weber's Methodology." *History and Theory* 16, no. 1 (February 1977): 11-29.
- Oatley, K., and M. Gholamain. "Emotions and identification: Connections between readers and fiction" in *Emotion and the Arts*. By Mette Hjort and Sue Laver. New York: Oxford University Press, 1997: 236-81.
- Olasky, Marvin. *Renewing American Compassion*. New York: Free Press, 1996.
- Parsons, Talcott. *The Structure of Social Action*. Glencoe, IL: Free Press, 1949.
- Peake, Jeffrey S. "Presidential Agenda Setting in Foreign Policy." *Political Research Quarterly* 54, no. 1 (2001): 69-86.
- Reese, S. D., and S. C. Lewis. "Framing the War on Terror: The Internalization of Policy in the US Press." *Journalism* 10, no. 6 (2009): 777-97.
- Page, Frank. "President's Address." Speech, Southern Baptist Convention Annual Meeting, Henry B. Gonzalez Convention Center, San Antonio, Texas, June 12, 2007.
- Penning, James M. "Pat Robertson and the GOP: 1988 and beyond." *Sociology of Religion* 55, no. 3 (1994): 327-43.
- Peters, Gerhard, and John T. Woolley. "The American Presidency Project." The American Presidency Project. Accessed June 01, 2016. <http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/index.php>.
- Peterson, Paul E. "The President's Dominance in Foreign Policy Making." *Political Science Quarterly* 109, no. 2 (1994): 215-34.
- Petre, Jonathan. "Carey 'wary' of Attack on Iraq." The Telegraph. September 30, 2002. Accessed April 20, 2016. <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/uknews/1408680/Carey-wary-of-attack-on-Iraq.html>.
- Pew Forum for Religious and Public Life. *Faith-Based Funding Backed, But Church-State Doubts Abound*. Report. April 10, 2001. Accessed November 30, 2010. <http://people-press.org/reports/pdf/15.pdf>.
- Pierce, Jerry. "President Bush Thanks Southern Baptists for Their Prayers in Videotaped Message." Southern Baptist Convention - 2003 SBC Annual Meeting Newsroom. June 17, 2003. <http://www.sbcannualmeeting.net/sbc03/newsroom/newspage.asp?ID=25>.
- Pietryka, Matthew T., and Amber E. Boydstun. "Going Maverick: How Candidates Can Use Agenda-Setting to Influence Citizen Motivations and Offset Unpopular Issue Positions." *Political Behavior* 34, no. 4 (2011): 737-63.
- Posey, Walter B. "The Baptists and Slavery in the Lower Mississippi Valley." *The Journal of Negro History* 41, no. 2 (April 01, 1956): 117-30.

- Preston, Andrew. "The Politics of Realism and Religion: Christian Responses to Bush's New World Order." *Diplomatic History* 34, no. 1 (2010): 95-118.
- Public Broadcasting System. "2004: The Base Strategy." PBS Frontline. April 12, 2005. <http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/pages/frontline/shows/architect/rove/2004.html>.
- Public Broadcasting System. "The Faith-Based Initiative Controversy." PBS. April 29, 2004. Accessed June 01, 2016. <http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/pages/frontline/shows/jesus/president/faithbased.html>.
- Rojecki, Andrew. "Rhetorical Alchemy: American Exceptionalism and the War on Terror." *Political Communication* 25, no. 1 (2008): 67-88.
- Rothermund, Dietmar. "Political Factions and the Great Awakening." *Pennsylvania History* 26, no. 4 (October 01, 1959): 317-31.
- Rutledge, John. "Bush Assures Southern Baptists He Will Defend Traditional View of Marriage_62804." Baptist Standard. June 25, 2004. <https://www.baptiststandard.com/resources/archives/44-2004-archives/2073-bush-assures-southern-baptists-he-will-defend-traditional-view-of-marriage62804>.
- Ryan, Halford Ross. *The Inaugural Addresses of Twentieth-century American Presidents*. Westport, CT: Praeger, 1993.
- Saiya, Nilay. "Onward Christian Soldiers: American Dispensationalists, George W. Bush and the Middle East." *Holy Land Studies* 11, no. 2, 175-204.
- Sales, Stephen M. "Threat as a Factor in Authoritarianism: An Analysis of Archival Data." *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 28, no. 1 (1973): 44-57.
- Salter, Mark B. *Barbarians and Civilization in International Relations*. London: Pluto Press, 2002.
- Scheufele, Dietram A. "Agenda-Setting, Priming, and Framing Revisited: Another Look at Cognitive Effects of Political Communication." *Mass Communication and Society* 3, no. 2-3 (2000): 297-316.
- Schroepfer, Helen. "Pursuing the Enemies of Freedom: Religion in the Persuasive Rhetoric of the Bush Administration." *Political Theology* 9, no. 1 (2008): 27-45.
- Seib, Philip M., and Dana M. Janbek. *Global Terrorism and New Media: The Post-Al Qaeda Generation*. London: Routledge, 2011.
- Selph, Robert. *Southern Baptists and the Doctrine of Election*. Berryville, VA: Hess, 1998.
- Shupe, A., and W. Stacey. "The Moral Majority Constituency." In *The New Christian Right: Mobilization and Legitimation*, 187-205. Hawthorne, NY: Aldine Pub., 1983.
- Singer, Peter. *The President of Good & Evil: Questioning the Ethics of George W. Bush*. New York: Plume, 2004.
- Skowronek, Stephen. *The Politics Presidents Make: Leadership from John Adams to George Bush*. Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press, 1993.
- Smith, Craig Allen, and Kathy B. Smith. *The White House Speaks: Presidential Leadership as Persuasion*. Westport, CT: Praeger, 1994.
- Smith, R. M. "Religious Rhetoric and the Ethics of Public Discourse: The Case of George W. Bush." *Political Theory* 36, no. 2 (April 01, 2008): 272-300.
- Smith, Timothy Lawrence. *Revivalism and Social Reform: American Protestantism on the Eve of the Civil War*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1980.

- Sniderman, Paul M., and Sean M. Theriault. "The Dynamics of Political Argument and the." Speech, Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, 1999.
- Southern Baptist Convention. "The Baptist Faith and Message." Southern Baptist Convention. Accessed December 04, 2015. <http://www.sbc.net/bfm2000/bfm2000.asp>.
- Southern Baptist Convention. "Ethics and Religious Liberty Commission." Southern Baptist Convention. Accessed December 04, 2015. <http://www.sbc.net/aboutus/entities/erlc.asp>.
- Southern Baptist Convention. "LifeWay Christian Resources." Southern Baptist Convention. Accessed December 14, 2015. <http://www.sbc.net/aboutus/entities/lifeway.asp>.
- Southern Baptist Convention. "On Political Engagement." Southern Baptist Convention. June 2008. Accessed June 06, 2016. <http://www.sbc.net/resolutions/1188/on-political-engagement>.
- Southern Baptist Convention. "On The Conflict in The Western Sudanese Region of Darfur." Southern Baptist Convention. Accessed December 8, 2015. <http://www.sbc.net/resolutions/1155/on-the-conflict-in-the-western-sudanese-region-of-darfur>.
- Southern Baptist Convention. "On The Genocide in Sudan." Southern Baptist Convention. Accessed December 7, 2015. <http://www.sbc.net/resolutions/962/on-the-genocide-in-sudan>.
- Southern Baptist Convention. "On The Global Aids Crisis." Southern Baptist Convention. Accessed December 8, 2015. <http://www.sbc.net/resolutions/1131/on-the-global-aids-crisis>.
- Southern Baptist Convention. "On The Liberation of Iraq." Southern Baptist Convention. Accessed December 7, 2015. <http://www.sbc.net/resolutions/1126/on-the-liberation-of-iraq>.
- Southern Baptist Convention. "Resolution Concerning Communism and Other Forms of Tyranny." Southern Baptist Convention. Accessed December 7, 2015. <http://www.sbc.net/resolutions/357/resolution-concerning-communism-and-other-forms-of-tyranny>.
- Southern Baptist Convention. "Resolution Concerning the Persecution of Religion in Russia." Southern Baptist Convention. Accessed December 7, 2015. <http://www.sbc.net/resolutions/920/resolution-concerning-the-persecution-of-religion-in-russia>.
- Stanley, Charles, writer. "A Nation at War." In *In Touch with Charles Stanley*. February 16, 2003.
- Stanley, Harold, and Richard C. Niemi. "Partisanship, Party Coalitions, and Group Support, 1952-2004." In *Models of Voting in Presidential Elections: The 2000 U.S. Election*, by Herbert F. Weisberg and Clyde Wilcox, 123-41. Stanford, CA: Stanford Law and Politics, 2004.
- Starnes, Todd. "'Thank You, Southern Baptists!' ~ George W. Bush." SBC Life: Journal of the Southern Baptist Convention. August 2002. <http://www.sbclife.net/Articles/2002/08/s>
- Statista.com. "State of the Union Address - Number of Viewers 1993-2015 | Statistic." Statista. Accessed December 13, 2015. <http://www.statista.com/statistics/252425/state-of-the-union-address-viewer-numbers/>.
- Steuter, E., and D. Wills. "'The Vermin Have Struck Again': Dehumanizing the Enemy in Post 9/11 Media Representations." *Media, War & Conflict* 3, no. 2 (2010): 152-67.
- Strange, J. J., and C. C. Leung. "How Anecdotal Accounts in News and in Fiction Can Influence Judgments of a Social Problem's Urgency, Causes, and Cures." *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin* 25, no. 4 (1999): 436-49.
- Straughn, Jeremy Brooke. "America as a 'Christian Nation'? Understanding Religious Boundaries of National Identity in the United States." *Sociology of Religion* 71, no. 3 (October 01, 2010): 280-306.

- Stuckey, Mary E. *Defining Americans: The Presidency and National Identity*. Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2004.
- Stuckey, Mary E. *The President as Interpreter-in-Chief*. Chatham, NJ: Chatham House Publishers, 1991.
- Stuckey, Mary E., and Joshua R. Ritter. "George Bush, <Human Rights>, and American Democracy." *Presidential Studies Q Presidential Studies Quarterly* 37, no. 4 (2007).
- Suganami, Hidemi. *On the Causes of War*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996.
- Sweeney, Douglas A. *The American Evangelical Story: A History of the Movement*. Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Academic, 2005.
- Taylor, Orville W. "Baptists and Slavery in Arkansas: Relationships and Attitudes." *The Arkansas Historical Quarterly* 38, no. 3 (October 01, 1979): 199-226.
- Thompson, James J. *Tried as by Fire: Southern Baptists and the Religious Controversies of the 1920s*. Macon, GA: Mercer University Press, 1982.
- Thornton, Patricia M., and Thomas F. Thornton. "Blowback." In *Collateral Language: A User's Guide to America's New War*, by John Collins and Ross Glover. New York: New York University Press, 2002.
- Timeless Truths. "There Is Power in the Blood." There Is Power in the Blood. Accessed March 09, 2016. http://library.timelesstruths.org/music/There_Is_Power_in_the_Blood/.
- Tulis, Jeffery K. "On the Forms of Rhetorical Leadership." In *Before the Rhetorical Presidency*. College Station: Texas A & M University Press, 2008.
- Tulis, Jeffrey. *The Rhetorical Presidency*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1987.
- Tuomela, Raimo. *The Importance of Us: A Philosophical Study of Basic Social Notions*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1995.
- Turek, Lauren Frances. "Religious Rhetoric and the Evolution of George W. Bush's Political Philosophy." *Journal of American Studies* 48, no. 04 (November 09, 2014): 975-98.
- UNCCH. "Rhetorical Studies." UNC - Communications Department. Accessed May 27, 2016. <http://comm.unc.edu/areas-of-studies/rhetorical-studies/>.
- Veayne, Paul. *Writing History: Essay on Epistemology*. Middletown, CT: Wesleyan University Press, 1984.
- Vivian, Bradford. "Neoliberal Epideictic: Rhetorical Form and Commemorative Politics on September 11, 2002." *Quarterly Journal of Speech* 92, no. 1 (2006): 1-26.
- Wald, K. D., and J. C. Corey. "The Christian Right and Public Policy: Social Movement Elites as Institutional Activists." *State Politics & Policy Quarterly* 2, no. 2 (2002): 99-125.
- The Watson Institute for International and Public Affairs. "Afghan Civilians." The Watson Institute for International and Public Affairs. March 2015. <http://watson.brown.edu/costsofwar/costs/human/civilians/afghan>.
- Weaver, David H. "Thoughts on Agenda Setting, Framing, and Priming." *Journal of Communication* 57, no. 1 (2007): 142-47.
- Weaver, D. H., M. E. McCombs, and C. Spellman. "Watergate and the Media: A Case Study of Agenda-Setting." *American Politics Research* 3, no. 4 (1975): 458-72.
- Weber, Max. *Economy and Society*. London: University of California Press, 1978.
- Weber, Max. *Roscher and Knies: The Logic Problems of Historical Economics*. New York: Free Press, 1975.

- Weber, Max. "Objectivity in Social Sciences and Social Policy." In *The Methodology of the Social Sciences*, by Max Weber and Edward Shils. Glencoe: Free Press, 1949.
- Weber, Max, and A. M. Henderson. *Max Weber: The Theory of Social and Economic Organization*. London: Free Press of Glencoe, 1964.
- Weber, Max, Hans Heinrich Gerth, and C. Wright Mills. *From Max Weber: Essays in Sociology*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1946.
- Weber, Max, Guenther Roth, and Claus Wittich. *Economy and Society an Outline of Interpretive Sociology*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1978.
- Weber, Max. *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism*. Lexington, KY: [CreateSpace], 2010.
- Weber, Max, and W. G. Runciman. "The Nature of Social Action." In *Max Weber: Selections in Translation*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1978.
- Welch, Bobby. "Ear-Ripping-Off Battles with Satan." Southern Baptist President Bobby Welch on Spiritual Warfare and Battles with Satan. January 21, 2005. Accessed April 20, 2016.
<http://www.beliefnet.com/faiths/christianity/2005/01/ear-ripping-off-battles-with-satan.aspx>.
- Welch, Bobby. "President's Address." Speech, Southern Baptist Convention Annual Convention Meeting, Gaylord Entertainment Center, Nashville, Tennessee, June 21, 2005.
- Welch, Bobby. "President's Address." Speech, Southern Baptist Convention Annual Meeting, Greensboro Coliseum, Greensboro, North Carolina, June 16, 2006.
- Wilcox, Clyde. "Evangelicals and Fundamentalists in the New Christian Right: Religious Differences in the Ohio Moral Majority." *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion* 25, no. 3 (1986): 355-63.
- Wilcox, Clyde, Sharon Linzey, and Ted G. Jelen. "Reluctant Warriors: Premillennialism and Politics in the Moral Majority." *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion* 30, no. 3 (September 1991): 245-58.
- Wilcox, Clyde, and Carin Robinson. *Onward Christian Soldiers? the Religious Right in American Politics*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 2011.
- Wills, Gregory. "Progressive Theology and Southern Baptist Controversies of the 1950s and 1960s." *Southern Baptist Journal of Theology* 7 (Spring 2003): 12-32.
- Winkler, Carol. "Parallels in Preemptive War Rhetoric: Reagan on Libya; Bush 43 on Iraq." *Rhetoric & Public Affairs* 10, no. 2 (2007): 303-34.
- Wuthnow, Robert. *The Restructuring of American Religion: Society and Faith since World War II*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1988.
- Wood, B. Dan, and Jeffrey S. Peake. "The Dynamics of Foreign Policy Agenda Setting." *The American Political Science Review* 92, no. 1 (1998): 173-84.
- Woodrum, Eric. "Moral Conservatism and the 1984 Presidential Election." *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion* 27, no. 2 (1988): 192.
- Zaller, John. *The Nature and Origins of Mass Opinion*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992.
- Zarefsky, David. "George W. Bush Discovers Rhetoric: September 20, 2001 and the US Response to Terrorism." In *The Ethos of Rhetoric*, by Michael J. Hyde, 136-56. Columbia, SC: University of South Carolina Press, 2004.
- Zarefsky, David. "Presidential Rhetoric and the Power of Definition." *Presidential Studies Quarterly* 34, no. 3 (2004): 607-19.

Zimmermann, Ekkart. "Globalization and Terrorism." *European Journal of Political Economy* 27 (December 2011): 152-61.