

Rhetorical Features of the Ousted Arab Presidents' Speeches: A Discourse Analysis Approach

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Abstract

The aim of this study is to explore the rhetorical feature(s) used by the ousted Arab Presidents most in their public appearances during the so-called “Arab Spring”. In order to achieve this objective, a number of their speeches at the time were assessed critically from the standpoint of Austin’s and Searle’s Speech Act Theory. Upon working out all the explicatures (linguistically inferred meanings) and the implicatures (contextually inferred meanings) of the original (Al-Jarrah, et al. 2018), it turned out to us that although the five speech acts (i.e. Directives, Representatives, Commissives, Expressives, and Declarations) were all used, though disproportionately, warning (one type of Directives) was used the most. The reason for this is probably related to the set of circumstances (both social and psychological) that were prevailing in the countries of those presidents at the time of the speeches under current scrutiny. Given the claim that human cognitive activities cannot be detached from the social context where they take place (see Vygotsky 1978; 1986), I intend to show how those texts interacted with their social and cultural contexts to yield the optimal psychological impact on their audiences.

Transliteration Notes

The following system has been followed in the transcription of Arabic words.

1. Arabic consonants are transcribed as follows:

أ	‘	ض	dh
ب	B	ط	T
ت	T	ظ	D
ث	Th	ع	?
ج	J	غ	Gh
ح	H	ف	f

خ	Kh	ق	q
د	D	ك	k
ذ	TH	ل	l
ر	R	م	M
ز	Z	ن	n
س	S	ه	h
ش	Sh	و	w
ص	S	ي	Y

2. Arabic Vowels are transcribed as follows:

A. Long Vowels	B. Short Vowels
ا	aa
و	uu
ي	ii

Introduction

As early as (1976), Bennett points out that communication mainly takes place because the speaker is seeking either to inform the listener of something or to enjoin some action upon him or her. Dressler (1981) views discourse as one genre of text that forms a fairly complete unit and is usually restricted to successive utterances of a single speaker trying to convey a message. Troike (1982) advocates the claim that the appropriate choice of language depends on a number of variables including, but not limited to, the topic, the setting, the participants (age, sex, and status), and the social distance between them. According to Brown and Yule (1983), language serves two major functions: transactional and interactional. They point out that the main objective of discourse analysis is to investigate how people use language for communication, and, in particular, how addressors construct their linguistic messages and how addressees interpret these linguistic messages. They also suggest that “a discourse analyst should treat his data (text) as a record of dynamic process in which language is used as an instrument of communication in a context by a speaker or writer to express meaning and to achieve intention” (ibid:6).

Stubbs (1983) advocates the view that discourse analysis is concerned with the choice of words, thus creating a mini world or universe of discourse and making it possible for the predictions to occur in the same context. Stubbs therefore defines discourse as “a linguistic analysis of naturally occurring

connected spoken or written discourse ... [It] is also concerned with language in use in social context, and in particular with interaction or dialogue between speakers” (ibid.:43). van Dijk and Kintsch (1983) propose that language users construct their representation of discourse not only of the text itself but also of the social and cultural context in which the whole interaction process takes place between the speech participants. Thus, for him, the process of understanding a discourse is functional in the socio-cultural context, a state of affairs that echoes socio-structuralists’ (e.g. Vygotsky 1978; 1986) view of language.

Seidel (1985: 44) defines discourse as “a terrain, a dynamic linguistic and, above all, semantic space in which social meanings are produced or challenged”. Trask (1995) claims that there are two ways of extracting meaning from utterances in discourse: one way is noting the content of the utterance no matter what the context is (i.e. what to say), and the other is comparing between utterances in different contexts in order to derive the meaning from the combination of utterances and their context (i.e. how to say it). In a nutshell, when analyzing spoken discourse, researchers normally focus on how different speakers convey their messages in some particular context.

Political speeches, embroidered with “diplomatic language (Jaber, 2001; Matteucci 2001), are an interesting area of research, especially when delivered in extra-ordinary circumstances as they may disclose unique features characteristic of some speech communities. Political speeches have therefore become an interesting area of research especially from a global point of view. Although there are several studies that have investigated political speeches from different perspectives and during different periods of time, explanations have been very much influenced by the researchers’ cerebral theoretical orientations (see Vail, 2010). One of the prominent scholars in political discourse analysis is van Dijk (1995) who advocates the view that political discourse analysis is an adequate interpretation of political issues. He suggests that political discourse is a textual achievement of professional politicians or political institutions. van Dijk emphasizes the role of context in the process of interpreting discourse. He points out that the actual analysis of political discourse should be through the systematic definition of the characteristics of political context that is concerned with who speaks to whom and on what occasion with what goals and intentions. These characteristics are usually governed by some authentic categories in the domain of politics such as the political system and its values or ideologies, political relations, and political cognition. Additionally, van Dijk suggests that discourse analysts should realize that the importance of revolutionary slogans in the hands of the protesters who are marching streets, shouting slogans of freedom and liberty, and cursing some political actions, processes, or ideologies of a particular political institution or organization. He concludes that political

discourse analysis should not be limited to the structural properties of the text or talk, but they must involve the systematic account of the context because both context and text mutually define each other.

To Wilson and Sperber (1986: 15), context is “a psychological construct, a subset of hearer’s assumptions about the world, that affect the interpretation of the utterance”. For this, Wilson and Carston (2007: 16) refute “the idea that only encoded concepts can contribute to the truth-conditional content of utterances”. To figure out which meaning is really intended, is justifiable, and/or makes the most sense, the sole task of the interactants in an exchange is to fill in for what is left unsaid/unstated based on evidence provided for this purpose - a task that requires going beyond surface meanings. This is an echo of the Reader-Response Theory expounded by Iser (1980) who argues that “as the reader reads, s/he makes his own decision as to how the gap is to be filled.” The shared context between the speaker and audience fills the gap, and, by doing so, the message becomes clearer. This is probably so because, according to Grice (see Grice 1957; 1968), communication is an intentional process. In Sperber and Wilson's (1995) terms, communication is an ‘ostensive’ behaviour - "behaviour which makes manifest an intention to make something manifest" (p. 49). To the socio-cultural theorists (e.g. Vygotsky 1978; 1986), the social context in which the cognitive activity takes place is an integral part of that activity, not just the surrounding context for it. According to Sperber & Wilson (1997: 147), “Inferential communication is intrinsically social, not just because it is a form of interaction, but also, less trivially, because it exploits and enlarges the scope of basic forms of social cognition. Right or wrong, this is a strong sociological claim”. Gutt (2004) distinguishes between two modes of communication: the interpretation-oriented mode (i-mode) and the stimulus-oriented mode (s-mode), where the i-mode (or intended meaning) is computed on the basis of the s-mode (stimulus meaning/s), a state of affairs that has probably called (Sperber and Wilson 1986a [1995]: 217) to argue for “the linkage between linguistic structure and pragmatic interpretation” (For more details, see Al-Jarrah et al. 2018).

Furthermore, Fairclough (1989) suggests that political discourse analysis usually introduces the rich and the complex interrelationships of language use and power, since political discourse involves ideologies which are linked to power, control, and authority. In fact, the language of political discourse has become a major medium of social and political power, and thus contributes to the domination of some people over others. This type of power is manifest in face-to-face discourse, cross-cultural discourse, and mass-media discourse. Regarding power, Fairclough claims, “Power in discourse is concerned with discourse as a place where relations of power are actually exercised and enacted” (ibid: 43).

This study is therefore an attempt to analyze from some theoretical perspective (Austin's and Searle's Speech Act Theory) the common features of the ousted Arab presidents' speeches during a critical period of time (the so called Arab Spring). The paper is thus organized as follows. In section 2a below, we present the main tenets of Austin's and Searle's Speech Act Theory along with some influential studies that have been coached within this theoretical framework. In section 2b, we provide some background information relevant to the context of the study. In section 2c, we present the main studies that have tackled political speeches delivered by Arab Presidents and influential party leaders in the area. In section 4, we outline the methodology of data selection and data gathering. In the discussion section in 5 below, we try to analyze the findings given the useful tools provided by the theory itself. In the conclusion section (6), we try to present a line of argumentation with previously published research on this topic and suggest new avenues for further future research.

Speech Act Theory

Speech Act Theory was developed by two philosophers: John Austin (1962) and John Searle (1969). Austin's series of lectures in 1955 were compiled in a book called "How to Do Things with Words"(1962) which is widely known as the first presentation of Speech Act Theory. Austin's presentation seems argumentative and provocative, since distinctions that are proposed in the first few chapters of the book are dismantled in later chapters. Indeed, the presentation of the theory by the end of the book is dramatically different from its presentation in the beginning of the book.

Speech Act Theory fundamentally focuses on how meaning and action are related to language. Although speech act theory was not first developed as a means of analyzing discourse, some of its basic insights have been used by many scholars such as Labov and Fanshel (1977) to help solve problems which are considered basic to discourse analysis such as how an utterance can perform more than one speech act at a time, and the relationship between context and illocutionary force.

Speech Act Theory began with the work of John Austin whose ideas were incorporated into a relatively fully-fledged linguistic theory by John Searle. Austin has noticed that some utterances that seem like statements lack what is thought to be a necessary property of statements. Austin claims that such statements not only describe or report but also "the uttering of the sentence is, or is a part of, the doing of an action, which again would not *normally* be described as, or as just, saying something"(p. 5, emphasis in original). Austin calls such statements '*performatives*' and distinguishes them from '*constatives*', i.e. declarative statements whose truth or falsity could be judged. On the other hand,

'*performatives*' are declaratives that do an action. Moreover, Austin classifies the circumstances (the conditions) that allow utterances to act as performatives. According to him, the circumstances allowing an act are varied: they include the existence of "an accepted conventional procedure having a certain conventional effect" (p.26), the presence of "particular persons and circumstances"(p.34), "the correct and complete execution of a procedure" (p.34), and "certain thoughts, feelings, or intentions" (p.39). Austin advocates that an act can either misfire, i.e. does not go through at all, or goes through but, due to the abuse of the procedure, in a way that is not totally satisfactory. For example, appointing someone to office misfires if that person has already been appointed or if the speaker is not in a position to appoint someone. In this respect, Schiffrin (1994) claims that Austin raises the possibility that performatives can be realized without a verb. This, in fact, creates another distinction between explicit performatives and primary performatives whereas the latter refers to utterances in which the performative verbs are not explicitly mentioned. Austin proposes three types of performative acts by which a participant in a communicative activity can accomplish doing: a locutionary act which involves the production of sounds and words with meaning, an illocutionary act which refers to the use of explicit performatives to indicate a certain action, and a perlocutionary act which implies what type of act is achieved by saying an utterance.

Searle's (1969) version of speech act theory is built on Austin's framework of speech act. Searle proposes a framework by which speech acts can be incorporated into linguistic theory. Claiming that "the speech act is the basic unit of communication", Searle (1969) did not divorce the study of speech acts from the study of language, but rather placing speech acts at the very crux of the study of language, meaning, and communication. Moreover, there is no doubt that Searle's principle of expressibility (what can be meant can be said) allows the integration of speech act theory into linguistic theory. Based on this principle, it is possible for the speaker to say exactly what s/he means either by increasing her/his knowledge of the language or by enriching the language. In a nutshell, viewing a speech act as the basic unit of communication allows Searle to associate speech acts with the study of language: its production, its interpretation, and its meaning (both speaker meaning and linguistic meaning). In addition, performative utterances include a particular type of verbs, i.e. a performative verb which is used in the simple present and include active form that realizes a particular action when uttered in a specific context.

Furthermore, Searle (1979) advocates that an illocutionary act is the basic conventional communicative force achieved in saying, and it can be classified into five classes: representatives which commit the speaker to the truth of the expressed proposition (e.g. asserting), directives which are attempts by the

speaker to get the hearer to do something (e.g. requesting), commissives which commit the speaker to some future course of action (e.g. promising), expressives which express the psychological state of the speaker (e.g. thanking) and declaratives which affect the immediate changes in the institutional state of affairs (e.g. appointing). In addition to the above taxonomy, Searle proposes certain types of rules that are responsible for speech acts. These rules are: the essential rule which indicates what the utterance counts as, the sincerity rule that involves the psychological state of the speaker, the preparatory rule that means whether one participant is ready to perform some action asked by another participant, and the propositional content rule that concerns references and predications. In fact, Searle's (1979) classification of speech acts paves the way for other scholars and researchers to adopt it as a framework for discourse analysis. This idea was corroborated by Schiffrin (1994:90) who claims that "by focusing upon the meanings of utterances as acts, speech acts theory offers an approach to discourse analysis in which what is said is chunked (or segmented) into units that have communicative functions that can be identified and labeled".

In brief, speech acts theory, which was first proposed by Austin and later expanded by Searle, can be very useful in analyzing a connected piece of discourse especially indirect speech acts where one act is performed by way of another. Therefore, it is feasible to apply Speech Act Theory to the political speeches of the Ousted Arab Presidents.

Context of the Study

The spark of the so-called Arab Spring, a major Arab movement towards democratization, was ignited with the self-burning of Mohamed Bouazizi in Sidi Bouzid on 17 December 2010 in Tunisia. Since then, sustained major street demonstrations and minor protests started to take place in almost all Arab countries. Chanting the slogan *ash' b yuri: d isqaaT an-nithaam* (the people want to bring down the regime), these demonstrations were met with violent responses from authorities, pro-government militias and counter-demonstrators. However, the demonstrations in some countries (Tunisia, Egypt, Libya and Yemen) were serious enough to twist the arm (so to speak) of the then-presidents of these countries to make public appearances and deliver "extraordinary" speeches where they, for the first time, dared make concessions, more often than not acknowledging the protesters' demand for political change.

A considerable amount of attention has been especially paid by academic researchers and political analysts to these extraordinary speeches delivered by the ousted Arab presidents during this time of crisis. Main studies have been coached within different frameworks of Analysis, mainly Halliday and Hassan's 1976 theory of cohesion (e.g. Al Majali, 2015)) and Critical Discourse Analysis

frameworks (e.g. Lahlali, 2012; Abu Hatab, W. (2013).; Al-Harashsheh, 2013; Al-Haq and Al-Sleibi, 2015; Hussein, 2016).

Significance of the Study

This study is, I believe, significant for the following reasons. Firstly, it is the first of its kind which attempts an analysis of the speeches of those political leaders from this perspective after the spark of the Arab spring has been ignited in 2011. Secondly, most of the previous studies conducted on the speeches of the Arab presidents using this framework had focused on the speeches of the late Egyptian president, Jamal Abdul-Nasar, and the late Iraqi president, Saddam Husain, whose speeches were mainly targeted towards an external enemy (Israel). Finally, the threat to the ousted president whose speeches are under current scrutiny is internal and the topics are totally different (mainly protests, demonstrations, strikes, social justice, etc.). For this, their speeches, I reckon, did not follow the usual format or pattern of speech that were familiar to the people of the Middle East at earlier points in time.

Review of Related Literature

Ayeomoniyi and Akinkuolere (2012) investigate the Nigerian President Adua's political speeches, using the speech act theory framework. They claim that the speeches contain sentences that are assertive, commissive, and directive which are typical of someone occupying a position of authority whose job is to give orders and instructions that may offer a vivid picture about his administration. They conclude that heavy reliance on the use of speech acts that are assertive and directive could be explained in the lights of the president endeavor to persuade or convince the public opinion to support his regime and to implicitly give a clear message on the policy of his government.

Jawad (2011) investigates the pragmatic application of speech act theory to standard Arabic with special reference to Al-Ashter's Epistle, using Searle's taxonomy of speech act. Al-Ashter's Epistle is a letter from the Muslim Caliph, Ali Bin Abi Taalib, to Malik Al-Ashter, the new Egyptian ruler at that time. Jawad claims that the application of speech act theory to standard Arabic presents a new evidence on the universality of this theory. He advocates that the most frequent speech act in the data is in the class of directives: advice, command, warning, and prohibition, since the function of such acts is to instruct the receiver and to offer him guidance about the appropriate course of action.

Hanafī (2000) explores the act of warning and threatening in the Holy Quran, using Searle's (1979) classification of speech acts. He claims that these two acts are the most frequent acts whereas there are other speech acts which are

not as frequent as these two. Hanafi advocates that the main objective of these acts (threatening and warning) in the Holy Quran is to remind the oblivious people of the life after death and to warn them against bad deeds. Moreover, such acts, in general, aim at awakening the mind and the conscience of the people. In fact, the act of warning is directed towards straying people (from the right path) to advise them implicitly to return to the right path, whereas the act of threatening is to remind people of the drastic consequences and of the severe punishment that they may face in the life after death. Also, the act of threatening is directed towards disobedient people to awaken their minds of the drastic consequences of their actions.

Al-Bassam (1989) explores the politeness strategies as manifested through the acts of complaints, requests and apologies in the speech of the characters of Najeeb Mahfouz's Short Story "The False Down". Al-Bassam advocates that the indirect speech acts performed by the characters in the story were overlaid with politeness strategies. These were based on the relationship between participants (speaker and hearer) and the social distance between them, and they were reflected through the use of metaphors, proverbs, words from the Holy Quran, lines of familiar poetry, and some expressions from folk jokes.

Dlugan (2009) investigates Martin Luther King's Speech: "I have a Dream", who was one of the most popular leaders of non-violent movement. He proposes four reasons for the speech to be memorable. The first reason is the connection between King's speech and its historical context. This is clearly evident through the technique of repetition, i.e. repeating the key theme words. Secondly, King's capability of evoking the historic and literary references using direct quotation or using the technique of allusion. Thirdly, King was capable of enriching his speech with specific geographic examples to support his argument and to dramatize actions in the minds of his audience. The last reason is the use of metaphor which associates the concept of the speech "I have a Dream" with images and emotions of his audience.

Al-Hammed (1999) investigated the linguistic and structural aspects in the late president Jumaal Abdul Nasser's speeches. She claims that the major characteristic of Nasser's speeches is his dependence on repeating key words, phrases, and sentences. In fact, Nasser exploits three types of repetition: repetition that is usually employed by the language user without much choice, functional repetition or communicative repetition, and unnecessary type of repetition which is referred to as pleonastic repetition that is normally employed to emphasize general concepts or specific ideas. The last type of repetition was specifically used when Nasser talked about the nationalization of the Suez Canal. In that context, Nasser, actually, introduces the concept of deception, using terms such as collaborationists, agents, and monopolists in order to

achieve two purposes: to overcome his opponents inside the country (Egypt) and to warn against the enemy's (Israel) policy of expansion in the region.

Bird (2011) explores the rhetorical style of president Clinton's speeches which were delivered during harsh moments of domestic tragedy. He claims that Clinton's rhetorical style reflects three functions. The first function is defining and constructing reality. This usually happens when an upsetting or confusing event takes place "audience will often turn to public figures for a definition and construction of reality that will help make sense of what has happened" (ibid: 48). Secondly, Clinton's rhetoric displays presidential eloquence by delivering a speech that will be memorable to his audience. This is achieved through the use of religious connotation, the use of repetition, and the use of metaphorical style. The last function is "to generate a communal definition of the event ... [It] is to hail a national audience and then define the event by what it means for the entire nation" (ibid).

Al-Hamad and Al-Shunnaq (2011) examine the emotive figures used in Bashaar Al-Assad's, the Syrian president, political speeches. They point out that emotive expressions could be positive, negative, or neutral. Those expressions, in fact, are words that are treated as emotions by wily politicians who know that such expressions are changeable based on language, culture, communities, religion, and people. The most common type of emotive expressions in Al-Assad's speeches is the use of simile in which he emphasizes the attitudes of hate and odium towards the American and the Israeli policies in the region. Al-Hamad and Al-Shunnaq notice that the "New Middle East" concept is an example of emotive expressions used by the American Secretary of State, Condoleezza Rice, to implicitly portray the American policy in the region that carries positive attitudes towards the Israelis and Americans, whereas it carries negative attitudes, probably attitudes of humiliation, towards the Arabs. They conclude that Al-Assad's use of metaphor, personification and euphemism is to entice the negative attitudes in the mind of his audience against the Western governments and their agents in the region.

Pu (2007) presents a pragmatic interpretation of President Bush's speech which was delivered at Tsinghua university in 2002. Bush talks about two major topics in his speech: the construction of Americanism and the indirect critique of Chinese current social situation with direct instruction of what should be changed. In the first theme, according to Pu, Bush uses forceful rhetorical devices in order to draw a clear and idealized picture of Americanism and of the American values. He also employs parallel structures in two forms: a persuasive strategy to convince the audience that all bad images of Americans presented by the mass media are not true, and a constructive strategy to preach American values of equality and liberty. In the second theme, Bush implicitly criticizes the

Chinese political and social system in terms of faith, liberty, and justice. Pu concludes that Bush's speech implies two major criticisms; firstly, Bush criticizes the way the Chinese government deals with the dissidents, and secondly he criticizes the religious and worship liberty in China.

Superior (2006) analyzes John Kennedy's Speech: "We choose to go to the Moon". He claims that Kennedy follows the technique of justification so that he can justify the huge expenditure being spent on the Apollo Space program which is considered one of the greatest achievements of humankind at that time. Superior advocates that Kennedy uses metonymy in his speech to support and strengthen his point of view, and he uses simile in order to create amazing images in the minds of his audience. He claims that Kennedy's Speech was considered very famous one, since the content of it transforms the dream of millions of people into reality. Moreover, Power (2007) explores Kennedy's inauguration speech. He focuses on the role of context in shaping the form and the content of the speech. The speech was delivered during the cold war in which there was a great competition between capitalism and communism. This context was overshadowed by problematic and significant events that makes Kennedy's inauguration speech politically, economically, and historically significant. In his speech, Kennedy discusses various topics such as freedom, human rights, militarism, democracy, and economic progress in order to depict a shining picture about the USA as an exceptional beacon among other nations. Power concludes that Kennedy's speech was optimistic in tone and uplifting, since it portrays a sense of mission.

Ayeomoni (2012) explores the Nigerian Military coup speeches of the three political rulers: General Thomas Ironsi, Yakuba Gowon, and General Murtala Muhammad. The study focuses on the use of lexical devices: repetition, synonymy, antonymy, hyponymy, and collocation. He also explores the relationship between them and the context in which they occur. Ayeomoni advocates that the two most frequent cohesive devices in the speeches of the three military leaders are repetition and synonymy, since rules and programs in the military administration are rooted in coercion and forcefulness. In fact, such strategies can be achieved through the use of lexical devices of emphasis and reiteration. He points out that hyponymy is rarely used in the coup speeches because hyponymy donates specific matters, whereas such speeches focus mainly on general selected issues. Additionally, military leaders' speeches mainly do not include antonyms because these lexical devices may lead to confusion and inhibition of information. Ayeomoni concludes that the language used in the coup leaders' speeches carries similar power and strength to the weapons used in the coup processes or in the revolution.

Method

The speeches of the ousted presidents during the so called Arab Spring were all downloaded from the internet; the relevant portions of the speeches were transliterated in English letters, and then translated into English by the researcher after consultations with other experts on translation. Shielded with the basic premises of the Speech Act Theory, only those extracts where there is little or no disagreement on their propositions were subjected to analysis; at least one or two examples presented for each type of the five acts (Representative, Directives, Commissive, Expressives, and Declarations) are sought. Because of space limitations (for each speech is about twenty two pages long), only the first paragraph of each speech will be presented in the appendixes.

Discussion and Results

This section provides an analysis of the rhetorical features of the Ousted Arab Presidents' speeches. As our analysis adopts Searle's (1969, 1979) classification of speech acts (i.e. Directives, Representatives, Commissive, Expressives, and Declarations), our goal is to show when, why and how much each act is used by each speaker at the time. Following is an account of each act figured out in the speeches of the three ousted Arab presidents.

1.1 The Act of Representatives

Crystal (2003) advocates the view that that representatives refer to the type of utterance in which the speaker tries to convey his beliefs about the truth of a proposition. The following is an example of the act of representative from Mubarak's Speech:

“innanii kara'isin liljamhuriyeh wa bimuqtadha aSSalaahiyyaati allati hawwalahaa li addastuur kaHakamin baynaa aSSulTaati 'akkadatu miraaran wa sawfa aDalu 'ukakidu anna assiyaadata lilsha'abi.”

(I, as the president of the Republic and by the virtue of the authorization bestowed upon me by the constitution as an arbitrator between authorities, have confirmed time and again, and I still confirm that supremacy must be to the people).

What is worth noting here is that, according to Blum-Kulka and Olshtain (1984), an utterance (or a sequence of utterances) that perform a representative speech act can be divided into three segments: address term, head act, and adjunct to the head act. The above example explicitly shows that the speaker (Hosni Mubarak) asserts his belief that the only source of authority is the people. In this, the head act is represented by the verb “'akkadditu”, the address term is

performed by the president himself, and the adjunct expression “*assiyaadatu lilsha?ab*” functions to support the head act of asserting.

1.2 Directives

The speech act of directive, as its name implies, is an attempt by the speaker to enjoin the hearer to do some action. Jawad (2011) points out that a directive of command could be of two types: positive and negative. The following is an example from Qaddafi’s speech:

“*isHabuu ’aTfaalakum min ashshawaari?i ’isHabuu aTfaalakum minhum*”.

(pull your children out of the streets: pull your children out of them)

The above example realizes the speech act of positive command; hence the speaker uses the imperative verb “*’isHabuu*” to get the hearer to perform an action. Another example from the same speech reflects the use of negative command:

“*shiduu aljurTHaan maatakhaafuu minhum*.”

(pull the rodents, and don’t be afraid of them)

In the above example, the speaker explicitly warns the listeners from being afraid of performing an action using the negative particle “*maa*” which means don’t. Both types of command (positive and negative) are mainly used by the speaker who is more powerful than his listeners. This is similar to the language used in the court where the language used by the judge is more powerful than that used by the defendants. In this respect, Al-Omari (2007) suggests that directives of warning in Arabic might be executed through two strategies: alerting and frightening (threatening). The following is an example from Zain Al-Abdeen Bin Ali’s speech:

“*al?unfu mush bitaa?anaa walaa huwa min sulukinaa*”

(violence is not ours, and it is not our behaviour)

In the above example, the speech act of alerting (a lenient form of warning) is realized. This act is manifested through the use of the term “*al?unfu*”, i.e. violence. The purpose of this term is to warn the addressees of an approaching danger. Additionally, this strategy can be described as a friendly advice, which is roughly the opposite of direct warning. The following, taken from Qaddafi’s speech, is an example of implicit warning:

“*naHnau lam nastakhadim alquwata ba?adu*” (We have not used force yet.)

The above example realizes the act of warning, i.e. implicitly threatening the addressees of the consequences of using force. The speaker tries to intimidate the listeners of upcoming actions.

1.3 Commissives

This type of speech act commits the speaker for future action (cf. Searle, 1979). This idea is corroborated by Crystal (2003), who states that the act of commissive refers to an utterance where the speaker makes a real commitment to some future course of action. In the same vein, Al-Shboul (2010) claims that the act of threatening is a commitment by the speaker to undertake a future action in which he jeopardizes the interest of the hearer. The following is an example taken from Qaddafi's speech:

“alqabidhu?ala almushaGhibiin wa taslimiihim lil’amni Hata yatim
tarbiyatihim”

(Rioters must be arrested and must be handed over to the police in order to teach them how to behave properly.)

In the above extract, the addressor threatens the addressees (rioters in this case) that some physical as well as moral harm will be inflicted on them. There is an implicit threat through the use of the term “tarbiyatihim”, a term that surely carries negative connotation, i.e. punishment will be awaiting them.

1.4 Expressives

The speech act of Expressive reflects the psychological point of view of the speaker. In this respect, Verschueren (1983) claims that the expressive speech act is executed by introducing a performative verb in which the speaker expresses the psychological attitude towards the state of affairs. The most common speech act of expressive used among the presidents' speeches is the act of apology. Blum-kulka and Olshtain (1984) point out that the act of apology is performed when the speaker expresses his regret about some form of violations that had happened, in this case to the public. This is usually effected through the use of explicit markers such as formulaic expressions of regret, including performative verbs such as (be) sorry, apologize, regret, forgive, etc.

The following is an example from Mubarak's Speech:

“wa’asifatu kul al’asafi limaa ’asfarat?anhu min dhaHaaya ‘abriyaa’a min
almutaDahiriina”

(I felt sorry, extremely sorry, for the loss of the lives of innocent victims among the demonstrators as a result of those demonstrations.)

Another example is from president Zain Al-Abdeen Bin Ali's Speech:

“wa ’iTH nu?ribu?an baaliGhi ’asafinaa lilwafayaati wal’adhraari allatii
najamat?an HaTHiHi al’aHdaathi ”

(We deeply regret the loss of lives and damages caused by these events)

The speakers, in the above examples, executed the speech act of apology using the illocutionary force of the performative verbs: “’asafa” and “’asiftu”. In the above cases, the speakers implicitly took part of the responsibility of the offense which, in fact, created the need for apology. The speakers’ apologies, in the above examples, are intended to justify the offense which resulted from external factors outside their control. Both speakers (presidents) follow the same pattern of apology.

1.5 Declarations

As its name implies, declaration purports that the speaker is committed to execute some changes in the state of affairs. This idea gathers pace from a similar suggestion by Yule (1996), who advocates that speakers use the act of declaration to bring about some changes in the institutions. The following is an example from Mubarak’s speech:

“faqad ra’aiytu tafwiidha naa’ibi ra’isi aljamhuriiyati fii ’ikhtiSaaSaati ra’isi aljumhuriiyati?ala annaHwi allaTHii yuHadidahu addustuur”

(I perceived delegating the authorities of the president that was bestowed upon me by the constitution to the vice president of the country in accordance with the constitution)

In the above example, the speech act of declaration functions as a declaration of authority of the president. This is actually realized by the performative verb “tafwiidha”. In this respect, Jawad (2011) points out that it is possible for the speaker to perform the act of declaration without the use of a performative verb. This is the case in most formal speeches of Muslim presidents or leaders where they start with the introductory phrase “In the name God the most merciful the most beneficent” which implies the declaration of the speech.

In order to back up such qualitative analysis of the data, a quantitative analysis of the types of speech acts as used by the ousted Arab presidents in their speeches is sought. Table (1) below displays how many times each speech act is used by each speaker.

Table (1): Number of occurrences of each speech act by the three speakers

Types of Act	Presidents		
	Gaddafi	Mubarak	Zain Al-Abdeen Bin Ali
1 Representative	42	59	28
2 Directive	80	48	43
3 Commissive	6	27	16
4 Expressive	5	24	44
5 Declaration	8	20	10

In order to verify if these figures are truly significant, Table (2) below displays the frequencies and percentages for each one of them.

Table (2): Beneficent which implies the declaration of the speech

Types of act	Presidents							
	Gaddafi		Mubarak		Zain al abdeen bin ali		Total	
	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	percentage	Frequency	percentage
Representative	42	9.13%	59	12.83%	28	6.09%	129	28.04%
Directive	80	17.39%	48	10.43%	43	9.35%	171	37.17%
Comissive	6	1.30%	27	5.87%	16	3.48%	49	10.65%
Expressive	5	1.09%	24	5.22%	44	9.57%	73	15.87%
Declarations	8	1.74%	20	4.35%	10	2.17%	38	8.26%
Total	141	30.65%	178	38.70%	141	30.65%	460	100%

Accordingly, the speech act type which is used most is "directive" (37.17%), followed by "Representative" (28.04%), then "Expressive" (15.87%), then "Commissive" (10.65%), and finally "Declaration" (8.26%).

To detect the differences among those presidents for each speech act type, (ch²) test was run. Table (3) below displays the findings.

Table (3): (ch²) differences among presidents for each act type of speech

	Ch ²	D.F	Sig.	Differences
Representatives	11.209	2	0.00	Yes
Directives	14.140	2	0.00	Yes
Commissives	13.510	2	0.00	Yes
Expressives	31.260	2	0.00	Yes
Declarations	6.52	2	0.03	Yes
Total	5.975	2	0.04	Yes

Given these findings, it has turned out to us that Mubarak used "Representatives" the most; Gaddafi used "Directives" the most; Mubarak used "Commissives" the most; Zain Al-Abdeen bin Ali used "Expressives" the most; and Mubarak used "Declarations" the most.

Conclusion

Attempted as an exploratory investigation of the main speech acts as used by three ousted Arab presidents in their public appearances during the so-called "Arab Spring", the findings have shown that each has own way of combating the protesters verbally. Understanding the social fabric of the society, each leader was addressing his people accordingly. The demarcating rhetorical features used by Gaddffi are influenced by his dictatorship regime, supreme authority and totalitarian practices. For this, the results of this study have confirmed that his most frequently used speech act is the act of warning or threatening (one type of Directives). The other leaders have used this speech act but mostly indirectly, for they do not want to antagonize their people. Mubarak alluded more to representatives and commissives probably because he was at the time optimistic to remain in power. Using a bit more diplomatic language; he was daring to take partial responsibility for the current status quo, stressed the slogan "the rule of the people" and promised for future reforms. On the other hand, Zain Al-Abidain, probably felt unwanted, was delivering "farewell speeches" which were relatively more informal. He, therefore, used "Expressives" the most.

السمات البلاغية لخطابات الزعماء العرب المعزولين مقاربة في تحليل الخطاب

محمد الجراح، قسم الترجمة، جامعة اليرموك، إربد، الأردن.

ملخص

تهدف هذه الدراسة إلى الكشف عن السمات البلاغية في خطابات الزعماء العرب المعزولين في خطاباتهم العامة أمام الجماهير خلال ما عرف بـ "الربيع العربي". وبغية تحقيق هذا الهدف، تم إجراء تحليل ناقد لعدد من الخطابات وفق نظرية أفعال الكلام "أوستن" و"سيرل". واستناداً إلى تحليل جميع المعاني اللغوية والتداولية للنصوص الأصلية (الجراح، وآخرون، 2018) فقد ظهر أن دلالات أفعال الكلام ضمن (التوجيهات، والتمثيلات، والالتزامات، والتصريحات) قد وظّفت بنسب متباينة، كان أكبرها نسبة التحذيرات (بوصفها فرعاً من التوجيهات)، ولعل سبب ذلك عائد إلى مجموعة من الظروف الاجتماعية والنفسية السائدة وقتئذ في بلدانهم إبّان فترة الخطابات موضوع الدراسة. وبناءً على وجهة النظر المتضمنة أن النشاطات المعرفية للبشر لا يمكن عزلها عن السياق الاجتماعي (انظر: فيغوتسكي 1978، 1986)، فإن الدراسة هدفت إلى إظهار كيفية تفاعل هذه النصوص مع سياقاتها الاجتماعية لبيان أثارها النفسية على المتلقين.

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Appendixes:

The following are Extracts from the Arab Ousted Presidents' Speeches

الخطاب الأول للرئيس الليبي معمر القذافي 22 شباط 2011

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

أحييكم أيها الشجعان، أحييكم شباب الفاتح، شباب القومية، شباب الفاطمية، شباب التحدي، جيل التحدي، جيل الغضب، أحييكم وأنتم تقدمون للعالم الصورة الحقيقية للشعب الليبي الملتف حول الثورة على بكرة أبيه، وأنتم في الساحة الخضراء تقدمون الحقيقة التي تحاول أجهزة الخيانة والعمالة والندالة والرجعية والجبين، تحاول أن تغطيها لتشوّه صورتكم أمام العالم، أجهزة عربية للأسف شقيقة تغدركم وتخونكم وتقدم صورتكم بشكل يسيء لكل ليبي وليبية ويقولون: انظروا لليبيا انظروا لليبيا، لا تريد العز، لا تريد التحرير، لا تريد الثورة، انظروا لليبيا، تريد الدروشة، تريد اللحى، تريد العمائم، انظروا إلى ليبيا، تريد الاستعمار، تريد الانتكاسة، تريد الحضيض، وأنتم هنا في الساحة الخضراء تقولون: ليبيا تريد المجد، تريد القمة، قمة العالم، ليبيا تقود القارات، آسيا، أفريقيا، أمريكا اللاتينية وحتى أوروبا، كل القارات ضاقت قمما في ليبيا. هذا مجد الليبيين، هذا مجد لليبيين والليبيات.

الخطاب الأول للرئيس المخلوع زين العابدين بن علي 28 كانون الأول 2010

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

أيها المواطنون أيها المواطنين، لقد تابعت بانشغال ما شهدته سيدي بوزيد من أحداث خلال الأيام المنقضية، وإن كان منطلق هذه الأحداث حالة اجتماعية نتفهم ظروفها وعواملها النفسية، كما نأسف لما خلفته تلك الأحداث من أضرار، فإن ما اتخذته من أبعاد مبالغ فيها بسبب الاستغلال السياسي لبعض الأطراف الذين لا يريدون الخير لبلادهم ويلجأون إلى بعض التلفزات الأجنبية التي تبث الأكاذيب والمغالطات دون تحرر، بل مع اعتماد التهويل والتحريض والتجني الإعلامي العدائي لتونس يدعوننا إلى توضيح بعض المسائل وتأكيد حقائق لا ينبغي التغافل عنها.

*احتفظ بالخطابات كما وردت في مصادرها الأصلية، ولم تصوب الأخطاء اللغوية الواردة فيها.

الخطاب الثاني للرئيس المخلوع زين العابدين بن علي 10 كانون الثاني 2011

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

أيها المواطنين أيتها المواطنات في الداخل والخارج. أتوجه اليوم إليكم على إثر ما شهدته بعض المدن والقرى في عدد من الجهات الداخلية من أحداث شغب وتشويش وإضرار بالأموال العمومية والخاصة. أحداث عنيفة دامية أحيانا أدت إلى وفاة مدنيين وإصابة عدد من رجال الأمن، أحداث قامت بها عصابات ملثمة أقدمت على الاعتداء ليلا على مؤسسات عمومية، وحتى على المواطنين في منازلهم في عمل إرهابي لا يمكن السكوت عنه. أحداث وراءها أياد لم تتورّع عن توريث أبنائنا من التلاميذ والشباب العاطل فيها، أياد تحث على الشغب والخروج إلى الشارع لنشر شعارات اليأس الكاذبة وافتعال الأخبار الزائفة استغلت بدون أخلاق حدثا أسفنا له جميعا وحالة يأس نتفهمها كانت تجدد في سيدي بوزيد من أسبوعين، وإن نعرب عن بالغ أسفنا للوفيات والأضرار التي نجمت عن هذه الأحداث، فإننا نجد تعاطفنا مع أسر المتوفين رحمهم الله والمتضررين نشاركهم ألمهم وحزنهم ونواسيهم صادقين الحب لكل أبنائنا وبناتنا دون فرق ولا استثناء.

الخطاب الثالث للرئيس التونسي زين العابدين بن علي 13 كانون الثاني 2011

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

أيها الشعب التونسي أكلمكم اليوم، نكلمكم الكل في تونس وخارج تونس، نكلم بلغة كل التونسيين والتونسيات، نكلمكم الآن لأن الوضع يفرض تغيير، تغيير عميق نعم تغيير عميق وشامل وأنا فهمتكم أي نعم انا فهمتكم وفهمت الجميع... البطل والمحتاج والسياسي واللي طالب مزيد من الحريات فهمتكم وفهمت الكل... لكن الأحداث اللي جارية في بلدنا مهيش بتاعنا والتخريب مش من عادات التونسي، التونسي المتحضر المتسامح... العنف مش بتاعنا ولا هو من سلوكنا ولا بد أن يتوقف التيار... يتوقف بتكاليف الجهود والجميع، أحزاب سياسية ومنظمات وطنية... مجتمع مدني... مثقفين ومواطنين اليد في اليد من أجل بلادنا... اليد فاليد من أجل آمال كل أولادنا.

الخطاب الأول للرئيس المصري المخلوع حسني مبارك 28 كانون الثاني 2011

الإخوة المواطنين، أتحدث إليكم في ظرف دقيق يفرض علينا جميعاً وقفة جادة وصادقة مع النفس، تتوخى سلامة القصد وصالح الوطن، لقد تابعت أولاً بأول التظاهرات وما نادى به ودعت إليه. كانت تعليماتي للحكومة تشدد على إتاحة الفرصة أمامها للتعبير عن آراء المواطنين ومطالبهم، ثم تابعت محاولات البعض لاعتلاء موجة هذه التظاهرات والمتاجرة بشعاراتها، وأسفت كل الأسف لما أسفرت عنه من ضحايا أبرياء من المتظاهرين وقوات الشرطة. لقد التزمت الحكومة بتنفيذ هذه التعليمات، وكان ذلك واضحاً في تعامل قوات الشرطة مع شبابنا؛ فقد بادرت إلى حمايتهم في بدايتها احتراماً لحقهم في التظاهر السلمي، طالما تم في إطار القانون وقبل أن تتحول هذه التظاهرات إلى أعمال شغب تهدد النظام العام، وتعيق الحياة اليومية للمواطنين.

الخطاب الثاني للرئيس المخلوع حسني مبارك 1 شباط 2011

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

الإخوة المواطنين، أتحدث إليكم في أوقات صعبة تمتحن مصر وشعبها وتكاد أن تنجرف بها وبهم إلى المجهول يتعرض الوطن إلى أحداث عصبية واختبارات قاسية بدأت بشباب ومواطنين شرفاء مارسوا حقهم في التظاهر السلمي تعبيراً عن همومهم وتطلعاتهم سرعان ما استغلهم من سعي لاشاعة الفوضى واللجوء إلى العنف والمواجهة وللقفز عن الشرعية الدستورية والانقضاض عليها تحولت تلك التظاهرات من مظهر راقى ومتحضر للممارسة حرية الرأي والتعبير إلى مواجهات مؤسفة تحركها وتهيمن عليها قوى سياسية سعت إلى التصعيد وصب الزيت على النار واستهدفت أمن الوطن واستقراره بأعمال إثارة وتحريض سلب ونهب واشعال للحرائق وقطع للطرق واعتداء على مرافق الدولة والممتلكات العامة والخاصة واقتحام لبعض البعثات الدبلوماسية على أرض مصر. نعيش معاً أياماً مؤلمة وأكثر ما يوجع قلوبنا هو الخوف الذي انتاب الأغلبية الكاسحة من المصريين وما ساورهم من انزعاج وقلق وهو اجس حول ما سيأتي به الغد لهم ولذويهم ولعائلاتهم ومستقبل ومصير بلدهم.

الخطاب الثالث للرئيس المخلوع حسني مبارك 10 شباط 2011

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

الاخوة المواطنين، الاخوة المواطنين، الابناء شباب مصر وشاباتها أتوجه إليكم اليوم بحديثي اليوم لشباب مصر بميدان التحرير على اتساع ارضيها، اتوجه اليكم جميعا بحديث من القلب، حديث الأب لأبنائه وبناته. اقول لكم: انني اعتز بكم رمز لجيل مصر جديد يدعو إلى التغيير إلى الافضل ويتمسك به ويحلم بالمستقبل ويصنع. اقول لكم قبل كل شيء ان دماء شهدائكم وجرحاكم لن تضيع هدراً وأؤكد انني لن اتهاون في معاقبة المتسببين عنها بكل شدة والحزم وسأحاسب الذين اجرموا في حق شبابنا باقصى ما تقرره احكام القانون من عقوبات رادعة واقول لعائلات هؤلاء الضحايا الأبرياء التي تألمت كل الألم من اجلهم مثل ما تألمتم واورج قلبي ما حدث لهم كما اورج قلوبكم واقول ان استجابتي لصوتكم ورسالتكم ومطالبكم هو التزام لا جعة فيه وانني عازم كل العزم على الوفاء بما تعدت بكل الجدية والصدق والحرص...