The Rhetorics of Hafez al Assad

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Abstract

Introduction-Rhetoric is the art of persuasion as opposed to a simple communication of information. The aim of rhetoric is not to spread truth and present it plainly and openly but to convince an audience to accept a speaker's position -one which not necessarily congruent with that of the audience. The arguments alone cannot persuade, but when presented in a certain way, they become acceptable to the audience.Language is a device that enables us to understand the world. Speech is the expression of understanding (Sophia) which lets us explain situations, construct dialogue, and clarify and investigate the world. The word is the most powerful expression of human ability; without it human beings would have accomplished no more than animals intellectually. Communication is the essential activity that links the various parts of society together and allow them to function as n integrated whole. Rhetoricians understand the importance and power of words. They use strategies that rely on words, which they see as a tool to be use to effect, often in sophisticated ways. They seek to fashion a new reality, which the audience can accept as genuine. Rhetoricians generally do this by eliciting a sense of agreement with the listener and once that feeling of understanding has been established, the task of persuasion can begin.

Index terms—

1 Introduction

hetoric is the art of persuasion as opposed to a simple communication of information. The aim of rhetoric is not to spread truth and present it plainly and openly but to convince an audience to accept a speaker's position -one which not necessarily congruent with that of the audience. The arguments alone cannot persuade, but when presented in a certain way, they become acceptable to the audience 1 Language is a device that enables us to understand the world. Speech is the expression of understanding (Sophia) which lets us explain situations, construct dialogue, and clarify and investigate the world. The word is the most powerful expression of human ability; without it human beings would have accomplished no more than animals intellectually . 2 . Communication is the essential activity that links the various parts of society together and allow them to function as n integrated whole. 3 Rhetoricians understand the importance and power of words. They use strategies that rely on words, which they see as a tool to be use to effect, often in sophisticated ways. They seek to fashion a new reality, which the audience can accept as genuine. Rhetoricians generally do this by eliciting a sense of agreement with the listener and once that feeling of understanding has been established, the task of persuasion can begin. 4 The article examined the rhetorical devices found in Hafez al Assad's political speech. It hypothesized that Assad's rhetoric would include both stylistic and argumentative rhetorical devices.4 ?? 5 The first step involved an impressionistic assessment of Assad's political speech. A preliminary reading found several rhetorical features: syntax-based rhetorical devices, semantic-based rhetorical devices, and discourse analysis. When a rhetorical device was identified in one political speech, the researcher looked for the same device in other speeches and calculated its frequency of usage. Finally, a profile was drawn up of the rhetorical devices found in al-Assad's 1 Gitay, 2011, p. 55; Tsur, 2004, p. 64; Carpenter & Thompson, 1999, p. 7; Kedar, 1998, p. 211. 2 Searle, 2002,

p. 18; Gitay, 2010, p.27. 3 Mio, 1997, p. 113; Graber, 1993, p. 305. 4 Gitay, 2013 (b), p. 120. 5 Landau (1988, p. 17) used the term " ???×?"??? "

for "persuasion" a term she used to denote arguments that address the emotions. This contrasts with " ??????? " which refers to "conviction" and refers to arguments that address the intellect. political speech: in other words, the rhetorical and stylistic devices and argumentation that he used. a) Stylistic rhetoric A common analytical approach when studying rhetoric is to examine the wording of persuasive messages and the tools of persuasion that speakers and writers use. Influential figures who express their ideas publicly use a variety of argumentation approaches and methods to appeal to their audience's logic and emotions. Stylistic rhetoric targets the emotions and is known as rhetorical appeal.5 F 6 When appealing to the emotions, speakers' use specific elements and structures in their messages in order to arouse given responses in their audience, such as sympathy, empathy, hesitancy, or rejection6 F 7 .

According to Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca, "persuasive arguments" are arguments which claim things that are only valid for a particular audience. "Convincing arguments" on the other hand are arguments that seek the agreement of all rational people. In other word, a "persuasive arguments" is an argument which takes the viewpoint, beliefs, and needs of a particular audience into account.7 **??** 8 This might include addressing a particular audience's emotions, which might not be effective if addressed to a universal audience that does not share those particular beliefs or needs. The goal of a speech which is addressed to a universal audience of listeners is to persuade while the goal of a speech which is addressed to a specific audience is to convince.8 F 9 i. Repetition of syntactic elements Darshan9 F 10 cites Koch's study1 0 F 11 , showing that Arab political discourse very typically uses rhetorical repetition. This involves rhythmic repetition of phonemes, morphemes, roots, words, phrases and key sentences, sentence paraphrases, the multiple use of syntactic parallels between sentences, structures, and members. Repetition is the key to textual coherence and understanding the whole meaning of a text, which is a feature of discourse.1 **??** F 12 The force of rhetorical repetition is achieved in several ways: A. Repeated phrases, anaphora, epiphora, repeated members and repeated syntactic patterns create a rhythm, a particular cadence. Word repetition creates a rhythmic musical effect which is produced by both the sounds being repeated and the repetition itself 13 . Repeating a message elicits aesthetic musical pleasure in the listener that helps to embed the message in the listener's mind, arouse the listener, and create an emotional tendency to agree with the speaker almost instinctively 14 .

Perelman argued that in order to produce the presence of the message, it is effective to stress undeniable fundaments at length: Increasing a person focus on them reinforces their presence in the listener's mind. Simply dwelling on a certain subject produces the desired emotion 15 In psychology, an emotional connection between a listener and an idea is called identification: A person identifies with real and symbolic objects which give rise to excitement, normally on an unconscious level. As a rhetorical device, repetition helps to instill the speaker's ideas in the audience's mind and to use the audience's involuntarily emotional tendency to agree with the speaker without considering the content . 16

2 B. The parallel repetition of sentences is what

produces the rhythm of a rhetorical text. That rhythm, which created by the rhetorical musical emphasis, helps in highlighting key ideas, and assists their recall. The parallelism within the rhythmic syntactic pattern creates a parallelism of ideas in the complementary members of the sentence which can either reinforce or oppose an idea, or divide a long idea being developed slowly, into smaller parts.

. C. Besides creating a rhythm, syntactic structure can also break a rhythm by interrupting the symmetry in the length and structure of the parallel sentences / clauses on the first connection level. This happens when one part of a sentence on the first level contains other sentence parts which are repeated on the second connection level. A strong break happens in the beginning or middle of the sentence.

When it is at the end, it is regarded as part of the rhythm which is generating the rhetorical force 17 .

The connection-within-a-connection structure that breaks the rhythm and symmetry serves to focus the listener's attention on the idea. This break in the rhythm focuses the listener's mental energy on the idea that the speaker wishes to highlight; again, in order to persuade the audience 18 D. Repeating a lexical element, word, or expression in nearby or more distant sentences enables the speaker to establish continuity between the sentences in the speech and to connect them and give them cohesion. E. Repetition using synonyms-repeating an argument multiple times with linguistic variations helps the speaker to impress the audience1 . This is to emphasize the situation in the present. Before this element, the phrase " ??? ????? " breaks the rhythm and draws the audience's attention to the main point in the message. Possibly, the speaker said everything in one breath until he reaches the last sentence, which breaks the rhythm. The final sentence in the pattern is longer than its predecessors and ends what was said before on an impressive final chord. f. Sentence parts which convey the same meaning by using synonymous words / expressions or words from the same semantic field Landau discussed the semantic relationships within expression, for example: synonyms, antonyms, and same semantic domain. She stressed that symmetrical repetition, involving not only structural and verbal repetition, is also a persuasion device, since we know that repeating an idea often can slowly break down opposition or at least gain the agreement of listeners with no definitive view on a matter1 9 F 20 . Words possessing a high semantic load can also help to communicate a message since the text's inherent emotional force contributes to conveying the idea2 20 Landau, 1989, p. 117. 21) ?????? ?×?"????? ?????? ' ????? ??????? ?????? ???????? ?×?"???×?"?

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???? ?????×?"? ?×?"???????? (Wartime is a criterion for nations and a test of their nobility. When a nation experiences greater distress, its pure metal is revealed and its underlying nobility can be seen. You belong to a nation which is known throughout history for its masculinity and pride, for its heroism and devotion in the face of death, a nation that carried the message of light and faith all over the world, and the whole world has seen the unity of its lofty and noble qualities.. ? ? ??ï°?"? ??? ? ??? ??? ? ????? ? ?ï°?"? ??? ??? ? ? ? ??? ? ??? ? ???? ???? ? ???? ??? ????? ? ? ??? ? ??? ? ?ï»?"? ? ??? ? ???? ? ???? ??? ? ? ? ??? ? ??? ? ??? ? ??? ? ??? ? ??? ?ï»?"? ??? ???? ??? ? ??? ? ??? ??? ? ? ??? ? ??? ? ??? * ? ???? ? ??? ? ? ??ï°?"? ??? ???? ??? ? ????? ??? ? ?ï°?"? ? ???? ? ???? ????? * ? ???? ? ??? ? ? ?ï°?"? ? ??? ? ??? ? ???? ????? ??? ? ???? ??? ? ????? * ? ???? ? ??? ? ????? ??? ? ???? ???? ??? ? ???? ? ??? ? ???ï»?"? .) ???? ?????

(And we, who are not accustomed to bowing our heads to anyone, or to accepting threats, or being too despairing to confront fear, or to bending our bodies to aggressors, or obeying orders from outsiders, we say that we accept the challenge given to us, and our decision is to defeat the enemies and thwart their plots, and move steadily along the path of our nation and the masses of its Arab peoples, the path of victory.

(Our revolution was to stand against the enemies everywhere, and it still is, and we are determined to meet the challenges against us, to defeat them, and cause their downfall, and for the flags of our people to fly high in the wind, carrying the dreams and aspirations of the nation and the right of the masses of our people to fight for unity, freedom, and progress. We are strong in our revolution, the masses of our people, their vitality, in our goals which express the collective conscience of our nation, in the determination of the masses of our people to struggle and sacrifice, in the achievements of our revolution in every area, in our strong adherence to our goals and strategies, in our clear vision concerning the world today and the struggles within it, in our awareness of the laws of the struggle between the nations and their enemies around the world. The schemers wanted us to give in and they gave in. They used all kind of cunning tactics and their tactics all failed. They did not achieve even a single goal. They did everything they could and we destroyed them in the past and we will destroy them in the future. The values, the values we stress everywhere: in the schools, in the field, in the factory, and over many years; the values that we cling to, that we express and talk about at every opportunity -they are not for consumption and not for building; they are values, they are symbols which express the truth of our feelings, the truth of our lives, the truth we hold sacred. Those schemers at home and abroad, they cannot understand this. Arabs can't live with Christian Arab, then how could we live with Jewish and non-Arab Jews from all over the world, from the west and the east? This slogan will be proved to be wrong. Israel wants a split so it can get rid of the accusation of racism. The U.N. agreed a resolution saying that Zionism is a racist organizationand this is a major achievement for the Palestinian issue and the Arab struggle. Why racist? Because it is a country that gathers people from everywhere who have nothing in common but religion in order to make a nation out of them and establish a state for this people. And if Lebanon is split between the Muslims and the Christians, Israel will say: why is it racist? Israel is based on religion and Lebanon is a state or mini states which are also based on religion. So either we are all racists or none of us are racists. A divided Lebanon means you cannot accuse Israel of racism.

3 (Speech by

(Speech by Hafez al-Assad at his meeting with the Local Administration District Council members, 20.7.1976) iii. Creating a sense of closeness between the speaker and the audience by juxtaposing the pronoun "I" next to the pronoun "you"

Assad gives the impression of modesty and a shared destiny with the listeners by juxtaposing the personal pronouns "I" and "You," -this helps to bolster the audience's faith in their leader's credibility. vii. Figures of speech Among the textual ornaments which have received a respected place in literary writing we find the various types of figures of speech. They include similes, metaphors, personification, allusion, metonymy, etc. What they share is a semantic shift from one area to another based on similarity between analogous ideas.2 2 F 23 a. Metaphor For at least 3 decades, researchers and political theorists have been interested in how metaphors are used as persuasive devices.2 3 F 24 The metaphor is the most recognized figure of speech. It is a linguistic device that is used to transfer meaning from one sphere to another2 4 F 25 . It is a semantic deviation from the original meaning of a word, any word, taken from any part of speech. For example, the word "gap" in the phrase "he has a gap in his education" means "a lack" metaphorically.

In contrast to their traditional linguist counterparts, cognitive linguists see metaphors not as 22 In this example, the anaphoric element " ?????? " is repeated.

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The Rhetorics of Hafez al Assad rhetorical embellishment but as part of human thinking 26 . Metaphorical expressions are seen as expressions that nourish our world view and form our thinking, and thus our actions themselves 27 . These are metaphors that grasp concepts in one sphere via another sphere: a sphere that borrows, and is the goal, uses a different sphere that lends, and is the source. Thus, for example, the identification "Time is money" allows us to relate to time metaphorically in terms of money: e.g., 'waste of time', 'investment of time', 'valuable time': 28) ?????? ?×?"????? ?????? ' ????? ??????? ?????? ???????? ?×?"???×?"? ???? ?????×?"? ?×?"???????? (Israel has been a whore, it has yielded to temptation, and its leaders' heads have been

filled with sovereignty; they have committed many crimes and they think it is right to use aggression; it (idea of sovereignty) fills their hearts with black hatred towards our people and towards humanity, it controls them completely, it thirsts for blood, and its actions show contempt for the principles and highest ideals of humanity, and for international resolutions and law.

(Speech by Hafez al-Assad following the outbreak of the Yom Kippur War) ???????? ???ï»?"?? ?????? -A metaphorical expression stressing Israel's enthusiasm for war. Israel favors wars because it sees wars a political strategy. Blood is a known literary symbol denoting war. drowning in blood and simply watch her from a distance 26 Abadi, 1988, pp. 47-56; Richards, 1965, p. 89-138; Abdul latif, 2012, pp. 117-118; Gitay, 2010, 74-75. 27 Lakoff & Johnson, 1980, pp. 3-6; Carpenter & Thompson, 1999, p. 83. 28 Thompson, 1996, pp. 185.

-like the others did-and send her a good wish or a curse -that is if they sufficed just to curse her.

(Speech by Hafez al-Assad on the 24th anniversary of the March 8 Revolution, 1987) ?????? ??? ????? -drowning in blood is a metaphor for the many terrorist attacks that took place. This metaphor is emotionally charged and aims to discourage violence. i. Rhetorical questions Among other things, a speaker's arguments in political ideological discourse are based on patterns of indirect speech and rhetorical questions, which are part of a textual tapestry and an intentionally woven argumentative fabric. The rhetorical question is one of the most important aspects of argumentative rhetoric. It is an indirect speech act that seeks to express a emphatic assertion, with no expectation of a reply in most cases.2 9 F **??**0 Landau discussed rhetorical questions at length highlighting three central types of rhetorical question3 0 F 31 : "Yes-No" questions that open with the question " Have / Has?" etc., for example: the questions "Could it be that??" "Is it true that??". Positive rhetorical questions like this express strong negative assertions while negative rhetorical questions express strong positive assertions3 1 F 32 , for example, Could it be that they actually have the right to speak for this country's residents? Rhetorical questions that start with a completion question word, such as "What"? "How"? "Why"? etc., apart from the question word "Have / Has"? for example: Which country besides Israel has compromised so much? and choice questions that are basically assertions which reject the first option and strongly approve the second option. For example: Could it be that you are genuinely worried about citizens' welfare, homes, and children, or do you just want their money perhaps in order to control and go on controlling and eat your fill at our expense?

Landau suggested that of the three types of rhetorical questions, rhetorical choice questions provide the most emphasis. She discussed at length the impact of including these questions in the text-rhetorical questions at the end of a sequence of declarative sentences, a series of rhetorical questions on one subject, putting a rhetorical question in a complex sentence, and splitting rhetorical questions.3 2 F 33 Livnat3 3 F 34 discussed Fruchtman's basic distinction between emotive and presentational texts3 4 F 35 . According to this distinction, persuasive texts are also emotional and their emotional character helps to convey their concealed message of persuasion. The writer uses the implicit information to convey his or her attitude toward the events and to try to influence the reader's views. To raise the people's democracy to an acceptable level. However, the more experience we have the better it is. And is there anything more important than people conducting their own affairs and themselves being responsible for carrying out the decisions that they make aimed at improving their lives in all areas and making their homeland stronger by addressing all areas in a mindful and activist way? ii. Asked and Answered(

In the case of this rhetorical device, the speaker asks and immediately answers his own question. In contrast to other types of questions, this question does not seek information, it does not assert something like a rhetorical question, it does not contain the answer, and the audience is not expected to offer an opinion in response. The purpose of the question is to focus the reader's mind on what the speaker says next. In answering the question, the speaker can present his criticism and say what is on his mind3 5 F 36 .

We find this strategy of asking a "real" question as opposed to a rhetorical question in theatrical texts, where it serves as a plot device. A "real" question obliges an answer and is considered a new element, not a repetition or paraphrase. The answer given connects the parts of the text thus moving the plot forward. This dramatic device is also found in political discourse3 6 F 37 . This technique, which is used for convincing others, is similar to the rhetorical question, though not identical. In this case, the speaker employs a question and answer structure in order to rouse the listener to think more Arabs can't live with Christian Arab, then how could we live with Jewish and non-Arab Jews from all over the world, from the west and the east? This slogan will be proved to be wrong. Israel wants a split so it can get rid of the accusation of racism. The U.N. agreed a resolution saying that Zionism is a racist organizationand this is a major achievement for the Palestinian issue and the Arab struggle. Why racist? Because it is a country that gathers people from everywhere who have nothing in common but religion in order to make a nation out of them and establish a state for this people.

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(Speech by Hafez al-Assad at his meeting with the Local Administration District Council members, 20.7.1976) iii. Use of external sources 38 Shaked, 2009. p. 141.

In order to convince their audiences, speakers may draw on the literary, religious, or folk sources associated with that audience's society or culture. These sources consist of poetry, sayings, proverbs, sacred writings, and myths.

According to Aristotle, these sources fall into two categories3 8 F 39 : A. Sources that are accepted and taken for granted, whose validity needs no proof. They include laws, contracts, and sacred writings. These sources are

termed "arguments outside the art of speech". B. Intellectual or emotional sources, such as sayings, proverbs, and myths which are quoted in order to prove things that are not obvious. Myths nourish argumentation. According to Sivan's definition, myths are a form of political allegory, handed down in writing through the generations3 9 F 40 . A myth is structured as a dramatic story with heroes and villains and usually depicts an historical event. The mythical historical event is presented as larger than life; its heroes having the aura of epic heroes, despite being ordinary mortals. Myths speak to the emotions, carry the masses along, and leaving rationality behind. Their stories are handed down to subsequent generations, and form the basis of an organized belief whose believers have no need for logical persuasion4 0 F 41 .

Sivan suggested that political myths have two functions4 1 F 42 : A. Interpretive function -Myths allow people to turn to the past for precedents and archetypes that will help them understand and interpret contemporary ideals. This involves drawing inferences from past events to present day issues. B. Behavioral function-Myths rouse people to political action. For example: to defend a political or social order warranted by the myth. Cassirer wrote regarding the interpretive function, that myths arise at times of crisis when human logic fails and people turn to the power of the mysterious . Regarding the behavioral function, Cassirer argued that political myths drive political action.

These persuasion devices are divided into two groups according to Arabic linguistic rhetoric4 2 F 43 : 1. ?qtib?s -verses from the Qur??n or Íadi×; 2. Ã?"aÃmÐnquotations from songs / poetry, prose, proverbs. According to Al-Íamwiy, the quotation which is used retains the same structure, order of words, and original meaning as the Qur?n, though it might not retain the qur??nic form, say, by adding a word or letter; deleting a word or letter; or changing the word order of a sentence. The original meaning of the qur??nic quotation can also The Rhetorics of Hafez al Assad be altered to transmit a different teaching, the one the speaker wishes to transmit to his or her audience4 3 F 44 . When a speaker uses quotations he or she relies on the reader's acquaintance with the cultural tradition underlying the quotation. If the reader is unfamiliar with the cultural tradition he will not understand it fully, and it will usually seem quite strange. As known, in Arab culture, the Qur??n is regarded as the highest form of Arabic. Its style and language defy all efforts at imitation. Its absolute truth is made holy by seal of Allah, its verses are perceived as truths requiring no proof. It is easy to understand why speakers seek to harness these verses for their own ends and exploit their effect on the audience4 4 F 45 .

Citing ancient sources returns the reader to the ancient historical situation. Readers now have to compare the text in the present with the original text they recall, thus enriching and deepening the present text. Thus, when people quote verses in their writing they are relying on the reader's familiarity with the cultural tradition which is cited. Readers who are unfamiliar with that tradition cannot grasp it fully.

According to Landau there are several reasons for quoting sources such as sacred writings4 5 F 46 : A. To reinforce the speaker's message by offering proof and support from the sources that his opinion or actions are justified; to disprove the opponent's position, and to criticize the opponent for an action linked to the quotation. B. For purely stylistic reasons, to beautify the text-the speaker has a tendency to use these quotations when speaking and either consciously or unconsciously and sprinkles his speech with them. They have no persuasive rhetorical value. C. Manipulation -the speaker quotes a verse out of context and interprets it symbolically so that it fits in with new ideas on contemporary issues. For example, Darshan4 6 F 47 cites Bengo's ideas regarding the manipulative use of quotations from outside sources. Bengo recalled that Sadaam Hussain quoted verses from the Al-Anfal Surra in order to justify his genocidal campaign against the Kurds, which involved the use of chemical weapons, and was known as the Al-Anfal campaign4 and pride, for its heroism and devotion in the face of death, a people that carried the message of light and faith to all over the world, and the whole world saw it united in its lofty qualities and noble qualities. Oh you grandchildren of Abu Bakr, Umar, Uthman, and Ali, may Allah always delight in you, Oh you grandchildren of Khalid, Abu Ubaidah, Saad, and Salah al-Din, the conscience of our nation calls to us and our martyrs' spirits speak to us to embody the values of al-Yarmouk, al-Qadisiyah, Hattin, and Ein Jaloth. The multitudes of our nation from the Ocean to the Gulf lift their gaze, with their eyes and their hearts, towards our firm and great durability, and everyone hopes and is certain that our destiny is victory.

Hafez al-Assad refers to the audience as the honored grandchildren of the caliphs: Abu Bakr al-Siddiq, Umar ibn al-Khattab, Uthman ibn Affan and Ali ibn Abi Talib. He also addresses them as the grandchildren of the Muslim military leaders Khalid ibn al-Walid, Abu Ubaidah ibn al-Jarrah, Saad ibn Abi Waqqas and Salah al-Din who are considered the companions of the Prophet Mohammad. By addressing them this way, al-Assad makes the audience feel part of the Islamic victories against the West in battles like the Battle of Yarmouk, the Battle of Uhud, the Battle of Hattin, and the Battle of Ain Jalut. He argues that Israel will finally surrender the way the West has surrendered in battles against Islam. His argument is based on the myth that the Arabs and Islam are a victim of the West, which will eventually be defeated.

5 c) Antithesis

Antithesis is a form of focalization constructed as a subordinate / secondary clause or "satellite" clause and a primary or "nucleus" clause, **??**9 which expresses opposing or contrasting ideas. The reader / audience feels positively towards the idea in the nucleus (the thesis in this case). Their understanding of the satellite, which

Figure 1: *

289 rejects the opposite view to the nucleus, enhances the reader's positive attitude to the state of affairs described
290 in the nucleus 50   [1] [2] [3]

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[1]Weinberg, 2006, P.52.24 Mio, 1997, p. 114.25 Landau, 1966, pp. 307-308; Lakoff, 2002, p. 63; Kedar, 1998, p. 218-219.

[2]Landau, 1988, p. 164; Kedar, 1998, p. 262.

[3]The terms "satellite" and "nucleus" are terms from rhetorical structure theory(Mann, Matthiessen Christian & Thompson, 1992, p. 42).50 Mann& Thompson, 1988, p. 283;Azar, 1999, p. 10; Thompson, Sandra & Mann, 1987, pp. 359-381.

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The deserving generations that enjoy the achievements of the revolution built on and benefit from these ach

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(Speech by Hafez al-Assad on the 24th anniversary of the March 8 Revolution, 1987)

e. Repeating a word immediately in order to create a link with the rest of the statement

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Oh my Sons, his land ? the reactionary's motherland is a land that moves, without borders, without stability? (1982 speech by Hafez al-Assad)

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The Rhetorics of Hafez al As- sad

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Figure 5:

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(Speech by Hafez al-Assad on the 24th anniversary of the March 8 Revolution, 1987)
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Divided Lebanon is a stab [attack] against the
notion of Arab unity; it is as though we are providing
proof that Arab nationalism is not the right link which
connects us all allowing us to live under the Arab
nationalist banner. If the Lebanese Arabs cannot live
together in one country despite living together for many years, it gives them [the Israelis] practical proof [an

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The
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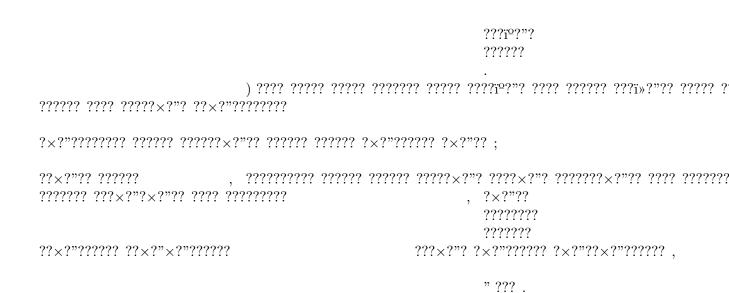   ???????
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Figure 10:

The Rhetorics of H

(1982 speech by Hafez al-Assad)

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people?   And al- though we are glad that within a few days we stopped the un- prece- dented blood- bath in Beirut. (Speech by Hafez al- Assad on the 24th anniversary of the March 8

(1982 speech by Hafez al-Assad)

is linked to logical structures and aimed at increasing
the text's emotiveness and directing the emotions
produced in the reader in the particular direction the
writer wishes:

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Figure 12: ???????? ???????? ?????????? ?????? ???? ???? ?????? ???ï»?"??? ????ï»?"????
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broadly about something the speaker assumes the
listener has not previously considered: 38

46 .

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a. Qur?nic quotations

Figure 15:

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i. Antitheses with preceding satellite

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Figure 16:

291 We preach peace and work towards peace for our people and all the peoples of the world, and we are engaged
292 in defending ourselves so we can live in peace. Go with the blessings of Allah and if Allah will send you victory
293 one can defeat you. Peace be with you.
294 (Speech by Hafez al-Assad following the outbreak of the Yom Kippur War)
295 The aim of this sentence is to support the argument that the Muslim nation will ultimately defeat its enemies
296 because it is righteous and worthy.

.1 b. Myths i. The myth of the Crusades

298 This crusades myth relates to the historic invasion of the Middle East by European forces in the 11th-13th
299 centuries before the final defeat of the crusaders in the thirteenth century through jihad. The crusader myth
300 symbolizes the endless struggle between aggressor and victim, with the West in the role of the eternal conqueror
301 and the Arabs in the role of the eternal victim. need to remember that Syria only answered Lebanon's cry for
302 help when the pogroms began, when the fighting between them intensified to such unprecedented levels, and
303 the threads were tangled up, and the colors intermixed, and the marks of identification were lost, until it was
304 impossible to know who was fighting and killing whom. And at that point we said yes, because out of the thick
305 fog, the fog of blood and fire, we realized who was really behind the killing, and that is what is important, and
306 we went in to fight them. We could not watch our sister Lebanon drowning in blood and simply watch her

.2 Summary

308 Analysis of the rhetoric in al-Assad's political speeches reveals both stylistic and argumentative devices. The most
309 common ones are: syntax-based rhetorical repetition, metaphor, rhetorical questions, antithesis and highlighting
310 the speaker's behavior while comparing it to reprehensible behavior by others in the same situation.
311 Hafez al-Assad tends to use the stylistic device of syntactic repetition particularly often in his political speech.
312 He seems aware that syntactical repetition is an especially powerful rhetorical tool. This repetition includes
313 repeating sentences and clauses, repeating parts of sentences, repeating an entire sentence immediately or after
314 a pause, repetition involving synonyms or words from the same semantic field, repeating a word to create a link
315 with the rest of the statement, and repetition involving variation on a unit of discourse. Repeating the message
316 this way gives the listeners' aesthetic musical pleasure, which helps to embed the message in the audience's
317 consciousness, arouses excitement, and creates an emotional inclination to almost instinctively agree with the
318 speaker.
319 In the political speech of Hafez al-Assad, metaphors and particularly war-related metaphors are used to
320 impressive effect. War-related metaphors such as "bloodthirsty", "drowning in blood", and "bloodbath" arouse
321 the audience's emotions urging listeners to take action or at least to accept the message. The metaphors are
322 emotionally loaded and aim to caution against and deter violence.
323 Hafez al-Assad often uses an antithesis which begins with a satellite. He apparently thinks that his message is
324 enriched and the positive attitude of the audience towards the nucleus's message is intensified when the antithesis
325 begins with a satellite and rejects the view that disagrees with the nucleus.
326 Hafez al-Assad seeks to justify his policy and convince his audience of the righteousness of his path by
327 comparing his conduct in a given situation with the disgusting conduct of others in the same situation. This
328 puts him in a positive light and presents him as a politician you can trust.
329 As an argumentative rhetorical device, rhetorical questions are a very important element in the political
330 speeches of Hafez al-Assad. He is apparently aware of the power of the rhetorical question, especially rhetorical
331 questions at the end of a series of declarative sentences. Rhetorical questions heighten the emotive quality of the
332 text and direct the listeners' emotions in the direction desired by the speaker.

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