PERSUASIVE DISCOURSE IN THE SELECTED SPEECHES OF AL-QAED'S OSAMA BIN LADEN (1998-2004) AND LIBERATION TIGER TAMIL EELAM'S VELUPILLAI PRABHAKARAN (1992-2007): A CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS

By

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DEDICATION

To the memory of my deceased brothers,

Ali who died in the Gulf War in 1988,

Qassim who died in an al-Qaeda terrorist attack in 2006, and

All victims of terrorist attacks in the world

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

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ABSTRAK

Kajian ini meneliti wacana pemujukan daripada Mantan Ketua Pejuang al-Qaeda, Osama bin Laden dan Mantan Ketua Pembebasan Tiger Tamil Eelam, Velupillai Prabhakaran, yang membangkitkan semangat para pengikut mereka untuk melakukan keganasan. Penyelidik memberi tumpuan khusus terhadap struktur semantik makro dan mikro daripada ucapan terpilih bin Laden dan Prabhakaranm, di samping penyampaian idelogi mereka. Sepuluh (10) ucapan dipilih berdasarkan wacana yang mereka ucapkan dalam tempoh keganasan yang sedang memuncak di. Iraq, Pakistan, Afghanistan dan beberapa buah negara Muslim yang lain dan juga di Sri Lanka. Penyelidik menggunakan teori *Semantic Macrostructures* dan teori *Ideological Square* van Dijks' (1980; 1998) bersama dengan pendekatan wacana –sejarah Wodak's (2001; 2009). Teori-teori ini beroperasi pada tiga tahap analisis: bahasa, ideologi, dan intertekstual. Tahap analisis ini memberi tumpuan khusus terhadap wacana bin Ladan dan Prabhakaran dari sudut struktur makro dan mikro, dan juga ideologi. Pada tahap analisis makro, tema dalam ucapan terpilih dianalisis. Pada tahap analisis mikro pula, struktur sintaktik, struktur leksikal, struktur retorik, jangkaan, implikasi dan ucapan-tindakan dikaji. Fasa analisis ini menunjukkan dikotomi *US* terhadap *THEM* dalam wacana mereka. Dapatan pada tahap makro ucapan bin Laden menunjukkan struktur makro semantik bagi lima (5) ucapan beliau boleh distruktur sebagai '*membangkitkan semangat juang orang Muslim untuk bangun menentang kuasa*

Barat dan sekutu mereka dengan melancarkan perang sabil melalui tindakan keganasan'. Keadaan yang sama juga ditemui pada struktur makro semantik dalam lima (5) ucapan terpilih Prabhakaran, yang boleh dirumus sebagai: ' *membangkitkan semangat juang dalam kalangan warga LTTE dan Tamil di Sri Lanka untuk bangun menentang* kerajaan *Sinhala dan mencapai kemerdekaan melalui tindakan keganasan'.* Justeru, struktur makro semantik dalam ucapan terpilih bagi kedua-dua mereka, secara keseluruhannya mempunyai tema yang sama, yang mampu membangkitkan semangat juang dalam kalangan para pengikut mereka untuk berjuang melalui tindakan keganasan. Yang penting dalam ucapan kedua-dua ketua ini adalah menghalalkan tindakan keganasan mereka. Pada tahap analisis mikro, kedua-dua mereka menggunakan struktur implikasi dan ucapan-tindakan. Hal ini setara dengan dua tema yang dirumuskan, yang melambangkan Struktur Mikro Semantik Super. Ia juga disahkan melalui penggunaan leksikon positif dan negatif, leksikon perang dan militari, yang boleh memotivasikan para pengikut mereka untuk melakukan keganasan. Oleh yang demikian, penggunaan leksikon positif dan negatif dapat meningkatkan representasi ideologi kedua-dua mereka untuk secara positif mewaiki kumpulan dalaman sebagai mangsa dan pembela, dan secara negatif mewakili kumpulan luar sebagai penyerang dan penindas. Sebagai kesimpulan, bin Laden menggunakan bahasa yang berunsur keagamaan dalam menyampaikan matlamat politik, iaitu beliau menggabungjalinkan aspek agama dan politik. Pendekatan ini membezakan retorik .bin Laden daripada Prabhakaran, yang lebih menekankan idea tentang perbezaan budaya dan bangsa di antara komuniti Sinhalese dan Tamil Ditemui juga bahawa penggunaan wacana agama yang terpilih atau yang dimanipulasi merupakan suatu wadah yang begitu berkuasa disebabkan impaknya terhadap ideologi jihad al-Qaeda yang berterusan dianuti oleh golongan sebilangan belia Islam hari ini.

PERSUASIVE DISCOURSE IN THE SELECTED SPEECHES OF AL-QAEDA'S

OSAMA BIN LADEN (1998-2004) AND LIBERATION TIGER TAMIL

EELAM'S VELUPILLAI PRABHAKARAN (1992-2007):

A CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS

ABSTRACT

This study investigates the persuasive discourse of the former leaders of al-Qaeda, Osama bin Laden, and Liberation Tiger Tamil Eelam, Velupillai Prabhakaran which encourages their followers to willingly commit terrorist attacks. The researcher focuses on the examination of macro- and micro- semantic structures of bin Laden and Prabhakaran's selected speeches and the ideological representations. Ten speeches are selected by considering the different periods of time when the terrorist acts committed were at the peak in Iraq, Pakistan, Afghanistan and many other Muslim nations and regions as well as in Sri Lanka. The researcher adopts van Dijks' (1980; 1998) theories of Semantic Macrostructures and Ideological Square respectively along with Wodak's (2001; 2009) Discourse-Historical approach. These theories operate at three levels of analysis: linguistic, ideological, and intertextual. These analytical levels focus on the analysis of bin Laden's and Prabhakaran's discourse in terms of macro- and micro-structures and ideology. The themes in the selected speeches are analysed at the macro-level of analysis. Meanwhile, at the micro-level of analysis, the syntactic structures, lexical structures, rhetorical structures, presuppositions, implicatures and speech acts are examined. These phases of analysis reveal the ideological dichotomy of *US* vs. *THEM* in their discourse. The findings at the macro level of bin Laden's speeches uncover the Semantic Macrostructure of the five speeches which could be structured as '*inciting Muslims to defeat the Western power and its allies by launching a holy war through terrorist acts*'. Similarly, the Semantic Macrostructure in Prabhakaran's

five selected speeches can be formulated as '*inciting LTTE and Tamil people in Sri Lanka to defeat the Sinhala government and to achieve independence through terrorist acts*'. Therefore, the Semantic Macrostructure in the selected speeches of both speakers has the same overall theme that is inciting their followers to commit terrorist acts. The main point in their speeches which is emphasised by both leaders is legitimising their terrorist acts. At the micro level of analysis, both speakers used syntactic structures, lexical structures, rhetorical structures, presuppositions, implicatures and speech acts that are consistent with the two concluded overall themes which stand for the Super Semantic Macrostructures. This is confirmed by the use of negative and positive lexicons, war and military lexicons which in turn can motivate their followers to commit terrorist acts. Therefore, the use of the negative and positive lexicons enhances the ideological representations of both speakers to positively represent the in-group as victims and defenders and to negatively represent the out-group as assailants and oppressors. To sum up, bin Laden employed the religious language to serve his political goals and thus marrying religion with politics. This aspect differentiates bin Laden's rhetoric from that of Prabhakaran's which was more reliant on ideas of cultural and national differences between the Sinhalese and Tamil communities. It has been found that the use of manipulated or selectively cited religious discourse is a more powerful tool due to its impact on the ongoing al-Qaeda's jihadi ideology practiced by some Muslim youths of today.

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.0 Overview

On 11 September 2001, a series of devastating suicidal attacks were targeted at World Trade Towers and the Pentagon in the United States of America. These attacks were well coordinated through transforming a simple aircraft filled with fuel into a weapon of mass destruction combining a hijacking with a suicide bomb. Four hijacked passenger jets were deliberately flown in suicide attacks into the targeted buildings. Two of the planes crashed into the World Trade Centre in New York, while the third one into the Pentagon. The fourth plane crashed near Pittsburg in Pennsylvania. This is broadly defined as a clear cut incident that distinguished two worlds; the world before 11 September, and the subsequent events following the attacks in which USA launched the War on Terror (Pyszczynski, Solomon & Greenberg, 2003; Desai, 2007; Holloway, 2008).

After the September attacks, the suspicion fell on al-Qaeda and its leader, Osama bin Laden. Since then, the United States declared a war against Islamic terrorist groups; this vindicates a new era of struggle between the United State of America and al-Qaeda. This struggle was viewed as an aspect of Huntington's (1997) Clash of Civilization. Blanchard (2007), for instance, tended to accept Huntington's view saying that many of al-Qaeda militants viewed the US-led conflicts in the Middle East as a proof of a clash between 'Islam' and 'the West'. Blanchard (2007) also surmised that, through al-Qaeda's released speeches, the vision and scope of self-declared conflict with the United States was expanded to include the killing of American civilians and military worldwide. Having a jihadist thought and ideology, al-Qaeda was known as the main jihadist terror group which has been committing violent acts. Thus, a war was waged against the Islamic nations by America for the reformation of Islamic societies, as US administration believed.

The prevalence of this conflict in al-Qaeda's speeches has been studied and confirmed by many scholars such as Cronick (2002), Lincoln (2006), Dunn (2007), Bhatia (2007),

Smith, Suedfeld, Conway and Winter (2008). While both Dunn (2007) and Bhatia (2007) explained bin Laden's speeches epitomising the illusive *Us* vs. *Them* division between the West and Islamists, Dunn (2007) has a broader view. Dunn (2007) argued that the clash of civilizations rhetoric, which was intertwined with the language of the 'war on terror', was significantly utilised by al-Qaeda's leadership to bolster recruitment and commitment to the cause. Other scholars, such as Smith et al. (2008) studied the terrorists and non terrorists groups' discourses using a thematic content analysis concluding that terrorist entities described themselves as if they have more positive morality and religion, while their enemies are the opposite, they are aggressive and have negative morals.

Al-Qaeda leaders' religious exegesis in their speeches was possibly the true source for motivating and instructing Muslims to trigger the conflict against the United States and its allies (Ibrahim, 2007). Due to the fact that the Muslims believe that they will be rewarded in the Hereafter, the religious speech of the al-Qaeda leaders has almost a significant effect on the Muslim communities. An example of using religious terms is al-Qaeda's former leader Osama bin Laden's description of the Americans and the Europeans as infidels and Islam's enemies. Accordingly, Osama bin Laden described al-Qaeda's actions against the West as jihad (Holy War) and called every Muslim to take part in this war. This, according to Blanchard (2007), encourages future terrorist operations such as "martyrdom operations", or suicide attacks which are regarded as the most substantial impediment for the United States' actions.

Terrorism and violent acts have not only been the key dimension in al-Qaeda, but also in another armed group that is of Liberation Tigers Tamil Eelam (henceforth LTTE). LTTE was actually the most prolific adopter of suicide terrorism in the world. In view of this, Pape (2005) concluded that LTTE was the world's leader in suicide bombings; thus, it carried out approximately 75 of the 186 suicide terrorist attacks from 1980 to 2001. Since

1970s, the Tamil Tigers adopted suicide bombings for the independence and self-determination of a Tamil National state (Hassan, 2008). Significantly, echoing Huntington's (1997) view that local politics is the politics of ethnicity, Ubayasiri (2006) assured that the LTTE's violent opposition to the presence of the Sinhala forces is attributed to the persecution and inequality through social suppression. This persecution of the island's Tamil minority by the Sinhala majority that led to contradictions in human relationships such as class and race created a dichotomic '*Us* vs. *Them*' representations between the Sinhala government and Tamil people. This is clearly elucidated in the group's leader annual National Heroes' Day speeches to indicate the conflict with the Sinhala nation which was represented negatively. Given this, it is concluded that this made LTTE's leader controls over the direction of the conflict through this dichotomic representation.

Bhattacharji (2009) and Kumar and Naser (2010) asserted that Tamil Tigers possess an ideological belief system that plays the same role as religion. This is explicitly explained by Schalk (1997), who argued that martyrdom for a particular cause, for example, is justified by a mentality that is created by the group's ideological principles. Schalk (1997, p.152) also asserted that "Tamil politicians have used religious-Zionistic-terms to describe the commitment to the creation of a Tamil nation. This use of religious terms is, of course, not uncommon in a global perspective". In the case of LTTE, Tigers' leader had talked about "sacrifices" to be made for the nation. Embedded within the annual speeches, Prabhakaran (the leader of LTTE) invoked a profound strategic necessity for self-sacrifice that was masked by rhetoric (Ubayasiri, 2006). Therefore, rhetoric is shaped not merely by instrumental consideration of competing claims but also by the culture within which the claims occur. This enabled Prabhakaran to generate support for his call of self - sacrifice within his followers and to guarantee the induction of suicide bombers (Alarcón, 2009).

As a conclusion, the use of peculiar violence was upheld by composing a discourse that vindicates its violent tactics used and more importantly promotes beliefs, attitudes, myths and ideologies which produced an overwhelming persuasion of the adherents'

groups of the terrorism in terms of *Self* and *Other* (Schmid, 2014). With the continuous spate of terrorist attacks in the globe, researchers have shown great interest in the study of political discourses particularly discourse of terrorism (Chukwu, Okeke & Chinedu-Oko, 2014). However, the researcher observes that scholars did not pay much attention to the persuasive discourse of terrorist groups' leaders as an important factor in determining the power of violence in its form of terrorism and inciting recruiters to engage in violent acts. Thus, the critical discourse analysis (CDA) of bin Laden's and Prabhakaran's texts was conducted by the researcher in order to draw on a functional theory of language and provide the linguistic analysis of texts with an interdisciplinary approach. Therefore, this study seeks to review and understand both the socio–political and historical contexts in which these texts are founded (van Dijk, 2001; Fairclough, 1992). Thus, this study involves analyses from critical discourse analysis perspective about the language used to instigate violent acts in a discourse designed by the terrorists groups' leaders.

1.1 Statement of the Problem

The propagation of socio-political consensus is a crucial prerequisite to the undertaking of political violence in the form of terrorism, and this is not possible without language (Jackson, 2005a). In order for leaders to successfully commence violent political operations, which may endanger the lives of the public and group members, they have to garner social group support, weaken the arguments of the opponents, and more importantly to persuade their followers and society that such an undertaking is indispensable. This can be done in a way which appears to be unquestionable through constructing a specific convincing discourse in which the leaders might create reality to legitimate the application of violence and to make it seems reasonable (Brown, 1990; Jackson, 2005a; Soriano, 2011). Hence, language is not seen as a neutral way of describing the world, but as a way of reproducing or challenging relations of power and dominance in society (Fairclough, 1995a, 1995b; Jackson, 2005a; van Dijk, 1988a, 1995).

However, leaders utilise a painstakingly structured and convincing public discourse in order to persuade people that they live in a world where enemies threaten to destroy their lives, their way of life, and their freedom (Jackson, 2005a). Within this constructed reality, the enemy plots to oppress and dominate and to strip people of their rights while freedom fighters defend their homelands and save innocents' lives. This is generally partnered with provocations of a clear juxtaposition of good and bad represented by freedom fighters on one side and oppressors on the other (Jackson, 2005a; Schmid, 2014). In this view, the language of the leaders can affect people's thoughts and beliefs and consequently violence appears as a reasonable and even practical reaction to such a situation; thus it can be seen by many people as the only right thing to do (Jones & Peccei, 2004; Jackson, 2005a). Therefore, language has a pivotal role in the construction of ideology (Brognolli, 1992; van Dijk, 1997; 2001). Due to this fact, Butt, Lukin and Matthiessen (2004, p.288) pointed out that "the very use of language is ideological," because "the use of language necessitates choices between different modes of meaning". As such, terrorism is constituted through the interplay of language and practice (Jackson, 2005a).

Al-Qaeda and LTTE were relatively active during most of the time under the leadership of Osama bin Laden and Velupillai Prabhakaran respectively making them sound choices as comparative groups. These groups were specifically considered as two notorious terrorist organisations which utilised violence in the form of suicide bombings (Hepworth, 2013). Therefore, getting into the substantive details of their leaders' language will help reflect the constant ideology which instigates violence and thus constructing a whole new world for the public. To this end, the researcher has found that a key understanding of the discourse of violence by bin Laden and Prabhakaran has not been studied from the cognitive and critical discourse analysis perspectives simultaneously; therefore this has necessitated this study. The language of bin Laden has been dealt from the prism of cognitive linguistics of political action as a verbal action through the performance of speech acts, concentrating on how actors represent a given reality (Chilton,

2004). Additionally, Osama bin Laden's language has received a considerable attention from scholars such as Leudar, Marsland, and Nekvapil (2004); Bhatia (2007) and Garbelman (2007) in comparable with language set by Bush II from a critical discourse analysis perspective focusing on the content of the contrastive pair '*Us* vs. *Them*'. Specifically, scholars such as Chilton (2004) and Bhatia (2007) have analysed the persuasion in the language of al-Qaeda's leader, Osama bin Laden. They provided some insights into the use of linguistic persuasion in discourse; nevertheless they rarely linked the cognitive processes of persuasion to the wider discourse context in terms of socio-political contexts of the audience (El-Najjar, 2012).

In addition, Schmid (2014) studied al-Qaeda's narrative which nourishes its followers by satisfying the portrayal of reality of the world in which they live and the role that they have to plan. Despite Schmid's (2014) discussion of al-Qaeda's narrative ideologically and explanation on the important elements such as a basic grievance, a vision of the good society, and suicide/martyrdom operations to instigate believers to join jihad, he did not pay attention to the linguistic and rhetorical aspects of the discourse of terrorism. Yet, it is found that bin Laden's discourse of violence integrating the cognitive and critical discourse analysis perspectives is scarce and this is what the researcher intends to do because cognitive and critical approaches to discourse and language can be combined (van Dijk, 2003; 2009; Reisigl & Wodak, 2009). Therefore, van Dijk's (2003; 2004) calls for integrating cognitive, social and political aspects in order to gain a better insight to the construction and production of discourse will be well–worth heeding.

Despite the significance of Velupillai Prabhakaran's annual speeches, a secular – separatist former leader of LTTE in providing an insight into the ethnic conflict, there has been little systematic research paid to analyse Prabhakaren's annual speeches (Ubayasiri, 2006), in particular, the underlying cognitive factors combined with the linguistic, social, political and historical aspects that are constructed in these speeches. While few studies on this group have focused on semiotic content analysis (Ubayasiri, 2006), cultural analysis

(Hettiarachchi, 2007; Alarcón, 2009), historical analysis (Feith, 2010) and ambivocal analysis (Schouthal, 2011), none of these studies have highlighted Prabhakaran's discourse of terrorism that elaborates an ethnic struggle for the sake of independence which makes it possible to be analysed from cognitive and critical discourse perspectives. Furthermore, the researcher has not found a critical discourse analysis (both micro and macro structures) of the selected speeches that incite and persuade recruiters for committing acts of violence delivered by Osama bin Laden and Prabhakaran who had two distinct ideologies as a genuine threat.

In tandem with the above argument, the study of terrorist leaders' micro and macro structures are among the important factors of studying the discourse of terrorism. Accordingly, van Dijk (2007) suggested that much more research will be necessary to examine the relations between these two levels of analysis in political discourse. This is so because the political ideologies are expressed in topics or semantic macrostructures and micro structures in terms of lexical, syntactic, pragmatic and rhetorical choices which are worded with a view to positively represent the speaker and negatively the opponent (van Dijk, 1997; 1998a; 2008; Wodak, 2008). As such, the researcher would like to examine the language of bin Laden and Prabhakaran who are from different backgrounds to decipher the discourse of terrorism embodied in their polarised speeches as 'Us vs. Them'. Hence, the researcher hopes that this study can fill the hiatus in the literature by analysing the terrorist leader's speeches in terms of themes, linguistic choices (such as syntax, lexis, rhetoric, presupposition, implicature, and speech acts) and ideology.

1.2 Research Objectives

The researcher aims at achieving the following objectives:

1. To identify the semantic macrostructures (themes) in bin Laden's and Prabhakaran's selected speeches.

2. To examine the micro-structures used in bin Laden's and Prabhakaran's selected speeches in terms of syntax, lexis, rhetoric, presupposition, implicature, and speech acts.

3. To unravel the Self and the Other in the selected speeches.

1.3 Research Questions

The researcher attempts to answer the following questions:

1. What are the semantic macro-structures (themes) in bin Laden's and Prabhakaran's selected speeches?

2. What are the micro-structures used in bin Laden's and Prabhakaran's selected speeches in terms of syntax, lexis, rhetoric, presupposition, implicature, and speech acts?

3. How is the Self and the Other presented in the selected speeches?

1.4 Significance of the Study

Terrorism is a critical subject for inquiry because it formulates a real and pervasive threat that needs to be studied and researched. Over the last two decades, terrorism has become a truly global threat with September 11 attacks, bombings in the New Iraq (2003–present), Sri Lanka and elsewhere (Horowitz, 2008). Terrorism is not transitory; it has taken an enduring position on the world's stage and it has a permanent impact on the lives of ordinary citizens in Eastern and Western nations alike as well as on international politics. Apparently, no nation or group of people is immune from the reach of terrorism (Jackson, 2005a). Terrorists' leaders promote the use of violence and expose populations to risk and further harm; that is perpetuating violence on an international scale and create enduring cycles of hate which will be difficult to stop (Lo, 2009). Thus, it is vital to evaluate the discursive techniques utilised by terrorist groups' leaders. Therefore, it is hoped that the findings of this study will increase public's awareness of how leaders are viewed and termed by many as terrorists and for the purpose of this study will be referred so for ease of reference and not as a reflection of bias or preference. Case studies of terrorist activities can give the public more sophisticated knowledge of the threat that terrorism poses to the international political landscape. Moreover, young people will be able to make a critical assessment of more extreme political discourse and thus will be able to challenge and resist

this threat. To this end, this research seeks to identify a variety of different perspectives in order to elucidate the issue of terrorism and in order to explain the reasons why people murder and martyr themselves for political goals.

Furthermore, the use of leaders' language is a means to gain power which can be inevitably abused if there is no rigorous public appraisal of such language and a critical investigation into how it is used. The abuse of power is always most prevalent during war and times of crisis in which leaders take on more power to address apparent threats; therefore, it is manipulated under the banner of liberation as an excuse to terrify and murder many of the innocents (Jackson, 2005a). Accordingly, the need to gain a better understanding of the discourse of terrorism is obvious and can be achieved through greater meticulousness and effort because these speeches can divulge unique and essential data to help [security authorities] anticipate such groups' future actions and thus making preventive measures (Miller, 1987; Lo, 2009; Schmid, 2014).

Because this study attempts to analyse the secular and religious terrorists' discourse of terrorism manifested through language and rhetoric, it is hoped that the findings can provide a better understanding of how language and rhetoric function to create different thought–shaping ideologies. Hence, the researcher seeks to critically analyse the terrorist groups' public speeches in order to understand the kind of messages they employ to gain support for their organisations. Such understanding will offer helpful insights to policymakers and analysts who seek to counter the influence of the terrorist groups' ideologies (Beutel & Ahmad, 2011). In Fairclough's view (1989) critical approach to language study is an attempt to demystify what, through language, may be hidden from people. In this sense, a critical analytical approach may be of assistance here and may elucidate the operation of domination present in the language used by terrorist leaders. Of particular significance is that the researcher would like to raise people's awareness of the creeping nature of this evil ideology and how it works for the purpose of domination (Rashidi & Rasti, 2012). This study, from the researcher's view, will deepen the

understanding of terrorist groups' discourse of terrorism because this kind of discourse justifies the strategies in expressing conflicts, thereby promoting ideologies. This will shed some light on the actual threat posed by the terrorist groups that are dangerous because of their evil ideologies which can spread globally. As such, in fighting global terrorism, it is important to understand the nature of such ideologies, explore them earnestly, and thus combat their slogans (Desai, 2007). This is so because of the terrorists groups' ideological battle is alive and still continues to be unabated although much has been done to thwart the activities of terrorists groups (Schmid, 2014).

1.5 Scope and Limitation of the Study

In this study, (5) speeches of Osama bin laden (1998-2004) and (5) speeches of Prabhakaran delivered over the periods from 1992 to 2007 will be studied. The selection is done such because during these periods, violence represented by suicide attacks and other forms of violence has been largely perpetrated by the separatist group (LTTE) in Sri Lanka and Jihadist group al-Qaeda elsewhere (Pape, 2005). Lazarevsk, Sholl and Young (2006) stated that "these groups with various ideological backgrounds are included to account for the possible effects that their ideological distinctions may have on their speech patterns" (p.173). Some of bin Laden's statements including audiotapes, handwritten letters scanned onto discs, video recordings, and interviews with different journalists from the West and East were popularised via the Qatari television channel of al-Jazeera. The data of Tamil Tigers' leader annual speeches were collected through public sources, mostly from Tamil websites such as eleemview.com. The analysis of the selected data in this study focuses on the translated primary sources of the written texts rather than the spoken ones (see section 4.3).

However, the analysis in this study will cover the verbal aspects and neglect the non verbal modes in this discourse. Furthermore, among other communicative devices, visuals will be excluded in this study because the focus is on the written texts which convey terrorist leaders' core message to the audience.

It is worthwhile to mention that the terrorist leaders' speeches convey implicit coded messages that provide their recruiters with information or instructions regarding terrorist attacks. These coded messages are not intended to be understood by the public and, thus, they need to be illuminated. Therefore, the researcher will address the context in which the text operates along with the coded messages of the discourse focusing on language and rhetoric in order to reveal the underlying message the terrorists leaders wish to convey.

Ultimately, this study will focus on the semantic macrostructures also described in terms of themes or micropropositions to allocate the global meanings of discourse. At the micro level, linguistic devices in terms of syntax, lexis, rhetoric, presupposition, implicature and speech acts will be scrutinised to reveal the discursive strategies utilised by the leaders of the two groups to persuade their adherents to commit suicide attacks. Hence, these two levels of analysis will help reveal the manifestations of ideology in this discourse genre.

1.6 Definition of Key Terms and Words

This section provides brief adopted definitions for key terms and words for use in this study.

i. Persuasive discourse

Persuasive discourse is defined by Robin Lakoff (1982, p.28) as the nonreciprocal "attempt or intention of one participant to change the behavior, feelings, intentions, or viewpoint of another by communicative means…. Communicative means may be linguistic or non-linguistic, but they are abstract and symbolic".

ii Discourse of violence

Discourse of violence means "the language that accompanies acts of violence, language that reports or reclaims acts of violence, language that leads to violence, language that is itself a violation" (O'Connor, 1995, p. 309).

iii. Critical discourse analysis

Critical discourse analysis (CDA) is an interdisciplinary approach to the study of discourse. It is believed that CDA has developed through the lens of Critical Linguistics which emerged at the end of the 1970s. Since 1990s, CDA has been dealing with issues such as power relations, dominance and inequality in text and talk to address the social and political imbalance. By doing so, CDA illuminates the ways in which the dominant forces construct texts that favour their interest (Fairclough, 1995a; 1995b; van Dijk, 1997; 1998a; 2000; 2001).

iv. Ideology

Van Dijk (1998a) defined ideology as a set of general beliefs commonly shared by a group of people. Ideology is not only restricted to the cognitive representations and processes underlying discourse and action, but also shared by the individuals of a social group and linked to the social, economic and political interests of that group (van Dijk, 1998a). Thus, ideologies, as van Dijk (1998a) contended, are "both mental and social, and also their mental properties are socially acquired, shared and changed" (p. 313). On this basis, ideology can be seen as a system of beliefs expressed in "symbols, rituals, discourse or other social and cultural practices" (van Dijk, 1998a, p. 26). For example, political discourse may be organised by polarisation defining '*Us* vs. *Them*' representations. The notion of positive self-presentation and negative other-presentation is a substantial trait of ideologies (van Dijk, 1998a). That is, the preferred and good topics are associated with 'Our' group and the bad and negative topics associated with 'Their' group. Given this, it can be deduced that employing van Dijk's (1998a) theory of ideology in this study, according to the researcher's view, is to reflect the fundamental social, political, cultural and historical aspects and the structure of the terrorist groups' language polarised by 'Us vs. Them', and also to serve as a means of self-determination and identity building.

v. Al-Qaeda

In 1988, the Islamic terrorist group al-Qaeda grew in Afghanistan out of the Soviet war. Following the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, young Muslim extremists entered the country in order to engage in a 'holy' or jihad war against the Soviet army (Pedahzur, 2005). This jihad army was supported substantially by the American Central Intelligence Agency in light of the Cold War (al-Zayyat, 2004). Based upon a number of executed terrorist attacks, numerous bodies and countries such as NATO, the United Nations Security Council, the European Union, United States, Russia and India consider al-Qaeda to be a terrorist group. The attacks carried out by al-Qaeda were targeted at mass destruction and civilian mortality through use of explosives discharged by suicide bombers (Schweitzer & Feber, 2005).

Osama bin Laden played a pivotal role in al-Qaeda ideology and is responsible for founding the al-Qaeda group. In 1957, he was born in Riyadh, Saudi Arabia. In 1930, Bin Laden's father Muhammed, a Yemeni immigrant, moved from Hadramawt in Yemen to Jeddah, Saudi Arabia. In Saudi Arabia, Muhammad contributed widely with much success, helping to form the vocation of Osama bin Laden (Adamson, 2001; Saghi, 2008). Indeed, Osama bin Laden was greatly affected by the teachings of Muhammad Qutb who was the brother of Sayyid Qutb. The latter, was the primary founder of the Muslim Brotherhood group and ideology which has become a widespread Sunni Islamist organisation. Osama bin Laden was also motivated by Abdullah al Azzam who played a leading role in the Jordanian division of the Muslim Brotherhood. From 1989 onwards, Osama bin Laden pursued the Salafi ideology, resulting in a number of terrorist attacks (Rollins, 2011). On May 2 2011, he was killed by the United States and its supporters.

vi. Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam

The Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (commonly known as the LTTE or theTamil Tigers), was a nationalist militant organisation that is based in northern Sri Lanka. Founded

in 5 May 1976, it waged a secessionist nationalist campaign to create an independent state in the north and east of Sri Lanka for Tamil people (Flynn, 2011). The LTTE has been designated a terrorist organisation or put on the terror list in the countries ranging from the United States to India (Ramaswamy, 1993). This is due to the fact that during its early phase of struggle, the organisation adopted assassination as a tactic to fight its enemies. The targets of the LTTE principally were the Sinhala government officials, rival Tamils and security forces. Thus, suicide bombing is considered as the specific mode of attack that LTTE adopted (Hoffman, 2006).

In November 1954 in a coastal town in northern Valvettithurai, Velupillai Prabhakaran was born and he was to become a highly significant person. As a young adult, he entered into politics through radicalisation, based upon a discriminatory approach by the Sinhalese against the Tamil minority, across sectors such as schooling, politics and work. The Tamil New Tigers (TNT) was started by Prabhakaran which grew out of previous groups. These original groups had risen up against the country's post-colonial politics whereby the Sinhalese citizens opposed the minority Sri Lankan Tamils. At the very beginning of the Tamil Tigers, Prabhakaran demonstrated a strong leadership which heavily influenced the group and developed an army of well trained, trustworthy and loyal fighters with the single objective of forming a homeland in the north and east of Sri Lanka for the Sri Lankan Tamils (Samaranayake, 2007). From its founding days, Velupillai Prabhakaran led the organisation until he was killed on 18 May 2009 when fighting the Sinhala army (Hoffman, 2006; 2009).

1.7 Organisation of the Study

This study is composed of six chapters. **Chapter One** presents the introduction of this study which includes the overview of the study, statement of the problem, research objectives, research questions, significance of the study and scope of the study. Alongside, some key terms are defined to ensure lucidity. **Chapter Two** provides the background to the study in the contexts of the politics, society and history. It gives an overview of the

terms of terrorism, suicide terrorism that are adopted by al-Qaeda and LTTE while highlighting the political and historical formations of these terrorist groups. **Chapter Three** elucidates the relationship between discourse, politics and religion. This chapter also highlights the previous research pertaining to the topic, presents a critical synthesis of literature according to relevant themes or variables, and discusses the approaches and theories which outline the theoretical and conceptual framework of the study.

   Chapter Four provides a detailed description of the research design of the study. Also, this chapter explains and justifies the sample used and how cases were selected and collected; describes the sample size, data collection methods, and procedures. In addition, the validity and reliability are discussed. **Chapter Five** is devoted to an in-depth interpretation, analysis, and synthesis of the ten case studies. Analysis is a multilayered approach. **Chapter Six** provides the main findings of the present study and presents the conclusions and implications reached at, suggestions for further studies and some recommendations of the study.

CHAPTER 2

BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY

2.0 Introduction

This chapter examines the viewpoints surrounding the problem of terrorism, as well as discussing the ways in which the problem is exacerbated by the lack of one key description of terrorism among scholars. Furthermore, this chapter also outlines the ways in which terrorist organisations such as al-Qaeda and LTTE have developed, by placing them into context in terms of how they have been influenced by society, politics and history, in order to understand how and why terrorist organisations have grown and caused such extreme damage. Thus, it is substantial to examine the political, social and historical contexts that have contributed to the emergence of violent discourse as a frame of reference for these terrorists groups formation.

Various scholars have addressed the importance of considering these contexts in analysing a political discourse. For example, Schäffner (1997, p.1) contended that "linguistic analysis of political discourse cannot ignore the broader societal and political framework in which such discourse is embedded". In addition, both society and history are important factors for examining the conceptual language used by politicians to promote and instil their beliefs. In this regard, Wodak (1989, p. xvi) stated that "the *historical* and *social* context should not be neglected". Van Dijk (1988b, p.12) urged that in any cognitive and social analysis, there is a need to the knowledge of the world including culture, beliefs, and ideas and, hence such knowledge will be essential in the interpretation of discourse to make it more coherent. Al-Shaibani (2011) stressed that providing historical and political backgrounds helps discourse analysts to critically analyse the text investigated. Accordingly, this chapter aims at considering in detail the widest macro-societal elements of discourse "context" (Reisigl & Wodak, 2001, p.41). Hence, the study of contexts together with methods of textual analysis will enable the researcher to analyse the terrorist

leaders' speeches and to elucidate and objectify their role in historical and political processes.

2.1 The Notion of Terrorism

2.1.1 Contested Definition of Terrorism

The term *terrorism* is derived from the Latin root *terrere* which means "to frighten" (Weinmann & Winn, 1994; Snow, 2007). This meaning of the term *terrorism* dated back to the French Revolution (1793-1794). After the execution of Louis XVI, Robespierre, one of the members of the Jacobins political party, ruled the French government and attacked the Girondins which were his most prominent enemies. He executed thousands of people using the Guillotine. Thus, this fact which turned the life of the French people into fear marked one of the brutal times in French history. A year later, Robespierre was overthrown and executed and then the terror came to an end. With the end of the terror, therefore, the word *terrorist* started to be used by people to describe a person who causes threat of force through the abuse of power (Cronin, 2003).

Scholars such as Gupta and Mundra (2005), Adkins (2007), Schmid and Jongman (1988) and Schmid (2011) argued that it is difficult to have a precise or widely accepted definition of terrorism. This difficulty is due to the fact that different political actors have different definitions of terrorism, i.e. "one man's terrorist is another man's freedom fighter" (Laqueur, 1987, p. 302 cited in Ganor, 2002a). This, according to Cronin (2003), suggests that different scholars may apply different perspectives in defining terrorism and thus it is a matter of perception. The Lebanese Hezbollah, for instance, is a terrorist group in the American and Israeli point of view; however, is viewed as freedom fighters by many Arabs and Muslims. However, Schmid (2011) contended that violence is used for the goal of obliging a government entity to change its policy and philosophy. This means, as Dyson (2012) said, terrorism is "a deliberate strategy with proximate ends" (p.19). Schmid and Jongman (1988) viewed terrorism as a means to achieve political ends. Thus, the different

definitions of terrorism reflect particular interests of the specific group involved (Hoffman, 1998).

Most of the definitions of terrorism explain it as a form of unlawful violence used towards innocent civilians for the cause of terrorising or frightening an audience for political goals (Poland, 2005; Wilkinson, 2006; Jackson, 2009; Schmid, 2011; Dyson, 2012). It is also worthy to note that most definitions in use are American Official definition and Academic Consensus definition. According to the definition contained in Title 22 of the United States Code, Section 2656f (d) in 2006, the term terrorism "means premeditated, politically motivated violence perpetrated against non-combatant targets by sub-national groups or clandestine agents, usually intended to influence an audience". This definition emphasises the political terrorism and excludes the 'State Terrorism'. The exclusion could be interpreted in favor of the regimes that use violence to oppress the opposition. Adolf Hitler (1889-1945), Pol Pot (1925-1998), Saddam Hussein (1937-2006) and many other dictators could not be regarded as terrorists despite the fact that they were responsible for the death of hundreds of thousands of innocent people. Furthermore, Gareau (2004) argued that if state terrorism was included in the definition, Washington would have to include itself in the list of terrorist states. This is so because the United States backed and relied on many terrorist regimes and organisations during the decades of the Cold War.

Schmid and Jongman (1988, p.28) provided a comprehensive definition of terrorism. According to them,

> Terrorism is an anxiety-inspiring method of repeated violent action, employed by (semi-) clandestine individual, group or state actors, for idiosyncratic, criminal or political reasons, whereby - in contrast to assassination - the direct targets of violence are not the main targets. The immediate human victims of violence are generally chosen randomly (targets of opportunity) or selectively (representative or symbolic targets) from a target population, and serve as message generators.

However, Ganor (2002b) noted that the inclusion of idiosyncratic and criminal motivation of exercising terrorism is a salient point in this definition of terrorism. Regarding this issue, Hoffman (1998) noted that John Hinckley who attempted to kill president Ronald Regan in 1981 to impress the actress Jodie Foster was not motivated by ideological and political reasons but by personal ones. Indeed, such a motivation cannot be compared to the rationalisations used by the Russian left–wing terrorist organisation known as *Narodnaya Volya* to end the period of tyranny and oppression by killing the Tsar Alexander II of Russia and his minions. In addition, the Irish Republican used violence to assassinate Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher or her successor John Major for the sake of changing the British policy to North Ireland (Calawy, 2009). Moreover, Simon (2001) stated that Schmid and Jongmans' distinction between terrorism and assassination is a fault because assassination is an act of terrorism. Above all, Ganor (2002b) argued that the definition does not state the main victims of terrorism who are civilian and non-combatant either.

Schmid (2011) apprehended these elements in the Revised Academic Consensus definition of terrorism to include both ideas (ideology) and action (behaviour). Thus, Schmid (2011, p.86) confirmed that:

> Terrorism refers on the one hand to a **doctrine** about the presumed effectiveness of a special form or tactic of fear–generating, coercive political violence and, on the other hand, to a conspiratorial **practice** of calculated, demonstrative, direct violent action without legal or moral restraints, targeting mainly civilians and non-combatants, performed for its propagandistic and psychological effects on various audiences and conflict parties.

Schmid (2011) emphasised the propagandistic and psychological effects of violence as the intended outcome of violence. In addition, Schmid's definition fits the faith–based terrorism where the victims are not only the ultimate goal, but also a means to propagate fear and terror among civilians and non-combatants. Based on the discussion, it is found

that no specific definition can effectively elucidate such a violent phenomenon that disseminates worldwide.

2.1.2   Suicide Terrorism: Terminology and Definition

Suicide terrorism, one of the most salient forms of contemporary terrorism, is difficult to define for the same reasons that make defining the term terrorism difficult (Schmid, 2011). This is due to the fact that suicide terrorism has different potential terms; each highlights a certain feature of the act that emphasises the focus of the respective study and analysis employed by different scholars (Hassan, 2011). For example, scholars such as Cronin (2003), Shay (2004), Pape (2005), Pedahzur (2005), Bloom (2005) and Moghadam (2006) explicitly used the term 'suicide terrorism' but with differences in the motivational viewpoints. The terms 'suicide attack, suicide operation, and suicide mission' emphasise the way of attack which mainly includes the death of the perpetrator rather than the type of attack (Moghadam, 2006). Cronin (2003) argued that the term 'suicide bombing' is too restrictive because it only encloses the attack to the use of explosive. In addition, the term 'homicide bombings', however, emphasises the malicious nature of the violence and de–emphasises the self-inflicted death of the perpetrator. Thus, the term 'homicide bombing' does not have a wide acceptance among scholars because it is very narrow (Moghadam, 2006). Moreover, the term 'martyrdom operations' is utilised by radical Islamist organisations to indicate the perpetrators' readiness to the self–sacrifice even in the killing of civilians because it is linked to the notion of 'holy war' (Cronin, 2003).

Nevertheless, definitions of suicide terrorism can be defined in broad and narrow ways. The narrower definition perceives suicide terrorism as a diversity of actions that necessitates the perpetrator's death to be a precondition for the mission to be obtained (Crenshaw, 2002; Ganor 2002b; Schweitzer, 2002; Schmid, 2011). When considering suicide bombers, it is evident that they require both the desire to kill and the desire to die (Merari, 1998). Suicide bombing missions have occurred globally in the United States of America, Sri Lanka, Bali in October 2002, the Istanbul bombings in 2003, and Casablanca

in May 2003. Based on the definition of a suicide bomber, the mass killing of twenty-nine Muslims and the injuring of 125 Muslims in Hebron in February 1994 by mass murderer Baruch Goldstein, an American-born Israeli physician cannot be considered as suicide killings. This is so because Goldstein's death was not requisite for the mission to be achieved (Moghadam, 2006). Thus, the suicide attacks would not necessarily involve the death of the perpetrator (Crenshaw, 2007).

As such, the objective of a suicide bomber and perhaps the definition of suicide terrorism appear to be mass destruction and mortality with the aim of creating political change. According to this view, Gunaratna (2000) defined suicide terrorism as "the readiness to sacrifice one's life in the process of destroying or attempting to destroy a target to advance a political goal" (p.4). Also, Pedahzur (2005) stated that "a diversity of violent actions perpetrated by people who are aware that the odds they will return alive are close to zero" (p.9). For example, Crenshaw (2007) illustrated the incident of the assassination of Indira Gandhi who was killed by her body guards and then those killers were immediately killed by other security forces. This means that the attacker does not expect to survive.

However, the perpetrator's willingness to die and to achieve the highest number of victims would represent the most efficient way in the arsenal of the terrorist groups (Pape, 2003, 2005; Pedahzur & Perliger, 2006). As such, scholars such as Gambetta, (2005), Pape (2005), Bloom (2005) and Hassan (2011) agreed that the major feature of suicide attacks is that they are difficult to ban because of their devastating effectiveness. In addition, Sprinzak (2000) stated that suicide attacks are simple and inexpensive. This view contradicts with what Pape (2003) contended that it is not a simple process. This is so because the implementation of the suicide attacks by terrorist groups necessitates preparation and training the potential suicide bomber and to assemble a degree of planning, training and professional expertise to create dependable explosive bombs. Thus, suicide bombings are not often independent acts but instead require an organised and collective approach.

2.1.3 Brief Historical Background to Suicide Terrorism

In this section, the researcher discusses the historical background of suicide terrorism which is dated back to ancient times to show that no religion propagated killing, but people invest in religion to legitimise killing for political goals. This can also be seen in the use of suicide terrorism in its modern form. In fact, the Jewish Zealots, the Muslim Assassins, and the Hindu Thugs were early and disreputable examples of terrorism and religiously inspired sacrifice. These groups, although inspired by religious fervor, were diversified by their fundamental goals (Bloom, 2005).

According to Rapoport (1984), the earliest attacks can be attributed to Zealots-Sicarii, operating in the 1st century, who attempted to evict the Romans and their proponents from Judea. However, the Sicarii was different from the Zealots in that the Sicarii assassinated prominent Hellenized Jews whereas the Zealots generally targeted the occupiers (Romans and Greeks) by using a particular weapon (a dagger or sica). Because it is inspired by messianic redemption hopes, the Zealots-Sicarii committed a series of atrocities due to the sacred times to exploit the publicity and to show that not even the sacred occasions could provide inviolability. As such, The Zealots- Sicarii operated for approximately a quarter of a century during the time of the Second Temple.

Islamic history shows willingness to sacrifice oneself for a cause since early times. During the Crusades (1095-1291), a Shia group called *'Hashshashun'* (which means hash-eaters in Arabic) adopted suicide killings as a major method in its struggle against the crusaders who invaded the region (Charny, 2007). This group which came to be known as 'Assassins' in English was a branch of the Ismailis who, in turn, were a branch of the Shiite Muslims. The Ismailis themselves were split from the Shiites after the death of their sixth imam. Between the 11th and 13th centuries, the Assassins represented a serious threat to the political regimes in a region extended from Syria to Iran. They employed attacks by using daggers to assassinate rival Sunni leaders (Pape, 2005). It is inevitable for the Assassins

that by the use of this weapon, they will be captured or killed. Thus, this reflects the deeply embedded readiness for the 'martyrdom' (Rapoport, 1984).

Bloom (2005) argued that the Assassins are similar to the contemporary manifestation of suicide terror in indoctrinating their followers at any early age. However, what Bloom has not noted is the fact that the Assassins, in general, did not target innocent people, but governors or people serving regimes and rules hostile to the group. Taking into account that the Assassin's enemies were mostly repressing caliphs and rules, one can conclude that the goals of this group was not motivated by mere religious beliefs but also by an ideology for political and social change.

Another example of terrorism is from India where the Thugs (17th-19th centuries) strangled their victims and buried them. Thus, the Thugs intended to identify and choose their victims and to experience terror only for the sake of the pleasure of their goddess (known as Bhowanee), the Hindu goddess of terror and destruction. For almost 2500 years, this organisation flourished until the coming of the British Raj; thus, it became the longest lasting terror group in history. The Thugs believed they needed to supply Kali with blood in order to make a balance between the good and evil worlds (Rapoport, 1984).

2.2   Al-Qaeda Worldwide

In this section, the researcher investigates the historical and political contexts of al-Qaeda. Reviewing the history of al-Qaeda helps provide a thorough explanation which may lead to an in-depth understanding of this group in contemporary society (Ras, 2010). Moreover, the misconception of Jihad and the notorious suicide attacks committed by al-Qaeda are discussed in detail in the following sections.

2.2.1   Brief Historical and Political Overview of Al-Qaeda

The term al-Qaeda means 'the base' in Arabic referring to the military and political Islamist terrorist organisation founded in August 1988 to support Muslims fighting against the Soviet Union during the Afghan War (Pedahzur, 2005; Bakker & Boer, 2007). The Afghan resistance against the Soviet Invasion was uncoordinated and split up. Thus, a

central leader or ideology was missing. This necessitated a leader to fill this void who would be a Palestinian Islamic scholar and theologian, Abdullah Yusuf Azzam, who has been an active member of the Muslim Brotherhood for many years. As a religious scholar, Azzam declared that the Afghan jihad was an individual obligation (Kepel & Millelli, 2008). Then, Azzam cooperated with Osama bin Laden to establish an organisation called the Service Bureau (*maktab al-khadamat*). The main aim of the Service Bureau was to facilitate the arrival of Arab volunteers from around the world to defend Afghanistan against the Soviet Union. Later, those fighters came to be known as 'Afghan Arabs', and the Service Bureau turned into a powerful armed organisation called al-Qaeda (Benjamin & Simon, 2002).

Azzam relied on the Quran and the prophetic hadith (the sayings of the prophet Muhammad) to inspire his followers and implant the belief that they were able to triumph over the Soviet Union. For example, in one of his speeches, he preached the warriors' holy mission with the following Quranic verse (22:40) "(They are) those who have been expelled from their homes in defiance of right, (for no cause) except that they say, "our Lord is Allah". Another verse (2:249) was "How oft, by Allah's will, Hath a small force vanquished a big one? Allah is with those who steadfastly persevere." He persuaded his followers that Allah favors the weak and the underdog. Ultimately, they could triumph over the crusade Soviets with the aid of God (Allah). This was the form of the charismatic relationship between al-Qaeda's leaders and their religiously inspired Islamist combatants (Post, 2002).

Azzam was assassinated in 1989 and therefore bin Laden headed al-Qaeda. Bin laden was influenced by Azzam's political ideology to ignite the Islamic combatants in their struggle against the Soviet Union. Bin Laden described the Soviet Union as *infidel, unbelievers, pagan, and apostate* in many of his speeches with the reference to the following Quranic verse (9:28) "O ye who believe! Truly the Pagans are unclean; so let them not, after this year of theirs, approach the Sacred Mosque. And if ye fear poverty,