# **UNIVERSITI MALAYA**

## **ORIGINAL LITERARY WORK DECLARATION**

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Name of Degree: MASTER IN ENGLISH AS A SECOND LANGUAGE (MESL) Title of Research Report: A CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS OF MAHATHIR MOHAMAD'S SPEECHES AGAINST THE WAR ON TERROR

Field of Study: Critical Discourse Analysis

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#### ABSTRACT

This study is a Critical Discourse Analysis of the discursive strategies and argumentative moves deployed by Mahathir Mohamed, former Prime Minister of Malaysia in ten of his speeches that express resistance and challenge towards former U.S. President George. W Bush's military ideology of 'War on Terror' post September 11 2001. The themes of this study are Mahathir's assessment of the 9/11 attack, his construction of terrorists and terrorism and his description of the political and social actors involved in the context of 'war on terror'. This study also examines how Mahathir constructs his own position in the speeches, with particular reference to the use of the positive-self presentation move. The study is guided by CDA's focus on power relations and power struggle that are manifested in language. The framework is an adaptation of Van Dijk's 'Ideological Square' (2004). The analysis reveals how Mahathir's arguments fall within the human rights rhetoric that calls on general norms, freedom, human rights and justice, supported with a heavy bias towards the plight of Muslims and the Middle East. Mahathir's resistance and credibility to challenge Bush reveals repetitive use of national rhetoric, self-glorification, comparison moves, and references to shared history and shared presuppositions. His critical of 'us' move (towards the superpowers and the Muslims) and critical of 'them' move (towards the superpowers and the terrorists) are also employed to resist and challenge the supporters of war. His supportive of 'others' move (towards the Muslims and the oppressed) fall within the ideological construction of a positive self-presentation of himself as Prime Minister of Malaysia, a Muslim leader and a champion of Third World nations. Mahathir's calls for resistance and change are meant to empower the people, which is in line with CDA's overall purpose.

### ABSTRAK

Kajian ini menerapkan pendekatan Analisis Wacana Kritis untuk mengkaji strategi percakapan dan langkah-langkah perbincangan oleh bekas Perdana Menteri Malaysia Mahathir Mohamed dalam sepuluh ucapan beliau yang meluahkan penentangan dan cabaran terhadap ideologi ketenteraan 'Perang ke Atas Keganasan' oleh bekas Presiden Amerika Syarikat, Goerge W. Bush selepas peristiwa 9 September 2001. Tema kajian ini adalah penilaian Mahathir mengenai serangan 9/11, pengganas dan keganasan dan penerangan beliau tentang aktor politik dan sosial yang terlibat di dalam konteks 'Perang ke Atas Keganasan'. Kajian ini juga menganalisis cara Mahathir menggambarkan diri dalam ucapan beliau secara positif. Kajian ini berpandukan fokus Analisis Wacana Kritikal ke atas hubungan kuasa dan pergelutan kuasa yang dinyatakan melalui bahasa. Rangka kerja kajian ini adalah adaptasi daripada konsep 'Ideological Square' yang dihasilkan oleh Van Dijk pada 2004. Analisa ini mendedahkan bagaimana perbahasan Mahathir dikategorikan sebagai retorik hak asasi manusia, dimana hujahnya berpandukan hujahan norma-norma umum, kebebasan, hak asasi dan keadilan yang berpihak sebelah kepada kaum Muslim dan Timur Tengah. Penentangan dan kredibiliti Mahathir dalam cabaran terhadap Bush mendedahkan penggunaan retorik nasional, pujian ke atas diri sendiri, perbandingan cara dan rujukan terhadap sejarah dan andaian. Beliau begitu kritikal mengenai cara 'kita' (terhadap kuasakuasa besar dan kaum Muslim) dan cara 'mereka' (terhadap kuasa-kuasa besar dan pengganas) untuk menentang dan mencabar pengdokong perang. Sokongan beliau terhadap cara 'mereka yang lain' (terhadap kaum Muslim dan pengganas) dikategorikan sebagai pembinaan ideologi terhadap diri sendiri sebagai Perdana Menteri Malaysia, pemimpin Muslim dan pejuang negara Dunia Ketiga. Laungan Mahathir untuk rakyat menentang dan berubah adalah untuk memberikan kuasa kepada rakyat. Di sini beliau memperjuangkan matlamat Analisa Wacana Kritikal.

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