

NATIONAL IDENTITY AND NATIONALISM
IN THE SPEECHES OF OSAMA BIN LADEN

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In The Speeches Of
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In Memory of my Daddy
William Fredrick Harris
November 13, 1992

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS.....	I
TABLE OF CONTENTS	II
LIST OF FIGURES	IV
ABSTRACT	V
INTRODUCTION	1
HISTORY OF THE “MODERN” NATION.....	1
OSAMA BIN LADEN: THE LEADER.....	4
AL-QAEDA.....	6
LITERATURE REVIEW	8
NATION, STATE AND NATIONALISM	9
NATIONS WITHOUT STATES.....	14
“TERRITORIAL BONDING”.....	16
“TERRITORIAL DIFFERENTIATION”	20
DISCOURSE’S ABILITY TO CREATE NATIONAL IDENTITY AND NATIONALISM	21
OSAMA BIN LADEN’S SPEECHES	26
METHODOLOGY	28
A QUALITATIVE APPROACH	28
RESEARCH DESIGN: CONTENT ANALYSIS	29
Coding.....	30
RESEARCH METHODS.....	32
The Data.....	32
Data Analysis.....	33
ANALYSIS AND RESULTS	38
“TERRITORIAL BONDING”	38
TERRITORIAL DIFFERENTIATION.....	41
Pre-9/11 vs. Post-9/11	47
FREQUENCY OF COUNTRIES	53
DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION	68
NATIONAL IDENTITY AND NATIONALISM IN THE SPEECHES	68
Territoriality	69
GENERAL OBSERVATIONS OF NATIONAL IDENTITY AND NATIONALISM IN STATELESS NATIONS	72
FUTURE RESEARCH.....	73

APPENDIX	74
SPEECHES AND THE DATES THEY WERE GIVEN	74
CODING SAMPLE.....	75
CONCEPT MAPS FROM SPEECHES	78
FREQUENCY CHARTS	102
EXAMPLE OF TALLY FOR ISLAMIC NATION	107
WORKS CITED	108

LIST OF FIGURES

Figures	Page
<i>Figure 2.1 Van Noije and Hijmans Template.....</i>	<i>34</i>
<i>Figure 2.2 Template for Analysis.....</i>	<i>36</i>
<i>Figure 4.1 Holistic Concept Map.....</i>	<i>46</i>
<i>Figure 4.2 Pre-9/11 Concept Map.....</i>	<i>49</i>
<i>Figure 4.3 Post-9/11 Concept Map.....</i>	<i>51</i>
<i>Figure 4.4 Countries and Religion.....</i>	<i>55</i>
<i>Figure 4.5 Countries.....</i>	<i>57</i>
<i>Figure 4.6 Troops.....</i>	<i>59</i>
<i>Figure 4.7 Arab Empire.....</i>	<i>61</i>
<i>Figure 4.8 Map 1.....</i>	<i>62</i>
<i>Figure 4.9 Key Terms.....</i>	<i>63</i>
<i>Figure 4.10 Map 2.....</i>	<i>65</i>
<i>Figure 4.11 Map 3.....</i>	<i>67</i>

**NATIONAL IDENTITY AND NATIONALISM
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ABSTRACT

National identity and nationalism have long been utilized by political leaders to control state territory. Stateless terrorist groups such as Al Qaeda also draw upon notions of national identity to make claims to territory. This study explores how Al Qaeda leader Osama bin Laden invokes images of national identity and nationalism in speeches to further al-Qaeda's base and gain more control of territory. Content analysis of the transcripts of Osama bin Laden's speeches was done to uncover defined themes of territory and national identity. These findings have implications for our understanding of terrorist goals and the relationship between terrorist leaders and followers.

Keywords: national identity, Al-Qaeda speeches, qualitative content analysis, coding

I

Introduction

Since the attacks on September 11th, Osama bin Laden and the al-Qaeda organization have been the face of the “global war on terrorism.” The current administration’s attacks on Afghanistan and Iraq as well as their continued focus on Osama bin Laden, are evidence of the sustained fear of al-Qaeda and the risk the organization poses to the United States. Yet, to understand the threat of al-Qaeda or, more broadly the followers of Osama bin Laden, one must first understand their goals and motivations as presented by their leader.

This study seeks to show how Osama bin Laden uses his speeches to create in the Muslim people a sense of nationalism and national identity. The focus of this chapter will be on the background of nations and their evolution throughout the eighteenth century to the present. Additionally, a brief background on Osama bin Laden and al-Qaeda will also be discussed.

History of the “Modern” Nation

The term nation did not have its current meaning until the later part of the 18th and early 19th century during the American and French Revolutions. The term nation at this time implied “a body of citizens whose collective sovereignty constituted them a state which was their political expression” (Hobsbawm 1990). As Hobsbawm states, “a nation

at this time period was the element of citizenship and mass participation [where] choice was never absent..." (1990). In addition, during this time the term nation became inevitably linked to territory and had "a nation=state=people" relationship (1990). For Hobsbawm the importance of nation formation at this time rested in the people; he specifically addresses two ways in which the people form a nation: through perceptions of an outsider as well as commonalities such as language (1990). In America's case, Hobsbawm argues they saw the British as an enemy and formed their nation in opposition to this "other" nation (1990). On the other hand, the French nation under the rule of Napoleon was defined by sameness and when Napoleon tried to expand the French territory, the new citizens did not belong (1990).

The nation in the mid 1800s to the early 1900s, Hobsbawm claims, has three major principles. First, it was understood that any nation that claimed itself as such had the unalienable right to a state (1990). Second, at this time belonging to a nation depended on your ability to speak the nation's language, be of a certain ethnicity and relate to a common culture (1990). Finally, nationalism was created at this time through language or high culture, national traditions such as Independence Day, as well as common political goals (1990).

During the period 1870-1918, the idea of nations and nationalism began spreading to regions of the world that had not known nationalistic ideas. Often principles of nation became influential in these areas due to anti-imperialistic ideas (1990). This can be seen in the Americas with the Native Americans as well as throughout Europe among the Armenians, Georgians, Lithuanians and other Baltic people (Hobsbawm 1990).

These advances made in nationalism during this period are a function of both social and political changes as well as international situations that were going on during this time (1990). Hobsbawm cites three developments that led or contributed to a rising social awareness of a national sense of identity and community: “[1] the resistance of traditional groups threatened by...modernity, [2] the novel and quite non-traditional classes and strata now rapidly growing in the urbanizing societies of developed countries, as well as [3] unprecedented migrations” (1990) Politically, nations were becoming more apparent and supported by the people through the adoption of the democratic political system (1990). Additionally, times of war throughout Europe created a sense of identification with ones nation throughout all socio-economic levels (1990). By the end of World War I, a new stage of nations and nationalism will be established.

After the First World War, the Treaty of Versailles played a pivotal role in the evolution of the nation. Because of this treaty, the idea that states should mimic or coincide with the “frontiers of nationality and language” was developed (1990). Although, this idea of redrawing state lines based on a nation’s attachment to the region was never realized, the principle still had an impact on events of the time.

Hobsbawm states that Adolf Hitler, for example, was a true Wilsonian nationalist in that he attempted to create a German state for the German nation by relocating the “imposters” in the region (1990). This act by Hitler created the idea that a state based solely on national attachment to landscape can only be reached through barbarian ways (1990).

The treaty of Versailles created another pattern in nationalistic movements. Winning the war, America and the Allies now were seen as the powerful. Thus, with

their creation of the Wilsonian principle, it became “natural that anyone claiming to speak in the name of some oppressed or unrecognized people –and they lobbied the supreme peacemakers in large numbers –should do so in terms of the national principle, and especially of the right to self-determination” (Hobsbawm 1990; 136).

Additionally, during this time period was the creation of mass media: including radio, news and movies (1990). Through these mass distributed medias “popular ideologies could be both standardized, homogenized and transformed as well as obviously exploited for the purposes of deliberate propaganda by private interests and states” (Hobsbawm 1990)

In the last stage of the evolution of the nation, the fall of the Soviet Union plays a central role. The fracturing of the Soviet Union to Hobsbawm was a result of the nationalistic principles portrayed by the Treaty of Versailles (1990). Hobsbawm goes on to state that the evolution of nationalism and nations since World War II and the fall of the Soviet Union have become stagnant (1990). He states that after the movement of decolonization and anti-imperialism the formation of nations began to cease (1990). Despite this trend, Hobsbawm also states that current nations sill find camaraderie in their similarities and perhaps more importantly in their dissimilarities with “others”. (1990)

Osama bin Laden: the leader

Osama bin Laden was born in Saudi Arabia in 1957. As a young man bin Laden was enrolled at King Abd al-Aziz University in Jeddah where he took Islamic studies courses from a member of the Muslim Brotherhood (Lawrence 2005). This contact with the Brotherhood deeply influenced him, yet he did not act on it until his later life. Bin Laden left school before finishing his degree and entered his father’s construction

company where he made a sizeable fortune (*ibid*). At the age of 23, he arrived in Peshawar, a city along the Pakistani and Afghan border, and became involved in the war between Russia and Afghanistan. While in Peshawar, he set up a guesthouse for Arab recruits that had come to fight jihad against the Soviet Union. This guesthouse was called *Sijill al-Qaeda*, which translates to “Register of the Base,” and was later shortened to just al-Qaeda (*ibid*). During the war with the Soviet Union, bin Laden worked closely with the Pakistani secret service and the CIA. With funds received from the United States as well as Saudi Arabia, bin Laden was able to construct multiple mountain bases, cave complexes, and training camps (*ibid*).

After the war, bin Laden moved back to his home country of Saudi Arabia and when Saddam Hussein invaded Kuwait in 1990, he volunteered to set up a counter-strike. This counter-strike involved the recruitment of Afghan veterans to defend the area against an Iraqi invasion. This planned response could not take effect until it was approved by the Saudi regime, which ignored his request and sought the help of the American military (*ibid*). The Saudi invitation to America was met with resistance from bin Laden, among others, and bin Laden was sentenced to house arrest in 1991. The presence of American troops in Saudi Arabia profoundly influenced bin Laden and continues to be the source of much of his hostility. After remaining in house arrest for a short time, he left for Sudan.

While in Sudan, bin Laden is believed to have encountered Hassan al-Turabi, a radical Islamic leader at the time. In Sudan, bin Laden became linked to Ayman al-Zawahiri, who today is bin Laden’s right-hand man. While in Sudan bin Laden maintained an active business career, but it is also believed he had a part in the migration

of Afghan veterans to Somalia. These Afghan veterans are believed to have confronted and fought the United States when the United Nations was in the region in 1993.

In 1994, at the age of 37, bin Laden made his first public statements against Muslim support for the Oslo Accords and Arab cooperation with the West. In May of 1996 bin Laden returned to Afghanistan. Living under the rule of the Taliban, he was now able to organize the resources, financing, training and safe havens he needed to form the modern-day al-Qaeda terrorist organization. In 1998, al-Qaeda claimed responsibility for the attacks on two American embassies in Kenya; though it is believed they were responsible for others, this was the first event for which they claimed responsibility. The organization would later claim a variety of attacks, but not until September 2001 did bin Laden become the “face of terrorism”, although he did not confirm his role in the attack until 2004. Since September 11th and the resulting attacks on Afghanistan, the United States government has conducted a massive manhunt for bin Laden, a fruitless search so far. The United States currently believes bin Laden is hiding in the rugged border region between Pakistan and Afghanistan.

Al-Qaeda

According to the Institute for Counter-Terrorism, the al-Qaeda organization has three primary goals: first, overthrow the corrupt regimes in the Middle East and replace them with Shari'a (Islamic law) in the hopes of forging an Islamic state, which will serve as their headquarters much like Afghanistan did when it was ruled by the Taliban. Second, al-Qaeda, exists in opposition to the West and views the United States as the most important enemy to Islam. In testament to this, bin Laden issued three *fatwahs* (religious rulings) calling on Muslims to fight against the United States. Finally, al-

Qaeda seeks to support Muslim fighters in multiple countries throughout the Middle East and beyond.

Al-Qaeda has claimed responsibility for many attacks, the most famous of which: the US military housing complex known as Khobar towers in Dhahran, Saudi Arabia; the double bombing of the US Embassies in Kenya and Tansania; the bombing of the USS Cole off the shores of Yemen; the bombing of the Madrid metro station; and perhaps most infamous the attacks on September 11th. In all, al-Qaeda is responsible for killing 4,133 people and injuring over 5,800.

II

Literature Review

The purpose of this chapter is to establish a theoretical framework for this study on nationalism and national identity in Osama bin Laden's speeches. To start, the history of the nation is now understood as a product of the eighteenth century (Anderson 2006; Gellner 1983,1997; Hobsbawm 1990). Now, the theories and definitions of nations, states, nationalism and national identity will be established, taken from the most prominent discussants on this subject: Anthony D. Smith (1996; 2001), Ernest Gellner (1983; 1997), Benedict Anderson (2006) and E.J. Hobsbawm (1990). These theories on the creation of national identity and nationalism and territoriality will be broken up into two camps: “territorial bonding” and “territorial differentiation” (Herb 2004)

Inherent in theories of nationalism and national identity are the concepts of place and territoriality. These theories on place and attachment to the landscape were explored in Yi-Fu Tuan's *Topophilia*, and have been expanded with the theories of political geographers. Essential to this study is how bin Laden's speeches define and create attachments to place and how these attachments are rooted in the establishment of nations, as nations are rooted in a groups

Not all nations posses their own state and are instead relegated to the status of “political communities” created as a product of rapid globalization and mass

communication (Guibernau 1999). This concept is crucial to this study: bin Laden has portrayed al-Qaeda and its public as part of a nation without a territorial state.

Finally, the literature on how language, symbols and technology are used to foster nationalism and national identity as well as previous cases on detecting nationalism and national identity in the language of leaders will be summarized. This body of literature is vital to the validity of this study. Although none of the studies address the potential a leader of a “nation without a state” has to foster nationalism and national identity, they do show that it can be done in leaders of states such as Germany and France.

Nation, State and Nationalism

Prior to exploring the theories of nationalism and national identity, clarification is needed for the terms nation, state, and nationalism. Although seemingly simple, each of these terms posses multiple theoretical definitions, thereby requiring a clarification of each as they pertain to this study. The state is the most simple of these terms because of its firm grounding in the work of Max Weber, summarized here by Guibernau (1999): a state is a “human community that (successfully) claims the ‘*monopoly of the legitimate use of physical force within a given territory.*’” Gellner further clarifies this definition by adding that a state is an institution “concerned with the enforcement of order” (1983). Thus, states are easily defined and recognized, and when looking at a map of the world we see numerous *states* outlined in black and assigned a color to show their separation from the *others*.

Nations, on the other hand, are not clearly demarcated on a map or easily understood. Hobsbawm (1990) discounts all definitions of the nation that seek to describe it as something based on language, ethnicity, or culture, as these terms are elusive or

fuzzy. He goes on to state that the term nation -and the ambiguity therein- is a recent invention of the post-colonial era. However, Hobsbawm eventually establishes the idea that nations are constructed through nationalism, or a community of people that are attached to a territory (1990). Although the complexities of this argument cannot be addressed here, Hobsbawm raises two interesting points. One, nation and nationalism are often linked. Two, he alludes to a debate on when and how nations and nationalisms came into existence. The first point is important to this study, because the linkage between nationalism and nation formation needs to be considered when discussing how bin Laden may use nationalism in his speeches in order to establish a nation. The second point on when nations are formed is important to the study because how nations are formed may indicate through observation if bin Laden has been able to create a national community.

These points are best displayed in the works of Gellner and Smith; specifically in the chapter from Gellner's *Nationalism* entitled *Do Nations Have Navels?* (1997), his book *Nations and Nationalism* (1983), Smith's articles *Culture, community and territory: the politics of ethnicity and nationalism* (1996) and his book *Nationalism* (2001).

Gellner (1983) claims the term nation is *elusive* and assigns two criteria for determining if one is a part of a nation. He states that "two men are of the same nation only when they share the same culture" and "recognize each other as being a part of the same nation" (1983). Additionally, Gellner states that a group of people becomes a nation when the people begin to recognize themselves as shared members of a community with duties to each other (1983). Gellner goes on to state that, although often interlinked, states and nations are separate entities. The state, he claims, "has certainly

emerged without the help of the nation...[and] nations have certainly emerged without the blessings of their own state” (6). The interlinking of these terms began with the advent of nationalism and the rise of industrialism. At this time, Gellner claims that nationalism is what creates nations.

The origins of nationalism as described by Gellner began after the first period of colonialism and the transition from an agrarian to industrial society. With the rise of industrialization came literacy, math and technological sophistication, a “high culture.” That resulted in standardized education, which, in turn, allowed many people to adhere to the same cultural values. This adherence is what Gellner calls exo-socialization (the ability to produce and re-produce the same individual) and he claims that this is what creates nationalism and ties the nation to the state.

Gellner has also compared the debate on the origin of nations/nationalism to that between evolution and creation, asking “is the...nation...something old and present throughout history [did it evolve], or is it, on the contrary something modern and a corollary of the distinctive feature of our recent world [was it created]?” (1997). Gellner takes the latter position that the nation (i.e., nationalism) was a creation of the modern world. It is within this body of work that he declares that although nations are a product of a common culture, the politicizing of culture that resulted in nations (i.e., nationalism) is a result of the shift from agrarian to industrial society.

The problem with Gellner’s argument is that he begins to use his terms -culture, nation, and nationalism –interchangeably, similar to Hosbawm’s definition of the nation as a product of nationalism. Hosbawm argues that the term nationalism as defined by Gellner means “primarily a principle which holds that the political and national unit

should be congruent.” In other words, the nation and nationalism are the same. Gellner acknowledges that cultures do change over time, but disagrees that the nation could be the result of culture becoming more politicized throughout history (or culture evolving into a nation) (1997). Flint and Taylor (2000) argue with this point of view by outlining the general principles of nations/nationalism:

- A1: The world consists of a mosaic of nations.
- A2: World order and harmony depend upon expressing the mosaic in a system of free nation-states.
- B1: Nations are the natural units of society.
- B2: Nations have a cultural homogeneity based upon common ancestry and/or history.
- B3: Every nation requires its own sovereign state for the true expression of its culture.
- B4: All nations (rather than states) have an inalienable right to a territory or homeland.
- C1: Every individual must belong to a nation.
- C2: A person’s primary loyalty is to the nation.
- C3: Only through the nation can a person find true freedom.

Flint and Taylor go on to state that the nation is a compilation of histories, myths, and facts from the past, and that the nation had a “formal political existence over a long period” (199).

Smith (2001) explores this principle of culture evolving over time into nations and nationalism. Smith investigates the differences between state, ethnic community, and nation. A nation is not a state because a state implies an institution, and a nation is not an ethnic community because this implies no political ties. The difference between ethnic communities and nations is further illustrated by a simple table of attributes. A nation, he claims, has the following characteristics: “proper name, common myths, shared history, common public culture, occupation of homeland, common right and duties and single economy” (2001). An ethnic community, on the other hand, has: “a proper name,

common myths of ancestry, shared memories, cultural differentia(e), link with homeland and some (elite) solidarity” (2001). Finally, nationalism is defined by Smith as a concern for that nation’s “well-being.” This well-being is protected through the goals of national autonomy, national unity and national identity (2001).

These definitions set the scene for Smith’s analysis on the development of nations and how nationalism fits within their creation. Smith argues that nations can be formed by ideological, ethnic, or experiential means. The ideological nation is one created through “ideological based movements” that foster a sense of nationalism (2001). This ideological nation is the “watershed in the development of human association and communication” (2001). Ideological nations are developed through an *imagined community* that is tied by language and common ideas that are transferred through language (Anderson 1991). These types of nations can be universal.

The ethnic nation can be described as a group of people tied together by culture, history, and homeland (2001). Ethnically based nations are more localized because they are based on human attachment, not merely ideology. Finally, the experientially based nation can be described as the common memories, myths, values, and traditions that a group may share (2001). The nation and nationalism Smith argues can be created in any of these three ways or in combination.

Smith(1996) acknowledges the influence of ideology on nation formation but further explores the “influence of ethnic origin and culture on politics and state formation” by focusing on three principles inherent in ethnic communities that evolve into nations. These principles are the purification of culture, universalization of chosenness, and territorialization of memory (1996). The principles Smith identifies also

play an important part in the creation of nations through ethnic groups and inner world ethnies.

Smith's nod to the multiple ways in which nations and nationalism can be created provides operational definitions for this study. The nation is a "human group conscious of forming a community, sharing a common culture, attached to a clearly demarcated territory, having a common past and a common project for the future and claim[s] the right to rule itself (Guibernau 1999). He goes on to state that this definition of nation has five dimensions: psychological (consciousness of forming a group), cultural, territorial, political, and historical." Nationalism is the sentiment of belonging to a community whose members identify with a set of symbols, beliefs, and ways of life, and who have the will to decide upon their common political destiny. The difference between national identity and nationalism is one of intensity. National identity is an instrument for creating nationalism; the difference is that national identity is a passive sense of identification with the nation where as nationalism is an explicit sense of attachment and political commitment (Van Noije and Hijmans 2005).

Nations without States

Nations without states do not have an attachment to that in which they reside. They often see their fellow statesmen as 'alien' to and thus have a cultivated separate national identity that is based on culture, territory and the perceptions of the "other." Guibernau (1999) attributes the rise of nations without states to six phenomenon: existence of supranational and international institutions, the states to surrendering aspects of its sovereignty to supranational institutions, the states inability to control external

cultural and economic flows, the global acceptance of democracy, the creation of new social movements and the need for emotional closeness and community. Guibernau focuses specifically on the effects of globalization and the fact that states no longer represent the nations contained within them.

Globalization, or the “intensification of the world-wide social relations,” has created an environment in which local communities are shaped by the world and the world is affected by local communities (Guibernau 1999). This has had an effect on nation creation in that it has created an environment in which cultures can be known to humans throughout the world and distant people may interact with them. This interaction can lead to multiple “cultures” having similar connection to the same territory and can intensify regional forms of nationalism.

This cultural homogeneity is one of the factors contributing to the revitalization of minority cultures struggling to find their niche in the global world. In order to make themselves more strong they must have an educational system and/or the ability to convey their messages through the media (Internet, news, periodicals) (Guibernau 1999).

As groups begin to distance themselves from the state and form their own national identities, they appeal for membership and recognition through: moral, economic, and political principles. The moral appeal dates back to Woodrow Wilson’s League of Nations, which gave the right of self-determination. These moral standards can also be viewed as the citizens rebelling against the political structure of their territory. The second factor is economic and is closely correlated with the moral stance. The economic principle suggests that our economy and government do not represent the people and give a feeling of neglect and questioning. In al-Qaeda’s case their arguments more closely

resemble: “we are a prosperous nation but most of our revenue is taken away by the state,” “we need autonomy to exploit our own resources” or “we will do better on our own” (Guibernau 1999). Consequently, these groups may promise a better standard of living, the end of unemployment, or better management of the local resources so as to gain more support. Finally, a stateless nation will attempt to appeal to the political side of national sentiment, such that, potential nations are pleading for the political control of territory and, consequently for *power* (Guibernau 1999).

As nations without states gain support through moral, economic, and political means they gain legitimacy and begin to strive for their own land. In order to achieve separation from the states overhead, stateless nations will resort to cultural resistance and armed struggle. These conflicts will increase the group’s national awareness and the movement will begin to attract outside attention to the demands. These “armed struggles” can result in total war and state or political terrorism, as we have seen with groups such as the Tamil Tigers and al-Qaeda. In reaction to such violence, states are left with few ways to respond, other than, cultural recognition, political autonomy, or alliance (Guibernau 1999).

“Territorial Bonding”

There are two components to the formation of national identity the first is “territorial bonding” (Herb 2004). “Territorial bonding” is the idea that a population can create a bond to a land as well as among community members. Smith supports this idea when he defines identity as perceived sameness with others (1996). Shared identity or sense of community is created when a people have a similar reaction to the symbols and language that surround them (Connor 1978). National identity is created through a

group's similar attachment towards historic territory, history, culture, legal right and duties as well as economy (Anderson 1991).

The concepts presented so far are all dependent not only on a group's political interest but also, and perhaps more importantly, an attachment to land and territory. Topophilia itself is the bond between people and place and it addresses how personal experience creates attachment to the land (1974). Tuan further defines this relationship between group and land as "that which we choose to attend (value or love) is an accident of individual temperament, purpose and of cultural forces at work at a particular time" (1974). In other words, our attachment to land may be accidental but it always assumes cultural manifestation. Additionally, he states that "no environment is devoid of the power to command the allegiance of at least some people. Whenever we can point to human beings, there we point to somebody's home- with all the kindly meaning of that word" (1974). As humans, we create sentimental attachment to place.

These ideas of human attachment to land are further detailed by others in the discipline of geography. Windsor (2005), for example, further demonstrates Tuan's work when he describes the concept of place as a strong, emotional, and human attachment to the geographical landscape (Windsor 2005). This attachment between humans and landscape has been attributed to many factors. Windsor attributes these attachments to childhood memories and stories from generations past that have connections to a common landscape; this shared history of personal experience and landscape is thereforev vital to the creation of personal identity (2005). This connection creates place and becomes the "center of human meaning, intentions and values and the focus of "emotion, sentiment, attachment and experience" (Windsor 2005).

Harner, however, defines place as not just local history, but rather a multi-faceted relationship between global forces, history, and cultural traditions: the interactions between these three components create place (Harner 2001). Place is the location where people achieve goals and struggle to find their part in the world, and within these struggles place attains a symbolic meaning and creates a place-based social identity or group identity (Harner 2001). Still another definition of place is a combination of “physical processes, societal integration and construction of meaning” (Adams 1992). Local landmarks, landscapes, diets, music, clothing, and histories can be used to counter the images emanating from distant seats of corporate power. A “local sense of place” thus serves to resist and stabilize a world filled with commotion (Adams 1992).

The groups’s attachment to land is perhaps best summed up by Smith (1991):

It is, and must be, the ‘historic’ land, the ‘homeland’, the ‘cradle’ of our people...where terrain and people have exerted mutual, and beneficial, influence over several generations. The homeland becomes a repository of historic memories and associations, the place where ‘our’ sage, saints and heroes lived, worked, prayed and fought. All this makes the homeland unique...places of veneration and exaltation whose inner meanings can be fathomed only by the initiated, that is, the self-aware members of the nation. (National Identity, Smith)

Nations are rooted in and endure through their territory and its links to their past (Malkki 1992). People derive their identity through a rootedness in place; territory, in essence, is the basis for a nation, and a people not on the “right” land are not part of the nation (Malkki 1992). In addition, some groups may find their national identity is more dependent on cultural or ethnic similarities than on claims of territory (Triandafyllidou 1998). As Gottlieb (1994) states, national identity is tied to the “kinships, sentiments, culture and loyalty” between people and is “shrouded in great emotional and linguistic complexity.” Triandafyllidou reinforces this aspect of national identity by stating that the

common bonds people find with, “...descent and/or...common culture...traditions, ideas, symbols...patterns of behavior...communication ... a specific territory” are central to the formation of national identity (Triandafyllidou 1998).

A group that displays this quality of territorial bonding through emotional attachment and land are religious fundamentalist groups. These groups often seek to control the religious sites within the state they inhabit (Stump 2000). Indeed, place is the localization of cultural meaning and so, for religious groups such as Islamic extremists the places of concern will have a deep meaning, especially those locations once inhabited by former religious leaders such as Muhammad (or Jesus Christ and Jerusalem for Christians). These are places where a connection can be made between the human and the divine.

Need to control space is also to ensure that the “religiously ordained” site is used properly and fulfills its role in the faith (Stump 2000). This is also significant to the study of bin Laden, especially concerning Israeli and American occupation of the land containing the sacred sites of Islam. It is bin Laden’s concern that these religious sites will eventually fall away and become less significant.

Additionally, religious organizations are concerned about the control of territory to establish social morality. Thus, when religious groups gain control of a territory they often strictly enforce their religious principles on the people, as was seen in Afghanistan under the Taliban.

“Territorial Differentiation”

Establishing the border between nations is essential to national identity and is defined here as “territorial differentiation” (Herb 2004). This idea or concept is what allows for an us-them dichotomy and defines who is included and excluded in the group.

As the identity of a people is created, they began to distinguish themselves from the rest of the population, creating a self-other relationship (Huntington 1993). This phenomenon actively creates identity through the perception of an “other” (Adams 1992; Huntington 1993; Triandafyllidou 1998; Colombo 2004; Larsen 2004; Van Noije and Hijmans 2005). The definition of an “other” typically focuses on the ethno-national group that poses a threat to the cultural or ethnic purity of the nation and its independence (Triandafyllidou 1998). The role of the “other” in creating identity is that it gives the group an example of what they are not; groups are established via their dissimilarity from an “other.” When conflicts do arise, it is because of a nations perception of an “other”, resulting in ethnic and territorial disputes (Triandafyllidou 1998).

The “other” can be within the territorial boundaries of the nation, which often leads to the perception of a “contamination” of the majority (Triandafyllidou 1998). This phenomenon has been seen recently in the conflicts between the Serbs and Croats in the Bosnian war of the early 1990s. The “other” can also be seen as an external threat, which are most often a result of territorial disputes, which can strengthen the ties of a nation (Larsen 2004). In short, identity can be described as a meaningful recognition of sameness within a group and at the same time indicating that group’s dissimilarities with “others.”

The nations of Israel and Palestine, for instance, have through time become attached to the same landscape and the conflict itself reinforces the fact that land is essential for maintaining a nation (with or without a state) (Yiftachel 1991). Space is “a key factor in the generation and reproduction of collective identities. Group ‘spatiality’ may include the degree of its peripherality, the level of its ideological territoriality, and the process of ‘territorial legitimization’ involved in identity construction” (221).

The control of these territories becomes a goal for religious groups especially when they perceive that this space is being desecrated, as bin Laden has portrayed religious sites in the Middle East. This desecration is often carried out by secular forces or outside enemies, thereby entrenching the self-other relationship described above. In the Middle East, this enemy could be the Saudi regime (perceived as being outside the religion of Islam) or perhaps competing religious groups, such as in Israel with Jews pitted against Muslims, and the West (specifically, America) is also seen as an invader to the religious sites. Last, religious organizations may utilize their power in order to segregate themselves from the “others,” as is evident through: separate education systems, residential areas, or law systems.

A sense of nationalism is often created and reinforced by conflicts and tense situations within the nation. It is for this reason that nationalism and extremism are correlated. This sense of nationalism can often be created through discourse and the need to follow leadership.

Discourse’s ability to create National Identity and Nationalism

Attachments to territory, through bonding as well as an “other” can be created through a leader’s utilization of symbols, language and technology. These elements are

inherent in the formation of community, camaraderie, and identity (Tuan 1978, 1991; Adams 1992; Connor 1993; Triandafyllidou 1998; Harner 2001; Paasi 2003; Massey 2004). First, symbols are created to be a representation of the cohesion and unity in a “place” as well as to establish authority; therefore, essentially, all nations are rooted in objects (Tuan 1991; Shatzki 1991; Harner 2001). Buildings and structures within a community create hubs for social interaction and become symbols that represent shared experiences and lifestyles (Adams 1992). Examples of common symbols are government and financial buildings, schools, and institutions of law. Each of these examples is a representation of the nation-state in place: its authority, stability, and ability to unify. The Eiffel Tower, for example, has become a representation of the morals, goals, and cultural beliefs of the French (Adams 1992). The attacks on the World Trade Towers and the Pentagon were attacks on symbols that represented the goals and economic principles of America as well as the government’s authority and power. These monumental structures create community, uniting people through the meanings they convey (Adams 1992). Terrorists groups such as al-Qaeda may find that the symbols that represent their sense of nationalism are local places of worship or Mecca (Ettlinger 2004).

Much like symbols, language, is used to create cohesion. The power of language is its availability: every person has the ability to communicate their own ideas and beliefs, and through this transferring of ideas political, economic and social institutions are created; in other words, speech turns people into nations (Tuan 1991; Massey 1994). This transformation is done through language’s ability to direct, organize, and transform the “invisible and nonexistent [nation] into visible and real” (Tuan 1991). Language’s effects on the establishment of place can be studied from three different approaches: the

ways in which different cultural groups use speech to *realize* the nation; how powerful groups use language to show *domination* over the nation; and how the nature of the words themselves *form* nations (Tuan 1991). To realize itself a nation may manifest place connections by narrating a public political history of this century, thereby, creating a common link among the people (Borneman 1992).

Technology allows a nation to be experienced across the world without direct interaction with the landscape and transforms the concept of the geographical universe (Adams 1992). Electronic communication and technological globalization have altered the meaning of geographical location: electronic media can create multiple personalities within a place as well as foster feelings of belonging and place attachment (Graham 1998). As this rapid transmission of language and symbols increases, the potential for conflicts based on these personal identities will increase and the formation of nations and national identity will rely on information and communication flow (Arquilla 1999). People across the world will now have a similar identity; a similar feeling about a specific location they may or may not have ever visited (Huntington 1993).

Television, for example, is an opportunity for public and political leaders to communicate their ideas, emotions, and attachment to the landscape. These televised speeches may foster a group identity for those who agree with the leader's stance. More broadly, telecommunications is a means for leaders to portray and shape beliefs and social atmospheres. The leader's ability to challenge beliefs, social atmosphere, and public opinion is realized through media access. Media coverage is propaganda: a tool for psychological warfare and strategic public diplomacy. Leaders can, in the media, educate but also misinform followers (Arquilla 1999). A leader's common appearance in

the media may result in the leader becoming a symbol for the nation (Adams 1992). For example, the President of the United States is a symbol of America, both our identity as a democracy and the land itself. As Guibernau states, nations and nationalism need leaders to “provide the tools” for creating nationalism. These “tools” include “re-interpreting and disseminating” the nation’s past, culture and language; each of which is important for separating itself from others.

The responsibility of a leader without a state however does not stop at re-creating history and culture. A leader of a stateless nation must create a discourse in which he de-legitimizes the moral, economic and political attributes of the state. The statements of the leaders may vary radically depending on the goals of the stateless nation. In this context, a leader has two roles: the “architect” of historical, cultural, and political arguments for the nation’s existence and the instigator who undermines the legitimacy of the state. Thus, leaders are creators of national ideology as well as “mobilizers of nationalist movements” (Guibernau 1999).

With today’s media, leaders of nationalist movements have unprecedented attention. Leaders who use this attention to portray themselves as an honest, intelligent, genuine insider are able to become powerful. With this power, they become symbols of the nationalist movement and will capitalize on a people’s “memories, shared victories and defeats, myth and culture while denouncing the nations current situation and promising a better future” (Guibernau 1999).

Guibernau makes the case that national identity and nationalism can be cultivated through the speeches and proclamations of a leader. He argues that speeches are a vital resource to studying the emotional and psychological components that go into creating a

nation (1999). Connor (1993, 1999) reinforces Guibernau's ideas in his studies. He states that the ability of the leader to create a sense of nationalism depends upon the ability to tap into an emotional attachment held by a mass of people (Connor 1993). This emotional attachment can be created through language and visual images or symbols (Connor 1993). Connor adds that language can be used by leaders to promote national identities by creating an "*us* versus *them*" dichotomy, perhaps drawing attention to a "threatening presence" that is assumed to endanger the cultural or ethnic purity of the nation (Connor 1993; Triandafyllidou 1998). Connor cites multiple examples of speeches and proclamations used to create a sense of nationality. Specifically, Connor focuses on Adolf Hitler's speeches during the rise and expansion of Nazi Germany. Through Hitler's ability to foster an illusion of a common "blood bond," he is able to gain the unquestionable devotion of the ordinary people of Germany (Connor 1993). Hitler, in essence, created a state in which the "emotional depth of national identity" reached an extreme in which "countless fanatical sacrifices" were made in the nation's name (Connor 1993).

Through his speeches, Hitler instilled in the Germans a desire to defend and expand the nation's land, or "fatherland" (Connor 1993). This correlation between nation and territory (explained above) is inherent among all groups of people. Whether referred to as "motherland or fatherland, the ancestral land, land of our fathers, this sacred soil, land where our father died, the native land, the cradle of the nation...[or] homeland of our particular people" territory and nation are bonded (Connor 1993). Conflicts between groups arise when one perceives its homeland is occupied by a rival nation (Triandafyllidou 1998).

Another example of the way in which nationalism and national identity are perceived through the speeches of a leader is in Van Noije and Hijmans study of national identity and nationalism in the New Year's speeches of French presidents. Their analysis, used a list of criteria to determine whether or not the leader was promoting national identity and nationalism. To determine whether national identity was being addressed they looked for mention of a historical territory or homeland, a shared history, a shared culture (meaning and practices, politics and economy), a shared future, reinforcement of the French position, the emotional bond to France's fatherland, and differentiation from a significant 'other'. Nationalism, on the other hand, was measured by the veracity with which they mentioned the above criteria or whether they called for action against the significant 'other'. The results of their study are organized by president and frequencies of statements that foster identity. The study is then further demarcated by the types of discourse used by each president. In this study, they conclude that each president uses some form of nationalistic propaganda in attempts to foster nationalism within the French people. The nationalism apparent in the speeches varies drastically by the events occurring in the term of the president as well as the political leanings of the leader.

Osama bin Laden's Speeches

This study analyzes the ability of leader's of stateless nations to create national identity and nationalism and then examines their claims of territorial control. Specifically this study looks at Osama bin Laden's as the leader of a national movement. This study will seek to show how Osama bin Laden must create a discourse in which he de-legitimizes the moral, economic, and political attributes of the state in order to justify his stateless nation to the Muslim population in the Middle East. It is believed that Osama

bin Laden, creates a common psychological bond in his speeches among people of the “Arabian Peninsula” or, more broadly, the “Islamic World,” which the ultimate goal is full territorial control (Lawrence 2005; Hobbs 2006). To execute this control of landscape and nationalization, Osama bin Laden brings special attention in his speeches to geographical areas and concepts that will elicit a sense of camaraderie among the people and a common hatred toward an enemy, both of which are inherent in the formation of nationalism and national identity.

III

Methodology

To measure national identity and nationalism in the speeches of Osama bin Laden, I conducted a discourse analysis on all his released statements over a ten-year period from 1995 through 2005. This project was designed in accordance with the qualitative methods of hermeneutics and coding. The following section will give a theoretical background to content analysis, explain how content analysis has been used in similar studies of national identity, and finally show how content analysis can be used to uncover national identity in speeches given by leaders.

A Qualitative Approach

Before discussing the particulars of the methodology, it is first necessary to explain the qualitative (rather than quantitative) approach to the research. Auerbach and Silverstein (2003) define qualitative research as investigation, which undertakes the analysis of spoken and written words in order to find patterns inherent to a particular phenomenon. This study is centered in qualitative research for many reasons. First, the study does not seek to answer the question of *why* nationalism occurs, but rather *how* speeches can be used to establish national identity in a group of people. The goal of this project is to find what attributes within a leader's speech may contribute to the

phenomenon of national identity and nationalism. Therefore, this study is not testing a hypothesis, but finding a pattern to elucidate this facet of territorial discourses.

Research Design: Content Analysis

Discourse analysis falls under the larger category of hermeneutic studies. Hermeneutics is an advanced form of semiology, which is a study of signs and their function within text (Flowerdew & Martin 1997). Hermeneutics is based in literary criticisms concern for both the “context of the reader as well as the context of what is written” and is further concerned with understanding the meaning and social production of the text and its implications in the present day (Flowerdew & Martin 1997).

Flowerdew and Martin list five golden rules to a hermeneutic study quoted from Pickles (1993):

1. The integrity of the text must be presented in such a way that meaning is derived from, not projected into, the text
2. Interpreters have the responsibility of bringing themselves into a harmonious relationship with the text. As such, any critique must be rooted in the claims, conventions and forms of the text.
3. Interpreters must give an optimal reading of the text and of the meaning the text had for those whom it was written, and must show what the text now means in the context of contemporary views, interests and prejudices.
4. The whole must be understood from its parts, and all parts must be understood from the whole (the hermeneutic circle)
5. Interpreters of ambiguous texts must make explicit what the author (or subsequent readings) left implicit (207, 1993)

These five rules must be applied to any study on textual analysis to ensure the researcher is portraying the accurate intention of the text. A discourse analysis is an example of a hermeneutical study that focuses on the social production of the text as a constitutive force.

Coding

Coding has its roots in quantitative analysis of newspapers and songs in 18th c. Germany. These quantitative studies were often funded by religious institutions and sought to show how newspaper and song undermined religious authority (Krippendorff 1980). Although attempts were made by Max Weber (1910) and Loebel (1903) to shift analysis of texts to a qualitative research it did not change until the 1920s with studies on how the US described war in history textbooks and how nationalism was expressed in children's books. This shift was made possible for three reasons. First, the invention of new electronic media, such as the radio, "could no longer be treated as the extension of the newspapers (Krippendorff 1980). Second, the crash of the stock market in 1929 led to economic, social, and political crises that the media did not accurately portray. Last, and perhaps most important, was the appearance of empirical methodologies in the social sciences. Despite the advances in content analysis in the 20s and 30s, content analysis did not achieve extreme popularity until World War II and studies on propaganda. After World War II, content analysis expanded to the other major disciplines and in the 1950s began to integrate computer technology, which together have led to today's definition of content analysis as "a research technique for making replicable and valid inferences from data to their context" (Krippendorff 1980).

Coding is a method in which categories are discovered and named from language in order to gather a complete understanding of a text's meaning. Effective coding is a process of preliminary categories, categories fine-tuned to the text, as well as subcategories (Strauss 1987). There are four basic headings or guides to use when coding: conditions, interaction among the actors, strategies and tactics, and consequences.

There is a basic process to coding, of which the first step is open-coding whereby close analysis of the document: line by line or even word by word, in order to produce general concepts that fit the dataset. Open-coding is essentially an initial account of the information that is within the document. Axial coding is another level within the coding process, this entails a basic assessment of the inter-relationships between categories and sub-categories within the text (Strauss 1987). Axial coding is done parallel to open coding and may not be as intense as a process (Strauss 1987). Selective coding gives the researcher a key group of categories or concepts to focus the rest of his analysis on (Strauss 1987).

Sociologically constructed codes and Nvivo codes contain categories that are based on the direct language that the group uses (Strauss 1987). Nvivo coding, more specifically, is a reflection of the behaviors and processes that the groups use to solve their problems and is usually divided into two types: analytical usefulness and imagery. Sociological constructs, on the other hand, are categories created by the researcher that reflect the social science concerns that are evident through their text or language (Strauss 1987). Lastly, core categories will “account for most of the variation in a pattern of behavior” (Strauss 1987). In essence, core categories are structured to use as few categories as possible to account for the multiple variations in a pattern of behavior, so as to maximize the relevance of the study (Strauss 1987). The core categories can also be considered the main theme of the text and therefore can be narrowed to a few main concepts (Strauss 1987). For a concept to be a core category, it must be central to the text or behavior, appear frequently, relate to the other categories, have clear implications for the development of a theory, and allow for maximum variation (Strauss 1987). Once the

core categories of the text are determined, a theoretical informed analysis can begin (Strauss 1987).

Research Methods

For this study, I began by collecting and analyzing data which in this case presented difficult challenges. These challenges are outlined in the following section, which will focus on the various methods used to overcome the difficulties in this study.

The Data

The challenge in collecting data was to find a reliable English translation of Osama bin Laden's statements. Fortunately, *Messages to the World The Statements of Osama bin Laden* (edited by Bruce Lawrence and translated by James Howarth) gives thorough English translations of bin Laden's speeches and letters. Of course, the English translations were not as reliable as in the original Arabic, but provided sufficient clues as to the political aims presented therein, specifically the characteristics of national identity and nationalism. Before coding the speeches, I retyped each one in order to perform word searches and ensure proper coding.

Osama bin Laden and his role as a leader (perceived or actual) was chosen as a case study for many reasons. First, as the leader of the al-Qaeda organization his statements were widely publicized in the media thereby making them available for study. This availability allowed for eventual English translations. Secondly, after the attacks on September 11th and America's focus on him in the “war on terrorism”, bin Laden became somewhat of a hero to extremist groups and the epitome of anti-Americanism. His statements therefore foster in the population feelings similar to those that Americans feel

toward our political icons. In addition to the speeches and letters given by bin Laden, outside data from news stories, videos, and professionals were used to add contextual information to the statements. Historical events in the speeches, current events from the time-period in which the speeches were given and biographical information concerning Osama bin Laden were all considered when analyzing the coded text. Through the coding process and contextual research, I came to a clear understanding of how Osama bin Laden fosters national identity among the population in order to reach the goal of a territorially based nation.

Data Analysis

Measuring national identity and nationalism's existence in speeches is a relatively new concept. In a study done by Van Noije and Hijmans (2005), the New Year's speeches of French Presidents from 1958 to the present were analyzed for evidence of national identity and nationalism (Figure 2.1) (2005). In their analysis they considered the following elements as evidence of a national identity: a shared history, culture, future, a historical territory or homeland, communication of the French position, a Frenchmen mentality and the idea of a significant other. Upon coding and categorizing their data, Van Noije and Hijmans measured the frequency of times each element was evident in a speech as well as subjected each mention of an element to further questions intended to measure the veracity of the statements:

- Explicit exclamation of superiority of French nation and people/ positive attitude towards in-group: extreme form of pride?
- Hostile attitude towards outside world/other (explicitly defensive or offensive)
- Exhortation to possible/future collective action

The purpose of such questions was to separate ideas of national identity from those of nationalism to find the extreme of emotion in their statements.

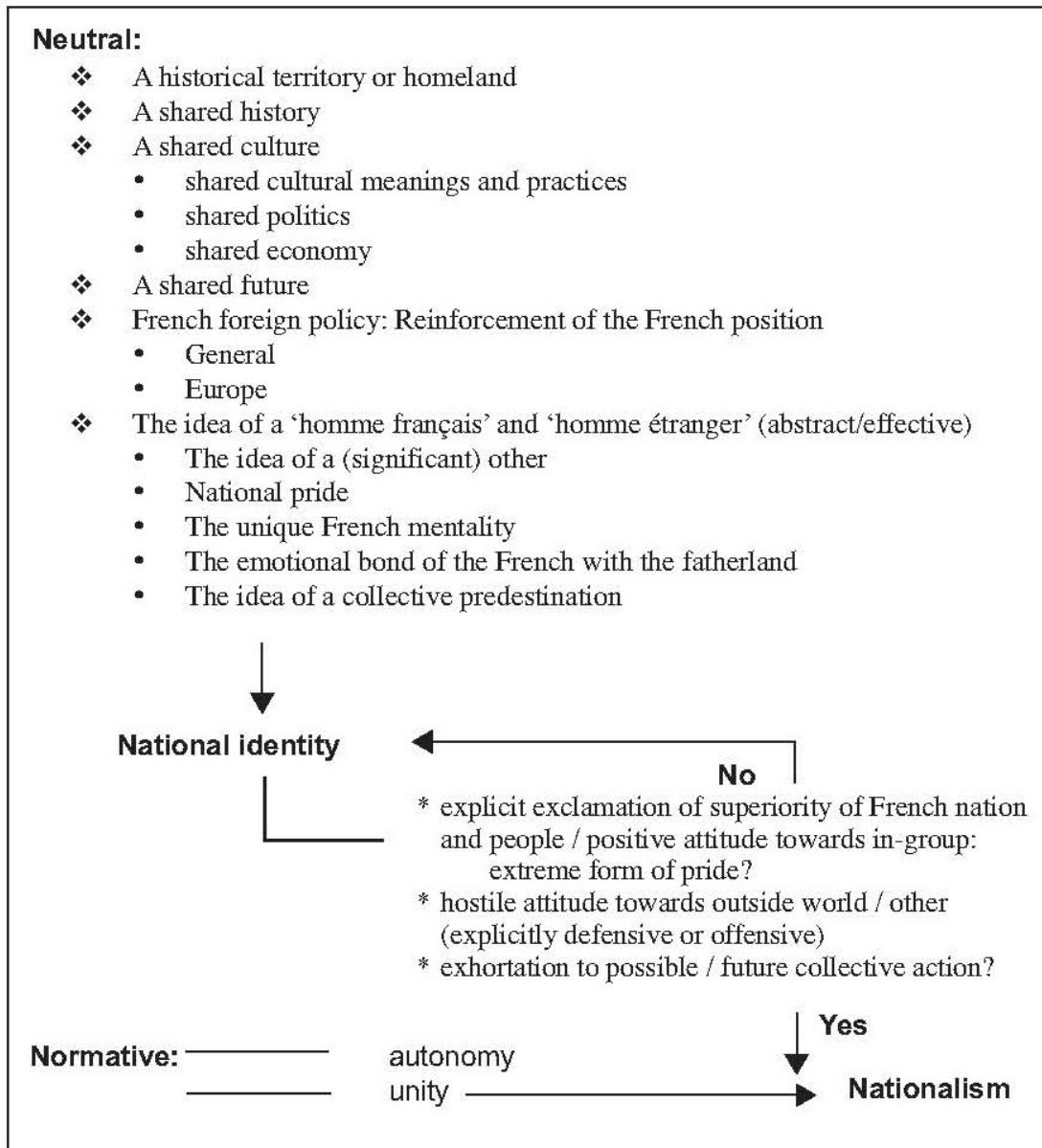


Figure 2.1- Van Nijje and Hijmans (2005) template for national identity and nationalism

A coding instrument for national identity and nationalism was adapted from Van Noije and Hijmans study (Figure 2.2). This instrument was created from the literature on national identity and nationalism outlined in the literature review and mirrors the two components of “territorial bonding” and “territorial differentiation.” In order to show national identity and nationalism’s existence in bin Laden’s speeches the following “territorial bonding” concepts were used: historical claims to territory taken from Yiftachel’s (2002) study on Israel and Palestine; shared history was included as a result of Smith’s work (1996; 2001); the cultural aspect (including moral, political and economic) was taken from Guibernau’s (1999) work in defining “nations without states”; shared future was a concept also stated by Smith (2001) and Guibernau (1999). Additionally, the component of “territorial differentiation was displayed by the significant “other” developed by Triandafyllidou (1998) and others (Connor 1993; Guibernau 1999; Smith 2001; Larsen 2004). Each of these concepts were considered as the coding of the speeches took place.

Characteristics:

- *A historical territory as homeland
- *A shared history
- *A shared culture
 - shared cultural meanings and practices
 - shared politics
 - shared economy
- *A shared future
- *Other
 - within
 - outside
- *Shared suffering
- *Religion



National Identity



NO

*incitement to violence?

*superiority?

*future action?

YES

Nationalism

Figure 2.2 – Template for analysis.

First, I transcribed the speeches and letters into word documents compatible with coding software and word searches were performed. Then, each speech was individually coded, by hand, using both axial and open techniques. In the open coding process for this project, I carefully read and noted in the margins were general concepts and themes within the text of the speech. Open coding created general assumptions about the data and highlighted areas that I needed to investigated more closely. In the axial coding process, the general themes discovered through open coding were more closely investigated and linked to sub-categories of these major themes found throughout the rest of the text. In essence, I was reconnecting key themes and ideas to other areas within the text of the speeches. Axial coding allows you to create core categories, which formed the basis of this study.

After each speech was coded individually, concept maps were created of the major themes and sub-themes within each speech. The results were divided into time-period and examined holistically to find variations and patterns in nationalistic principles in bin Laden's statements. Then, the frequency of key words and phrases were totaled for each speech and also divided into time-periods as well as looked at holistically. The frequencies were used to gauge the importance of some key themes in the speeches, such as *umma* or crusade.

Finally, maps were created using GIS software to show the countries that bin Laden considers part of a homeland or his nation. In order to create the borders of the “nation,” the countries that were mentioned by bin Laden in a positive light or those singled out to “defend” were considered as part of the nation.

IV

Analysis and Results

Data gathering for this study was completed by December 2006 and the analysis was completed in the months that followed. In total there were twenty-four speeches ranging from December 29, 1994 to December 16, 2004 (Appendix A). These speeches were analyzed in order to give further substance to Van Noije and Hijmans (2005) study on national identity and nationalism in the speeches of leaders as well as add a new dimension to how nationalism and national identity can be used to analyze the speeches from leaders of nations without states, such as Osama bin Laden. The following section will address the results from coding the speeches and frequency of key terms and countries. The results from the analysis mirror the template in the methodology and are structured with the two components of national identity (bonding and differentiation).

“Territorial Bonding”

After coding the speeches (Appendix B), the major themes and sub-themes were organized within concept maps. Maps were created for the speeches individually (Appendix C) and as a whole as well as divided into time-periods based on September 11 (pre- and post-9/11). The speeches were divided temporally to find any shift in major themes after the events of September 11, which gave Osama bin Laden international recognition. The concept maps were created in order to discover general trends in the content of the speeches and how these trends fit into the literature on national identity and

nationalism. Juxtaposed to these results are frequencies of key terms (Appendix D) as well as direct quotes from the speeches. The results showed several components of “territorial bonding” from the template: religion, historical territory as homeland, shared history and shared future.

Two major themes occur throughout all the speeches that portray “territorial bonding”. *Umma* a reoccurring theme in bin Laden’s speeches and is the shared homeland aspect of the template. *Umma* literally means “a group of people” but in the context of bin Laden’s speeches it takes on the meaning of “the global Islamic community, or Islamic supernation” (Lawrence 2005). The *umma* is also shown as God’s will on Earth, as a piece of land in which Islamic law or sharia can be practiced. The *umma* of today is described as an organization that is suffering at the hands of the enemy. However, bin Laden speaks of an eventual “renaissance” and defense of the *umma* through jihad. It is after this reinvigoration of the *umma* that a new leader will need to be found to rule. Seeking to be this leader, bin Laden refers to the *umma* as “my *umma*. ”

Umma has been used sporadically throughout the entire list of speeches. The frequency of this term, *umma*, peaks on December 29 1994 with 15, 1995/1996 with 20, December 1998 with 26, October 21 2001 with 17, February 17 2003 with 28, January 4 2004 with 10 and December 16 2004 with 15. Many of these dates revolve around escalating hostilities within the region. Bin Laden discusses the *umma* here in a speech given between 1995/1996:

The enemy invaded the land of our *umma*, violated her honor, shed her blood and occupied her sanctuaries...For the first time, the Crusaders have managed to achieve their historic ambitions and dream against Islamic *umma*, gaining control over the Islamic holy places and the Holy Sanctuaries, and hegemony over the wealth and riches of our *umma*, turning the Arab Peninsula into the biggest air,

land, and sea base in the region...Honorable and righteous scholars, come and leady your *umma*...to God.

Again, the *umma* portrayed by bin Laden is that of the historic as well as religious homeland to the nation he is addressing. A homeland, according to bin Laden, that needs protection from outside enemies, which will be addressed later.

Another major theme taken from the holistic view of the speeches of Osama bin Laden is God. Although a small part of this concept map, God is a major part of bin Laden's outlook on the world. Everything is destined by God, according to bin Laden, and it is through his will that the group will have victory through jihad for the *umma*, as portrayed by 9/11. God, in the context of this study, represents the cultural and religious obligation of the people and is the source for community in bin Laden's speeches.

The term God is the most frequently used term in all of bin Laden's speeches. It is interesting to note here, however, that the high frequency of the use of God in bin Laden's speeches did not become extremely significant until just before 9/11 and throughout the post-9/11 era. The highest frequency was in the last speech documented here in December of 2004.

Correlated with God, is Islam. References to Islam are similar to the pattern evident in the previous section on God. This makes sense since Islam is so closely correlated with God. Again, the spike post-9/11 could represent a distinction between "us and them."

God is spoke of by bin Laden in a reverent manner and as the center of the *umma*: Praise be to God. We bessech Him for help and forgiveness. We seek refuge in God from the evil of our souls and our bad deeds. He whom God guides will not go astray, and he whom He leads astray can have no guide. I testicy that there is no god but God alone, Who has no partners and that Muhammad is His slave and Messenger.

In this text bin Laden conveys that God is the center of the community and that through him they will have success. This success is through their ability to morally, spiritually and politically be linked with God. God becomes the center of their morality, culture, economy, history and territory. God and the groups relationship with God, referring back to the template, will become the central part in creating a national identity.

Territorial Differentiation

Central to the creation of national identity is the perception of the “other”. In this section, each theme represents an attribute or attempt to foster community through the perception of an enemy. The theme of war appears frequently within the text of bin Laden’s speeches and contains several sub-themes. The most frequent perception of war in these speeches is that of a religious war, one between good and evil or Islam verses Christianity and Judaism. Osama bin Laden’s concept of war however, is also portrayed as a war of defense against an occupying force; that can be defined as both within and outside the nation. The war addressed in these speeches is conveyed as one that has been going on through history and is coming to fruition in this generation. Second, bin Laden addresses the concept of security.

The frequency of the word “war” was highest post-9/11, although there were consistent mentions pre-9/11 as well. The spike post-9/11 is most likely due to the rhetoric that followed the attacks in America. In addition, contributing to this increase, are the American-led wars in Afghanistan and Iraq. In addition, when discussing war, Crusade should be considered. Crusade is another common term throughout the speeches, most often referring to the enemies of America and Israel as well as in reference to the Crusader war. As seen in the chart, this term increased in use

dramatically post-9/11. This result is similar to the comparison of the pre- and post-9/11 concept maps. This is further evidence that until after 9/11 America was not thought of as a significant enemy.

Bin Laden portrays this war when he states:

We also decree that any of the hypocrites in Iraq, or Arab rulers who have helped American in their murder of Muslims in Iraq, anyone who approved of their actions and followed them into this Crusader war by fighting with them or providing bases of administrative support, or any other kind of backing should be aware that they are apostates who are outside the community of Islam.

In this brief excerpt from a speech given in February of 2003, bin Laden is showing the division of us vs. them. With this creation of “outsiders” bin Laden is able to draw his community closer.

Jihad, the third major theme in bin Laden’s speeches, is stressed frequently throughout the texts. Jihad is portrayed as part of God’s will, a commandment and religious obligation that all Muslims must participate in. This participation can be through financial, spiritual, linguistic, scholastic, or other means. Jihad is not solely seen as a religious obligation but also as a legal and individual duty. When participating in jihad one is taking an active role in defending the land and holy sites of the region against corrupt rulers of the Middle East and outside enemies, such as the United States. The actions of these enemies have motivated many Muslims to use jihad as a means of defense, according to bin Laden. These defenders or executors of jihad are referred to as youth and are described as martyrs, heroes, guardians, and part of a family.

Jihad is another common word used by bin Laden. The pattern here is interesting in that the term jihad had a gradual increase pre-9/11, a gradual drop-off post-9/11, and another spike in 2003 and 2004. The spike in 1998 could be related to the attack on the

US Embassies in Kenya and Tansania. The spikes in 2003 and 2004 are most likely a result of the increase US presence in Iraq and Afghanistan. In the speeches, jihad and duty appear synonymously. When speaking of duty as related to jihad, it is most often correlated with the defense of the *umma*. The concept of duty is most prominent pre-9/11 with some peaks post-9/11.

In this excerpt bin Laden is able to portray jihad as a religious and individual duty. He also is portraying that victory for the group will only come through jihad and the blessings of God, so they should join together for this sake.

For it is a duty, as you well know, to stand up for the truth and show the way to the waiting throngs who crane their necks to see you. Teach them that there is no pride or victory except in jihad for the sake of God, by which the first generation [of Muslims] overcame this sense of estrangements and exile in the world [by becoming Muslims], and by which the latter generations are victorious and are able to overcome their own estrangement.

The enemy is a key component of bin Laden's speeches. The enemy has many manifestations within bin Laden's statements, the first of which is Israel and the Jewish people. According to bin Laden, Israel is without God. In addition, Jewish people are seen by bin Laden as aggressors: that are tyrannical, oppressive, and deceptive, and as murderers of innocent men, women, and children. Moreover, Israel is also seen as the enemy because of its occupation of the holy sites and its consumption of the land and wealth within the region.

America, like Israel, is portrayed as an aggressor committing atrocities against Muslims, destroying the *umma*, and profiting from war. This interpretation is further supported by America's occupation of the Holy Sanctuaries of Muslims and their presence on the Arabian Peninsula. America is also seen as an enemy of a God and

Islam. According to bin Laden, America has destroyed human values, imposed unbelief on the world, and has acted as an immoral, dissolute power.

America is an important term in bin Laden's speeches as the outside enemy. The use of the term America took a sharp increase in 1998, possibly in reaction to the attacks on the US Embassies in Africa. After 9/11, the term was used on a more consistent basis, perhaps due to the increased exposure of the America/Islamic relationship as well as the increase in troop presence and violence in the region. Occupation is also a part of the reference to America. Interestingly, occupation was referred during the pre-9/11 speeches. This is interesting because of the dramatic increase in troop levels in the region after 9/11.

Bin Laden attempts to create a sentiment among the group of America as an "other" or enemy that is against their way of life and they must come together to fight against them:

The Americans' intentions have also become clear in their statements about the need to change the beliefs, curricula, and morals of Muslims in order to become more tolerant, as they put it. In clear terms, it is a religiously-economic war. They want the believers to desist from worshipping God so that they can enslave them, occupy their countries, and loot their wealth. It is strange that they want to dictate democracy and Americanize our culture through their jet bombers.

Again, in this passage bin Laden makes reference to the fact that America is keeping the group from God, their culture and way of life.

Current rulers in the Middle East are also seen as enemies of the *umma*. They do not follow their responsibilities to promote the national economy, public service, and the land itself. These corrupt governments are allies with America and allow the "occupation" and "rule" of America in the Middle East. Moreover, these regimes are outside of man-made laws and betray God through: usury, compete with God, keeping

people from God and are outside religion. Finally, lesser enemies include Europe and Muslims that do not practice jihad. These two enemies are only briefly mentioned throughout the speeches of Osama bin Laden and have a small part in his themes.

The term “government” refers to the rulers of the Middle East. Reference to government is consistent throughout the span of the speeches. The highest peak 24 references were in March 1997. This rhetoric is often targeted at Saudi Arabia. These results also closely correlated with the results from the concept maps.

Here bin Laden makes his hatred for Saudi Arabia apparent, and seeks to bring the people together against the “other” within:

The Saudi regime has committed very serious acts of disobedience –worse than the sins and offenses that are contrary to Islam, worse than oppressing slaves, depriving them of their rights and insulting their dignity, intelligence, and feelings, worse than squandering the general wealth of the nation. Millions of people suffer every day from poverty and deprivation, while millions of riyals flow into the bank accounts of the royals who wield executive power...It has got to the point where the regime has gone so far as to be clearly beyond the pale of Islam, allying itself with infidel America and aiding it against Muslims, and making itself an equal to God by legislating on what is or is not permissible without consulting God.

Here bin Laden describes the Saudi regime not just as an enemy within, but an enemy of the groups cultural and religious obligation.

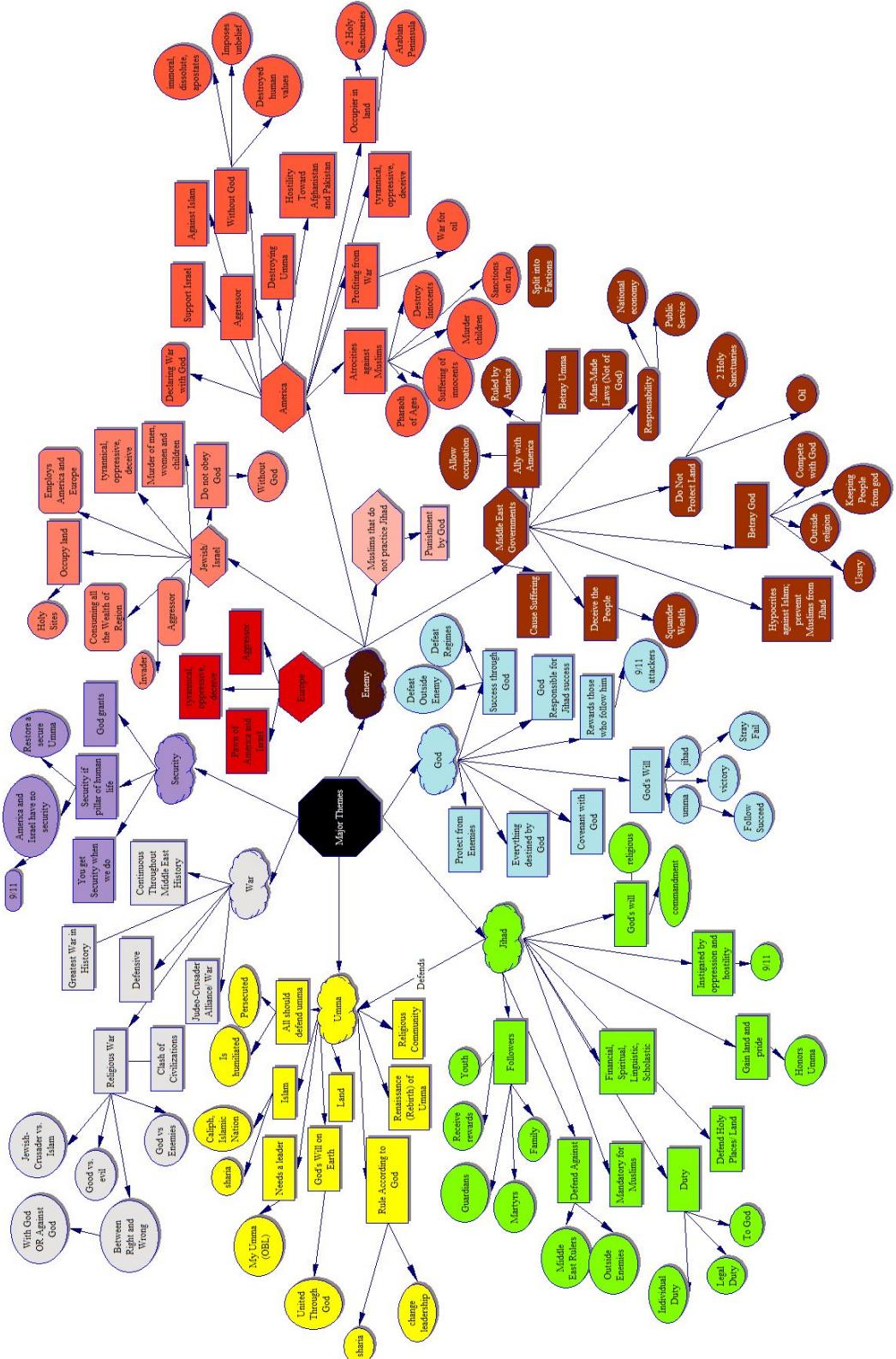


Figure 4.1 – Holistic concept map addressing all of the major themes in the speeches of Osama bin Laden. The major themes are color-coded and the various “enemies” are in shades of red.

Pre-9/11 vs. Post-9/11

The pre-9/11 concept map is comparable to the holistic concept map above. The major difference between these periods is the emphasis on security. Also a major difference between these two maps is the discussion on the enemy. The pre-9/11 speeches focus mainly on the enemy of the corrupt Middle East government and Israel. Although, mentioned in these early statements, America as an enemy does not take on such high status until after 9/11. The concept of war also is different in this pre-9/11 analysis. War, like America, did not become prominent until bin Laden's later speeches.

The post-9/11 concept map is different from the pre-9/11 in that the concept of security is now prevalent. In addition, adding to this concept map is the higher level of importance placed on America as the enemy.

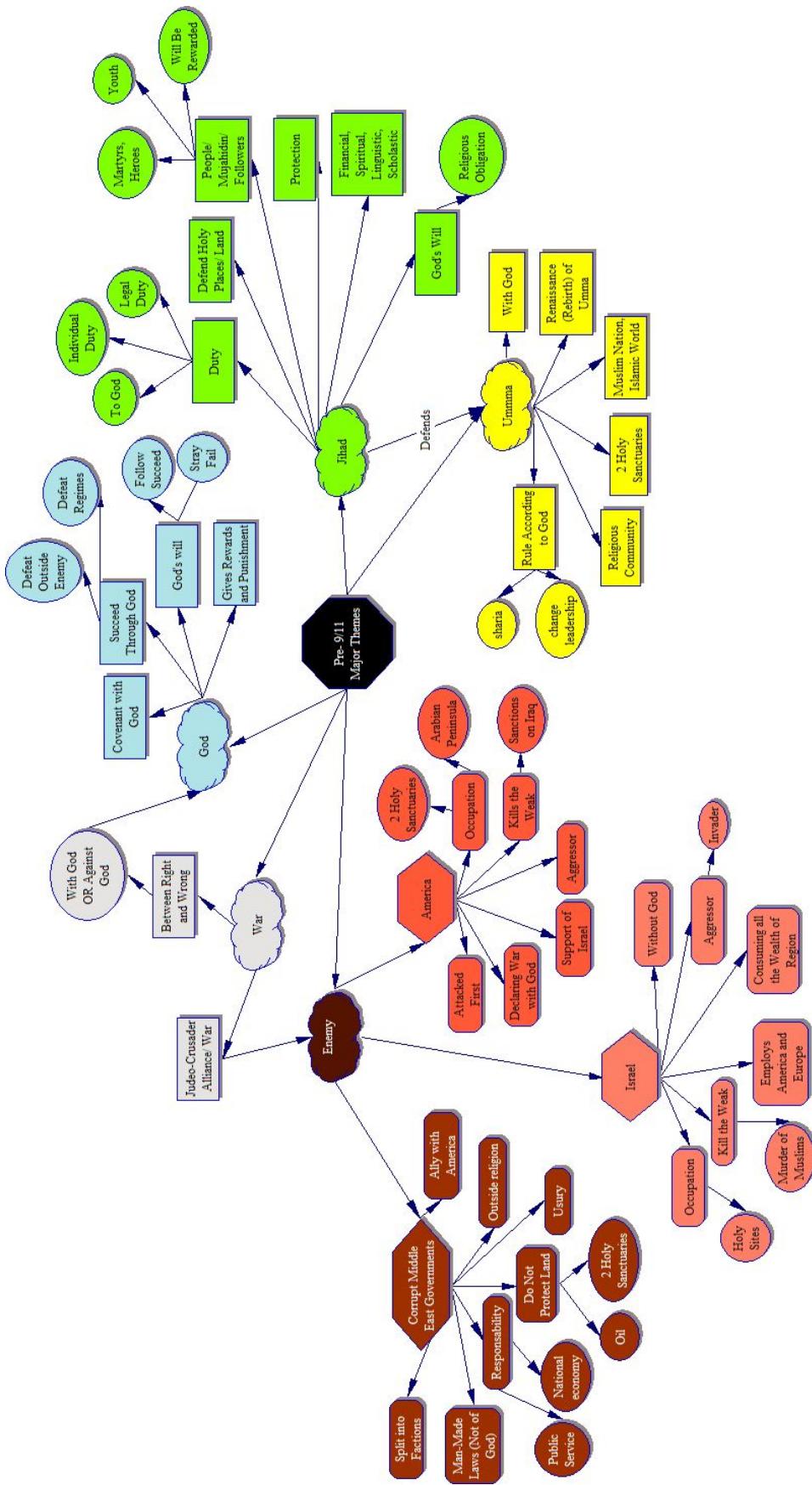


Figure 4.2-Pre-9/11 concept map addressing all of the major themes in the speeches of Osama bin Laden. The major themes are color-coded and the various “enemies” are in shades of red.

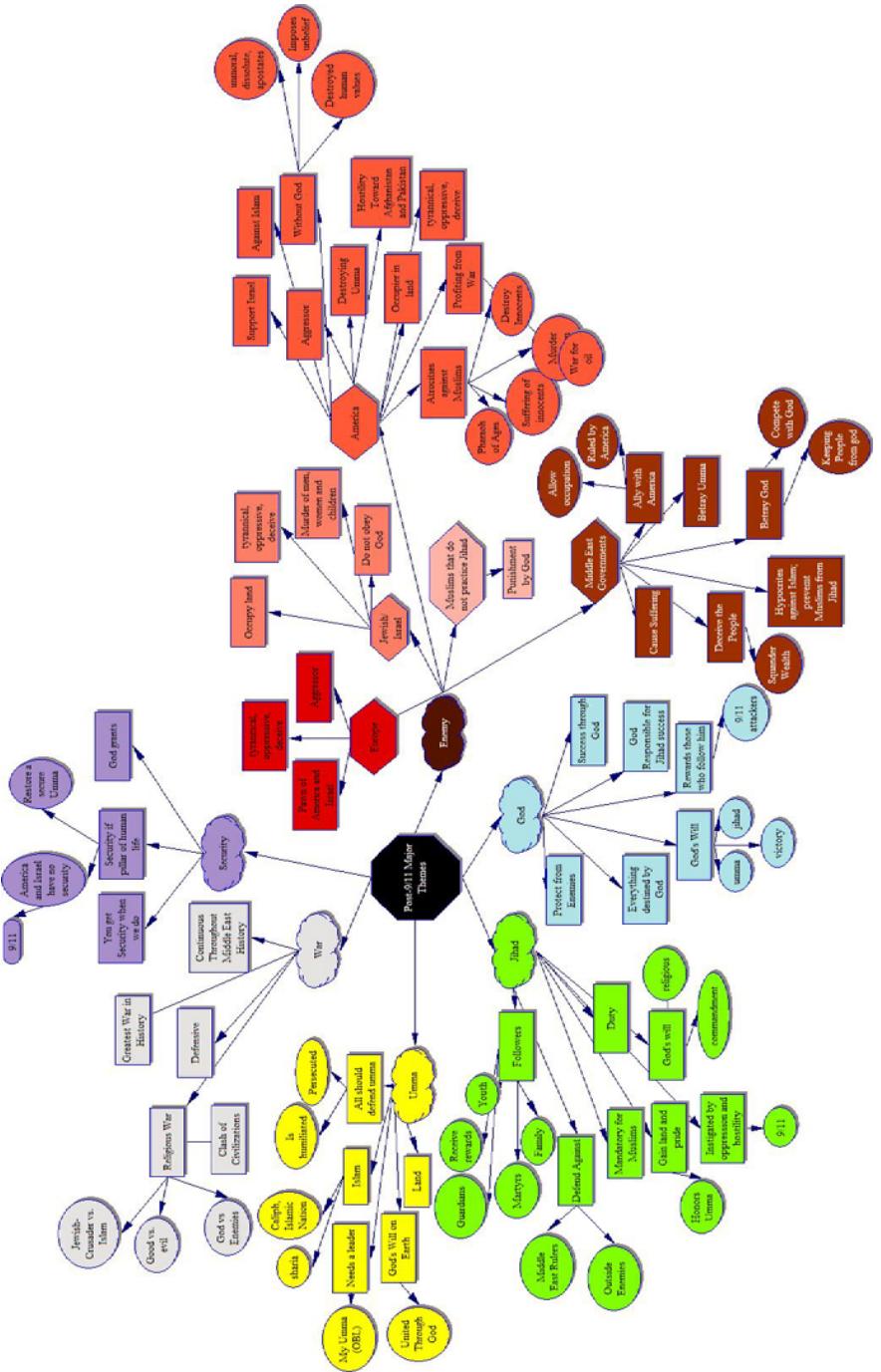


Figure 4.3- Post-9/11 concept map addressing all of the major themes in the speeches of Osama bin Laden. The major themes are color-coded and the various “enemies” are in shades of red.

Frequency of Countries

Bin Laden utilized the concept of geographic space when dividing the world into two: the House of Islam (*Dar al-Islam*), which will be referred to as the “Islamic World,” and the House of War (*Dar al-Harb*) (Hobbs 2006). In this part of the research, the objective was to determine, what countries constitute this Islamic World and their importance therein. I performed this analysis by highlighting each country that was referred to in a positive light or at the center of the struggle between the Islamic World and the House of War. In the case of Saudi Arabia and Iraq, bin Laden used the cities Riyadh and Baghdad to refer to the entire country, so they were acknowledged in the same respect. After highlighting the countries, a tally was made of the number of times each country was mentioned (Appendix E); this tally would later translate into a country’s importance value.

From this discourse analysis and additional research done on government published data on population, religious adherence, and troop levels, several tables and maps were made to illustrate the “Islamic World.” The following figure shows the 41 states identified by bin Laden as the “Islamic World” and the percent of religious adherents in each of the major religious categories in the region: Islam, Christian, Indigenous, Catholic, Jewish, Hindu, Buddhist as well as an “other” category for remaining religious beliefs (in the case of Israel and Palestine; the separate areas of Israel, the Gaza Strip and the West Bank were presented). From this initial analysis, it was found that several countries included in bin Laden’s “Islamic World,” had a Muslim population of less than 15%, those countries are Romania with 1%; Burma (Myanmar), East Timor and Thailand with 4%; the Philippines with 5%; and India with 13%. This discrepancy in the data can be accounted for when it is realized that each of these

countries has a growing population of Islamic adherents. They also have been known to host elements of radical Islamic activity and, in some cases, they have oppressed their Muslim population, such as in the Philippines.

Population	Regions	Muslim	Other	Christian	Indigenous	Catholic	Jewish	Hindu	Buddhist
31,056,997	Afghanistan	99%	1%						
32,930,091	Algeria	99%		0.5%			0.5%		
698,585	Bahrain	81.2%	9.8%	9%					
147,365,352	Bangladesh	83%	1%					16%	
4,498,976	Bosnia	40%	14%			15%			
47,382,633	Burma	4%	2%	4%					89%
900,000	Chechnya	63%							
1,062,777	East Timor	4%	2.5%	3%		90%		0.5%	
78,887,007	Egypt	90%		1%					
4,786,994	Eritrea	50%	10%	40%					
1,095,351,995	India	13.4%	1.8%	2.3%				80.5%	
245,452,739	Indonesia	88%	1%	5%		3%		2%	1%
68,688,433	Iran	98%	2%						
26,783,383	Iraq	97%	3%						
5,906,760	Jordan	92%	2%	6%					
12,000,000	Kashmir	95%	0.8%					4%	0.2%
2,418,393	Kuwait	85%	15%						
3,874,050	Lebanon	59.7%	1.3%	39%					
5,900,754	Libya	97%	3%						
24,385,858	Malaysia	52%		8%	2%			8%	17%
3,177,388	Mauritania	100%							
33,241,259	Morocco	98.7%		1.1%			0.2%		
131,859,731	Nigeria	50%		40%	10%				
3,102,229	Oman	90%		2%				8%	
165,803,560	Pakistan	97%	3%						
1,428,757	Gaza Strip	98.7%		0.7%			0.6%		
2,460,492	West Bank	75%	8%				17%		
6,352,117	Israel	15.9%	6%	2.1%			76.5%		
89,468,677	Philippines	5%	1.8%	4.5%		80.9%			
885,359	Qatar	95%	5%						
22,303,552	Romania	1%		94.3%		4.7%			
27,019,731	Saudi Arabia	100%							
8,863,338	Somalia	90%	8%	2%					
41,236,378	Sudan	70%		5%	25%				
18,881,361	Syria	74%	16%	10%					
7,320,815	Tajikistan	90%	10%						
37,445,392	Tanzania	38%		28%	34%				
64,631,595	Thailand	4.6%	0.1%	0.7%					94.6%
10,175,014	Tunisia	98%	0.5%	1%			0.5%		
2,602,713	U.A.E.	96%	4%						
21,456,188	Yemen	100%							
2,540,047,423	Total								

Figure 4.4- Chart of countries and religious adherents

The next figure presents the importance value for each country. As stated before, a country's importance value was based on the number of times bin Laden mentioned it in the text of his speech. Topping the list was Palestine (141), Saudi Arabia (140), Iraq (119), and Afghanistan (111). The prevalence of Iraq and Afghanistan in bin Laden's speeches is directly related to the current conflicts in those areas. The greater importance of Saudi Arabia can be explained by the fact that Saudi Arabia contains the most sacred Islamic sites in the cities of Mecca and Medina. Further analysis of this idea counted the number of times bin Laden mentioned the "two Holy Sanctuaries" (Mecca or Medina) and this totaled 27 times (seen Figure 4.9). Last, Palestine is most likely stressed so al-Qaeda can gain popularity within the greater Middle East community, which supports a Palestinian state and the dismantling of Israel.

COUNTRY	Importance
Afghanistan	111
Algeria	2
Bahrain	3
Bangladesh	2
Bosnia	11
Burma	1
Chechnya	21
East Timor	3
Egypt	18
Eritrea	2
India	5
Indonesia	8
Iran	4
Iraq	119
Jordan	8
Kashmir	17
Kuwait	5
Lebanon	21
Libya	2
Malaysia	1
Mauritania	2
Morocco	3
Nigeria	3
Oman	1
Pakistan	39
Palestine	141
Philippines	11
Qatar	2
Romania	1
Saudi Arabia	140
Somalia	16
Sudan	18
Syria	2
Tajikistan	2
Tanzania	1
Thailand	1
Tunisia	2
U.A.E.	2
Yemen	15

Figure 4.5- The countries included in Osama bin Laden's nation and their importance values.

The final chart shows the 2003 levels of American troop involvement in the “Islamic World.” This analysis was done because bin Laden’s objective is to rid the region of American troops. In a speech addressed to America in October of 2002, he stated, “Your forces occupy our countries; you spread your military bases throughout them; you corrupt our land, and you besiege our sanctuaries...we advise you to pack your luggage and get out of our lands.” The chart, immediately shows the high levels of troops in both Afghanistan and Iraq, but relatively high numbers are found for Bosnia, Qatar, Kuwait, and Saudi Arabia. In all, there are nearly 213,000 American troops in the region designated as the “Islamic World” by bin Laden.

Country	Number of Troops
Afghanistan	17,900
Algeria	7
Bahrain	1,514
Bangladesh	7
Bosnia	3,041
Burma	9
Chechnya	0
East Timor	0
Egypt	385
Eritrea	2
India	26
Indonesia	21
Iran	0
Iraq	183,002
Jordan	24
Kashmir	0
Kuwait	2,500
Lebanon	3
Libya	0
Malaysia	19
Mauritania	0
Morocco	14
Nigeria	14
Oman	32
Pakistan	33
Gaza Strip	0
West Bank	0
Israel	36
Philippines	107
Qatar	2,997
Romania	16
Saudi Arabia	953
Somalia	0
Sudan	0
Syria	9
Tajikistan	0
Tanzania	7
Thailand	132
Tunisia	15
U.A.E.	73
Yemen	23
Total Troops	212,921

Figure 4.6- Troop numbers are based on 2003 levels given by the Defense Department
 <<http://www.dior.whs.mil/mmid/M05/hst0309.pdf>>

These charts are further displayed in maps (Maps 1-3). Figure 4.8, shows the region that has been referred to as the “Islamic World” which spans from Morocco in the west to the island countries of Indonesia and the Philippines in the east, and from Bosnia and Romania in the north to as far south as Tanzania. This map is similar to the span of the Arab Empire at its height (750-1100 AD), as seen below (Figure 4.7). The similarities between these two maps is not coincidental, as bin Laden makes many references throughout his speeches to the old empires of the region: for example, he refers to the Byzantines, the Arab Empire and its war with Europe (Crusades), and the Ottoman Empire and its division into more than 50 states after World War I. In other words, bin Laden may be seeking to bring this region back to its former glory.

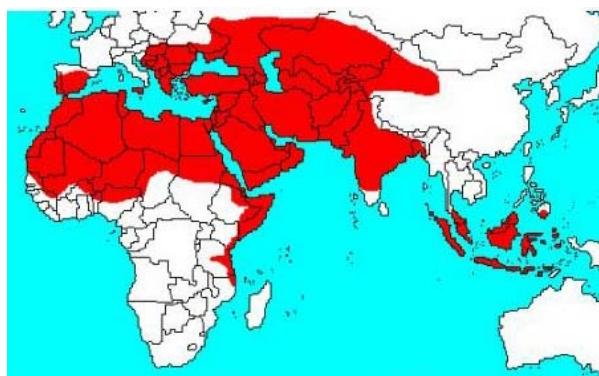


Figure 4.7- the Arabic Empires height in 1100AD

The unification of the greater Islamic world is often referred to as the *umma*. *Umma* is referred to numerous times throughout the ten years of bin Laden’s speeches (Figure 4.18). This reference to *umma* shows bin Laden’s attempt and determination as a leader to unite the Islamic community together, with the ultimate goal of forming a unified nation.

The "Islamic World" according to Osama bin Laden

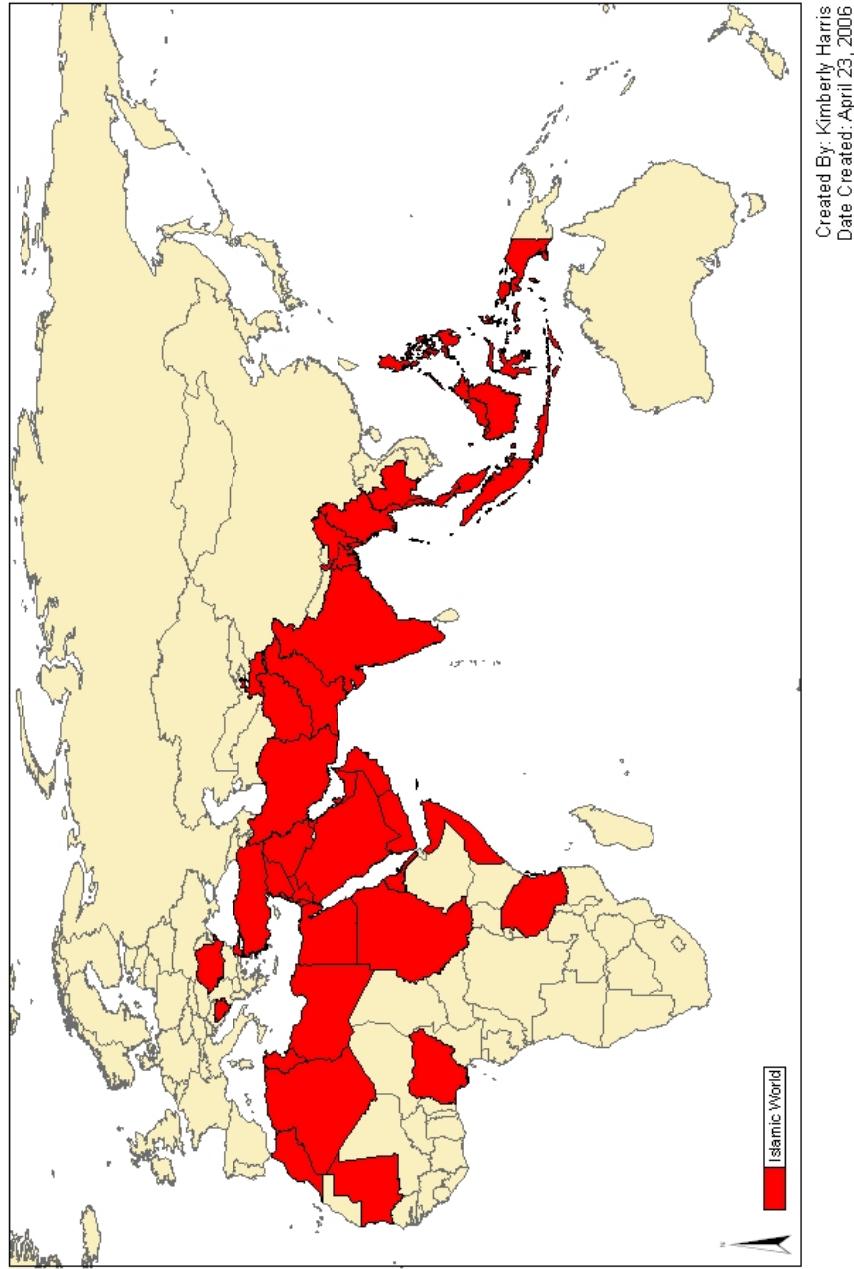


Figure 4.8: Map 1- The "Islamic World according to Osama bin Laden

OTHERS	IMPORTANCE
Islamic World	61
Arab Peninsula	36
caliphate	6
Holy Sanctuaries	27
<i>Umma</i>	153
East Africa	3
Ottoman	3

Figure 4.9- key terms in bin Laden's speeches

Figure 4.10, is a representation of the importance of each country within the “Islamic World.” The most important countries are represented with a large red dot, and the least important are represented by small green dots. Again, the most important states are Palestine, Saudi Arabia, Iraq, and Afghanistan. The light green dot above Israel represents Lebanon, and also note the relative importance of Pakistan.

Figure 4.11, shows the American troop levels throughout the Eastern Hemisphere as well as within the “Islamic World.” The highest concentrations are in Iraq and Afghanistan, but high concentrations exist along the Persian Gulf and Saudi Arabia. The three dots in orange closest to the gulf coincide with the countries Bahrain, Kuwait, and Qatar, and although the orange dot represents troop numbers ranging from 500-3000, each of these nations has troop numbers of 1,514, 2,500 and 2,997 respectively.

I then compared the concentrations of these troops to a map produced by ESRI based on the International Petroleum Encyclopedia of Iraqi pipelines, oil fields, and terminals. The correlation between the two maps seems evident, and to bin Laden it is no coincidence that American troops would be gathered near this resource. As he states in a speech, dated January 4, 2004, “the occupation of Iraq [comes first]...Then comes the full occupation of the rest of the Gulf states to set the stage for controlling and

dominating the whole world. For the big powers believe that the Gulf and the Gulf states are the key to controlling the world, due to the presence of the largest oil reserves there.”

Countries importance according to Osama bin Laden

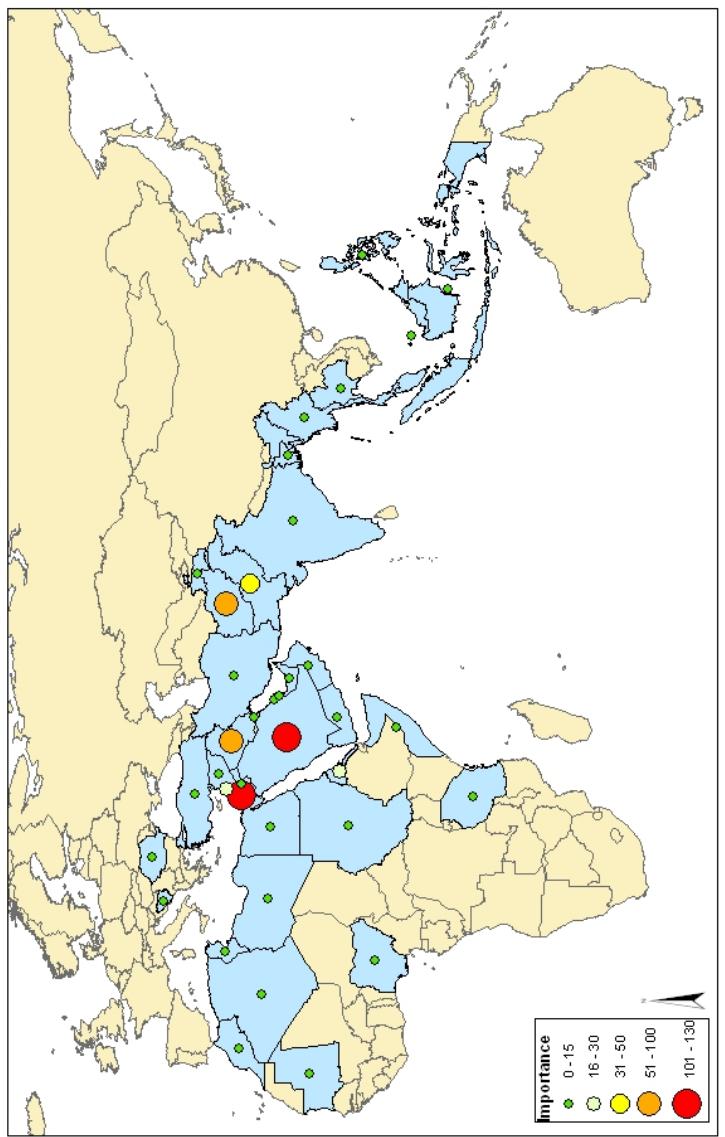
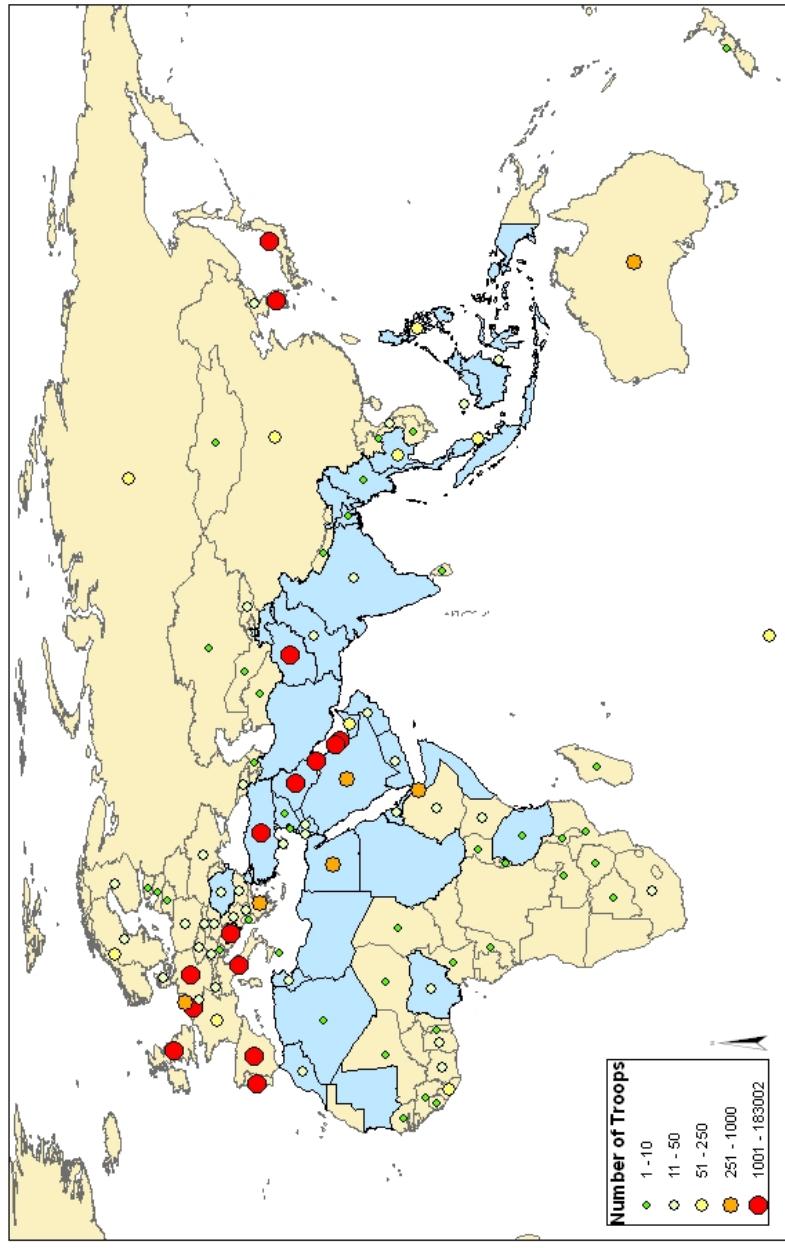


Figure 4.10: Map 2- Shows the frequency each country was mentioned cartographically

Troop Levels in the Eastern Hemisphere and "Islamic World"



Created By: Kimberly Harris
Date Created: April 23, 2006
Source: Department of Defense

Figure 4.11: Map 3- Shows the number of troops throughout the region bin Laden refers to as the Islamic World

V

Discussion and Conclusion

This final section will discuss how the analysis above relates to nationalism and national identity. In addition, this section will also make some general conclusions on how nationalism and national identity can be utilized by stateless nations such as the one portrayed by bin Laden. This discussion will refer back to the template adapted from Van Noije and Hijnmans (2005) presented in the methodology. Finally, the territorial claims of bin Laden will be addressed.

National Identity and Nationalism in the Speeches

As stated in the literature review and outlined in the template, national identity is created through historical claims to territory, a shared history, culture (including language, myths, society, politics and economy), a shared future, religion, common suffering, and an “other.” Osama bin Laden has addressed each of these themes. First, the idea of a historical claim to territory can be seen from the maps depicted in the analysis and also in bin Laden’s references to previous wars such as the Crusades, the wars with Russia, as well as prominent figures throughout the history of the Islamic religion and rule of the Middle East. The claims to territory bin Laden makes are reminiscent of the old Arab Empire and bin Laden bases these claims on Islamic holy sites throughout the Middle East. Included in these holy sites are the Two Holy

Sanctuaries, known by most as Mecca and Medina. Jerusalem is also mentioned as a holy site.

Historical claims to territory are a significant part of bin Laden's speeches and are central to the concept of national identity. Territorial claims are what separate ethnic identity and ethnonationalism from national identity and nationalism. Bin Laden uses these claims of territory to show the "occupation" of outside enemies in "our" land. This portrayal of an "us vs. them" or an invasion into "our" land fosters a growing sense of national identity among the people bin Laden is addressing.

Second, a shared history is one of the main concepts of national identity presented in the template for this study. Histories are something bin Laden emphasizes throughout his speeches as seen from examples within the individual concept maps as well as embedded in the frequencies of key terms crusade, war and occupation. These terms are often bin Laden referring to the wars of the past that the people or their ancestors have endured together. Most often, these references are to the Russian-Afghanistan War, the Crusades in the Middle Ages, and both World Wars. Each of these events had detrimental effects on the Middle East -its moral as well as its national borders.

Territoriality

The potential territory that bin Laden claims as part of a greater nation, is comparable to the old Arabic empire and what many extremist Muslims see as the ideal. Additionally, culture and its social, political, and economic implications are addressed by Osama bin Laden. The most significant of the aspects of culture concern the proper way a country should be run as well as how to utilize a region's wealth. Specifically, bin Laden communicates that his followers want to establish a common political structure be

instilled by God. The significance of economics is shown by bin Laden's emphasis on the oil in the region (Figure 4.1; 4.21). The social aspect of culture is religious in nature and will be discussed under this section.

The idea of a shared future is portrayed in Osama bin Laden's speeches when he discusses the ideas of sharia, or rule by God's law. He also speaks of his future plans for the region, including overthrowing the current regime, replacing them with someone who will follow God's law (like the Taliban of Afghanistan), and how to ruling the economy effectively and establishing social programs for the region. Detailed in the concept maps of the individual speeches as well as a branch in holistic map (under enemy), this is a significant portion concept in bin Laden's construction of national identity.

A shared suffering is also evident in bin Laden's speeches. This idea of suffering was not prevalent in the literature on nationalism and national identity, but it is still significant to the construction of national identity in this case. Bin Laden portrays the Muslim and Arabic population as suffering at the hands of the enemy (America, Israel and Middle Eastern governments). This idea is evident in the themes within the holistic concept map. In this map, it shows that the Muslim people are being murdered, starved, and displaced at the hands of the enemies. A broad sense of suffering among the people allows them to band together for both support and to revolt against an enemy.

Religion is one of the most significant ideas addressed in bin Laden's speeches as evident by the frequency with which God is mentioned. The major ideas that bin Laden centers around God are his ability to protect from the enemy, his omnipotent control of events, that we (bin Laden and followers) are following the will of God, that God is choosing sides in the battle between "good and evil" (Islam and Crusaders), and that

those that follow him will be rewarded. Additionally, the prevalence of the term “Islam” in bin Laden’s speeches also shows not only the significance of God, but God in relation to the religion of Islam.

Islam is a religion that not only imparts religious knowledge but also dictates the culture of its followers. It depends on a single language (Arabic) that all members are expected to know in order to read the Koran in its original text. In addition, the Islamic religion imparts on its people a set of customs. These customs include sanctions on drinking and sex and impart a sense of duty, charity, and camaraderie. Duty is especially significant in the context of the speeches of bin Laden. The frequency chart in the analysis section includes the importance of duty to bin Laden and his followers. Bin Laden essentially claiming that their duty to God is to defend the *umma* through daily actions and jihad.

Finally, the idea of the “other” is extremely significant to bin Laden’s national identity and nationalism. The “other” is shown in the concept maps under the branch “enemy.” It includes both outside forces such as America, Israel, and Britain, but also inside forces such as the western-allied governments within the region. The enemies have several key characteristics they cause suffering, pose a danger to the “land” and *umma*, and act as aggressors, occupiers, and without God. These are all significant to national identity, in that the idea of an enemy causes people who otherwise would not band together to join the cause to defend their territory, culture, and religious freedom. An interesting note when speaking of the enemy is the shift in focus of pre-9/11 and post-9/11, evident in the concept maps. The enemy pre-9/11 was often seen as within, but after 9/11 the focus was almost entirely on America. This shows the importance of an

enemy in creating national identity. For nations, it is necessary to recognize those that are separate; the substantial dissimilarities will allow a group to find camaraderie with one another. When there are no outside forces to point fingers at an enemy within is created, much like the Jewish in Germany during World War II and the Middle Eastern governments of day.

Nationalism is a more intense feeling of national identity, often existing in correlation with war. This is also true in the case of Osama bin Laden's speeches. Nationalism exists in bin Laden's speeches as evident in both calls to jihad and the references to being at war. Jihad and war are both major concepts in the concept maps and frequency charts. Violence is portrayed as an obligation for Muslim people, which is significant to the sentiment in the region. As stated earlier, shared suffering and the perception of an occupied homeland bind people together, but jihad and war are used to instigate action. This action is portrayed by bin Laden as defensive. Additionally, the war and jihad are portrayed as means to keep the peoples identity as Muslims.

General observations of National Identity and Nationalism in Stateless Nations

National identity and nationalism are inherent not only in the speeches of recognized political leaders such as presidents, but also can exist in stateless communities such as the one addressed by Osama bin Laden. Additionally, suffering and religion can be inherent to the construction of national identity and nationalism although not addressed by other studiers of national identity and nationalism

Future Research

To expand on this research it would be beneficial to repeat this analysis for other organization considered nations without states, not just terrorist groups. Additionally it would be beneficial to compare the portrayal of national identity and nationalism of competing leaders in a nation.

APPENDIX A

Speeches and the Dates They Were Given

SPEECH	DATE
The Betrayal of Palestine	29-Dec-94
The Invasion of Arabia	1995/1996
Declaration of Jihad	23-Aug-96
The Saudi Regime	Nov-96
From Somalia to Afghanistan	Mar-97
The World Islamic Front	23-Feb-98
A Muslim Bomb	Dec-98
Under Mullah Omar	9-Apr-01
To Our Brother in Pakistan	24-Sep-01
The Winds Of Faith	7-Oct-01
Terror For Terror	21-Oct-01
Crusader Wars	3-Nov-01
The Example of Vietnam	12-Nov-01
Nineteen Students	26-Dec-01
To The People of Afghanistan	25-Aug-02
To The Americans	6-Oct-02
To The Allies of America	12-Nov-02
To The People Of Iraq	11-Feb-03
Among A Band of Knights	14-Feb-03
Quagmiers of the Tigris and Euphrates	19-Oct-03
Resist the New Rome	4-Jan-04
To The Peoples Of Europe	15-Apr-04
The Towers of Lebanon	29-Oct-04
Depose the Tyrants	16-Dec-04

*Names of Speeches Taken from *Messages to the World The Statements of Osama Bin Laden* by Bruce Lawrence (2005)

APPENDIX B

Coding Sample

* Look up "Crusade" in all speeches!
+ "mujahidin"

Crusader Wars: November 3 2001

Praise be to God. We beseech Him for help and forgiveness. We seek refuge in God from the evil of our souls and our bad deeds. He whom God guides will not go astray, and he whom He leads astray can have no guide. I testify that there is no god but God alone, who has no equal.

In the midst of these tumultuous events, after these great attacks that struck America at its heart in New York and Washington, there was enormous and unprecedented media coverage, which has conveyed people's views on events. People have been divided into two camps: those who support the attacks against American arrogance and tyranny, and those who condemn them. Shortly afterwards, when the United States launched this unjust campaign against the Islamic Emirate of Afghanistan, people were again divided: one section supported these unjust campaigns, and the other condemned and rejected them.

These major events that have divided people into two camps are of great concern to Muslims, since many of the rulings pertain to them, and they are of significant relevance as concerns Islam and acts contrary to it. It is therefore necessary for Muslims to understand the nature and reality of this struggle, in order to decide which side to take.

The mass demonstrations from the easternmost point in the Islamic world to its westernmost point, from Indonesia, the Philippines, Bangladesh, India, and Pakistan to the Arab world and finally to Nigeria and Mauritania, show that this war is fundamentally religious in nature. The Muslims of the East have responded to and sympathized with other Muslims against the Crusader people of the West. Those who try to hide this clear and evident reality, which the entire world knows to be true, are deceiving the Islamic nation and trying to deflect their attention from the real nature of the struggle. This reality is established in the book of God Almighty and in the teachings of our Prophet. We cannot ignore this enmity between us and the infidels, since it is a doctrinal one. We must show loyalty to the believers and those who profess that there is no god but God, and we must renounce the idolaters, infidels, and heretics (against whom I seek God's help). God Almighty said "And the Jews and Christians will not be satisfied with you until you follow their faith." So the issue is one of faith and doctrine, not of a "war on terror," as Bush and Blair depict it. Many thieves belonging to this nation were captured, and no one moved. However, these masses from the furthest east to the furthest west do not move for bin Laden's sake but for the sake of their religion, because they know that they are in the right, and that they are resisting the strongest, fiercest, most dangerous and violent Crusader campaign against Islam since Muhammad was sent. In light of this clear and evident fact Muslims must know where they stand in relation to this war.

After American politicians had spoken, and American newspapers and television channels overflowed with evident Crusader hatred in this campaign against Islam and its people, Bush left no room for the doubts or media opinion. He stated clearly that this war is a Crusader war. He said this in front of the whole world so as to emphasize this fact. Those who maintain that this war is against terrorism, what is this terrorism that they talk about at a time when people of the umma have been slaughtered for decades, in response to which we do not hear a single voice or action of resistance? When the victim starts to avenge the innocent children in Palestine, Iraq, southern Sudan, Somalia, Kashmir, and the Philippines, the hypocrites and rulers' jurists stand

Burns
two camps = US vs. mem
Choosing a Side: part of us or them.
Judaism
Side on either side
atheism
You believe in God, or
You are an idolater & heretic
choose aside
a righteous decision
the right side
a matter of doing what is correct
people have been slaughtered by the enemy
enemies should be destroyed, but us, a

up and defend this blatant disbelief—I seek God's help against them all. The masses have understood the issue, but some still flatter those who have conspired with the infidels to prevent the Islamic nation from undertaking the duty of *jihad* to reassert the authority of God's word. For the truth is that Bush has fought a *Crusade* and raised his banner high, and stood at the front of the procession. All those who have stood behind him in this campaign have committed one of the ten contraventions of Islam. The people of knowledge have agreed that allegiance to the infidels and their supporters against the believers is among the biggest contraventions of Islam. There is no strength or power save with God.

→ necessitate
"God's war"

of infidels
to support
your beliefs in
against
it against &
right &
God.
WWF

history
Crusades:
What do
they mean
to the Muslims

Look at this war that began some days ago against Afghanistan. Is it a single, unrelated event, or is it part of a long series of *Crusader* wars against the Islamic world? Since World War One, which ended over 83 years ago, the entire Islamic world has fallen under the *Crusader* banners, under the British, French, and Italian governments. They divided up the whole world between them, and Palestine fell into the hands of the British. From that day to this more than 83 years later, our brothers and sons have been tortured in Palestine. Hundreds of thousands of them have been killed, hundreds of thousands detained. Then look at recent events, for example in Chechnya. This Muslim nation has been attacked by the Russian predator, which believes in the Orthodox Christian creed. The Russians have exterminated an entire people and forced them into the mountains, where they have been devoured by disease and freezing winter, and yet no one has done anything about it. Then there is the genocidal war in Bosnia that took place in front of the whole world's eyes and ears. For several years, even in the heart of Europe, our brothers were murdered, our women raped, and our children slaughtered in the safe havens of the United Nations, and with its knowledge and cooperation. Those who refer our tragedies today to the United Nations, and want us to resolve them through it, are hypocrites who are trying to deceive God and His Prophet and those who believe. Aren't our tragedies actually a result of the United Nations' actions? Who issued the decision to partition Palestine in 1947 and gave Islamic lands to the Jews? It was the United Nations. Those who maintain that they are the leaders of the Arabs are still part of the United nations are contravening what was revealed to Muhammad. Those who refer to international legitimacy have contravened the legitimacy of the Qu'ran and the teachings of the Prophet. For it is at the hands of this same United Nations that we have suffered so much. No Muslim, nor anyone in his right mind, should appeal to it under any circumstances. It is merely an agent of this crime by which we are massacred daily, and which it does nothing to stop. For more than fifty years, our brothers in Kashmir have been tortured, slaughtered, killed and raped. Their blood has been shed and their houses broken into, and yet still the United Nations has done nothing. And today, without any evidence, the United Nations passes resolutions in support of tyrannical, oppressive America, against these poor people who have emerged from a ruinous war at the hands of the Soviet Union. Look at the second Chechen war that is still going on today. An entire people is once again being subjected to war by this Russian predator. The humanitarian agencies, even the American ones, have called on President Clinton to stop supporting Russia, but Clinton says that this will not serve American interests. A year ago Putin called on the Crusaders and Jews to stand by him, telling them that they should support him and thank him for waging war against Islam. The enemies are speaking very clearly and yet the leaders of the region hide and are ashamed to support their brothers. And what is worse, they even prevent Muslims from helping their own brothers. Look at the position of the West and the United Nations with regard to events in Indonesia. They moved to partition the most populous nation in the Islamic world. That criminal Kofi Annan publicly put pressure on

what do
religions?
some regions
because of
"we've
Suffered!"
they
suffering

U.N.
enemy!
Suffering
@ my hands
of the enemy

*Each act
of a part
of a world
of people*

the Indonesian government, telling it that it had 24 hours to partition and separate East Timor from Indonesia, otherwise he would have to introduce military forces to do it. The Crusader armies of Australia were on the shores of Indonesia and they did in fact intervene and separate East Timor, which is part of the Islamic world.

→ Separating
East Timor
from Muslim
Land

We should therefore see events not as isolated incidents, but as part of a long chain of conspiracies, a war of annihilation in all senses of the word. On the pretext of reconstruction, 13,000 of our brothers were killed in Somalia. In southern Sudan hundreds of thousands were killed, and as for events in Palestine and Iraq, word cannot do them justice. More than a million children have been killed in Iraq, and the killing continues. As for what is happening these days in Palestine, may God help us. No one, not even animals, would put up with what is going on there. One of my confidants told me that he saw a butcher slaughtering a camel in front of another camel. When it saw the blood coming out of its brother it got so agitated and enraged that it bit the man's hand and tore it right off.

→ Supporting
ISLAMIC
struggles
around the
world
to support
martyrs
of children

How can the poor mothers in Palestine bear the murder of their children at the hands of the oppressive Jewish policemen, with American support, American aeroplanes and tanks? Those who distinguish between America and Israel are true enemies of the ummah. They are traitors who have betrayed God, His Prophet, and their ummah, who have betrayed its trust and who numb its senses. These battles cannot be seen in isolation from each other, but must be seen as part of the great series of fierce and ugly Crusader wars against Islam.

America - Israel
Crusaders
against war
against our
"our ummah"
Islam

Every Muslim must stand under the banner that says: "There is no god but God and Muhammad is His Prophet." I would remind you of what our Prophet told ibn Abbas, may God be pleased with him, He said: "Boy, I am going to teach you something. Remember God, and you will find him on your side. If you ask for something ask God. If you seek help, seek God's help. You should know that if the ummah comes together to help you in some way, it can only do so with something that God has already decided for you. If it comes together to harm you, the same applies, God decides man's fate."

"ummah" will
come together
if God will

brothers = community

I tell the Muslims who have given everything in these last weeks to continue along your path. For your stand with us gives strength to us and to your brothers in Afghanistan. Give more efforts in the struggle against this unprecedented global crime.

* Global
aggression
against Muslim

O Muslims, fear God and help your religion, for Islam is calling you, May God bear witness that I have conveyed the message.

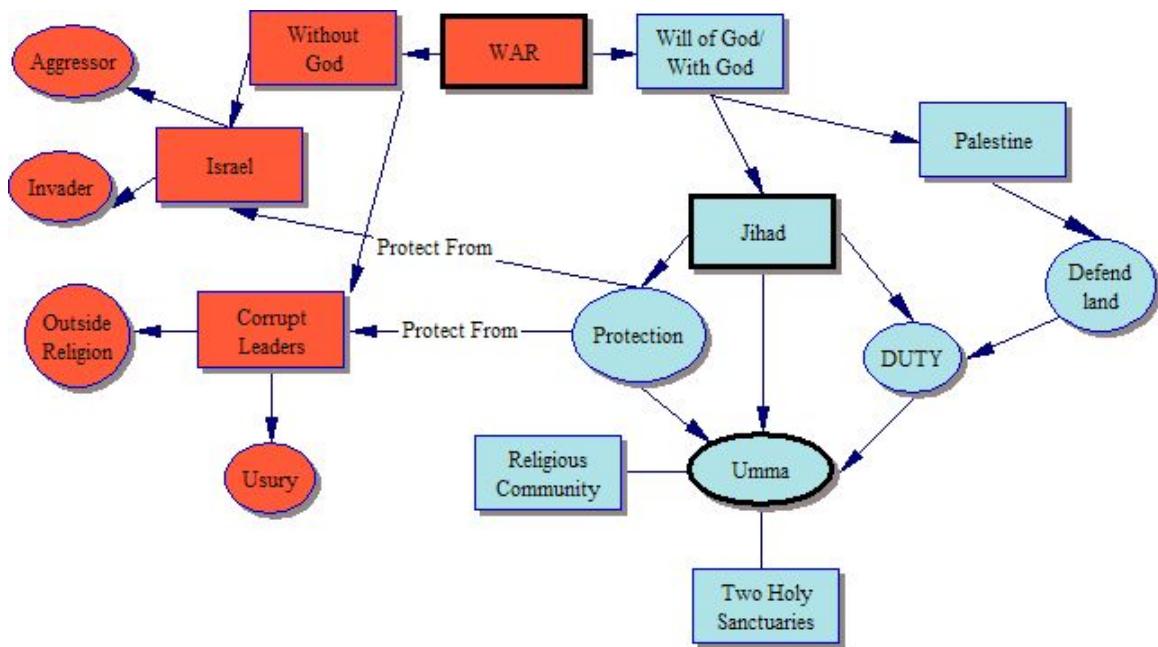
Peace, and all God's mercy and blessings, be upon you.

APPENDIX C

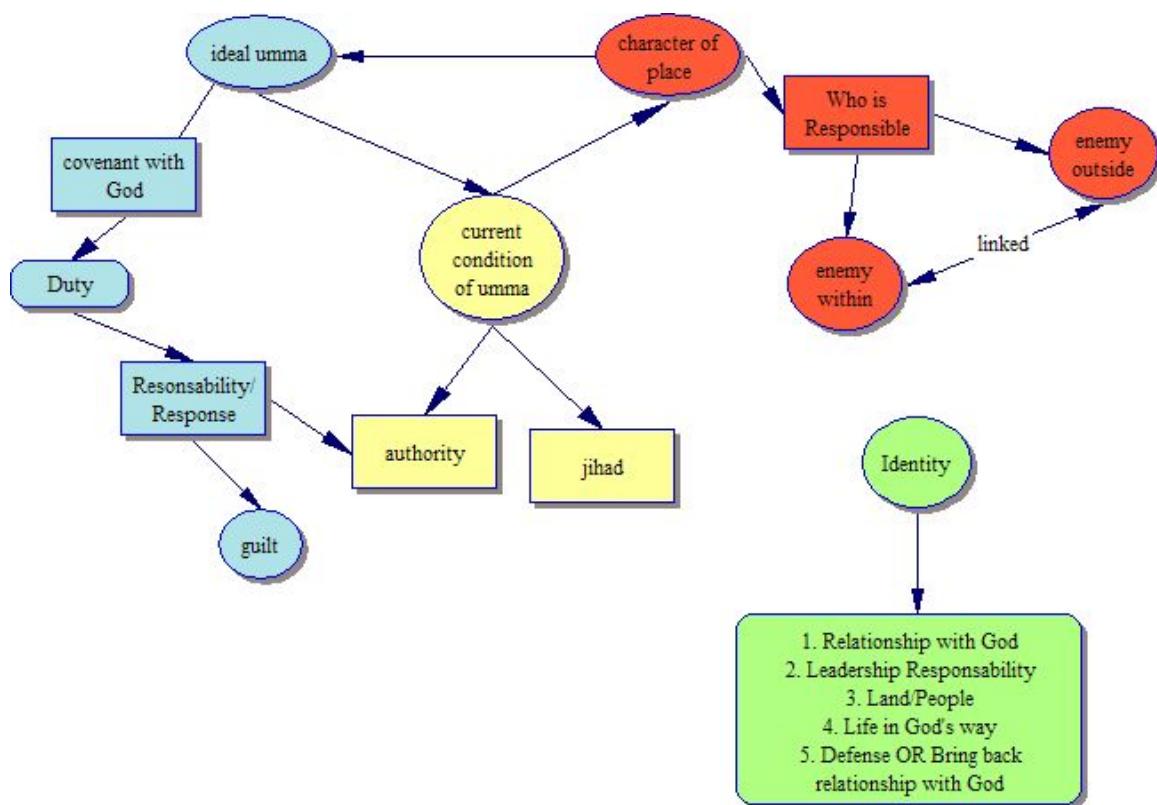
Concept Maps from Speeches

Speech: The Betrayal of Palestine

Date: December 29, 1994

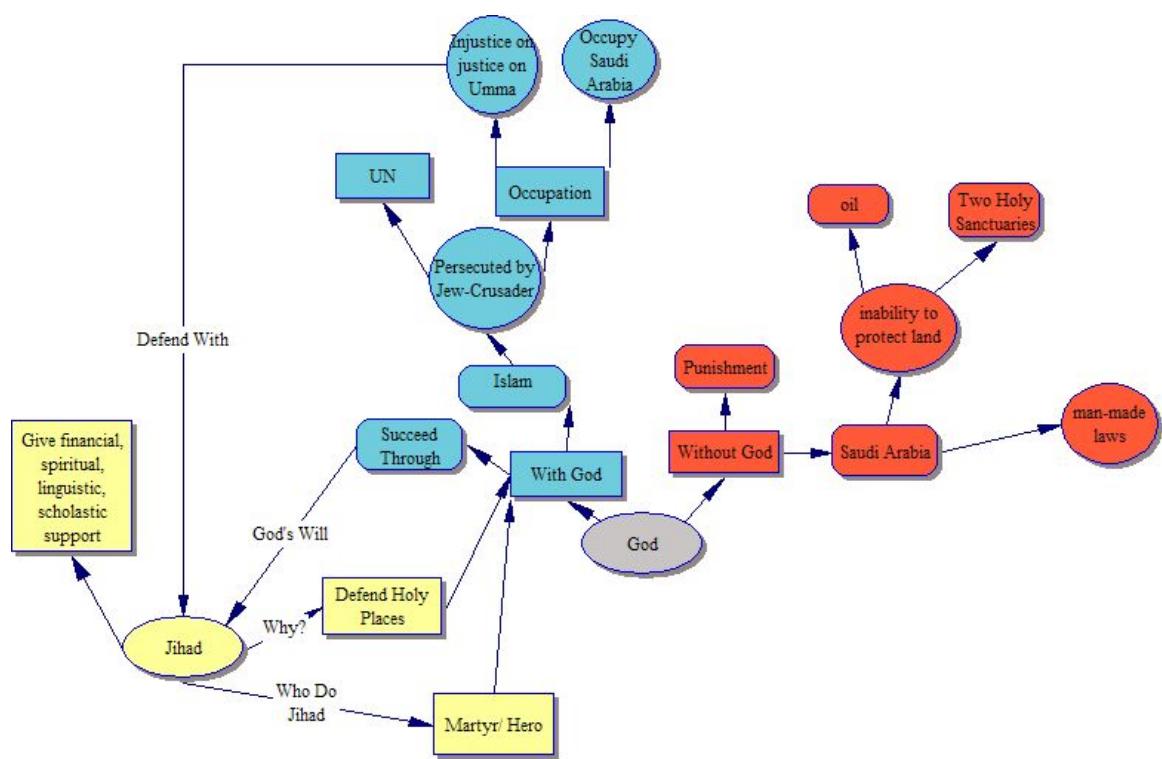


Speech: The Invasion of Arabia
 Date: 1995/1996

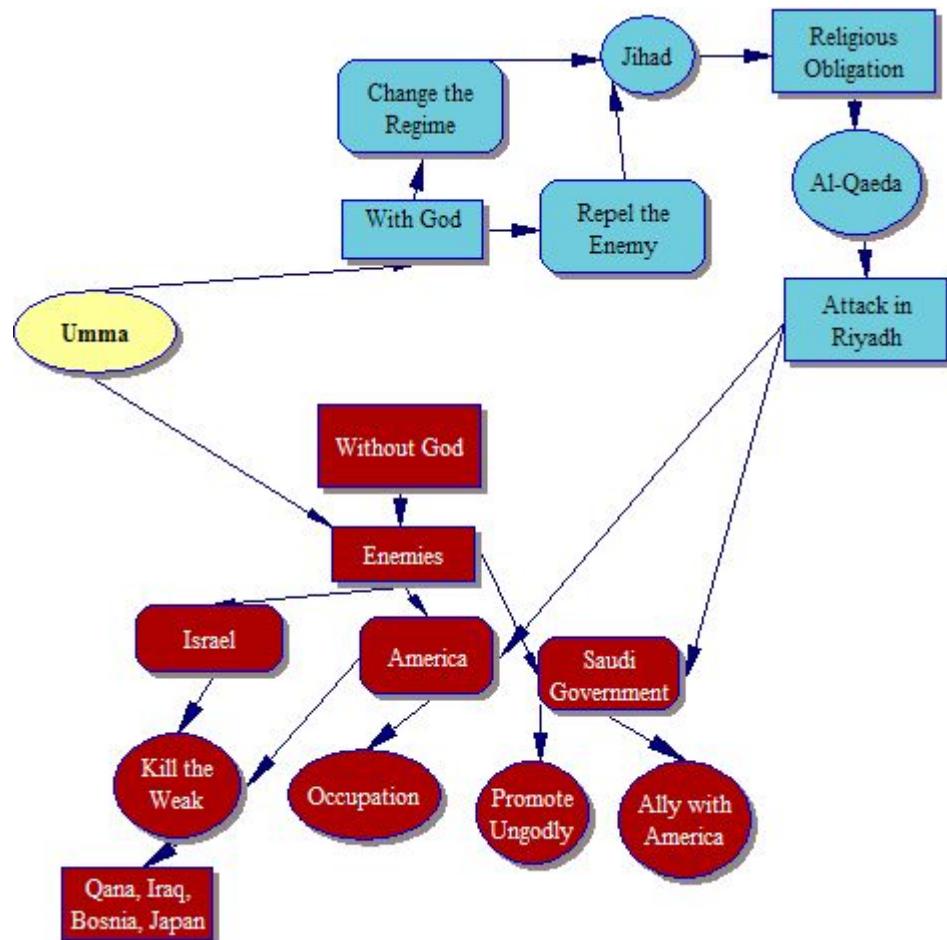


Speech: Declaration of Jihad

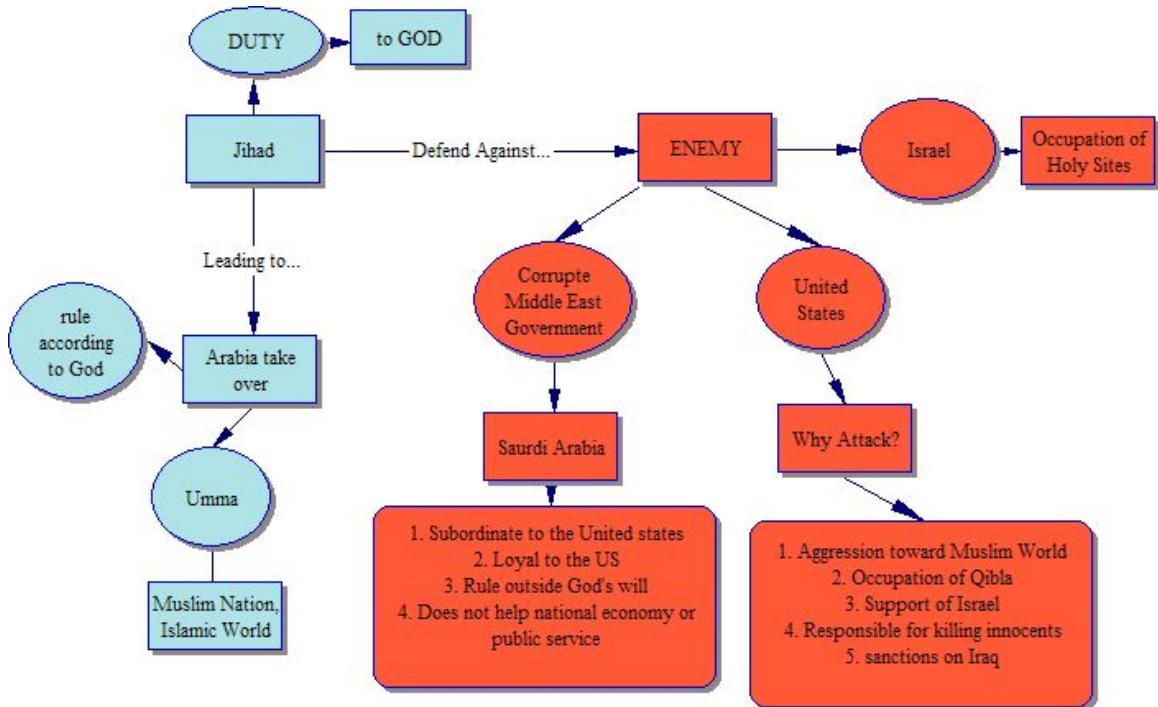
Date: August 23, 1996



Speech: The Saudi Regime
Date: November 1996

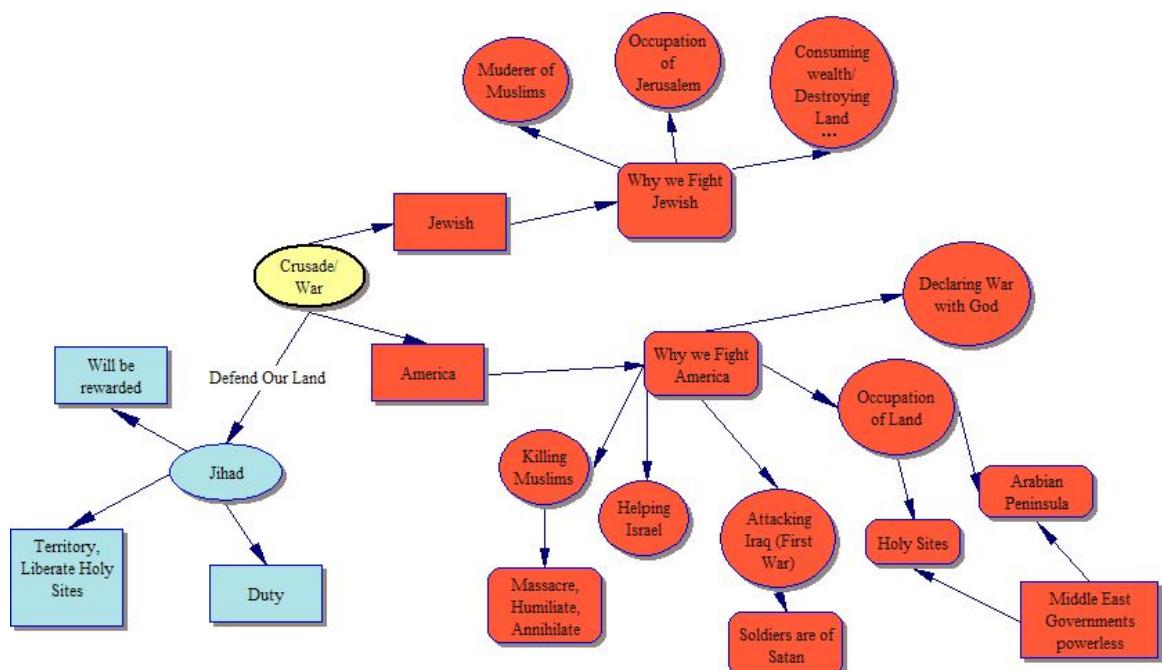


Speech: From Somalia to Afghanistan
 Date: March 1997

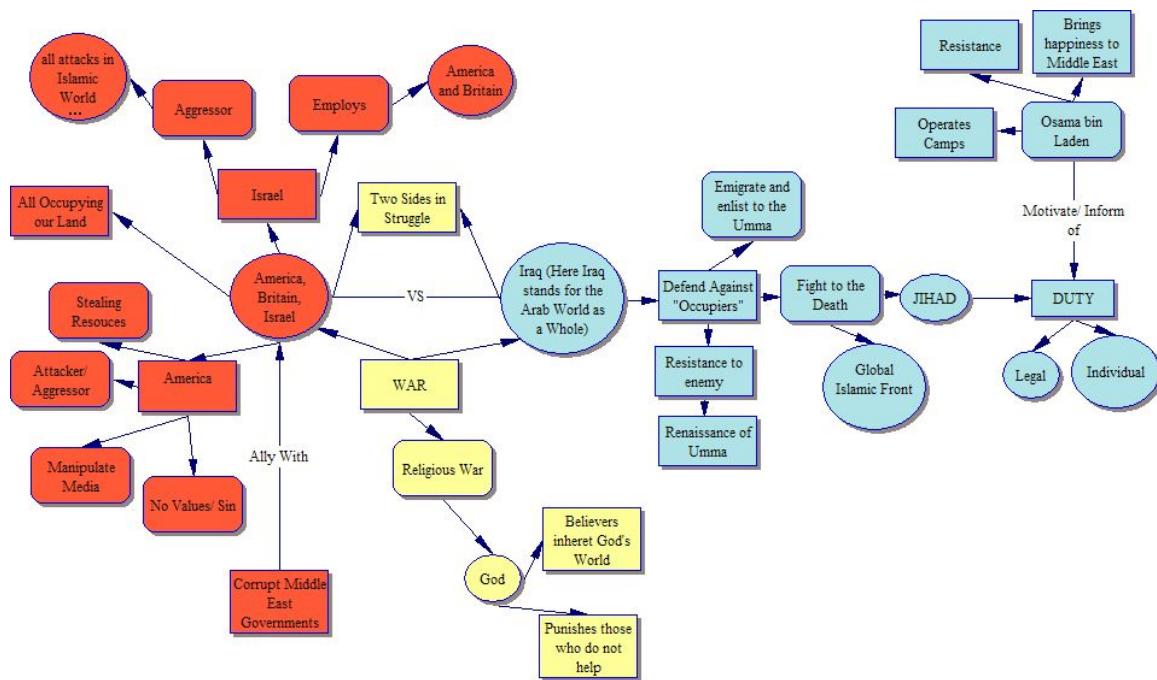


Speech: The World Islamic Front

Date: February 23, 1998

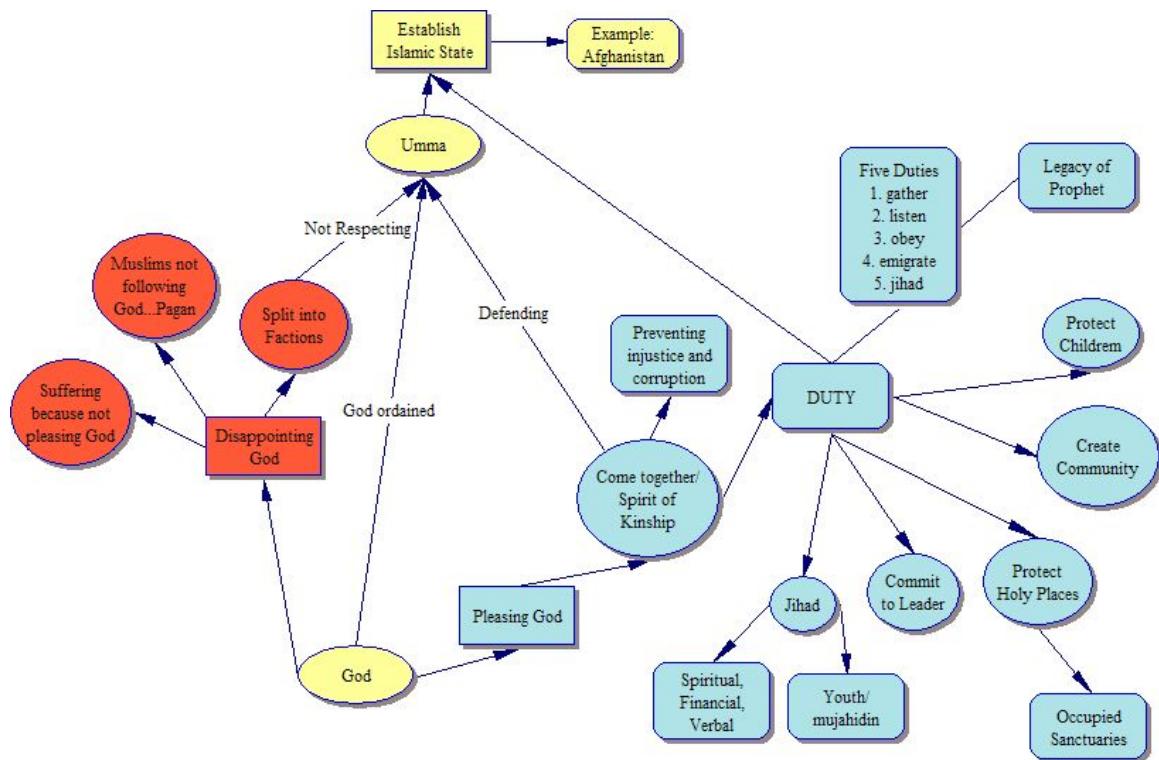


Speech: A Muslim Bomb
Date: December 1998



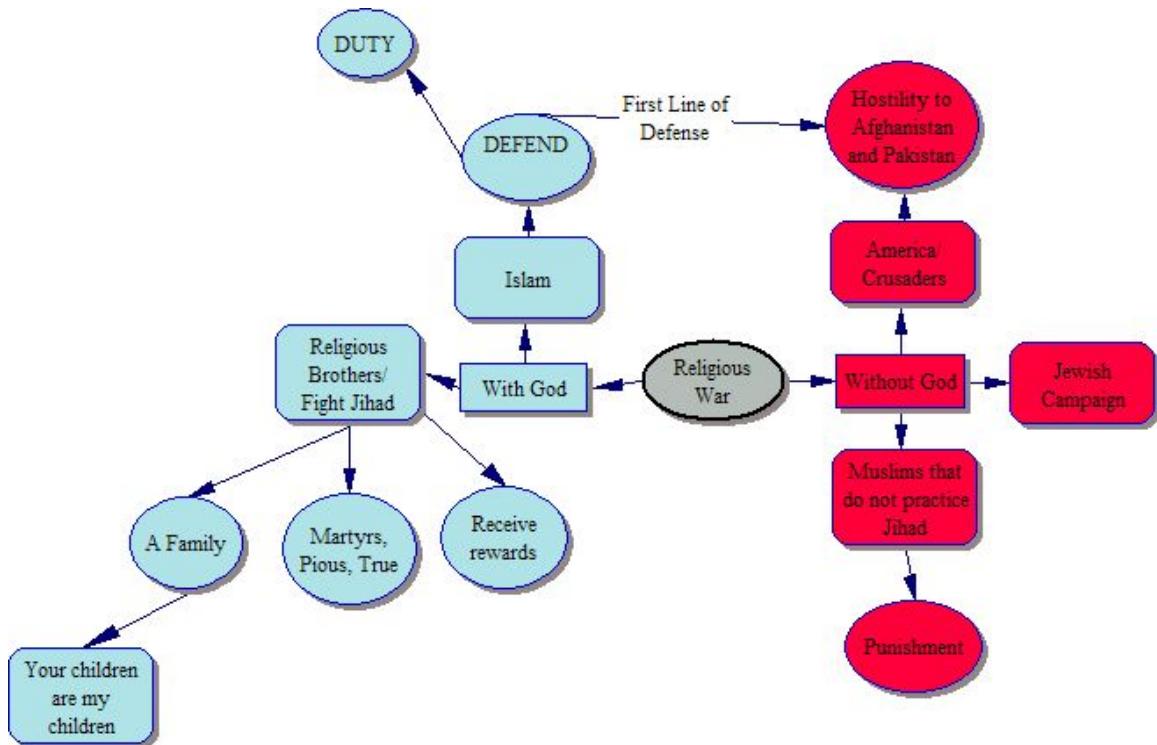
Speech: Under Mullah Omar

Date: April 9, 2001



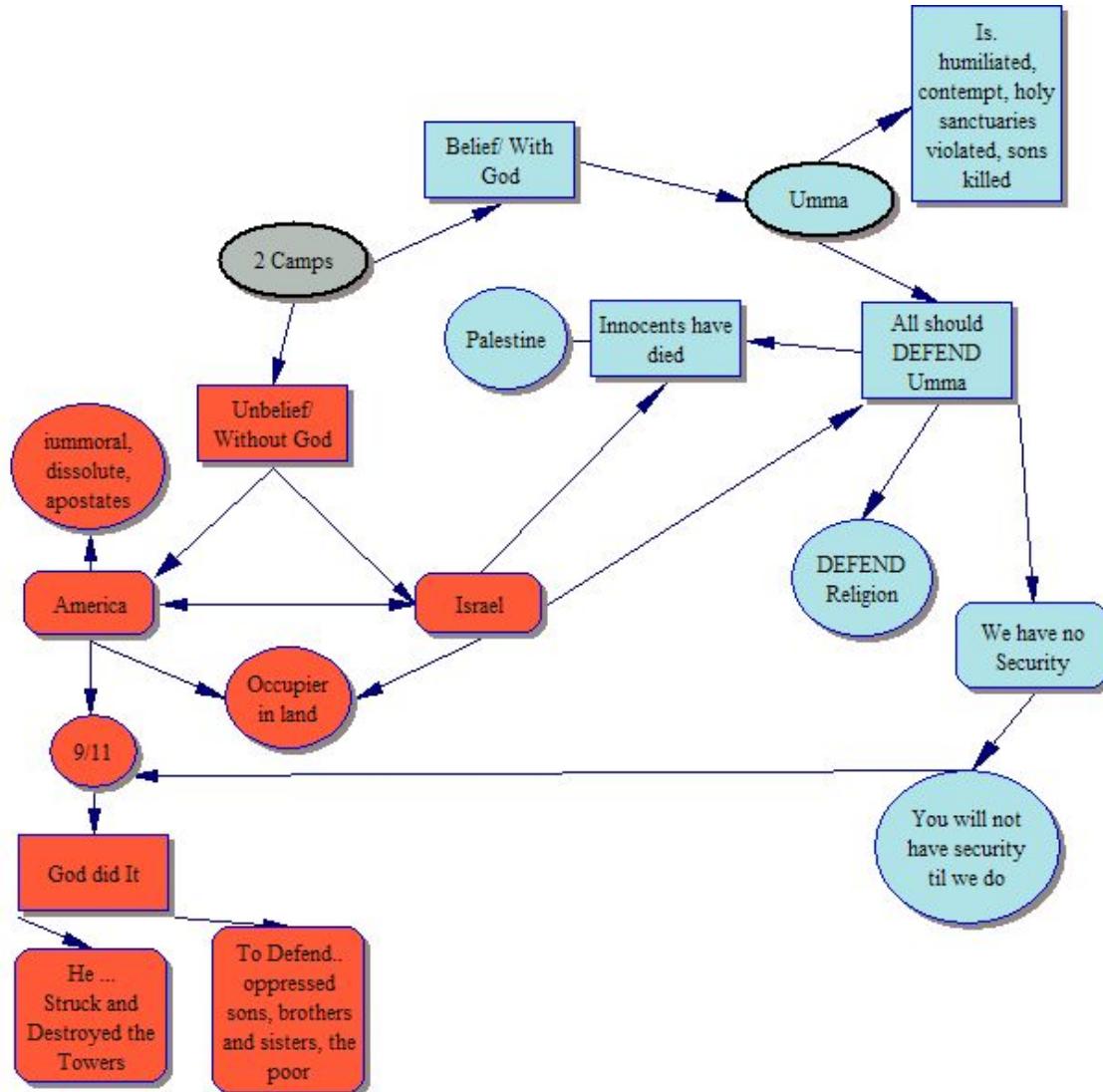
Speech: To Our Brothers in Pakistan

Date: September 24, 2001

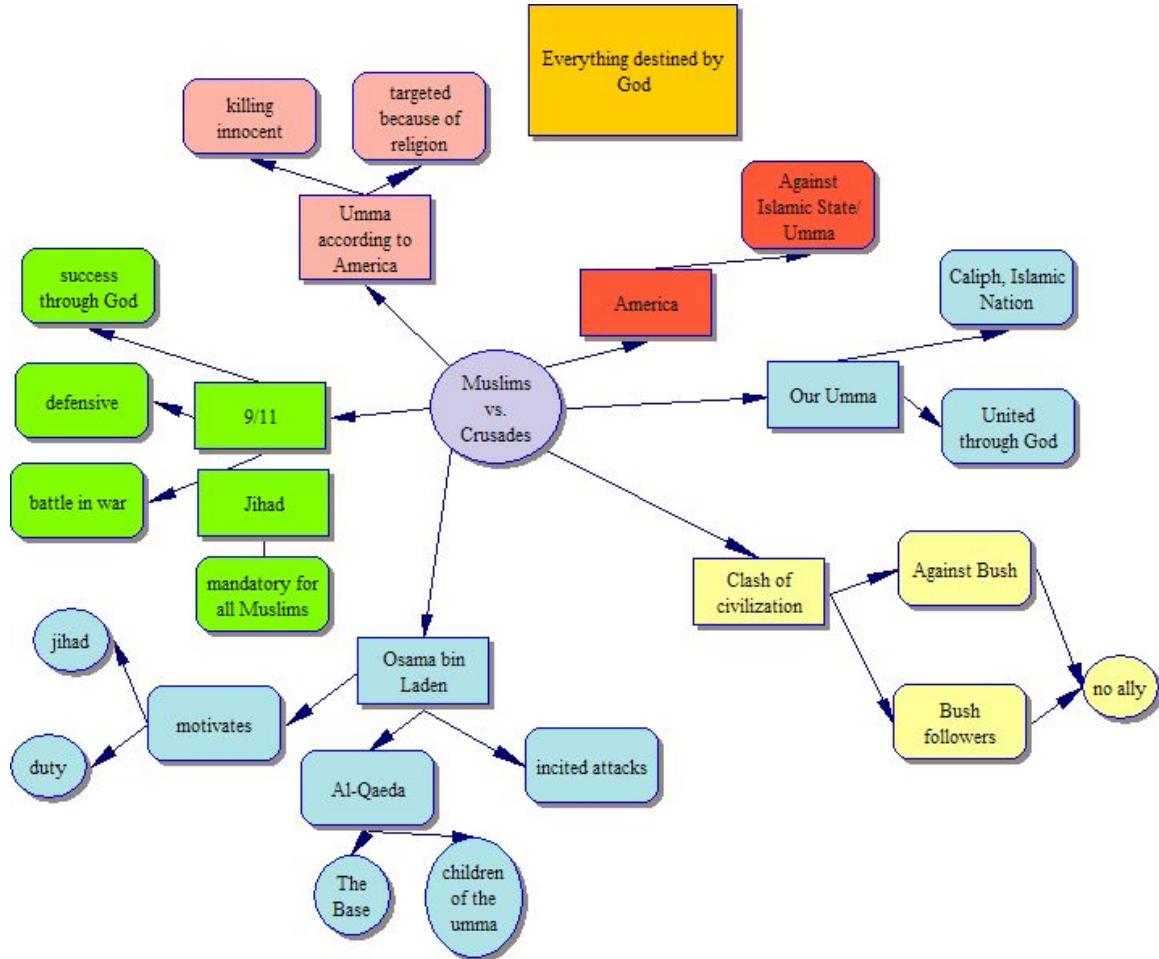


Speech: The Winds of Faith

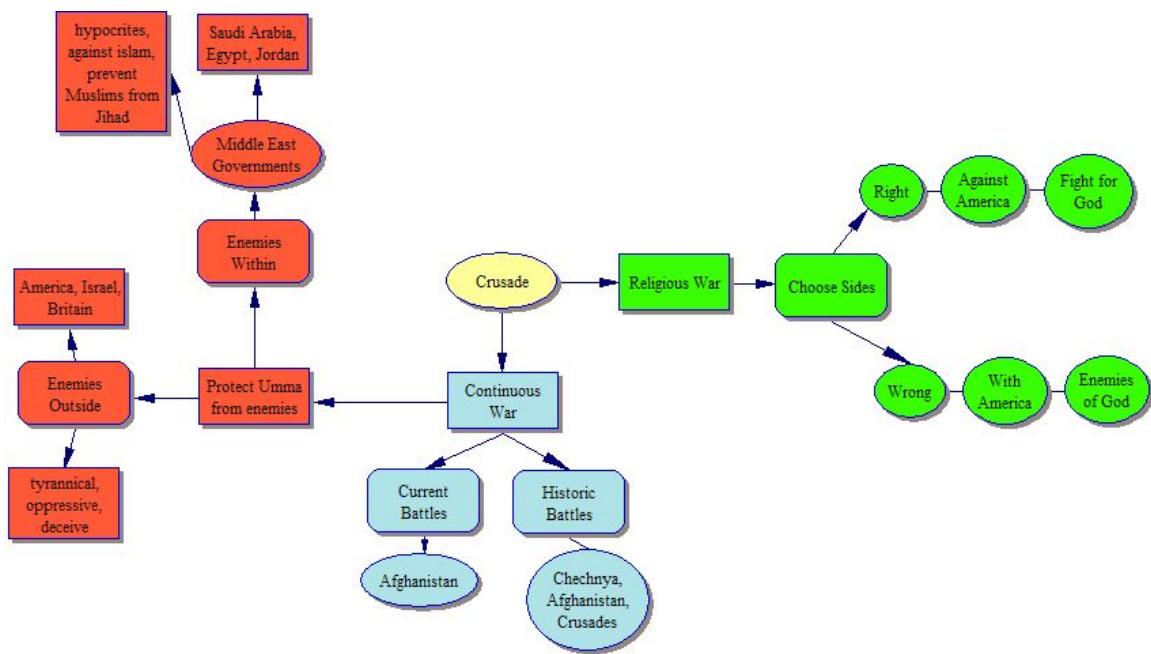
Date: October 7, 2001



Speech: Terror for Terror
Date: October 21, 2001

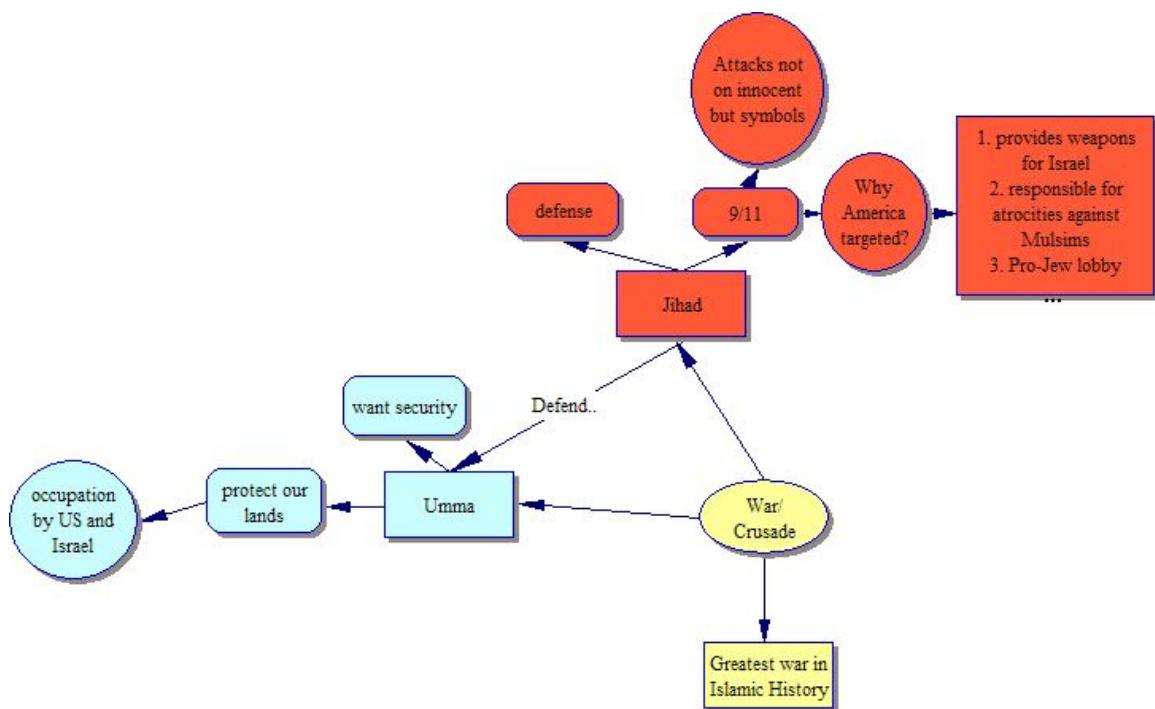


Speech: Crusader Wars
Date: November 3, 2001

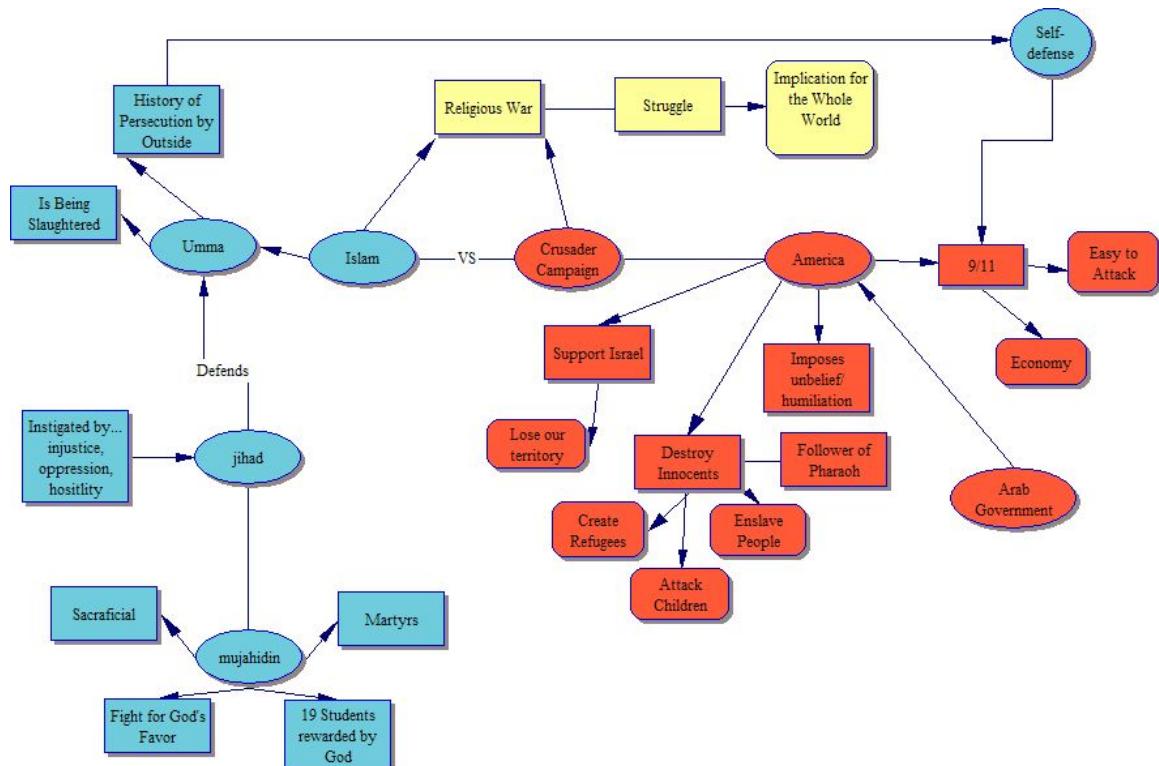


Speech: The Example of Vietnam

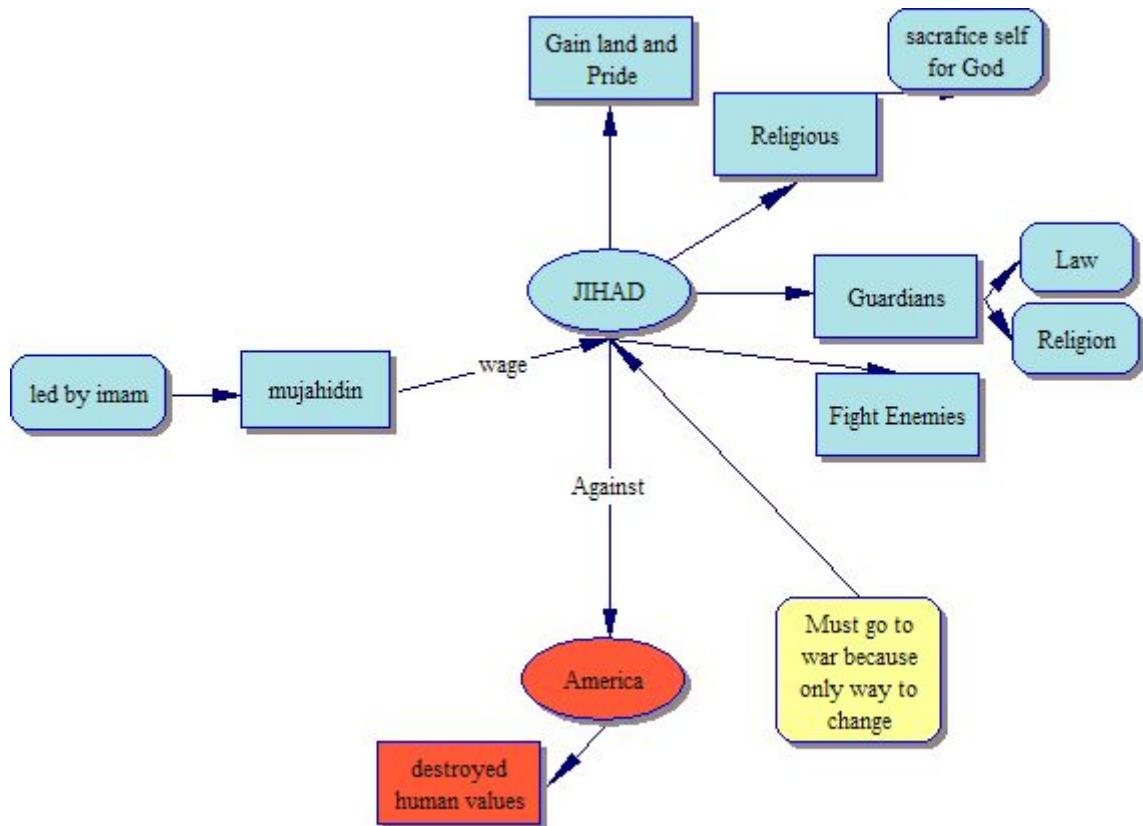
Date: November 12, 2001



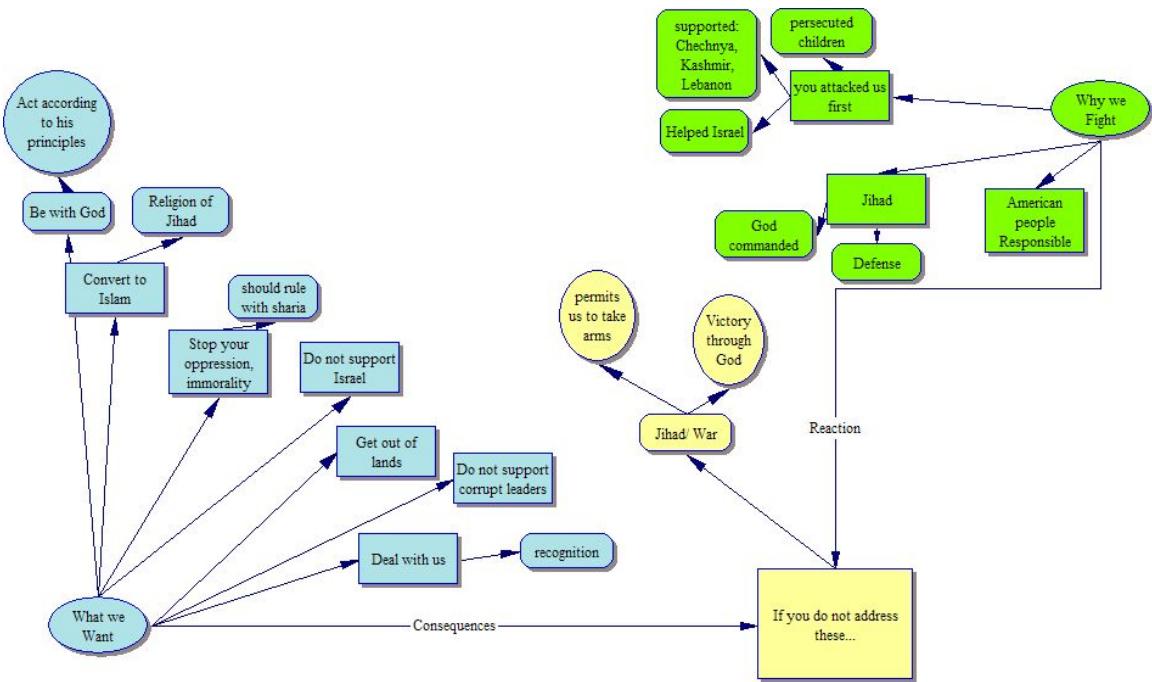
Speech: Nineteen Students
 Date: December 26, 2001



Speech: To The People of Afghanistan
Date: August 25, 2002

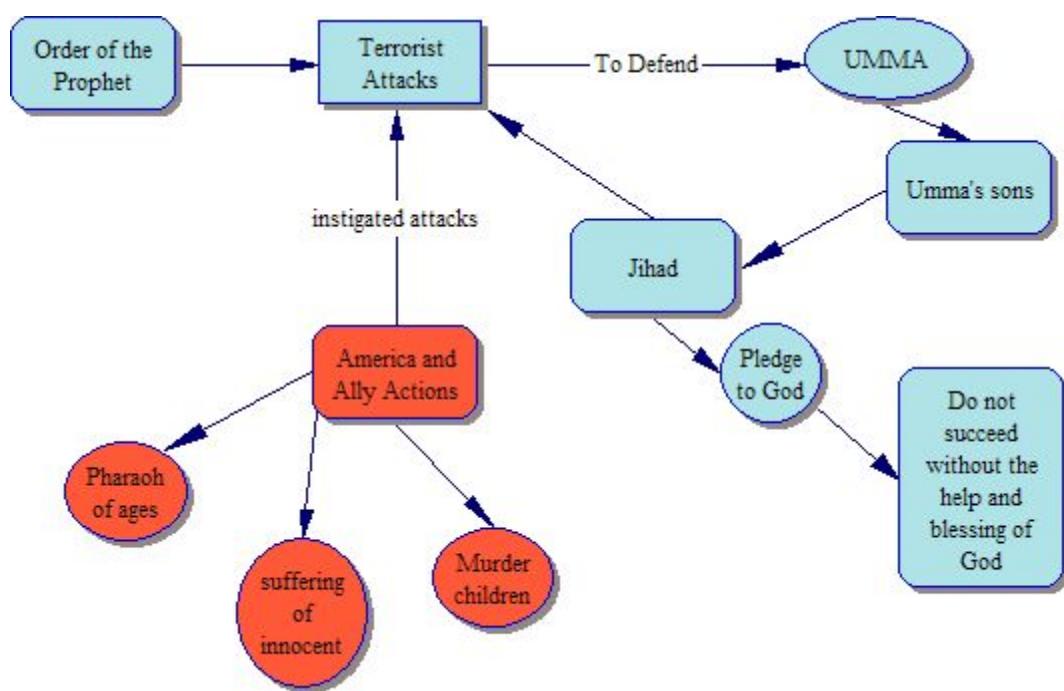


Speech: To The Americans
 Date: October 6, 2002

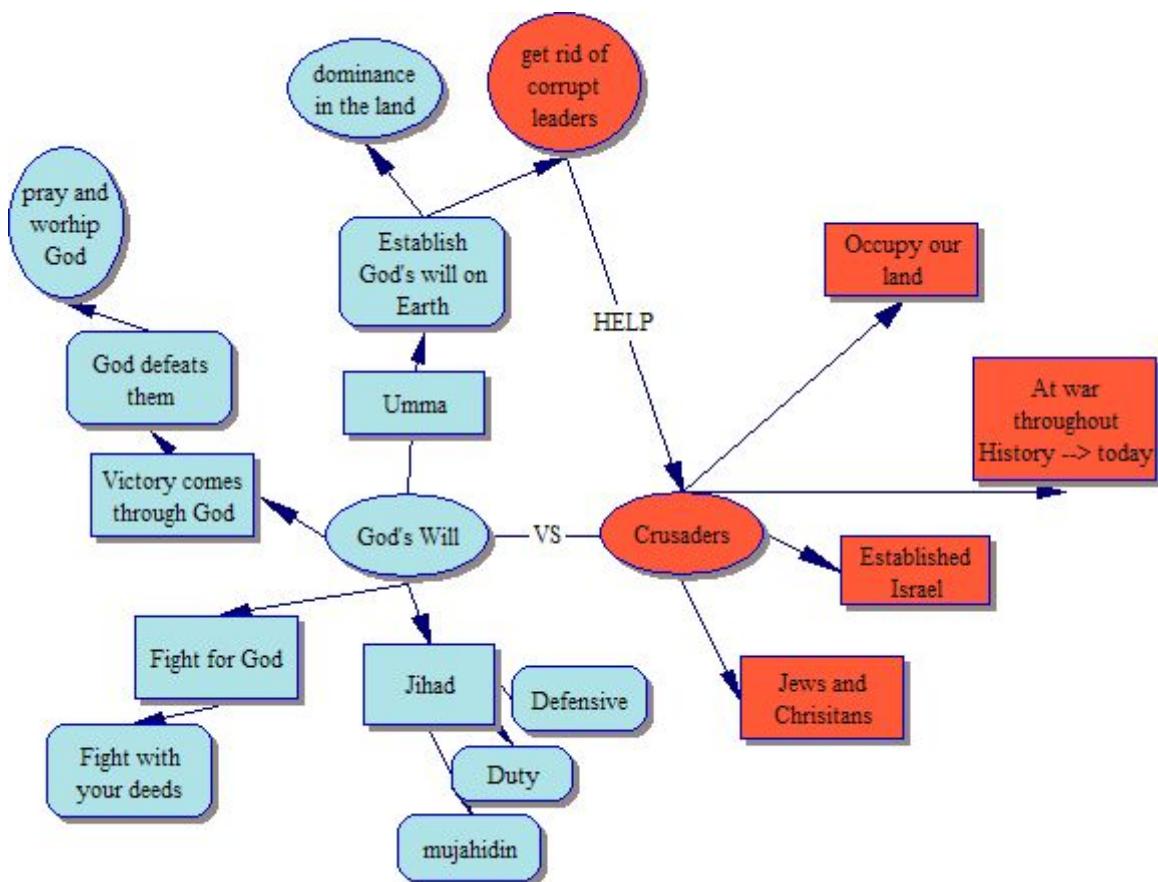


Speech: To The Allies of America

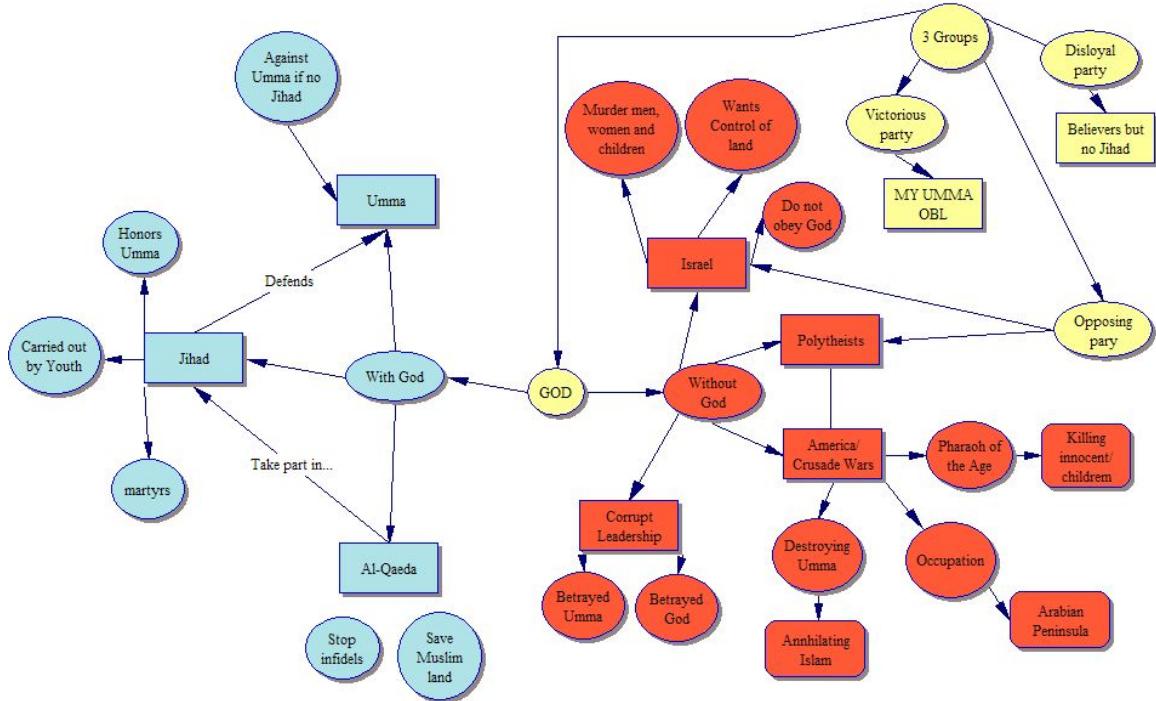
Date: November 12, 2002



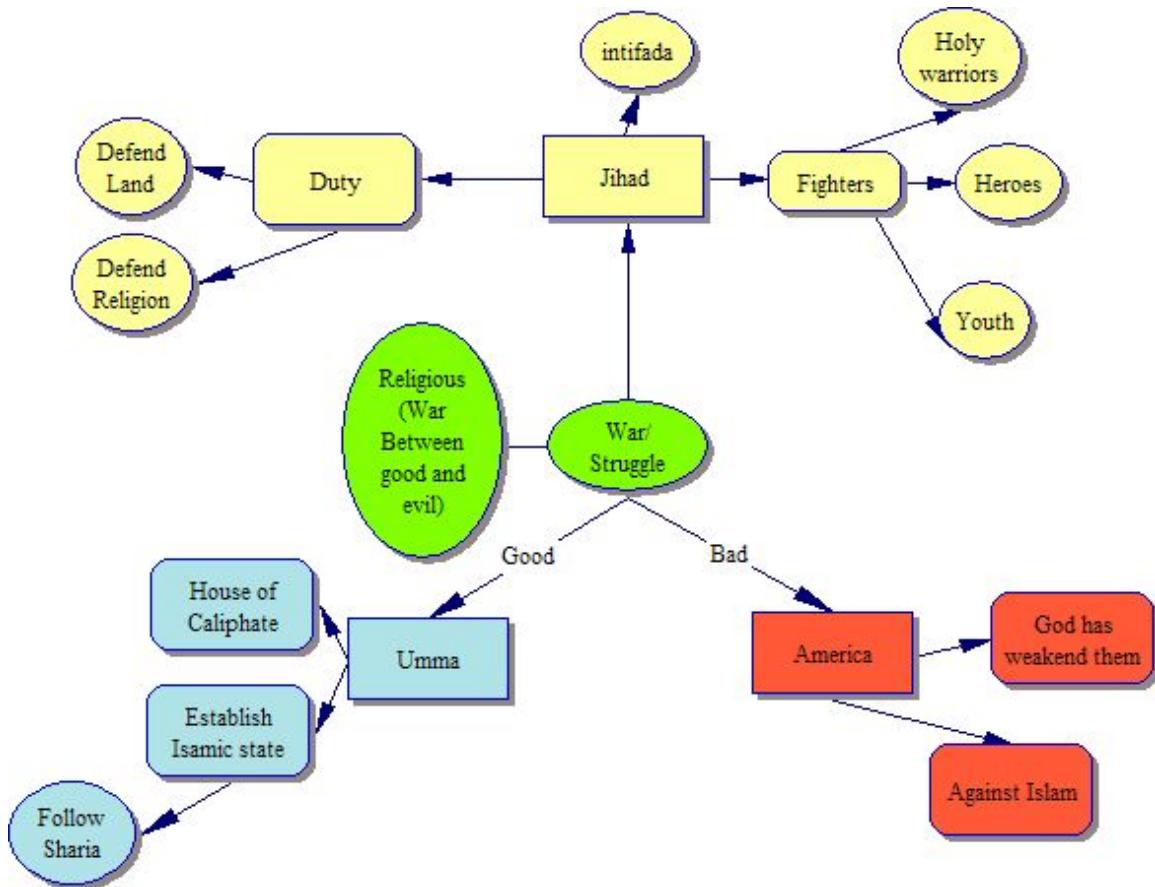
Speech: To The People of Iraq
Date: February 11, 2003



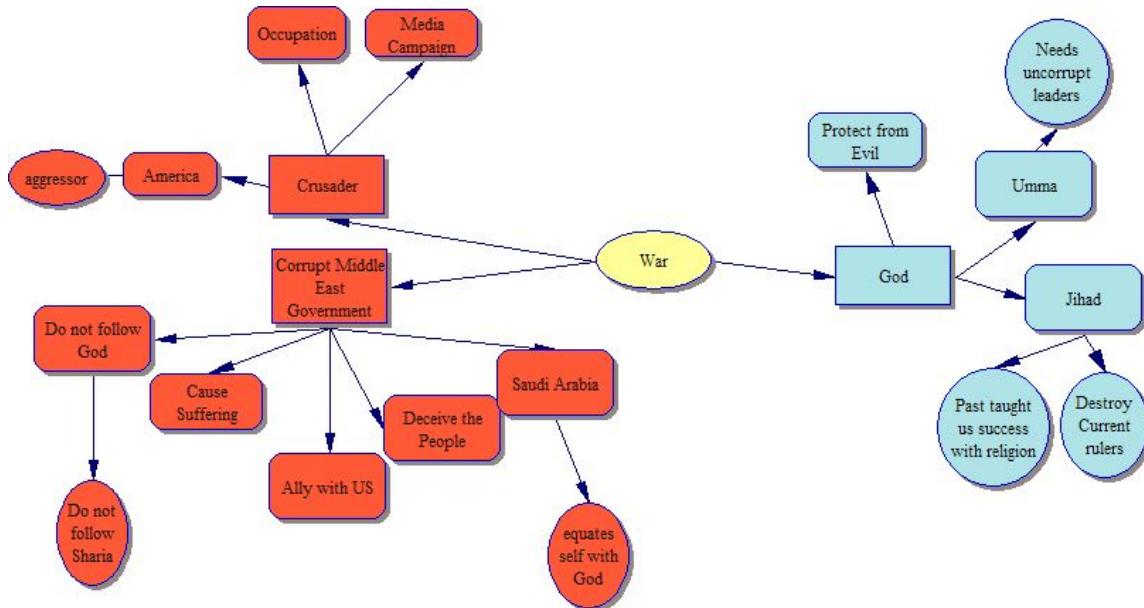
Speech: Among A Band of Knights
Date: February 14, 2003



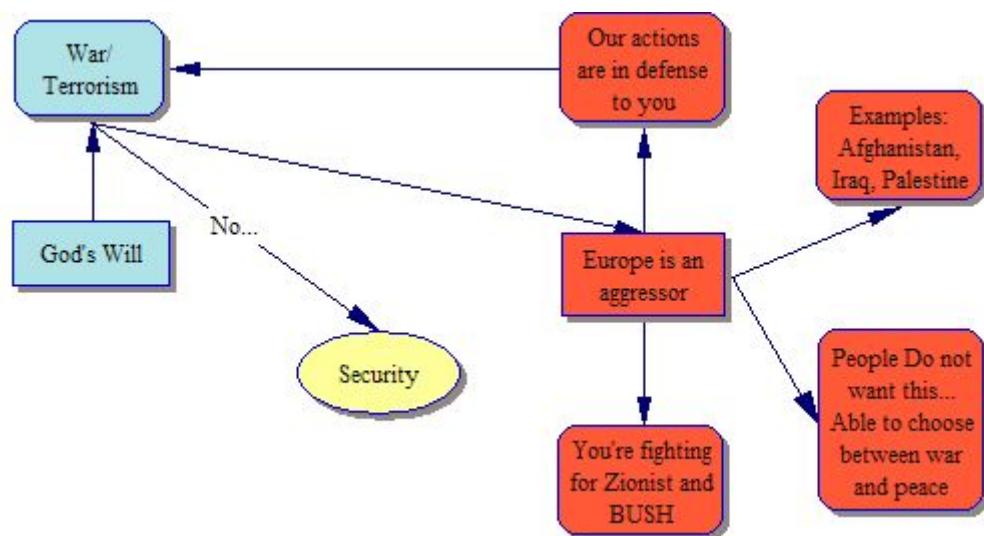
Speech: Quagmires Of The Tigris And Euphrates
Date: October 19, 2003



Speech: Resist The New Rome
Date: January 4, 2004

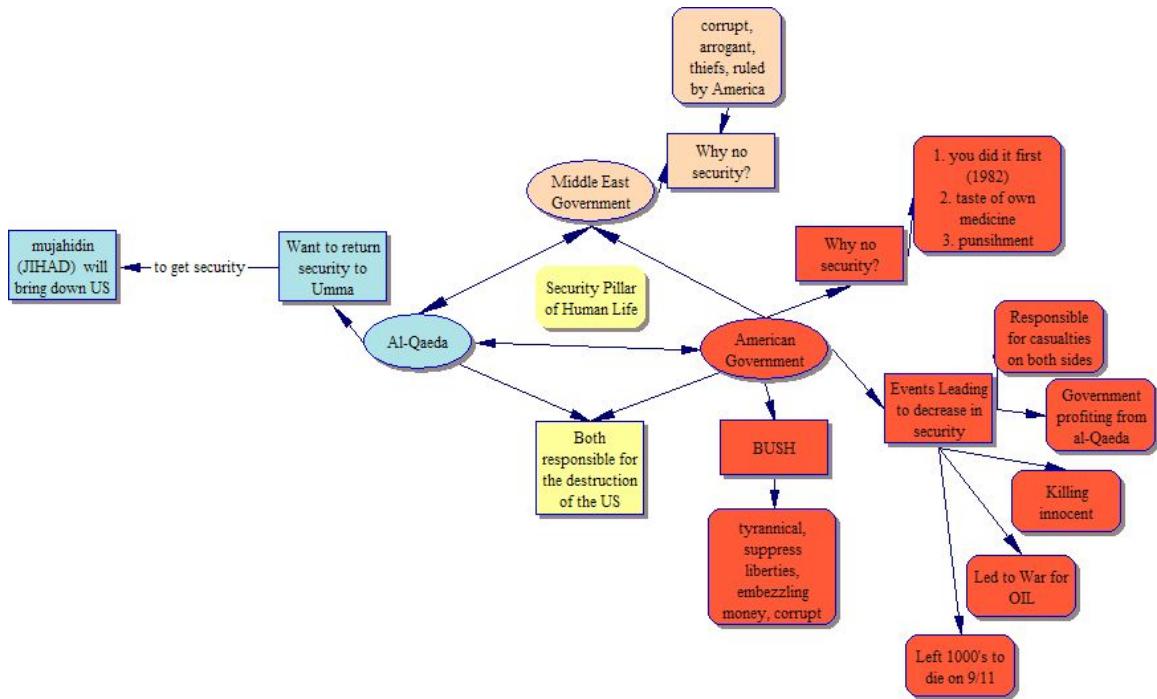


Speech: To The People of Europe Date: April 15, 2004

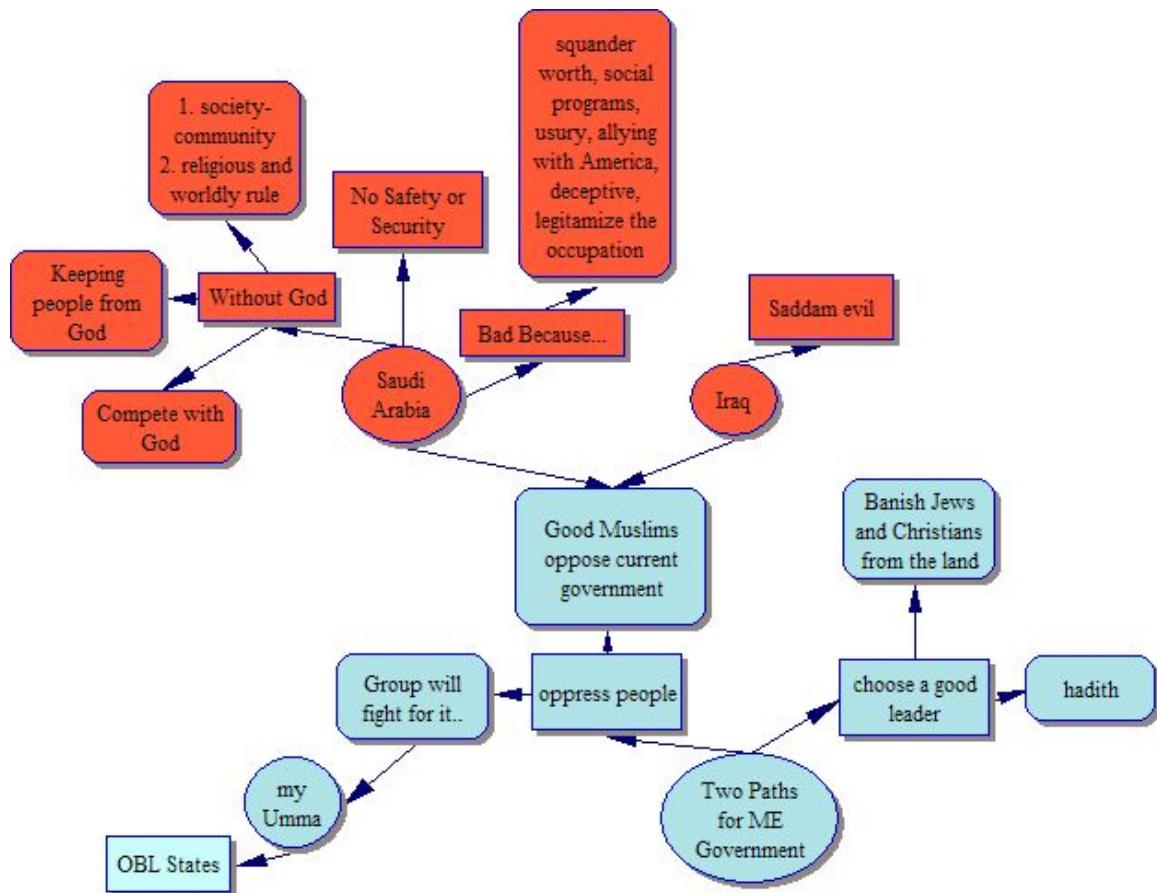


Speech: The Towers Of Lebanon

Date: October 29, 2004

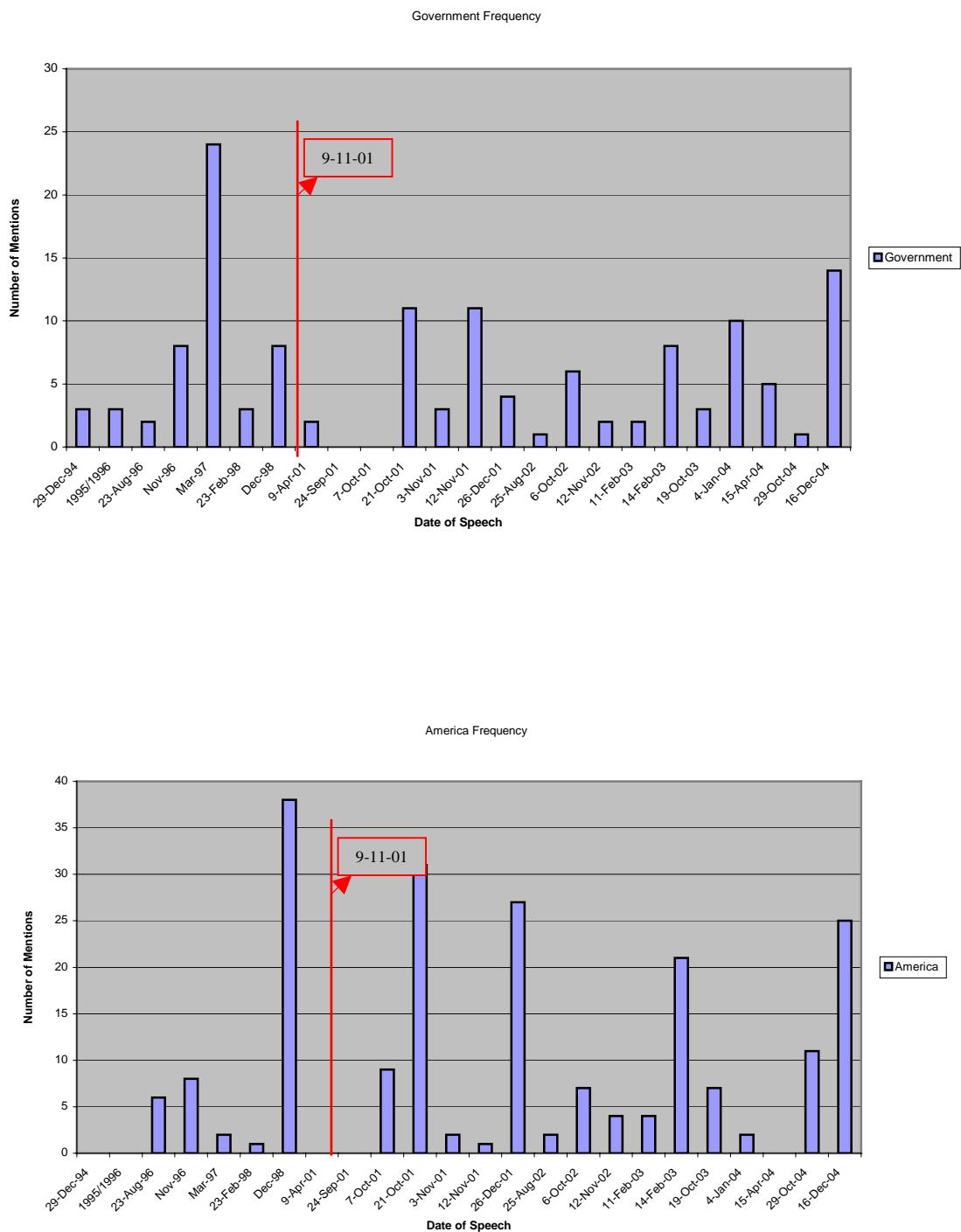


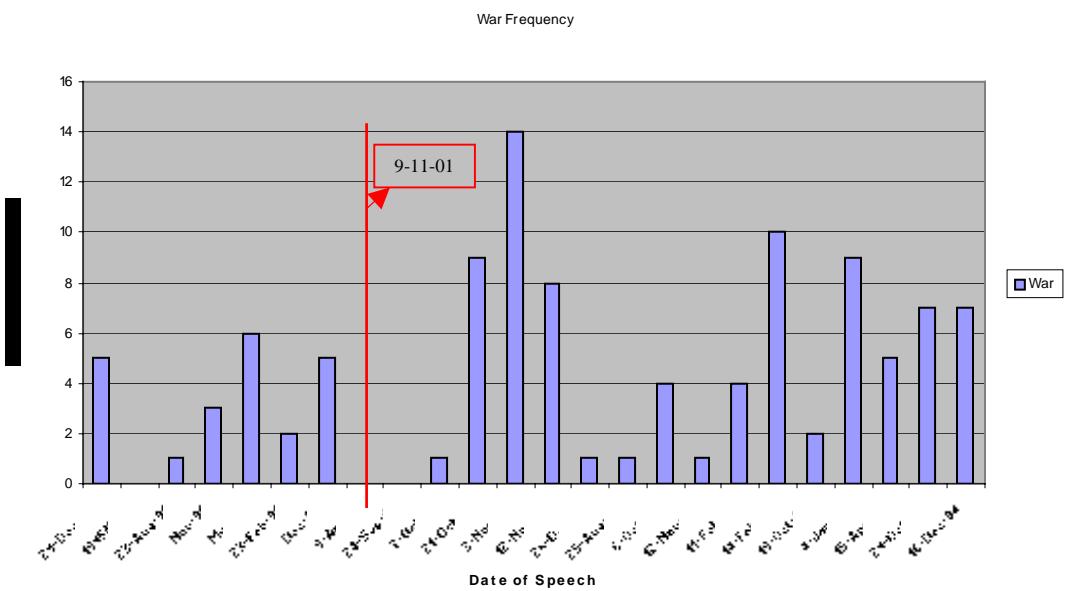
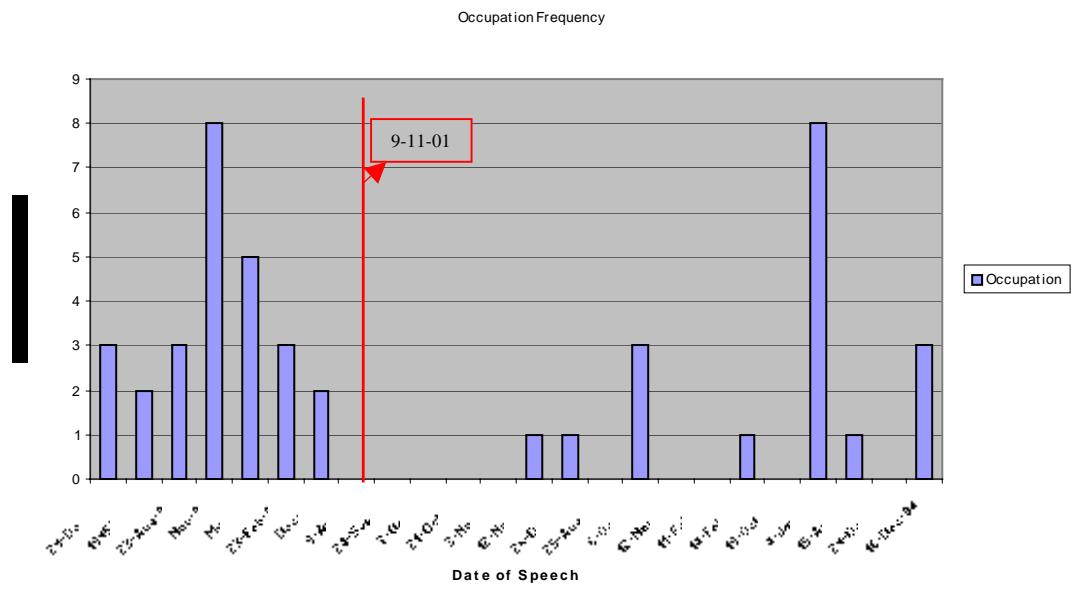
Speech: Depose the Tyrants
Date: December 16, 2004

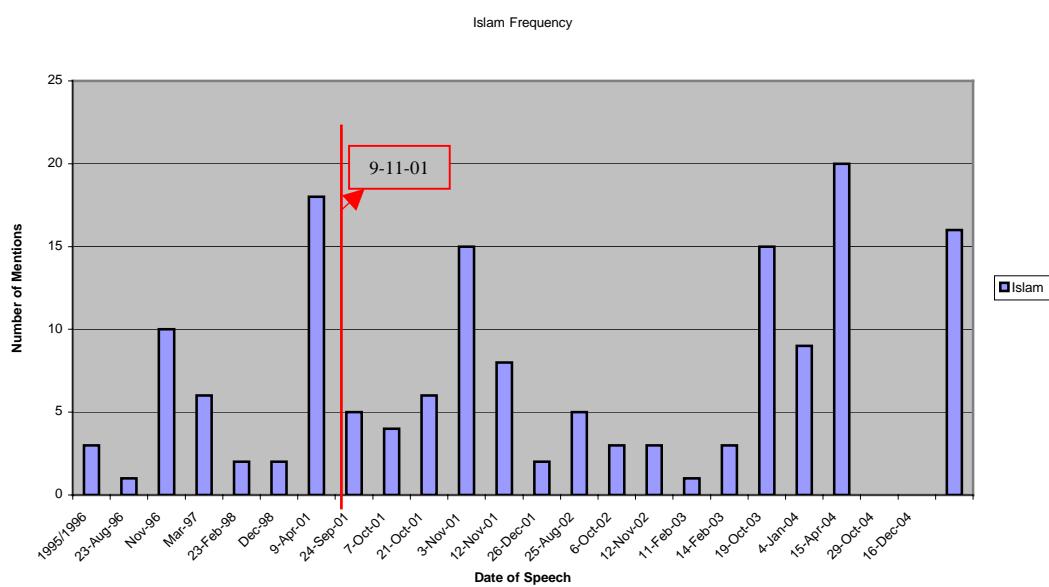
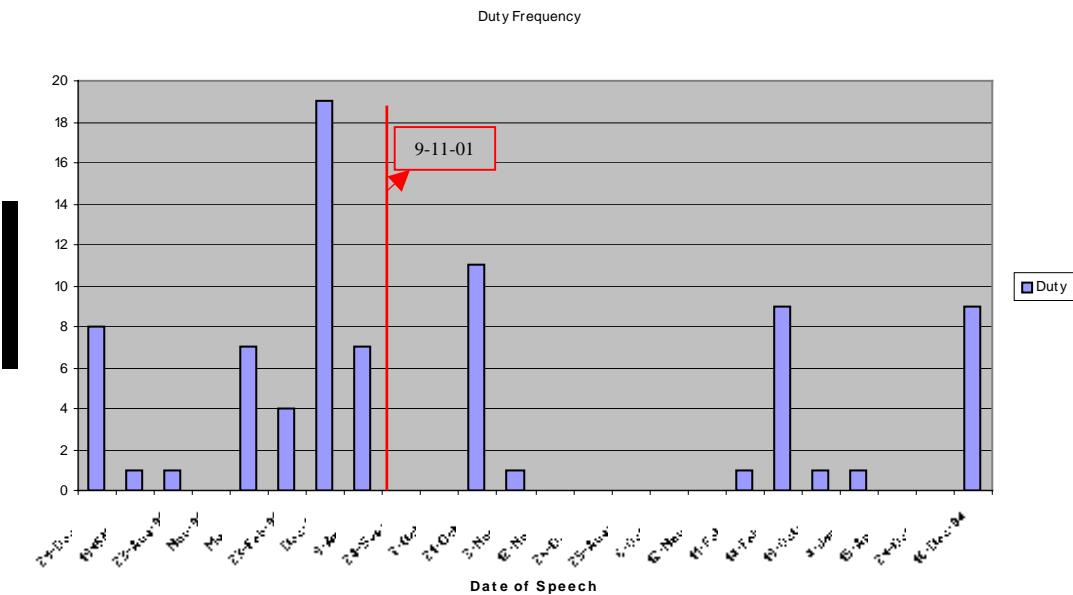


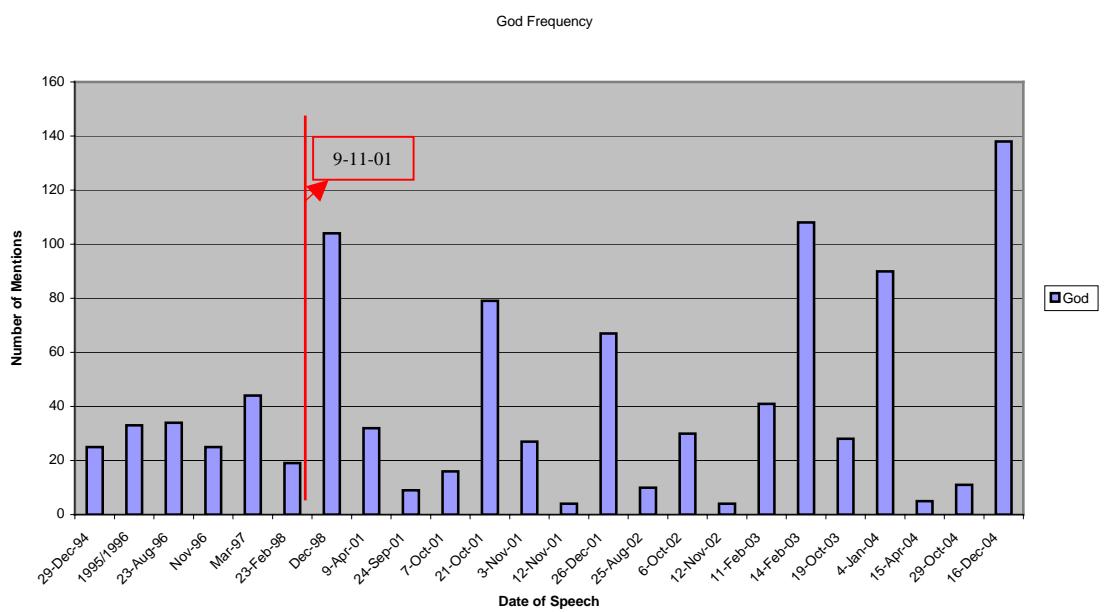
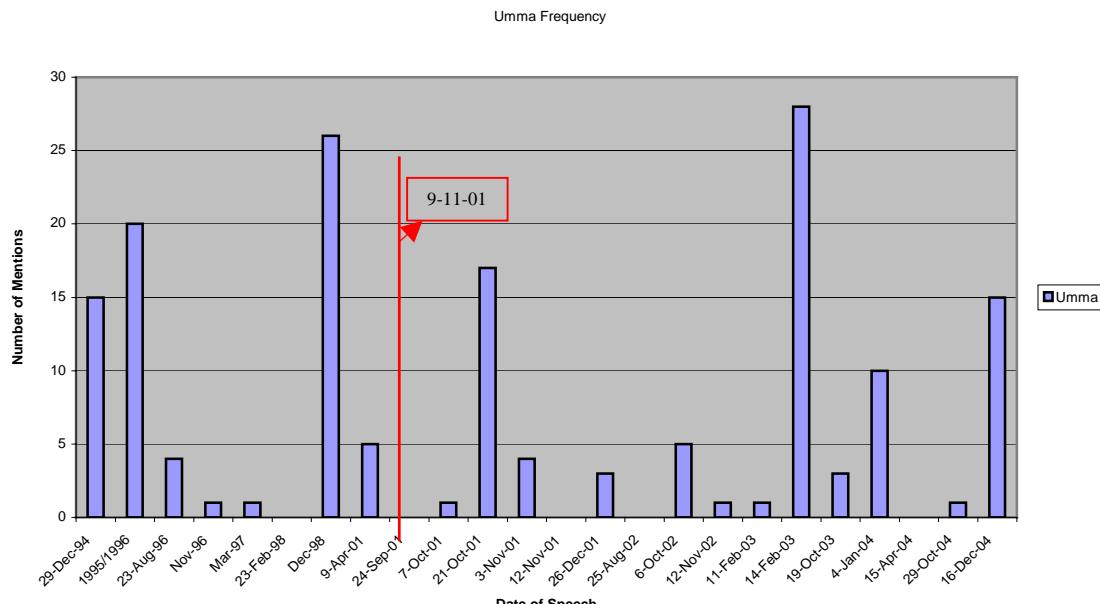
APPENDIX D

Frequency Charts

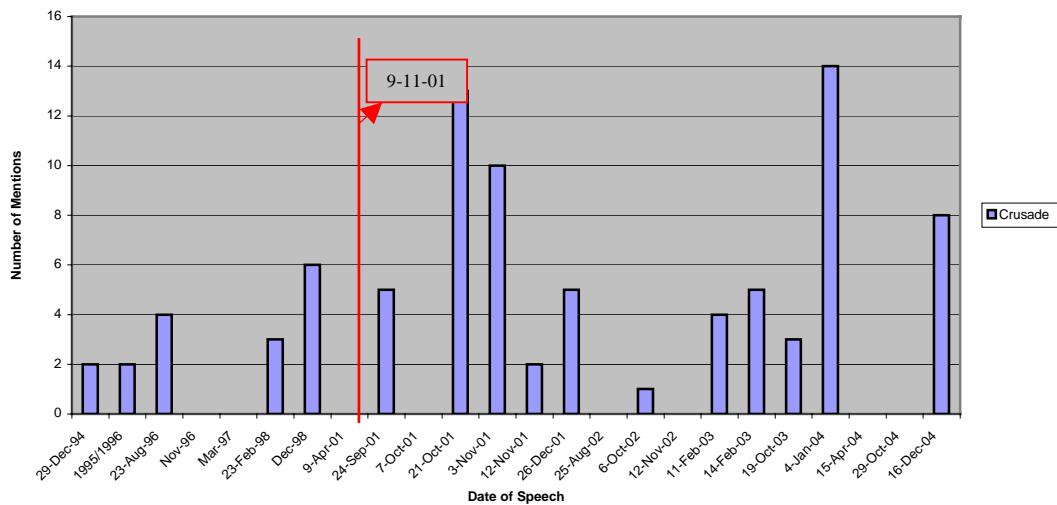




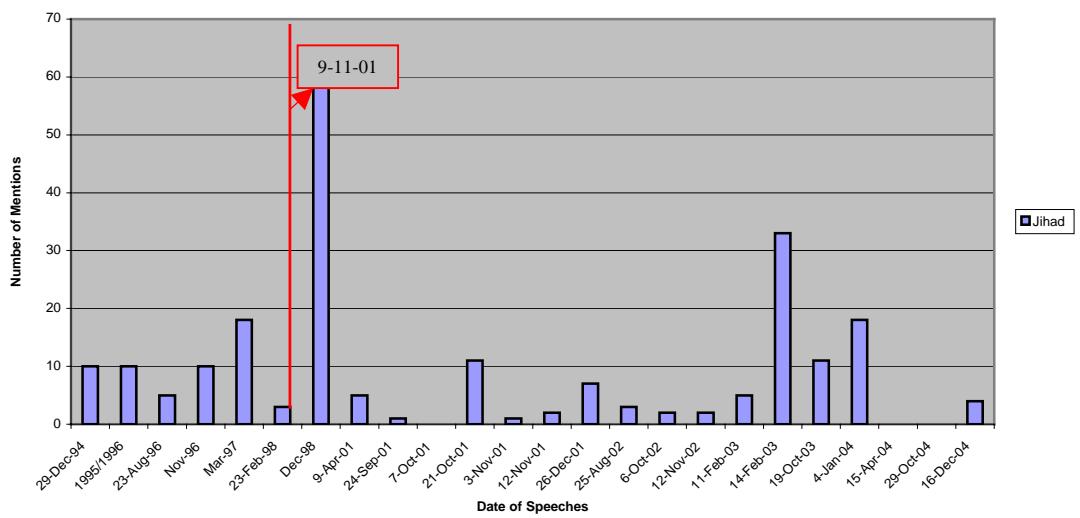




Crusade Frequency



Jihad Frequency



APPENDIX E

Example of Tally for Islamic Nation

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