

## Racism and Ideology and Manipulation –A critical Discourse Analysis of The first presidential speech ( Imam Ali speech as sample) .

Assist .Lect Wissam Farhan Al\_Nussairi  
Basra Governorate Education Directorate

### Abstract

The study aims to employ racism in the language .It surveys the concepts and definitions of racism and Critical discourse analysis according to some famous linguistic experts. The study gives accurate summery about racism and the discourse between Power and discourse and ideology .The study adopts Fairclaugh's three dimension model (Description ,interpretation and explanation) to analyze apolitical religious presidential speech which is said by Imam and caliph of all Muslim in (35 HG.-40 HG. ) (665-661 AD) **Ali bin AbiTalib (AS)** .The study concluded that Objectively, the speech portrays the speaker as a leader who values justice, equality, accountability, and collective welfare, and these characteristics correspond to many qualities commonly associated with effective and ethical leadership. The analysis reveals the interaction between language, ideology, and power, while showing that the speech primarily functions as a legitimizing and ethical discourse rather than a racist

**Key Words :** Racism, ideology, discourse analysis, Manipulation

العنصرية والأيدولوجيا والتلاعب: تحليل نقدي للخطاب الرئاسي الأول (كلام الإمام علي انموذجا).

م.م. وسام فرحان النصيري  
مديرية التربية في محافظة البصرة

### ملخص

تهدف هذه الدراسة إلى توظيف مفهوم العنصرية في اللغة. وتستعرض مفاهيم وتعريفات العنصرية، بالإضافة إلى تحليل الخطاب النقدي وفقاً لبعض خبراء اللغة البارزين. وتقدم الدراسة ملخصاً دقيقاً عن العنصرية والخطاب المتعلق بالسلطة والأيدولوجيا. وتعتمد الدراسة نموذج فيركلو ثلاثي الأبعاد (الوصف، والتفسير، والشرح) لتحليل الخطاب الرئاسي الديني غير السياسي الذي ألقاه إمام وخليفة المسلمين علي بن أبي طالب (عليه السلام) في الفترة ما بين عامي 665 و661 ميلادياً (35-40 هـ). وخلصت الدراسة إلى أن الخطاب، موضوعياً، يصور المتحدث كقائد يُعلي قيم العدل والمساواة والمساءلة والرفاه الجماعي، وتتوافق هذه الخصائص مع العديد من الصفات المرتبطة عادةً بالقيادة الفعالة والأخلاقية. يكشف التحليل عن التفاعل بين اللغة والأيدولوجيا والسلطة، ويبين أن الخطاب يعمل في المقام الأول كخطاب يُضفي الشرعية والأخلاقية على الأمور، وليس كخطابٍ عنصري.

الكلمات المفتاحية: العنصرية، الأيدولوجيا، تحليل الخطاب، التلاعب

## Section One

### 1.1 Introduction

#### 1.2 Racism



Van Dijk (2005,p5) states that racism is a very complex social phenomenon, which cannot be described and reduced to some simple .Taking a discursive approach to the study of racism, therefore, should not be seen as an attempt to defined or explain racism only in terms of language use or communication. There are fundamental social, cultural, historical and economic dimensions to racism that have little to do with text or talk. It can be defined as a social system of *domination*, that is, of a specific kind of power .Also Fitzgerald(2006,p31) states that racism refers to the belief that human races have distinctive characteristics which determine their respective cultures, usually involving the idea that one’s own race is superior and has the right to rule or dominate others; offensive or aggressive behavior to members of another race stemming from such a belief. (Macquarie University, Australia, 1998:) Racism is a set of beliefs (oft en complex) which asserts the natural preeminence of one racial group over another, at the individual but also the institutional level. In one sense, racism refers to the belief that biology rather than culture is the primary determinant of group attitudes . *Racism goes beyond ideology*.

Hill (2008,p.7) states that racism is entirely a matter of specific beliefs, intentions, and actions. In the folk theory, a racist is a person who believes that people of color are biologically inferior to Whites, so that White privilege is deserved and must be defended. Racism is what this kind of White supremacist thinks and does. The folk theory holds that such people are anachronisms, who are ignorant, vicious, and remote from the mainstream. Again Hill (2008,p.12) adds that racism today is a “New Racism” based on cultural, not biological, discrimination (Balibar and Wallerstein 1991; Stolcke 1995). But there is much evidence that the impression of “race” among American Whites remains definitely grounded in folk ideas about biology. For instance, the so-called one-drop rule – that one drop of African blood.

Van dijk (1993,p6) states that Racism also comprises the everyday, mundane, negative opinions, attitudes, and ideologies and the seemingly subtle acts and conditions of discernment against minorities, namely, those social cognitions and social acts, processes, structures, or institutions that directly or indirectly contribute to the dominance of the white. Then Vandijk also declares that Racism also manifests itself in discourse and communication, often in relation with other social practices of tyranny and exclusion, and (2) the social cognitions that underlie these practices are largely shaped through discursive communication within the dominant white group.

### 1-3 Discourse and Ideology

Annabelle Lukin(2017,p. 3) states that the concept of ideology goes back over 200 years to French philosopher, Destutt de Tracey, but the first semiotic



account of ideology dates to 1929, with the publication of Vološinov's Marxism and the Philosophy of Language. He presents a view of ideology as something exclusively universal, arguing that everything that is ideological has semiotic value and that without signs 'there is no ideology' (Vološinov 1973).

*Van Dijk (2006,p124)* states that ideology is non-deterministic: members do not necessarily and always express or enact the beliefs of the groups they identify with. Also ideological discourse is always personally and contextually variable.

Fairclough (2005, p. 254) defines ideology as a system of ideas, values and beliefs oriented to explain a given political order. The analysis of ideology requires the analysis of discourse. Ideology is seen as located in both structures (discourse conventions) and events. Ideologies are generated and transformed into actual discursive events. These are structured together within the order of discourse. Van Dijk (2006) defines ideology as kind of ideas, beliefs so different types of ideologies are defined by the kind of groups that have different ideology such as social movement, political parties, professions, and churches. Ideologies are not socially shared beliefs like sociocultural knowledge but they are more fundamental and axiomatic. He also adds that sometimes ideologies become so shared widely that they became part of generally accepted attitudes like gender equality . Lock (2004, p. 33) defines ideology as an elaborate story told about the ideal conduct of some aspect of human affairs. "Its power lies in the truth value, which is determined by number and nature of its subscription base as much as by " explanatory force". Again in our current study, we analyze the ideal conduct.

*Martin(p.12) refers that* Downs adds about in his book(1957: p.96):that ideology is a verbal image of the good society and of the chief means of constructing such a society." This idea that ideological differences are fundamentally about differences in *valuations*. Also Jorgenson and Philip(2002, p.16) report that Althusser defines ideology as a system of representation that makes our relations one to another in society by constructing imaginary relations between people and social formation. Also, he adds that all aspects of socials are controlled by ideology.

Fairclough (1995, p.14)states that ideologies are prepositions that generally figures which contributes to producing or reproducing unequal relations of power and relation of dominations. Ideologies are also implicit the naturalized way of organizing a particular type of interaction. Coulthard (2003, p. 6) states that there is now a significant and large body of work which enables to see the operation of ideology in language and which provides at least partial understanding of the operation. Ideological structuring of both language and texts can be related readily enough to the social structures and processes. An



example of hybrid ideology: racism is an ideology the hardcore of which consists of inequality.

Althusser (2014, p. 181) ideology represents individual imaginary of ideologies. We often call religious, moral, legal, political and other ideologies. Political ideology is an individual ideology. We find the same ideology everywhere like in bourgeois ideology. The fact that ideology can be found everywhere. Indicate that we have to do with the dominant ideology For instance the ideology of the rights of the man, freedom, equality, the freedom to choose one's ideas and one's representative and equality at the polls. Partridge (2012,p.243) defines ideology as the body of ideas that reflects the beliefs and interest of an individual; a group or social institutions that find expressions in the language. Also Partridge (2012, p.29) adds that the values and ideologies which underlies text tend to be hidden rather than overtly stated. There are several ways in which ideology might be explored in the text. The analysis might be started by textual features in the text and move to the explanation and interpretation of the analysis.

#### 1.4 A Critical Discourse Analysis

Critical discourse analysis has been mainly associated with the ideas of Norman Fairclough, Ruth Wodak, and van Dijk. Critical discourse analysis in a broader sense is traced back to the Aristotelian study of rhetoric. Hart( 2010, p.13) states that critical discourse analysis is research creativity that critically analyzes the relationship between language and society.CDA is a type of analytical research that studies how ideology, identity and inequality are reenacted through text produced. Van Dijk's approach to critical discourse analysis combines cognitive theories using cognition as middle layers of three layers approach consisting of discourse, cognitive and society. CDA is crucially interested in the social condition of discourse for instance, power is not shown in some of the aspects of powerful speech (van Dijk ,2008,p.2) . Similarly, Van Dijk ( 2008, p. Vii ) states that ( we need insight into the whole context to know how power is related to text and talk, and more generally how discourse reproduces social structure). Kintsch and Van Dijk (1983,p.365) have distinguished between text's micro-structure and macro-structure. Macro-level refers to power, dominance and inequality between social groups, whereas the micro-level refers to language use, discourse, verbal interaction and communication.

Fairclough (2010,p.555) states that critical discourse analysis aims to provide a framework for scientifically linking properties of discursal interaction and text with features of their social-cultural circumstances. He also shows that critical discourse analysis builds upon critical linguistics by focusing on the



conceptualization of language as discourse and more explicitly locating critical language analysis with critical social science. Fairclough argues that language should be analyzed as social practice, through the lens of both speaking and writing. He aims to map three separate forms of analyses: analysis of the (spoken and written) text and analysis of text practices (the process of production, distribution and consumption) and analysis of discursive events as instances of (socio-cultural)

### 1.5 Discourse and Power

Van Dijk (2008, p.118, 122) asserts that context can be used as a representation of the whole communicative episode, including the communicative event (text and talk). Dialogical of language, how Bakhtin's work is considered a resource for understanding political discourse, the relations of text with other texts are very important in text analysis. The power of speech of text may be hostile to other voices or maybe in complete harmony with them. Though Bakhtin's theories are principally developed in the context of literary-critical, they have been used to understanding the role of public discourse.

Fairclough (1992, p .71) illustrates that what makes discursive practice specifically discursive is language: discursive practice is manifested in the linguistic form ( texts using text) in Halliday's broad sense of spoken as well as written. So Fairclough shows that political practice is not only the site of power struggle but the discursive practice which naturalizes particular power relations and ideologies. And these conventions in the way in which they are articulated are a focus of struggle. Fairclough(1992,p.87) explains that discursive practice involves the process of text production, distribution, and consumption.

The concept of *power* in Laclau and Mouffe's approach is closely connected to their concepts of politics and objectivity (Laclau 1990: 31ff.). It is similar to Foucault's concept of power is not understood as something which people possess and exercise over others, but as that which produces the social. It may appear strange to use the word 'power' to denote the force and the processes which create our social world and make it meaningful for us, but the point is that this understanding of power emphasises the contingency of our social world. It is power that creates our knowledge, our identities and how we relate to one another as groups or individuals.

### 1.6 Discursive Practice

The concept of interdiscursivity focuses on the normal heterogeneity of texts in being constituted by combinations of diverse genres and discourses. The concept of interdiscursivity is modeled upon and closely related to intertextuality (Kristeva 1980)



Discursive practices which constitute changes in culture; a change which appears obviously in the political speeches as shifting relations between word meanings (of the word enterprise) and vocabularies, demonstrates itself implicitly in the brochure in a clash between different and contradictory subject positions.(Fairclough,1995,p.89)

Discursive practices, contextually segmented into discrete genres or professional tasks, such as an interviewing or participating in press conferences.( Van Dijk. 2008 P.108)

### 1.7 Manipulation

van Dijk attached the conception of ‘manipulation’ with the fact that dominant groups can to a certain extent succeed in persuading other people to adopt an ideology that does not put up with their own interests but those of the dominant ones. or It is, at least to a certain degree, inherent in language in use.( de Saussure and Schulz,2005)

Saussure summarizes this essential characteristic nicely by saying that manipulation is about “blocking one’s rational device In sum, manipulation in discourse boils down to intentionally deceiving one’s addressees by persuading them of something that is foremost in one’s own interest through the covert use of communicative devices that are not in agreement with generally acknowledged critical standards of reasonableness. It goes without saying that these devices can be more or less .

Blass lists a number of linguistic techniques used in manipulation, such as Omission ,minimization, exaggeration, repetition, distortion, figurative speech, connotative or substandard language and emotional appeal sophisticated and can be part of a more comprehensive strategy. Blass also stated that , two “basic ways” can be

distinguished of influencing people and making them believe and do what one wants them to do: *testimony* and *argumentation*. If testimony is given with a deceptive goal that is not made overt, it is manipulative ( de Saussure and Schulz,2005)

Manipulation quite in the spirit of Goebbels: brief, clearly phrased and understandable

to the masses (Goebbels 13), which follows the underlying belief that the mass is a weak, lazy, cowardly majority” (ibid. 35, my translation). Or, perhaps we are going too far to conclude so.(Marcin and Sotak,2011,p29)

### 1.8 Data Analysis



Fairclough's three-dimensional model (1989) is adopted to analyze this written text. The three stages of analysis are interrelated to give the full interpretation. The researcher starts to investigate the linguistic features in the text (description level) as they are referred to in the table. In the second step, the researcher is going to analyze the text by the interpretation level then moving to the level of the explanation. The elements of the analysis are mentioned in table. CDA shows the connections hidden from people, such as a connection between language, power, and ideology. The struggle of powers result from different ideologies. The struggle of the power of justice and other types of power. These struggles of power result from different social ideologies like (piety, faith, obedience). These ideologies are included in this text. The researcher investigate also whether the speech includes manipulation or not through dimension model of Fairclough. CDA are also investigates types of power in the text. The study also investigate invisible or the intentioned meaning of these sentences through speech Act. The choices of these Vocabularies and the usage of these grammatical structures, the synonyms, antonyms, the relational values.

**Table (1) The sketch showing the main components, levels, and subdivisions of the analytical model adopted by the researcher for the analysis of the text under study."**

Description		Interpretation			Explanation	
Vocabulary	Grammar	Speech Acts	Context of situations & Discourse type.		Ideology	
Relational words.	Modality	Illocutionary Acts:				
Metaphor	Nominalization	Commissive				
Relation values of words.	Pronoun (you, I)	Declarative				
	Simple & complex sentences.	Informative				
Sense of relations (synonyms, etc. (over Wording))	Logical connectors	Directive				
	Active & Passive sentences.	Representative				
	Conjunction & subordination					
	Negative & positive sentences					



Cohesion & Coherence		
Reference	MR (interpretive principles)	MR (interpretive procedures)

**1. 1-9 Description Stage**

2. The description stage starts with relation words of the text. This speech repeatedly constructs social relationships through terms such as (people )
3. leader , authority , community , servants of Allah , Muhajirun , Ansar Companions , free Muslim ) These lexical choices establish collective identity and social cohesion.
4. The relational values of the words that are included in this speech are
5. ( justice consensus , rights , obligations , reward , God-fearing )These words indicate positive values whiles some other words are included in this text that depict negative values (tribulations , tyrannical , Fire , resentful )
6. Based on the speech, the following rhetorical and lexical devices can be identified. Since some expressions occur only once while others are repeated, the frequencies and percentages are approximate and are calculated from the total number of examples found in each category (24 examples).

Table (2)

Type	Frequency	Example from the Text	Percentage
Synonym	7	reward and recompense rights and obligations patience, insight, and knowledge (semantically related virtues) just – justice superior – merit worldly life – world authority – leadership	29.2%
Metaphor	7	Allah has opened a gate between you and the people of the Qiblah Tribulations have approached like fragments of a dark and moonless night carry this burden The Bridge shall shake violently beneath him	29.2%



Collocation 8	plunge into the Fire	
	the world has overwhelmed you	
	the true and radiant merit	
	peace and blessings	33.3%
	rights and obligations	
	reward and recompense	
	seek Allah's forgiveness	
	Messenger of Allah	
Euphemism 1	people of the Qiblah	
	worldly life	
Homonym 1	free Muslim	
	passed away (instead of died)	4.2%
	right ("his right and left" vs. "rights due upon you")	4.2%

**Table (3)**

Type	Frequency	Percentage
Collocation	8	33.3%
Synonym	7	29.2%
Metaphor	7	29.2%
Euphemism	1	4.2%
Homonym	1	4.2%
Total	24	100%

Homonym is relatively rare in this text. The word right functions with different meanings: direction (right and left) and entitlement (our rights). Euphemism appears mainly in passed away, a conventional euphemistic expression for death. Metaphors are prominent and contribute to the sermon's moral and religious imagery, especially expressions such as carry this burden, open a gate, and the world has overwhelmed you. Collocations are the most frequent category because religious and political discourse often relies on fixed word combinations such as Messenger of Allah, peace and blessings, and reward and recompense. Several expressions (e.g., reward and recompense, rights and obligations) can simultaneously function as both synonymous pairs and collocations, which is common in rhetorical discourse.

What is related with second part of description which it is (Grammar) :

#### **A. Pronoun**



- B. The first person singular pronoun "I" occurred in this text which indicates personal accountability and projects humility :
- C. Examples: (1) "I shall lead you..." (2)"I am but one man among you..."
- D. The First-person plural pronoun occurred in the text "We" which accomplished the function of constructs collective authority. The following examples shows the usage :
- E. Examples:(1) "we possess an explanation" (2) "we possess wealth" directly addresses the audience.
- F. Also the Second-person pronouns "You" which accomplished the function of creates involvement as explained in the following examples
- G. Examples: (1) "you came to me" and (2) "you are all servants of Allah"

### **B. Modality**

The speaker uses modal verbs to indicate different meanings as follows:

It Indicates High-certainty modality that express strong commitment as it is showed in the following examples:

- (1) "I shall lead you" (2) "it shall be distributed equally"

The speaker also uses modality to express authority and duty through Obligation modality as it is explained in the following example:

Example "proceed when you are commanded"

The speaker also uses logical connectors these create chronological and logical coherence. (then , after , therefore , yet , so , when )

### **1.10 Interpretation**

The second part of Fairclough's Model is Interpretation that includes speech act and according to the second stage of Fairclough's three-dimensional model (Interpretation), the text can be examined through speech acts, the context of situation, and the discourse type. The speech contains a combination of commissive, declarative, informative, directive, and representative acts.

#### **A. Speech Act**

<b>Illocutionary Acts</b>	<b>Examples from the Speech</b>	<b>Interpretation / Function</b>
---------------------------	---------------------------------	----------------------------------



**Illocutionary  
Acts**

**Examples from the  
Speech**

**Interpretation / Function**

*“I shall lead you according to the path of your Prophet and enforce among you that which I have been commanded to uphold.”*

Ali(AS) commits himself to governing according to prophetic principles. The statement expresses a promise and obligation toward the community.

**Commissive**

*“We possess wealth to distribute among you.”*

Commitment to equitable economic administration.

**Declarative**

*“You are all servants of Allah, and wealth belongs to Allah; it shall be distributed equally among you.”*

Establishes a new socio-economic principle and officially declares equality in the distribution of state wealth.

*“Any man who responds to Allah and His Messenger... has thereby secured the rights and obligations of Islam.”*

Defines membership and legal status within the Muslim community.

**Informative**

*“The people appointed Abu Bakr... Then Abu Bakr appointed Umar... the authority came to Uthman.”*

Provides historical information about the succession of leadership.

*“I was reluctant to assume authority over the nation of Muhammad until your opinion united upon it.”*

Explains the circumstances surrounding his accession to power.

The narration of the Prophet's saying concerning rulers on al-Sirat.

Supplies religious information to justify the seriousness of political authority.

**Directive**

*“Proceed when you are commanded, and refrain*

Instructs the audience to obey legitimate authority.



**Illocutionary Acts**

**Examples from the Speech**

**Interpretation / Function**

*when you are forbidden.”*

*“Do not hasten in any matter until we make it clear to you.”*

Advises patience and discourages impulsive actions.

*“Let none among you stay away.”*

Commands all eligible Muslims to attend the distribution of wealth.

**Representative**

*“Indeed, I am but one man among you.”*

Expresses Imam Ali's belief and understanding of leadership as a shared responsibility.

*“Allah... knows well that I was reluctant to assume authority.”*

States a personal conviction and presents himself as a reluctant ruler.

*“What is with Allah is better for the virtuous.”*

Affirms a religious truth and moral principle.

**B. Context of Situation**

The speech was delivered immediately after the public allegiance to Imam Ali ibn Abi Talib (AS) following the assassination of Uthman ibn Affan. The Muslim community was experiencing severe political instability and social division. Internal tensions and emerging conflicts threatened the unity of the state. In this context, Imam Ali addresses the Muhajirun and Ansar and the broader Muslim community to legitimize his authority, emphasize justice, and restore social cohesion. The audience consists primarily of Muslims entitled to state stipends and those concerned about the future of leadership and wealth distribution.

**C. Discourse Type**

The text represents a **political-religious discourse** characterized by elements of:

- a) **Legitimizing discourse**, as Imam Ali justifies his accession to power by referring to public consensus and prophetic tradition.



- b) **Advisory discourse**, through instructions concerning obedience, patience, and moral conduct.
- c) **Ethical discourse**, emphasizing equality, justice, and piety.
- d) **Historical discourse**, recounting the succession of the first three caliphs.
- e) **Persuasive discourse**, aiming to secure support and prevent dissatisfaction among groups who might oppose egalitarian policies.

#### **D. Intertextuality**

The speech draws upon Qur'anic discourse Possible echoes include verses concerning justice and taqwa. The speech also draws upon Prophetic discourse also which are vividly shown as direct quotation of the Prophet's statement regarding rulers.

What is concerned with interpretive procedures Interpretive Procedure the audiences or the Listeners interpret the speech through:

- 1) religious knowledge
- 2) political experience
- 3) moral expectations

The audience evaluates leadership according to Islamic principles rather than tribal privilege.

#### **1.11 Explanation**

The third part of the Fairclough's Model is Explanation which includes context of situation that includes (tenor, mode and field) as follows the tenor consists Relationship between ruler and citizens. The speaker simultaneously:

- 1) privileges authority
- 2) emphasizes equality

While the mode of the speech was Public political speech. The discourse type of the speech combined different types

1. Political discourse
2. Religious discourse
3. Ethical discourse
4. Legitimization discourse

The speech draws upon: Qur'anic discourse and Prophetic discourse . The speaker



directs quotation of the Prophet's statement regarding rulers. This intertextual reference strengthens legitimacy.

There are several ideological themes are emerged in this speech like Legitimate Authority, Leadership derives from public consensus and religious responsibility rather than personal ambition. In addition to equality ideology. The text rejects social hierarchy: as it is showed in this example :

"No one possesses superiority over another concerning it."

Economic equality is foregrounded. The speech also includes Accountability and

Communal Unity ideologies. Leaders are accountable before Allah. Political authority is linked to moral responsibility.

What is related with power the speaker interwoven different types of power within the speech like religious power ,power with ,power over speaker also says:

"Proceed when you are commanded." And power with the speaker states

"I am but one man among you." And The strongest source of authority comes from divine legitimacy

1. Allah's knowledge
- 2.The Prophet's teachings

Thus power is represented as delegated by (ALLAH ) rather than owned personally.

From a Faircloughian perspective, the text functions as a legitimizing discourse of political authority. Through historical narration, religious intertextuality, metaphors of accountability, and repeated references to justice and equality, the speaker constructs an ideology in which leadership is not a privilege but a moral burden. Power is simultaneously presented as authoritative and accountable, while social equality and communal unity are emphasized as foundational principles of governance.

## 1.12 Conclusion



The present study employed Fairclough's three-dimensional model of Critical Discourse Analysis to investigate the ideological, power-related, and manipulative aspects of Imam Ali ibn Abi Talib's inaugural speech. The analysis demonstrated that the discourse combines political, religious, ethical, and legitimizing dimensions through lexical choices, grammatical structures, speech acts, intertextual references, and contextual factors.

Regarding racism, the findings indicate that the speech does not promote racial or ethnic superiority. On the contrary, it emphasizes equality, communal solidarity, and the equal distribution of wealth among Muslims. Expressions such as the rejection of superiority and the stress on justice and common religious identity reveal an anti-hierarchical orientation rather than racist discourse. Therefore, no evidence of racial discrimination or racist ideology was found within the text.

Several ideologies emerged from the analysis. These include the ideology of legitimate authority, according to which leadership is grounded in public consensus and religious responsibility; the ideology of social and economic equality; the ideology of accountability before( Allah ); and the ideology of communal unity and moral governance. Political authority is represented as a trust and responsibility rather than a personal privilege.

Concerning manipulation, the speech contains persuasive and legitimizing strategies that are common in political discourse. The use of religious intertextuality, historical narration, directives, and promises serves to strengthen authority and encourage obedience. However, according to the criteria adopted in this study, these persuasive features do not constitute deceptive or exploitative manipulation. Instead, they function as mechanisms of moral persuasion and political legitimization.

With respect to leadership, the discourse constructs the speaker as a morally responsible, accountable, and egalitarian leader who presents authority as a burden rather than a means of domination. Nevertheless, whether Imam Ali ibn Abi Talib should be considered the greatest leader in history lies beyond the scope of Critical Discourse Analysis. Such an evaluation is inherently subjective and depends upon religious beliefs, historical interpretations, and the criteria used for measuring leadership. Objectively, the speech portrays him as a leader who values justice, equality, accountability, and collective welfare, and these characteristics correspond to many qualities commonly associated with effective and ethical leadership.



In conclusion, the discourse represents a model of political-religious leadership founded on justice, equality, moral responsibility, and social cohesion. The analysis reveals the interaction between language, ideology, and power, while showing that the speech primarily functions as a legitimizing and ethical discourse rather than a racist or deceptively manipulative one.

## References

**Teun A. van Dijk( 1984)** Racism and Discourse in Spain and Latin America. Universitay Pompeu Fabra, Barcelona

**Teun A. van Dijk(1991)** Racism and the Press . 1991 Routledge London and New York

**Jane. H. Hill(2008)**The everyday Languge of white Racism .Blackwell. ISBN: 978-1-405-18453-3

**Annabelle Lukin(2017)** Ideology and the text-in-context relation. Lukin Functional Linguistics (2017) 4:16 DOI 10.1186/s40554-017-0050-8

**TEUN A. VAN DIJK(2006)** Ideology and discourse analysis. Universitay Pompeu Fabra

**NORMAN FAIRCLOUGH( 2010 )** Critical Discourse Analysis The Critical Study of Language. Routledge is an imprint of the Taylor & Francis Group, an informa business

**Locke,T.(2004).** *Critical Discourse Analysis*. London and New York: Cromwell Press.

**Althusser , L. ( 2014).** *Ideology and Ideological State Apparatuses' first appeared in Louis Althusser*. London, UK: 6 Meard Street.

**Paltridge, B. (2012).** *Discourse Analysis*. (2<sup>nd</sup>. Ed. ). UK and USA: Bloomsbury Academic.

**Martin J. R. and Rose, D. (2007).** *Working With discourse. Meaning beyond the clause*. London: Continuum.

**Fairclough, N. (1995) .** *Media And Language: Setting An Agenda*. (Ed.) London. Great Britain : Redwood Books, Trowbridge.

**VAN DIJK, T. A (2008).** *Discourse and Context. A socio-cognitive approach*. (Ed.) Cambridge University Press.



**Louis de Saussure and Peter Schulz (2005) Manipulation and Ideologies in the Twentieth Century Discourse, language, mind . John Benjamins Publishing Company**

**Marcin Marci nova (2011) Myths and Manipulation in Political Discourse . Univerzita Pavla Jozefa Šafárika v Košiciach**

### **Appendix**

The presidential speech of Imam Ali Bin Abi Talib in (35 HG.-40 HG. ) (665-661 AD)

**“Now then: when the Messenger of Allah, peace and blessings be upon him, passed away, the people appointed Abu Bakr as their leader. Then Abu Bakr appointed Umar, who governed according to his predecessor’s way. Thereafter, the matter was placed in consultation among six men, and the authority came to Uthman. He acted in ways that you disapproved of, though you recognized much good in him as well. Then he was besieged and killed. Afterward, you came to me willingly and requested that I assume authority over you.**

**Indeed, I am but one man among you: I possess the same rights as you, and I bear the same obligations that you bear. Allah has now opened a gate between you and the people of the Qiblah, and tribulations have approached like fragments of a dark and moonless night. None can carry this burden except those endowed with patience, insight, and knowledge of the realities of affairs.**

**I shall lead you according to the path of your Prophet and enforce among you that which I have been commanded to uphold, provided that you remain steadfast with me; and Allah alone is the One whose help is sought. Truly, my position in relation to the Messenger of Allah after his death is as my position was during his lifetime. Therefore, proceed when you are commanded, and refrain when you are forbidden. Do not hasten in any matter until we make it clear to you, for regarding every matter you may find objectionable, we possess an explanation.**

**Behold! Allah, above His heavens and His Throne, knows well that I was reluctant to assume authority over the nation of Muhammad until your opinion united upon it. For I heard the Messenger of Allah, peace and blessings be upon him, say:**



‘Any ruler who assumes authority over my community after me shall be stationed upon the Bridge (al-Sirat), and the angels shall spread open his record before him. If he has been just, Allah will save him by virtue of his justice; but if he has been tyrannical, the Bridge shall shake violently beneath him until his joints are torn apart, and he will plunge into the Fire. The first part of him to be scorched therein shall be his nose and the sides of his face.’

**Yet when your consensus came together, it no longer remained permissible for me to abandon you.**

Then he, may Allah be pleased with him, turned to his right and left and said:

**“Let no man among you say tomorrow: ‘The world has overwhelmed you, so you have acquired estates, caused rivers to flow, ridden noble steeds, and taken delicate maidservants, and when you are prevented from indulging in these luxuries and are returned to the rights due upon you, you become resentful and declare: Ibn Abi Talib has deprived us of our rights.’**

**Indeed, any man among the Muhajirun and Ansar, among the Companions of the Messenger of Allah, who believes himself superior to others because of his companionship, should know that the true and radiant merit shall be with Allah tomorrow, and his reward and recompense are with Allah alone.**

**Any man who responds to Allah and His Messenger, affirms His religion, enters into our faith, and faces our Qiblah in prayer, has thereby secured the rights and obligations of Islam. You are all servants of Allah, and wealth belongs to Allah; it shall be distributed equally among you. No one possesses superiority over another concerning it. As for the God-fearing, they shall receive from Allah tomorrow the finest reward and the greatest recompense. Allah has not made this worldly life the reward of the righteous, nor their recompense. What is with Allah is better for the virtuous.**

**So when tomorrow comes, if Allah wills, come to us; for we possess wealth to distribute among you. Let none among you stay away—whether Arab or non-Arab, so long as he is among those entitled to the stipend, provided he is a free Muslim.”**

**Then he concluded:**

**“I say these words of mine, and I seek Allah’s forgiveness for myself and for you all.”**