

A Study of the "Evolution" in the Well-Known Military-Security Discourses of the Islamic World Using Discourse Analysis Theory "Laclau and Mouffe"

Ali Adami*

Assistant Professor, Allameh Tabataba'i University, Tehran, Iran

Nima Rezaei

Ph.D. in International Relations, Allameh Tabataba'i University, Tehran, Iran

Abstract

The Discourse Theory, introduced by Ernst Laclau and Shantal Mouffe, provides the researchers with an effective tool for analysis of the interactions between actors in the field of politics. From the perspective of these researchers, discourses are the lonely way the human could use for recognition of the world. Following the seeking to answer the main question of "The main military-security approaches in the Islamic world could be explained or recognized better by which theory?" this study suggests the hypothesis that "by using Laclau and Mouffe's Discourse Analysis Theory, it is possible to understand the either main military-security approaches in the Islamic world or the evolution of these approaches". To do this, in addition to studying the theoretical foundations of the formation of Laclau and Mouffe discourse analysis theory, the security-military discourse of the Islamic Republic in the Islamic world in the early 1990 is explained, by focusing on the "Otherness-maker" relationship of such discourse with the hegemon's military-security discourse in the Islamic world, that is the military-security discourse established by the United States. Then, the "evaluation" of the military-security discourses of the Islamic Republic and the United States after formation (or more precisely, strengthening) of the "Salafi-Takfiri" security-military discourse in 2001 in the Islamic world has been discussed.

Key Words: Discourse, Laclau and Mouffe's Discourse Analysis Theory, Islamic Republic's Security-Military Discourse, US' Security-Military Discourse, Salafi-Takfiri's Security-Military Discourse.

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Email: aliadami2002@yahoo.com

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1. Introduction

Studies involving discourse as a key theoretical concept have been recently one of the most active and interesting areas of International Relations. Discourse theorizing crosses over and mixes divisions between post-Structuralists, postmodernists and some feminists and social constructivists. (Milliken, 1999, p. 225) Neumann believes that discourse analysts are interested in the socially constructed nature of discourse, and, as congruent with other modes of qualitative research, this type of research is inherently subjective. (Neumann, 2008, p. 61) Discourse analysis has become widely applicable across a diverse range of social research perspectives, from variable-oriented analyses (Abdelal, Herrera, Johnston & McDermott, 2006, p. 702) to more constructivist views (Klotz & Lynch, 2007, p. 19).

The term "discourse" is essentially a conceptual tool, which means that, depending on the analysis process, the analyst can cut off some parts of the reality and examines it as a discourse (Soltani, 2004b, p.184). "The main concern in the theory of" discourse "is about how people in the societies feel or recognize themselves. In other words, what is the definition of people of their own in different societies, and under the cast of such recognition, what is their behavioral model?" (Marsh and Stoker, 1999, p. 207).

The theory of "discourse" emphasizes the role of language in representing and creating the social reality. According to this theory, access to reality can only be done through language. In fact, the world is the product of discourses. Of course, this theory does not oppose the existence of reality, but believes that objects and phenomena get their meanings only through discourse. For example, river flooding is an incident independent of people's thinking and mentality, but since the moment people begin to mean it, it becomes a discursive subject, and based on the different discourses, people attribute it to the anger of God, mischief Government management, El Nino, failure of flood strap, and so on. Thereby, this event gets different meanings based on each discourse (Hosseinizadeh, 2004, p. 182).

According to the above explanations, it could be said that the theory of "Discourse" provides the researchers with a proper tool for analysis of the events and social phenomena. So, in this research, the method of "Laclau and Mouffe" have been selected among the various methods of "discourse analysis" to study the well-known security-military discourses raised in the Islamic world and their "evolution." The analysis of the discourse of "Laclau and Mouffe" is one of the most important and effective theories in this field, because on one hand Laclau and Mouffe, have raised a fundamental challenge against approaches of "Reductionist", "Essentialist" and "Universalism", and on the other hand, they started to critique the doctrines emerged based on specific perceptions of society. By this purpose, these two thinkers, have set their theoretical departure point not on a specific or unique bed or filed, but on a number of theoretical and philosophical trends including

"deconstruction" by Derrida, "genealogy" and "paleontology" by Foucault, "psychoanalysis" by Lacan, "phenomenology" by Husserl and Heidegger, "pragmatism" by Rorty, "modern linguistics and semantics" by Saussure, Bartz and etc., and also Wittgenstein's metaphysical approach, and Gramsci's "hegemony" (Tajik, 1998, p. 7).

In this study, during seeking to answer to the main question entitled "The analysis of military-security discourses well-known in the Islamic world could be better conducted by which one of the disclosure analysis theories?", it is recommended that "using Laclau and Mouffe's Discourse Analysis Theory, it is possible to analyze the security-military discourses well-known in the Islamic world as well as the "Otherness-maker" relationships established between these discourses, and then scrutinize the "evolution" in the considered discourses".

To do this, it is necessary to evaluate and consider the texts examined in the analysis of the well-known security-military discourses in the Islamic world, the method of analyzing the texts, the study period, the discursive context, and the controversial relationship between the well-known security-military discourses in the Islamic world and the rival discourses. Of course, before entering into the above discussion, it is necessary to refer to the concept of "discourse" and the main components of the "analysis of the discourse theory of Laclau and Mouffe".

2. Theoretical Framework

2-1. Discourse

The term "discourse", which history dates back to the 14th century in some sources, routes in the French-language discours [dis-koor] and Latin discurs-us term, which mean discourse, conversation, also refer to the word discursum and discurrer, which means dodge, hang up, delay and etc." (McDonnell, 1998, p. 10)

In Iran, and for the first time, Dariush Ashouri has used the term "discourse (Gofteman in Farsi)" as the equivalent of the English word of "discourse", in the translated version of the article named "The West-Dismantle Theory and the Thinking Crisis in Iran", published in Iran in the year 1988.

"Discourse" is a phenomenon, a category or a social trend. Better yet, "discourse" is a trend and bed, which has a social context. The expressed sentences, statements and expressed premises, the used words and phrases and their meanings all are depended on the fact that the expressed statements, the propositions, the hypothetical theorems and etc., have been expressed when, where, how, and by whom, in favor or against what or who (McDonnell, 1998, p. 30). It could be said that theories of "discourse" have been rooted in the "Saussure" theories in linguistics (Haghighat, 2006, p.457).

"Saussure" considers the language as an "organization" of related terms without referring to the synchronic concepts, and regarded its diachronic and evolving trait as a subsidiary issue. Language is as a system of langues, which includes essential rules that the speaker should stay committed to them to establish a meaningful connection with the others. Here, Saussure refers to the

constant structure of the languages, as each one helps to mean the other one. In this sense, language differs from parole. Parole is an individual act, but language is social. Parole is the occasional application of the language by the users in different situations (Hosseinizadeh, 2004, p. 183).

"Saussure" shows the relationship between the languages and the outside world as a triangular, where the signifier, signified and referent form its three corners. According to "Saussure", the langue only consist signifier and signified, and there is no inherent relationship between the langue and referent with the outside world, but it is an arbitrary and random relationship. In this way, the meaning of the languages is achieved not by referring to the world of referents, but through the relationship between the languages themselves within the semantic system of language (Soltani, 2004 a, p. 156).

2-2. Discourse Analysis Theory of Laclau and Mouffe

Laclau and Mouffe in their book, "Hegemony and Socialist Strategy: Toward a Radical-Democratic Policy", move along the two constructivist currents, Saussure constructivism, and Marxist constructivism, and eventually obtain a post-constructivist theory, based on which, the society is made by a complex network of the relations in which the meaning is generated. Their semantic theory is rooted in Saussure constructivism, while their political theory emanates from the Marxist constructivist views (Soltani, 2004 b, p. 180).

Harpham believes that for regeneration of a (post-Marxist) theory, Laclau and Mouffe redefine the traditional concepts of classical Marxism. On this basis, they talk about "Antagonism" instead of "class struggle". Following the Gramscience's theory, they use the "collective wills" against "political classes," and this way apply the "discourse" against " Practice ", "democracy" against "communism", "identity" in against "Class Position", "negative issue" against "positive issue" and, finally, and most importantly, "articulation" against "politics" (Jahangiri and Fattahi, 2011, p. 29).

The "Discourse Analysis Theory" of Laclau and Mouffe suspends the truth and false claims because it has an anti-entity character and considers all social affairs to be probable. (Behrooz Lak, 2006, p. 40)

Laclau's approach toward the "discourse" is transcendental, similar to that of "Benonist". This means that, "discourse" exists before anything that makes sense of human's action and recognition, as the human can understand and recognize the world only through discourse (Dehghani Firoozabadi, 2010, p. 161).

In "Post-Marxism without apologies" article, Laclau tries to express a conceptual representation of "discourse" in a simple statement: Assume that I'm building a wall with someone else's help. In specific moments, I ask him to give me a brick and then I add it to the semi-constructed wall. The first action, that is, ask for brick, is a linguistic action, and the latter, which means addition of brick to the wall, is a meta-language action. It is now necessary to ask whether I have reduced the reality of both actions to one action by differentiating between them in the form of linguistic/meta-linguistic conflict. Obviously not, because,

despite the difference, these two actions are joined by some aspects, including the fact that both are part of a general action, which is the "construction of the wall". It is clear that if this totality includes both the linguistic and the non-linguistic elements, the "totality" itself, cannot be merely linguistic or non-linguistic. The above-mentioned "totality" is prior to this distinction. We call this "Totality" as a "discourse", which held both the linguistic and non-linguistic elements inside (Tajik, 2006, p. 32).

According to Laclau and Mouffe, the structured totality resulting from the articulation is called "discourse." Discourses consist of a set of terms that are interconnected in a meaningful way. In fact, discourses are the construction of a set of codes, objects, individuals, and so on, which are positioned around a key signifier, and obtain their identity against a set of "otherness". (Hosseinizadeh, 2004, p. 189)

According to Laclau and Mouff, each discourse gives a new meaning to its components, as the objects and activities become meaningful when they are a part of a discourse (Fuji, 2008, pp. 92-91). After mentioning this description, it is essential to examine the security-military discourses in the Islamic world.

3. Studying the military-security discourses in the Islamic world

3-1. Examined period

The initial temporal period has been set from 1989 to 1993AD corresponded to 1368-1372 A.H.S, during which two well-known security-military discourses in the Islamic world included the "Islamic Republic" security-military discourse and the "United States" security discourse. In this era, the United States' discourse was at a hegemonic position. A very important point to be notes is that the "evolution" of discourses is a natural phenomenon; which means that over the time and given the discursive context, sometimes this discourse entered the field of discursivity and become an "element", and vice versa, some elements have been removed from the field of discursivity and turned to a "moment".

In this regard, the second study time period, in which both well-known discourses undergo an "evolution" in discourse, and the third discourse, which is the "Salafi-Takfiri" military-security discourse, have been initiated since 2011, after the US invasion of Afghanistan on October.07, 2001 (15, Mehr. 1380).

3-2. Examined texts

A. The Initial period (1993-1989)

The "textual data" used in the analysis of the security-military discourse of the Islamic Republic includes the written texts of the Supreme Leader of Iran and other texts such as his television and radio speeches, which, due to the extent and variety of texts, the original transcripts have been not mentioned here, and only a brief description of them is sufficed. Meanwhile, "non-linguistic discourse practices" are also evaluated in line with his linguistic discourse

practices. Regarding the examination of the texts related to the Supreme Leader of Iran, as the main source of articulation of the security-military discourse of Islamic Republic in the Islamic world, it should be said that the reason for this case roots in the unique and special position devoted to the Supreme Leader of Iran by the constitution and custom in the case of security-military discussions (From the point of view of direct appointment of military commanders in accordance with clause 6 of Article 110th of the Constitution; also regarding the consultation for election of key ministers related to security issues, such as ministers of defense and support of the armed troops, Information's, Country and Foreign affairs, the authority to make veto on decisions issued by the National Security Council, as well as the declaration of war and peace and the set off of the human resources in accordance with clause 5 of 110th Article of the Constitution).

Meanwhile, the Supreme Leader of Iran has issued the first and last commands in determining the security-military strategies and orientations of the country, and the influence of his words on the security-military authorities (even among information security officials) is excellent and unparalleled. The main words of the Supreme Leader of Iran, which have been examined include: "A celebration of different people's allegiance in July 25, 198", "A Meeting with students on November 10, 1989", " A meeting with the authorities and people on March 22, 1989", "A meeting with the elite children of the martyrs and veterans and different people in Mashhad, Tehran and Kurdistan on September 21, 1990 "and so forth, which are visible on the website of the Supreme Leader of Iran.

There are two "textual data" for the analysis of the United States' military-security discourse in 1990 in the Islamic world, included the documents of the "National Security Strategy of the United States", and the "George Herbert Walker Bush's words".

In 1990, the third part of the "US National Security Strategy" document, addresses the issue of "Regional challenges [for US security and interests] and reactions", and examines the issue in seven areas of the "Soviet Union", "Western Europe", "Eastern Europe", "Western Hemisphere", "East Asia and the Pacific", " Middle East", "South Asia" and "Africa". The major points that deliver the "moments" of the USA's military-security discourse in 1990 can be summarized as follows:

The free world's reliance on energy supplies from this pivotal region and our strong ties with many of the region's countries continue to constitute important interests of the United States. Soviet policies in the region show signs of moderating, but remain contradictory. The supply of advanced arms to Libya and Syria continues (as does the cultivation of Iran), though Soviet diplomacy has moved in other respects in more constructive directions. The Middle East is a vivid example, however, of a region in which, even as East-West tensions diminish, American strategic concerns remain. Threats to our interests—including the security of Israel and moderate Arab states as well as the free flow of oil— come from a variety of sources. In the 1980s, our military engagements—in Lebanon in 1983-84, Libya in 1986, and the Persian Gulf in

1987-88—were in response to threats to U.S. interests that could not be laid at the Kremlin's door. The necessity to defend our interests will continue. Therefore, we will maintain a naval presence in the eastern Mediterranean Sea, the Persian Gulf, and the Indian Ocean. We will conduct periodic exercises and pursue improved host-nation support and prepositioning of equipment throughout the region. In addition, we will discourage destabilizing arms sales to regional states, especially where there is the potential for upsetting local balances of power or accelerating wasteful arms races. We are especially committed to working to curb the proliferation of nuclear, chemical, and other weapons of mass destruction, the means to produce them, and associated longrange delivery systems. We will confront and build international pressure against those states that sponsor terrorism and subversion. And we will continue to promote a peace process designed to satisfy legitimate Palestinian political rights in a manner consonant with our enduring commitment to Israel's security... (The White House, 1990 ,p. 13)

The most important words of "Bush (the Father)" were also as follows: (Bush, February 21, 1989), (Bush, April 3, 1989), (Bush, April 4, 1989), (Bush, April 6, 1989), (Bush, April 19, 1989), (Bush, January 24, 1990), (Bush, August 9, 1990).

B. The second period (2001-2018)

In the second period, the major "textual data" used in the analysis of the security-military discourse of Islamic republic is the audio-visual texts of the Supreme Leader of Iran.

There are two "textual data" for analysis of the United States' military-security discourse in 2001 and in the Islamic world, including the "Great Middle East Plan" document, which is the beating heart of the Islamic world, and the words of the "George Herbert Walker Bush".

The "Great Middle East Plan" was announced by Secretary of State, Colin Powell, on Dec. 12, 2002. Subsequently, in January 2003, US Vice President, Dick Cheney, at the World Economic Forum held in Davos, Switzerland, declared the "Leading Strategy for Freedom" that pledged the United States to support the people, who work on reform in the great Middle East and sacrifice in this way. Accordingly, in November 2003 (Azar 1382), the Bush's government formally announced its plan for the "Great Middle East". The term "Great Middle East" includes Morocco to South Asia and the Caucasus to the Horn of Africa. Except Israel, Islam religion is the common element of the definition of the United States about "Great Middle East".

The USA's intentions of these actions were rooted in its concern for national security. The United States explicitly accepted that the project was a type of regional security initiative. The United States believes that this country's national security and even international security will be provided by preventing the terror and its realization in the Middle East, which is also important through the democratization of the region to meet the requirements of the time.

Democratization of the region will not be come true, except through political, economic and social reforms. (Erkmen, 2008, p. 39)

Another "textual data" that needs to be addressed is about the "George Walker Bush" speeches, including: (U.S. Government Publishing Office, 2002, p.131), (Bush, May 25, 2006), (Bush, August 28, 2005), (Bush, December 4, 2004), (Bush, January 20, 2003), (Bush, March 30, 2002), (Bush, January 18, 2002), (Bush, September 28, 2001), (Bush, March 13, 2001).

In the analysis of the Salafi-Takfiri security-military discourse in the Islamic world in 2001, the discursive practices and the contexts of formation of such discourse are taken into account, as the signifier and moments of this discourse have been extracted from these cases, because it cannot be cited to the tangible "textual data" expressions of the various leaders of this group, who has multiple ideological disagreement.

3-3. How to analyze the texts

In this research, the content analysis method was used and the meanings and subjects hidden in the texts were also focused and examined accurately. The main signifier was identified by the emphasis and repetition conducted on the subject. Of course, it should not be ignored that there is a type of coordination and coherence between the "nodal point", "moments" is a degree of coherence between the "central slab" and "moments" of discourse. In addition, the nodal point acts as a "vertical column", which, if it is removed, the entire tent collapses. Therefore, other "signifiers" have been defined on the basis of "nodal point" and there is a relationship between them.

4. Security-military discourses raised in the Islamic world in 1990

It could be said that there were two main military-security discourses belonged to the United States and the Islamic Republic in the 1990s and in the Islamic world, where the two "discourses" in that atmosphere were mutually controversial and sought to eliminate each other. By seeking the textual data mentioned in the previous section, Figure 1 could be considered as the articulation of the United States' military-security discourse in the Islamic world in 1990, and draw the "nodal point" and "moments" as follows:

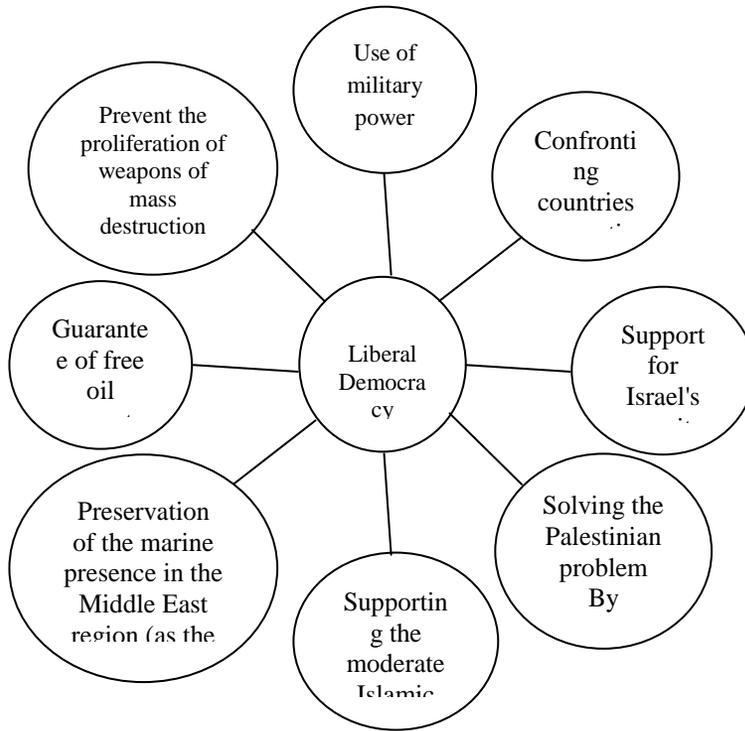


Figure 1. Articulation of the United States' military-security discourse in the Islamic world in 1990

The second security-military discourse of the Islamic world in the 1990s was the discourse of the Islamic Republic, which had a controversial relation with US's military-security discourse. The "nodal point" and "moments" of such discourse can be depicted as follows:

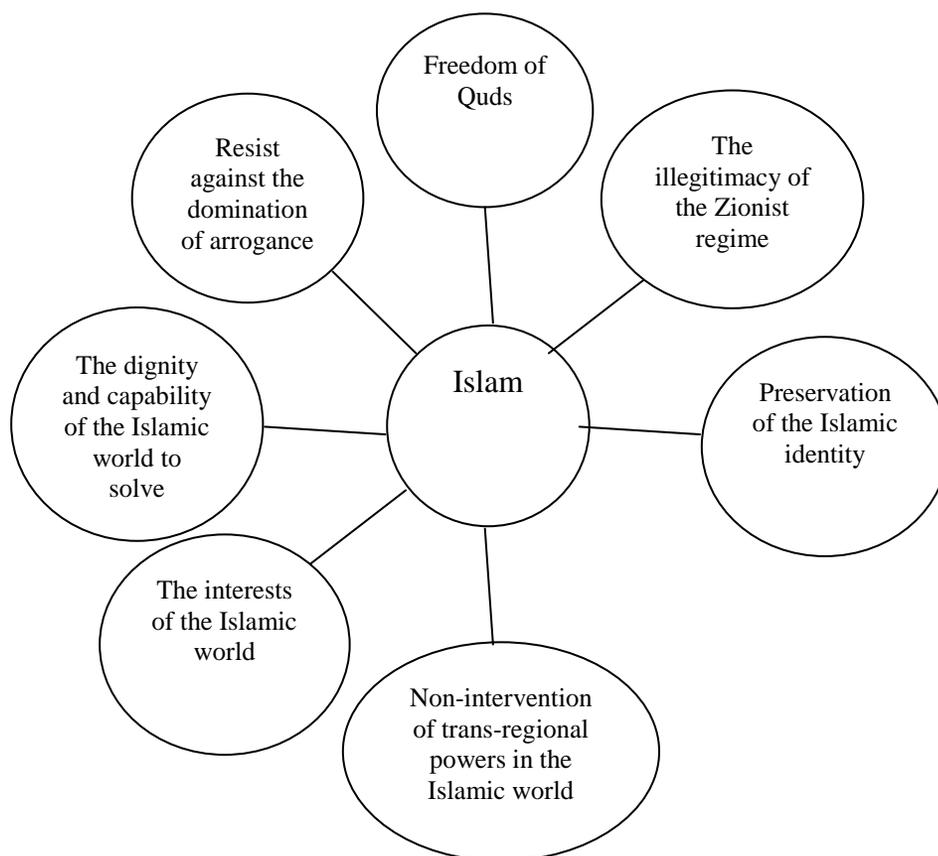


Figure 2. Articulation of the Islamic Republic's military-security discourse in the Islamic world in 1990

It should be noted that during the period under consideration in the years 1993-1999, the USA's military-security discourse was a kind of "Objective discourse" that no other discourse (including the discourse of the "Islamic Republic") could disrupt its "hegemony" in the society (the Islamic world).

More precisely, the USA's military-security discourse was placed in a "discursive field" which is full of conflicts and struggles for defining the meanings. The existence of a "discursive field" and contradictory between the security-military discourses of the USA and Islamic Republic (as the main rival) meant that the "Identity" of the USA's security-military discourse was constantly threatened to be changed. Through the fixation of the meaning of the discourse's "Signifiers", the United States did not give a chance to the rival

discourse (the Islamic Republic's discourse) for "deconstruction", the breakdown of semantic stability, and, finally, the loss of "hegemony of its discourse". If the fixation of the meanings of the USA's discourse's "Signifiers" broke up, the "hegemony" of this discourse was failed as a result.

Some points should be noted in the case of the struggle for fixation of the "Signifiers" between the security-military discourse pertinent to Iran and USA. One of them is about the moments of security-military discourse of the USA against the countries, which protected the terrorism. Security-military discourse of the USA meant the "moment" as a "Signifier" (or more precisely a "floating signifier"), by the term that "each country which opposed the USA, actually is a terrorist", and this way such floating signifier entered the discourse articulation and received the semantic identity. On the other hand, the security-military discourse of the Islamic Republic followed the deconstruction of the security-military discourse belonged to the USA to shake (or more precisely dislocation) the stabilized concepts of the moments, by redefining the "signifiers" of the security-military discourse of USA and assigning the new meanings to them. As at the end, the whole security-military discourse of the USA becomes restless and its hegemony all around the Islamic world is removed. In this regard, the security-military discourse of the Islamic Republic has redefined the moment of the "Opposition against the terrorism-protecting countries", which was one of the moments of the USA's security-military discourse, entitled as "The countries, which oppose the hegemony of the USA are not terrorists". So the stabilized definition of this "moment" in the security-military discourse of the USA became fragile and dislocation and at the end, by shaking the basis of these "moments" of the security-military discourse of USA, the hegemony of such discourse is destroyed in the society (Islamic world), although it was not completely successful in that era.

Thereby, the security-military discourse of USA could approximate its desired 'signified' to the "signifiers" and makes the hegemonic signifiers by coming to conclusion about its desired definitions. By hegemonization of the discourse signifiers, the whole "Discourse" was placed at the value of "Hegemony". "Hegemonization" of these "Signifiers" means that the definition developed by the USA has been widely accepted by the public opinion (Islamic world), and in these conditions, it could be said that a closure (though temporary) was being created in the definition of "signifiers" of the security-military discourse of the USA.

Another subject was to "Resolve the Palestine Problem", as one of the moments of the security-military discourse of USA. The USA has defined this problem as "Establishment of the peace among the Palestinians by Negotiation and thorough destroying any kind of resistivity in them", and introduced such "floating signifier" into its discourse articulation, as this moment gained a temporary semantic identity. On the contrary, the security-military discourse of the Islamic Republic defined this moment as the "Resistivity is the main solution of the Palestine Problem".

This is also identical to the case of the other security-military discourse moment of the USA, which is the "Maintaining the marine presence in the

A Study of the "Evolution" in the Well-Known Military-Security Discourses of the / 12 Middle East region (as the heart of the Islamic world). Although the security-military discourse moment of the USA, defined this moment as the "military presence to assist the countries of the region", the security-military discourse moment of the Islamic Republic defines it as the "Capability and dignity of the countries of the region for resolving the problems, with emphasis on the non-intervention of the transnational countries in the region", and tried to shake and unrest the stabilized meaning of this moment in the security-military discourse of the USA.

It should be pointed out that although the security-military discourse of the USA has been yet placed at the "hegemon" level, the "chain of equivalence" of the security-military discourse of the USA does not include the whole society (Islamic world), and the "logic of difference", that the differences and oppositions in the social level are emphasized by means of which, and disrupts via the "chain of equivalence", was highlighted and significant in the Islamic world. It should be said that the "chain of equivalence" of the security-military discourse of the USA is considered as the "realized discourse". The "chain of equivalence" of security-military discourse of the Islamic Republic also included some parts of the Islamic world like Shiites of the region, some other countries and Sunnis, Hamas and Syria and etc.

Another important point is that similar to other "hegemon" discourses, the security-military discourse of the USA could retain his "power" and maintain the consistency of its "Hegemony" by highlighting or introducing the desired "signifiers" and neglecting (underestimating) the rival discourses.

The latest point that should be referred to in this section is that in the theory of Laclau and Mouffe, antagonism or conflict have shaped the identity and this way, the identity is always a discursive and non-stabilized term, which is created in contrast with the "Other". Thereby, it should be said that the "Other" of the security-military discourse of Islamic Republic is the USA and Israel, while the "Other" of the security-military discourse of USA, is the Islamic Republic.

5. The well-known security-military discourses in the Islamic world since 2001

These discourses have been considered as the main security-military discourses of the Islamic works up to September 11, 2001 AD (20. Shahrivar. 1380). Of course, the security-military discourse of the USA in these years retained its "Hegemony" during these years. After September 11, 2001 and campaign of the USA in the Muslim countries like Afghanistan, Iraq and occupation of the countries by the excuse of fight against terrorism, a new discourse was created which could be known as the "Salafi-Takfiri". Although the "Salafi-Takfiri" trend was emerged as "Al-Qaeda" before the USA invasion of Afghanistan, it could introduce itself as a "discourse" in the whole Islamic world. The September 11 invasions and consequently the USA invasion of Afghanistan led to emergence of the "Salafi-Takfiri" discourse, which established a hostile relation with the both major security-military discourses in the Islamic world,

which means the discourses pertaining to the USA and Islamic Republic, and introduced itself as a third discourse.

After invasion of USA to the Afghanistan, following regions have been out of control of Taliban: November 9 (Aban 18) Mazar Sharif, November 13 Kabul, November 14 Jalal Abad and December 7 (16 Azar) Ghandehar. By failure of Taliban in Afghanistan, lots of the intellectual and operational groups of Taliban and Al-Qaeda, who survived the attacks, moved to the other countries like Iraq and provided the beds for generation of various groups possessing "Salafi-Takfiri" viewpoints.

The invasion of the United States and other three countries including UK, Australia and Poland on the Iraq on March.20.2003, (29 Esfand 1381), despite the strong opposition from the Secretary-General of the United Nations and many countries of the world, including Russia, Germany and France, and without reference to a resolution of the United Nations Security Council, continued until April.9.2003 (20 Farvardin 1382), where the Saddam's statue was overthrown in the Ferdows Square in Baghdad (Tabarizadeh and Marei, 2009, p. 89), and linked the "Salafi-Takfiri" group with the Ba'ath group of the Iraqi Army, Who were elaborate and professional groups familiar with the techniques of warfare.

Abu-Musab Al-Zarqawi was one of those troops who went to the Kurdistan of Iraq after the fall of the Taliban and joined the Salafi group of Ansar-al-Islam. After a while, Al-Zarqawi was selected as the leader of the "Tohid and Jihad" group. Later, by joining many jihadist troops and Al-Zarqawi's allegiance to bin-Laden, the al-Qaeda branch in Iraq (Al-Qaida organization in Al-baald-Al-Rafidain) was formed. After the fall of the Ba'athist regime in Iraq, Al-Zarqawi pursued his attacks on American troops. Of course, he organized many suicide bombings that resulted in the killing of many Shiites and Sunnis. And it was how the "Takfiri-Salafi" troops introduced itself as a "discourse". A "cohesive discourse" that contained all the components of a "discourse" such as "nodal point", "moments", "chain of equivalence" and "articulation".

In relation to the Takfiri-Salafi troops, it should be noted that the "Salafiyah", in the history of Islamic culture, is famous for those whose beliefs return to Ahmad-ibn-Hanbal (241 AH). The era of "Ahmed-ibn-Hanbal" coincided with the formation of the first era of Abbasids (132-232AH), the emergence of religious and political movements, the rise of some Islamic sciences and the scientific translation movement. The ideas of "Salafiyah" have been restored in the seventh century, with the introduction of unprecedented theological by ibn-Timiyeh (661-721) and his student, ibn-Ghayyem-Jozi (751-691AH), and in the 12th century by "Mohammed-ibn-Abdulwahhab" (1111-1206AH).

In the seventh century, when the "Mamalik" government became the ruler in Egypt and set Cairo as its capital, the training of the Hanafi, Maliki, Shafi and Hanbali religions were interesting and Sufism and Sufism approaches became widespread. In addition, Mughals attacks and the fall of Baghdad had caused the center of Islamic thought to be transferred to Damascus and Cairo since then. Some the most controversial topics of this period, which were questioned and

doubted by Ibn-Timiyeh, could be referred as "questioning the importance and respect of Jerusalem to the Muslims," "the knowledge of God through mysticism and personal experience," as well as the "assignment of the Mughals to Islam and the taboo of fight with them". The Wahhabi beliefs that emerged in the 12th century outside the realm of the Ottoman Empire, in an agreement between Mohammed-bin-Saud and Mohammed-bin-Abdulwahhab, were in accordance with the Hanbali's religion and Ibn-Timiyeh's thoughts.

Recognition of God without violating the limits of the Quran and Hadith, visiting the God in paradise and the lack of belief in the prophetic infallibility were among the beliefs of "Muhammad-bin-Abdulwahhab." The influence of Muhammad-bin-Abdulwahhab on the development of Salafi's thoughts is so that according to Ibn-Timiyeh, his followers called themselves Salafiyah. Thus, followers of the Salafiyah, since "Ahmad ibn-Hanbal to Muhammad bin-Abdulwahhab, should be referred as the era of the old Salafists. As the decomposition of the Ottoman Empire could be the emergence of the formation of new Salafists. The most important theological foundations of Salafiyah can be summarized as follows: "Adherence to the understanding the method of the Companions of the followers and the Theologians of the second and third centuries", "Opposition to theological-philosophical interpretations of the verses of the Quran and the traditions" "The complete faith in the appearances of the texts, even if their concepts do not be understood", "Priority of quoting to wisdom" and "Development of the concept of infidel and disbelief". The most important social aspect of this group is a kind of "sectarian dogmatism", which only considers its followers as the "Savior cult", while the other Muslim troops are false, misleading, and sometimes infidels. It could be said that the old and new Salafists are common in many theoretical positions, but the most important specific characteristic of the "new Salafists" is the use of violence and a firm belief in the notion of "Takfir". (EdalatNejad and Nezamolddini, 2011, pp. 166-165) (Ghaffari Hashjin and Alizadeh Sylab, 1393, pp. 92-91) (Alizadeh Mousavi, 1393, pp. 139-134).

The Salafi troop could be divided into four categories: the "Takfiri-Wahhabi", "the Divbandi Salafi in the Indian subcontinent", the "Wahhabi-Salafi-Takfiri" and the "Newsalafi" (Fozi, 2014, pp. 130-126).

By reviewing the works and beliefs, as well as non-linguistic discourse practices of the Salafi-Takfiri troops, the "nodal point" and the "moment" of the "Salafi-Takfiri's security-military discourse could be depicted as follows.

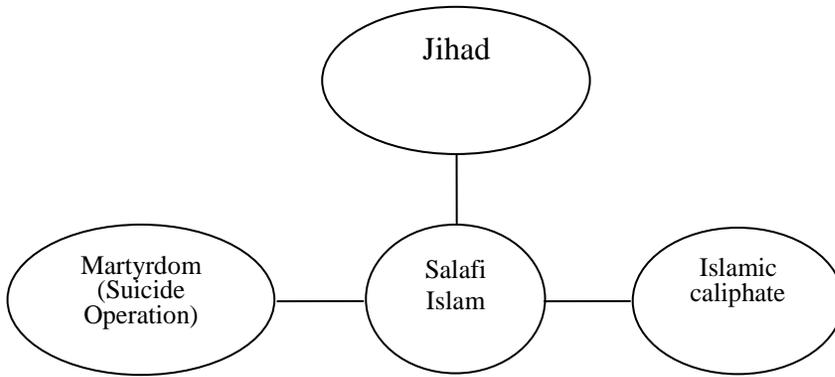


Figure 3: Articulation of the "Salafi- Takfiri" military-security discourse in the Islamic world 2001-2018

After the emergence of the "Salafi-Takfiri" military-security discourse, which had established conflicts with two other security-military discourses belonged to the United States and the Islamic Republic, the United States and Islamic Republic's military-security discourses created some changes in the articulation of their discourse. This issue was more highlighted in relation to military-security discourse of the USA, because it was in a hegemonic position, and if it could not manage the created "restlessness", it would have lost its hegemony. The "Great Middle East Plan" or, more precisely, the "Greater Middle East Partnership Initiative" belonged to the "George Walker Bush" created the opportunity of "evolution" in the military-security discourse of the USA, in the Middle East region (as the heart of the Muslim world).

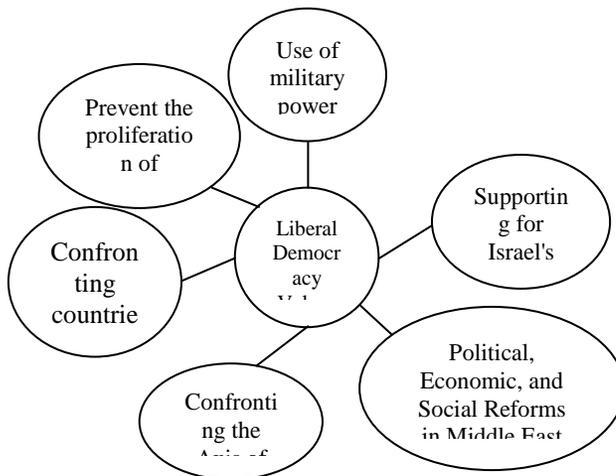


Figure 4: Articulation of USA military-security discourse in the Islamic world 2001-2018

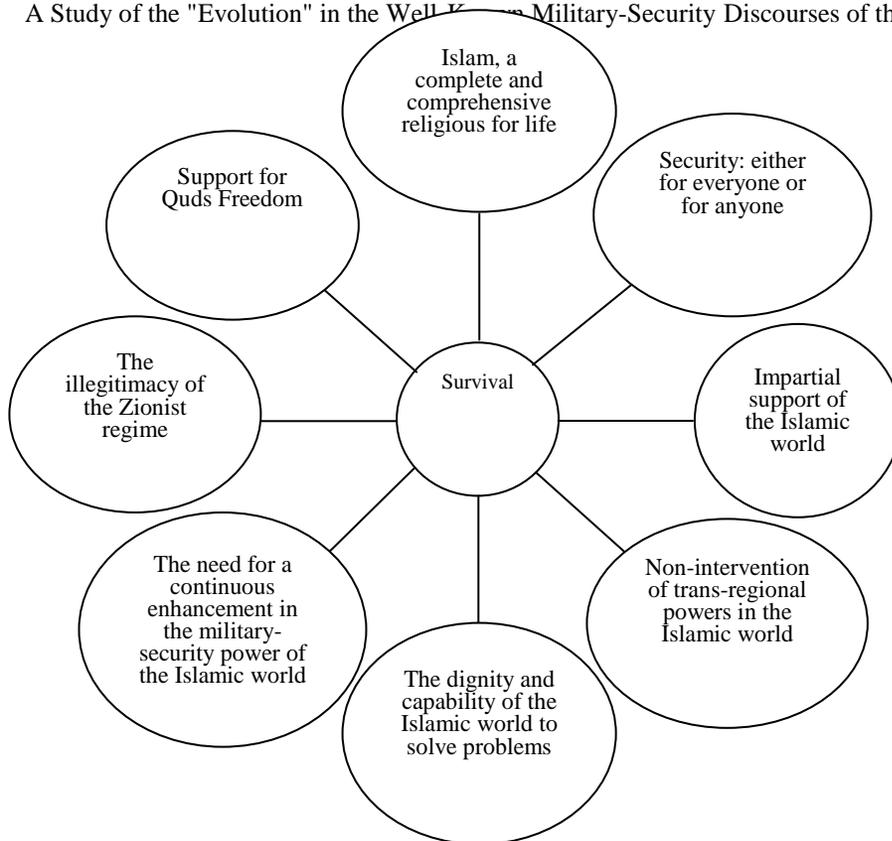


Figure 5. Articulation of security-military discourse of Islamic Republic in the Islamic world 2001-2018

The discourse of the Islamic Republic is the latest security-military discourse in the Islamic world, which has been established a conflict relation with both the previous discourses, which means the "Salafi-Takfiri" and the "United States" discourse. The discourse of the Islamic Republic was also subjected to an "evolution" of discourse, and the "nodal point" of this discourse was changed to the "survival" due to the threat posed by the other two groups to the Islamic world and the troops of resistance (as a part of the Islamic world). Referring to the words of the Supreme Leader of Iran, as well as the Islamic Republic's security-military authorities during the years 2001 to 2004, the security-military discourse of Islamic Republic could be evaluated as shown in Figure 5.

It could be said that the "chain of equivalence" of USA military-security discourse still includes some of the countries of the Muslim world (referred to as moderation). The "chain of equivalence" of the security-military discourse of Islamic Republic also includes some other parts of the Islamic world, such as the Shiites of the region and some moderate Sunni groups such as the Islamic Jihad and etc. The "chain of equivalence" of the security-military discourse of Salafi-Takfiri also includes groups and supporters of Salafis Islam throughout the Islamic world.

6. Conclusion

Discourses are not constant, ups and downsides issues, and are always subjected to change. This has led to the evolution of the nodal point and the moments or elements of a discourse affected by placement in a discursive field and rival discourse. It has been shown clearly in this research that a discourse, even if gets established and has a hegemonic condition, still is targeted by semantic attacks of competing discourses, and if it fails to "highlight (introduce)" its discourse signifiers, and falls the competing discourse within the scope of "underestimation" "so it loses the "power" and cannot continue to maintain its "hegemony".

In this research, using the Laclau and Mouffe's discourse analysis theory, the security-military discourse of the Islamic Republic in the Islamic world in the early 1990s and the "Otherness making" relationship that this discourse has established with the hegemonic discourse in the Muslim world, which is the USA security-military discourse has been focused and examined. Then, the "evolution" of the security-military discourse of Islamic Republic and USA after formation of (and more precisely, strengthening) of the "Salafi-Takfiri" security-military discourse in the Islamic world in 2001 was studied, and It was shown that the United States, because of the lack of attention to the above point, has lost its hegemonic discourse position after the year 2011.

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