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SOCIOLINGUISTICS AND GENDER STUDIES

**Critical Discourse Analysis of Recep Tayyip Erdoğan's
Speech**

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Dedication

In the name of ALLAH, most gracious, most merciful, all the praise is due to

ALLAH alone, the sustainer of all the worlds.

*This project is lovingly dedicated to my respective family who has been my source of
Inspiration. To my mother who has sacrificed her life to make me the person I am today.*

*. To all friends with whom I shared the university life. To all my dearest English
teachers. Special gratitude is due to all those extraordinary people who have stood by
me in very hard moment. To all those who love me*

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This work never be accomplished without the strength and ability that ALLAH Almighty

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Abstract

This research study aims at extracting the discursive structures in Recep Tayyip Erdoğan's speech as a Prime Minister of the Republic of Turkey on Libya, 3 May 2011. Using Fairclough's framework of critical discourse analysis, the study attempts to reveal the element of language features and the rhetorical techniques. The main issue raised is the impact of Erdoğan's language on the Libyan citizens. The study is divided into three chapters. The first one introduces the theory of Critical Discourse Analysis. In addition, it highlights the political discourse and speech. The second chapter introduces Recep Tayyip Erdoğan biography, explains the notions of rhetoric. It, further, sheds light on the relation between rhetoric and politics. The third chapter is devoted to the critical discourse analysis of Erdoğan's Speech on Libya. The analysis starts at the level of the text and moves to discursive practice level. At the end, we came up to discover the element of rhetorical techniques that are underlying in the speech.

Keywords: CDA, Fairclough's Framework, Recep Tayyip Erdoğan, Libya, 3 May 2011, political speech, Rhetoric, Rhetorical Techniques.

List of Abbreviations

DA: Discourse analyses

CDA: Critical discourse analysis

AKP: democrat and conservative party

MSP: Islamist National Salvation Party

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General Introduction

Language is a way of constructing social worlds. Our use and understanding of language, in turn, construct the way we view ourselves and those social worlds. In this value, we achieve communications and situations of interaction to make certain relations, to preserve ideas and values and to construct identities. The shapes of those communications, together with the participants in the act, decide what is known as "discourse".

Discourse has the meaning of carrying out the responsibility of our use and understanding of language. Hence, Political discourse has been considered as the most controversial topic in the field of discourse analysis. Accordingly, political discourse reveals the power and the ideology of politicians. Their aim is to persuade people or general opinion about their political ideas and ideologies. The interaction between political discourse and the audience comes through language. Hence, the politician use different techniques to convince, hook and influence the hearer or the audience.

This research work aims at critically analyzing the discourse of Erdoğan on Libya, 3 May 2011. Through adopting Norman Fairclough's framework of critical discourse analysis, this study attempts to discover the hidden discursive structures in his speech. The main question of this research is: what are the linguistic features used in Erdoğan's speech? To make the study convenient, it is hypothesized that Erdoğan's speech consist of such elements as rhetorical techniques.

The study is divided into three chapters; the first one is devoted to introducing the theory of Critical Discourse Analysis, with regard to the notion of political discourse and speech. The second chapter gives space to Erdoğan's biography and explains the notion of rhetoric. It, further, sheds light on the relation between rhetoric and politics adopting Fairclough's framework of critical discourse analysis. The last chapter is devoted to analyzing Erdoğan's Speech which was delivered on Libya, 3 May 2011, through two analytical parts: the text analysis and the discursive practice analysis. In conclusion, the findings are noted and discussed.

Chapter One

Theoretical Framework

1 Introduction

Over the past 20 years, many researchers in the field of linguistics, language learning and other social sciences have been interested in what is known by critical discourse analysis (CDA), they also began to analyse different texts, oral and written, particularly in mass media and political domains. This chapter attempts to expound on language and the ability to use and acquire complex system of communication. It reflects upon intentions and thoughts. It also defines the following: Discourse, discourse analysis (DA) and critical discourse analysis CDA. In same way, it introduces the meanings of political discourse and speeches. Finally, it closes the door by introducing Norman Fairclough's framework.

1.1 Discourse, DA and CDA

To clarify the concept of CDA, you must define the basic concepts of discourse and discourse analysis. However, they all have the same topic, but each one has the power of processing, training, and analysing. Three concepts are defined below.

1.1.1 Definition of Discourse

Several scholars have defined the word discourse as any written or spoken communication; originally the word discourse comes from Latin *discursus* which denotes conversation or speech. Van Dijk (1997) points out that the term discourse is commonly used to refer to a particular form of language use or more generally to spoken language or ways of speaking. According to Van Dijk, the more specialized or professional definition of discourse includes a particular focus on the actual language used in communicative event. Yet it technically refers to the exchange of linguistic sentences or utterances between the speaker and the hearer, or the writer and the reader. Wodak and Ludwig (1999) claimed that the discourse and the society in which it is used are interrelated and, thus, affect each other. Wodak states that the term discourse is used in different contexts "in a variety of humanities and social science disciplines, including the applied branches of linguistics". (Wodak 1999, p. 7)

1.1.2 Discourse analyses (DA)

The notion of discourse analysis attracts many scholars and the first definition of this term was introduced by Zelling Harris (1952). Hence, the field of discourse analysis is seen as a manner of analyzing connected speech and writing (Harris, 1952.P.12). Discourse analysis began in branches of philosophy, sociology, linguistics, and literary theory, and it continued to develop in additional disciplines such as anthropology, communication, education, and psychology. It is more accurate to think of discourse analysis as a cluster of methods and approaches with some substantial common interests rather than as a single, unitary technique.

One of the important features of discourse analysis is to study original text and conversations in the social context. The early discourse analysis is interested with the internal structure of texts.

1.1.3 Critical discourse analysis (CDA)

In critical discourse analysis, the focus is not entirely on the actual words written or spoken but also on the representations implicit in the words. It can be used for describing, interpreting, analyzing, and critiquing social life reflected in text. Wodak additionally emphasizes the historical dimension of discursive acts. She defines the subject of CDA as follows:

“Critical Discourse Analysis centers on authentic everyday communication in institutional, media, political or other locations rather than on sample sentences or sample texts constructed in linguists` minds. [CDA] regards both written and spoken `discourse` as a form of social practice.” (Wodak et al.1999.p. 8)”

Fairclough and Wodak (1997: 271-80) summarize the main tenets of CDA as follows:

1. CDA addresses social problems.
2. Power relations are discursive.
3. Discourse constitutes society and culture.
4. Discourse does ideological work.
5. Discourse is historical.
6. The between text and society is mediated.

7. Discourse analysis is interpretative and explanatory.
8. Discourse is a form of social action.

1.2 Political discourse

Political discourse is an umbrella term for various political talks made at different political forums such as political campaign rallies, party manifestos, and inaugural speeches. In political discourse, words are at the service of transferring the power or ideologies of one group or nation to the other. According to schaffner (1996), political discourse as a sub-category of discourse in general, can be based on two criteria: functional and thematic. So, it is thematic because its topics are primarily related to politics such as political activities, political idea, and political relations. In addition, the main focus of political discourse is about the text and talk of professional politicians or political institutions, such as presidents and prime ministers.

According to Fairclough (1989) the term refers to “the whole process of interaction of which a text is just a part” (Fairclough, 1989, p.24). Furthermore, Van dijk sees that the political discourse analysis is a social science that studies the text and talk.

1.2.1 Political speeches

Political speeches are many just as political forums and events are, it could be defined as a speech associated with either struggle for power or maintenance / control of it. It is considered as a language which has an abstract conceptual term that concerned with most moral rather than philosopher senses, thus political language carries information in order to communicate with the recipient, and it deals with people’s affaires and issues (Al Majali, 2015, P.6). .

Political speech is diverse because it circles the different forms of speeches that the politicians deliver at political conferences. As well as one of the popular political speeches is presidential inaugural speech, this speech is often made shortly after it serves the newly elected president. For instance, in such speeches the president may not convince for vote but he might offer voters hope in the administration. Moreover, it is a tremendous achievement at a specific time and place, and it consists of three major elements; the addresser (the speaker who produces the speech), and the addressee (the hearer who

receives the speech), and finally the political speech itself. (Seide, 1985, cited in Al-Majali, 2015, p.6)

1.2.2 Critical Discourse analysis in the political speeches

Critical discourse analysis is a field focused on the analysis of social, gender, identity and how do they reflect a specific text. It reflects the social and political issues which are organized in discourse.

“Critical discourse analysis explores the connections between the use of language and the social and political contexts in which it occurs. It explores issues such as gender, ethnicity, cultural difference, ideology and identity and how these are both constructed and reflected in texts”. (Cutting, 2005, p. 186)

Just as Cutting argues, it is obvious to notice that critical discourse analysis gives back the social relation through discourse (Cutting, 2005, p.186). It works on social power, political issues, and ideologies presented in discourse texts. It is an explanation of how discourse is produced to guide people (tribes, nations, empire). Furthermore, critical discourse analysis teaches the social world and how it is influenced by various sources of power. The CDA does not involve coming through a specific paradigm, school or discourse theory. It is rather focused on the social issues, which is better to understand through discourse (Dijk v, *Discourse and society*, 1993, p, 54).

According to Fairclough and Wodak (1997), the critical discourse analysis appears as the relation between text and society is mediated and also CDA addresses social problems (Van Dijk, 1993, p.5). Moreover, Fairclough (1997) said that CDA is characterized by the common interests in demystifying ideologies and power through the systematic investigation of semiotic data, be they written, spoken or visual (Clive Seale, 2006, p. 185_186). Thus, defining the features of CDA are its concerns with power and central condition in social life. The field of discourse could not work isolated in investigating those criteria but in corporation with other fields like for CDA. There is no single definition or view unified the CDA but all agree about the function of the field in analysis

and investigating the power and social discourse through different texts. It is said that power reflects ideology in the political discourse.

1.3 CDA major frameworks

Fairclough is the first who created a theoretical framework. He is considered to have contributed to the field of CDA, this framework provided guidelines for future CDA research.

Fairclough (2003) claimed that language is an exclusive part of social life in which this is the main part of his framework. The logical relation between language and social reality is performed through social events (texts), social practices (orders of discourse) and social structure. Moreover, Fairclough is the only CDA scholar who defines the relationship between power and language (Fairclough, 1989). In addition, it is very important to create a framework that can find a way for the sociological and linguistic perspectives to exist and agree.

1.3.1 Fairclough's Three-Dimensional Model

One of the most widely used and well known analytical environments in CDA is the tripartite model for the ideology and analysis of Fairclough's power.

Fairclough is known as one of the most prominent scholars in committing to the CDA evolution. In 1989 he asserts that critical analysts should not only focus on the texts, the process of text production and interpretation of texts, but also look into the interrelationship among texts, production processes, and their social context.

Steady with Fairclough, the model for CDA contains "three Inter-related processes of analysis tied to three inter-related dimensions of discourse." (Rogers, Berkes, Mosley, Hui, and Josep, 2005, p.371) These three dimensions of discourses are: (1) It is about a text (speech, writing, visual images or a combination of these), (2) it is a discursive practice which concerns with the production and consumption of texts, and finally it is a social practice.

According to Fairclough each of these dimensions have need a different kind of analysis: (1) text analysis (description); (2) processing analysis (interpretation); (3) social analysis (explanation). Moreover, this model is associated with the process of determining

the value in the discourse. Also, it tends to interpret how people cognitively implement and invest meanings in their speeches and texts. The three dimensional model can be briefly illustrated by the following figure which shows Fairclough's three dimensional framework of Discourse and Discourse Analysis: (reformulated from: Locke, 2004, p. 42)

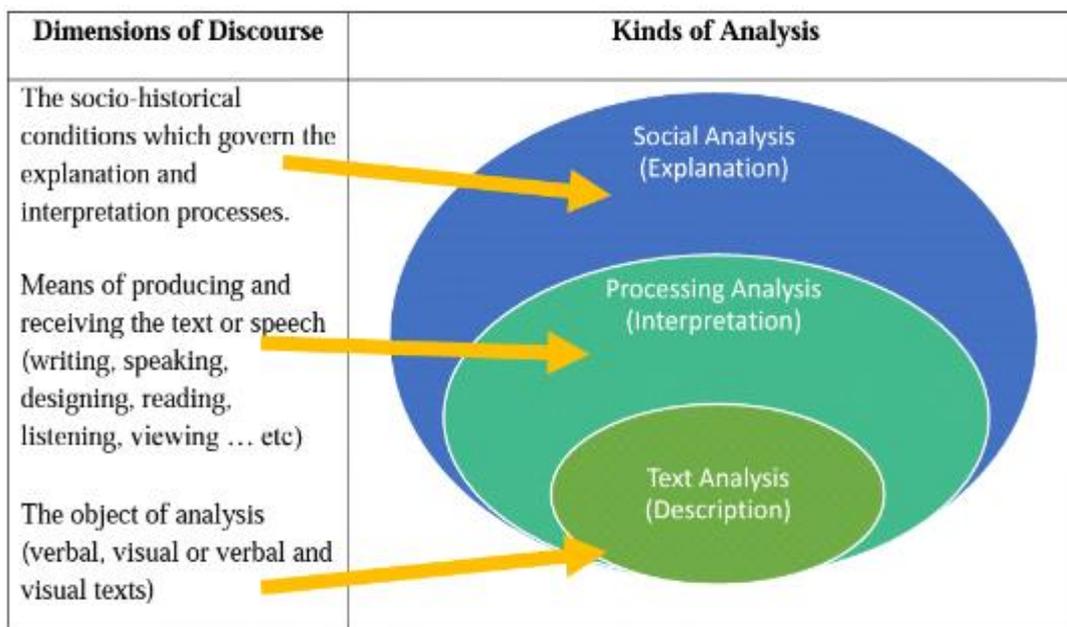


Figure 01: Fairclough's Model for CDA

1.3.1.1 Description

The first dimension of the discourse fragment and the corresponding form of analysis covers the description of the text – the term text meaning not only ‘linguistic units’ of sentences or clauses, but all semiotic indications, such as (moving) images, different colors, sounds, signs, etc.

According to Fairclough, in the first level a text is analyzed according to the visual and verbal signs. He divides the descriptive dimension into three sub-parts: lexis (choice of words, patterns in vocabulary, metaphor), grammar (use of passive as opposed to active, use of modal verbs, nominalization), and text structure (problem - solution, cause - effect, turn-taking in conversation). For Fairclough (1989, p. 26) “description is the stage which is concerned with formal properties of text”.

1.3.1.2 Interpretation

The second dimension of Fairclough's model for CDA is the discursive practice, in which the process is the interpretation.

Fairclough (1989) says "interpretation is concerned with relationship between text and interaction with seeing the text as the product of a process of production, and as recourse in the process of interpretation". (p.26). His second dimension based on Rodger et Al discursive practice, involves the process of production, interpretation and consumption .The dimension is concerned with how people interpret and reproduce or transform texts.

Moreover, this dimension (text as discursive practice) includes two processes. The first one is institutional process (editorial procedure), and the second one is about discourse process (the alteration that the text goes through in production and consumption), in which the key concept "intertextuality" is extremely useful for explain the discourse process.

1.3.1.3 Explanation

The third and final dimension is tied to the analysis of socio-cultural practice in which the process is the explanation.

According to Fairclough (1989),"explanation is concerned with the relationship between interaction and social context with social determination of the process of production and interpretation, and their social effects".

Moreover, this dimension deals with an important issues for social analysis - power relation and ideological struggles that discourses produce, challenge or transform in some way. The explanation stage complements to the dimension "discourse as social practice" more precisely "social cultural practice." In this stage, elements like ideology or power are taken into consideration so, absolutely explain the interaction between social-cultural context and the production and consumption.

2 Conclusion

This chapter was an introduction to the notion of discourse (written or spoken communication or debate), and it has been revealed that discourse analysis is necessary to analyze the language in use, moreover, discourse analysis focuses on the study of text and

its context; it also sheds light on the term CDA which is an interdisciplinary approach to the study of discourse. Then, the chapter tackled another essential point which is political discourse and speeches, and it also sheds light on critical discourse analysis in political speeches. In addition, it attempted to provide a concise explanation on CDA and its major models. The next chapter demonstrates the most prominent Turkish politician Recep Tayyip Erdoğan.

Chapter two

Overview of Erdoğan's Life

3 Introduction

In this chapter, the main study will focus on the president Recep Tayyip Erdoğan political career, and with a special focus on the meaning of rhetoric and its aspects in political discourses. In addition, the chapter tackles the use of the main three modes of persuasion. Before delving into analyzing some of his speeches, it is needed to give some backdrop information about the political and rhetorical experience of Erdoğan. In conclusion, this chapter opens the door to the analytical part.

3.1 Recep Tayyip Erdoğan

Recep Tayyip Erdoğan is one of the most debated leaders these days. He is number eight in the top 500 most powerful Muslims, Some see him as a hero and others call him a dictator. Erdoğan considered as the strongest man of Turkey in the new presidential system.

The former Mayor of Istanbul (1994-1998), Prime Minister of Turkey (2003-2014), and the founder of the AKP (2001) (one of the biggest conservative parties in Turkey) Erdoğan is an experienced politician. Coming from an Islamic background, he describes himself as a conservative democrat. As president of the Republic of Turkey and the chairman of the AKP, we can corroborate his political identity based on his own statements and the values that are important to him, which can be found in what the AKP stands for. He himself has described the party as a “democrat and conservative party” (Diken, 2017). In the 1990s, Erdoğan was considered to be an Islamic fundamentalist.

When analyzing Erdoğan personality, one should take into account that he has been politically active for several decades, and he remains the strongest man of Turkey in the new presidential system, at least until 2029.

3.1.1 Early life and education

Recep Tayyip Erdoğan is originally from Rize, was born on February 26th, 1954 in Istanbul. His parents were Ahmet (1905–88) and Tenzile Erdoğan (1924–2011) and his grandfather's nickname "Bakatalı" is claimed to be originating from the village of Bagata. He spent his early childhood in Rize, where his father was a Captain, and as a teenager, he

sold lemonade, spices, bread cake, and drinking water and sesame on the streets to earn extra money.

He graduated from Kasımpaşa Piyale Primary School in 1965 and completed his high school education at Istanbul Imam Hatip School (Religious Vocational High School) in 1973.

Mr. Erdoğan succeeded in the necessary examinations for additional courses; he received a diploma from Eyüp High School as well. He attended an Islamic school, and then he received his graduation diploma from Marmara University's Faculty of Economics and Administrative Sciences in 1981.

Despite his young age, he has chosen to lead a social life intertwining with politics. From 1969 to 1982, he was also actively interested in football which taught him the significance of team work and spirit in his younger years. These years coincided with the time when Mr. Erdoğan as an idealistic young man started to be interested in social and national problems and stepped into active politics.

Assuming active responsibilities at the students' branch of the National Turkish Students' Association during his high school and university years, Mr. Erdoğan was elected the Head of the MSP Beyoğlu Youth Branch in 1976 and he was also elected the Head of the MSP İstanbul Youth Branch in the same year. Holding this position until 1980, he served as consultant and senior executive in the private sector during the September 12 era when the political parties were closed down.

Erdoğan married Emine Gülbaran (born 1955) on 4 July 1978. They have two sons; Ahmet Burak and Necemettin Bilal, and two daughters, Esra and Sümeyye. His father, Ahmet Erdoğan, died in 1988 and his 88-year-old mother, Tenzile Erdoğan, died in 2011. He is a member of the community of İskenderpaşa, a Turkish sufistic community of Naqshbandi tariqah.

3.1.2 Professional Life and Political career

Recep Tayyip Erdoğan is clearly the most controversial figure in recent Turkish political history. His predominance in political life is remarkable even by Turkish

standards. Because Erdoğan is so powerful and has effectively weakened most internal checks on his power, any attempt to explain Turkey's recent foreign policy outcomes will be seriously lacking without considering his leadership impact.

Erdoğan has been actively involved in politics since 1969. He engaged in politics by joining the National Turkish Student Union, an anti-communist action group. In 1974, he wrote, and played the lead role in the play *Maskomya*, which presented Freemasonry, Communism and Judaism as evil. In 1976, he became the head of the Beyoğlu youth branch of the Islamist National Salvation Party (MSP), and was later promoted to chair of the Istanbul youth branch of the party.

After the 1980 Military rebellion, Erdoğan followed most of Necemettin Erbakan's followers into the Islamist Welfare Party. He became the party's Beyoğlu district chair in 1984, and in 1985 he became the chair of the Istanbul city branch. He was elected to parliament in 1991, but barred from taking his seat.

Erdoğan was elected as a Mayor of Istanbul (1994–98), with a plurality (25.19%) of the popular vote in the local elections of 27 March 1994, he deal with many unceasing problems in Istanbul including water shortage, pollution and traffic chaos. While he was in office, air pollution was reduced through a plan developed to switch to natural gas. He changed the public buses to environmentally friendly ones. Besides, the city's transfer and transportation stuff were reduced with more than fifty bridges, viaducts, and highways built. In 1999 Erdoğan Jailed for four months after he publicly read a nationalist poem including the lines: "The mosques are our barracks, the domes our helmets, the minarets our bayonets and the faithful our soldiers"

In 9 February 2003, Erdoğan was a candidate for the rescheduled election in which he became a Prime Minister; he increased the budget of the Ministry of Education from 7.5 billion lira in 2002 to 34 billion lira in 2011. In addition, Under Erdoğan's government, the number of airports in Turkey increased from 26 to 50.

On 1 July 2014, Erdoğan was named the AKP's presidential candidate in the Turkish presidential election, as well as On 28 August 2014 and became the 12th president of Turkey, and in April 2017 he wins referendum on increased presidential powers.

3.2 Rhetoric

Rhetoric is the art of persuasion. By the side of grammar and logic or dialectic, it is one of the three ancient arts of discourse. Rhetoric seeks to study the capacities of writers or speakers needed to inform, persuade, or motivate particular audiences in specific situations.

According to Aristotle, rhetoric can be defined as “the faculty of observing in any given case the available means of persuasion” (as quoted in Crider, 2014: p11), and since mastery of the art was necessary for victory in a case at law or for passage of proposals in the assembly or for fame as a speaker in civic ceremonies, From Ancient Greece to the late 19th century, rhetoric played a central role in Western education in training orators, lawyers, counselors, historians, statesmen, and poets.

Rhetoric falls into three divisions, determined by the three classes of listeners to speeches, the three elements in speech-making are the speaker, the subject, and the person addressed, in another words, the hearer that determines the speech's end and object. The hearer must be either a judge, with a decision to make about things past or future, or an observer.

The term ‘rhetoric’ was explained by Holmes (1739) as the act of speaking not just morally well, but with art and elegance. He also well thought out that this term is a persuasion power and skillfulness in public speaking. John Holmes (1739) recognized the principal end of rhetoric is to instruct, persuade, and please. He defined it as:

“A. RHETORIC is the Art of Speaking or Writing well and ornamentally on any Subject. Its Principal End is to Instruct, Persuade, and Please. Its Chief Office is to seek what may be most conducive to Persuasion. B. the Subject it treats on is any Thing whatever, whether it be Moral, Philosophical, or Divine.” (p.1)

3.2.1 Rhetoric and Politics

When it comes to “rhetoric and politics” it is necessary to say that rhetoric in politics contain a miscellaneous area of research. Moreover, modern rhetoricians, discourse analysts, and linguists focus on the speaker’s linguistic and meta-linguistic activity. The norm that are commonly used while addressing rhetoric and politics fall into three main categories, often combined: the way of speaking, the source, and the theme. Hence, according to the Aristotelian rhetoric of deliberation, rhetoric in politics conceived as a way of speaking.

According to Herrick (2005) politics is one of the most rhetorically analyzed domains. The rhetorical analysis generally, treats the way a person persuades the others. In another words, it learns the genetic energy in the thoughts, emotions, and ideologies that the person convey through language forms. Thus, rhetoric focuses more on the people when they explain their feelings and thoughts in terms of convincing the others, so politicians, leaders, ministers and presidents are those who are concerned with this kind of analysis.

According to Aristotle there are three different speech genres, known as deliberative, epideictic and judicial in which rhetoric is represented according to those genres in three types of action, respectively noted as political, ceremonial, and legal (Grider,2014,p.12)

Medhurst and Ritter (2003) confirmed that rhetoric cannot be separated from other substantial elements in the analysis. They stated: “Rhetoric cannot—and should not—be treated as an entity unto itself. It always exists in a dynamic relationship with people, policies, practices, and circumstances that give shape and substance to the discourse.” (p.12)

They listed, other than politics in general, many things that rhetoric cannot be separated from. They said:

Rhetoric cannot be separated from the exigencies and constraints which gave rise to the discourse, or from the actions of the person who delivers the discourse, or from the actions, statements, and values of those who labor at the pleasure of the president and under his direct authority—cabinet members, staff members, party operatives, and, yes, speechwriters themselves.
(Pp.11-12)

3.2.2 Three Modes of Persuasion

There are three different rhetorical method of argument that you can take to persuade an audience: ethos, pathos, and logos.

3.2.2.1 Ethos

The first mode of persuasion is Ethos, or the ethical appeal. It needs showing that you have good will for your audience, while it can also mean that you are using your own credibility to show the authority to speak on a topic. Thus, arguing from ethos is likely something you are already familiar with through job applications.

Ethos can be developed by selecting an appropriate language for the audience and topic (it means the proper level of vocabulary), using correct grammar and syntax, introducing your skill, and making yourself sound fair or unbiased.

According to Aristotle it is regarded as “the most effective means of persuasion” (Aristotle, 1358 a1, 10). Thus, persuasion is realized by the speaker's personal character. For him there are three privileges that are necessary to appear credible: competence, good intention, and empathy.

3.2.2.2 Pathos

Pathos is the second mode of persuasion, it is a Greek word for both “suffering” and “experience” in which the words empathy and pathetic are derived from it.

Pathos is also called by the emotional appeal which focused on persuading an audience by tempting to their emotions. Authors use pathos to invoke sympathy from an audience and to bring out a response from them to win them over, to make the audience feel what the author wants them to feel. Moreover, authors use pathos to motivate anger from an audience, perhaps in order to prompt action. The aim of pathos is to diminish the audience's ability to judge.

Pathos can be developed by using correct use of figures of speech, meaningful language, and stories of emotional events, emotion evoking examples and implied meanings.

3.2.2.3 Logos

Logos is the third and the last mode of persuasion. It is the Greek word for “word”, in other words it is the appeal to logic and dealing with convincing an audience by use of logic or reason.

Pathos is an important technique, and Aristotle's favorite, for him pathos depends on making a logical argument backed with reason or evidence to persuade the audience. Persuasion is affected through the speech itself when we have proved a fact or a visible truth by means of the persuasive arguments suitable to the case in question (Aristotle, 135ba2, 3).

To use logos would be to cite facts and statistics, historical and literal analogies, and citing certain authorities on a subject. Logos consists of two different forms of proofs: the natural and the technical proof. Natural proofs are based on given data like documents, testimonies etc. The artificial/technical proofs are those that are created with the art of logic. It can be developed by using higher, theoretical or abstract language, citing facts, using historical and exact analogies, and by building logical arguments

3.3 Rhetorical Techniques

Techniques writers and speakers use to convey ideas and enhance arguments. Writers and speakers use rhetorical techniques within language in order to emphasize, explain, or unify ideas and often to persuade. It is a skill that politicians use and improve throughout their practices of language in social events. It can also be a technique used to evoke emotion on the part of the reader or audience and anyone whose done public speaking will have likely heard the term “rhetoric” or the ability to speak or write persuasively.

Persuasive language techniques, especially in speech, include alliteration, allusion, asking questions and suggesting answers, use of lists (especially of three items), metaphor, parallelism and repetition.

4 Conclusion

In the light of what has been mentioned, the political discourse of Recep Tayyip Erdoğan is a major delegate of the Turkish political one. However, much more importance is embodied in the fact that he could be one of the most debated leaders these days and the founder of the AKP which is one of the biggest conservative parties in Turkey. Then, the second part calls upon how rhetoric matters. The discursive practices of Erdoğan will be the subject of the practical issues in the following chapter, besides the questioning part and the study as a whole tries to show proof of the features that Erdoğan's discourse has.

Chapter

Three

Data Analysis and

Discussions

5 Introduction

In the light of what has been mentioned in the previous chapters, it is interesting to shed light on the latest president Political discourse, relying on the interpretation of the speech content. The examples tackled in the analysis are political speeches of Recep Tayyip Erdoğan, since he is considered as the most influential president in the history of the Turkish state. For this reason, the main question is what are the linguistic features used in Erdoğan's political speeches? And in order to answer this question, it seems to be important to introduce several points in this chapter to simplify the understanding. This part of the study tries to reveal underlying discursive structures by adopting Fairclough's model of CDA that begins with text analysis and finishes with discursive practice analysis.

5.1 Research Hypotheses

This research study deals with the use of some linguistic features in Erdoğan's speeches and this leads to look for the effectiveness of such use and the power behind this use. The main importance of this research study is investigating the hypothesis which focuses on the idea that the audience influence is so much deeper and bigger on Erdoğan's language. Hence, Erdoğan's language is more successful than other politician's language.

5.2 Study Case

This analysis of the speech is taken from the web site. It is a press statement that shows Erdoğan delivering a speech on Libya, Furthermore. It is clear that in this press statement Erdoğan uses grammatical features which are considered as the main goal of the analytical process. Besides, this analysis is a way to get insights into specific rhetorical elements in Erdoğan's discourse. Thus, it is necessary to look at the expressive values of words to move from one idea to another and from one topic to another one which is deemed as a method to move swiftly sometimes escape from embarrassing questions through these uses.

5.3 Data, methodology and research questions

This section gives a general idea backdrop of the current case study research. The latter describes methodology and research tools used in this study. The research case is based on a speech delivered on Libya, which is taken from Recep Tayyip Erdoğan speech. A qualitative analysis seems better for this research study, discursive practices and texts analyses are also suitable elements for the completion of this investigation.

5.3.1 Data Collection

The data gathered in this research study are spoken texts which are taken from web site. Those texts are considered as political speeches of Recep Tayyip Erdoğan the latest president of the Turkish State (see Appendix 01). The data is concerned with the study of the language structures and focuses on the expressive values of words in Erdoğan's speeches. Hence, the analysis in this research is based on the interpretation of those linguistic features and the meaning beside their use on Erdoğan's speeches.

5.3.2 Research Methodology

Research methodology is an organized way to solve a problem or to carry out an answer following a method of describing, explaining, analyzing an event or a trouble. Furthermore, the research methodology is based on two distinctive paradigm; qualitative and quantitative research. In this study, the qualitative research is chosen for the data description.

5.3.3 Research Questions

The analysis of speeches focused on the following research questions:

- What are the linguistic features used in Erdoğan's political speeches?
- What are the rhetorical strategies used in the political speeches of president Erdoğan?

5.4 Data Analysis

The analysis seeks to provide readers with the best insight possible to Erdoğan's views and ideologies personified in the Press Statement which contain his full speech. Based on Fairclough's model of CDA (mentioned in Fairclough, 1995, p.75 and explained by Locke, 2004, pp. 37-49), there are three steps in the analysis process. Though, the examination of this study is divided into two parts. First, the text analysis is concerned with exploring Erdoğan's language features in the speech. It deals with vocabulary, grammar, cohesion and texts structure in general. Second, the discursive practice analysis is concerned with both dimensions of explanation and interpretation. In the second analysis, Erdoğan's ideological features are studied in the socio-cultural speech practicing through his speech. In addition, it extracts the representations of rhetorical techniques. This framework, as hoped, allows for a selection of pertinent observations to be made about the texts. For that, the analysis is sought to express fair potentials for generalizing its results about all Erdoğan's discourses.

5.4.1 Text Analysis

This part of the analysis is dedicated to vocabulary, grammar and cohesion presented in Erdoğan's speeches. Vocabulary is studied in terms of word frequency and meaning. Grammar is studied by identifying the choice of conjunctions, pronouns, modal verbs and sentence structures. Cohesion is studied by analyzing the cohesive devices and the text structure as a whole.

5.4.1.1 Vocabulary

This part is concerned with the diction of Erdoğan's speech. Illustrations of his words choice are selected and explored. Only three sets of words are analyzed as examples of Erdoğan's vocabulary. The first set is related to identity and belonging, the second to the hopes, wishes and expectations, and the third is related to the humaneness.

First, the frequency of words that express identity and senses of belonging such as; (Libya/ Turkey/ Tripoli/ country/ world/ countries/ Land/ regional). The reason behind

choosing these kinds of words is to be the base for further discussion about nationalism and ideology.

Erdoğan uses the word "Libya" more frequently to show that he belongs to this country. Moreover, regardless to referent of the word in its singular form, "country" is used quite frequently in his speech. Another noticeable result is the frequency of "world" that refers to all people, places and things.

Second, the frequencies of the words that express people's rights or deservers are (safety/ freedom/ equality/ peace/ justice/ rights/unity/solidarity/stability). The selected words are in forms nouns; the verbs are represented once as collocations with the personal pronoun "I". This set of words and collocations are selected for the reason that they symbolize the importance of security and peace, and also embody ideology.

Noticeably, there are other words of frequency as (bloodshed/ tears/ blood/ sufferings/ terrorism/ pressure/ oppression/ pain/ destruction/ struggle). Moreover, it is used to show or reflect that the situation is horrible and terrifying.

Third, the frequency of words that expresses "humaneness" is: (humans/ humanity/ the humans/ human beings/ humanitarian). Hence, those words considered as one of the categories that are referred commonly by the leaders in the political conflicts and elections. They are chosen because they are useful in approving or disapproving the linguistic power representation, and they are needed for further framing analysis. Generally those words appeared in that means to defend the principles of equality and show that the politician his duty to serve humanity.

5.4.1.2 Grammar

This part is concerned with the grammar and the text structure. First, examples of Erdoğan's choices of conjunctions, pronouns, modal verbs are selected and explored. Second, the tenses used throughout the speeches are analyzed just as the examples of Erdoğan's vocabulary. Finally, some noticed features of Erdoğan's sentences and text structures are investigated, particularly repetitive patterns, and cohesion.

5.4.1.3 Conjunctions

The selected conjunctions, are the additional conjunction "as well as" and the other one is "and " in which this lateral was repeated for several times. Also there are other conjunctions like "therefore" which reveal the cause and the effect in his speech. The significance of studying the use of conjunction in Erdoğan speeches is in the fact that they build his discourse in relation to her choices of words and structures of sentences. More than that, those conjunctions in particular are the most frequent ones in Erdoğan's discourse and also the conjunction "as" is the prominently used to reveal comparison.

5.4.1.4 Pronouns

The selected pronouns are the personal ones (I/ we/ you/ they), their object state (me/ us/ you/ them), and the possessive state (my/ our/ your/ their). The motive behind selecting those pronouns is that they frame Erdoğan in the discourse. The pronouns that refer to the speaker are clearly more frequent than the ones that refer to the others such as the use of "I". The second prominent pronouns are "we" and "our". Another noticeable result is the use of "you" in either forms of subject and object, while the least frequent pronouns are "they/ them".

5.4.1.5 Modal Verbs

These selections of the frequency of modal verbs in their affirmative and negative forms in Erdoğan's speech are relevant to the analysis for they help in constructing meanings, framing their intentions and reveal the potential hopes, decisions, predictions, and abilities of the orator. Noticeably, the future modal "will" is the most frequent one in his speech, moreover. "Could" and "should" are the second most frequent ones respectively. Erdoğan used "have to" instead of "must" to express necessity and obligation.

5.4.1.6 Tense

First, the most used tenses in the speech are the present simple, the simple past, the future, and the present perfect. The simple present is used when he want to present his point of view and his domestic situations.

Noticeably, the past and the present perfect are used to refer to the actions or things in the past; their function shows that the newly elected presidents usually state the achievements in the founding of the country.

Finally, Simple future tense is primarily used to show the planned or expected things in the future. Moreover, it is used in some parts where he lists his promises, and used in some places of hopes and to thank whoever supported him. All in all, the use of the tense facilitates the creation of a close relationship between the president and his audience and the easy identification and acceptance of the validity of the assertions contained in the speaking.

5.4.1.7 Structures

Analyzing the text structure depends on many features. Only the main obvious ones are studied. First, the repetitive forms are analyzed, moving to the cohesion and text structure as a whole.

5.4.1.8 Repetitive Patterns

Erdoğan repeated various expressions in the beginning of lists of sentences. The start of some parts of the speeches is repeated, as “from the outset” and “from the very beginning” in which this lateral is repeated for several times because Erdoğan as a prime minister want to confirm his ideas by repeating the same pattern. Another example is found in listing his goals are "The bloodshed in Libya is the blood of Libyans." “The blood spilt in Libya is the blood of brothers”, here Erdoğan considered himself as one of the Libyans by selecting the word «brothers”. Other examples are found in his speech is “our stance in labia” and “our stance towards labia” in which he is with the both sides.

5.4.1.9 Cohesion and Text Structure

The personal pronouns and possessive pronouns are very much alike as they both generate cohesion within a text. Like the former, possessive pronouns help the audience to understand who is involved and not involved in a communicative situation. Other than pronouns, conjunctions also setup cohesion between sentence constituents. Deictic references are represented n the use of pronouns. That is to say, Erdoğan made sure of her serious commitments and involvements in many actions where "I", "my" were used.

Moreover, Erdoğan used the pronoun "it" where he referred usually to Libya in which he considered himself as a part of it as in: "[I]t could not be possible for us to remain indifferent to the developments in Libya....". Moreover, pronouns, conjunctions and transition words contribute to the shape of text structure and cohesion, also prepositions (when, where, while, at, in...etc) also embody the cohesiveness of the discourse setting.

5.4.2 Discursive Practice Analysis

After analyzing the text, this part of the chapter tries to reveal the discursive practices and ideologies through the second and third dimensions of CDA. Explanations and interpretations are made through extracting examples from the speech then analyzing how they had been practiced publically by Erdoğan. The analyses deal with the persuasion.

5.4.2.1 Rhetorical Techniques

The first technique used by Erdoğan in his speech to persuade the listener is repetition. For instance, «We will continue to defend peace". Further, he repeated that expression saying: "We will continue to contribute to peace ", "We will continue to stand by our brotherly peoples". This example shows that Erdoğan was still eager to help the Libyan people.

5.5 Discussions

The political speeches covered in this study were selected from the website in which the president Recep Tayyip Erdoğan dealt with his speech on Libya, 3 May 2011. Hence, the linguistic features used in his Political Speeches have been ordered for pedagogical purposes and to allow analysts to move from one point to the other. This aspect of the frame considers the way in which pronouns may be used in the text, whether they are inclusive (our, us, we, etc.) or exclusive (they, their, them, it, you, your etc.). So, Pronouns, conjunctions, and modal verbs are central to the way individuals and groups are named. Hence, political leaders focus more on it in order to mark power relations.

Indeed, it is true that Erdoğan was interested in improving people's morality by giving those Islamic principles and he advised people to seek goodness, for example: "We don't want to see the Islamic world as associated with bloodshed, tears, and especially with terrorism".

6 Conclusion

Throughout this chapter, the study analysis shows that the function of language features mentioned above reveals Erdoğan's intention and forms an area of responsiveness between Erdoğan and the audience or the hearer. Thus, Fairclough model of CDA has been sought from the beginning to the end of the analysis. First, a text analysis has been carried out in terms of vocabulary, grammar and structure. Second, an analysis of the discursive practice has taken place. The third has been concerned with the major point: rhetorical techniques. Finally, this chapter has finished with some discussions of the findings.

General Conclusion

This research study has been starting to extract the discursive structures in Erdoğan's speech using Fairclough's framework of critical discourse analysis. Moreover, light has been shed on rhetorical devices in his speech (speech delivered on Libya, 3 May 2011). The findings of the critical discourse analysis of Erdoğan's speech have shown that the linguistic features used in his Political Speeches have been ordered for pedagogical purposes and to allow analysts to move from one point to the other. In addition, his speech contained basics of persuasive techniques, and other structures that all together implied Erdoğan's ideology.

In general, the results brought some underlying elements of Erdoğan's speech. In addition, it has become clear that Erdoğan depended on discursive structures and techniques of persuasion in order to communicate his audience. As a result, the discourse of Erdoğan's speech has been seen as extremely constructed.

The framework of analysis was based on two main parts: the text and the discursive practice. The analysis of the latter embodies the two dimensions of explanation and interpretation that Fairclough suggested in his model. On that score, it is extremely appropriate to express the satisfaction about the application of Fairclough's framework in this study. It has been easy to chase the point. Though, each framework or theory can be exposed to critiques. Regardless to that, researchers are required to try some frameworks and approaches in their analyses so that they help with their improvements.

Critical Discourse Analysis offered researchers with chances to know more about realities. Thus, there are so many charities offered by such approach of analysis to critical discourse scholars.

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Appendix

Appendix 01:

Press Statement by H.E. Recep Tayyip Erdoğan, The Prime Minister of the Republic of Turkey on Libya, 3 May 2011

Distinguished Members of Press,

Distinguished Participants,

Ladies and Gentlemen,

I would like to extend my greetings to you, and welcome you all to this press conference in which we will review recent developments in Libya.

As you are aware, we are following the developments in Libya with great sensitivity from the very beginning.

Libya has never been an ordinary country for us, nor have the Libyan people been a people among many others.

It could not be possible for us to remain indifferent to the developments in Libya. We could neither turn a blind eye to what's happening nor abandon the Libyan people.

From the very beginning, we have attached utmost importance to the situation in Libya.

We avoided sensational rhetoric.

We refrained from populism, pretensions and pursuit of interest at the expense of Libya.

As I always put it, we were among those whose focus has been on the human beings above the ground, not on the oil below, as is the case with some others.

The social and political structure of Libya, its regional significance and its natural resources that attract the appetite of some countries obliged us to adopt our policy towards this country with utmost care and prudence.

Of course, the stance that the Government in Libya adopted in response to the popular unrest have also been another aspect that we have taken into consideration.

I have to underline this now:

Our stance towards Libya has not been about taking sides or supporting one side against the other. As I have expressed before, our stance towards Libya is not driven by motivations of show, self-interest, or that of expansion of influence.

Our stance in Libya has been completely based on human factor, aimed at preventing the bleeding of the nose of not even one single person.

We know that this humane stance of us has been misinterpreted and misperceived in Libya and in the eyes of the opposition and misrepresented by certain countries through a premeditated campaign.

A kind of anti-Turkish campaign was launched in Libya, in which Turkey's policies were misrepresented and an attempt was made to foment resentment among the opposition members.

Nevertheless we kept our calm and common sense.

We have followed a coherent, stable and principled policy.

While we have continued dispatching all sorts of humanitarian assistance to the Opposition and keeping open channels of communication with them, we have also warned the Libyan Government on every occasion in order to refrain from bloodshed, massacres and to listen to the voices and aspirations of the people without delay.

My dear friends; Libya is passing through a very difficult period.

We have tried to help the Libyan people in overcoming this period with minimum damage and charting their course to safety. This is what we are working for now.

As we all know, a solution to the problem could not be found within Libya by the Libyans themselves. The international community was obliged to intervene when the safety of the civilians were endangered. Consequently, the UN Security Council adopted the resolutions 1970 and 1973, which are binding for all. Based on these resolutions, NATO established a no-fly-zone over Libya and launched a military operation to protect civilians.

Turkey has joined the enforcement of the arms embargo and the delivery of humanitarian assistance to Libyan people dimensions of the operation, as its conditions for demonstrable necessity, international legitimacy and regional participation and support were met.

On the other hand, proceeding from the premise that that the problem cannot be solved through military means alone and that it is essential to see to the achievement of a ceasefire, stoppage of the spilling of blood, and launching a political process to accommodate the legitimate aspirations of the Libyan people, we have drawn up a Road Map.

The main parameters of this Road Map, which I have announced on 7 April 2011, were as follows:

1. An immediate and genuine ceasefire, withdrawal from the cities of the military elements affiliated with the Government, lifting of the sieges, resumption of electricity, gas and water supply to all cities and regions.
2. Formation of secure humanitarian zones which will provide unimpeded humanitarian aid flow to all our Libyan brothers without discrimination.
3. Urgent launching of an all-inclusive process of democratic change and transformation which takes into consideration the legitimate interests of the entire Libyan people.

We have articulated our Road Map in light of diplomatic contacts we have pursued since then. We have consulted with the National Transitory Council in Libya and gained the support of the international community to our Road Map.

Dear Friends,

From the outset of the crisis, we have been in contact with the Libyan Administration in Tripoli. We have conveyed our sincere messages to Muammar Qaddafi in each of our contacts.

From the very beginning, we have stated that he should step down and that a person who could be named by the consent of everyone in Libya should take over the administration so that peace and stability could be restored.

Most recently, in the roadmap that we have announced, we have made it clear that Qaddafi must step down to ensure transition to constitutional democracy.

All our initiatives guided by common sense and prudence were unfortunately not heeded by the Tripoli Administration.

Instead of heeding our warnings, avoiding bloodshed and striving to preserve Libya's territorial integrity, Muammar Qaddafi preferred blood, tears and attacking against his own people.

Dear Friends,

A new era has started in the history of Libya.

We are lost for words in the Libyan question.

What is needed to be done at this juncture by Muammar Qaddafi who stills holds the power in Tripoli is to step down immediately by fulfilling his historic responsibility as well as his humane and conscientious responsibility.

Muammar Qaddafi must now take this historic step for the sake of Libya's future, territorial integrity, peace and serenity.

Under the present circumstances, the most appropriate way out is to return the power to its true owner, i.e., the people.

The blood shed in Libya is the blood of Libyans.

The blood spilt in Libya is the blood of brothers.

No future, freedom, peace or justice can be built upon blood, especially the blood of brothers.

We therefore wish to see the Libya's Leader step down and leave Libya immediately for his own sake and for the sake of his country's future without causing further bloodshed, tears and destruction.

The pain for the loss of a son or daughter is the biggest suffering of all. As a father, we are cognizant of the acuteness of the grief Qaddafi is living through.

We would like him to see and feel that the Libyan people is experiencing the same grief and we would like to remind him that he is obliged to take this step now in order to avoid further suffering.

Dear friends,

On this occasion, I would like to appeal to the Transitional National Council in Benghazi and to the Libyan brothers who are struggling hard for bringing to their country a new order based on democracy.

It is of utmost importance that your struggle and your sufferings lead to an outcome which embraces all Libyans.

Your struggle is the struggle for a free and democratic Libya whose sovereignty and territorial integrity is preserved and strengthened and for a Libya which takes the place it deserves in the international community.

Turkey will continue its endeavors for ending the sufferings of the Libyan people.

It is our ultimate wish that the Libyan people immediately obtain the rights, laws, freedom and justice which they have aspired for. Our contribution and support for the fulfillment of this wish will continue.

It is a priority for us that the Libyan people determine its future in unity and solidarity.

In this direction, in order to put into effect the elements in the Road Map, we will continue to be in close contact with the Transitional National Council.

We will continue our cooperation with the international community on the Road Map which, we believe, will pave the way for a solution in Libya, benefitting also from the meeting of the Libya Contact Group which will be held in Rome on 5 May.

At this point, I would like to reiterate once more our warnings that we always voice for the countries in the region, including Libya:

Equality, freedom, justice and democracy are the legitimate and natural rights not only for some countries, some peoples, but for all humans and of all humanity.

To postpone, delay, ignore the most basic human rights, to deprive the people of these rights is a rule based on oppression and repression, not a rule based on justice.

In our geography, we no longer want to see bloodshed, tears, pressure and oppression.

While the world is rapidly changing, we believe it is never sustainable, never humane that the countries in our region put pressure on their peoples with a mind-set that postpones and delays basic rights and freedoms.

Just as we see the safety and freedom of our people as indispensable, we see the safety and freedom of all of the peoples in the region also as indispensable, regardless of ethnic background, religion and sect. And we will continue to do so.

We believe in a complete and perfect justice, where the right of an individual is not sacrificed even if it is for all humans and where one innocent life is kept above all concerns of power.

Unfortunately, this region has experienced great pain.

We don't want to live through new Halabjas, new Hamas and Humus, new Bosnias.

We don't want to see the Islamic world as associated with bloodshed, tears, and especially with terrorism.

Leaders must take responsibility, make sacrifice, choose the humane and conscientious path with a view to changing the face, fate and image of these lands. While doing so, they should be inspired by the ancient civilizations of these lands.

This is also what we expect, what we want to hear and see from Libya and from the other countries.

We, as Turkey, will continue to defend peace in our region and emphasize human values.

We will continue to contribute to peace and stability in our region through our principled, coherent, resolute, honorable foreign policy.

We will continue to stand by our brotherly peoples, the oppressed and the victims; will continue to be their hope, to defend their rights; and we will never compromise this position.

I want to thank you for attending and I would like to offer you my sincere greetings.