## **Contents**

#### Introduction xi

#### Chapter 1. The Struggle to Define Terrorism 1

Defining Terrorism 1

The Action Without the Label

Tracing the Roots of the Word as a Label

Academic Definitions

State Definitions

International Definitions

How "Terrorists" Define Themselves

Attempts to Synthesize a Consensus Definition 21

Jenkins's Definition

Schmid's Definition

Summary 24

Notes 25

#### Chapter 2. Terrorism as a Communication Process With Rhetorical Dimensions 31

Terrorism as a Communication Process 32

Terrorism and Rhetoric 37

Exploring the Meaning of Rhetoric

Connecting Terrorism and Rhetoric

Summary 43

Notes 43

#### Chapter 3. Labeling and Defining Terrorism as Rhetoric 45

Definitions and Labels

Definitions and Labels Can Empower and Marginalize:

The Example of Hate

Negotiating Definitions and Labels Creates Flexible Wellting
The Examples of Color, Queer, and Dyke
Conscious and Unconscious Use of
Labels and Definitions
Definitions, Labels, and the "Opposite of Normal"
Reconsidering the Definition of Terrorism 56
Definitions, Labels, and Empowerment/
Marginalization
Terrorism and the Other
Definition of Terrorism and the Theory of Presumption
Summary 63
Notes 64
Chapter 4. Symbols, Symbolism, and Terrorism: Means and Implements 67
Symbols, Symbolism, and Violence/Destruction 68
Timothy McVeigh and the Oklahoma City Bombing
The Japanese Red Army
The Tupamaros
Symbolism in the Implements and Tools of Terrorism 72
The Molly Maguires
November 17
Terror From Above: The USSR and Afghanistan
Suicide Bombers in Israel and Palestine
The Ku Klux Klan in America
The Dirty Bomb

#### Chapter 5. Symbolism in the Targets of Terrorism 91

Summary 88 Notes 88

Temporal Targets for Terrorism 91
Symbolism and the Chechen Terrorist Attack on a
Moscow Theater 95
Symbolism, the World Trade Center, and the Pentagon 101
Summary 106
Notes 106

### Chapter 6. Methods for Studying Public Oratory About Terrorism 109

A Method of Rhetoric for Public Oratory 111

Public Speaking and Persuasion as Audience-Centered Rhetoric

Public Speaking, Oratory, and Rhetorical Appeals

Public Speaking, Oratory, and Rhetorical Figures
Public Speaking, Oratory, and Rhetorical Fallacies
Summary 126
Notes 126
Chapter 7. Case Studies for Public Oratory About Terrorism
President Bush's Speech to the Nation Immediately
After the Attacks of 9/11 130
Audience Analysis of President Bush's
September 11 Speech
Selection of Rhetorical Appeals
Figures and Fallacies in the September 11 Speech
Bush's Speech to the Congress, the Nation,
and the World, September 20, 2001 135
Audience Analysis of the September 20, 2001, Speech
Selection of Rhetorical Appeals
Rhetorical Figures and Fallacies
Speech by Osama bin Laden, Dated 11/1/2004: Just Before
the 2004 General Election in the United States 150
Audience Analysis of bin Laden's Speech
Rhetorical Appeals in bin Laden's Speech
Rhetorical Figures in bin Laden's Speech
Rhetorical Fallacies in bin Laden's Speech

129

#### Chapter 8. Theories of Mass Media for Terrorism 163

Real Intentions for bin Laden's Speech

Understanding Mass Media 164

Entertainment Media and News Media

Old Media and New Media

Free Media and Paid Media

Media-Centered Criticism 171

Critical Media Theory

Agenda-Setting and Framing Theory

Summary 175

Summary 161 Notes 162

Notes 176

# Chapter 9. Mass-Mediated Images and Construction of Terrorism 179

Terrorism From Above and Mass Media 179 State Terror in the Absence of News Media Top-Down Terror and State Control of Media Top-Down Terror and News Media in Democratic States

Terrorism From Below and Mass Media 184

Terrorist Stereotypes and Entertainment Media
Mythologizing Terrorism in News and
Entertainment Media
Manipulation of and by News Media
Agenda Setting and the Framing of Terrorism in
News Media 197
Terrorism and New Media 199
Terrorism and Paid Media 201
Terrorism, Codes, and Cues
Summary 208
Notes 209

Index 213
About the Author 221