

A Pragma-discourse Study of “Donald Trump’s National Security Speech” on Islam

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Article Info	Abstract
<p>Date of Article</p> <p>Received : 2022/6/5</p> <p>Received in revised form: 2022/6/13</p> <p>Accepted: 2022/8/15</p> <p>Available online: 2023/1/15</p> <p>Keywords:</p> <p>Pragmatics, Toulmin argument mode 1, Islamophobia , Racism.</p>	<p>The present study aims to make A Pragma-discourse study for Trump’s speech : Donald trump’s National Security Speech” by applying Toulmin model. The application of Toulmin model enables the researcher to discover the ways Trump says his claims and how to support them. The researcher has come up with some results and conclusions, most important of which, is that Trump’s speech represents the negative racial discourse of the American presidency against Islam.</p>

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Introduction

1. Introduction

After the attack on a nightclub in Florida, the former president of the United States, Donald trump, addressed a speech to the American population on the matter at hand. Trump’s speech included negative claims on Islam; he counted Islam as the reason behind that attack. This study is concerned with studying trump’s speech on Islam. It aims to carry out a Pragma –discourse analysis for trump’s speech through dividing it into the main arguments which are raised in the speech then analyzing those argument by applying Toulmin’s model.

2.Racism

Linguistically, there seems no definite history of the term *race*. Therefore, very few words such as “*razza*”, “*raza*”, and “*race*” (respectively Italian, French, Spanish, Portuguese, and Spanish) have been documented from the thirteenth century (Reisigl & Wodak, 2001, P. 2).

Grosfoguel (2016,P. 10) defines racism as a graded global term of superiority and inferiority. This global term exists among the line of humanity that has been expressed and re expressed culturally, economically and politically by the institutions of the capitalist/patriarchal westerncentric/Christian-

centric modern/colonial world system . According to him, there are people above and below the line. Those who are above , can enjoy their different rights starting from their human rights ending with their labor rights, while people below the line are taken as sub-humans. In other words, their humanity is questioned and negated . For example, different colonial histories seem to have different and diverse social markers through which interiority and superiority can be constructed. From another point of view, racism can be clearly marked by language, ethnicity, color, culture and religion Grosfoguel (2016, P. 10).

As suggested by van Dijk (1997, P. 31) within many forms of public discourse, race relations and ethnic minorities can be seen as practiced by white people. Their daily communication acquires their "attitudes and the ideologies" that determine their actions and/or speeches against minorities. Therefore, the role of discourse is distinct in the production of racism and prejudice.

3. Racism in political discourse

Political discourse is frequently considered as a highly specialized form of texts. This produces a problem in approaching an exact definition of this linguistic phenomenon because it seems to be constructed in different ways according to the divers contexts . However, in an attempt to answer to the question “what constitutes political discourse?”, van Dijk suggests the following interpretation:

“The easiest, and not altogether misguided, answer is that its actors or authors identify political discourse, viz., politicians. Indeed, the vast bulk of studies of political discourse

is about the text and talk of professional politicians or political institutions, such as president and prime ministers and other members of government, parliament or political parties, both at the local, national and international levels” (van Dijk, 1997, P. 12).

The notion of “political discourse” should be limited to settings such as speeches and election campaigns , parliamentary proclamations, and applied to all linguistic usages that may be regarded as political (Zheng 2000, P. 1). Van Dijk (1993, P. 145) states that “although discourse may seem just "words" (and therefore cannot break your bones, as do sticks and stones), text and talk play a vital role in the reproduction of contemporary racism.”

4. Islamophobia

Itaoui and Elsheikh(2018, P.5) define Islamophobia as “a belief that Islam is a monolithic religion whose followers, Muslims, do not share common values with other major faiths; is inferior to Judaism and Christianity; is archaic, barbaric, and irrational; is a religion of violence that supports terrorism; and is a violent political ideology.”. Islamophobia as a concept is widely believed to be used at first in Britain. This claim may not however be 100% true. Whilst the Oxford English Dictionary suggests that the term was first used in print in 1991 ,other sources suggest that it was first used by etienne Dinet and Slima Ben Ibrahim in France, when in 1925 they wrote about the Prophet Muhammad. Dinet and Ibrahim were not employing the term in such ways that it reflects the contemporary concept or usage. Allen (2010, P. 5) . Green (2015, P. 5) claims that the word “ Islamophophea:”

appeared in its French form, *Islamophobie*, in 1918 in a book by the painter Etienne Dinet.

5. Toulmin's Model of Argument

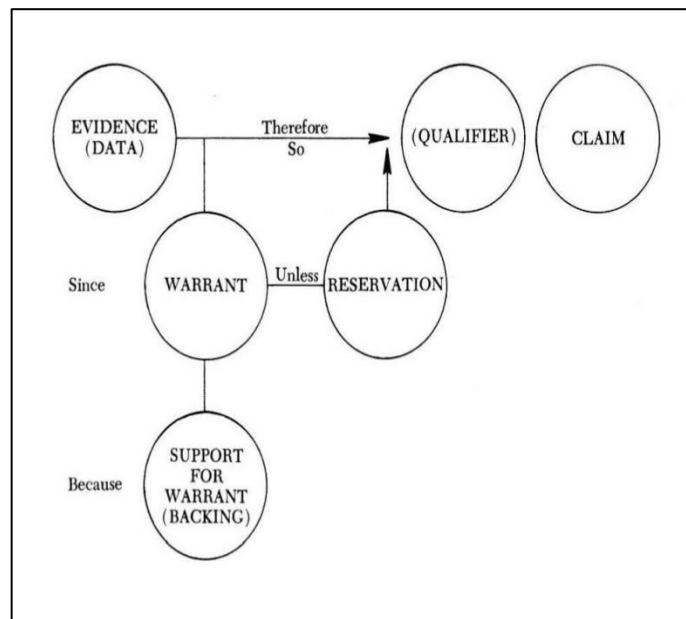
Mitchell & Riddle (2000) have written on the role of models in identifying the key elements of theoretical systems; ultimately they can be seen in terms of metaphorical frameworks for distilling the salient from the residual. As far as argumentation and its applications in Education are concerned, there are a number of models that can be discussed. The one which has an influential importance is Toulmin’s (1958) model. The particular function of this model is to provide a test for the reliability of arguments. The main axes of this model are, first, the relationship between claims (propositions) and grounds (evidence), and second, the relationship between the warrant and its backing (justification for the warrant within disciplinary or other contexts). The possibility of a qualifier is mediating between the claim and grounds, so that under certain conditions, or in certain circumstances, the relationship between the claim and its grounds can be adjusted. Furthermore, a rebuttal might be added to challenge the relationship between the grounds and the claim, either helping to strengthen the relationship or challenging it to change (and, for example, be qualified). It is clear, from the figures, that arrows directions in the model are all towards the confirmation of the claim. The various elements of the model are there to support the claim and to test its soundness.

6. Data Analysis

6.1 Argument one analysis

From the very beginning of his speech, Trump raised a claim that may not relate directly to Muslims or it contains no explicit mentioning

of Islam but it prepares his audience for the coming claims in which hatred and rejection of Islam and Muslims as well are a central ideas.



“The attack on the Pulse nightclub in Orlando, Florida was the worst terror strike on our soil since September 11. And the worst mass shooting in our country's history.”

The first claim in Trump’s speech is a fact based claim, for it is derived from an objective observation. Its validity can be measured easily by tracing the last attacks to show whether it is true or false. Trump, in his first argument, claims that the attack in Orlando, Florida is the worst one since September 11. It seems awkward to start a speech by stating such a claim especially in an election campaign, but being aware of the main purpose of this speech, one finds it normal because such step is intended to be the basis on which the next arguments are based. Trump, as most politicians in the world, tries to tell his fans what they look for that’s why he, though speaking in a campaign to refute Hillary’s claims, he dedicated most of his speech to talk about Islam, for he knows that his fans are

supporters of Islamophobia and they need a president who is capable to realize their dream of strong America which contains no “radical” Islam as Trump claims. This last reason seems logical ,in addition to Trumps ideologies in regard to Islam, to state such speech. Trump’s claim “The attackin our country's history.” Is based on the data

“So many people, just hard to believe, but just so many people dead. So many people gravely injured. So much carnage. Such a disgrace. The horror is beyond description.”

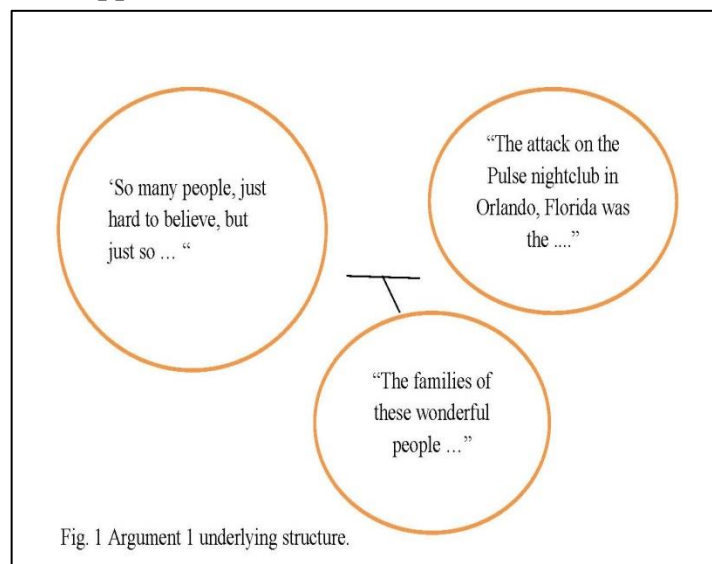
Trump chooses the proper words to support his claim ; he , to prove to his audience that Florida attack is the “worst” , uses the worst words to describe it. The words he has chosen are “ dead”, “ injured”, “disgrace”, and “ horror”, these words represent a logical reason to consider Florida attack as “worst”, since they refer to the worst conditions a man may experience.

The data of Trump’s claim is supported by a logical Warrant to gain the desired acceptability of the audience. This warrant is a sign warrant because it works as a link between the data and the claim. It is “sign” for it supports th data which is the sign of the claim. In this argument the many died and injured people is a sign of the claim .The warrant in this argument is the last support of the claim because this argument is a classical one that does not extend to “rebuttal” and “backing” . The warrant is inserted here to show why the data is worthy of being accepted and show the relationship between the claim and the data.

“The families of these wonderful people are totally devastated and they will be forever.

Likewise our whole nation and indeed the whole world is devastated.”

Trump’s claim is the attack of Florida is the worst one since September 11 and the reason for that is because it lead many people to death and injury. The last statement stands as a supporting statement for the data; it adds that many families are destroyed and this last statement is a logical reason to consider Florida attack as “worst”. The first claim in Trump’s speech is better understood when visualized in a f to show how each is related and supports the other one



6.2 Argument two analysis

The second argument of Trump is preceded by stating that he and the American nation stand in solidarity with the LGBT community. On this statement his argument is built, since a nightclub filled of attenders from LGBT group was attacked by a “radical”, as Trump claims, and this attack lead many attenders to death. Trump in his speech referred to this event by claiming:

“A radical Islamic terrorist targeted the nightclub because he wanted to kill Americans,

to execute gay and lesbian citizens because of their sexual orientation."

This claim belongs to the type of value claims because this type depends on a subjective observation to the facts and personal opinions. Trump claims that the reason behind attacking the nightclub by the Muslim person is because of their sexual orientation; the fact that they believe in the idea of freeness of sex, gay or lesbian. This idea does not exist in Islamic shariaa and this is the central reason, as Trump claims, that pushed that person to attack the nightclub. This value claim is arguable as other people might have other explanations to the reason behind the attacks. To support his claim that the difference in the religious ideologies is the reason of this attack, Trump adds that:

"The killer, whose name I will not use or ever say, was born an Afghan, of Afghan parents, who immigrated to the United States. His father published support for the Afghan Taliban, a regime who murders those who don't share radical views."

Many exclamation marks should be put after the last statement in Trump's evidence (data) "a regime who murders those who don't share radical views." In this statement Trump, to support his claim, states that the attacker of the nightclub is the son of Taliban member and he describes Taliban as people who kill who don't share them the radical views. This warrant is a causality claim; Trump states that the cause of the attacks is having the killer in the United States. The researcher is not biased to Taliban regime, but what Trump states is not hundred percent true, for the American from Afghanistan proved the opposite of what Trump claims; Taliban members did not

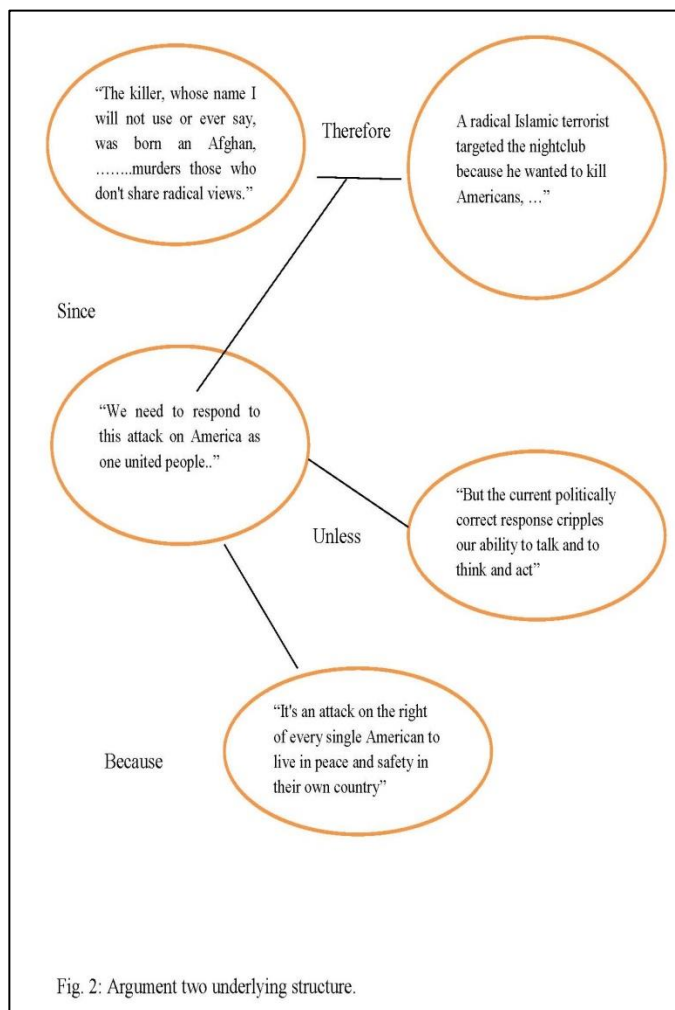
attack the American troops when they left Afghanistan. Trump warranted his data by stating that the Americans need to respond to the radical Islamic threat as one nation,

"We need to respond to this attack on America as one united people, with force, purpose, and determination."

When the warrant is not valid enough, it is backed by more support. This warrant is also backed by Trump when stating:

"It's an attack on the right of every single American to live in peace and safety in their own country"

Trump adds that this kind of attack is a threat to the life of every American and the American people must respond to it but they cannot do so because of the American current presidency which is governed by Obama. This last reason that prevents the American response to the radical Islamic threat serves as the rebuttal of the warrant of Trump's data to his claim, for in Toulmin model, the rebuttal is the part of the argument that gives the reason for the Warrant for not to be accomplished. Here, They cannot stop the threat on the lives of the American people because of the Obama administration. Trump, when claiming such claim aims at the final goal of his speech that is to win the election; he in his speech tries to convince the American people to elect him and not to vote to Hillary and his tool for that is to mention the sufficient reasons to persuade people to do so and since Hillary is from the Democratic party, the party of Obama, he attacks them by claiming that they stop him from standing in the face of the radical Islam. Below is the argument diagram.



6.3 Argument three analysis

The American president in this argument has started talking about the second important issue he wanted his speech to accomplish; he started talking about the ban of Muslims from entering the United States. He, in this argument claims that the only aim of the killer in the United states is to kill the Americans and the reason for that is that we allowed his parents to come to the United States

“The bottom line is that the only reason the killer was in America in the first place was because we allowed his family to come here.”

This claim is a policy based claim; it depends on trump’s policy concerning the reason of the attacks. He used the pronoun

“we” , by doing so he stands to defense certain policy. Killing people is a psychological issue not something which is inherited; a person may kill others because of a mental disease or a poisoned ideology, but in this claim Trump states the opposite of that because he links the act of killing to the fact that killer’s family entering to America is the first step of creating him. By saying so, Trump links most of the killing events to the existence of Muslims in the United States. For this latter reason, he demands the ban on Muslims . trump’s claim is based on data that serves both, strengthening his claim of having the killer in the USA is due to letting him in, and to criticize the Immigration system as inadequate to enable the American security to prevent those who belong to “radical” regimes from entering the USA.

“ We have a dysfunctional immigration system which does not permit us to know who we let into our country and it does that permit us to protect our citizens properly.”

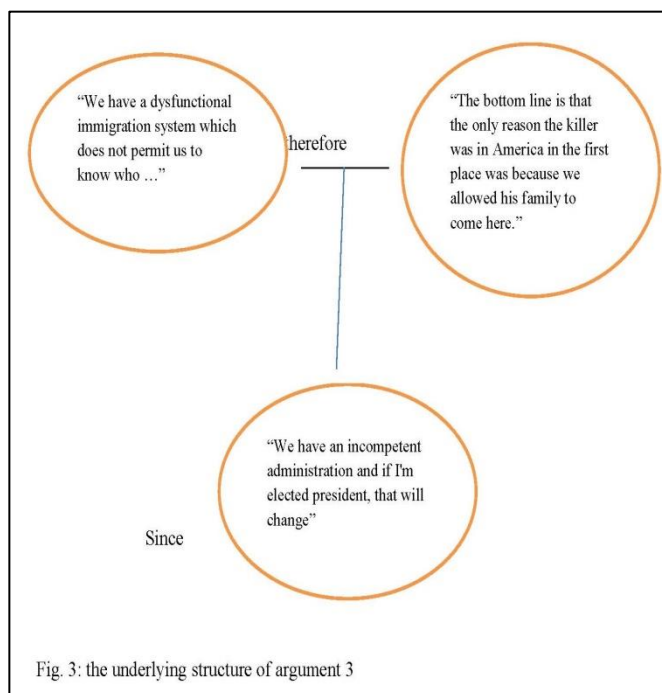
The previous sentence is the data of Trump’s claim. In addition to the two purposes that it is needed to accomplish, this sentence as, said by Trump in an election campaign, is meant also to criticize the current presidency of the democratic party.

The last data, to be adequate enough to stand as a logical reason for Trump’s claim, was warranted by Trump. He, once again wanted to criticize the current presidency as weak one and un capable of protecting the Americans “We have an incompetent administration and if I’m elected president, that will change”

The last sentence contains both the warrant and the rebuttal. The rebuttal is “if”. It refers to

the case when the warrant is not going to be realized .

Trump claims that the “Islamic” killer is here because of us; we allowed him to get in and this is because of our immigration system which is weak, as he claims. This “weak” system is governed by a presidency that lacks the sufficient experience to govern. Below is the underlying structure of the third argument’



6.4 Argument Four analysis

In the fourth argument Trump, again, addresses Islam in a negative way. This time, he adds a new way in talking about Islam; He, in addition to referring to it as having ideologies that are against those of other religions or referring to Islam as the religion which does not respect the right of gay people to live in piece with the rest of the world, addresses Islam as “anti-American”. This is a new way of talking about Islam in the American presidency during the 20th century.

Below is the exact quote of Trump’s claim about Islam:

“radical Islam is anti-woman, anti-gay, and anti-American.”

The claim above is a policy claim. Trump has his own ideology , that his speech is a reflection of; he claims so because he is in a position to defense that ideology or to support it. The first president of the United States in the 20th century, Bush, did not talk on Islam the way Trump do; after September11, the American president appeared on TV. And talked to the American and to the world as well. He said that these attacks don’t represent Islam; they are a terrorist attacks with which Islam has no bond. On the contrary, Trump addresses Islam in a more uncivilized way and counting it as the responsible for the attacks of Florida. Having addressed Islam in this way , trump, as usual, needs to make his claim based on an accurate evidence. To this end, he says;

“Many of the principles of radical Islam are incompatible with western values and institutions.”

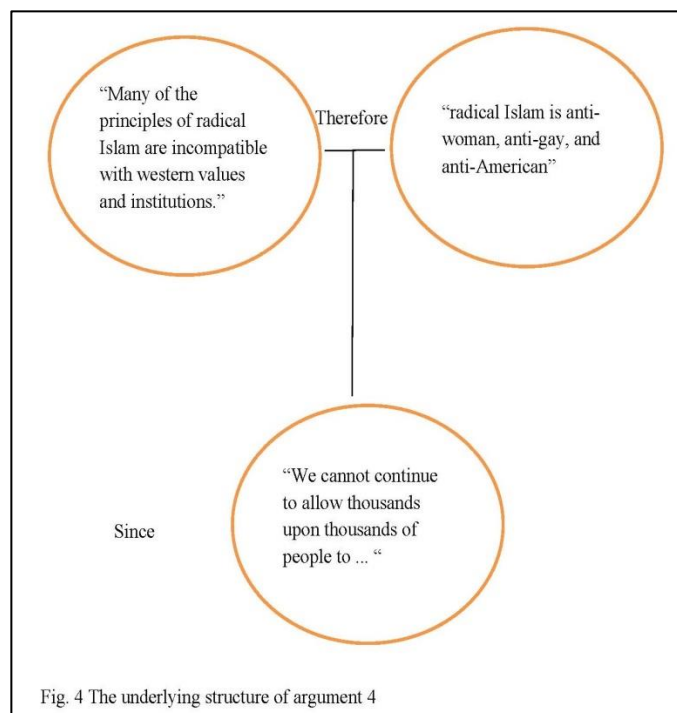
This last saying is the data on which Trump’s claim is based. To some degree, this saying is true, for the Islamic traditions and most of its values are not like those of other religions, but at the same time, it is wrong because Islamic religion is not against other ones. Trump took advantage of this fact to support his claim in order to persuade his audience.

Again, Trump talks about the issue of immigration and at this time he links it to his claim to support it. This time, he says that people with radical Islamic values and ideologies will not be allowed to get in the United States. This is a way to construct the

warrant to the data . Below is the exact quotation of his warrant”

“We cannot continue to allow thousands upon thousands of people to pour into our country, many of whom have the same thought process as this savage killer.”

The fourth argument takes the shape of a classical one; it extends to the warrant only. In this argument ,Trump claimed that Islam is anti- American, and anti-woman and to support this claim, he described Islam as different from other religions in that it has many values not like those of other ones. He went on to say that he cannot allow such people to be members of the American society. To present this argument in a more clear way, Its diagram is presented below:



6.5 Argument five analysis

When politicians speak, they rarely mean what their words refer to; they , sometimes mean something while saying other one. But this is not a rule in the world of policy, because

sometimes politicians say their aims clearly without maneuvering or implied meaning. In order to understand the American presidential speech, one who deals with it, needs to have a general view on the political context and the way these speeches are said and their contexts. The current speech, to be understood properly, its context and epically that which is related to the current argument, should be unveiled. Trump said this speech while trying to convince the American society to elect him; he said it in his election campaign that he launched against the candidate to the American presidency “ Hillary Clinton” , the candidate from the Democratic Party. In order to refute her claims and to get the long hand in the campaign, Trump had to say the pitfalls of Hillary’s party which mean glorying his party and polishing its political reputation at the same time.

The researcher here is not meant to explain the debates that happened in the election campaign, nor to talk about issues which are irrelevant to the current research. He is concerned with Islam and how the American Presidential speech has addressed it, and in specific , the third president of the United States in the 20th century, Trump. Islam is not the only issue Trump used in his speech to convince the American people to elect him; he also spoke about building a wall between America and ----- to prevent drugs smugglers from getting in the Unites States. Still, the racial speech on Islam is the most important issue trump raised and in specific to the current research. Trump uses the Islamic issue in a way that gives him a double benefit. He took advantage of it to show to his fans how Clinton allowed Muslims to enter the

United States despite the fact that they might cause a devastation in their country . By doing so, he gains pink fingers which without doing so, might have gone to Clinton's side.

"The bottom line is that Hillary supports policies that bring the threat of radical Islam into America and allow to grow overseas."

The claim above is a policy claim said in an attempt to criticize Hillary . He raised it in an attempt to tell his audience what Clinton aims to do in regard to the threat of radical Islam. She , as Trump claims , aims at letting radical Muslims to enter to the United States with no limits on their numbers. As said above, This research is not concerned with explaining the political conflict between the political parties and the ways they use to do so. Rather it is concerned with how Islam is being addressed in the Political speech. In this research, Trump talks on Islam in a negative way: he claims that Muslims will bring threat to the United States when they are allowed to get in by Clinton. Trump took advantage of Clinton's speech on Muslims to support his claim that she is to their side . Below is the exact quote of her speech on Islam which have been taken advantage of by Trump:

"Muslims are peaceful and tolerant people and have nothing whatsoever to do with terrorism." That is Hillary Clinton. So she says the solution is to ban guns.

Trump claims that Hillary aims at allowing Muslims to get in the United States and his evidence to this claim is her quote about this issue. He says that her plan is to ban guns not Muslims. It might be true to say that Trump's refusal to Clinton's plan of banning guns not Muslims, is justified by the fact that he thinks that Muslims are more dangerous than guns.

Trump goes on in his argument to say that Clinton wants to disarm Americans:

"Her plan is to disarm law-abiding Americans, abolishing the Second Amendment and leaving only the bad guys and terrorists with guns. "

The previous sentence represents the warrant of the data. It contains a negative mentioning of Muslims; Trump uses the words "bad" and "terrorists" when referring to them. These terrorists and bad guys are going to be left with guns and this, as Trump claims, is an issue that threatens the population of the United States and going to slaughter them:

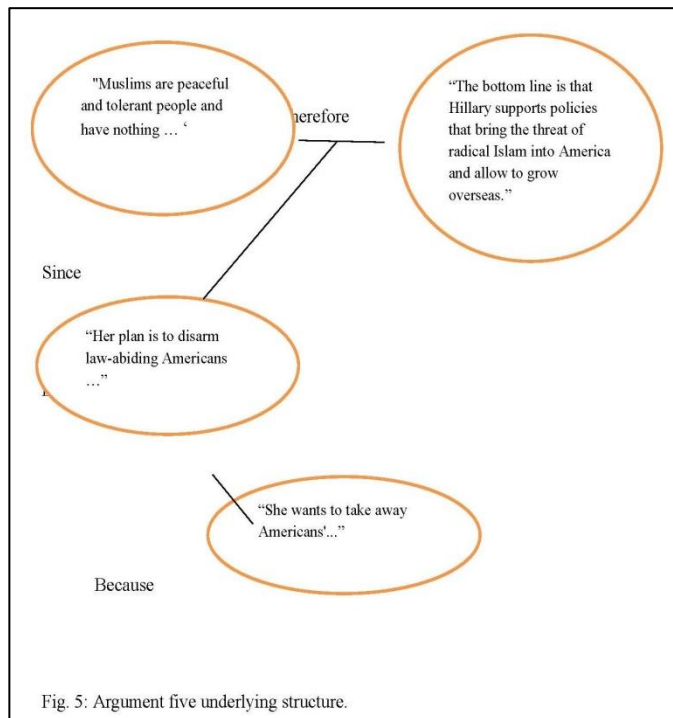
"She wants to take away Americans' guns and then admit the very people who want to slaughter us. Let them come into the country. We don't have guns. Let them come in, let them have all the fun they want."

In the fifth argument, Trump claimed that radical Islam is aimed to be brought to the United States by Hillary Clinton and his evidence to that is that she says that Muslims are "tolerant" people. To strengthen his evidence, Trump says that Hillary wants to make ban on guns not Muslims. Finally, he linked the act of slaughtering to the existence of Muslims in the United States. To make the fifth argument clear and to explain its constituent parts, its parts are presented in the diagram below:

6.6 Argument Six analysis

At the beginning of his speech, Trump was trying to set the stage for what he wanted out of his speech. As for this argument he stated that clearly. The previous arguments were justified by few reasons most of which are related to the Democratic party candidate, Hillary Clinton. At that arguments He was

trying to tell his followers the pitfalls of her party. In this Argument, Though it has a sort of bond to Clinton, but in it, Trump stated his main claim clearly. He says:



“ I don't want them in our country.”

This claim is a value claim; it refers to Trump’s opinion towards Muslims. This type of claim is arguable because different people might have different opinions on the issue at hand. One might argue that this last saying of Trump seems to be isolated from its context and it does not refer to what the current explanation tells because of its shortness. However, it refers to what every letter in it refers to. In this sentence, Trump stated that he does not want the radical Muslims to be within the borders of the United States, for they, as he states, don’t deserve that because immigration is a “ privilege”. The main reason behind Trump’s refusal to letting Muslims in is that because they will enslave women!

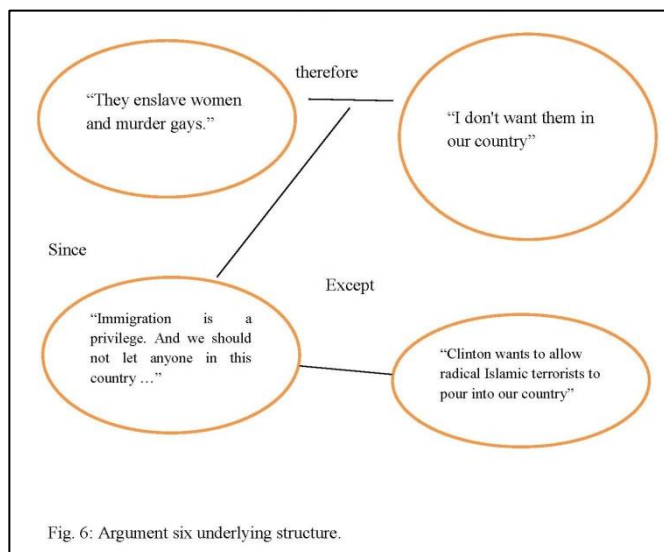
“They enslave women and murder gays”

This last sentence is the warrant of the data of Trump’s claim. It includes an astonishing ideologies held by Trump. He thinks that “radical” Muslims want to kill gays and enslave women. These two claim are used to support his claim. They have different degrees of acceptance for one may say, if so to speak, that Muslims do have the ideology of killing gays, for the idea of homosexuality contradicts with the Islamic sharia. Still the first one is not acceptable(they enslave women), because within the Islamic sharia, there is no such ideology, except those events of such slavery in the first centuries of the Islamic Empire. The denial of Trump to the Islamic existence in the American society is not going to be realized , because of the Obama administration who, as trump claims, support the Islamic existence in America. Trump, on this Issue says:

“Clinton wants to allow radical Islamic terrorists to pour into our country.”

According to Toulmin Model, rebuttal is the part of the argument that prevents the warrant to be accomplished. In this argument, the quotation above is what stands against Trump’s dream of empty America of radical Islam; it serves as the rebuttal of the argument.

In this argument, Trump argues that he does not to have Muslaims within the borders of America and the reason to that is because they are going to enslave women and kill the homosexual people. He strengthens his data by telling the Fact that immigration is a privilege which not every person deserves. His goal is not going to be accomplished because of the Obama administration and Hilary’s support to him . Below is the underlying structure of the sixth argument:



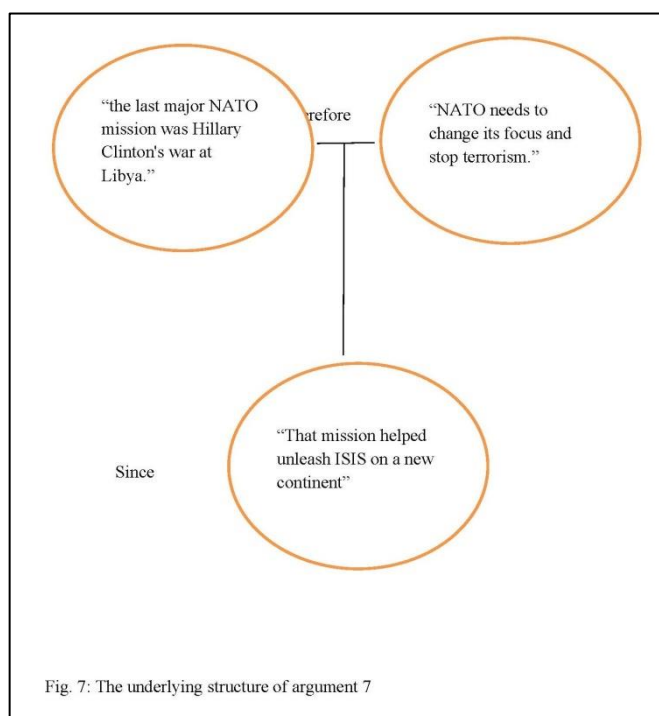
6.7 Argument Seven analysis

The American presidential discourse is affected by and directed to the world events; the American presidents address their speech to solve the issues which take place in the world or to comment on it. The Islamic religion, with what connotes with it, is one of these events. So, when presidents come to speak on Islam they, sometimes, disagree on to be with Islam or against it, because Islam represents an external issue which is approached in different ways by the American presidents and they are not forced to agree on it as in the internal issues such as slavery. In this speech, Trump speaks on Islam in a way that differs from those of his precedents. In the current argument he comments on the terrorism of Islam in multiple countries and he rejects the NATO mission in those countries, in specific, Libya. The denial of that mission proves the hypothesis that the American presidential is not the same in regard to the external issues.

In the claim of the argument being analyzed, Trump says that NATO needs not to set missions in the Islamic countries. Instead, they

should focus on stopping terrorism, which, to him, has a strong bond with Islam. This claim is a value claim, said by Trump to show his opinion in regard to the missions of the NATO. Below is what Trump claims in this regard: “NATO needs to change its focus and stop terrorism.”

To support his claim, Trump says “the last major NATO mission was Hillary Clinton's war at Libya.”. By saying so, he makes it clear to his audience that NATO focuses much on issues other than terrorism. In addition to that, he believes that their mission lead to the spread of terrorists, especially, ISIS. The last statement is the Warrant of his data.



7 discussion of the results

The current study applies Toulmin model to analyse Trump’s speech “Donald Trump’s National Security Speech”. Most of Trump’s claims are racially charged as in the table below:

Table 1

Trump’s claims on Islam

Claim No.	Claim Type	Positive	Negative	Neutral
Claim 1	Fact based claim			✓
Claim 2	Value claim		✓	
Claim 3	Policy based claim		✓	
Claim 4	Policy based claim		✓	
Claim 5	Policy based claim		✓	
Claim 6	Value claim		✓	
Claim 7	Value claim			✓
Percentage		0 %	71.43%	28.57 %

The table above shows how Trump dedicated (71.43%) of his speech to talk badly on Islam. The total number of his claims which have a link to Islam, are seven claims, five of which are negative claims and two claims are neutral. Trump said no positive claim. The two neutral claims are also said in regard to Islam; the first one is said to prepare the ground for the coming claims, while the other one is though said on NATO’s foreign policy. But has a link to Islam.

“Donald Trump’s National Security Speech” proves that Trump is an anti-Islam person and he represents himself not the American foreign policy in regard to Islam; he called to ban Muslims from entering the United States since his first days in the oval office. The reason pushed Trump to deliver his speech on Islam is the Florida attack; he

counted Islam as the responsible for the attack. Bush, though his speech on Islam is said after the 9/11 attack which is more horrible than that of Florida, did not count Islam as the reason behind it.

8 Conclusion

The current study follows Toulmin model as its analytical tool to analyse Trump’s speech “Donald Trump’s national Security Speech”. The researcher has reached the results that Trump dedicated most of his speech to count Islam as the reason behind the 11/9 attack. Toulmin model provides a useful way to analyse the political speech since it helps in identifying the constituent elements of the arguments the politicians raise. It also helps the researcher to know the Ways by which the arguer supports his claims to make them convincing.

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دراسة خطابية لـ " خطاب ترامب حول الامن الوطني "

عمار لطيف عواد

أمين عكال غيلان

جامعة البصرة / كلية التربية للعلوم الانسانية

ملخص البحث:

تهدف الدراسة الحالية الى اجراء دراسة خطابية لخطاب الرئيس الامريكى السابق دونالد ترامب " خطاب الامن الوطني " من خلال تطبيق طريقة تولمن. ان تطبيق طريقة تولمن يمكن الباحث من ايجاد الطرق التي يقول بها ترامب ادعاءاته والكيفية التي يدعم بها تلك الادعاءات. توصل الباحث لبعض النتائج اهمها ان خطاب ترامب يمثل الخطاب العنصري السلبي للرئاسة الامريكية حول الاسلام.

الكلمات المفتاحية: التداولية، طريقة تولمن الجدلية، اسلام فوبيا، العنصرية.