

Obama's Representation of the American Refusal to Slavery: A pragmatic- discourse Study

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Abstract:

The present study aims to make A Pragma-discourse study for Obama's speech : "A more Perfect Union" by applying Toulmin model. The application of Toulmin model enables the researcher to discover the ways Obama says his claims and how to support them. The researcher has come up with some results and conclusions, most important of which, is that most of Obama's claims are value claims and some of them are policy based claims. This result shows that Obama, as a former president of the United States, has his own point of view on racism and slavery.

Key words: Pragmatics, Toulmin argument model, Slavery, Racism .

تمثيل اوباما للرفض الامريكي للعبودية: دراسة تداولية

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الملخص:

تهدف الدراسة الحالية الى اجراء تحليل عملي لخطاب الرئيس الامريكي الاسبغ اوباما " اتحاد اكثر مثالية" من خلال تطبيق طريقة تولمين. ان تطبيق طريقة تولمين يمكن الباحث من ايجاد الطرق التي يقول بها اوباما ادعاءاته والكيفية التي يدعم بها تلك الادعاءات. توصل الباحث لبعض النتائج اهمها ان اغلب ادعاءات اوباما هي مبنية على رؤى اوباما الشخصية وبعضها مبنية على رؤى سياسية. هذه النتيجة تبين ان اوباما كرئيس اسبق للولايات المتحدة الامريكية لديه وجهة نظره الفريدة حول العنصرية و العبودية.

كلمات مفتاحية: التداولية، طريقة تولمين الجدلية، العبودية، العنصرية.

1. Introduction

“A more perfect union” is a speech delivered by Obama in 2008 while leading his election campaign to the American presidency. The main cause of this speech is to confront a speech delivered by Reverend Jeremiah Wright. He had made a racially accused statements against both, Israel and the United States. Obama in this speech tries both, to refute Wright’s racial statements and to stand as a candidate of all Americans regardless of their race. It is a first speech of its type for two reasons. First, the American people did not use to hear black people speak such defensive discourses(defenses both, black and white Americans even on the account of blacks). Second, when politicians come to speak about racial issues, they normally use offensive statements or they are biased, but this speech is not like so. This speech is dedicated to tackle the problem of racism and race differences but in a different way. As a second president of the United States in the 20th century, Barak Obama represents the American refusal to slavery. He is the son of a black man from Kenia while his wife has her ancestors as slaves ; she has slaves’ blood within her body , as Obama claims. So it is not strange for him do deliver a speech in which white and black people are seen equal, since he belongs to both parts of the American society.

This research is concerned with the analysis of Obama’s speech. The main arguments of Obama in this speech are going to be broken down to their main constituent elements.

2.The concept of racism

In order to have a clear picture of what *racism* means, it is necessary to understand first the term *race*. Miles (1993, P. 28) sees *Race* as a social constructional concept. Functionally, from a social angle, *Race* has been utilized as a "legitimising ideological tool". It is subjugated to persecute an addressed groups and to dispute their access to some cultural, social, and political rights. It has been used by the affected groups as a basis for public (political) opposition and fighting for political autarchy, independence, and participation. Therefore, the term “Race” has been adopted by these troubled groups.

Linguistically, there seems no definite history of the term *race*. Therefore, very few words such as “*razza*”, “*raza*”, and “*race*” (respectively Italian, French, and

Spanish, Portuguese) have been documented from the thirteenth century (Reisigl & Wodak, 2001, P. 2). However, at the beginning of the 16th century, the term appeared in English and entered different semantic fields (ibid). Among these fields is the one which involves such notions as referring to families of languages and language groups. (Conze & Sommer 1984, P. 135),

According to (Reisigl and Wodak, 2001 P. 3) as far as we treat the constructed taxonomy of *race* and the above mentioned semantic field as equivalent to language

families, this can be the result of the fact that linguistics and the contribution of ideology to philology were blameworthy .

An important and striking fact to be mentioned here is that linguistics and philology appear to be responsible for some serious errors. These errors have built the basis for the approximation and the connection of language and race classification (Romer 1985, P. 41). Focusing on politics, the race has become and merged with politics. By doing so, the concept has closely transferred to the terminologies of human history. Race interpreted history as a racial struggle within which only the fittest 'races' would have the right to survive. (Reisigl and Wodak, 2001, P. 4).

4. 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 actors or authors identify political discourses, viz., politicians. Indeed, the vast bulk of studies of political discourses 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.”. Jassim (2019, P. 50) states that following the principles of argumentation is very important for the arguer, for those principles enable him to present his point of view in an arranged manner, so that they will be convincing. Qasim (2020, p. 111) states that the argumentative ties help in transferring meaning. So that links the meaning to the speech. There has to be a sort of harmony between the argument and what is intended to have the argument accepted. For more information, see (Ghailan, 2019, P.2)

5. The Application of Toulmin's(2003)Model of Argument

The British philosopher Stephen Toulmin's model of argumentation which is named as "Toulmin's(2003) Model of Argument" after him, offers well-formed structure which designed for building up and analyzing critical and persuasive arguments, particularly for situations where there are no definite right answers. This model consists of six elements from which arguments are constructed.

Stephen Toulmin, in "The Uses of Argument", states that "the science of logic, throughout its history has tended to develop in a direction that leads away from practical questions about the manner in which we criticize arguments and have occasion to handle in many fields, and towards being a completely autonomous" Toulmin (1958, p. 4). . In other words, logic becomes a theoretical study of its own. Toulmin is critical of the disjuncture of formal logic and the practical concerns of real life rhetorical argument. As a model general theory of argument, Toulmin's model attempts to provide a working logic. In its simplest form, the model consists of three elements:

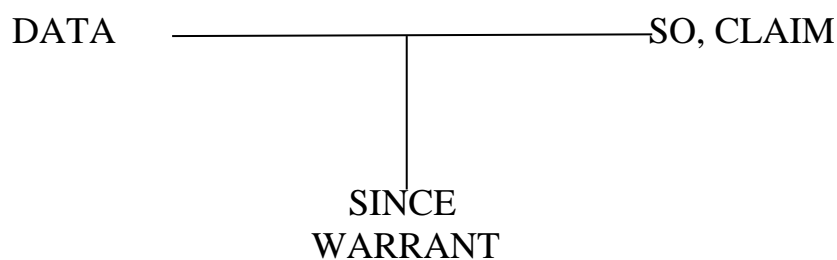


Figure 1, derived from Toulmin (2003), p. 92)

To be said as an argument, a piece of writing must include these elements. The claim is what the arguer wants his audience to believe in or the conclusion of the argument and the point at issue in a controversy. The data is the evidence of the claim. The Warrant provides the bond that shows the relation between claim and data. Toulmin gives the following illustrative example of an argument of this structure:

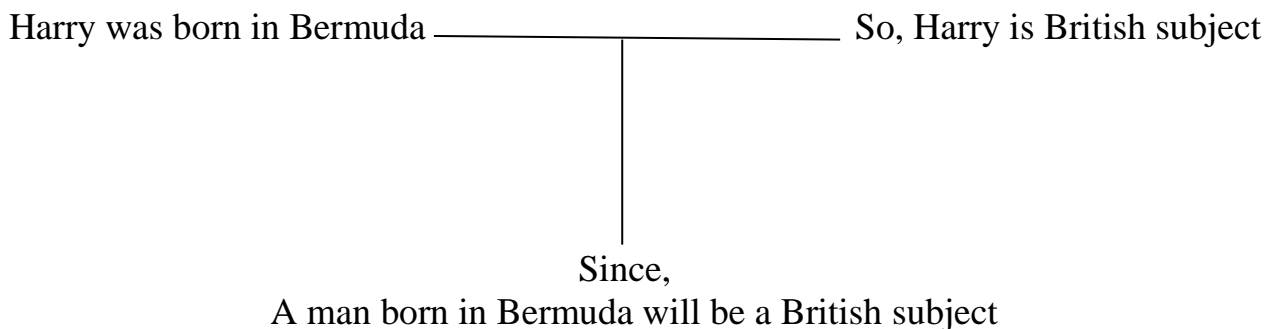
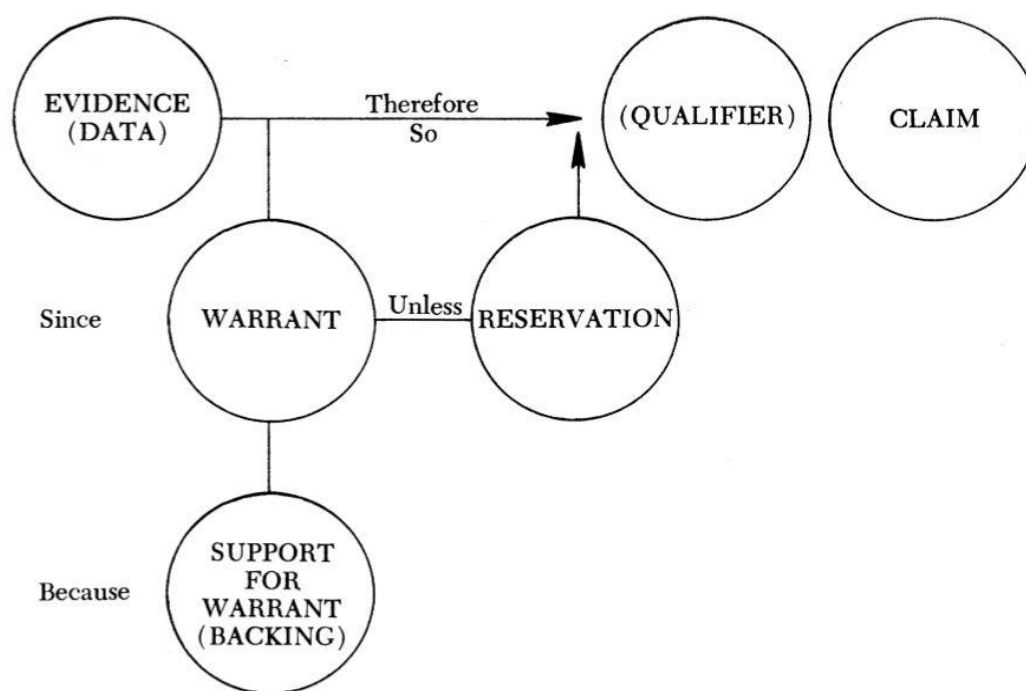


Figure 2 derived from Toulmin (2003), P. 92)

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In rhetorical discourse, arguments are not always explicit. Warrants, in specific, are often implicit. But in some debates , implicit warrants are challenged to become explicit and to be defended. Because of this ,Toulmin found adding more complicity to his model is necessary. The three elements which are added to this model are qualifier, reservation, and backing. The qualifier is usually an acknowledgment of the probability of the claim, the reservation gives the conditions in which the warrant does not apply, the backing provides the warrant with support . Kneupper (1978, P. 237-241).



6. Data Analysis

6.1 Argument One Analysis

The first words of Obama's speech are a quotation from the preamble of the United States Constitution. This constitution represents improbable experiment in democracy. To Obama, the American constitution is the savior for the people who escaped from persecution to be safe in the United States. His first Claim is not related directly to the main aim of the speech, rather, it is on the American constitution.

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Obama says;

“The document they produced was eventually signed but ultimately unfinished.”

Obama’s first Claim is a fact-based Claim since its truthiness or falseness can be checked by tracing the stages of the American constitution writing process. Moreover, this type of Claim is related to the facts on the issue at hand in the past and in the current time. Obama, in this Claim, states that the constitution laws were not applied at the time of its signature.

In a country such as the United States where slavery was a norm and its economy was built on taking advantage of Black People as slaves to work, it is not an easy process to change the way things go on in a day and night. The slavery period must have affected the new era of the American society life and this is one of the reasons which delayed the application of the laws of the constitution. To make this point clear and to support the Claim, Obama says;

“ It was stained by this nation's original sin of slavery,”

Obama views slavery as a “sin” that could be the reason behind not using the American constitution to change the hierarchy of the classes at that time or it is what stained that constitution. What Obama says after the Claim is the Data of his Claim. It serves as a support for the Claim and the basis of it. The Data makes clear why the American leaders did not use the laws to free the slaves. It tells that slavery has a sort of curse that prevents the application of those laws.

The previous Data needs to be supported with an evidence; being stained with the sin of slavery is not a sufficient justification for having slavery in the United States after the signing of the constitution. To this end, Obama gives the Warrant of his Data. He Says;

“a question that divided the colonies and brought the convention to a stalemate until the founders chose to allow the slave trade to continue for at least 20 more years,”

This Warrant supports both, the Data and the Claim, for both tell the fact that slavery still existed after the founders signed the constitution. It shows how a stalemate was agreed upon. The founders saw that it is necessary to have slavery in the United States for 20 years after the declaration of the constitution to avoid war. This type of Warrant is an analogy Warrant, since it relates events and facts, similar to the Data, in the Claim and is used to support the Claim.

When the Warrant is not a sufficient support, Backing is inserted. In this argument the Warrant needs more support.

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“and to leave any final resolution to future generations.”

The aforementioned line is another reason for not applying the laws of the constitution. It is to let the coming generations to determine that. The argument is best illustrated in the figure below:

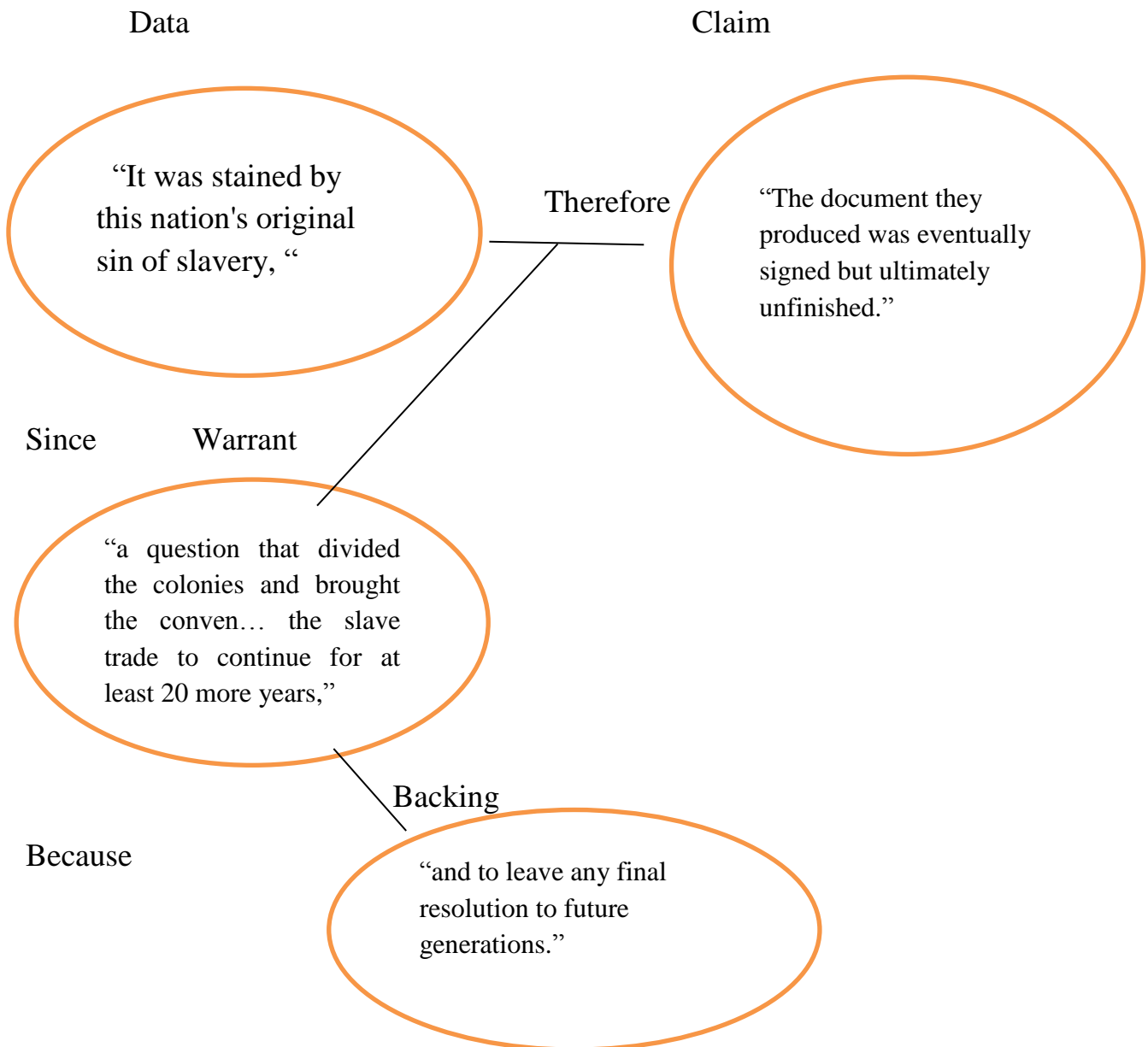


Fig. 3: Obama's Argument One Underlying Structure.

4.3.3 Argument Two Analysis

In the second argument in “ A more perfect union”, Obama tells his audience that slavery is a question which finds its answer in the American constitution;

“ Of course the answer to the slavery question was already embedded within our Constitution”

This Claim is preceded by a Qualifier to show how Obama is sure of what he says and to convince his audience with his Claim. In Toulmin’s model, a Qualifier serves as the Data; it supports the Claim but in a way that differs from the Data, for Data can be a statement, sentence, or more than one sentence, while a Qualifier could be a word. This Claim is a value Claim since its truthiness or falseness is not checked objectively. In other words, when one tries to check this type of Claim, there is no objective way to be followed; the researcher will depend on the supporting Data and the other parts of the argument such as Backing and Rebuttal.

Obama supports his Claim that the constitution embodies the answer to the slavery question by inserting a Warrant. The Warrant tells that this constitution ensures the application of law to all citizens :

“a Constitution that had at its very core the ideal of equal citizenship under the law “

The Warrant is also supported by Backing to make it convincing. The analogy Warrant is supplied by Backing when the information which is given is not sufficient or the speaker may not see it as a valid support for his Data. In this argument, Obama supports the Warrant by the following Backing;

‘a Constitution that promised its people liberty and justice and a union that could be and should be perfected over time.”

The aforementioned Backing shows how the constitution guaranties to the American people that justice, equal rights and the perfect union are reserved.

In the current argument, Obama states that the laws of the constitution were meant to give all citizens the equality they looked up to, but the Rebuttal proves the opposite; it shows that words on parchment are not enough . In this way, Obama points to the main aim of the speech by telling his audience to be unified. Below is Obamas Rebuttal;

“And yet words on a parchment would not be enough to deliver slaves from bondage, or provide men and women of every color and creed their full rights and obligations as citizens of the United States.”

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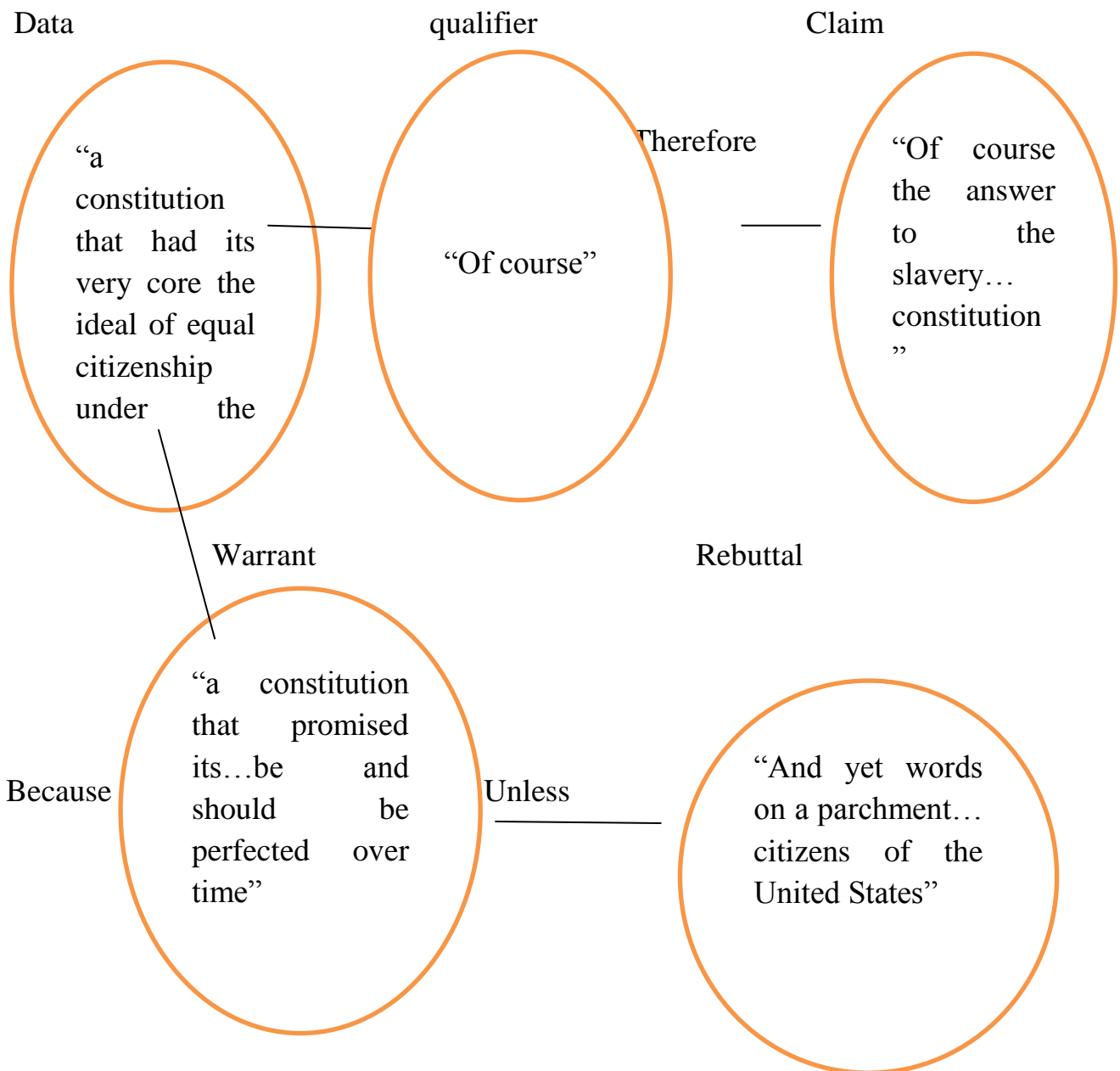


Fig.4 : Obama's Argument Two Underlying Structure

6.2 Argument Three Analysis

In "A More Perfect Union", Obama is not biased to either the black or white Americans; he tries to unify the people. Obama takes advantage of his own life story to accomplish the goals behind his speech, which is dedicated to refuting the speech of White who spoke badly about America and its allies and to unify the population. In this argument, Obama claims:

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“I will never forget that in no other country on Earth is my story even possible.”

The aforementioned Claim is about Obama's personal life story. He states that his life is unique and in no other part in the world, it will be repeated. It is a value Claim that is said by the speaker and there is no definite way to check its truthiness. In other words, the hearer is either to believe or reject this Claim, and they cannot search the whole world to find a similar story. To support this Claim, Obama uses a new type of Data and relies on narration to support his Claim. Olmos (2017, p. 32) states “stories are always used to present claims, most notably as parables, fables or allegories where the story invites the hearer to infer an important Claim”. As such narration is used as a means to support claims, Obama supports his Claim by inserting a story of his life as Data for his Claim that his story is unique one. He states;

I am the son of a black man from Kenya and a white woman from Kansas. I was raised with the help of a white grandfather who survived a Depression to serve in Patton's Army during World War II and a white grandmother who worked on a bomber assembly line at Fort Leavenworth while he was overseas. I've gone to some of the best schools in America and lived in one of the world's poorest nations. I am married to a black American who carries within her the blood of slaves and slave owners — an inheritance we pass on to our two precious daughters. I have brothers, sisters, nieces, nephews, uncles and cousins of every race and every hue, scattered across three continents, and for as long as I live.

Obama tells his audience about his personal story as having both black and white ancestors and how he grew up with both sides of the society(blacks and whites). This is done to show how his claims are strong and reliable . Moreover, this story serves as a good reason for the audience to believe in his speech and to be unified as Obama wants them to do.

The Data Obama added is also supported by another evidence. It is warranted by him to make it more adequate to support the main Claim of the argument. The Warrant below refers to the Data of the Claim; it supports the Data, since it is about the mixed genetic makeup of Obama which is referred to in the Data. Obama states:

“ It's a story that hasn't made me the most conventional of candidates. But it is a story that has seared into my genetic makeup the idea that this nation is more than the sum of its parts — that out of many, we are truly one.”

This type of Warrant is a principle Warrant since the evidence is connected to the Claim as a way of direct application of a relevant principle. In this Warrant, Obama states that his story as having ancestors as blacks and whites leads him to have an unyielding faith that this nation is more than its parts.

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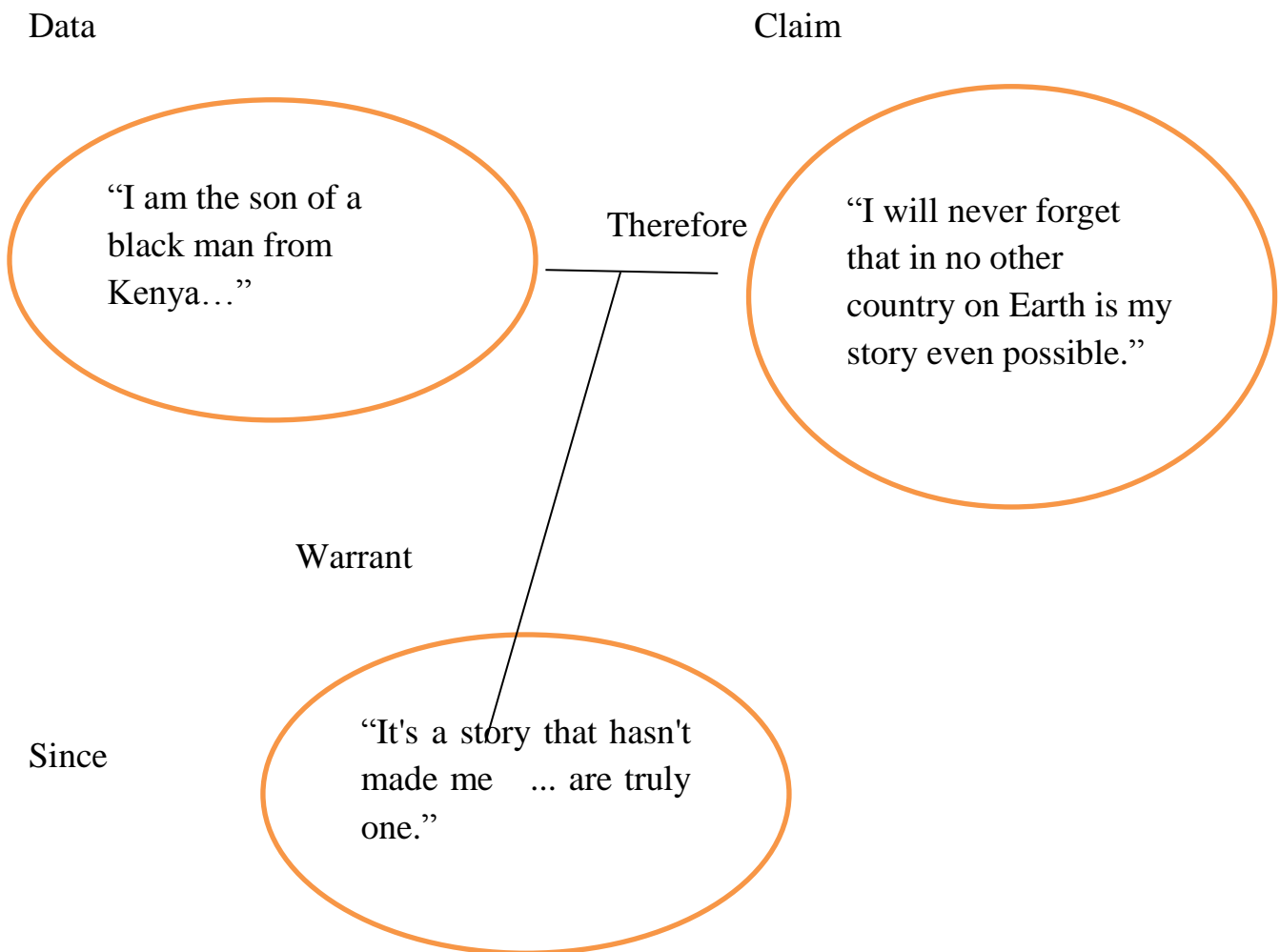


Fig. 5: Obama's Argument Three Underlying Structure.

6.4 Argument Four Analysis

The fourth Claim in Obama's speech, to be analysed, needs to be linked to the context in which it is said. As Obama tries to convince his audience in this speech to elect him, he speaks about an issue that is of the concern for most Americans. He talks about the coalition of black and white Americans and how his campaign is dedicated to solving the problem of race differences. The fourth Claim goes against what Obama said previously. In this Claim he states that race still affects the campaign despite the results it has achieved. Obama claims in this regard:

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“This is not to say that race has not been an issue in this campaign”

This is a fact-based Claim in which Obama states to his audience that in spite of the positive gains in regard to race, this campaign faces Racism. In such a Claim, Obama is not speaking out of a vacuum; he depends on facts which give sufficient reasons to this Claim to be considered as a fact Claim. He supported his Claim with an evidence to make it stronger. Obama says;

“At various stages in the campaign, some commentators have deemed me either "too black" or "not black enough”

The aforementioned sentence stands as the Data of the Claim raised by Obama . As it is said previously, Obama says his Claim on the basis of a valid evidence, which reinforces the last Claim since the commentators mentioned by Obama say their comments publically. So, their comments are an agreed-upon evidence for they are in the reach of most people. This evidence shows that Obama himself faces Racism; he is being referred to as either “too black” or “not black enough”. This racial reference gives the support to the Claim that race still affects the campaign.

The evidence inserted by Obama is also supplied by another support to make it sufficient . The support for the Data is the Warrant which is inserted to show the relationship between the Data and its evidence to function as a support for the Claim. Obama says;

‘We saw racial tensions bubble to the surface during the week before the South Carolina primary’

This Warrant is a sign Warrant since in this type of Warrants, the Data is the sign of the Claim and this Warrant supports the Data in the same way. In this Warrant, Obama states that before the primary election of Carolina, racial signs appeared to the public. In this way, Obama supports the evidence. The Warrant is also backed by a support; it is followed by Backing to give it more strength; Obama says:

“The press has scoured every single exit poll for the latest evidence of racial polarization, not just in terms of white and black, but black and brown as well.”

Backing is inserted in arguments when the validity of the Warrant is challenged. In this argument, the Warrant tells about the fact that racial troubles appeared without mentioning their types. So, Backing is inserted to show in detail the racial tensions. Obama states that press has recorded some evidences of Racism; one of which is the distinction between brown and black in addition to the white- black distinction.

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In this argument, Obama claims that race and racial issues have not disappeared from the society. He says so on the basis that in some events , commentators address him racially. Obama supports the Data by saying that before the election few signs of Racism appeared and this is also supported by mentioning the type of Racism which is a brown-black distinction.

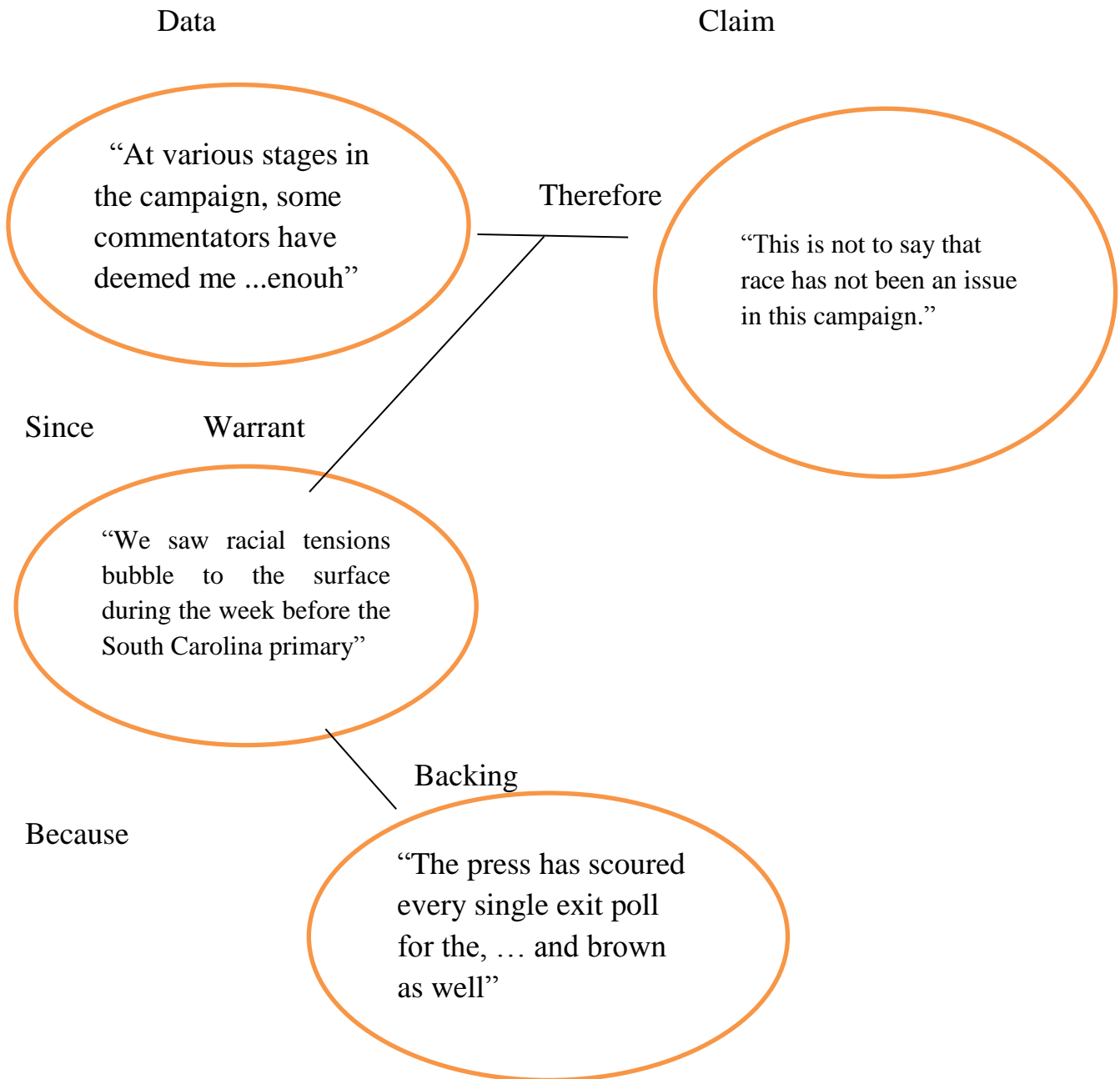


Fig. 6: Obama's Argument Four Underlying Structure.

6.5 Argument Five Analysis

The fifth argument in Obama's speech is about Wright statements on America and its allies espically Israel. Wright claims that the racial distinction is rotted in the united States and the problems in the Middle East are because of America's ally which is Israel. Obama in " A more Perfect Union" considers these claims as wrong and gives the reasons for Wright to say so. In this argument ,Obama claims that Wright's statements are divisive

"As such, Reverend Wright's comments were not only wrong but divisive"

This Claim is a value Claim for different people see Wright's statements in different ways; for Wright's followers, it is a true Claim while Obama sees it as wrong and divisive . This claims is based on the Data;

"divisive at a time when we need unity"

It is a speech that is divisive since in the current time the American population needs unity not division. Obama warranted the Data by saying tht Wright's views are:

"racially charged at a time when we need to come together to solve a set of monumental problems"

The generalization Warrant is not adequate to support the Data. So it is backed by another support which is the Backing. Obama mentions the main problems which are monumental and the American people need to be unified to face them. The Backing is :

"two wars, a terrorist threat, a falling economy, a chronic health care crisis and potentially devastating climate change — problems that are neither black or white or Latino or Asian, but rather problems that confront us all."

These are the problems from which the American people suffer. Such support inserted by Obama is meant to strengthen the Claim and to make convincing one . The current argument is illustrated in a clearer manner in the figure below:

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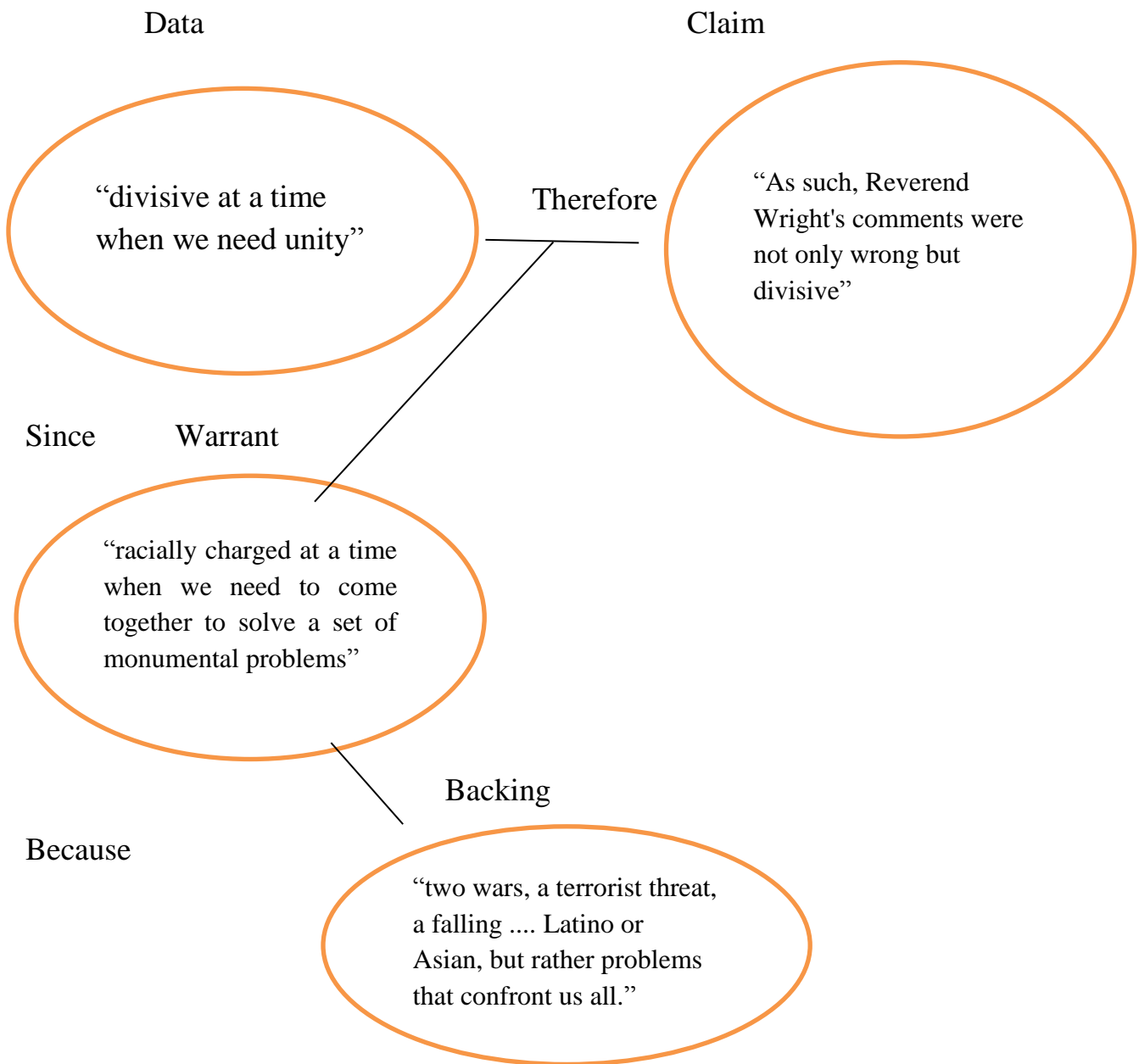


Fig. 7: Obama's Argument Five Underlying Structure.

6.6 Argument Six Analysis

Although Obama in “ A more perfect union” calls the American people to be unified and to leave the miseries of the past behind, he finds it necessary to say the bitter truth that Racism and most issues related to race differences are not going to be ignored;

“But race is an issue that I believe this nation cannot afford to ignore right now.”

This is a value Claim, for other people may think that Racism no longer exists in the American society. This Claim has been proved true by the massive protest that took place in the United States after killing a black man (George Floed)by a white policeman in California. This event happened eleven years after Obama’s speech. It shows how equality is impossible to be reserved. To support this Claim, Obama inserts supportive Data;

“We would be making the same mistake that Reverend Wright made in his offending sermons about America”

Obama claims that “we” as the members of the American society would commit the same fault of Wright by raising racial statements at different times. He is not speaking on behalf of the Black People only by using “ we” , Obama believes that the American population is one and unified . Thus, the “we” is referring to blacks and whites as well. This Data is backed up by Obama by inserting a valid Warrant; it is valid because it is not backed up by a Backing.

“to simplify and stereotype and amplify the negative to the point that it distorts reality.”

This Warrant is an analogy Warrant since it relates the Data to the Claim by giving an example of the causes to racial speeches. Obama thinks that racial statements might be raised to change reality or to distort it. This argument is illustrated in the figure bellow;

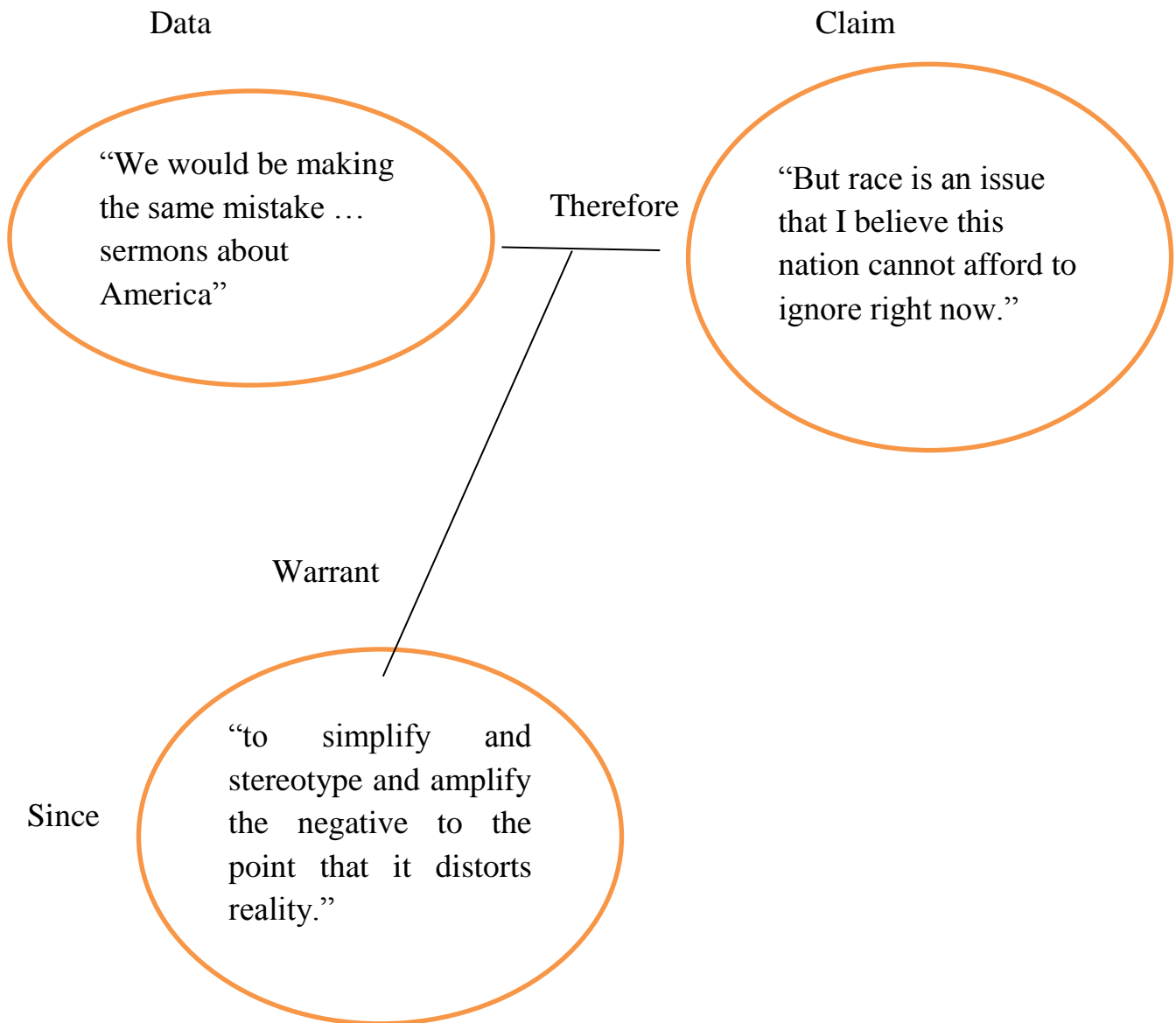


Fig. 8: Obama's Argument Six Underlying Structure.

6.7 Argument Seven Analysis

In this argument, Obama claims that the current racial statements have their roots in the historical inequality between black and white people. He seems to justify Wright's racial speech by linking it to the causes of the speech rather than the speaker (Wright) himself. In this regard, Obama claims;

“But we do need to remind ourselves that so many of the disparities that exist between the African-American community and the larger American community today can be traced directly to inequalities passed on from an earlier generation that suffered under the brutal legacy of slavery and Jim Crow.”

This is a value Claim for it represents Obama's point of view on the reason behind the current racial speeches. It is based on the Data inserted by Obama;

“Understanding this reality requires a reminder of how we arrived at this point. As William Faulkner once wrote, "The past isn't dead and buried. In fact, it isn't even past." We do not need to recite here the history of racial injustice in this country”

This Data supports Obama's Claim that the causes of racial speech are historical. He quotes Faulkner's speech to support the Claim in his argument. Obama considers the historical events of slavery and inequality that took place in the United States as not isolated from the current life of the American people. Instead, it is not even a past. To support the Data, Obama inserts a Warrant which adds truthiness to the Data;

“Segregated schools were and are inferior schools; we still haven't fixed them, 50 years after Brown v. Board of Education. And the inferior education they provided, then and now, helps explain the pervasive achievement gap between today's black and white students.”

In the Data, Obama says that the historical inequality is not a past and this saying is proved in the Warrant by mentioning the type of schools at which black students still suffer. This fact shows that the historical inequality is also a current life issue. This Warrant is a causality Warrant since it refers to or supports the evidence which is a direct cause of the Claim. In the current argument, today's racial statements about Black People, those of Wright in specific, are a direct result of the historical inequality. This Warrant is backed up by Obama when he inserts a Backing to the argument in which he numerates some of the sufferings of the black community:

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“Legalized discrimination — where blacks were prevented, often through violence, from owning property, or loans were not granted to African-American business owners, or black homeowners could not access FHA mortgages, or blacks were excluded from unions or the police force or the fire department — meant that black families could not amass any meaningful wealth to bequeath to future generations.”

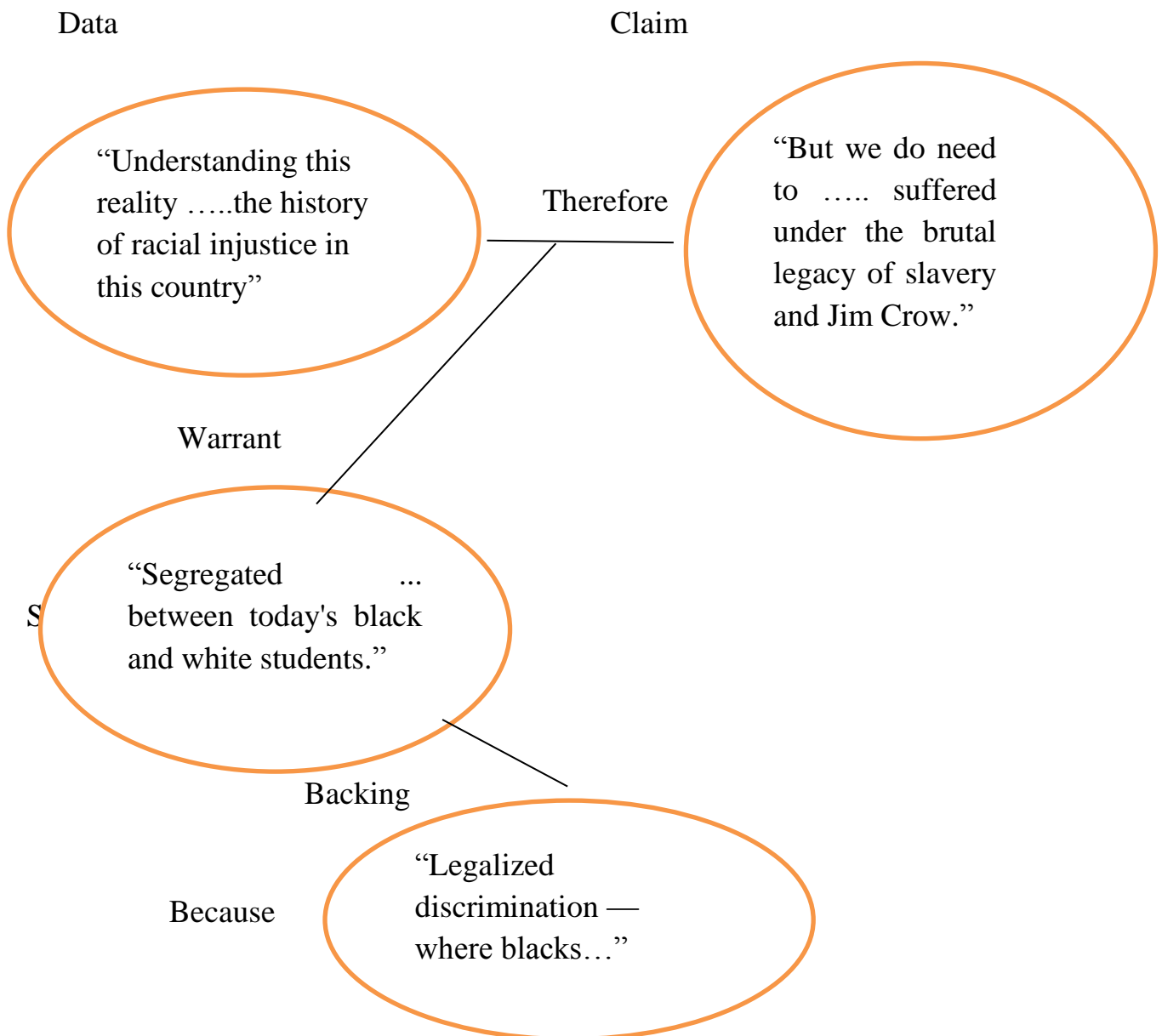


Fig. 9: Obama’s Argument Seven Underlying Structure.

6.8 Argument Eight Analysis

In this argument, Obama talks about anger and its drawbacks. Obama calls the future American generations to gain their rights through protests

“...What would be needed were Americans in successive generations who were willing to do their part — through protests and struggles, on the streets and in the courts, through a civil war and civil disobedience...”. Although he calls for people to fight for their rights, Obama criticizes anger as not productive;

“That anger is not always productive”

Obama’s Claim in this argument is a fact based Claim, for it is checked through experimentation. In this Claim, he states that anger is destructive and he gives the supportive Data for his Claim. The anger he talks about is that of the Black People and especially of Wright. He states:

“ indeed, all too often it distracts attention from solving real problems”

To support the Data, Obama uses “ indeed” as a Qualifier. The Data gives a valid reason for considering anger as not productive since anger leads to focusing on secondary issues rather than the primary ones. The Data is also backed up with a Warrant to make it stronger. Obama states;

“it keeps us from squarely facing our own complicity within the African-American community in our condition, and prevents the African-American community from forging the alliances it needs to bring about real change.”

The generalization Warrant is inserted here to give more reasons for the Data to be true . The fact added by the Warrant is challenged by the Rebuttal. The Rebuttal gives a fact which goes against that of the Warrant;

“But the anger is real; it is powerful.”

Below is argument Eight underlying structure:

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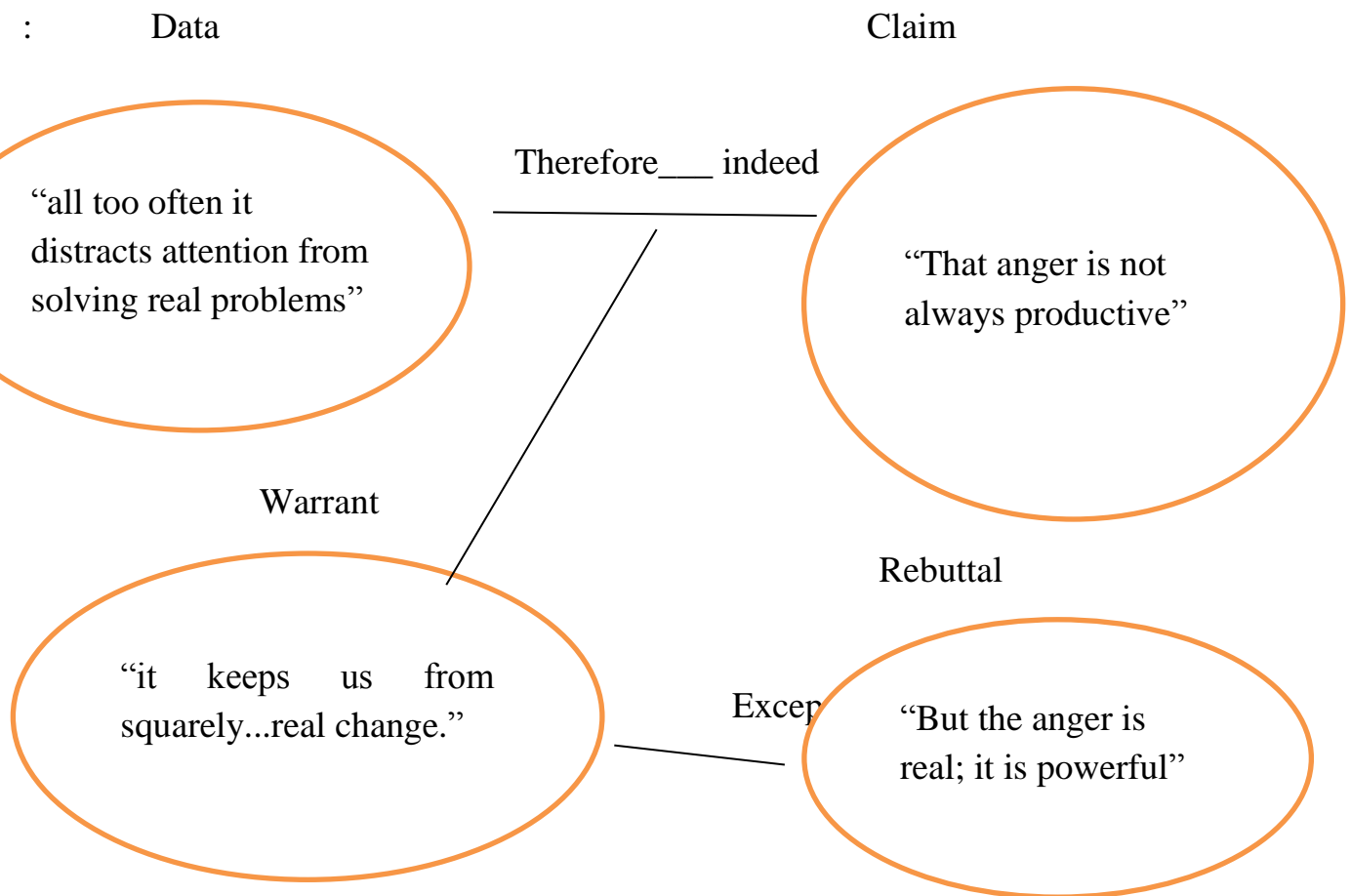


Fig. 10: Obama's Argument Eight Underlying Structure.

6.9 Argument Nine Analysis

In the ninth argument, Obama claims that anger exists not only within the black community of America but also within the white community;

"In fact, a similar anger exists within segments of the white community."

Obama tries to be unbiased to either part of the American community. So, he speaks on behalf of both parts; he criticizes Wright for his racial statements, and claims that the Black People are angry for they think that they have been deprived, claims that white people are also angry. This Claim is a value Claim for Obama states his opinion; the fact he adds is not agreed upon as that of the previous argument. To support this Claim, Obama adds the Data;

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“Most working- and middle-class white Americans do not feel that they have been particularly privileged by their race.”

The Data gives a reason for the white people’s anger. They are not given the priority of their race. In this Data, Obama proves to his audience the idea that the American people are equal since no race is prioritized over the other. The Data is backed up with the Warrant;

“Their experience is the immigrant experience — as far as they're concerned, no one handed them anything. They built it from scratch. “

This sign Warrant is also supported by a Backing to make the argument strong enough to convince the audience;

“They've worked hard all their lives, many times only to see their jobs shipped overseas or their pensions dumped after a lifetime of labor.”

In the Backing, Obama mentions two types of sufferings which cause the anger of white people. The Warrant is backed up with this Backing for it is not valid enough. So, Obama in this argument inserts three supports to the Claim; Data, Warrant, and Backing. This implies that the current argument is crucial to his speech in order to sound logical and convincing.

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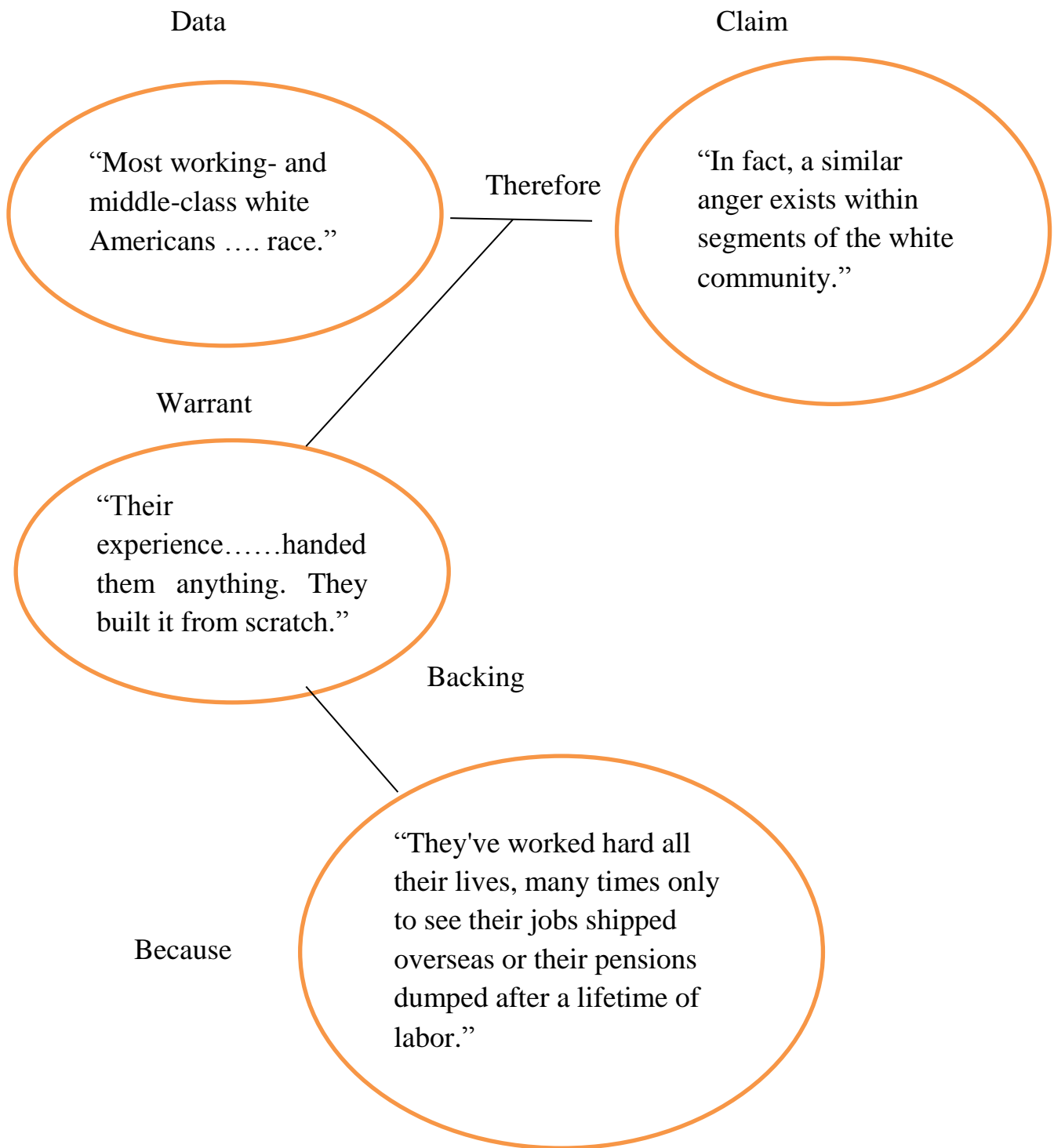


Fig. 11: Obama's Argument Nine Underlying Structure.

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The claims made by Obama are of different types for they are raised to accomplish different aims. Some claims are fact based while other ones are value claims. The table below shows the types of these claims;

Table 1

Types of Obama's claims in his speech " A More Perfect Union"

No.	Claim Type	Frequency	Percentage
1	Fact based Claim	3	33.33%
2	Value Claim	6	66.66%
Total		9	100%

The total number of Obama's claims is nine, six of which are value claims while the other three are fact based claims. Value claims are used to show Obama's personal points of view concerning slavery and race issues in general, while fact based claims are used to show the facts which are agreed upon. In this speech, Obama is talking about an issue which is not 100% agreed upon; he is talking about race issue.

7.Conclusion

The analysis of the data proves that Obama stands as a true representation of the American refusal to slavery, since in all his claims he refuses the racially addressed speeches and tries to defend the rights of all Americans. The American point of view on slavery and race issues differ according to the party which governs and the person in the white house as well, but as a general fact, the American presidents in the 20th century have similar ideas concerning race issues because such issues represent an internal matter that matter the American national security and this is the fact the current study tries to prove. In the arguments he raised, Obama proves to his audience that he is biased to neither the white Americans, nor to the black ones; Obama comments on the speech of Wright which is delivered against the United States especially the white ones . He also criticizes the lack of opportunities and serviced given to the black people during the history of the United states. These are addressed by claims which are supported by valid data which is in turn supported by warrants, rebuttals and backings.

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Toulmin model of argumentation provides a useful tool for analyzing the political speech; it helps in breaking down the arguments to their main constituent parts to reveal the main agendas behind them. In the current study, toulmin model is applied on Obama's speech to analyse his speech on slavery. It provides a useful means for accomplishing that aim.

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