

EXAMINATION OF THE POLITICAL LANGUAGE OF THE LEADERS OF IRAN AND THE UNITED STATES REGARDING THE JCPOA

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Abstract

The present article seeks to analyze the discourse-political foundations of Donald Trump's remarks about the JCPOA and Ayatollah Ali Khamenei's reaction to his remarks. The critical discourse analysis approach prioritizes the relationship between politics, language, society, power, ideology, and discourse. The research method of this article is descriptive-analytical and based on the Fairclough model. We examine Trump and Khamenei's statement. The findings of this article show that there is an interrelationship between ideology and language and between the use of language and political and social relations and language. In addition, the formability of political relations, can be a useful tool in shaping power relations and political interactions; Therefore, each country's leaders have tried to use their linguistic and political abilities to express their views. The results show that both leaders in their speeches see the JCPOA as a fragile and flawed agreement between two enemies and not a contract to strengthen the friendship between them.

Keywords: Ayatollah Khamenei, Donald Trump, JCPOA, Fairclough.

INTRODUCTION

The Joint Comprehensive Plan of Action is an international agreement on Iran's nuclear program reached on July 14, 2015, after lengthy negotiations between Iran and the six world powers. The Joint Comprehensive Plan of Action (JCPOA) is an international agreement on Iran's nuclear program reached after lengthy negotiations between Iran and the six world powers. It is one of the most important international agreements reached in recent years due to its regional and global implications. Iranian and American officials, who were the two essential countries in the agreement, have given various speeches and comments in this regard, and there are many linguistic-political texts concerning this issue. Additionally, the text cannot be understood or analyzed in a vacuum. Each text must be understood concerning the networks of other texts and in relation to the social context. In discourse analysis, the main subject of research is discourse practice and language, which represent the world, social subjects, and social relations and play a role in advancing the interests of specific political and social groups. Critical Discourse analysis, according to Fairclough, is an approach that seeks to systematically investigate the "often ambiguous relationship between causality and determinism between a) discourse practices Events and texts and b) more broadly social and cultural structures, relationships and processes. In other words, in analyzing critical discourse, Fairclough seeks to show that events and texts emerge from power relations and enter power struggles. From this perspective, the purpose of critical discourse analysis is to show the role of discourse applications, texts, and communication events in preserving and surviving or changing the existing social world. Thus, critical discourse analysis seeks to systematically analyze language and text with a broader social practice and often seeks to expose the text's perceived and naturalized knowledge.

Regarding the aims of critical discourse analysis, Fairclough and Chouliaraki argue: "Science (from the perspective of discourse analysis) must provide the kinds of knowledge that the general public does not normally produce or do not have access to, in everyday life" (Fairclough and Chouliaraki, 1999). The descriptive-analytical method has been used in this article, and the research samples were purposefully selected from the words of Donald Trump, the President of the United States, and the reaction of Ali Khamenei, the Leader of the Islamic Republic of Iran, to his remarks regarding the JCPOA program. The present study aims to determine the mechanisms of representation of discourse signs in the texts of two lectures by using Fairclough discourse theory and giving a multidimensional view of the parties' speeches. The questions of this research are: At the linguistic level, what verbal strategies have the speakers used, and what are the discourse-oriented components in the parties' speeches? What are the hidden layers and social, political, and ideological foundations in the texts in question?

The point to be made about this article is that it is more methodologically essential and seeks to apply the framework presented by Fairclough to a communication event.

Theoretical Foundations; Discourse and discourse analysis

Discourse also means speech studies, speech analysis, and Word analysis. All discourse approaches do not consider our knowledge of the outside world as a mere reflection of the situation, but as the product of our categorization of the world, or in the sense of discourse analysis, the product of discourse. Discourse analysis examines how the meaning and message of linguistic units crystallize and form with the intra-linguistic factors (text context) of the linguistic units, the immediate linguistic environment, and the whole linguistic system extra linguistic factors (social, cultural, and situational context). Critical discourse analysis is an interdisciplinary discipline in linguistics that examines the role of language in politics and society. Critical discourse analysis emerged after

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the inability of discourse analysis to enter many domains and is a protest against descriptive discourse analysis. Although the language is said to reflect reality like clear mirrors, critical discourse analysis claims that language is a dim mirror that reflects reality from various ideologies. Critical discourse is the development of an analytical framework (theory and method) to study language concerning power and ideology. Fairclough method in critical discourse analysis consists of three interrelated steps, namely describing (revealing the propositions and ideological positions of the text), interpreting interpretation (showing the interaction between text and texture), and explaining (the two-way effect of structures on discourse and discourse on structures).

Data analysis

This article refers to some of the statements made by Khamenei and Trump about JCPOA, which after compiling the relevant speeches, were analyzed based on the Fairclough model in three levels of description, interpretation, and explanation.

Analysis of two lectures at the description's level

Linguistic structures and discursive structures have political and sociological functions. Using or not using them or changing and transforming them in another way in a statement or text causes different interpretations of the statement, obscuring the subject. Conversely, the text should be more explicit, and one part of the statement should be highlighted, and the other part should be in the margin. Therefore, words and phrases are also considered as discourse structures; the most essential discourse structures in the words of the Iranian leader and the US president related to JCPOA are:

Description of the speech of the President of the United States

- *As President of the United States, I do not accept this agreement.*
- *I will cancel the US partnership in JCPOA whenever I need to, as the United States president.*

The phrase "*I am President of the United States*" in the above two sentences means pretending that Trump is the highest power in the United States and wants to show his audience the importance of his position as the highest political power in American society.

- *I ordered them to conduct a strategic review about Iran. This is a complete review, and I will announce our strategy with a few steps to be taken.*

The grammatical sentences, both direct and indirect, are mostly uttered by the country's first official, Trump, who again wants to instill in the listeners the superior relationship and the sense of superiority of the first person of the country.

- *I do not confirm Iran's adherence to JCPOA.*

This is not acceptable to the President of the United States.

- *Our policy is that Iran never acquires a nuclear weapon.*

We impose severe sanctions on the IRSG. (SEPAH)

- *Since the implementation of JCPOA, Iran's aggression in the region has increased, and it has pursued its missile program*
- *Iran does not allow inspectors to inspect sensitive military locations.*

By undermining the global security document, Trump has sent a message to the world about the dangers of engaging with the United States, which raises more fears in the world than the threatening gesture it has taken so far. Trump uses many negative words in his speech and makes the listeners perceive the negative meaning and idea of it, which shows the negation of the behavior and decision of the country's first power. Even positive ideas come to the fore in such a negative context.

- *We will work with our partners to prevent the country from supporting terrorism and producing threatening weapons under the new strategy.*
- *-After 9/11, Iran became a safe haven for terrorists, including bin Laden's son.*

In some words, Trump demonstrates Iran's power well and shows the world that the United States intends to confront that power. Trump also uses some verbs, such as relationships and the hierarchy of power, to show that he is setting the stage for events in an unexpected way and out of the ordinary. In his speeches, Trump tries to articulate the relationship between power and superiority and inferiority by explicitly expressing these actions. Non-relational verbs, in most cases, refer to an action, and moving from one subject to another makes the speech more dynamic, which is essential from the point of view of speech analysis.

Description of the speech of the Iranian leader

- *-America's very evil regime was called "the great devil" and "the major evil" in our late Imam's genuinely correct words.*

From the very beginning of the speech, the Supreme Leader of Iran tries to show to the listener that in this speech, we will face a confrontation in the realm of existence, such as a confrontation between suffering and happiness, death and life, war and peace, and so forth. Documenting Ayatollah Khamenei's speech referring to Imam Khomeini, repeating the word "devil" and using the two emphatic adjectives "great" and "major" are among the verbal strategies for influencing the audience in this sentence.

- *The American system, the agent of the dangerous and evil network of international Zionism, is the enemy of independent nations and the cause of most wars in the region and the world, and like leeches, seeks to suck the rich and poor of nations.*

By showing the perpetrator of these talks, the Iranian leader wants to show this country's uncertainty and indecision and its leaders. On the other hand, war causes unrest and lawlessness in society, precisely what the United States intends to do. By choosing long thought words, the Iranian leader informs the audience of the United States' plight and tries to portray this atmosphere of encouragement and concern.

- *The Iranian people and officials should not fall asleep and neglect because in this case, they will ambush us, and we will be looted.*

The Supreme Leader of Iran tries to keep the discourse of solidarity and the ruling religion and ideology in mind.

- *Our enemy is quite angry and deeply concerned about Iran's transformation from a "backward dependent country" into an "effective, influential country with increasing political defense and scientific authority."*

Ayatollah Khamenei called the political dependency very dangerous and pointed to the complete severance of Iran's dependence on the United States. His speech was in the presence of Iranian students, and also the outline of the lecture was about JCPOA and the people; The tone of the words used in this lecture was more formal and explicit. The clarity of the sentences in the speech was more formal and transparent. The clarity of the sentences in the Iranian leader's speech shows his complete mastery of the situation. In this meeting, regarding the nation's political non-dependence, they emphasized that the enemy is observing the Islamic Republic of Iran's activities and developments and is quite angry and worried about Iran becoming an influential country with increasing power.

- *The stupidity of the American president should not cause us to ignore the enemy's recurrence and conspiracy and despise it, but we should all be on the scene with prudence, vigilance, and full readiness.*

The Supreme Leader sees the root cause of all-American politicians' behavior in their irrationality and attributes them such as assassinations and economic sanctions; therefore, he invites the internal forces to think and reflect. Besides, he warns of the conspiracies and tricks that the United States has committed and will continue to commit against Iran and call for vigilance.

Analysis of two lectures at the level of interpretation

Trump's discourses have a history and depend on historical collections. "Accepting the intertextual context requires looking at the discourses of texts through the lens of historical perspective". The value of textual features is found only by incorporating them into social interaction; Therefore, paying attention to the text alone is not enough. Accordingly, assumptions that value the textual properties are generated and interpreted. In interpreting the text, a combination of the text's contents and the mentality (background knowledge) of the interpreter is used. According to Fairclough, the domains of textual, contextual interpretation, such as intertextual contexts, correspond to prior consciousnesses, such as social systems and historical interactions. In this section, the common ground of the intertextuality context in forming the text is examined with its commonality with the story's current discourse.

Interpretation of the speech of the President of the United States

- *-Iran's famous slogan is "Death to America" and "Death to Israel."*
- *The IRGC supports terrorism. I call on the Ministry of Treasury to put the IRGC on the list of terrorist groups and to sanction all those associated with it.*

This part of the speech is about internal and external conflicts; What he shows in this dialog is an attempt for discourse based on power and authoritarianism based on popular discourse; that

is the dominance of the superior and the inferior, which is evident in all parts of this speech. Trump calls on the international community to accept that Iran is a sponsor of terrorism.

- *Iran imprisons our citizens for illusory reasons and carries out cyber attacks against us.*
- *We do not confirm Iran's commitment to JCPOA.*

This discourse is the result of a kind of personal reckoning and his hostile view since it is contrary to reality. Most importantly, the subject matter is the thought that dominates the speech that Trump is delivering, and in this way, his thoughts and ideas can be understood, while the other JCPOA countries reaffirmed Iran's adherence to its commitments.

- *The worst aspect of this agreement was that we gave the money to Iran in advance.*
- *-Iran has violated the UN Security Council several times so far. For example, it produced more heavy water than allowed.*
- *-Iran has caused wars in Iraq, Syria, and Yemen.*
- *Iran is the number one sponsor of terrorism in the world.*
- *Iran does not allow inspectors to inspect sensitive military locations. It is even said that the country has nuclear cooperation with North Korea.*

It must be mentioned that Trump is using the term "Arabian Gulf" instead of "Persian Gulf" every time he talks about that region. Regarding the interpretation of the text, it should be said that Trump uses strong words to express his power and tries intensely to blame Iran in all matters. In fact, it is the result of a sort of settlement of Trump's personal account with Iran. His speech is full of hatred and violence, and he announced his new policy toward Iran. He called the Iranian nation terrorists and showed his hostility toward Iran and its history by distorting the name of the Persian Gulf, which even contradicts the consistent official positions of the US government and its military. Trump's use of the term was certainly not without any purpose. With this statement, he intended to show his full support for the Persian Gulf countries and at the same time to make Iran's role in the geopolitical and strategic equations of the region insignificant or secondary. In fact, the simple translation of Mr. Trump's words was: We prefer the Arab countries of the Persian Gulf to you.

- *Iran received nearly \$ 2 billion in cash by plane from the previous US administration.*
- *We will work with our partners to prevent the country from supporting terrorism and producing threatening weapons under the new strategy.*

The delay in the overt and covert links of Trump's remarks paves the way for the analysis of common political currents and seeks to instill in his audience some of the characteristics of Iranians and the Head of the Iranian state (Iran's leaders) as well as those around him.

Interpretation of the speech of the Supreme Leader of Iran

The Iranian leader, using his direct experiences from previous events and indirect reference to the type of relationship between Iran and the United States before the Islamic Revolution, has shown the impact of his findings:

- *The United States has lost Iran as a "subordinate, obedient, and very profitable" country.*
- *The role model of Iran in nations' minds causes more anger and despair of the hegemons.*
- *-In the last forty years, the Iranian nation has proved to the world that it is possible not to be afraid of superpowers, to stand against them, and despite sanctions and pressures, to achieve increased growth and progress.*

Ayatollah Khamenei attributed Trump's anger to the fact that after the Iranian revolution, the United States realized that it had lost one of the most powerful countries in the region. The United States is angry and upset over Iran's activities in Muslim countries. According to him, violence and fear are two crucial elements in this regard. And he points out at the huge capacities inside Iran that the officials should not be unaware of because otherwise, dependence and backwardness will rule the country's economy.

- *Nevertheless, we must all pay attention to one crucial point, and that is the necessity of knowing the enemy because any nation that does not know its enemies and considers him a friend or a neutral will indeed be threatened and endangered.*

Ayatollah Khamenei called Iran's role model in the minds of nations a cause of further frustration and despair for the hegemons. According to the Iranian leader, the United States President has shown "stupidity," but he stressed that the "trick" of the United States should not be ignored. He assured the people that this time, too, the United States would be "attacked" by the Iranian people.

- *-Any wrongdoing from the United States regarding the nuclear deal will be answered severely.*

This shows the power and authority of the Iranian leader and knowing all the dimensions of JCPOA. In this meeting, Ayatollah Khamenei expressed and emphasized excellent words and recommendations, such as complete cessation of dependence on the United States, not paying attention to the American press's tricks and tricks.

- *We will not tear the JCPOA until the other side tears it first, but if they tear the agreement, we will tear it to pieces.*

This Iranian leader's speech shows that JCPOA was not entirely in the Iranian favor, but it also had nevertheless benefited. However, the Iranian leader's words show the sincerity and correctness of the Iranian people; that is, the world no longer pays attention to the United States, and many countries take a stand against Trump and support Iran.

Analysis of both speeches at the level of explanation

In itself, the interpretation stage does not express the relations of power and domination and the ideologies embedded in the presuppositions, as mentioned earlier, to turn ordinary discourse actions into a scene of social struggle. To achieve this goal, the setting stage is necessary. At this stage, the analyst analyzes the text as part of the social struggle within the power relations. In passing from the stage of interpretation to the stage of explanation, it is not useless to pay attention to the fact that using various aspects of background knowledge as

interpretive methods in producing and interpreting texts will lead to the reproduction of this knowledge, which has a side effect for discourse participants. It is unwanted and unconscious. This is true in production and interpretation. Reproduction links the various stages of interpretation and explanation because while interpretation focuses on how to use contextual knowledge in discourse processing, explanation deals with the social underpinnings and changes in contextual knowledge and its reproduction during discourse action. (Fairclough: 215– 245).

Explanation of the speech of the United States' President

- Since the implementation of JCPOA, Iran's aggression in the region has increased, and it has pursued its missile program.
- Iran has entered into lucrative deals with countries that have signed the UN Security Council.

In his speech, he tries to acquaint his audience with the so-called political tricks of Iran.

- The more we ignore the Iranian threat, the more dangerous it will become.

Trump's remarks are a testament to the deteriorating situation and show that he has not had a critical spirit; Although Trump, as President of the United States, should have this quality, he is constantly trying to take revenge on Iran in his speeches.

- The Hezbollah terrorist group has bombed our embassy twice so far.
- We will impose very stubborn sanctions against the Islamic Revolutionary Guard Corps.
- The IRGC supports terrorism. I call on the Ministry of Treasury to list the IRGC as a terrorist group and sanction all those associated with it.

In the meantime, the speaker's ideology (Trump) finds particular importance in pointing the arrow at the IRGC in describing and examining the unsettled situation, which shows that no one in Iran is safe from Trump's aggression and indifference. Only with these angry words did he show his inner turmoil and disorder.

Interpretation of the speech of the Supreme Leader of Iran

- I am sure that you, the youth, will face a much better, more advanced, and more orderly Iran.

The Supreme Leader of Iran considers the current situation and the country's orientation as the best opportunity for the youth to increase their faith, scientific efforts to progress and solve problems. Despite its brilliant history in science, our country, unfortunately, fell behind the caravan of science during the domination of foreigners, and this backwardness must be compensated. He considers scientific progress as the basis of the country's authority, emphasizes this point, and does not want the West to dominate Iran.

- Let everyone know for sure that this time too, the United States will lose the revolutionary nation of Iran.
- Today, we should not raise issues that if, for example, we do not agree on a particular topic, this and that will happen. This is one of the inductions intended by the enemy, and we must understand our interests and not hear it from the enemy, regardless of these inductions.

Discourses produced, reproduced, and constructed in these conditions move in the direction of the space to which they belong. Even as mentioned, anti-violence discourse is expressed here and repeated many times to prove its existence. In the words of the Supreme Leader of Iran, society should know that the other side is not a significant figure and should not be given value and weight, taken seriously, which means that his threats have no value and are not worth buying among Iranians. Therefore, focusing too much on Trump's speech and trying to respond to him puts the Iranian nation on the defensive.

- Missile power must increase to the blindness of the enemy every day.
- This shows that the attitude of the Iranian leader in the analysis of political and international issues is deep and profound.

Conclusion

With the help of Fairclough's theory, discourse and political applications that play a role in text production can be identified, and critical linguistic awareness can be achieved. The Critical Discourse Analysis (Fairclough) approach shows how a communication event (Trump's speech and Ayatollah Khamenei's speech) serves the ruling or opposing discourse by providing an accurate and detailed analysis of the text produced. The results showed that ideology and power were more prominent in Ayatollah Khamenei than in Trump. The results also showed that verbs and nouns are the most common expressions of power relations and ideology in the speeches of the two countries' leaders. This article at the three levels of analysis shows a direct relationship between political ideology and harm, and the leaders of each country have tried to use their language skills to explain their political views. This study has shown that there is a relationship between language use and political relations. In addition to the formability of political relations, there is reciprocity, and language can be a useful tool in shaping power relations and political interactions.

However, both leaders' political language not only did not help solve the problems of the two parties but also left the atmosphere of dialogue and negotiation deadlocked. The results of this article show that both leaders know in their speeches that JCPOA is a fragile agreement between the two enemies, not a friendship agreement that both leaders referred to in their speeches. The verbal disputes between the two leaders of JCPOA plunged them into the abyss, and in fact, after the withdrawal of the United States from it, it caused a lot of economic losses to the Iranian people. At one point, the United States even dragged Iran to the brink of war by killing Qassem Soleimani, a high-ranking IRGC military commander. Thus, the political language of both sides was very sharp and devoid of diplomatic literature.

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