

# ARGUMENT IN AMERICAN AND BRITISH POLITICAL DEBATES: A PRAGMATIC ANALYSIS

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## ABSTRACT

*Political debates of two politicians constitute a potential field of investigation in pragmatics. The present paper undertakes to tackle such investigation by exploring the functionality of Toulmin's theory of arguments used by the two politicians in political debates. The problem is that people of different languages communicate with each other in their everyday life discussions via different kinds of argumentation .They argue to express their thoughts, desires, beliefs...etc. Sometimes ambiguity may arise when applying those arguments in political debates and speeches regarding the fact that these debates and speeches are considered as acts of communication between the sender and the general public. In political debates, politicians sometimes use argument implicitly, so it causes an ambiguity. Thus, analyzing the discourse according to the pragmatic meaning behind such speeches can solve this ambiguity .So According to this problem, the research seeks to answer these questions: In presidential debates, how do the politicians exploit all the available linguistic means to achieve their aims and persuade the audience? How they use their power of speech and arguments to convince the listener that each one of them is the best one to save the lives of his people ?*

*There are two political debates of arguments, one has done by the American president Barack Obama's debate and the other by the British prime minister David Cameron . Both of them arguing about the chemical weapons arsenal that are used by Bashar Al-Assad, the president of Syria during the war in 2013 in Syria. This study is limited to the investigation of the arguments of the two political debates that held in 2013, the former debate is held in September, 10 and the latter in August, 29 .The core point among the Toulmin's model of argumentation and its six component types is that the general intended aim of them is to convince or persuade the audience in order to accept the speaker's arguments*

*This research aims mainly at identifying the role of argumentation of claim, , grounds, warrant, qualifier, rebuttal, and backing in political debates. It also aims to explore the different kinds of Toulmin's model of argumentation in the American and British political debates. Also it is Investigating how the discussants in these debates tend to employ the Toulmin's argument . This paper is hypothesized that there are some motivations or reasons that motivate the two politicians to use argument in their political debates. There is a pragmatic strategy utilized in political debates. The most frequent components of Toulmin's model that will be use in the speech of both politicians is the claim and warrant and the less frequent level among the components is backing. To achieve*

*the aims of this study, the following procedures are adopted: firstly, presenting a survey of the relevant literature on argumentation theory and its model respectively. Secondly, developing a model as a tool for the analysis of argumentation in the political debates. Thirdly, Conducting a selection of data representative of the American president Obama and the British prime minister Cameron. Fourthly, discussing the results of the analysis. Finally, drawing a conclusion to this paper.*

*The analysis of this study that is adopted from Toulmin's model of argument which reveals that the most frequent components in both American and British political debates are warrant and claim beside the grounds in Cameron's second speech. In Obama's first speech the claim is 17% and the warrant is 25% the other components has approximation percentages. In the second speech of Obama, the claim is 18% and the warrant 46%. In Cameron's first speech the claim is 20% and the warrant is 30%,but in the second speech the claim has the less frequent level that is 11 % and the warrant 33. 5% and the ground is 22.5%.*

## 1. INTRODUCTION

What are the most common ways for people to express themselves? How do we respond to someone who is attempting to provoke us? These are issues that contemporary democracies face – fact, it is a feature of today's democracy that citizens have opinions and attitudes on a wide variety of ideological issues Billig (1991). Broadcast political debates are one of the most visible and highly discussed forums in which these concerns arise. These discussions could be considered as an example of democracy in action. These debates are widespread in today's media, and seeing politicians argue for or against a certain issue is a staple of political television programming. Hamble (2005:1) asserts that arguing is "*something that we do every day almost with every one we know.*" The question is why do we use argumentation? Argumentation is used at home, for example, when discussing and arguing with relatives and friends. We also see argumentation in society, such as when politicians debate and argue, as well as at universities, where we are constantly informed how vital arguments are? In response to this issue, a quote by author Christopher Buckley illustrates the significance of arguments, stating that "*the beauty of arguments if you are argue correctly you're never wrong*". According to Eemeren et al.(1996:1), argumentation is "a mental and verbal activity whose function is to get certain convictions, evaluations, or decisions by the use of arguments. It is that kind of discourse which is utilized to convince the listeners to act or think according to the speaker's desire" .

A good arguments should consist the following elements that are based on Toulmin's model for argumentation ; a *claim, a warrant, a data, a backing, a rebuttal, and a qualifier*. For this research, the analyzed debates are the addresses of presidential in America and Britain to analyze their arguments in political debates. Thus, theoretical background on argumentation theory is included in this study. It begins with a general introduction of this theory before demonstrating how argumentation theory might be linked to pragmatics followed by a presentation of the most important Toulmin's theory of argument that can be used in any type of argumentation. After that presenting an idea about political debates by presidential and whether they are true or not, or if they

are convinced or affected the listener or not . Then, presenting the Toulmin's model for argumentation and analyzing the data. In the addition to the discussion of the results.

## 2. LITERATURE REVIEW

Argumentation theory is an international essential field that is a part of humans' everyday routine; it is involved in their actions and can be expressed virtually in all written and spoken verbal communications that are complementary aspects of ordinary dialogues, i.e. Argument .To put it another way, people argue endlessly, even on the most issues they defend or react to. i.e., "*it is omnipresent everywhere and all day*" Eemeren et al (2014: 1). This research discusses the political debates of two presidents Obama and Cameron. The argumentation theory in political debates will be analyzed by reference to pragmatic .Pragmatic is "the study of language usage" Levinson ( 1983, p. 5(

In this paper, the definition of debates is given by Freely and Steinberg (2009: 6), a debate refers to "the way of arguing or advocacy in order to arrive at a reasoned judgment about a standpoint". It is a communication event in which people discuss important issues in order to reach an agreement through argumentation. Arguments in debates are designed to sway the opposing party's decision or persuade others (the audience) to agree with the arguer's point of view .

In this paper, the political argument will be explained. The distinction will be made in this paper between argumentation and argument. The relation between pragmatics and argumentation will be also discussed. In this study, the definition political debate will be explained. After that, Toulmin's model for argumentation and the six component parts will be adopted in the analysis of the data in this research . Then, this study will discuss the methodology which is including the results of the analysis and the discussions.

### 2.1 Argumentation Theory

Argumentation theory contains two main dimensions: argumentation as a process and argumentation as a product, with the product one referred to as an argument. To better understand argumentation theory, it is helpful to begin by distinguishing the two ideas as follows :

#### 2.1.1 Argumentation

Argumentation is derived from the Latin term 'argumentatio,' which has been researched by a number of scholars, each of whom offers their own interpretation and definition of the term.

Eemeren et al. (1996:5)state that as " a verbal activity, argumentation means" that the participants who are engaged in argumentation use language in order to form question , deny something , respond to statements and so on". At the same time, argumentation may include the use of nonverbal manifestations of communication such as gestures, facial expressions, and so on, but not to the point of completely replacing verbal means with nonverbal ones, because there is no arguing without language.. By social activity, Eemeren et al. (1996:2) mean that " in principle argumentation is

directed to other people" . A debate between interlocutors, whether individuals or groups, reveals the social nature of arguments .

Furthermore, there is a point of view concerning a given topic inside argumentation, and when this viewpoint is different or thought to be different, the necessity for argumentation arises.i.e .,The first spark of debate is the notion that the arguer's point of view is arguable or cannot be accepted. In other words, various people have various perspectives, and these differences are important in arguing because they come into play when someone starts defending his or her own point of view, which is not shared by other. (ibid:3)

### 2.1.2 Argument

The name "Argument" is derived from the Latin word "Argumentum," which many scholars believe has many meanings. As a result, O'keefe (1977: 121) distinguishes between "argument 1" and "argument 2" to capture the senses of arguments. Argument 1 refers to "some form of utterance or communicative act." Commands, promises, cautions, invites, orders, and so on are examples of what individuals say or do. Argument 1 is visible in statements like (He made an argument), and it works whether we talk about legitimate or disproved arguments, according to O'Keefe .

Argument 2, on the other hand, refers to "a specific type of engagement" that can be grouped into different types of interactions such as quarrels, heart-to-heart conversations, sessions, and so on. As a result, it is something that people are interested in. The term "argument" is used in this context in phrases like (They had an argument). (ibid).

### 2.1.3 Argumentation and Argument

Between argumentation and argument, a coherent relationship can be detected. The study of one phrase will lead to the study of the other, and many scholars will show the relationship as follows:

According to Johnson(2000:31)"argument is " a component of the practice of argumentation". In his turn, Hample (2005:xi) asserts that "argumentation is the study of arguments". Walton (2006: 1-2) states that the word "argumentation denotes the dynamic process of connecting arguments together for some purpose in a dialogue" . After that, Eemeren et al.(2014:5) proceed that "Argumentation is a communicative and interactional act complex consisting of a functional combination of communicative moves". These communicative moves represent arguments .

## 2.2 Pragmatics

The simplest definition of pragmatics says that it is "*the study of language usage*" (Levinson: 1983, p. 5), It includes the study of:

- a) How knowledge of the real world affects the understanding and knowledge of utterances.
- b) how Speech acts are used and understood by speakers.
- c) how the relationship between the speaker and the hearer affects the structure of sentences.

Additionally, Pragmatic is" the study of the use of language in communication, particularly the relationships between sentences. At present, no coherent pragmatic theory has been achieved, mainly because of the variety of topics, it has to account for – including aspects of deixis, conversational implicature, presuppositions, speech acts and dis course structure". Crystal (2008)

Furthermore, Yule (1996: 3) provides a more expansive interpretation. He emphasizes three key points. First , pragmatics is the study of the meaning of a speaker. It is concerned with the study of how a speaker (or writer) communicates meaning and how a listener interprets it (or reader). Second, Pragmatics is the study of context meaning, which entails interpreting what the speaker says. What it means in a specific context, as well as how the context effects what is stated. Then there's the question of how speakers organize what they want to say based on who they're speaking to, where they're speaking, when they're speaking, and how they're speaking. Third, pragmatics is the study that explores how the unsaid is recognized as a part of what is communicated. It explores how a listener can make assumption about what is said in order to arrive at an interpretation of the speaker's intended meaning. Lastly, pragmatics is the study of the relationship between linguistic forms and the user of those form. In a summary, pragmatics is the study of how people communicate through language. It is concerned with how people use language in different contexts and why they use it in certain ways.

### **2.2. 1 Pragmatics and Argumentation**

In recent decades, philosophical disciplines such as logic have held a historic primacy in the study of argument. This dominance made probing argumentation a hostile environment for pragmatics, but recent developments in argumentation studies, fallacy theory, and informal logic provide the first spark for pragmatics to research argumentation by assuming that pragmatics. Thus it is essential to go beyond logic specifically to the territory of pragmatics in order to study argument (Cummings (2005:163).

However, the strong relationship between pragmatics and argumentation is that of many aspects. According to Verschueren (1999:29) pragmatics" is the study of language use" and Many academics believe that in order to identify some crucial and specialized characteristics of argumentation, it is critical to consider language use. Pragmatics is a topic that encompasses various aspects of the usage of natural language and the dialogical framework in which real-world reasoning takes place. It looks into how language works in real-life situations as a complicated sort of behavior that generates meaning. Simply expressed, pragmatics is the study of the most successful aspect in arguing, which is the use of language, because there is no argumentation in ordinary life without it. Eemeren and Budzynska(2014:3)

Furthermore, pragmatics investigates the speaker's intended meaning and how the listener interprets it, therefore arguing in ordinary life is a topic of pragmatics. A speaker who makes a claim that is supposed to be an argument is responsible not just for the truth and presupposition of the claim, but also for the implicit premises that make the claim a rational argument. Becker and Becke,(2012:257-8 ).

Then, all of these connections between pragmatics and argumentation, or human activity with words, have helped to establish argumentation as a distinct speech act that can be discovered in a language user's verbal communication.

### 3. DEBATES

According to Freely and Steinberg (2009: 6), "a debate refers to the way of arguing or advocacy in order to arrive at a reasoned judgment about a standpoint" . It is a communication event where individuals discuss significant matters in the aim of getting the same decision through arguments. The arguments in debates are intended to influence the decision of the other party or bring others (the audience) to the arguer's way of thinking.

Moreover, Kaid and Bacha (2008:41) assert that " a debate is a subset of argumentation limited to the utilized of the verbal linguistic communication" .It contains the decision-making process that has a definite end, which is represented by the image of the arguer in the critics' or audience's eyes. Within debate, one can discover an actual battle or even a boxing ring where the goal of the debaters is to knock out each other, rather than focusing on logical arguments, which is more essential to them. The debaters spend a lot of time preparing for this term. Arroyo (2003: 397).

Freely and Steinberg (2009:19) classify debates into two broad categories. These are applied debates and academic debates. Speakers (arguments) in applied debates have a special interest in various types of propositions, issues, and themes, whereas speakers (arguments) in academic debates have an academic interest in the propositions. In contrast to academic debate, which is performed in front of teachers, advocates, audience, or judges with no direct authority to make a choice regarding the argument, applied debate involves judges and audiences with the potential to give practical responses to propositions, questions, and subjects.

#### 3.1 Political Debates

"A debate occupies an important role in society as it is involved in the military processes when the presidents provide their ideas to find a decision to end the war" Bahm et al( 2004:38). Political debate, which is a type of electoral debate, is an important part of the presidential election process because it allows voters to learn about the debaters' complicated personalities and perspectives regarding critical issues in the country, such as social problems, foreign policy, and so on. Political debate provides spectators with a good opportunity to witness both debaters discuss the same problems, making it a greater source of information than any other action during presidential election campaigns. Benoit ( 2001:1). Moreover, Bahm et al.(2004:15) state several factors that can be actors that can be identified in any public debate as follows:

**1.Controversy** , includes anything which is unsettled and need to be done such as a problem, a question , an issue....etc

**2.Opposition**, two or more discussants who have opposing opinions of the issue must be existed.

**3.Argumentation**, in the process of the defense or attack, the parties are committed to utilize arguments and support these arguments with reasoning and evidence.

**4.Engagement** , the debaters need to deal not only with their own views but also with the views of their opponents.

**5.Audience**, the presented argumentation must be equal to viewer's level of comprehension in order to gain their understanding and agreement.

### 3.2 Toulmin's Model

Toulmin's *use of argument*(1958) outlines the double nature of his model for argumentation. The Toulmin method is a technique of argumentation established by philosopher Stephen E. Toulmin that divides arguments down into six component parts: claim, grounds, warrant, qualifier, rebuttal, and backup. Every argument in Toulmin's approach starts with three key components: the claim, the premises, and the warrant.: **the claim, the grounds or data**, and the **warrant**

**A claim:** is the claim that authors want to persuade their readers to believe. It is, in other words, the most important aspect.

**\_The grounds :**An argument is made up of evidence and facts that support a claim

**.The warrant :**The assumption that connects the reasons to the assertion is either implied or declared explicitly. The other three components of a Toulmin argument—backing, qualifier, and rebuttal— are not fundamental to a Toulmin's argument and may be added as needed:



**Backing :** Any further warrant support is referred to as. Because the warrant is frequently implied, the backup provides support for the warrant by offering a specific example that justifies the warrant

**\_The qualifier :** demonstrates that a claim may not be true in all circumstances .

**\_The rebuttal:** a recognition of another valid point of view on the situation Toulmin (1958).

## 4. METHODOLOGY

### 4.1 Data Collection

The data of the current work includes two debates, American and British presidential debates. In this study, four political debates are selected from political debates of two presidential, one is American President Barak Obama's speech on Syria, held in September 10, 2013. and the other is the British president David Cameron' Syria Speech held in August,29, 2013. The selected debates are downloaded from the internet.

Political debates are real life situations which stir the most fateful matters for citizens. As a result political debates present useful area in which one can detect different aspects of argumentation that serve the aims of the current research. The data in its visual and written form has been downloaded from the official websites of the fortune staff :

1.<https://youtu.be/4g5DccEbTGA>

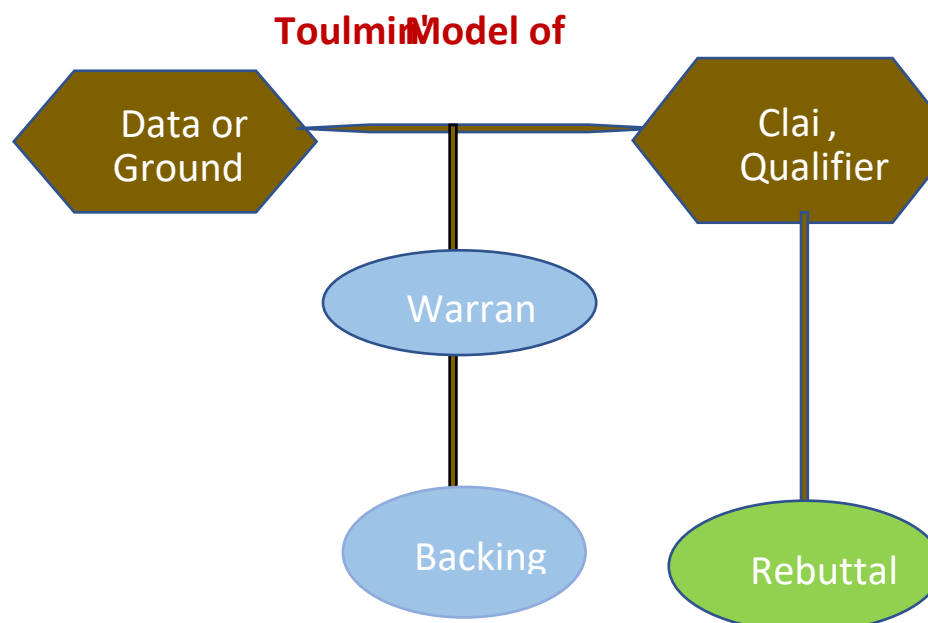
2.<https://youtu.be/iIFqMDEdOE4>

### 4.2 Data Analysis

The First Debate :

#### A-Obama 1

*“When dictators commit atrocities, they depend upon the world to look the other way until those horrifying pictures fade from memory, but these things happened. The facts can not be denied. The question now is what the United States of America and the international community is prepared to do about it? Because what happened to those people to those children is not only our security, let me explain why? If we fail to act, the Assad regime will see no reason to stop using chemical weapons. The ban against these weapons or roads other tyrants will have no reason to think twice about acquiring poison gas and using them over time. Our troops would again face the prospect of*





*chemical warfare on the battle field and it could be easier for terrorist organizations to obtain these weapons and use them to attack civilians, if fighting spills beyond Syria's borders. These weapons could threaten allies like Turkey, Jordan, and Israel and a failure to stand against the use of chemical weapons would weaken prohibitions against other weapons of mass destruction and embolden. Assad's ally Iran which must decide whether to ignore international law by building a unclear weapon or to take a more peaceful path”.*

*Obama's argumentation breaks down into six component types of Toulmin's model :*

**Claim:**

*“ we fail to act, the Assad regime will see no reason to stop using chemical weapons ” .*

In this debate Obama's main argument or claim is that Assad's usage of chemical weapons, despite international restrictions is a threat to US national security.

*“ These weapons could threaten allies like Turkey, Jordan, and Israel”*

Another argument is that the US allies in the region are also going to be threatened. Obama backs up that claim with the following grounds.

**Grounds:**

*“the Assad regime will see no reason to stop using chemical weapons ”.*

Obama provides points that if nothing is done Assad will keep using chemical weapons. And if this is the case, we're going to have other regimes that will seek their own chemical weapons and other forms of weapons of mass destruction such as the Iranian program to develop nuclear weapons.

*“Our troops would again face the prospect of chemical warfare on the battle field and it could be easier for terrorist organizations to obtain these weapons and use them to attack civilians, if fighting spills beyond Syria's borders”*

Obama states that there is a threat if this is unchecked, then there'll be easier access for terrorists to get their hands on chemical weapons.

There is a strong possibility that the war may spread beyond Syria to other parts of the Middle East and if weapon of mass destruction are used there, the US allies in the region are also going to be threatened. All of these various pieces of evidence that are being used to support the claim that Assad's usage of chemical weapons is regarded as a threat to national security.

**Warrant :** what do these things have to do with national security is the link that Obama provides it both explicitly and implicitly.

*“Our troops would again face the prospect of chemical warfare on the battle field”*

*“and a failure to stand against the use of chemical weapons would weaken prohibitions against other weapons of mass destruction and embolden”*

*“the use of chemical weapons would weaken prohibitions against other weapons of mass destruction and embolden”.*

Obama in this debate talks about the various kinds of threat, such as threats to US troops in the region, threats to civilians due to the expansion of conflict as well as the use of terrorist weapons and threats to US allies. All of these things constitute a threat to US national security. He does not say that, but it is implied by the way that he presents the evidence. The audience will get the idea through his speech that if Assad is going to keep using these weapons that's going to threaten US troops and civilians as well as a threat to national security. Therefore, Assad's use of these weapons is a threat to a national security.

### **Backing :**

*“ it could be easier for terrorist organizations to obtain these weapons and use them to attack civilians, fighting spills beyond Syria's borders ”*

In this speech, Obama tries to say that terrorist organizations represent threats to national security risk US lives and resources, it's destabilizing the region and the chemical weapons exposure the life of people in danger. These specifies about the nature of the threats to national security that provides evidence to back up the warrant.

*Rebuttal : “If we fail to act, the Assad regime will see no reason to stop using chemical weapons ”*

*“These weapons could threaten allies like Turkey, Jordan, and Israel”* The president Obama clarifies that if the government fail to act to solve the disaster of chemical weapons, the Assad regime will see no reason to stop using these. The result will be killing the children and the people who live there or live in the surrounding regions of Syria .

### **Qualifier :**

*“Assad's ally Iran which must decide whether to ignore international law by building a unclear weapon or to take a more peaceful path . ”*

This speech tell us about Obama's sense of how the claim is he determined true after saying that Iran,the ally of Assad must determine whether or not to break international law by developing an undeclared weapon that make disasters in the same region or across the boundaries of Syria, such as Jordan and Turkey or to take a more peaceful path to save the lives of citizens. So whether his claim is true or false depending on his ideas about Assad's use of chemical weapons in Syria.

### **Obama: 2**

*“This is not a world we should accept this is what's at stake, and that is why after careful deliberation. I determined that it is in the national security interest of the United States to respond to the Assad regime 's use of chemical weapons to a targeted military strike. That's my judgment as a commander – in-chief, but I 'm also the president of the world 's oldest constitutional democracy. So even though I possess the authority to order military strikes. If I believed it was right in the absence of a direct or imminent threat to our security to take this debate to congress. I believe our*

*democracy is stronger when the president acts with the support of the congress and I believe that America acts more effectively a broad when we stand together. This is especially true after decade that put more and more war-making power in the hands of the president and more and more burdens on the shoulders of our troops. while sidelining the people 's representatives from the critical decisions about when we use force”.*

**Claim:**

*“I determined that it is in the national security interest of the United States to respond to the Assad regime 's use of chemical weapons to a targeted military strike” .*

*“our democracy is stronger when the president acts with the support of the congress ”*

Then the president Obama asserts that he determined that with a targeted military strike, the US should respond to Assad's misuse of chemical weapons. He also claims that when the president acts with the support of Congress, democracy is strengthened.

**Grounds :**

*“it is in the national security interest of the United States to respond to the Assad's regime 's use of chemical weapons to a targeted military strike”.*

Assad's continuing use of chemical weapons, despite UN laws, represents a risk to US national security .

**Warrant :**

*“ This is not a world we should accept this is what's at stake”*

*“That's my judgment as a commander – in-chief, but I' m also the president of the world 's oldest constitutional democracy. ”*

*“I believe our democracy is stronger when the president acts with the support of the congress ”*

*“and I believe that America acts more effectively a broad when we stand together” .*

*“This is especially true after decade that put more and more warmaking power in the hands of the president”*

This is not the world we should accept, Obama declares. As president, he has the right to command military strikes, and he has made that decision. When the president acts with the assistance of Congress, and the American people or citizens act more effectively as a whole, democracy will be strengthened. But Assad's misuse of chemical weapons makes the surrounding areas with Syria in a risk and also these weapons are regarded as a threat to the United States national security.

**Backing :**

*“Assad regime 's use of chemical weapons to a targeted military strike . ”*

The continued usage of Assad's chemical weapons represents a threat to US national security forces and government power .

**Rebuttal :**

*“my judgment as a commander – in-chief, but I'm also the president of the world's oldest constitutional democracy. So even though I possess the authority to order military strikes” .*

president Obama establishes that when he wanted to make the decision to engage in the military strike, he did not just make the decision, but he went to the congress and demands their support. He goes on to describe how even though, he's got the power to make the decision. It is important in a constitutional democracy to see that the civilians leadership has been consulted.

**Qualifier :**

*“I determined that it is in the national security interest of the United States to respond to the Assad regime's use of chemical weapons to a targeted military strike” .*

This speech tell us Obama's sense of how the claim that he is determined is true after careful deliberation. This means his talk about various kinds of threats to US national security support the truth of his claim or argument. He is not asserting this is true, but he gives many evidences that support his claim.

**The Second Debate :****B-Cameron: 3**

*“When I spoke to president Obama last week, I explained to him that because of the damage done to public confidence by Iraq. we would have to follow a series of incremental steps including at the United Nations build public confidence and ensure the maximum possible legitimacy for any action. These steps are all set out in the motion before the House today .One thing is indisputable the well of the public opinion was well and truly poisoned by the Iraq episode. We need to understand the public skepticism no action can be taken until. We have heard from the UN weapons inspectors until there's been further action at the United States and another vote in this House those are the conditions that we the British government, the British parliament are setting and I think it's absolutely right that we do so. Now I am not standing here and saying there's some peace or some pieces of intelligence that I've seen or I seen that the world won't see that convinces me that I'm right and anyone who disagrees with me is wrong. I'm saying this is a judgment. We all have to reach a judgment about what happened and who is responsible. Assad's use of weapons makes his policy strong” Claim:*

*“we would have to follow a series of incremental steps including at the United Nations build public confidence”*

*“and ensure the maximum possible legitimacy for any action ”*

*“all have to reach a judgment about what happened and who is responsible.”*

Cameron claims that the British government would have to take a succession of increasingly hard decisions, including at the United Nations, to regain public trust. He also asserts that the government

must ensure that any action taken by Assad is as legitimate as possible .He claims that he what he is saying is a mere judgment about what happened in the region and the responsibility of Assad for this destruction.

**Grounds:**

*“We have heard from the UN weapons inspectors until there's been further action at the United States”*

*“Now I am not standing here and saying there's some peace or some pieces of intelligence that I've seen or I seen that the world won't see that convinces me that I'm right and anyone who disagrees with me is wrong” .*

he supports his claim by saying that the British have heard from the UN inspectors of Weapons of Mass Destruction until there's been further action at the United States. He tries to convince the hearers that his role in government is not to say that he sees something that the world do not see, but his role to make a judgment about what happened around the world community.

**Warrant :**

*“Now I am not standing here and saying there's some peace or some pieces of intelligence that I've seen”*

*“ all have to reach a judgment about what happened and who is responsible”.*

what Cameron provides is both explicitly and implicitly. Here he links his strong argument with the evidence when he explains the concept of intelligence that he has reported to assert that the regime is responsible for Syria's disaster. Chemical weapons have been used by the regime again and again and on a large-scale.

**Backing :**

*“I'm saying this is a judgment” .*

He tries to convince the audience that what he is saying is not a matter of truth or falsity, but it is a matter of judgment about what happened in Syria and who is responsible for all of these things.

**Rebuttal :**

*“I am not standing here and say that I see that the world won't see that convinces me that I'm right and anyone who disagrees with me is wrong”*

He declares that he is not standing here to prove that his argument is true or false and he does not want someone to agree or disagree with him, but he wants to obtain the rights of oppressed people in Syria who they are under the bombing of chemical weapons .

*Qualifier : “ Assad's use of weapons makes his policy strong”*

This speech tells us Cameron's sense of what he says about the regime is true because Assad has an enormous arsenal weapons. The president tries to give diplomacy solution to ends this war. The use of chemical weapons arsenal actually help Assad to strengthen his political process.

#### **Cameron : 4**

*“I would put it to you that from all the evidence we have the fact that opposition don't have chemical weapons. The fact the regime do. The fact they've used it and they were attacking the error at the time. When people talk about escalation to me, the biggest danger of escalation is if the world community not just British, but American and other stand back and do nothing. Because I think Assad will draw very clear conclusions from that American President and I've discussions have been reported in the newspapers about potential military action. The American president would like to have allies alongside. The United States with the capability and with the partnership that Britain and America has. If you want entirely to dismantle or attempt to dismantle. Assad is happy going on killing his own people. Syria's weapons arsenal that would be an enormous undertaking that would involve ground troops or involve all sources that is not what is being proposed.”*

#### **Claim:**

*“When people talk about escalation to me, the biggest danger of escalation is if the world community not just British, but American and other stand back and do nothing” .*

Cameron's main argument in this debate that the biggest risk of escalation is if the world community not just British, but American and other stand back and do nothing and do not make a final decision against Assad's use of weapons arsenal in Syria.

#### **Grounds :**

*“I would put it to you that from all the evidence we have the fact that opposition don't have chemical weapons. The fact the regime do” .*

*“fact they've used it and they were attacking the error at the time” .*

The regime has used chemical weapons that is most likely responsible for attaching the errors during the war against opposition to regime so his WMDs is responsible for killing so many people and destroying houses and building in Syria and its boundaries. He gives evidence for his claim by saying that the opposition of the regime have no chemical weapons arsenal, but the fact that the regime has. Assad's use of weapons in the region .

#### **Warrant :**

*“I've discussions have been reported in the newspapers about potential military action” .*

*“Syria's weapons arsenal that would be an enormous undertaking that would involve ground troops”*

*“Assad is happy going on killing his own people”*

Cameron declares that he reported his discussions about Assad's regime in newspapers to assert his argument that the opposition of the regime have no chemical weapons , but the regime has the weapons arsenal that are used in potential military action. Assad, according to this argument, is willing to continue killing and maintaining his own people as part of his policy and the weapons could actually strengthen his political process .

### **Backing:**

*“Syria's weapons arsenal that would be an enormous undertaking that would involve ground troops or involve all sources that is not what is being proposed”.*

The prime minister tries to makes his argument true by arguing that using Weapons of Mass Destruction by Al-Assad would be a huge undertaking involving ground troops or all sources, which is not what is being proposed.

### **Rebuttal :**

*“we have the fact that opposition don't have chemical weapons. The fact the regime do” .*

Cameron acknowledges the fact that the regime have chemical weapons, but the opposition do not have.

*Qualifier : “the biggest danger of escalation is if the world community not just British, but American and other stand back and do nothing” .*

Cameron's arguments may not be true in all circumstances. For instance, he says that the biggest danger that is if the world community stand and do not attempt to end this war .His claim may not true because Assad's regime do not stop of using weapon against his people.

## **4.2 The Results and Discussions**

**Table 1: The Results of the Analysis in Obama's First Debate :**

<b>No.</b>	<b>The Six Component of Toulmin's Model</b>	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
<b>1.</b>	<b>Claim</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>17%</b>
<b>2.</b>	<b>Grounds</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>17%</b>
<b>3.</b>	<b>Warrant</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>25%</b>
<b>4.</b>	<b>Backing</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>7%</b>
<b>5.</b>	<b>Rebuttal</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>17 %</b>

<b>6.</b>	<b>Qualifier</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>17%</b>
	<b>Total</b>	<b>12</b>	<b>100%</b>

This table shows that that *warrant* is the most frequent component that is 25% in the first debate of the president Obama who talks about Syrian President Bashar Al-Assad' usage of chemical weapons arsenal during the war in Syria in September 10,2013. In the warrant, Obama discusses several threats, including those to US forces in the region, as well as threats to civilians in Syria and those who live near its borders.

Then the other components of Toulmin's model have the same degree of frequency, such as *claim*, *rebuttal*, *qualifier* and *grounds* 17%. The less degree of frequency is backing component 7%. In backing competence, Obama tries to say that terrorist organizations represent threats to national security risk US lives and resources.

**Table 2: The Results of the Analysis in Obama's Second Debate :**

<b>No.</b>	<b>The Six Components of Toulmin's Model</b>	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
<b>1.</b>	<b>Claim</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>18%</b>
<b>2.</b>	<b>Grounds</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>9%</b>
<b>3.</b>	<b>Warrant</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>46%</b>
<b>4.</b>	<b>Backing</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>9%</b>
<b>5.</b>	<b>Rebuttal</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>9%</b>
<b>6.</b>	<b>Qualifier</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>9%</b>
	<b>Total</b>	<b>11</b>	<b>100%</b>

In this table the *warrant* component also has the higher level of degree in frequency in Obama's political debate which is 46%. In warrant component, the American president tries to tell audience that when the president acts with the help of Congress, and the American people or citizens act more



effectively as a whole, democracy will be strengthened .The claim has repeated two times in Obama's speech and the percentage is 18%, one time when he argues that he determined that with a targeted military strike, the US should respond to Assad's misuse of chemical weapons. The other when he claims that when the president acts with the support of Congress, democracy is strengthened The less degree of frequency are rebuttal, grounds, qualifier and backing which have 9%.

**Table 3: The Results of the Analysis in Cameron's First Debate**

No.	The Six Components of Toulmin's Model	Frequency	Percentage
1.	Claim	3	30%
2.	Grounds	2	20%
3.	Warrant	2	20%
4.	Backing	1	10%
5.	Rebuttal	1	10%
6.	Qualifier	1	10%
	Total	10	100%

This table about the results of the analysis in the speech of British president David Cameron. His speech shows that the *claim* is the most frequent in the political debate which is 30%. In claim component, Cameron argues that in order to regain public trust, the British government will have to create a series of extremely difficult decisions, including at the UN. The grounds and warrant have the same level of frequency 20%, but the components which have less frequent in this political debates are rebuttal and qualifier 10%.

**Table 4: The Results of the Analysis in Cameron's second Debate :**

No.	The Six Components of Toulmin's Model	Frequency	Percentage
1.	Claim	1	11%

2.	<b>Grounds</b>	2	22.5%
3.	<b>Warrant</b>	3	33.5%
4.	<b>Backing</b>	1	11%
5.	<b>Rebuttal</b>	1	11%
6.	<b>Qualifier</b>	1	11%
	<b>Total</b>	9	100%

These results of analysis in Cameron's second speech show that the *warrant* is the most frequent component according to Toulmin's model of argument which is 33.5%. The warrant links the president's claim with the ground(evidence) when Cameron claims that he published his discussions with Assad's regime in newspapers to back up his claim that the government's opponents do not possess chemical weapons, but the regime does. Here, the claim has the less frequent level that is 11% like other components, as qualifier, rebuttal and backing. The second level of frequency is grounds (evidence and facts that support a claim are part of an argument.) 22.5%.

## CONCLUSION

The study has examined selected political debates as pieces of discourse with specific goals. Various types of arguments are employed by the two politicians, *Barak Obama* who is American president and *David Cameron* who is British prime minister. Both of them talk and make arguments in their debates about the chemical weapons arsenal and weapon of mass destruction that are used by Syrian president Bashar Al-Assad during the war in 2013. Both of politicians exploit all the available linguistic means to achieve their aims and persuade the audience by various means of arguments. For instance, Obama in his first speech tries to convince the audience by arguing that Assad's usage of chemical weapons, despite international restrictions is a threat to US national security and causing of killing his people in Syria.

This paper answers this question "How President use their power of speech and arguments to convince the listener that each one of them is the best one to save the lives of his people?" the two speeches of politicians clarify it. On the one hand, *Obama* in this debate talks about the various kinds of threat, such as threats to US troops in the region, threats to civilians due to the expansion of conflict as well as the use of terrorist weapons and threats to US allies. He tries to convince the audience that he is a good president and wants to save the life of people in Syria whereas he has a strong power and policy to put an end to the Bashar al-Assad regime without asking Bashar to stop the nuclear weapons.

The analysis of this study is adopted from Toulmin's model of argument. So the analysis of the four speeches in the political debates reveals that the speech is characterized by the use of the six components of Toulmin's model of argument, they are *claim, grounds, warrant, qualifier, rebuttal and backing*. The most frequent use in both political debates of the two presidents Obama and Cameron are *warrant*(the evidence that support the claim) and *Claim*(the main argument) components. The other components are less frequent level. Obama gives his argument towards Assad's regime by arguing that Assad's regime will see no reason to stop using chemical weapons if the government fails to act to solve the disaster. As a result, children and others who live there or in the adjacent areas of Syria will be killed. While Cameron also give his opinion by arguing that he is not here to prove that his position is correct or incorrect, and he does not want anyone to agree or disagree with him; rather, he is here to secure the rights of oppressed Syrians who are being attacked with chemical weapons.

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