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Candidacy Rhetoric in the Rise of The Donald and its Relation to Populist and Fascist Ideology

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Candidacy rhetoric in the rise of The Donald and its relation to Populist and Fascist ideology

Submitted to
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I. Abstract

This essay provides a comparison of Trump's rhetoric to fascist and populist ideology through an analysis and politolinguistic framing of the usage of apophasis, mesarchia, and pathos in Trump content spanning the first six months of his candidacy for the 2016 U.S. presidency seat. This account finds that Trump is decidedly Ur-Fascist or populist, and cannot be neither of the two, is likely both Ur-Fascist and populist, and leans more in favor of populist ideology given the analyses undertaken. This account ultimately aims to have supported critical discourse analysis (CDA) and politiolinguistics in support of these approaches as rigorous political tools, and to have encouraged the pursuit of political and civil awareness.

II. Acknowledgements

My foremost thanks extend to my reader, Aseema Sinha. Her unwavering patience throughout this process was invaluable.

I would like to also thank my parents – I would not be where I am today without them.

And to my friends and extended family across the globe: I adore and appreciate you.

III: Introduction

What is this account?

The year 2017 will undoubtedly be remembered throughout United States history for the election of the 45th President of the United States (POTUS): Donald Trump (DT, the Donald, Trump, DJT, and Donald). Born to the father of a real estate developer in 1946, Trump spent his earlier years attending private school in Queens New York before ultimately enrolling in the University of Pennsylvania's Wharton School of Finance and Commerce (Staff, 2). Trump returned afterwards to his father's business, was appointed its president in 1974, and spent the remainder of the 70's and 80's establishing himself as a real estate mogul in New York and around the world. Some of his most notable construction projects were the Grand Hyatt New York hotel and the now infamous Trump Tower (Staff, 3). Following bankruptcy and related business issues as a result of the early 90's economic downturn and real estate market slump, Trump was able to drive a financial comeback with the help of a revised business model and the support of a hit 2004 TV show entitled "The Apprentice" (Staff, 4). While continuing his work in real estate and deepening his network and ownership in the entertainment industry throughout the 2000's, Trump announced his formal candidacy for POTUS on June 16, 2015 (Staff, 7). The rest was history.

Now serving as the 45th POTUS, Trump has already begun to solidify his reputation and legacy as a world leader. However, beyond his infamous hairpiece or politically-charged resemblance to a "cheeto" (Judkis, 3), Trump's most defining and arguably memorable feature will be his rhetoric. This was evident even years before his political career; for example, with his catchphrase "You're fired!" from his television

show "The Apprentice". The catchphrase made TV Guide's "TV's 60 Greatest Catchphrases" (Clehane, 1) and is near indistinguishable from any mention of The Donald himself. A second example of his unforgettable rhetoric is his presidential candidacy slogan "Make America Great Again". More impressive than the red hats with the slogan on them often running out of stock is the blue dress American singer Joy Villa wore with the slogan stitched prominently across the front. Within hours of wearing the dress, sales of her album increased an astonishing 18,106,633% on Amazon (Saavedra, 1). These are only two examples, but they begin to show just how powerful and indelible his spoken word can be.

Most interesting on Donald Trump's rhetoric are the pervasive accounts, largely in media content, discussing Trump as a populist or fascist. These accounts pull out chunks of Trump's rhetoric, and sometimes mannerisms, to arrive at their individual conclusions; they propose arguments, however, standing on all sides of the table. In support of Trump as a fascist, examples include the Washington Post (Kinsley, "Donald Trump is actually a fascist"), Salon (Buric, "Trump's not Hitler, he's Mussolini…"), and countless others. In support of Trump not being a fascist, examples include The Guardian (Davidson, "Trump is no fascist…"), Medium (Parkins, "Trump is not a Fascist"), and a good bit more. Populism is quite the same. In support of Trump as a populist, there are sources like The New York Times (Alter, "'The Populist Exlosion'…"), Bloomberg (Wilkinson, "Why Donald Trump Really Is a Populist"), and many others. In support of Trump not being a populist, examples include CNN (Zelizer, "Wake up: Trump isn't…"), USA Today (Przybyla, "Democrats on Trump's…"), and a number of others. Of course there are more intermediary accounts on the topic as well. On Trump and fascism there is

Robert Paxton, "a leading authority on the history of fascism", who provided an interview on his thoughts regarding Trump – he concludes: "there are certainly some echoes of fascism, but there are also very profound differences" (Chotiner, 2). On Trump and populism there is Fred Harris, the "Godfather of Populism", who notes in an interview his rather ambivalent feelings on the matter: "Trump populism is really just demagoguery. It's not my kind of populism" (Linnett, 3).

As would seem evident, this is a very popular and unsettled topic area, which draws almost entirely on his spoken word to make claims. This account hopes to add substantive dialogue to the conversation, and is consequently, and particularly, interested in Trump's rhetoric; again, this is the source for claims, i.e. the ones mentioned above, regarding Trump as a fascist or populist. For that reason, this account focuses on the rhetorical devices he uses to increase speech and interview effectiveness and quality of message. Here, rhetorical devices are in essence "modes of persuasion" (Aristotle, 2). This account looks at three devices in particular: apophasis, mesarchia, and pathos. The basis for choosing these three in particular will be discussed later; in brevity, the reasoning is that these appear the foremost devices that media reports charge him with employing in speeches, dialogues, interviews, and when speaking more generally. In interest of the rise of Donald Trump, as the title of this account suggests, this qualitative analysis will explore the use of these devices in Trump content (speeches, etc.) in the first third (six months) of his presidential candidacy. This period spans the months June 2015 to November 2015.

To help contextualize the information garnered from this analysis, this section will conclude by employing the "politolinguistic approach" put forth in *Qualitative*

Discourse Analysis in the Social Sciences (Reisigl, 97). In summary, this approach combines rhetoric, political science, and linguistics to look more intently at how political discourses serve particular political functions (Reisigl, 99). To note is that this approach incorporates critical discourse analysis (CDA)—to which one of the editors of this book, Wodak, is a significant contributor—defined as the integration of "(a) analysis of text, (b) analysis of processes of text production, consumption and distribution, and (c) sociocultural analysis of the discursive event (be it an interview, a scientific paper, or a conversation) as a whole" (Fairclough, 23). This is a substantial field of study, sharing a similar aim in more comprehensively understanding discourse. A politolinguistic approach will be used in this account to provide a critical primer for the later discussions comparing Trump's rhetoric to populist and fascist ideology. This will conclude the information the first half of this thesis will provide: an account and politolinguistic framing of the usage of apophasis, mesarchia, and pathos in Trump content spanning the first six months of his candidacy for U.S. presidency.

In response to rampant claims of Trump as a populist or fascist, the second half of this thesis will use the politolinguistic analysis of the use of apophasis, mesarchia, and pathos in the selected Trump content to uncover any parallels between Trump's rhetoric and populist and fascist ideology. I argue that this will provide a better understanding of Trump's rhetoric; the aim is to add worthwhile qualitative analysis to the conversation on Trump's relation to populist and fascist ideology.

Literature review

Yet how recent Trump's candidacy and election were, there are a number of accounts that have aimed in a similar direction as this one. The first set of accounts, as

with this one, focus on analyzing the rhetoric and argumentation of Trump in samples of his content. One such account is The New York Times' analysis of 95,000 utterances from Donald Trump in an interest of uncovering patterns across them, identifying the rhetorical devices used, looking at his relationship to "demagogues of the past century", and more generally better understanding his rhetoric (Healy and Haberman, "95,000 Words, Many of Them…"). A second account is a rhetorical analysis from Delft University of Technology that looks at the way DJT frames his messages, posits what his followers hear because of those frames, and then explains why those frames are convincing and attractive to Trump's followers (de Bruijn, "Donald Trumps rhetoric…"). A third account from The Boston Globe focuses on Trump's inaugural speech, and performs a line-by-line analysis of the text; this elucidates the emotions Trump appealed to, the emotions Trump showed to the audience, and his use of vernacular as a means to send certain messages and assert certain arguments (Kingsbury, "An analysis of Donald…"). Time (Jordan, "Trump Annotated…") and The New York Times (Staff3, "Donald Trump's Inaugural…") take an almost identical approach in performing a rhetorical analysis of Trump's inaugural speech.

There are also qualitative discourse analyses outside of those performed on Donald Trump. The following two sample accounts are similar to this one, again, for undergoing rhetorical analyses of a politician. A classic example is the rhetorical analysis on Cicero's first speeches, which investigates the ways in which he secured his audience's attention and more technical methods of argumentation he employed as an orator (Solmsen, 544-551). Looking at a more modern politician, there is the rhetorical account on Ann Richards, who served as the 45th Governor of Texas from 1991 to 1995.

This account endeavors a case study of "contemporary feminine style" in her political discourse and finds that the form and content of her rhetoric "function to critique traditional grounds for political judgment"; the essay is thus notably relevant "for the development of a critical rhetoric" (Dow and Toon, 286). Dow and Toon's account is thus similar to this one for, hopefully, adding to the development of a more critical rhetoric.

A final set of examples is similar to this account in their aim to compare the rhetoric of a politician to populist ideology/rhetoric. The first is an account on George Wallace, the 45th Governor of Alabama: it's purpose was to "[draw] upon previous research on populist rhetoric to identify its essential characteristics and to demonstrate that Wallace used similar arguments in his political campaigns" (Rohler, 316), though it concludes that, "he was not so much a populist as a successful demagogue…" (Rohler, 322). A second account, on the side of fascism, looks at José Antonio Primo de Rivera; the text notes he relied heavily on rhetorical discourse to achieve his political aims. Interestingly, this account finds that his heavy use of fascist rhetoric "constrained his choice of the rhetorical elements that formed his message" (Hammerback, 181).

Of the literature in review, the earlier noted structure of this account will most resemble the approach of Rohler's piece on George Wallace; this account is a bit different though, in the direction of analysis drawn, and will diverge from that of Rohler's by: (1) comparing the politician's rhetoric to populist (and fascist) ideology, instead of rhetoric; and (2) employing the politolinguistic approach to engage CDA.

Why the account?

Every answer endeavored prompts the question: why endeavor it? This account seems meaningful for at least two reasons. The first is that any assertion of Trump as a populist, and particularly fascist, should require proper analysis and a foundation to substantiate the claim. As Robert Paxton states, fascism is "almost the most powerful epithet you can use. I guess child molester might be a little more powerful but not much" (Chotiner, 2). The point is that these are powerful and disgracing words, and it only seems fair that Trump be looked at holistically to understand whether or not he aligns with them.

The second reason this account is meaningful and worthwhile is because pursuing an understanding of the meaning and ideology behind what politicians say drives political awareness and helps us engage on a more informed basis. In his book *Media and Political Engagement*, Dahlgren states: "one of the most difficult problems facing Western democracy today is the decline in citizens' political engagement" (Dahlgren, iii). What his book investigates, though, are the ways in which new media and innovative platforms are reshaping the character of civic engagement. The argument and conclusion is that new "interactive electronic media" have incredible civic potential, and this account agrees. A report by the Pew Internet Project, of the famed Pew Research Center, reports that "20% of social media users have used the tools to follow elected officials and candidates for office", with that number increasing to 25% for younger social media users (Rainie et al., 5). Evidently, we are now, more than ever, at face with what our politicians are saying; anything a politician says is almost guaranteed to end up online, which is pushed to the sites and social media platforms we frequent. These forms of media have incredible potential for reshaping how and how much new generations engage politically

and civically, making it ever-crucial that we simultaneously pay heed to the content we receive. If, and we hope, this engagement rises, there is a necessity to best understand our politicians in the ways and new ways we will engage with them. The idea is to be the best political citizens we can be - this begins with better knowing who are politicians are and what they stand for.

Thus crucial to this account is the idea of political rhetoric. Reisigl defines the term well, making the distinction that the concept is essentially two parts: "rhetoric" and "the political" (Reisigl, 96). Rhetoric is "the practical science and art of effective or efficient speaking and writing in public"; the political is simply anything a politician does "in pursuance of their profession." When this account states it will analyze political rhetoric, it thus pursues "an analysis of the use of rhetorical means of persuasion by professional politicians" (Reisigl, 97).

IV: Rhetoric of the First "Trimester": A Politolinguistic Approach

This section first serves as an account and analysis of the usage of apophasis, mesarchia, and pathos in Trump content spanning the first six months of his candidacy for U.S. presidency. The concluding section will employ Reisigl's politolinguistic approach to provide a critical primer for the later discussions comparing Trump's rhetoric with fascist and populist ideology.

The content selected is derived from The Trump Archive, an online collection of 1056 pieces of content containing debates, speeches, rallies, and other broadcasts related to President-elect Donald Trump" (Kaplan, "Trump Archive"). This archive is a subset of the larger "Internet Archive". As mentioned previously, the featured selections highlight the rise of Donald Trump, and are thus selected from the first third of his candidacy (June 2015 – November 2015) - this account believes that early rhetoric in particular is crucial for a politician beginning to secure a voter base, which is of course invaluable for their winning their party's nomination and the presidential seat itself (hence "trimester").

The process of selecting content was in aims to analyze a diverse set of his rhetoric, as to provide a more comprehensive and holistic picture of what Trump says and intends his messages achieve. Content selection was thus staggered by view count (as of April 17, 2017): the June selection had the most Trump Archive views for that month, the July selection the least, August, the most, et cetera. It is easy to cherry-pick, or be intentionally selective in choosing, the content to analyze. This approach appeals to balance and scope by prioritizing analysis of both his mainstream and more "fringe" content.

There are two small notes to mention in seeking to review "legitimate" content: First, Trump must be the primary speaker in a given content candidate. This account centers on analyzing Trump, so the content it will utilize should do so as well. The threshold is Trump occupying >50% of audio/visual. This was an issue, for example, with the lead content candidate for July, which focused more intently on Secretary of Energy Rick Perry. Second, and perhaps obvious, a content candidate must be original Trump content. As an example, the June selection was Trump's presidential candidacy announcement event; one of the candidates for the July selection aired highlights and recaps of that event, deeming it unusable for this account.

Each selection is then reviewed for the use of apophasis, mesarchia, and pathos. To answer are: what are they, and why use these three?

The rhetorical device "apophasis" has its roots in the study and practice of philosophy, and can be traced back to the Neo-Platonists (Rhodes, 89). In more raw form, it means "denial or negation" and translates more literally, in Greek, to "not-forgetting". Harris's *A Handbook of Rhetorical Devices* provides a more formal definition, namely: it "asserts or emphasizes something by pointedly seeming to pass over, ignore, or deny it" (Harris, 27). He provides a clear example of this rhetorical device from Sophocles play *Antigone*: "if you were not my father, I would say you were perverse." The use of apophasis depends on the intent of the speaker, but can function to emphasize an important point or raise a more taboo or questionable argument or topic (among other functions).

The rhetorical device "mesarchia" has Biblical origins, and is defined as "beginning and middle repetition" (Bullinger, 2). Mesarchia thus functions to increase

clarity and implant a message by reminding and updating the listener of the topic or rhetoric used. The Brigham Young University "figures of speech" database provides a solid example of this device: "and they shall dwell in the land that I have given unto Jacob my servant, wherein your fathers have dwelt; and they shall dwell therein, even they, and their children…" (Rhetoricae, 1). Though there are arguably a few instances of repetition nearer the end of utterances analyzed in this account, this specific device seems most to define most instances of more general repetition.

The final rhetorical device is pathos (the pathetic appeal), perhaps first and likely best explored by Aristotle in *Rhetoric*. The clearest description is provided in context of pathos as a strategic communication tool, and it is defined as "an emotional appeal; an attempt to win over the audience by appealing to its emotions, often by telling a story or evoking a picture with which the audience can empathize" (Walker, 128). Gottweis adds to this conception in a separate account, in his chapter entitled *Rhetoric in Policy Making: Between Logos, Ehtos, and Pathos*. There he draws a case for what pathos rhetoric looks like "in action", and establishes the term "patho-centric performance"; this occurs when "the strategy of the speaking subjects emphasize the emotions of the audience in order to respond to them not in terms of bringing in a new constructed proposition but in the terms of mobilization of this audience *against* an elite" (Gottweis, 247). This definition will be used later under the term "patho-centric strategy". Walker provides a nice example of this device with the example of commercials that show pictures of starving children, which intends to make us empathize so we will contribute money. A key comment noted is that emotional appeals "…work subtly on our feelings rather than requiring a lot of mental work" (Walker, 128). This makes clear that pathos

functions with the intent of making the speaker's intended message easier to digest. Across these elaborations, one key element of the pathetic appeal is storytelling. Storytelling is particularly powerful for eliciting emotions because it packages a message or argument to be more accessible and engaging. Storytelling will thus serve a special section of analysis under the category of pathos (as will be seen in the analyses of the Trump content a bit later).

As with claims of Trump being populist of fascist, these three rhetorical devices are selected because they appear most frequently used to typify Trump's rhetoric. There are again countless examples as support. For apophasis, sources include The Huffington Post (Bobic, "He Would Never Say It…"), the LA Times (McManus, "Talking about not talking about…"), and multitudes of others. For mesarchia, examples include USA Today (Rossman, "Trump's repetitive rhetoric…"), The Atlantic (Brownstein, "Trump's rhetoric…"), and many others. Finally, there is pathos, with examples ranging The New York Times (Roller, "Donald Trump's Fear Factor"), Medium (Schneider, "Rhetorical devices in…"), and a great many others. As with claims regarding Trump and populism and fascism, the intent is to rigorously check for accuracy and truthfulness. This will be achieved by seeing if and how these devices actually appear in a broad set of Trump content.

This account will pull out instances of these devices across the selected Trump content. The sections on pathos are noticeably lengthier – this is because inferring the use of pathos seems to immediately require an explanation of why a given emotion was selected. Apophasis and mesarchia can simply be identified as having been utilized

without greater depth of analysis (which will be saved for the politolinguistic analysis and discussions comparing Trump's rhetoric to populist and fascist ideology).

Each heading in this section features the title of a press release, on the DJT presidential page, for that given month (Trump, "Press Releases").

June: "Trump near top in latest New Hampshire poll"

The June 2015 selection is Donald Trump's formal declaration to enter the Presidential Campaign, taking place at his Trump Tower in New York – its length is 1 hour and 1 minute (11:00am-12:01pm EDT), it aired originally on CSPAN, and it was published to the Trump Archive on June 16, 2015 (Kaplan, "Trump Archive"). There is one usage of apophasis in this selection: "I am really rich. I will show you that in a second. By the way I am not even saying that in a bragging way" (33:54). He uses similar vernacular and repeats the use of this rhetorical device once more when sharing his net worth (43:50).

Mesarchia as a rhetorical device first surfaces when he states "…they beat us" or "beat" five times (8:00-9:00). A second example is his proclamation on soldiers: "We lost thousands of lives, thousands in Iraq… thousands and thousands" (11:39). A third example is statement on politicians: "they are controlled fully, they are controlled fully... fully, they control them" (19:16). A fourth arises when he uses the phrasing "we need" 10 times (19:45-21:35). Fifth, he restates "cheerleader" 4 times in the span of roughly 20 seconds (20:46-21:05). The sixth and final example is his restatement of "I" a resounding 25 times (40:00-41:25).

Trump's use of pathos in this selection begins when he describes America in multiplicity as a "third-world country" (40:03/49:33/50:32/50:41). By equating America

with "lesser" countries, this instance of pathos most aligns with Aristotle's discussion on when individuals can be moved to feel shame. Aristotle states, for example, that: "we are moreover ashamed of having done to us… acts that involved us in dishonor and reproach" (Aristotle, 45). This produces shame in America having been moved to a dishonorable standard by its current politicians and leaders. Further, I believe this translates into the internalization and manifestation of more negative emotions across the audience, namely anger. This is because the shame is brought upon the audience by external forces; shame is an undesirable state, so anger seems a natural response to those parties that contribute to their shame.

The second instance of pathos arises when he unwaveringly declares: "I will be the greatest jobs president that God ever created" (23:24). The emotion this most arguably elicits is a sense of hope for the future. The third example of pathos is his declaration: "the American Dream is dead" (52:20) – offhand, this seems to prod at a mixture of fear, anger, and sadness regarding the state of America. A most interesting statement by Aristotle is that "forgetfulness, too, causes anger, as when our own names are forgotten… since forgetfulness is felt to be another sign that we are being slighted; it is due to negligence, and to neglect us is to slight us" (Aristotle, 39). For years, the "American dream" has stood a symbol for the American identity; Trump's assertion evokes an image of that identity being lost and forgotten, eliciting a strong feeling of anger across the American individuals who are impacted by feeling slighted and neglected.

Finally, pathos is most clearly used through reiterations of Trump's catchphrase: "make America great again" (19:09/21:09/21:25/22:25/52:40). This is perhaps one of the

first, or at least earlier, instances of him using his now infamous slogan. Channeling the forgotten American identity spoken on previously, this phrase serves to elicit a strong sense of excitement and hope for America becoming the place "it once was".

There are three key uses of storytelling in this account, with storytelling again defined as critical to the effectiveness of pathetic appeal. In the first, Trump speaks on him traveling the circuit and making speeches, meeting his fellow Republican candidates, and them ultimately engaging the wrong issues in their dialogue and debate (16:07-17:30). Trump says: "I watch the speeches of these people and they say the sun will rise, the moon will set… and people are saying: what's going on? I just want a job" (16:58-17:13). Instead of a plain assertion that he will bring back jobs, this story wraps that assertion into a more accessible and engaging story that evokes a picture the audience can better identify with (Walker, 128).

The second instance of storytelling begins with: "I'm gonna tell you a couple of stories about trade" (26:40). The first story details a friend of his having difficulty importing products into China (28:14); the second details how he would respond if Ford were to displace American jobs by moving one of its manufacturing plants to Mexico (29:45). In each, Trump's argument is that he would serve a more competent leader and one that could reform policy and drive action to benefit the American people. This aligns with the patho-centric strategy discussed by Gottweis, whereby Trump mobilizes his audience against the current elite that fail to serve their interests in ensuring jobs and global competitiveness (Gottweis, 247).

Third and finally, Trump shares a short story illuminating his upbringing, "sitting at his [father's] feet, playing with blocks", and then ultimately becoming very successful

in the field of real estate. He transitions into sharing his net worth, and reaches his intended conclusion that his success and winning is "the type thinking" (44:46) we need to replace the current political "losers" (44:52/44:54). Growing up at the feet of his father is effective wordplay, and brings to the mind the idea that he came from humble beginnings and pulled himself up to become something greater; this aligns with Walker's definition of the emotional or pathetic appeal. Again though, Trump's purpose with this story is to brand his intellect and successfulness – current politicians do not have the know-how that he does, which serves to rally the audience against them and in support of Trump's presidency. This supports Gottweis's patho-centric strategy.

July: "The silent majority has awakened!"

The July selection aired originally on NBC, took place between 7:08am-7:14am PDT (6 minutes), and was published to the Trump Archive on July 20, 2015 (Kaplan, "Trump Archive"). This selection focuses on Trump's comments regarding an alleged "feud" between him and John McCain. In this selection, he responds directly to personal comments he made about McCain and McCain's history with veteran affairs.

There is one use of apophasis. This begins with the statement: "I'm not saying I'm doing well. The polls are saying I'm doing well" (5:34); seconds later, he speaks directly about how well he is doing: "I'm leading Nevada by a large number. And you know who I'm leading most: the Hispanics" (5:40).

The mesarchia device goes largely unused. The only seeming instance is his use of "I" 18 times in approximately 1 minute (4:47-5:47).

His use of pathos begins with him evading answering the 0:40 interview question (which the interviewer notes at 0:55) to take aim at his disgust with John McCain. This is

evidenced in the vernacular he uses to respond to the question, and to refer to John McCain directly again later in the interview. This vernacular includes "disgust words" like "corrupt" (1:07), "disgrace" (1:08/4:19), "terrible" (0:45/3:58), "scandalous" (1:06), and "horrible" (1:03/4:04). This pointed attack seems to seek to arise anger at the "impiety or foulness" of McCain's character and leadership (Aristotle, 79), thus also serving to support Gottweis's patho-centric strategy.

An interesting note here is that disgust sensitivity is reported across numerous studies as a strong predictor of a conservative political identification. Inbar et al., in *Disgust Sensitivity, Political Conservatism, and Voting*, provide the foremost research on this topic. They conclude:
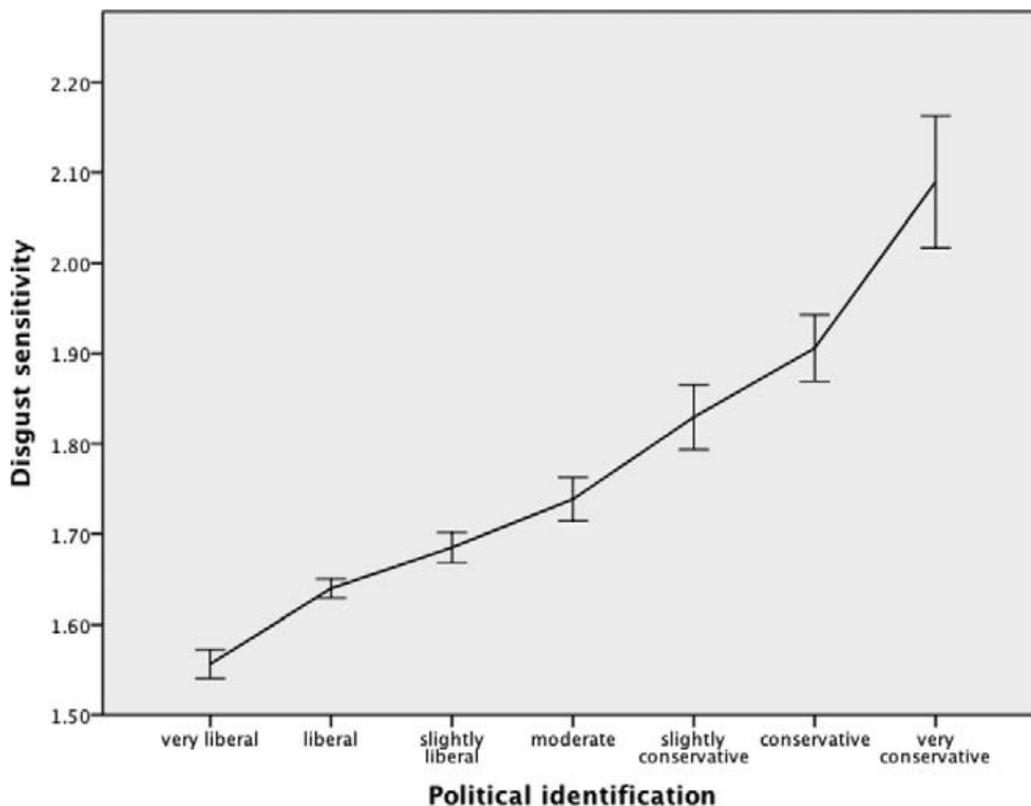

Figure 1. Disgust sensitivity by political orientation (Study 1). Error bars are 95% confidence intervals. (Inbar et al., 539)

This substantiates the argument that Trump is able to evoke disgust, alongside fear and anger, especially among members who identify as particularly conservative.

The second key example of an emotional appeal in this selection is Trump's pathetic declaration: "Frankly, illegal immigrants are treated better than many of vets". This appeals to anger in the audience because it portrays "slight directed without justification towards what concerns oneself or towards what concerns one's friends" (Aristotle, 37). This argument requires members of the audience to be vets or have friends who are vets, but this seems a plausible assumption for a nation where roughly 1/15 is a veteran of the U.S. armed forces (Risen, 1).

The final example of pathos is Trump ending the interview with his typical adorning feature regarding the country "be[ing] great again" (5:58). Again, this utilizes the forgotten American identity and nostalgia to drive an excitement and hope for the future of America with Trump as President.

This interview is a bit short, but there is one decent example of Trump specifically employing storytelling to drive the success of his pathetic appeal. He begins the interview with a vignette: "I go around on the circuit and I'm seeing so many vets families crying before me. They can't see doctors. They're waiting in reception rooms for five and six days…" (0:45-1:00). His little story is cut short by the interviewer, but he makes reference to the story, using similar language, at 4:05. This appeal is to anger, and Aristotle quotes so nearly perfectly: "thus a sick man is angered by disregard of his illness, a poor man by disregard of his poverty, a man waging war by disregard of the war he is waging…" (Aristotle, 38). Thus, whether sick or however affected by the war,

veterans and those close to them will feel anger, through Trump's short story, at the disregard they are shown by McCain and other current leaders of the country.

August: "Make America Great Again rally in Mobile, Alabama"

The August selection is a 30-minute (10:01-10:31pm PDT) Trump interview with Sean Hannity on Fox News, published August 11, 2015 (Kaplan, "Trump Archive"). The selection covers topics including Trump's stance on immigration policy, his position in the polls and stance on the other Republican candidates, his thoughts on Hilary Clinton and her email scandal, his thoughts on Planned Parenthood, and similar topics.

There are two clear instances of apophasis in this video selection. He states first: "Look I don't want to use names because I don't want to embarrass anybody, but the two guys… Lindsey Graham hit me harder than anybody. He's got zero. Perry hit me harder than anybody. Those were the two" (10:17). The second use of this rhetorical device occurred when Trump affirmed: "A competitor of yours did a big poll. I won't say it was CNN… but they did a big poll… I refuse to say it was CNN (laughs)" (25:14).

Further, there are three clear instances of Trump using the mesarchia device. The first occurs very early in the video selection when he asserts "I won" four times in seven seconds (0:35-0:42). Second, speaking on Obamacare, Trump repeats "it's no good" four times in near 10 seconds (17:49-18:02). Finally, Trump uses the mesarchia device when discussing America's lack of a competitive advantage with other countries; he states: "Mexico… is an abuser. China is an abuser… every country is an abuser" (15:55-16:00).

There are then three key instances of Trump utilizing the pathetic appeal in this video selection. The first is Trump detailing an illegal immigrant who raped an American woman, whom he then harshly calls "an animal" (2:03). This appeals first to fear, noting

Aristotle's description that we fear "those who have destroyed people stronger than we are… [or] who are attacking people weaker than we are", and that, "fear is associated with the expectation that something destructive will happen to us" (Aristotle, 43). Having taken advantage of an American women, the American people now likely fear "the animal" that committed the crime and further internalize that individual to be and have the qualities of what we often consider an animal (i.e. savage, brutish, dangerous, etc.). Further, this appeal directly aligns with Aristotle's comments on anger, namely his description of anger being elicited for those who "show contempt for us, in connection with the things we ourselves most care about" (Aristotle, 39). Rape is a strong display of contempt, and thus angers the audience because the victim was American and could likely next be someone they care about. This solidifies the anger, and fear, the audience will likely feel towards "the animal", and likely begins forming the connection in a viewer's mind between "the animal" and all illegal immigrants (so that they now not only fear this one perpetrator, but also illegals and Mexicans more generally). Trump repeats this incident again (17:20) for emotional emphasis; I propose that this appeal thus culminates to a modified "Gottweis-ian" patho-centric strategy – instead of mobilizing the audience against an *elite*, this seems an attempt to mobilize them, in fear and anger, against an *enemy*.

The second pathetic appeal near mimics the one previous, where Trump asserts (again directed at Mexicans): "we have to stop these killers from coming in" (16:42). "Killers" works in the same way that "an animal" does in the previous example, thus again showing Trump to appeal to emotions of anger and fear in his audience against an enemy.

The third example is Trump's assertion: "it's peanuts" (15:08/15:42/15:43). This is an interesting case, but seems to be an appeal to what Aristotle defines as "growing calm" (Aristotle, 39). Growing calm is defined as the opposite of growing angry. For supporters of the wall, perhaps those in anger and fear of the killers and animals he argues for in the previous examples, Trump eases them of any perceived difficulty with having that wall built. For Trump, building the wall will be easy, simple, and plain like peanuts. This is calming because Trump is helping ease the anger of those who have been slighted (Aristotle, 40) by politicians and leaders who have not built a proper wall to keep the killers and animals away. It also works with Aristotle's friendly emotion, because Trump shows himself as someone "willing to treat [people] well where money or [their] personal safety is concerned" (Aristotle, 41). The idea here is that Trump can elicit the friendly emotion because he is capable of and willing to use his resources to provide comfort for an audience fearing their safety and without the resources to protect themselves. For this account, this proves an interesting example of Trump working between pathetic appeals to grow support from his audience.

There is only one clear instance of storytelling as an approach to the pathetic appeal. This instance is Trump's short story on his relationship with Regan (27:25-28:20). Trump focuses on their similarities, stating for example: "he liked me. I liked him" and "he had a great heart, and I have a great heart" (27:34-28:00). His use of adjectives make this example interesting though, using "great" to describe Regan six times between 27:48 and 28:04. This hefty use of the word over such a small time frame helps cast a resoundingly positive image of Regan, but works similarly for Trump as well. He spends the 20-30 seconds right before drawing a parallel between him and

Regan – now on par with each other, Trump makes Regan, and consequently himself, look like the greatest guy in the world. Even more interesting is Trump's following move. In regard to Regan and the times he lived in, Trump states "I wouldn't have minded taking a piece of my wealth and paying off the national debt… and I wouldn't mind doing that, Sean" (28:12-28:33). Thus, not only is Trump like Regan, who is the greatest thing ever, but he is also a step better. This story works to appeal to Aristotle's "friendly feeling", which is felt towards those "…who we think wish to treat us well. And also to our friends' friends, and to those who like, or are liked by, those whom we like ourselves" (Aristotle, 41). Trump's appeal thus produces a friendly feeling towards him because he paints himself to be a friend of Regan and even more willing to support the American people. Combining mesarchia with pathos through storytelling, this ultimately serves an example of the impact these rhetorical devices can have when used simultaneously.

September: "National: Trump holds lead, Carson 2nd"

This month's selection is an interview of Trump by Sean Hannity, aired originally on Fox News, and spans a length of 17 minutes (7:02pm-7:19pm PDT) (Kaplan, "Trump Archive"). The focus of the interview is on the Iran Nuclear Deal and the migrant crisis, and includes Trump's comments on the Iran Nuclear deal, Iranian-American relations, and his thoughts on immigration policy and reform.

There do not appear to be any clear uses of the apophasis device.

There are at least, however, four clear uses of the mesarchia device. Early in the video selection, Trump repeats "deal" four times in five seconds (1:15-1:20). The second instance of the mesarchia device is Trump speaking on a proposed wall with Mexico: "I

heard about the wall – well the wall does work. Especially if somebody like me does it because I know how to do walls. The wall absolutely works" (13:29). The third is his assertion, "we give them $150 billion plus, plus, plus" (1:41), when commenting on the inferiority of the Iran Nuclear Deal. The fourth and final example occurs during a description of the state of America in regard to the migrant crisis. He states: "we have a lot of problems in our country. Sean, we have a lot of problems in our country. We have to straighten out our own problems" (13:24); soon after, he reiterates: "we have our own problems. We have so many problems that we have to solve" (14:43) followed yet again by "we have to straighten out our own problems" (15:07).

There appears little strong or clear use of pathos as a rhetorical device in this video selection. The example that most fits is Trump's statement on how he views the Iran Nuclear Deal, when he asserts: "…the nuclear deal, which is the Nuclear rip-off…" (4:27). The emotion Trump seems wanting to give rise to is anger, namely towards those who "show contempt for us" (Aristotle, 39) or "rob people of the honour due to them" (Aristotle, 38). This is because Trump equates the Iranian politicians/people with having ripped off the American politicians/people, which elicits anger at having been neglected the respect or dignity to warrant a fair or more equal deal.

There are no clear instances of storytelling to support the pathetic appeal.

October: "Donald J. Trump endorsed by Kathryn "Kat" Gates-Skipper, the first woman Marine in Combat Operations"

This month's selection is Donald Trump's October campaign rally in Las Vegas; it originally aired on CSPAN, was published to the Trump Archive on October 11, 2015, and spans 1 hour and 13 minutes (1:11pm-2:24 pm EDT) (Kaplan, "Trump Archive").

Trump does not focus on any central topic or issue, but instead speaks more broadly regarding American jobs, immigration policy and reform, his Republican opponents for candidacy and presidency, and other topics similar to these.

To begin, there is one clear use of apophasis in this selection. Trump is speaking on Rand Paul, and declares: "every time I see him, the things he was saying, I won't even say them… I won't even say them. Then he said, I will get him in the debate… I'm gonna get him in the debate, I'm gonna go after him, he's not gonna have a chance, I'm gonna do numbers on him that are unbelievable…." (56:13).

There are quite a number of usages of the mesarchia device. For brevity, there are at seven key instances that stand out. First, Trump equates the US to the "third world" four times in 14 seconds (11:00-11:14). Second is a comment he makes on current political leaders: "our leaders are incompetent. They are incompetent. They are incompetent" (12:16). A third, and perhaps strange, example is the reiteration of Trump's desire for the media cameras to pan the room: "they never pan the room. They never ever pan the room. They never pan the room… they don't do it. They don't do it. Pan the room. Go head pan it. But you know, they won't. They won't pan it" (14:07-14:28). He even revisits the argument a bit later, repeating the keyword "pan" another three times (15:43-16:10). The fourth example is Trump's use of the word "terrible", which he uses to directly target how he feels about "the media" – he uses the term 7 times in roughly 25 seconds (15:50-16:16). The fifth use of the mesarchia device is Trump's statement on politicians' integrity: "they cook the books. You ever hear the expression? They cook the books. The politicians cook the books (30:40). Sixth is a description displaying his relationship with Hispanics: "they all love him, they love him, all Hispanics, they all love

Trump… I love the Hispanic people" (48:35). Seventh and finally is a statement near the end of the campaign rally on his definition of his own candidacy and what his presidency would mean for America: "this is a movement. This is a movement. What's going on – this is a movement. This is a movement to take our country back. This is a movement to take our country back… there is a movement on in this country" (1:07:40).

Perhaps more than any account previous, there seems an incredible use by Donald Trump to use the pathetic appeal in this selection. This account will highlight five key examples of pathos, and then highlight two examples of storytelling as a means to utilize pathos.

The first, opening almost immediately with his slogan and catchphrase, is Trump's rally cry: "we're going to make our country great again" (6:30). He repeats this again at 20:07, 51:11, 51:23, and 1:10:30. As explained previously, this proves a pathetic appeal by harnessing the forgotten American identity and nostalgia to drive an excitement and hope for the future of America with Trump as its leader.

The second use of pathos occurs during Trump's description of his Republican opponents Jeb Bush and Marco Rubio. Speaking to their imagined presidencies, Trump addresses the crowd directly: "so that means your children are going to be educated by the bureaucrats in Washington. I don't think so. I don't think so" (18:44-18:52). It is important to note here that Trump spent the previous few minutes describing the two candidates as unfavorable (i.e. "weak on immigration" (18:36)). Instead of leaving the argument there though, posing this predicament, especially since relevant to the audiences' kids, "evok[es] a picture or experience that [the] audience can identify with or feel empathy toward (Walker, 128). The foremost emotion that Trump seems to want to

elicit is fear. This is because Trump has spent blocs of his rhetoric discussing Bush and Rubio as unfavorable and unworthy candidates, and this culminating statement brings about fear of "whatever we feel has great power of destroying or of harming us in ways that tend to cause us great pain" (Aristotle, 43). Any harm to one's kids tends to harm them great pain – Bush and Rubio have the potential to rise to presidency, so Trump's statement here serves impeccably to allow the audience to imagine any injustice or harm Bush or Rubio could inflict on their loved little ones.

The third use of pathos is Trump's statement on a media platform that dishonestly reported him being fired from "The Apprentice", his own TV show. He states: "they are such dirty, rotten liars – it's disgusting" (22:30). Though short and simple in word choice, this utterance seems one that can really implant itself in the mind. First, this is because of the density of disgust words, which, as Walker may state, seem to immediately evoke related pictures and conceptions in the mind. These words are then adjectives for liar, which elicits a shared anger for those "who speak ill" (Aristotle, 39) and whose "conduct is insolent" (Aristotle, 38). The media, and this platform in particular, is thus angering, and internalized more effectively as a repulsive and unfavorable presence.

The fourth instance of the pathetic appeal is Trump mocking Marco Rubio for sweating (57:40). Even further, he calls him "a lightweight" multiple times (57:22/58:02/58:19) to seemingly make the point clear that Rubio is weaker and less able to handle tough and critical situations. Weakness comes because sweating often represents someone who is tired or nervous, with that person in both cases seeming less capable and thus weaker. This would seem to give rise to Aristotle's shame emotion, because Rubio's weakness brings "dishonor and reproach" (Aristotle, 45). Trump thus

paints Rubio as shameful, and as a character not worthy of the audience's vote for presidency.

The final pathetic appeal this account will highlight occurs near the end of the rally. Trump is summarized his concerns for America, and attempts to connect with the crowd by asserting things that the American people will no longer stand. Starting at 1:08:54, Trump uses the phrase "we are tired" near ten times in roughly 1 minute and 30 seconds. As a note, this is clearly the use of the mesarchia device. More interesting though is that Trump is able to elicit a slurry of emotions across the audience, visible in the waves of responses one can hear and see across the crowd. When talking of traitors (1:10:00) and failed negotiations (1:08:54) for example, there is audible booing and clear anger arousal in the audience.

Simultaneously though, there is also excitement and hope for Trump to relieve the "silent majority" (1:08:48) of "being pushed around" (1:08:56) and of a seeming legacy of "being led by stupid people" (1:08:59). The anger aroused can be explained by simply looking at Aristotle's definition for anger, namely "an impulse, accompanied by pain, to a conspicuous revenge for a conspicuous slight directed without justification towards what concerns oneself or towards what concerns one's friends" (Aristotle, 37). This description seems fitting in response to an individual who has deceived you or after having been unfairly wronged by poor negotiations. The excitement and hope seem the outcome of Trump appealing to the friendly emotion. For the audience, this is because Trump is "enemies to those whose enemies [they] are. For all suck persons think the things good which we think good, so that they wish what is good for us" (Aristotle, 41). To put it into context, Trump is an enemy of the "stupid people" who keep pushing the silent majority

around. This is reflected in the statement "we are tired", with "we" drawing Trump into the group "tired" of being pushed around. Across other "we are tired" statements as well, this helps Trump to successfully use the pathetic appeal to elicit the friendly emotion in the audience at his rally.

Alongside these examples, there are also numerous uses of storytelling, which seem a way for Trump to utilize the pathetic appeal as well. This account will highlight two examples, the first of which actually begins with, "I'll tell you a great story…" (17:30). In what follows, Trump talks about a media report written on him, and the reporter questioning his success in the polls. The story quickly proves to be an ode to himself: he turned down an extension for his show "The Apprentice", which nobody else would do (21:20), and he asserts himself to be the only candidate to self-fund their campaign (21:36). He continues with talking about the media lying about him and slandering his name (22:14). He explains further that his company is much bigger, much better, and much more profitable than anyone ever thought (23:40). The story trails off, but does not fail to provide a clear indication of his intended pathetic appeal. Having explained a previous example regarding the media, his 22:14 argument is an appeal to anger. The majority of the remainder of his statements throughout the story revolve around an interest in him showing his wealth, prestige, and success. The appeal thus seems to be to Aristotle's "emulation" emotion, which he describes as:

> …pain caused by seeing the presence, in persons whose nature is like our own, of good things that are highly valued and are possible for ourselves to acquire; but it is felt not because others have these goods, but because we

have not got them ourselves. It it is therefore a good feeling felt by good persons, whereas envy is a bad feeling felt by bad persons (Aristotle, 51). To note, and what this account argues, is that his audience is unlikely to feel envy towards Trump. Instead, it seems more likely that the audience views his status and success as entities they will be at least somewhat similarly afforded if he becomes their leader. This seems the case because Trump has made himself to be a friend who is similarly against many of the individuals and factors that have neglected the American people and held them from their own status and wealth. Aristotle corroborates this account's argument: "also by those who possess such good things as are deserved by men held in honour – these are wealth… public office, and the like; on the assumption that they ought to be good men, they [the audience] are emulous to gain such goods" (Aristotle, 51).

There is a second, and last, example of storytelling that this account will highlight. In the middle of him speaking, Trump yells, "don't ruin my story" (35:52), and is detailing a three-hour debate and commenting essentially on how poor it was run. Throughout, Trump infuses his rhetoric again with odes to himself. Some examples include him mentioning that he is a "ratings machine" (38:11), that he has made an impact like never thought possible (38:34), and even that he is a "good athlete" (37:20). His noted point in telling the story was that the three-hour debate was all about him, which he makes clear three or four times throughout. Similar to the story previous, this one again seems a pathetic appeal to emulation. Here, it is achieved by Trump showcasing his successes and talents, and the amount of attention and status he has garnered throughout his career. This appeal works, in part at least, because is audience is

likely not on level with him in these areas, but will feel comfortable in the friendly image

he has painted of himself to help them get there.

November: "Donald J. Trump demands an apology from New York Times"

The November video selection is another Trump interview performed by Sean

Hannity, was published to the Trump Archive on November 25, 2015, and spans 21

minutes (7:01-7:22pm PST) (Kaplan, "Trump Archive"). This interview selection focuses

on refugee and terroristic security concerns, and at the end features Donald's comments

on the GOP field (the Republican Presidential candidates he was then running against).

As with one of the video clips previous, there is no use of the apophasis device in

this selection.

There is one clear use of the mesarchia device in this selection. This instance

occurs when Trump responds to his own previous comments regarding people celebrating

the World Trade Center falling. The issue at hand was that he was accused of having

fabricated seeing those events; to those accusations he responds: "…it happened. I saw

it… it was on the Internet… they saw it… people that live in New Jersey, they saw it…

I've had many, many tweets and people saying that they saw it… I'm right, and I am

right. I'm 100% right" (5:20-5:58).

While there appear no uses of storytelling to drive pathos, Trump does make two

more direct pathetic appeals. The first is Trump's response in regard to whether or not

America can take Syrian refugees; he states: "we can't take these people. We don't know

who they are. They're totally undocumented. Nobody knows where they came from.

They don't have any paperwork at all, and we just can't be doing it" (1:15). He makes his

position clear soon after in the following rhetoric bloc, stating multiple times that we

can't know who exactly they are (implying they could be ISIS, as the interview question prompts) (2:15-3:14). The obvious conclusion is that this assertion and the reiterations are an appeal to fear. Aristotle describes this case almost perfectly, noting that "when it is advisable that the audience should be frightened, the orator must make them feel that they really are in danger of something… at the hands of unexpected people, in an unexpected form, and at an unexpected time" (Aristotle, 44). This is exactly how Trump portrays the Syrian refugees, and supports the argument for and likely effectiveness of Trump's pathetic appeal to fear in this situation.

The second example of pathos is Trump's declaration on America: "I always say the American Dream is dead but I'm going to make it bigger and better and stronger than ever before" (17:45). Trump used "the American Dream is dead" in the June selection above; this assertion thus first seems to prod at a similar mixture of fear, anger, and sadness regarding the state of America, and more particularly a sense of anger for the forgotten and neglected American identity discussed previously. In this instance though, Trump also pairs the American Dream being dead with a firm assertion that he will build it back even better than before. This is an appeal to the friendly emotion, namely an emotion expressed towards someone "who we think wish to treat us well" (Aristotle, 41). In the darkness of the death of the American dream, Trump thus shines a friendly light of hope for the future.

Summary

The June selection has one use of the apophasis device and six key uses of the mesarchia device. The apophasis example is used to portray Trump as wealthy, and the examples of mesarchia range from emphasizing America's problems and needs, its lack

of competitive advantage, its poor political leaders, and the amount of lives it has loss to war. The three instances of pathos were appeals to shame, fear, and excitement/hope; the three instances of storytelling were used to show how Walker's definition and Gottweis's theory can work in context (the remaining selections use Aristotle's *Rhetoric* as a frame of analysis).

The July selection includes one use of the apophasis device and one, though not particularly strong, use of the mesarchia device. Apophasis is again used to make favorable claims for Trump himself, and the instance of mesarchia is similarly focused on the self. Of the three uses of pathos in this selection, one is towards excitement/hope and the other two are towards anger. The one instance of storytelling is a pathetic appeal to anger as well.

The August selection features two uses of the apophasis device and three clear instances of the mesarchia device. The uses of apophasis function to expose CNN and embarrass two of Trump's political competitors; the uses of mesarchia serve to emphasize America's lack of competitiveness, Trump's personal successes, and the inferiority of Obamacare. For the three instances of pathos, there are: two appeals to fear, two appeals to anger, and one appeal to the calm emotion. The one instance of storytelling is an appeal to the friendly emotional response.

The September selection does not feature any use of the apophasis device, but features four clear uses of mesarchia. The uses of mesarchia emphasize Trump's liking of good deals, his confidence in constructing an effective Mexican-American border (wall), America's problems, and his discontent with an amount of money spent abroad. There is

only one strong instance of pathos, and the intended emotion it elicits is anger. There is no clear use of storytelling in this account.

The October selection features one use of apophasis and seven key instances of mesarchia. The use of apophasis in this selection is a means to out Rand Paul for "attacking" Trump. The uses of mesarchia serve to emphasize a range of arguments and ideas, including: America as an inferior nation, having poor leaders, having poor media outlets, Trump having favorable relations with Hispanics, and Trump self-identifying his campaign as a movement. For the five key instances of pathos, there are: two appeals to anger, two appeals to excitement/hope, one appeal to fear, and one appeal to shame. The two instances of storytelling both appeal to the emulation emotion.

The November selection features zero use of the apophasis device, and only one clear use of the mesarchia device; the use of mesarchia emphasizes Trump's position and correctness regarding World Trade Center celebrations in the moments after its fall. There are two instances of the pathetic appeal; the first is an appeal to fear, and the second is an appeal to the friendly emotion. There are no clear instances of storytelling in this selection.

These six analyses have thus provided a glimpse into Donald Trump's use of apophasis, mesarchia, and pathos throughout the first third of his candidacy for the 2016 United States presidential election. This account has found:

1. Trump's uses of apophasis: 6;

2. Trump's uses of mesarchia: 22;

3. Trump's uses of pathos throughout the six selections were aims to appeal to: anger (7), fear (5), excitement/hope (4), shame (2), friendly (1), and calm (1); and

4. Trump's uses of pathos through storytelling in the six selections were aims to appeal to: emulation (2), friendly (1), and anger (1). The June selection instances of storytelling were not analyzed, but, using the lines of argument endeavored in the other selections, can be typified as eliciting (in the order they appear): shame (1) and excitement/hope (2). This provides a total: emulation (2), excitement/hope (2), shame (1), friendly (1), and anger (1).

Conclusion: DT rhetoric x the Politolinguistic Approach

We can now use the politolinguistic approach, defined earlier by Reisigl, as a critical primer for the upcoming discussions regarding the relationship between Trump's rhetoric and populist and fascist ideology. Though the specific politolinguistic approach "depends always on the concrete research topic and the specific data to be analyzed", Reisigl's book is useful for this account because it concretely lays out "a group of adaptable questions… proven to be useful heuristic devices for analysis of political realities" (Reisigl, 99). Even more fitting for this account, "especially national(ist), racist, anti-Semitic, sexist and populist rhetoric can be analyzed by systematically answering the following five questions" that they lay out. These five questions, and this account's answer to each, are:

1. How are social actors – either individual persons or groups – linguistically constructed by being named (nomination)?

2. What positive or negative traits, qualities and features are attributed to the linguistically constructed social actors (predication)?

3. Through what arguments and argumentation schemes do specific persons or social groups try to justify or delegitimize claims containing specific nominations and predications (for example claims of discrimination of others)?

4. From what perspective or point of view are these nominations, predications and argumentations expressed (perspectivation)?

5. Are the respective utterances (nominations, predications, argumentations) articulated overtly, are they intensified or are they mitigated (mitigation versus intensification)?

We can combine a response for 1 and 2 (for the simplicity of this more brief endeavor). To begin then, for "the self", it seems evident that Trump overwhelmingly constructs himself to be abundantly successful, talented, capable, and well networked. A particular group he highlights throughout this account's content is the Hispanics – these are made to be individuals with whom he has good relationships and who reciprocate a love for him. A second group is illegals, with whom he crafts most tellingly as killers and animals; they undoubtedly seem an enemy group, as do ISIS. A third group is politicians, under the larger actor-group of US leaders, whom he crafts as incapable, stupid, and as having failed America. A final group to highlight is refugees, who are crafted as unknown – this group in particular seems to warrant wariness.

Question 3 can be rephrased: through what arguments and argumentation does Trump try to justify or delegitimize the claims in 1 and 2? The perhaps too obvious answer is that he uses apophasis, mesarchia, pathos, and pathos through storytelling. More interesting, and to discuss later, will be to discuss the relative frequency with which these three rhetorical devices are used across the selected Trump content.

For Question 4, the clear perspective from which these claims are made is from Trump as a potential politician and presidential figure. During the actual candidacy frame this account looks at, the likely perspective Trump wants his audiences to view him speaking from is from the position of friend and ally. This point of view is made clear throughout the analysis above where Trump paints politicians as common enemies and broadly arguing in favor of bringing back a greater America (through remedying its multitude of problems, i.e. lack of competitive advantage, brought forth by poor political leaders). This supports Trump crafting a larger "us versus them" narrative, and often speaking from the point of view of the audience itself. He also speaks from the point of view as a successful businessman, noting multiple times and across selections that he has the type thinking America needs to win. This is the perspective of someone with experience and know-how.

In response to question 5, Trump's respective utterances appear abundantly overt. Though, as seen throughout this account, frequently employing very simple language, Trump often and is quick to call American leaders stupid or horrible, speak directly of himself as rich or good-looking, or mark his political opponents as lightweights or incompetent. And these utterances most certainly seem intensified instead of mitigated, given the particularly larger use of mesarchia and pathos. Mesarchia is intensifying because its nature is to reiterate, bring to focus, or exacerbate an argument or point. Pathos is intensifying because it serves to evoke emotions and paint more vivid mental pictures for the receiver.

This concludes the politolinguistic analysis of Trump's rhetoric. Though brief, and of course limited in scope by the three highlighted rhetorical devices, this exercise

provides a more rigorous conclusion to this section of text by using a qualitative

discourse analysis technique to categorize and frame the findings of this account. These

questions also serve as heuristics for the reader's own analysis of the content and findings

of this section, with the greater aim of being a guide for individual pursuits of

understanding Trump's rhetoric and that of politicians more generally.

V: "Hail Trump, hail our people, hail victory!"

The title for this section is a quote from an alt-right gathering celebrating the recent win of Trump over Clinton for the US presidency (Lombroso and Appelbaum, 1).

Feature extraction (fascism)

The term fascism derives from *fasces*, the Roman symbol of collectivism and power: a tied bundle of rods with a protruding ax (Richman, 1). This is because fascism was conceived as the intersection of "boom-and-bust prone" liberal capitalism (the rods) and the more revolutionary platform of Marxism (the ax). The term is most often associated with Benito Mussolini, Italian politician and leader of the National Fascist Party in the mid-early 1900's, and Adolf Hitler, the infamous German politician who served as the leader of the Nazi Party in the late-early 1900's.

Outside of its history however, this account seeks a working model of fascism with which it can use in relation to Trump's rhetoric. Most favorable is the model asserted in Umberto Eco's book *Five Moral Pieces* - Eco passed recently, but was famed for his novels, literary critics, and study/commentary of/on fascism.

This model is preferred for its accuracy. Notably, Eco makes clear that "the term "Fascism" fits everything because it is possible to eliminate one or more aspects from a Fascist regime and it will always be recognizably Fascist" (Eco, 77). As a solution to this problem, which seems inherent in any common conception of fascism, Eco's model draws on characteristics of what is called "Ur-Fascism" or "eternal Fascism" – for the characteristics in this model, he argues, "all you need is one of them to be present, and a Fascist nebula to coagulate (Eco, 77-8). There are 14 characteristics (Eco, 78-86):

1. The *cult of tradition*;

2. Traditionalism;

3. Irrationalism;

4. Criticism (*dissent is betrayal*);

5. Anti-diversity;

6. Individual/social frustration;

7. *Obsession with conspiracies* and *xenophobia*;

8. Humiliation by the enemy's vaunted wealth and power;

9. "Life for struggle";

10. "Popular elitism";

11. "*Viva la muerte!*";

12. *Machismo*:

13. "Qualitative populism"; and

14. "Newspeak".

DT rhetoric x Ur-Fascism

The rhetorical and politolinguistic analyses drawn shown can now allow for a comparison with these characteristics. There appears no relationship between the analyses and characteristic (1), as the stifling of learning does not appear present in our Trump content. There also appears no relationship with (2), since Trump does not appeal to an anti-capitalist way of life of any sorts. There is no relationship to (3) either; Trump does not condone intellectualism, and often speaks highly of his smart friends. There seems no relationship to (4); Trump does not seem overtly averse to criticism or scientific development.

There is however a relationship with our analyses and (5), whereby Trump certainly exploits a natural fear of difference and is against intruders (Eco, 81). This is made evident in his noted stances on refuges, immigrants, and illegals (and outsiders in general), the use of his rhetoric to frame them (he calls them killers, animals, unknown/undocumented, and often repeats these statements and arguments), and the larger "us verus them" dialogue mentioned earlier.

There seems a similar alignment with (6). Trump actually speaks on the silent majority that Eco notes becomes the audience of Fasicsm (Eco, 81). We also see the appeal to the middle class, disquieted by an economic crisis or political humiliation that Eco also speaks about. This surfaces in Trump's extensive comments on the shame of political leaders and the economic and political problems they caused America. In one of the selections above, though not mentioned explicitly, Trump actually speaks directly on the forgotten middle class.

There does not appear the obsession with conspiracies broached in (7), but there does appear at least an inkling of xenophobia (as discussed in (5)). (8) is an interesting feature, and there is at least some mild similarity to the analyses drawn in this account. Speaking on China for example, Trump often mentions their superior competitive advantage and us owing them immense debt. Though in some sense "humiliated by the enemy", Trump always rallies the crowd to feel confident in defeating anyone coming America's way – at least with him as president. Thus: "*the enemy is at once too strong and too weak*" (Eco, 82).

There does not appear a strong relationship with tenant (9), (10), or (11). There seems an undoubted connection to the machismo in (12), but no clear relationship

between the analyses of this account to the particular brand of machismo described. There is however a connection to tenant (13); throughout the selections this account looked at, Trump often paints himself to be the only symbol of hope to guide "the people" out of misery (Eco, 85). Trump as an "interpreter of the people" is also reinforced in his language regarding him going off and making relationships and deals to support the American people. Finally, there seems to be a relation to tenant (14), whereby Trump's elementary word choice and constant use of simple words and sentences supports his use of Newspeak (Eco, 86).

VI: Maybe he's a populist?

Feature extraction (populism)

Populism is reported to have more formally begun with "The Know-Nothings" of the 1840s (Staff2, 1). This group composed the influx of Irish Catholic and German immigrants the U.S. saw at that time, which originally hid out to avoid discrimination or trouble with Native-born Protestants. This group eventually came out of the closet to form the American Party in 1855 – this began populism, defined very broadly as "the belief that the will of ordinary citizens should prevail over that of a privileged elite" (Staff2, 1).

History aside, this account again has an interest in a working model with which it can compare Trump's rhetoric and the earlier findings of this account. Ben Stanley comments appropriately here though, defining populism as more of a "thin ideology… diffuse in its lack of a programmatic centre of gravity, and open in its ability to cohabit with other, more comprehensive, ideologies" (Stanley, 100). In a nutshell, traditional conceptions of populism share the issue with traditional conceptions of fascism of lacking truly distinct and defining characteristics. Similar to Eco though, Stanley's research enables him to create his own tenants. These four concepts define "the conceptual core" of populism as a distinct ideology; they are (Stanley, 102):

1. The existence of two homogenous units of analysis: 'the people' and 'the elite;

2. The antagonistic relationship between the people and the elite;

3. The idea of popular sovereignty; and

4. The positive valorization of 'the people' and denigration of 'the elite'.

DT rhetoric x populism

There is certainly a relationship to tenant (1), as evidenced by the aforementioned theme of "us versus them" and Trump's hefty use of mesarchia to make the distinction clear. Consequently, there is at least a decent relationship to tenant (2). Throughout the selections, Trump constantly bashes his weak political opponents and incompetent U.S. leaders. Trump, though a billionaire, even paints himself to be part of the people. He does so for example by using the rhetorical devices (namely pathos/storytelling) to showcase his successes without seeming overtly boastful; alongside created an "elite" class, this allows him to seem a friendly, advantageous resource that is on the side of the people. As an "us", there are instances of him eliciting anger towards the elite and speaking to the need to prevent "the elite" from destroying the American people and way of life.

Popular sovereignty, tenant (3), thus also seems in line with the analyses of this account. Most supportive of this claim is Trump's frequent appeals to America's problems and needs, and that politicians and U.S. leaders are failures for creating and not solving these concerns. This supports the idea that Trump at least intends to support popular sovereignty.

Finally, there is seemingly fairly strong support for tenant (4). One key example of the denigration of elites is his example of calling Rubio a lightweight. Trump also engages in the valorization of the people, with constant reminders that he will bring back jobs and rebuild the middle class.

VII: John Oliver on Trump - Q: "What do we do now?"

The title for this section is an inspired by quote from the show "Last Week Tonight" (Seipel, "John Oliver: 'What the…").

A: "Uhhh…"

The comparisons drawn in the previous section beg the question: is Donald Trump a populist or an Ur-Fascist? There are four answers this account would like to discuss.

Answer (1) is that Trump is a fascist, or Eco's Ur-Fascist to be exact. Per Eco's framework, this is because it seems apparent that Trump is in line with at least one of the fourteen critical characteristics laid out in his framework. Per the framework, this typifies Trump as an Ur-Fascist. The tenants of Ur-Fascism in which Trump are in line with are (5), (6), a hint of (7), (8), (13), and (14). The one he appears most in line with is (5). This, again, is due to Trump's overwhelming exploitation and exacerbation of the natural fear of outsiders. This elicitation of fear seems to span all the content reviewed in this account, which is not the case for all the remaining tenants. If Trump "is" an Ur-Fascist, there remains the degree to which he is one. There is no conception of a "complete" or "total" Ur-Fascist, so this answer can at best assert that Trump is a strand of "Ur-Fascist" Given the alignment noted, this account will assert Trump to be a mild-to-moderate Ur-Fascist.

Answer (2) is that Trump is instead a populist. Having run the rhetorical and politolinguistic analyses by Stanley's conceptual core of populism, there is certain support of Trump as a populist. This is evident because we could seem to draw

unwavering alignment of Trump's rhetoric with at least 3 of the 4 tenants laid out. Again, this can at best define Trump as some degree populist, as there does not appear a "complete" or "total" conception of a populist. Having aligned a bit closer with this framework, this account supports Trump as a moderate-to-moderate-high populist.

Answer (3) is that Trump is neither a populist nor or an Ur-Fascist. However, the analyses and comparisons this account has drawn argue that this answer does not hold. Under the two frameworks provided, there is significant evidence supporting he be on the spectrum for at least one of the two ideologies. This is supported by his alignment with at least one tenant of Ur-Fascism and 3 of the 4 tenants of populism provided. This account is thus indiscriminate in determining whether Trump is decidedly an Ur-Fascist or populist, and to what degree he would be of either, but Trump must be at least one of the two.

Answer (4) is that Trump is both an Ur-Fascist and a populist. Both frameworks appear to allow for this conclusion, and it seems a likely conclusion given Trump aligns with them both quite decidedly.

A (cont.): "…we conclude."

This essay has provided an account and politolinguistic analysis of the use of apophasis, mesarchia, and pathos in Trump content spanning the first six months of his candidacy for U.S. presidency; it then used this information to uncover parallels between Trump's rhetoric and populist and fascist ideology (particularly, Ur-Fascist). The account found that Trump must align with at least one of the two ideologies, and that he likely aligns with them both.

I stated that this approach would provide a better understanding of Trump's rhetoric, and that the aim is to add worthwhile qualitative analysis to the conversation on Trump's relation to populist and fascist ideology. The conclusions this account reached satisfy these interests, as there appears no existing literature that finds decidedly that Trump aligns with at least one of these two extreme ideologies.

To note is that Trump can be plotted as an Ur-Fascist or populist under the conditions that this limited account provided, namely the analyses and utilization of only three rhetorical devices (apophasis, mesarchia, and pathos), the limited timeframe that this account looked at (June 2015 – November 2015), and the limited amount of Trump content the account analyzed (6 selections in total). Future accounts will do well to broaden the scope of this undertaking.

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