



**The Clash of Cultures and the
Search for Security: between
global power and violent ex-
tremes**

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Abstract

The pursuit for international security has occupied statesmen ever since the First World War ended almost a hundred years ago, but even with the best intentions, efforts to bring about order and stability in the world have still not achieved a decisive breakthrough. Peace and security – in spite of the international organizations built up after the twentieth century’s two world wars – continue to elude us. Previously, in the nineteenth century, world affairs were governed by the Powers (i.e. the major European States), who notionally depended on a ‘concert’ or balance of power to maintain international order within Europe, but who spread their imperial power through the rest of the world according to their own devices. In the twentieth century, the two Superpowers prevailed allowing their proxies to engage in wars and disturbances beyond their agreed spheres of influence. Today we live in a multi-polar world, which is no longer held in check by the receding hegemony of the remaining Superpower, and where the resultant vacuum has resulted in the break up of nations and the ascendancy of insurrectionary and state terror.

How should we view future prospects, and what hope is there that the present world powers will reach an agreement that might yield the peace and security that we all desire? Realistically, as long as present circumstances prevail, we cannot expect that what in 1991 President George H. W. Bush called ‘the new world order’ will be imminently established. So, according to the terminology of international relations theory, we might attempt to understand international affairs according to the ‘pragmatic’, ‘realist’, ‘idealist’, etc. labels used to categorize the foreign policies of states; however, the assumptions on which these terms are based rely on past experience and we cannot assume that leaders will continue to behave as they did over the last one hundred and fifty years, as exemplified by the the present incumbent of the oval office.

Keywords : *clash of culture , cultural security, global power , extremism, terrorism, peace*

Introduction

What then of the rulers and powerful? They have from the past up to the present day mainly employed power politics with the aim of maintaining and where possible increasing their power. So long as power is based upon injustice, it is often claimed, there can be no security, either intra-state or inter-state, and there are still significant unresolved problems in the world. Historically, the desire has always been for a just or 'virtuous ruler' who will rule in accordance with philosophical and religious values for the general good, although the western states have also been attracted to 'realist' theories of statecraft and power-play such as those propounded by the Italian Machiavelli and the Prussian Clausewitz. Built into them is the assumption that the relations between states will continue to be based upon a war footing. The adoption of such realistic/cynical assessments may in part be explained by the Europeans' well known adaptability, but also by the absence within Christianity of a consistent position on how rulers and states should behave toward one another. Although there was never any doubt that states might defend themselves, there were no rules for engagement when conflicts broke out. As for the interior balance, within the cruel empires of the Middle Ages minority peoples and cultures were known to be repressed, silenced, purged or massacred,.

In addition to the above issues, we find today, perhaps on a larger scale than in any earlier period in history, a confrontation of cultures or, to use the famous phrase of Samuel Huntington thinking on a grand scale, a 'clash of civilizations'. At different historical periods we find the exchange of cultural beliefs and practices, promoted by economic activity, human curiosity and the instinct for self-improvement. Still the notion of there being distinct, even irreconcilable cultures has also been proclaimed, in spite of evidence that in the long term effective technologies will usually gain ascendancy among different peoples of variant beliefs. The idea that specific cultures are formed upon foundational, inviolable axioms – be they philosophical or religious, customary or derived – is invariably invoked by the self-appointed custodians or gatekeepers of cultural purity who have a stake in keeping peoples separate.

Today, as we all know, the transcendence of space brought about by new communication technologies and the rapid means of transportation, has shrunken the world. This is a fact which some celebrate, but others decry. The old demarcations are no longer effective. Moreover, the relationship between culture and power has turned out to be crucial in the modern world, and it has also been much scrutinized. Whereas in previous times powerful empires might allow the subalterns their own customs and cultural space, today, whether we want it or not, cultures are juxtaposed side by side, giving the opportunity for those who are powerfully situated to employ their cultural capital often in crude and aggressive ways, at the expense of those who are weak and marginalized. Under the perceived oppression of the hegemony of the dominant culture, which accepts 'identity' as long as it conforms to its own standards, the subordinated have at times responded by desperate acts of negation that in turn invite displays of inordinate power. This was especially the case at the close of the twentieth and during the first decade of the twenty-first century, when the sole Superpower executed cultural and physical wars on its opponents in which many innocents suffered. Cultural security then becomes an issue for both the hegemonic culture and the one subordinated, with the former perceiving its values under threat, and the latter lashing out against them. This provides occasion for the gatekeepers of the respective cultures to declare a situation of mutual antagonism and open war.

Our task

This is a situation that many of us will recognise. In our conference we have been asked to consider its impact on this part of the globe with particular reference to its desire for cultural security. We therefore focus in this paper on several fronts: the emphasis that must be placed on the maintenance of cultural authenticity in the context of the dominant globalising culture, and the tensions faced on account of extremist reactions within the communities of our area are what are under review. These issues are immediate and alive and demand the larger part of our attention as we strive to maintain our foothold in the present. However we also attempt to address these in the hope of, in the words of the conference preamble, erecting a cultural and security system that will have the effect of solidifying and safeguarding our future. Such a project will need to take into account a range of factors.

First off all, we are asked to consider the influence of globalizationand broach remedies for knowledge fields to observe such influences and renovate it in concordance with the cultural security of our communities. In other words, while our thinking may be autonomous and centred on fundamental principles, it will also need to be measured against the forces exerted by the global order of today. Such a requirement engages our thought at several levels. In the first place, we will have to consider what areas of our knowledge need to be renovated; what will be the criteria that effect our decisions, who will be the judge, and how may the chosen renovations be implemented. At the beginning, we might ask whether it would help to look at efforts that were previously made to address similar issues at an earlier stage. For some this might mean to return to sensitive areas and possibly open old wounds. On the other hand, since we are charged with the task of ensuring any renovation is in accordance with the cultural principles that underpin our collective sense of who we are and what we are here for, it might be considered foolhardy to ignore experts who already worked through these problems in their thinking and practice.

According to Azzam S. Tamimi 1: "In the first half of the nineteenth century, a variety of Muslim intellectuals responded warmly to the prospect of spreading technology, science, and democratic values into the Middle East, believing that modernization did not conflict with the established values and principles of Islamic law (Shariah)." Most notably, during the period prior to European colonization, an influential figure like the Egyptian Rifa'ah al-Tahtawi (1801 -1873) was eager to see renovation of thinking in line with the progress of civilization he had observed while in France. What happened in the event, we might say, exposed his optimism as premature. In the environment of the later nineteenth century, admiration for the cultural and industrial supremacy of Europeans yielded to fear and recognition of weakness. In spite of the creation of modern cities that helped give rise to the nahda which in turn enabled the growth of a cosmopolitan awareness among Arabs intellectuals of their place in an emergent globalizing world,² attitudes changed. This was due not so much to the imitation of modernization in itself, but to the economic insolvency and later the military interventions into which the region was sucked. The wars of the twentieth century and divisive dogmas introduced by the Europeans substantiated the warnings of a key figure, Jamal al-Din Afghani. At a time when the hegemonic power of countries such as Britain and France grew, his realization of the urgent need for modernization was accompanied by his program for unity among the major Islamic powers which went unheeded. Undeniably, this first taste of modernity and globalization, which lasted from Napoleon's invasion of Egypt in 1789 to the formal end of colonization in the 1950s, saw the introduction of many innovations both in thinking and in practice. It coincided with the spread of Europe's trading dominance that meant much of the region was "annexed to global mechanisms of trade, finance and consumption." Along with this the public space "was reconstituted thanks to the anti-slavery effort, democratic openings, the emancipation of women and the decline of polygamy. No new idea, no matter how radical, could be rejected in its entirety because to utter it was to raise the possibility of its enactment."³

Though the Europeans may have proposed these new innovations, their acceptance and implementation depended on powerful and influential figures from within the region itself. The most important concept was the measure of representation of the people which we should remember was only a recent phenomenon in Europe itself. Afghani's call for representative government was one of the hardest changes to implement; it cut across political and religious currents that favoured authoritarianism, and when applied was often fatally weakened by other factors such as tribalism, corruption and the interference of outside powers. Implicit in Afghani's thinking was the axiom that Muslims should apply the benefits of modernity themselves according to their own needs and interests, with self-preservation high on the list; it was an anti-colonial position and its realism was borne out by subsequent events. When the colonial power occupied lands under the supposed legitimacy of a League of Nations Mandate, as a British historian puts it: "ideas of nationalism and participatory politics associated with the League of Nations" were ignored. Instead, the decision was made to use "prevailing visions of order [which] were still unmistakably hierarchical and authoritarian." 4 We need not go into the details of the sectarian imbalance of the new state, how the colonial power decided to exercise its governance through one community only, and how eighty per cent of the population were excluded from any form of representation. Suffice to say, important though the issue of representative government was and continues to be, it was not going to be proffered as a gift by the colonizer; so long as authoritarian instincts prevailed democracy would remain withheld.

Governance

Yet the people's appetite for representative government has continued to grow, even when threatened by extremist forces. To implement and advance the art of representative government is therefore a pillar in solidifying and safeguarding our future, especially given that the voices calling for its effective implementation belong to the people themselves. Within the scope of this understanding, forms of Islamic governance have already arisen in this region in response to the situation whereby, to quote Dr Ali A. Allawi, "The Islamic Umma...does not quite correspond to the modern state... Islamic government cannot be based on the actual rule of God...The agency of human beings under the governance of God is a necessity for the functioning of any political order." For Allawi this practical approach is underwritten by a quotation from Imam Ali in relation to the claims of the Khwarijites' demands for a "rigid, unchanging theocracy, eliminating the imperative for a human interpretation of God's law."⁵ In principle, then, representative government is entirely in line with commitment to Islamic principles, and where properly established is evidence that cultural security can best be aided by strengthening existing state institutions. At the same time, the aim should be to add safeguards that enlist the consent of the governed: such as protecting democratic values, abiding by the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and eliminating forms of discrimination, reformulating economic policies, and so on.⁶ Elimination of injustice and the abuse of power, including the accumulation of wealth through corruption, which have existed and continue to exist around the world in varied cultures whose polities may or may not boast democratic institutions, will continue to remain the main challenge. To progress toward setting up these safeguards would certainly constitute manifesting Islam as civilized and authenticated. Though it requires practical measures and endeavour, it can best be achieved when sustained by a noble vision, that is, when built on the foundations of belief in God and the assurance that lasting peace and security are to be derived from Him alone.

Nonetheless, to recognize and apply this knowledge is to be keenly aware of the existence of elements that fight against it, who actively engage in fitna, wishing to erase an institution which is to the credit of Islam. As always in the creation of something lasting and worthwhile, there are those who do not wish it to succeed. It will most likely be the case that through human erring representative government will suffer serious setbacks, and will need to be put back on track. But to attack it and endeavour to destroy it even if it is malfunctioning, and to justify this by religious arguments should itself be considered a violation of the principles of religion. As the conference guide affirms: to proclaim a jihad against such a vital mechanism providing cultural security is to divert jihad from its genuine orientation. The genuine jihad is to strive to build up and renovate Islamic communities according to modern knowledge and ideas founded on Islamic principles. This is the province of a community in which the learned employ reason and exert themselves in the pursuit of knowledge, and in following beneficial goals do not leave the gate of interpretation closed; but seek knowledge out and employ new technologies as the Holy Prophet taught by example and by his recorded statements.

Globalization and cosmopolitanism

While the primary threat to the communities in our region may be strongly localized, another dimension we are asked to consider is the communication and technological impact on the culture of these communities brought about by globalization. This represents both an opportunity and a challenge in the globalized world of today. According to those who proclaim its virtues, post-modernity, transnationalism, and hybridity are working towards the creation of a cosmopolitan society in which secularism is prized and religious signs within public spaces are banned. This suggests that globalization, while often appearing unstoppable and alien to the customs and behaviour of different societies across the world, is not a neutral force. There are aspects of its technological and communicative reach which are considered dangerous and disruptive, if not directly contrary to deeply held cultural and religious principles. Indeed it is argued that those who take up extreme forms of racism, nationalism or religion nowadays do so because they reject values which they ascribe to global elites. However, those articulations of cosmopolitanism that celebrate relativism and prefer the diminution of hard-core identities are Hamid Dabashi argues, themselves “subservient to a globalized imperialism that seeks to pacify all its cultures of resistance..”⁷ Indeed the implication is that we are placed between two unpalatable alternatives: on the one hand the power of a dominant global culture that seeks to minimize difference by promoting a cosmopolitanism that is spurious (because it is thinly spread and endorsed by only a few) and which excites a reaction that exalts localised, often extreme beliefs that threaten to break nations and peoples apart. Dabashi, however, disagrees that cosmopolitanism is necessarily the product of one global Superpower. He thinks “any existing nationalized culture” is potentially cosmopolitan: “Cultures are cosmopolitan by virtue of the factual evidence that they have lived, endured, or celebrated ...Shi’is, as all other Muslims living in a vast part of the globe, carry in their national and communal consciousness the layered polyfocality of many worlds that have come their way.”⁸



A Space for Cultural Security

Having established what the forces arrayed against cultural security are, we need to probe a context in which cultural security is delimited as a concept in accordance with the Glorious Quran... buttressed with mechanisms, procedures of structure and explication. We might use Dabashi's remarks to facilitate our awareness and understanding that Shi'is alongside all other Muslims exist within a broad Islamicate space that is mixed and cosmopolitan. (He also sees Jamal al-Din Afghani as an embodiment of cosmopolitanism of an anti-colonial kind, "by his transfusion of Shi'ism into a larger Islamic (regional and global) concern.")⁹ We can also probe how past and present cosmopolitan experiences of different Muslim communities might be drawn upon to create such a space.

Salman S. Sayyid is a postcolonial thinker who has insisted on "Islam's continuing presence in a world order in which the presence of the West is offset by that of the non-West...a proposition [he] has raised and argued for extensively."¹⁰ By so doing he has prepared the theoretical grounds for at least considering how a space for Muslim cultural security might be created. Talal Assad states that Sayyid's book *Recalling the Caliphate: Decolonization and World Order* is "a highly insightful exploration of Muslim identity (the ummah) in the modern world."¹¹ The work is useful for the task in hand because it attempts to elucidate some of the key terms and issues so far raised in this paper. These include hegemony, already mentioned in relation to the dominance of a Superpower and its tendency to impose its culture upon weaker states. In contrast to this, Sayyid is concerned with an Islamic "hegemonic project" that is conceived of as a polity "that could win broad approval from the ummah as being a truly Islamic state." It should be stressed that Sayyid specifically points out that engaging in such a project is not to resort to ungrounded idealism. It requires placement "in a context that decolonises the Islamicate past as a way of clearing the ground for the future for Muslims." Among other things, it must be able to sus-



tain itself by its capacity to incorporate a broad section of Muslim opinions “so that they transcend their local, particular and sectional interests to become a metaphor for the well-being of society in general.” Sayyid’s discussion weighs up the conditions whereby it would be possible to conceive of an Islamic state in both ontic - that is in relation to the real or empirical - and ontological terms, where the latter concerns the nature of existence or being of Islam.¹² Sayyid’s probing of the problem of imagining an Islamic state can be equated to the search for an Islamic cultural space which would be delimited in terms of its ability to provide cultural security (it would “combine economy, culture and state into an integrated Islamic(cate) order”) and its mechanisms and procedures (“how these would arise from the structure of the envisioned polity itself”), and its structures of explication in accordance with the Quran. He asks, for example, whether “the ethical-legal content of the Qur’an [can] be a basis for a socio-political order?”¹³ Decolonised states may have called themselves Islamic and tried to respond to particular issues of the time such as the argument over economic equality in a socialism v capitalism context which stimulated attempts to build an ‘Islamic economics’ as a means of “bolstering the place of Islam in society.”¹⁴ However, the incorporation of an Islamic concept such as rib’a is not of itself comprehensive. “One can imagine a state that declares its commitment to Islam loud and clear, enforces salat, builds big mosques, but still will not be seen by the ummah as an Islamic state since its version of Islam remains narrow, its attitudes to other Muslims xenophobic, and its accountability to its population (let alone the ummah) absent.”¹⁵

Sayyid’s discussion of how Islamic spaces might come about does not lay down a prescriptive methodology but resituates the question according to a postcolonial context. Importantly, he helps us to appreciate how the notion of creating a space of cultural security awaits a process of “decolonising the Muslim mind and politics”. Much of what has happened since the French occupation of Egypt in 1798, Britain’s ‘moment in the Middle East’ between the two world wars, and the present influence of globalization to Americanize the world, has required Muslims to act in response to contexts

underpinned by colonization or cultural imperialism. That has often meant practising Islam against a backdrop of Orientalism or Islamophobia, or in Muslim lands in the face of a secular Kemalist state that seeks to crush Muslim identity.

Surveying the present sectarian strife in the Middle East and terrorist atrocities committed in Europe by self-professed Muslims, the author of a recent publication entitled *The Islamic Enlightenment* concludes that much of his book has been about “the relationship between the Islamic world and ideas that were first elaborated in Europe.” Judging from this point of view, though he is sympathetic to the new thinking of the likes of Afghani, Muhammad Abduh, Jalal-e Ahmad and Abdul Karim Soroush, his conclusion is that the Enlightenment “had gone wrong in their countries.¹⁶ This is a European perspective, although it is likely to be shared by some Muslims. There is, however, a missing factor and it is what we might usually expect from western authors. However apologetic their writings are when treating Islamic topics, they do not share the frustration and unrequited desire which a Muslim might feel regarding the revelation of Islam, which promised and achieved so much in its earlier phase when the European enlightenment was nowhere to be found and scientific thinking was kept alive in the hands of the great Medieval Arab and Iranian practitioners. We might call this a semi-fulfilled implicit aspiration to create a universal order.

Global Islam

In the work of Muslim thinkers like Hamid Dabashi and Salman Sayyid the postcolonial moment has facilitated the scope to imagine a space where Muslims can access and join their past and present cosmopolitan experience to the perennial urge of Islam to become universal. Attempts to re-imagine and even institute a worldwide caliphate may be the product of an amalgam of factors: the end of the Sunni Turkish Caliphate in the early 1920s; the desire to create a cultural space where Muslims could strengthen their social and religious values, implement the ethics and law of the Quran, and acquire cultural security; and as a response to American globalization that aims to unite the world within an economic and cultural scheme of values that Muslims may find attractive but ultimately lacking. No doubt the American ameliorationist or utopian project has a lot to be said for it. Commitment to materially improving the lot of mankind is praiseworthy, but we are by no means at the stage where the different, contending cultures and peoples around the globe are about to achieve a balance, and some may find spiritless, a body without a soul.

Against this backdrop it is not unusual to find Muslims bemoaning a sense of being embattled and victimised in the present world, and in reaction projecting defiant images of themselves in relation to institutions such as caliphate or Islamic state. Negative environments, for instance the terrible and pointless fratricidal strife (most of which is the work of dark political forces) can be very discouraging. Nonetheless, in spite of all this outside predominantly Muslim lands there is a growth of interest in Islam from non-Muslims; some see the potential brotherhood that is in Islam, which is evinced for example every year during haj. In Britain, recent historical research has uncovered that in addition to Muslims being drawn to the imperial centre in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries a small community of indigenous converts to Islam were active. Together with Muslims predominantly from the Indian subconti-

ment, they formed an alliance that endeavoured to promote Muslim causes and interests internationally, in the process facing issues of loyalty to their homeland on the one hand and to their religious faith on the other. However, “by examining... ‘conflictual’ loyalties that reflected the predicament of many of Britain’s Muslim subjects before, during and after the First World War, we gain insights into how their successors have struggled to come to grips with similar issues that have resurfaced since 9/11 and the Western invasions of Afghanistan and Iraq.”¹⁷ The problem may be a recurring one, but where it has taken on a new complexion, this can also bring new perspectives to how it may be resolved.

We suggest that this state of affairs, which is re-produced throughout the western world and is often focussed by the media wholly in terms of terrorism and jihadism, is in fact quietly cementing together a new, internationalised ummah that stretches beyond dar al-Islam and has already created new spheres of influence for Islam. In living alongside western Christians and Jews, as well as other immigrant communities such as Hindus and Sikhs, Muslims are given the opportunity to develop their own cultural spaces and projects for cultural security alongside non-Muslims, as well as re-imagining the message of Islam, always a universal one, in the expanded terms of the latest wave of globalization. This should galvanise Muslims to see their faith in the context of the future as well in respect to its connections with the past.

Conclusion

This paper began by reviewing the present disharmony of the world, and the imbalance in the power of national societies to sustain their cultures against the hegemonic forces of globalization. The challenge of cultural security for each Muslim community will be a specific one, but the struggles against extremism on the one hand and hegemonic global power on the other are likely to continue. We have attempted to address the major theme of this conference which is the capacity to achieve cultural security, by first looking back to the penetration of this region by modernity in the form of colonialism. This demonstrated the need for the formerly colonized community to achieve renovation of their thinking and practice by strengthening measures such as representative government, implementing this according to their own interests and in alignment with the principles of Islam. Moving on, it was argued, required decolonizing the mind and politics of this region, and in particular drawing on the insights of postcolonial Muslim thinkers who establish i) the cosmopolitanism of the Muslim nation and ii) the philosophical grounds for its existence within the space(s) opened by globalization. We came to the conclusion that the process of globalization has enlarged the scope of the ummah and renewed the challenge for Muslims to bring out and reapply the universality of Islam, in order that once again this priceless heritage can make its promised contribution to the unfolding civilization of mankind.



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**Trump's Globalization Dis-
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Abstract

As the main instrument of communication, interaction, impact and globalization, language represents an effective tool to threaten the cultural security of nations. It is so because it transmits ideologies, plans and projects of the dominant cultures and states to other cultures and states. This role of language motivates this paper to investigate one of the dangerous discourses which aims at damaging the Islamic/Arabic cultural security. Specifically, it scrutinizes the American President Donald Trump's discourse which he delivered in Saudi Arabia after nominating him as the president of the United States (2017). This work adopts the strategic maneuvering approach, which is an extended version of the pragma-dialectic approach, to achieve its aims which include, in addition to identifying the threats and showing how to prevent them from influencing the Islamic/Arabic cultural security, finding out the argumentative structure of Trump's discourse and the different strategic maneuvers he made to introduce his ideas. It is hypothesized that certain aspects of topical potential and audience adaptation have been advanced by Trump as threats to the Islamic/Arabic cultural security. To help in attaining the aims of the study and testing its hypothesis, a linguistic model is developed to identify the threats in Trump's discourse, and another model to show how to prevent these threats from jeopardizing the Islamic/Arabic cultural security. Finally, the study comes out with a number of findings that accord with its aims and vindicate its hypothesis.

Keywords: *culture, security, globalization, argumentation, pragma-dialectics, strategic maneuvering, threat*



1. Introduction

The nations that invent and trigger 'globalization phenomenon' exploit their resources of power to dominate and control other nations and cultures to achieve their advantages by including all the world under their umbrella. Such a behaviour stands as a threat to the target cultures and civilizations. An example of this behaviour is Trump's speech, namely that delivered in Saudi Arabia (2017). Here, it is believed, as Al-Duleimi and Al-Ebadi (2016: 63-64) point out, that "managing the mind of others is essentially a function of text and talk". In this regard, Al-Ebadi (2012: 1) states that "since communication exists among interlocutors, it is inevitably influenced by factors related to them such as their attitudes, ideas, and social status and so on." Accordingly, this study investigates the way Trump invests to threaten Islamic Arabic cultural security, studies argumentative linguistic strategies to fulfill his threats, and the possible strategies for avoiding threatening and achieving cultural security. It is hypothesized by this work that Trump threatens Islamic Arabic culture indirectly via threatening some of its essential requirements of cultural security, he employs a number of stages of critical discussion with two elements of strategic maneuvering to fulfill his threatening intents and some sustaining strategies seem necessary to secure Islamic Arabic culture. The data of the study involve Trump's addressing speech in Saudi Arabia after nominating him the president of America.



2. Cultural Security

Cultural security can be defined on the one hand as a lack of threats to culture in a broad sense, and on the other hand as a set of actions whose goal is to create conditions amenable to the development and evolution of a culture. Culture, then, should possess a guaranteed ability to protect itself, and be adaptable to objective changes while preserving its specific character (Ziętek, 2013: 2). For Saroukhani and Naderi (2013: 190), cultural security, as a condition, is the degree of resistance to, or protection from, harm. It applies to any vulnerable and valuable asset, such as a person, dwelling, community, nation, or organization. In this regard, Jaber



(n.d.: 137) clarifies the importance of the concept in the sense that it shields nations from the negative effects of globalization, prevents the dominance of powerful states, disallows the disappearance of ancient cultures and civilizations, and enables people to keep their unity, stability and security on all levels of life (ibid.).

3. Globalization Discourse as a Threat

Globalization is a process of similarity and integration of human in the worldwide under the influence of increase and extension of information and communications technology, and compaction of time and space. Globalization aims at removing geographical, social and political barriers to create facility integration of thoughts and ideologies. So, all theories and thoughts in the world try to dominate others (Moghri, 2012: 1). More than this, globalization takes part in the struggle of identity making and signification since it tries to achieve new meaning of human, society, political and social interaction. As such, new meaning in cultural scope has been created. For Jaber (n.d.: 137), globalization is meant to obliterate other nations and civilizations and then incorporate them within one global culture, namely the American global culture. It is believed that globalization threatens other nations and civilization by means of what is called 'wars of the fourth generation' (ibid.). Such wars aim to control other civilizations, destroy them, raise sectarianism among the population of a nation and changing their cultures. Consequently, the American culture and principles are put to be adopted as a solution for the sufferings of these nations (ibid.).

Accordingly, globalization discourse, Trump's speech as representative, seems a threat to Islamic Arabic economy. It tends to associate Islamic Arabic economy to American global economy regardless of Islamic Arabic economy. For religious beliefs, globalization discourse aims to destroy Islamic divergent acceptable religious beliefs. Thus, Islamic Arabic culture is threatened as a result of threatening these two essential requirements.



4. Islamic Arabic Cultural Security

Arabs and Muslims have their own culture because of certain essential requirements or commonalities such as religion, language, land, ideologies, etc. These requirements play the role of protecting their culture from disappearance. In this regard, Jaber (n.d.: 141) lists some of such requirements involving religious beliefs, language, morale, awareness, social development, virtuous citizenship, media, invention and economy. In this study, the focus will be on religious beliefs and economy only in an attempt to prove how globalization discourse threatens them and then leads to threaten Islamic Arabic culture.

For religious beliefs, Jaber (ibid.) argues that the existence of a veracious religious beliefs which stand as a necessity to protect culture. Such religious beliefs secure culture because they unify Arabs and Muslims, invite them to together in peace, does not discriminate them because of colour, place or ethnicity.

As far as economy is concerned, it represents a substantial brace to protect culture in that it indemnifies aids to others and then leads to political, social and cultural independence. With the absence of perfective economy, an opportunity seems at hand for enemies to intervene in the interior affairs of nations. In relation to Arabic and Islamic countries, perfective economy among each other enables them to restrain the globalization of capitalism which plans to disassemble ties of Arabic economy (ibid.: 144).

To conclude, Islamic Arabic culture is safe from dangers by means of taking such necessary requirements or commonalities into consideration. Whenever one of them is threatened, culture itself is threatened. In this study, it is believed that globalization discourse, in its endeavor to break up other nations and cultures and then incorporate them again under their own global culture, craftily is intended to threaten the requirements of Islamic Arabic cultural security as a pre-step to destroy Islamic Arabic culture.



5. Model of Analyzing Globalization Discourse as a Threat

Globalization discourse, specifically Trump's speech, as a representative here, can be viewed as an argumentative discourse. It is believed, in this study, that Trump's address is a case of cultural threat because it implicitly intends to threaten the essential requirements of cultural security. The process of convincing takes place via persuading audience to accept his intents of economic cooperation and military coalition. He makes different moves to fulfill his objectives. As such, this nature of his addressing speech articulates appropriately pragma-dialectics as a first step (van Eemeren and Grootendorst, 2004), as a model of analysis, to be used here to analyze such threats in the data under scrutiny. The following section has the task of surveying the suggested model.

5.1. Pragma-Dialectics

This approach aims at a theoretically motivated reconstruction of argumentative discourse to yield an "analytic overview" of the elements of a critical evaluation (ibid., 1992: 2). Here, argumentation is seen as "part of a critical discussion in which participants try to resolve a difference of opinion a rationally.... to persuade each other, etc.." Participants have two roles: the protagonist of the standpoint and the one who defends it, the antagonist (Van Rees, 2009: 47). Even if the role of the antagonist is not explicitly performed, the protagonist's discourse can be analyzed as a contribution to a critical discussion as in the case of this study. While the protagonist makes an attempt to counter (potential) doubt or criticism of a specific or non-specific audience or readership (Eemeren and Grootendorst, 2004: 59), the antagonist receives the argument and evaluates it as a whole without contributing to its production.

Analytically, the critical discussion has four stages: confrontation, opening, argumentation, and concluding (ibid.). Each of these stages can be characterized by the aims that are to be attained in the stage and the tasks that the participants perform in order to do so (Van Rees, 2009: 47). The first stage aims to clarify the difference of opinion, the standpoints disputed and what the exact shape of the dispute is. The difference of opinion can also pertain to more than one standpoint. In the second one, the parties to the difference of



opinion try to find out how much relevant common ground they share in order to be able to determine whether their procedural and substantive argument is sufficiently broad to conduct a fruitful discussion. By means of the third stage, protagonists advance their arguments for their standpoints that are intended to systematically overcome the antagonist's doubts or to refute his critical reactions. The last stage reveals that the parties establish what the result is of an attempt to resolve a difference of opinion (ibid.: 62).

5.1.1. Strategic Maneuvering

In the extended version of pragma-dialectics, the concept of strategic maneuvering was introduced (van Eemeren & Houtlosser, 2009). It refers to the continual efforts made by the parties to reconcile their simultaneous pursuit of rhetorical aims of effectiveness with maintaining dialectical standards of reasonableness. Strategic maneuvering manifests itself in argumentative discourse in "topical potential" audience-directed "adjustments" and in the purposive use of linguistic "devices". Although these three aspects run parallel with classical areas of interest, they can be distinguished analytically as a rule that they will occur together in actual argumentative practice. Nevertheless and due to the limited scope of this work, presentational devices will not be referred to in the analysis presented later.

The expression "topical potential" refers to the range of topical options available at a certain point. It represents the aggregate of options for maneuvering strategically that are generally available at a specific point in the discourse aimed at resolving a difference of opinion by means of a critical discussion (Eemeren, 2010: 96). The second aspect, audience demand, refers to the requirements that must be fulfilled in the strategic maneuvering to secure communion, at the point in the exchange, with the people the argumentative discourse is aimed at. In this regard, Al-Hindawi and Al-Ebadi (2017: 113) prove the importance of attracting audience demand to change their minds. In order to be not only reasonable but also effective, the strategic moves a party makes must at each stage of the resolution process connect well with the views and preferences



of the people they are directed at, so that they agree with these people's frame of reference and will be optimally acceptable (ibid.).

The model of strategic maneuvering which is developed here to analyze the data is best illustrated by Figure (1) below:

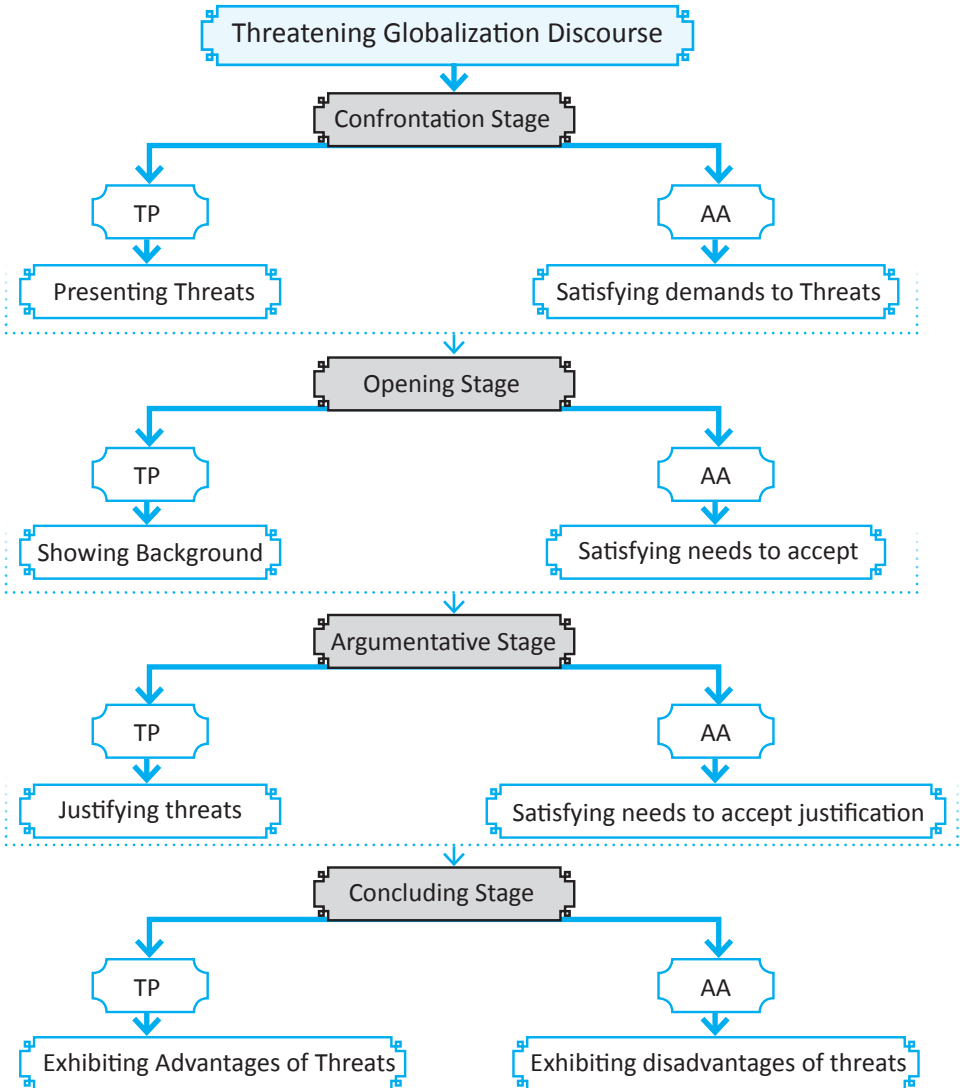


Figure (1): Eclectic Model of Analyzing Threats in Globalization Discourse

Key: TP: topical potential; AD: audience demand



6. Achieving and Sustaining Cultural Security

Threatening cultural security can be avoided by resorting to certain achieving and sustaining means. Among the most prominent ones are culture awareness, culture maintenance and supporting essential requirements, as shown in the following section.

6.1. Cultural Awareness

Quappe and Cantatore (2005: 2) state that cultural awareness is the foundation of communication and it involves the ability of standing back from ourselves and becoming aware of our cultural values, beliefs and perceptions. It becomes central whenever interacting with people from other cultures. What is considered an appropriate behavior in one culture can be inappropriate in another one. There are several levels of cultural awareness that reflect how people grow to perceive cultural differences: people are aware of their way of doing things, and their way is the only way; people are aware of other ways of doing things, but still consider their way as the best one; and people are aware of their own way of doing things and others' ways of doing things, and they chose the best way according to the situation.

6.2. Cultural Maintenance

1. Improve Culture Development to the Point Of National Strategy

The culture of a state should be nationalized by means of 'culture diplomacy'. This is achieved by the state or government through conveying its lifestyle, values, ideologies, politics and economic system.

2. Use Modern Industrial and Technological Communication

To transform one country's cultural resources into actual culture soft power needs certain media, materials, and means. In this field, developed countries have sufficiently operated and disseminated their cultural resources by advanced cultural industries and modern science and technologies, conveying their values and ideologies by movies, books, Internet, and other means quietly (ibid.: 94).



6.3. Supporting Essential Requirements

For Jaber (n.d.: 142), the essential requirements of cultural security should be supported and maintained by certain procedures which represent a fence of deterrence that protect culture from threats of other cultures and nations.

6.4. Brokerage

Brokerage is a mechanism by which awareness of successful and safe practice can be deepened. It involves a two-way communication, where both parties are equally informed and equally important in the discussion. Communication and respect are of the utmost importance. Values and ideas are not pushed, but considerations from both sides are regarded equally. Good brokerage is a key ingredient in cultural (Coffin, et al. 2008: 144)

6.5. Protocols

Protocols are strategies that can deal with a culturally safe and secure practice. The right people will generally support many of the processes by suggesting the correct guidelines for community engagement (ibid.: 145).

7. An Eclectic Model of Cultural Security

In the view of what has been discussed in the previous sections, the process of culture threatening and cultural security can be seen as a two-way process. It starts with a threatening globalization discourse through triggering a certain type of threat. It, in turn, threatens one (or more) of the essential requirements of cultural security. Subsequently, this leads to threaten culture. By contrast, a particular reaction, securitizing of culture, seems necessary to take place. The victims of culture threatening have some strategies to face threatening including culture awareness, culture maintenance and supporting essential requirements, brokerage, and protocols. These two tracks can best be schematized in the following figure:

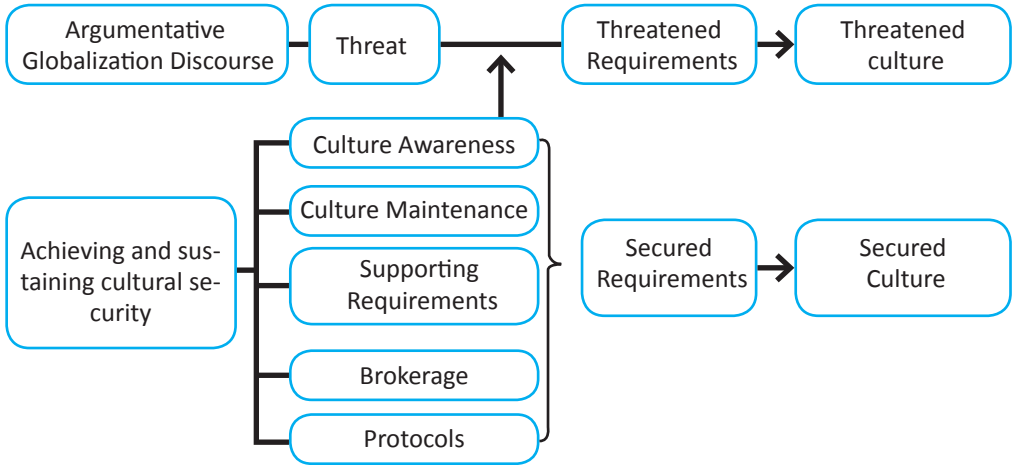


Figure (2): An Eclectic Model of Cultural Security

8. Data and Analysis

8.1. Data Collection and Description

The data of analysis is an addressing speech delivered by the American President Donald Trump in Saudi Arabia 2017 after nominating him as president of the United States. It is taken from the BBC Satellite Channel available at www.bbc.com/news/world-us. The address lasts about 35 minutes and it covers some worthy issues, among which are ‘war against terrorism’ and ‘cooperation between America and Arabs and Muslims’.

8.2. Data Analysis

8.2.1. Method of Analysis

The data are analyzed according to the model developed in (5.1) above in order to reveal its argumentative structure and then to show how this structure is intended to threaten the requirements of the Islamic Arabic cultural security.



8.2.2. Overall Analysis

The analysis of the data shows that Trump argumentatively moves through the four stages of the critical discussion to threaten the requirements of the Islamic Arabic cultural security. Throughout these stages, he maneuvers strategically to persuade Arabic and Islamic leaders to accept his theses of cooperation at different levels.

Regarding the characterization of Trumps' globalization threatening discourse to Islamic Arabic cultural security, two main requirements are threatened implicitly by Trump's involvement of some Islamic religious beliefs and economy. As for the first, Trump describes some Islamic religious beliefs as extremists including those of Hamas, Hozbullah, Iraqi Mobilizing Forces (or as he calls Militias), and Huthies. By so doing, the notion of adopting correct religious beliefs and ideologies is threatened. Put another way, he impliedly attempts to sow discord among Arabs and Muslims concerning their already acceptable beliefs and ideologies "Our goal is a coalition of nations who share the aim of stamping out extremism and providing our children a hopeful future that does honor to God".

As far as the second requirement, economy, the analysis reveals Trumps' strategic maneuvers to associate Arabic and Islamic economies to America's. With total absence of any activation for Arabs and Muslims to cooperate among each other commercially, industrially, etc., Trump claims future prosperity for the region in case they resort to cooperate with United States. Hence, the Arabic and Islamic cooperation seems periphery and useless "I pledged to strengthen America's oldest friendships, and to build new partnerships in pursuit of peace. I also promised that America will not seek to impose our way of life on others, but to outstretch our hands in the spirit of cooperation and trust...".

Concerning the argumentative structure of the data, the analysis reveals that Trump's address is of four stages: confrontation, opening, argumentation and concluding. In each stage, Trump makes certain topical selections and a seeming response to audience demands to fulfill his objectives. The first one has the task of presenting two main standpoints including 'establishing partnership between America and the Islamic Arabic worlds and motivating Arabs



and Muslims to fight extremist Muslims (or as Trump calls them terrorists)’. In the second stage, opening stage, Trump creates common relevant interests that enable him to carry out a seemingly fruitful critical discussion. In this regard, he expresses shares and mutual respect with Muslims and Arabs “and so this historic and unprecedented gathering of leaders, unique in the history of nations, is a symbol to the world of our shared resolve and our mutual respect.” This inspires Arabs and Muslims to have their own decisions and contentments though they reciprocate identical interests with America. As for the third stage, argumentation stage, Trump brings together a collection of arguments in order to support his standpoints that have already been given in the first stage. For instance, he exemplifies the benefits of the commercial cooperation with Saudi Arabia via committing a military agreement of 400 billion dollars “Yesterday, we signed historic agreements with the Kingdom that will invest almost \$400 billion in our two countries and create many thousands of jobs in America and Saudi Arabia,.... In addition, he mentions some of the calamitous outcomes of extremists’ attacks against several countries. Finally, the fourth stage, concluding stage, Trump reasons out a variety of advantages and disadvantages of adopting his advanced standpoints “the birthplace of civilization is waiting to begin a new renaissance. Just imagine what tomorrow could bring...” Trump’s strategic maneuvering four stages are illustrated in Tables (1-4) below:



Table (1): Trump’s Strategic Maneuvering in Confrontation Stage

Confrontation Stage			
Standpoints	Topical potential	Audience Demand	Threatened Requirement
1.establishing partnership between Americans and Arabs/Muslims 2. fighting extremist Muslims,	*strengthening and building new partnerships, *achieving cooperation and trust *making a coalition of nations to stamp out extremism,	*promising not impose American way of life on others, *creating peace, security, and prosperity—in this region, and in the world.	1. religious beliefs 2. complementary economy,



Table (2): Trump's Strategic Maneuvering in Opening Stage

Opening Stage	
Topical potential	Audience Demand
* this historic and unprecedented gathering of leaders is a symbol to the world of our shared resolve and our mutual respect.	* I want you to know that the United States is eager to form closer bonds of friendship, security, culture and commerce.

Table (3): Trump's Strategic Maneuvering in Argumentation Stage

Argumentation Stage		
Standpoints	Topical potential	Audience Demand
1. establishing partnership between America and Arabs and Muslims.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> *signing agreements between America and Islamic Arabic worlds. * starting discussions to strength partnerships and form new ones. *ideological cooperation 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> *creating jobs *helping armies to take a greater role in security operations. * Giving chance to build a new era of prosperity. * to advance security and stability across the Middle East and beyond, *protecting the safety of friends and allies – many of whom are here today.
3. fighting extremist Muslims,	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> *sufferings of several nations from terrorism such America, Europe, Africa, South America, India, Russia, China and Australia, innocent people of Arab, Muslim and Middle Eastern nations, *negative effects of terrorism, *showing the real situation of the countries of Middle East, *clarifying the supporting role of those supporting extremist Muslims, *stating the role of those who take part in fighting extremists, 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> *growing up freedom and safety, *promising prosperous Middle East economically, peacefully and so on.



Table (4): Trump’s Strategic Maneuvering in Concluding Stage

Concluding Stage	
Topical potential	Audience Demand
*showing the disadvantages of non-cooperation,	*showing great advantages of cooperation

8.3. Illustrative Analysis

This section covers illustrative analysis that clarifies Trump’s argumentative structure to threaten Islamic Arabic cultural security.

In the confrontation stage (See 5.1 and 5.1.1), Trump presents two main standpoints including establishing partnership between Americans and Arabs/Muslims “I pledged to strengthen America’s oldest friendships, and to build new partnerships in pursuit of peace. I also promised that America will not seek to impose our way of life on others, but to outstretch our hands in the spirit of cooperation and trust...”, and taking part in fighting extremist Muslims “Our goal is a coalition of nations who share the aim of stamping out extremism and providing our children a hopeful future that does honor to God”. He puts these standpoints in order to be accepted at the end of his critical discussion. As such he maneuvers strategically to fulfill these aims. This stage moves through the elements of topical potential and audience demand. For the first, certain strategic choices are used by Trump; he pledges to strengthen their old friendship and to create new ones “I pledged to strengthen America’s oldest friendships”. Moreover, he promises to cooperate with his allies in terms of trust “I also promised that America...”. As far as cultural security is concerned, this standpoint threatens the essential requirement of ‘perfect economy’ because it weakens the ties of cooperation among Islamic Arabic countries. As regards the second standpoint, it seems that Trump’s major task is to drive extremists via making a coalition “our goal is a coalition of nations who...”. Again, the Islamic Arabic cultural security is threatened here by threatening the essential requirement of ‘religious beliefs’. Put it differently, some ideological Islamic groups are considered ‘terrorists’, a matter which affect the acceptability of Islamic beliefs.



By contrast, Trump resorts to certain demands of his audience, Arabic and Islamic leaders, in order to prove his awareness to their needs and interests, and thus, motivate them accept his implicit threats. Regarding 'partnership', he signals that Arabs and Muslims are independent and free to choose their way of life, leaders and decisions without any pressures or embarrassment as a result of this partnership "America will not seek to impose our way of life on others". Besides, such a partnership is governed by cooperation and respect "but to outstretch our hands in the spirit of cooperation and trust". Moreover, America takes into consideration best future for the region "our vision is one of peace, security, and prosperity—in this region". By this audience demand, Trump's threat of the 'perfect economy' is reinforced. As regards the second standpoint, fighting extremist Muslims, Trump strategically adopts his audience need for a hopeful future that is empty of terror or fear "providing our children a hopeful future that does honor to God". Thus, he supports his threat to Islamic 'religious beliefs'. This stage is reflected in Table (1) above.

As far as the second stage, opening stage, Trump proves the existence of a common background with his antagonists to carry out his critical discussion and pass forward the next stage of his argumentation. Here, in the topical potential, Trump feigns that Americans, Arabs and Muslims have their common shares, interests and so on. They have the same plans, aims, mutual respect and cooperation, and they face the same dangers "and so this historic and unprecedented gathering of leaders, unique in the history of nations, is a symbol to the world of our shared resolve and our mutual respect." For audience demand, Trump makes reference to strong wish to cooperate with Arabic and Islamic countries "to the leaders and citizens of every country assembled here today, I want you to know that the United States is eager to form closer bonds of friendship, security, culture and commerce." As such, He paves the way for his discussion to move forward to next stage and presents arguments to support his advanced standpoints. As such, the essential requirement of 'perfect economy' is threatened by connecting it to that of United States.

In the third stage, argumentation stage, the American President



maneuvers strategically by topical potential and audience demand to give several evidences to support his two threats. Regarding the first, Trump exhibits some economic, commercial and military achievements in his attempt to support his threat to Islamic Arabic perfect economy. For instance, he states the advantages of the commercial and economic cooperation between America and Arabs and Muslims by means of making agreements “Yesterday, we signed historic agreements with the Kingdom that will invest almost \$400 billion in our two countries and create many thousands of jobs in America and Saudi Arabia,... this landmark agreement includes the announcement of a \$110 billion Saudi-funded defense purchase,... this agreement will help the Saudi military to take a greater role in security operations,... to advance security and stability across the Middle East and beyond”. These arguments shows the positive outcomes of such cooperation with United States. Creating jobs, funded defense purchase, security and stability represent what Islamic Arabic lack in their cooperation among their countries. By contrast, when these outcomes are achieved by the cooperation with America, this would replace such cooperation among Arabs and Muslims.

Concerning the second standpoint, fighting extremist Muslims, Trump puts in hand a collection of sad happenings and terrorist attacks in order to support his invitation to create a coalition to fight them military and ideologically. Thus, he maintains his threat to the essential requirement of Islamic Arabic ‘religious beliefs’. In this regard, he surveys some of such attacks like those against America, Europe, Russia, etc. “America has suffered repeated barbaric attacks, the nations of Europe have also endured unspeakable horror, so too have the nations of Africa and even South America. India, Russia, China and Australia have been victims,... but, in sheer numbers, the deadliest toll has been exacted on the innocent people of Arab, Muslim and Middle Eastern nations. They have borne the brunt of the killings and the worst of the destruction in this wave of fanatical violence. Some estimates hold that more than 95 percent of the victims of terrorism are themselves Muslim”. By these arguments, Trump reminds Arabic and Islamic leader the terrorist doings of such Islamic groups. Besides, he attempts to stir up discord among Muslims by attributing these terrorist attacks to differ-



ent Islamic groups and ideologies who are themselves inconsistent in their beliefs such as Hamas, Huzbollah, ISIS, Al-Qaday and so on “the true toll of ISIS, Al Qaeda, Hezbollah, Hamas, and so many others, must be counted not only in the number of dead. It must also be counted in generations of vanished dreams”.

Moreover, Trump maneuvers strategically by fulfilling his audience demands to ensure the acceptance his threats. In this regard, concerning the first threat, partnership, Trump attempts to satisfy the needs of the populations of the region and this satisfaction can be fulfilled by cooperation with United States “we are not here to lecture—we are not here to tell other people how to live, what to do, who to be, or how to worship. Instead, we are here to offer partnership..., we are here to offer partnership – based on shared interests and values – to pursue a better future for us all..., Young Muslim boys and girls should be able to grow up free from fear, safe from violence, and innocent of hatred. And young Muslim men and women should have the chance to build a new era of prosperity for themselves and their peoples..., The Middle East is rich with natural beauty, vibrant cultures, and massive amounts of historic treasures. It should increasingly become one of the great global centers of commerce and opportunity..., This region should not be a place from which refugees flee, but to which newcomers flock. Saudi Arabia is home to the holiest sites in one of the world’s great faiths..., Egypt was a thriving center of learning and achievement thousands of years before other parts of the world. The wonders of Giza, Luxor and Alexandria are proud monuments to that ancient heritage..., etc.”. As such, the acceptance of these justified threats means threatening some requirements of Islamic Arabic cultural security. Differently phrased, when Arabs and Muslims are convinced with these threats, they would cooperate with America instead of each other.

As regards the last stage, concluding stage, Trump is in a position to predict on the one hand the advantages of his threats; “the birth-place of civilization is waiting to begin a new renaissance. Just imagine what tomorrow could bring. Glorious wonders of science, art, medicine and commerce to inspire humankind. Great cities built on the ruins of shattered towns. New jobs and industries that will lift



up millions of people. Parents who no longer worry for their children, families who no longer mourn for their loved ones, and the faithful who finally worship without fear. These are the blessings of prosperity and peace. These are the desires that burn with a righteous flame in every human heart. And these are the just demands of our beloved peoples". On the other hand, he warns the disadvantages of such threats; "if we do not confront this deadly terror, we know what the future will bring—more suffering and despair. Will we be indifferent in the presence of evil? Will we protect our citizens from its violent ideology? Will we let its venom spread through our societies? Will we let it destroy the most holy sites on earth? If we do not confront this deadly terror, we know what the future will bring—more suffering and despair. But if we act—if we leave this magnificent room unified and determined to do what it takes to destroy the terror that threatens the world—then there is no limit to the great future our citizens will have".

As a best reaction, it seems important for Islamic Arabic leaders to work on the suggested strategies of achieving cultural security (See 6, 6.1-6.5). The leaders should be aware of their culture, namely to consider that their way is the best way. Besides, they must maintain their culture by developing Islamic Arabic culture as a national strategy by means of 'national diplomacy'. In addition, the essential requirements of cultural security have to be supported always in order to prevent any negative cultural interference. Brokerage and protocols seems necessary to support and limit the borders of Islamic Arabic culture.



Conclusions

It has been concluded that Trump's globalization discourse represents a threat to Islamic Arabic cultural security through threatening its essential requirements of 'perfective economy and religious beliefs'. As such, the first hypothesis is valid. As for linguistic strategies, Trump's threats, are argumentatively performed by aspects of strategic maneuvering including topical potential and audience demand. Thus, the second hypothesis has been validated. Such topical potentials include, for instance, "strengthening and building new partnerships, this historic and unprecedented gathering of leaders is a symbol to the world of our shared resolve and our mutual respect, signing agreements between America and Islamic Arabic worlds...", etc. whereas examples of audience demands involve "promising not impose American way of life on others"..., "I want you to know that the United States is eager to form closer bonds of friendship...", "security, culture and commerce, Giving chance to build a new era of prosperity, etc..." (See Tables 1,2,3 and 4). Finally, some strategies of avoiding culture threats seem necessary to sustain Islamic Arabic culture such as cultural awareness, cultural maintenance, supporting the essential requirements of cultural security, brokerage and protocols.



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