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# The Curious Case of the Withdrawal from the Joint Commission Plan of Action (JCPOA): Islamophobia, Racism, and Foreign Policy

Emmanuel Obe

A Thesis in the Field of International Relations

for the Degree of Master of Liberal Arts in Extension Studies

Harvard University

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## Abstract

The United States' relationship with Iran has been more negative than positive over the last forty years. That relationship seemed to change when the 45th President of the United States, President Barack Obama, and five key nations decided to renegotiate its relationship with Iran by creating the Joint Commission Plan of Action (JCPOA). This foreign policy ensured that the Iranian government would use nuclear energy peacefully, with maximum oversight. And the country would not be able not to create a nuclear weapon, as feared by the United States and its regional allies. In turn, Iran would get sanctions relief for its struggling economy. However, some vocal opposition to the plan from critical partners, such as Israel and 46th President Donald Trump.

Trump's suggestive language towards Iran and the JCPOA suggested that his opposition may have been beyond politics. I looked at interviews and speeches throughout Trump's tenure as US President through a comprehensive analysis. I used the system of content analysis, analyzing the news transcripts involving Trump's discussions about Iran using Nexus Uni's tools to gather the data and the agency “Atlas.it” to organize each of the transcripts while creating four different categories that I hypothesized Trump used: “Subtle Racism,” “Racism,” “Islamophobia,” and “Orientalism.” I analyzed each news transcript and evaluated whether Trump used one or more of the four categories when talking about Iran. I researched the transcripts and graphed my results, I observed that he used both Subtle Racism and Orientalism when describing policies with Iran and his vocal opposition to the JCPOA. But he did not use

Islamophobia directly in speeches. I discovered that his Secretary of State, Mike Pompeo, subtly discussed Iran. I named it “subtle Islamophobia.” I argue that this use of “Islamophobia by proxy” (Mike Pompeo is a representative of his cabinet) ties in with “Old Fashioned Racism” and partially supports my hypothesis that Trump was motivated by all four factors. Finally, I conclude from my observations that the withdrawal from the JCOPA was indeed based on Trump’s Subtle Racism and Orientalism. I suggest possible solutions that the United States diplomatic community, alongside the executive branch, can check if their words and policies are based on internal biases such as Subtle Racism or Orientalism.

## Author's Biographical Sketch

Emmanuel Obe was born in Atlanta, Georgia, to a Nigerian father and a Black American mother. He has a bachelor's degree in Applied Linguistics from Georgia State University. He has lived in various countries, including China and Austria. He has a wife and two sons.

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# Dedication

I dedicate this thesis to the victims who have suffered from policy-making decisions that are based on discrimination, past and present, domestically and internationally. You should not have to suffer from the decisions men had not made in your image and your honor. I hope that this thesis will highlight some of the issues not only with the United States but also other countries.

I also dedicate this thesis to the young black people who want to become diplomats.

I dedicate this to my father, who did not live long enough to see this achievement.

I dedicate this to my mother, Donna York, who had to raise four children independently.

I dedicate this to Susan Purdom and her husband, Judge Wayne Purdom.

I dedicate this thesis towards my sisters Donna M. York (Masters from MISS International Studies), Siverina Obe, and Monet Obe.

I dedicate this to my hometown and many great memories, the City of Decatur, Georgia, and my cross-country coaches. Swoop.

I dedicate this to my Boy Scout Troop, Troop 107: Vinny Ferguson III, Vinny Ferguson VI, Mickey, Carol Goodson, Joyce Kusthoss, and Mario Stewart.

Finally, I dedicate this to my two sons, Arsène Avicenna-Yazata Obe and Perseus Alhazen-Yasna Obe.

.

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# Chapter I.

## Introduction and Background

The Joint Commission Plan of Action (JCPOA) was a nuclear proliferation deal that the United States committed to under the Obama administration. This agreement, led by former President Barack Obama alongside crucial US allies, Russia, and China blocked "every possible pathway Iran could use to build a nuclear bomb while ensuring--- through a comprehensive, intrusive, and unprecedented verification and transparency regime; that Iran's nuclear program remains exclusively peaceful moving forward."[1]

Despite this multilateral declaration, former President Donald Trump thought otherwise. On this 2015 presidential campaign trail, he repeatedly criticized Obama and his administration for working with Iran. Before he became president, Trump suggested that the United States was a "dumb son of a bitch" on the Iran nuclear deal.[2] Additionally, he repeatedly called the JCPOA "a dumb deal," and as soon as he became the US president, he promised he would withdraw from the deal. He did just that. After he became the President, within two years in 2018, he withdrew from the agreement, which he considered a "horrible one-sided deal that should never, ever have been made." Within the two years leading up to the official 2018 withdrawal, 2016, he decided to reimpose economic sanctions on Iran to pressure the country into creating a new nuclear agreement

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[1] The Obama White House, "The Iran Deal," Medium, August 4, 2015, https://medium.com/@ObamaWhiteHouse/introduction-fcb13560dfb9.

[2] Jeremy Diamond, "Trump Suggests U.S. 'dumb Son of a Bitch' on Iran Deal | CNN Politics," CNN, December 17, 2015, https://www.cnn.com/2015/12/16/politics/donald-trump-iran-deal-rally-arizona/index.html.

with him as the new US President, and at the same time, continued his negative remarks towards the government, hurting damaging diplomatic relations with Iran.[3]

Trump was very outspoken on several domestic and foreign policy issues throughout his presidency. While scholars have made remarks about Trump and his foreign policy decisions, they have not critically examined the language that Trump used in discussing Iran. For example, in May of 2018, Trump himself mentioned that he was a "nationalist."[4] Historian Erika Lee wrote that much of Donald Trump's policies and decisions, including his efforts to restrict immigrants from Muslim countries, reduce refugees at the border, and increase "the number of purely white people," were centered on nationalism and xenophobia.[5] In a meeting with a bipartisan group of senators discussing immigrants from Haiti, El Salvador, and African countries at the White House in January 2018, he referred to Haiti and African nations as "shithole countries."[6]

Additionally, it is difficult to leave out the potential connections between former President Trump's rhetoric against Iran being associated with characteristics such as dishonesty, violence, and terrorism with "Orientalism." The term Orientalism has seen a resurgence in the last few years due to the American military campaigns in the Middle

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[3] Julian Borger, Saeed Kamali Dehghan, and Oliver Holmes, "Iran Deal: Trump Breaks with European Allies over 'horrible, One-Sided' Nuclear Agreement; President Says He Will Impose 'Highest Level of Economic Sanctions' on Iran as Tehran Vows: 'We Won't Allow Trump to Win,'" *The Guardian*, May 8, 2018, https://advance-lexis-com.ezp-prod1.hul.harvard.edu/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:5S8S-0SW1-F021-62K9-00000-00&context=1516831.

[4] Ron Elving, "What Is A Nationalist In The Age Of Trump?," NPR, October 24, 2018, https://www.npr.org/2018/10/24/660042653/what-is-a-nationalist-in-the-age-of-trump.

[5] Erika Lee, "Perspective | Trump's Xenophobia Is an American Tradition — but It Doesn't Have to Be," *Washington Post*, November 26, 2019, http://www.washingtonpost.com/outlook/2019/11/26/trumps-xenophobia-is-an-american-tradition-it-doesnt-have-be/.

[6] Josh Dawsey, "Trump Derides Protections for Immigrants from 'Shithole' Countries," *Washington Post*, January 12, 2018, https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/trump-attacks-protections-for-immigrants-from-shithole-countries-in-oval-office-meeting/2018/01/11/bfc0725c-f711-11e7-91af-31ac729add94_story.html.

East, mostly in Iraq and Afghanistan. The late scholar Edward W. Said wrote about Orientalism in his book *Orientalism.* His definition refers to those who are in the geographical area called "The East" or what we in the West say as "The Middle East" as appearing to be "underhumanized, antidemocratic, backward, barbaric, and so forth."[7]

The summation of all these classifications may lead directly to another path: Trump and his administration engaged in and practiced not only nationalism and xenophobia but also racism and Orientalism as part of his policy strategy. [8] Therefore, by using evidence from his speeches and interviews made on the campaign trail and while in the White House, this research tests the hypothesis that the withdrawal of the JCPOA agreement was influenced by subtle racism, xenophobia, and negative attitudes about Islam or islamophobia, and finally Orientalism.

The first chapter gives an introduction and the background to the JCPOA without going into the technical details of the nuclear agreement. It is broken into three sections. The first section discusses how Trump's accusations towards Iran led him to withdraw from the JCPOA. The second section titled discusses how various political figures (senators and members of congress) felt about withdrawing from the JCPOA. The final section discusses the reaction to the collapse of the JCPOA from the world leaders in the year 2018. In the second chapter titled "Examining the Roots of the Withdrawal: Evidence of Racism, Subtle Racism, and Islamophobia," I briefly describe the definition of these terms. There are two sections included. The first one is titled "Insecurities about Obama or Racism," and the second one dives a brief but detailed look at subtle racism. I

[7] Edward Said, *Orientalism* (New York: Penguin Random House Books, 1978).
[8] David A. Graham et al., "An Oral History of Trump's Bigotry," *The Atlantic*, June 2019, https://www.theatlantic.com/magazine/archive/2019/06/trump-racism-comments/588067/.

use the descriptions and definitions of racism described by the research of Lajevardi and Oskooii's research on discrimination (both old and new racism), Islamophobia, and xenophobia and compare them with the Trump language used during their tenure in office to test my hypothesis. Next, I used the various descriptions of Orientalism as described by Said, which discuss the various ways to interpret this deep topic.

Finally, to test my hypothesis, I used the content analysis method to analyze the speeches and interviews made by Trump concerning Iran and the JCPOA. Next, I downloaded all related transcripts concerning Iran and Donald Trump in relation to both the country and the JCPOA by using Nexus Uni from the time Trump mentioned that he would run for President in January 2015 to his last time in office, January 21, 2021. From there, I used the qualitative software *Atlas.it* to analyze each of the transcripts carefully. From the definitions, I created four codes: "Racism," "Subtle Racism," "Orientalism," and "Islamophobia." After I examined the transcripts, I used the statistical data function of *Atlas.it.* to download the data onto excel to create four different line charts.

This research studied how Donald Trump's racial and ethnic attitudes influenced US foreign policy regarding Iran and other states. The current conversations within the United States and worldwide highlighting injustices racism has had within American communities can also extend towards American foreign policy. It is essential to recognize the enormous impact of how entrenched subtle racism, Orientalism, and discrimination are in US foreign policy-making decisions. The tenure of Trump and his foreign policies had left the United States with a damaging reputation that is in critical need of repair that would take years to heal.

Moreover, 2015 was a chance for the two nations of Iran and the United States to create a new relationship, despite past their grievances, and an opportunity to observe what would come to fruition if the agreement were in tack. No one knows if Iranians would seek a moderate approach to their policies, domestic and foreign if they were given the opportunity. Examples include sanctions relief to aid economic growth in Iran clean energy from nuclear energy to help aid and combat harmful greenhouse gasses in the nation.[9] Unfortunately, Trump and his administration sought not to give Iran these opportunities and chose, as I will demonstrate, to engage in policies that are aligned with Orientalism, subtle racism and discrimination, which set United States' foreign policy back again at a "roundabout" with Iran.

## The Collapse of the JCPOA

Before he became the 45th President, the then-Republican nominated Trump in 2016 declared on the campaign trail that the Iranian Nuclear Deal was a "disastrous deal."[10] He said, "I've been doing deals for a long time. I've been making lots of wonderful deals; that's what I do. Never, ever, ever in my life have I seen any transaction so incompetently negotiated as our deal with Iran."[11] On May 8, 2018, the Trump administration followed through with his campaign promise by declaring that he would withdraw from the nuclear agreement. With his advisors, including former Secretary of

[9] Sanam Mahoozi, "Iran's Failure to Tackle Climate Change – a Question of Priority," Al Jazeera, November 9, 2021, https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2021/11/9/irans-failure-to-tackle-climate-change-a-question-of-priority.
[10] Paul K. Macdonald, "America First? Explaining Continuity and Change in Trump's Foreign Policy," *Political Science Quarterly* 133, no. 3 (September 22, 2018): 401–35, https://go.gale.com/ps/i.do?p=AONE&sw=w&issn=00323195&v=2.1&it=r&id=GALE%7CA557024580&sid=googleScholar&linkaccess=abs. Explaining Continuity and Change in Trump's Foreign Policy, 411.
[11] Eli Stokols and Nick Gass, "Trump Storms Washington," Politico, September 9, 2015, https://www.politico.com/story/2015/09/donald-trump-iran-deal-washington-rally-213451.

State Michael Pompeo, they issued a list of "12 demands" from Iran. In this list, they stated that for Iran to have any relationship with the United States and get sanctions lifted, Iran must abide by them and, in Pompeo's words, "behave like a normal country."[12] In addition to these demands, the Trump Administration reverted to the "maximum pressure" tactic of using economic sanctions, the same tactic used by previous presidential administrations used in the past to put pressure on Iran to comply, including the reimposing of sanctions, particularly harmful economic sanctions.[13]

## The Domestic Reaction of the Withdrawal from the JCOPA

For both Democrats and Republicans, there was confusion and disagreement with the Trump administration's withdrawal from the JCPOA. For example, senior Senator Democrat Elizabeth Warren of Massachusetts said that "the decision to withdraw from the deal breaks our word, hurts our credibility with our allies, empowers Iranian hardliners, and doesn't make us any safer."[14] Representative and House Democratic leader Nancy Pelosi said that "Democrats have no illusions about the Iranian regime," and the JCPOA is "a great diplomatic achievement…this landmark agreement has been successful in preventing Iran from obtaining a nuclear weapon. Even senior Trump

[12] Michael R. Pompeo, "Confronting Iran," *Foreign Affairs*, September 25, 2020, https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/middle-east/2018-10-15/michael-pompeo-secretary-of-state-on-confronting-iran. Trump Administration Strategy November/December 2018. Foreign Policy

[13] David S. Cohen and Zoe A. Y. Weinberg, "Sanctions Can't Spark Regime Change," *Foreign Affairs*, May 14, 2019, https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/united-states/2019-04-29/sanctions-cant-spark-regime-change.

[14] New York Times, "Trump Withdrew From the Iran Deal. Here's How Republicans, Democrats and the World Reacted," *The New York Times*, May 8, 2018, sec. World, https://www.nytimes.com/2018/05/08/world/middleeast/trump-iran-deal-republicans-democrats-world-reactions.html. Quoted from Twitter account of Senator Elizabeth Warren, May 8th, 2018.

Administration officials have confirmed that Iran has remained in compliance with the agreement. Yet, the President has chosen to utterly ignore that reality."[15]

For Republicans, there were mixed reactions to Trump's decision to pull out of the Iranian nuclear deal. Republican Senators Jeff Flake from Arizona stated that moving out of the Iranian nuclear agreement "did not make sense" seeing that "Iran has already realized the benefits (of the deal), which did include sanctions relief." Another Republican Senator, Senator Rand Paul, a from Kentucky, stated that "it did not make sense" for Trump to pull out of the deal.[16] On the other hand, senate majority leader Mitch McConnel stated that Obama's JCPOA was "a flawed agreement" and that our allies had an opportunity to make a better agreement with European partners.[17]

## The Global Reaction to the Withdrawal of the JCPOA

The reaction from the withdrawal from the nuclear deal caused a great deal of uncertainty with US allies, who were also a signatory of an agreement deal with the previous administration and key members of the UN Security Council.[18] While some decided to withdraw positively, some countries viewed the American withdrawal to the signed deal with uncertainty. Those who praised the agreement, Israeli President, and main Middle East ally Benjamin Netanyahu, who vehemently believed that Iran was on

[15] New York Times, "Trump Withdrew."
[16] Deirdre Shesgreen, "Lawmakers Once Opposed to the Iran Deal Now Blast Trump's Decision to Withdraw," USA TODAY, May 9, 2018, https://www.usatoday.com/story/news/politics/2018/05/08/president-trumps-decision-withdraw-iran-deal-splits-lawmakers/592111002/.
[17] New York Times, "Trump Withdrew." Quote from Nancy Pelosi that is cited at the end of the article.
[18] These were the five permanent members of the United Nations Security Council: United Kingdom, France, Russia, Germany, and China.

the verge of creating a nuclear bomb,[19] praised Trump's stance on Iran on what he considers to be 'the Iranian threat to the nation of Israel."[20]

The Saudis also supported Trump in withdrawing from the deal. Saudi Arabia was worried about the Iranian influence on the Middle East region, which included the rise of Iran as a regional power in the Middle East. In the perspective of the Saudis, they believed that Iran would most certainly become the leading regional power, overshadowing the "Arab-bloc," which consisted of other Gulf Arab countries.[21] Khalid Bin Salam, Saudi Arabia's ambassador to the United States, said that "we (Saudi Arabia) always had reservations"[22] and reiterated Trump's reasons which included "Iran's support of terrorism in the region."[23]

Prime Minister Theresa May of Great Britain, Chancellor Angela Merkel of Germany, and French President Emmanuel Macron's reaction to Trump's decision to withdraw was met "with regret and concern."[24] Despite the United States pulling out, the European Union and Great Britain promised to continue to work with Iran to "uphold the deal." China and Russia, both signatories of the deal, stated that they would continue working with Iran to uphold the agreement. Even China's envoy to the Middle East, Gong Xiaosheng, noted that "having a deal is better than no deal. Dialogue is better than

[19] Belfer Center's Iran Project, *Iran and the Arab World After the Nuclear Deal: Rivalry and Engagement in a New Era*, http://belfercenter.org/theiranproject.
[20] Editorial, "Iran Is a Threat to Israel: Time to Speak Up," *The Jerusalem Post,* July 18, 2020, https://www.jpost.com/opinion/iran-is-a-threat-to-israel-time-to-speak-up-635523.
[21] Belfer Center's Iran Project, *Iran and the Arab World After the Nuclear Deal*, 25. Column written by Hussein Kalout.
[22] Khalid Salman, "Khalid Bin Salman خالد بن سلمان on Twitter," Twitter, *Twitter* (blog), May 8, 2018, https://twitter.com/kbsalsaud/status/993924279828918272.
[23] New York Times, "Trump Withdrew."
[24] New York Times.

confrontation."[25] Russia said they would continue to uphold the agreement' despite the US withdrawing from the deal.[26]

[25] "The Latest: Macron Calls US Exit from Iran Deal a 'Mistake,'" AP NEWS, May 9, 2018, https://apnews.com/article/ap-top-news-tehran-germany-international-news-donald-trump-bb6dd8120b824d529132bcd9ba9e612b.
[26] Hassan Rouhani, "World Leaders React to US Withdrawal from Iranian Nuclear Deal," Al Jazeera, May 9, 2018, https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2018/5/9/world-leaders-react-to-us-withdrawal-from-iranian-nuclear-deal.

## Chapter II.

## Examining the Roots of the Withdrawal:

## Evidence of Racism, Subtle Racism, and Islamophobia

In this chapter, I discuss the terms racism, subtle racism, and islamophobia. Before explaining these issues, I give an introduction on one of the issues relating to the 45th President of the United States, Barack Obama. The first section, "Insecurities about Obama or Racism," was inspired by the work of acclaimed journalist and Pulitzer Prize winner Isabel Wilkerson in her book *Caste: The Origins of Our Discontents*. From there, I move into a brief description of racism, subtle racism, and islamophobia, explaining how these three topics were influential in withdrawing from the JCOPA.

### Insecurities about Obama or Racism?

In her latest work titled *Caste: The Origins of Our Discontents,* journalist Isabel Wilkerson describes the systematic racism or the "caste system" that influences people's lives in the United States as like India's caste system. In this work, she discusses Obama's legacy in the chapter titled "A Change in the Script." This chapter describes the opposition from those of the dominant class, white Republicans. She writes: "virtually every proposal he made forced him to resort to an executive order to accomplish his aim" during his (Obama's) administration.[27]

From the moment he announced his candidacy that year in 2016, Trump immediately launched an attack on Iran and the Obama Administration's already

[27] Isabel Wilkerson, *Caste: The Origins of Our Discontents* (New York: Random House, 2020), 316.

implanted Iranian deal. Without any reported prior knowledge of foreign policy affairs, Trump immediately declared on the campaign trail that the nuclear deal was "negotiated from desperation."[28] He magnified his disagreement with the JCPOA agreement by verbally attacking Obama and mocking his ability as a leader and negotiator. Finally, he went on to say that he would "dismantle the disastrous deal with Iran."[29]

In *Caste,* Wilkerson writes about Trump's use of rhetoric against Obama's policies during his campaign, which echoed the insecurities held by the dominant caste of whites. Once in office, she writes, "the forty-fifth president made no secret of his laser focus on the desires of his base." She quotes a correspondent from the *New York Times*: "Whether out of personal animus, political calculation, philosophical disagreement, or a conviction that the last president damaged the country, Mr. Trump has made clear that if it has Mr. Obama's name on it, he will just as soon erase it from the national hard drive."[30]

It has been no secret that Trump was not a fan of Obama, even before coming into the White House. As a presidential candidate in 2016, Trump declared that the Iranian Nuclear deal led by Obama and his administration was "disastrous" and that removing the United States from the agreement was "his number one priority."[31] He fulfilled this promise when he landed in the White House. In addition to withdrawing from the deal, he devoted much of his energy to withdrawing from Obama-era policies, including limiting

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[28] Uma Purshothaman, "The Iran Deal: Will It Have an Impact on US Elections?," ORF, July 31, 2015, https://www.orfonline.org/research/the-iran-deal-will-it-have-an-impact-on-us-elections/.
[29] Yeganeh Torbati, "Trump Election Puts Iran Nuclear Deal on Shaky Ground," *Reuters*, November 9, 2016, https://www.reuters.com/article/us-usa-election-trump-iran-idUSKBN13427E.
[30] Wilkerson, *Caste,* 332. Here Wilkerson is describing what was said from New York Times White House correspondent Peter Baker.
[31] Carol Morello, "Iran Nuclear Deal Could Collapse under Trump," *Washington Post*, November 9, 2016, https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/national-security/iran-nuclear-deal-could-collapse-under-trump/2016/11/09/f2d2bd02-a68c-11e6-ba59-a7d93165c6d4_story.html.

immigration, regulations aimed at restricting protecting the environment, and even the Affordable Care Act (Obamacare).[32] Bob Shrum, a Democratic strategist, said: "His only guiding principle seems to be to undo what Obama did. His driving motivation seems to be his animosity towards Obama. We know he has no deep convictions of his own, so Obama became his negative reference point."[33]

The opposition to the Iranian nuclear deal was tied to Trump's dissatisfaction with President Obama, not because he was a member of the opposite party, but rather seemingly because he was a person of color. To examine further evidence of this, one must further explore the definitions of racism. In the next portion, I will make the case to explain how this was an example of subtle racism.

## Examining the Roots of the Withdrawal: Subtle Racism

During his candidacy for the US presidency, Trump played on the overused and oversold tropes against those who practice Islam. It is clear to see that his stance against Muslims was another anti-Muslim resentment. The most notable examples include the proposal of policies asking for the registration of Muslims in the US. He even created the travel ban, dubbed "the Muslim ban," restricting travel from countries with many Muslims in their population from entering the United States.

Lajevardi and Oskooii suggest that this policy position by Trump was related to what they call Old Fashioned Racism (OFR). They give detailed examples explaining the origins of Islamophobia in their research, much like Wilkerson does in *Caste.* They

[32] Juliet Eilperin and Darla Cameron, "How Trump Is Rolling Back Obama's Legacy," *Washington Post*, March 24, 2017, https://www.washingtonpost.com/graphics/politics/trump-rolling-back-obama-rules/.
[33] David Smith, "The Anti-Obama: Trump's Drive to Destroy His Predecessor's Legacy," *The Guardian*, May 11, 2018, http://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2018/may/11/donald-trump-barack-obama-legacy.

explain that the "outright expression of the inherent, permanent, and biological differences between races," which they refer to as OFR, was treated as gospel by many whites from the time of the colonial days onto the mid-twentieth centuries. As a result, many non-whites were stigmatized and alienated because of their "supposed biological and moral deficiencies." The belief of OFR appeared to have declined by the 1950s, as much of America appeared to have subscribed away from the policies of "Jim Crow racism," and the decline of public sharing of belief seemed to be taboo. For example, despite the decline of public expressions of OFR, "support for policies that encouraged the integration of schools remained relatively low."[34]

Furthermore, they explain that they began to see a "paradox between the endorsement of racially egalitarian principles but opposition to racially egalitarian policies." Building on findings from other social scholars, they suggest that Americans entered a new era of racism, or "new racism." This era, they say, goes by many names. These include *modern bigotry, racism*, *symbolic racism*, *laissez-faire racism*, *racial resentment*, *subtle prejudice*, and *racial ambivalence.* Although these terms slightly differ, the overall message of each one of these terms stems from the idea that most whites have become more "egalitarian in principle when asked directly about their racial attitudes, but there is a "subtle or covert racism" (called new racism) that has emerged to justify existing racial attitudes and privileges."[35]

[34] Nazita Lajevardi and Kassra A.R. Oskooii, "Old-Fashioned Racism, Contemporary Islamophobia, and the Isolation of Muslim Americans in the Age of Trump," *The Race, Ethnicity, and Politics Section of the American Political Science Association* 3, no. 1 (March 2018): 112–52, https://doi.org/10.1017/rep.2017.37.
[35] Lajevardi and Oskooii, 112–52.

When placing them together, there are indeed parallels between Trump's anti-Muslim stance and his withdrawal from Iran. While much of the scholarly research in racial attitudes has focused on the relationship between whites and blacks, with OFR and the new racism argument, Lajevardi and Oskooii suggest that this needs to apply to other groups' studies of Muslim Americans. Additionally, say that a relationship ties OFR, new racism with Muslim Americans, and contemporary Islamophobia.[36]

The roots of Islamophobia or anti-Muslim attitudes, historically, are old. According to Ali S. Asani, much of these attitudes depict a diverse group of people from many racial and ethnic backgrounds as "violent, intolerant and out of touch with modern social norms…and at odds with democratic norms and principles.[37] Asani adds that the anti-Muslim sentiment magnified after 9/11, the War of Terror, the rise of radical groups such as Al-Qaeda, and ISIS. These events have made many Muslims in America visible to the American public, which resulted in negative anti-Muslim sentiment in public opinion polls. These include "violent physical attacks on Muslims or persons mistakenly assumed to be Muslim," such as those of the Sikh community who have become targets because "ill-informed attackers mistakenly identify their turbans as beards as markers of Muslim identity."[38] Asani notes, "Islamophobia is not only considered mainstream, but it is also considered patriotic by some."[39]

[36] Lajevardi and Oskooii, 118.
[37] Lajevardi and Oskooii, 118.
[38] Ali Asani, *Infidel of Love: Exploring Muslim Understandings of Islam* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, n.d.).
[39] Asani. As quoted in Alexandra Marks, "After hate crime' melee, calm eludes Quaker school," Christian Science Monitor, January 29, 2007.

To conclude, it seems that there were parallels between the withdrawal of the agreement with the outcome of Obama Administration policies and questioning his ability as a "capable leader" with Islamophobia and anti-Muslim policies and racism.

## Chapter III.

## Understanding Edward Said's Orientalism

Like many others who happen to read this paper, when I first came across the words "Orientalism" or "the Orient" or "Oriental" as a youth, they were often attached to specific genres that appealed to my senses at the time through the arts, such as music and paintings. Later, these words came through my study of history. As I got older and gained more knowledge of the world, studying history, the humanities, and later the field of linguistics, I learned the word "Oriental" was an "outdated," "negative," a "subtle racial slur," and offensive. As an African American, I was aware of the connection of words and how they could be offensive. I detached myself from this word but kept my interest in the histories, cultures, and traditions of the peoples of the Middle East, North Africa, and Asia.

My study of the use of discrimination in public and foreign policy reintroduced me to Orientalism from my Thesis Director, Dr. Harry Bastermajian. He informed me that much of my research regarding racism, and discrimination in decision-making in politics, and ideas that Wilkerson's shared in *Caste* align with Said's statements in *Orientalism.* As I read the book, I was struck by the many layers of this word, the associations within history, politics, culture, and what I believe to be "generational discrimination." Therefore, choosing Edward Said's topic of Orientalism is relevant to this thesis and vital in explaining Trump's policies towards Iran and withdrawal from the JCPOA agreement.

## Introduction to Orientalism

Said began his introduction with a quote from a French journalist description of Beirut during their civil war in 1976. As written by Said, the French journalist's description of Beirut, "it had seemed to belong to…the Orient of Chateaubriand and Nerval."[40] In other words, what it was once was during the times of these particular authors, the Orient, in his eyes, was disappearing. "The main thing for the European visitor was a European representation of the Orient and its contemporary fate, which had a privileged communal significance for the journalist and his French readers."[41]

What is the Orient? When one mentions *the Orient,* many definitions come to mind., such as the one I had in my introduction. I learned through Said that each of these definitions and explanations is from various perspectives, and each of these perspectives ranges from different ideas, beliefs, generational differences, and geography. To begin, Orientalism can mean two things: states that are geographical regions located in the Middle East, or what is known to Western nations as "The Middle East," and states known to Western countries as "Far East."

The Orient can also include cultural identities that are separate from the West. These identities can consist of different language classifications and forms of art, such as music found in geographical regions or sectors. All in all, each of these distinctions and characteristics and declaration of "what is Orient" and "what can be classified as "Orient" comes down to one basic interpretation: a Western interpretation, according to Said.

[40] Said, *Orientalism*, 1.
[41] Said, 1.

Said's introduces his audience to Orientalism by citing what was said by French journalists in his description of civil war Lebanon. Said describes the categorization and the interpretation of *the Orient* as "almost a European invention." Said first explains the Orient's connection to Europe as "a special place in European Western experience, in terms of colonialism, language, civilization." Moreover, the Orient help define what is Europe (or the West) in their often-reoccurring description of "the Other," meaning the people found in these geographical regions. Finally, Said mentions that these often-reoccurring descriptions were "not imaginative" but were built upon, systematically, and reinforced from time to time. Here he explains: "Orientalism expresses and represents that part culturally and even ideologically as a mode of discourse with supporting institutions, vocabulary, scholarship, imagery, doctrines, even colonial bureaucracies, and colonial styles."[42]

Orientalism, and these interpretations, passed from Western European influence over to America. "Orientalism is an integral part of European civilization and culture," he says. However, Americans do not feel the same way about the Orient as those in Europe. Their connection to the Orient usually has associations with countries such as China, Japan, South Korea, etc. And now from an expanded American political and economic role in this region.

## Said's Inspiration for Orientalism

Said's inspiration for studying orientalism was due to his background. He says that he considered himself as "an Oriental" growing up in Palestine, Egypt, and finally, in

[42] Said, 2.

the United States, all the while being aware of himself and his ethnic and geographical identity. Said explains:

> In many ways, my study of Orientalism has been an attempt to inventory the traces upon me, the Oriental subject, of the culture whose domination has been so powerful a factor in the life of all Orientals. Therefore, for me, the Islamic Orient has had to be the center of attention.[43]

While writing about Orientalism, he mentions that he was aware of what could influence his study of Orientalism while relying on the instruments he acquired from his education, which encompasses historical, humanistic, and cultural research. From his studies and living through the Cold War Era, he mentions that "the East" had come to the attention of the West and was seen as a threat. Moreover, the advent of technology, such as access to radio, and television, has now made the East, especially the Orient, closer than one can imagine during this period. This is especially true in today's age of social media, and now, in the year 2022, the term "the metaverse," or digital space. Said explains:

> One aspect of the electronic, postmodern world is that there has been a reinforcement of the stereotypes by which the Orient is viewed. Television, films, and all the media's resources have forced information into more and more standardized molds. So far as the Orient is concerned, standardization and cultural stereotyping have intensified the hold of the nineteenth-century academic and imaginative demonology of "the mysterious Orient."[44]

The result of the culture stereotyping has made the Orient, especially those of Arab descent or followers of Islam, politicized and seen as the brunt of popular anti-Arab, and Anti-Islamic prejudice. Here Dr. Said explains, "The web of racism, cultural stereotypes, political imperialism, dehumanizing ideology holding in the Arab or the

[43] Said, 25-26.
[44] Said, 26.

Muslim is powerful indeed, and it is this web which every Palestinian has come to feel as his uniquely punishing destiny."[45] Although the book was written over forty years ago, much of what he had spoken about remains true to this day, especially in the realm of cultural stereotypes that are often portrayed in the media and the political world. In the next part, I will discuss how Said came up with his approach on the topic of Orientalism.

## Explaining Said's Approach to Orientalism

Professor Said approached the subject of Orientalism from three different perspectives**.** This is a brief list of his procedures below:

1. **An academic one** describes someone who "teaches, writes about, or researches the Orient." Although in the 21st century, the term *Orientalism* is not used. Instead, it is replaced by more familiar terms, such as *area studies* or *Middle East Studies*.[46]
2. **Orientalism as a style of thought based on the "ontological and epistemological" distinction between another word---*the Occident.*** The people who develop these distinctions are a collection of poets, writers, novelists, philosophers, economists, etc.; "as the starting point for elaborate theories, epics, novels, social descriptions, and political accounts concerning the Orient, its people, customs, "mind," destiny, and so on."[47]

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[45] Said, 27.
[46] Said says, "a person is an anthropologist, sociologist, historian, or philologist—either in its specific or its general aspects, is an Orientalist, and what he or she does is Orientalism." He also mentions that the term Orientalism is less preferred b specialist, because it is too vague, and "connotes the high-handed executive attitude of 19th to 20th century colonialism." However, *Oriental studies* or *Area studies* is preferred (for example SOAS in London). Said, 2.
[47] Said, 2-3.

3. **"Orientalism can be discussed and analyzed as the corporate institution for dealing with the Orient**—dealing with it by making statements about it, authorizing views of it, describing it, by teaching it, settling it, ruling over it: in short, Orientalism as a Western-style for dominating, restructuring, and having authority over the Orient."[48]

The second and third definition supports my hypothesis that the Trump Administration's policies with Iran and withdrawal from the JCPOA were based on this *Orientalism view* and perspective. There will be more about this in the analysis version of the paper of the analysis of Trump interviews and speeches about the JCPOA and policies with Iran.

Further in this third view and perspective, Said explained that anyone writing about the Orient is limited by their thoughts or actions imposed by this view of Orientalism. Orientalism as a subject matter is not an accumulation of "a free thought or action." Instead, when one is writing about the Orient independently, it is constrained by "a whole network of interests." When he mentions these "interests," it could be a person's network. For example, their community, culture, society, and their very own environment on how they first accumulated that knowledge (of the Orient) in the first place. Said explains:

> His contention is that without examining Orientalism as a discourse, one cannot possibly understand the enormously systematic discipline by which European culture was able to manage—and even produce—*the Orient* politically, sociologically, militarily, ideologically, scientifically, and imaginatively during the post-Enlightenment period.[49]

[48] Said, 3.
[49] Said, 3.

Finally, the result of these network of interest and classifications of what is classified as "the Orient," whether it be in language, culture, or geographical region, powerful Western nations, influential writers, and scholars from Great Britain and France, transmigrated their ideas and beliefs across different countries. In doing so, they separated the "Ours" from "theirs," which led to thinking of superiority amongst the European elites towards those that they defined as "The East." Said says, "European culture gained in strength and identity by setting itself off against the Orient as a sort of surrogate and even underground self."[50] Said explains:

> to speak of Orientalism, one is speaking mainly, although not exclusively, of a British and French cultural enterprise, a project whose dimensions take in such disparate realms as the imagination itself, the whole of India and the Levant, the Biblical texts and the Biblical lands, the spice trade, colonial armies and a long tradition of colonial administrators, a formidable scholarly corpus, innumerable Oriental "experts" and "hands," an Oriental professorate, a complex array of "Oriental" ideas (Oriental despotism, Oriental splendor, cruelty, sensuality), many Eastern sects, philosophies, and pearls of wisdom domesticated for local European use—the list can be extended more or less indefinitely.[51]

## The Culture of Orientalism

Said says that "Orientalism follows a culture." This culture contains political facts and "follows certain distinct and knowable lines."[52] These lines are often laced with prejudices and often discriminatory thinking. Writers of the Orient can be able to write of the Orient from their minds. However, one must keep in mind that he or she could have specific influences on his knowledge of the Orient based on their generation, culture,

[50] Said, 3.
[51] Said, 4.
[52] Said, 13.

environment, social status, or economic background, as previously mentioned in the "Approaches to Orientalism" section.

However, he mentions the powers of the time, the "literary-culture establishment" who would be seen in today's vocabulary as "influencers," are the ones that determine the rules. He says that the "literary-cultural establishment has declared the serious study of imperialism and culture off-limit that is, to realize that political imperialism governs an entire field of study, imagination, and scholarly institutions—in such a way as to make its avoidance an intellectual and historical impossibility." Since they were the ones that determined the rules, they often declare that the analysis of politics by those who specialize in the fields of humanities, (philosophers) are "off-limits." In other words, they did not want to be seen as politically and culturally incorrect, as seen in today's century. He makes his point when he mentions that those who hold specialties in these degrees are often overpassed or overlooked by those who do have specialty degrees in politics and "block[ing] the larger and, in my opinion, the more intellectually serious perspective."[53]

Said's take on his field of humanities when analyzing politics is essential, as we will come back to this again during the analysis section of this paper. We must also understand that writers and philosophers could have prejudiced views. And many of these writers, philosophers, authors, etc., are often looked at today as inspirations for determining the modern policies of the world. For example, he speaks of the founder of modern economics, John Stewart Mill, when he discusses the intelligence of Indians as "civilizational, if not racially, inferior."[54] Although these and other thinkers have these

[53] Said, 13-14.
[54] Said, 14.

views and their personal opinions, Said points out that it can tell us about the thoughts of their time, and the cultural richness of their time, rather than other "hermetic" books that can contain the same analyses. Again, Said explains,

> I study Orientalism as a dynamic exchange between individual authors and the large political concerns shaped by the three great empires—British, French, American—in whose intellectual and imaginative territory the writing was produced. What interests me most as a scholar is not the gross political verity but the detail, as indeed what interests us in someone like Lane or Flaubert or Renan is not the (to him) indisputable truth that Occidentals are superior to Orientals, but the profoundly worked over and modulated evidence of his(their) detailed work within the vast space opened up by that truth.[55]

He asks critical questions about Orientalism and the development of creating Orientalism. He asked about "what kind of energies" went into creating the subject of Orientalism and how did other topics, such as linguistics, politics, and history, came to "the service of Orientalism's broad imperialist view of the world?"[56] Finally, the last question he asks on the same page is fundamental and part of why I believe this subject is essential in decision-making, including how the US creates foreign policy with other countries. He asks,

> how can we treat the cultural, historical phenomenon of Orientalism as a kind of *willed human work*—not of mere unconditioned ratiocination—in all its historical complexity, detail, and worth without at the same time, losing sight of the alliance between cultural work, political tendencies, the state, and the specific realities of domination?[57]

## Said's Methodological Approach in Orientalism

Said repeatedly says in *Orientalism* that the subject Orientalism is a creation of, or fabricated into existence, by Western thought, or from the dominant Anglo-Franco

[55] Said, 14-15.
[56] Said, 15.
[57] Said, 15.

Western perspective, giving life into the place by reviews and practice of famous European writers and thinkers of their time. Their thoughts and attitudes are in the view of what they (Europeans) thought the other (people of the East) were. Said says it best when he explains this view from the Italian philosopher Giambattista Vico:

> men make their history, that what they can know is what they have made, and extend it to geography: as both geographical and cultural entities---to say. Nothing of historical entities such as locales, regions, and geographical sectors as "Orient" and " Occident" are made. Therefore, the Orient is an idea that has a history and a tradition of thought, imagery, and vocabulary that have given it reality and presence in and for the West.[58]

Therefore, these two ideas, "the Orient," as given for those who make up the determination of what qualifies to be the Orient, and "the Occident," as given for the qualification for those who would be trained as being from the West or Europe, in a sense, "support" or "reflect one another." From what can be understood by this statement and what has been repetitive throughout *Orientalism* from Said, one idea cannot be understood without understanding the second idea. Why is it like this? The first reason that Dr. Said explained was that the idea of an Orient is not merely an "idea" because the Orient has always been there with its histories, lives, and customs. The most important thing is to acknowledge this, and the Orient is not a place only for Western consumption and imagination and makes it into reality. Simply put, "it is not the real Orient."

The second explanation is that the Occident and the Orient is "a relationship of power, domination, and varying degrees of a complex hegemony." This explanation believed that the Orient could be made into, or "being submitted into being---made Oriental." He gives a damming reason of how the writer Flaubert's encounter with an

[58] Said, 15-16.

Egyptian courtesan, and his explanations of her, was speaking on her behalf, rather than her speaking for herself.[59]

Orientalism is not about lies, myths, or fiction talked about the Orient. Instead, has he explained that Orientalism and its beliefs have withstood strong, and the ideas that incorporate Orientalism have remained intact for centuries. "It is more than a collection of lies," he said. "Orientalism, therefore, is not an airy European fantasy about the Orient, but a created body of theory and practice in which, for many generations, there has been a considerable material investment."[60] The contributors to that investment have been European and the United States and the capital in which they were able to contribute has been through colonialism and imperialism. The filters of this knowledge about the Orient "into western conscious" into Western culture.

The idea of a culture hegemony at work is the dominating idea of the time that has been transmitted in our civil and political society or institutions. These ideas give rise to an idea or a system of thought at work given place and identity of what is a European and what is a non-European, and this system of beliefs makes an unfounded claimed notion that non-Europeans lack intelligence, inferior, and backward.

Therefore, creating a methodology of Orientalism for Said was an enormous challenge for him in completing his work. He mentions finding "that first step" in his study of Orientalism and working in the field of "human sciences." However, it was difficult for him to find a beginning, as he put it, "a starting point." He says that if you were to have a starting point, you would have to cut something out of a "great mass of material, separated from the mass, and made to stand for, as well as be, *a starting point*, a

[59] Said, 6.
[60] Said, 6.

beginning." Moreover, he includes in his difficulties finding the starting point, the problem of finding which texts, authors, or periods is best suited for study.[61]

## Conclusion: Drawing Connections among Said's *Orientalism*, Subtle Racism, and Wilkerson's *Caste*

To conclude, Said says that there has never been a "pure, or unconditional Orient"; its "history of Orientalism has both an internal consistency and a highly articulated set of relationships to the dominant culture surrounding it." To add to his quote, it can also include surrounding and colonizing it. These are the English, the French, and currently, the Americans. The current idea of the Orient and Orientalism borrowed from strong opinions over time of these dominant voices, and the voices that speak of the Orient have not come from an innocent place of deep thought and accurate analysis. Instead, there is the development of a kind of "racist Orient" that has established itself in the world for centuries. He speaks of Orientalism as a system in which Orientalism is the usage of one culture that is dominant to describe another culture that they observed from afar or from within the culture, for example, using the geography (culture environment) when someone writes about Egypt to describe Syria or vice versa.[62]

Orientalism is not a complete history or general account of Orientalism. Said's goal is to describe these different parts of Orientalism. Moreover, he attempts to describe the enormous complexities surrounding the subject of Orientalism. He calls on other writers and scholars to write about Orientalism, the many forms of Orientalism, the

[61] Said, 16.
[62] Said, 22-23.

different views, and perspectives. He mentions that we must consider the connections between "knowledge and power."[63] The audience he is addressing is the literary students and contemporary students. You can also include academic institutions that specialize in the areas surrounding the Orient. You can also include the common man and woman who seek to understand this subject in that audience.

His study and analysis of orientalism are for literary, contemporary, and general readers; he also addresses "those in third world nations" he says, "I hope to illustrate the formidable structure of cultural domination and, specifically for formerly colonized peoples, the dangers and temptations of employing this structure upon themselves or upon others."[64]

*Orientalism* and *Caste* are vital works that discuss the attitudes of those in positions of power to decide the fate of others. Unfortunately, the fate of others is often treated as "others," and the people who are treated are based on a system of discrimination, racism, or an invisible "caste" system that has been set up by our society, as according to Wilkerson. As discussed by Said, *Orientalism* examines through Said's analysis from his background in the humanities to bring into the discussion both humanities and politics. Wilkerson's *Caste* discusses the reasoning through research from her background in investigative journalism to discuss the reclamation of power and the reaffirming of racial lines that the dominant group in America, which were whites, who are considered to be the dominant caste, was created by the same system and conditions that Said spoke on.

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[63] Said, 24.
[64] Said, 22.

Given the reasons for this work, the combination of all three understands how subtle racism and Orientalism were used by Trump in his policies towards Iran and how this thinking influenced the withdrawal from the JCPOA. Moreover, it is vital to understand other attitudes or motivations as to why the Trump Administration withdrew from Iran, how other policies, not only with Iran, but other Middle Eastern Countries, and other countries could be called into question if these three subjects influence them. The following section discusses the methodology that I used to analyze Donald Trump's transcripts and documents relating to the withdrawal of the JCPOA agreement.

# Chapter IV.

## Methodology

I used the interviews and speeches made by former US President Trump speaking about Iran and the Iranian Nuclear Deal, and Iran as a topic of discourse. As I mentioned previously, the reasoning is to gather enough evidence that would support or refute my hypothesis. I used the dates from the time Trump announced his candidacy to the presidency to the date of his last day in office. I decided on the dates of January 1, 2015, to January 21, 2021, to analyze any discussions that Trump had made about Iran before he became President to the period after he was elected. In these two periods, I carefully analyzed news transcripts relating to Donald Trump and the JCPOA and any words or phrases Trump has spoken relating to the Iranian government or Iran.

## Background

Before writing this thesis, I was familiar with racism from a personal perspective because I have faced similar discrimination during my life. Regarding Islamophobia, I have not experienced discrimination of Islamophobia from a personal level, for I am not a Muslim. However, I am aware of it from explanations of it from encounters with the subject in news journals. In addition, I took classes on Islam during my time spent in academia at Georgia State University and Harvard University. During these lessons on Islam, there was a section regarding Islamophobia in American society. Thus, I obtained the tools and acquired the knowledge to identify this tragic phenomenon. Finally, I was unfamiliar with identifying “Subtle Racism” and “Orientalism” in speeches. Fortunately,

I acquired the tools and knowledge to identify these phenomena from my research for this thesis.

While I acquired and required the knowledge of all four subjects, I decided that I must develop a general guideline for identifying patterns of speech or wordplay in analyzing the transcripts from Trump. I looked for words and phrases from each of the four categories that stood out to me concerning Iran, the JCPOA, and other policies with Iran.

## Defining the Categories

First, I followed a definitive form of each of the categories found in the literature review. From each of the classes, there were phrases or words that I gathered that would aid me in my identification of Racism, Subtle Racism, Islamophobia, and Orientalism.

Racism (Old Fashioned Racism) and Subtle Racism: New Racism, as described by researchers Lajevardi and Oskooii, involves the transformation that society has shifted away from public display of racism into a more "symbolic racism." They write:

> The *modern racism* thesis suggests that resentful whites started to employ a more sophisticated and coherent belief system that consisted of a blend of prejudices towards Blacks as a group. (This) is a result of pre-adult socialization and pervasive racial inequalities between whites and blacks that could be explained as blacks having 'shortcomings" in intelligence and culture.[65]

They also define Old Fashioned Racism as "the outright expression of the inherent, permanent, and biological differences between the races-what is referred to as 'old-fashioned racism,' 'Jim-Crow racism' or 'red-neck racism'--- and support for

[65] Lajevardi and Oskooii, "Old-Fashioned Racism, Contemporary Islamophobia, and the Isolation of Muslim Americans in the Age of Trump," 117.

policies intended to marginalize further and stigmatize non-whites."[66] This definition includes background research from Liao et al. on subtle racism. They write, "racism is expressed more covertly when individuals do not act overtly discriminatory ways." They can be challenging "to detect," and they can also be "interpreted differently."[67]

In my search for subtle racism in the news transcripts, I looked for phrases or wordplay that Trump used in his speeches with policy for Iran or words or phrases that can be seen as dehumanizing. For example, in his speeches, Trump said that the Iran deal was the of the worse deals he had ever seen. On the one hand, it can be interpreted as his opinion. But it can also be construed as covert discrimination against Obama's policies, not since he is a member of the opposite party. There will be more on this in the analytic section of the paper

Islamophobia: To obtain a reliable and general account of Islamophobia and observe words or patterns of speech associated with Islamophobia, I relied on the research that I got from taking a class on Islam from Professor Ali Asani, specifically, the section dealing with Islamophobia. Moreover, the descriptions of Islamophobia link to both old-fashioned racism and modern racism from Lajevardi and Osokii's research. Below is the general definition for Islamophobia that I used in identifying Islamophobia. This definition is obtained from Esposito's *Islam: The Straight Path:* "prejudice toward and discrimination against Muslims based on their religion or religious identity…an anti-Muslim discourse and behavior."[68] It can also be described as

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[66] Lajevardi and Oskooii, 116.
[67] Hsin-Ya Liao, Ying-yi Hong, and James Rounds, "Perception of Subtle Racism: The Role of Group Status and Legitimizing Ideologies Ψ," *The Counseling Psychologist* 44, no. 2 (February 1, 2016): 239, https://doi.org/10.1177/0011000015625329.
[68] John Esposito, *Islam: The Straight Path*, 5th Edition (New York: Oxford University Press, 2016), 293-294.

> events in the Muslim world and the West, as well as statements by government leaders, policymakers, and commentators in the media perpetuated notions of a global Islamic threat and a clash of civilizations. Magazines, newspaper articles, and editorials (that) spoke of Islam's war with the West and its incompatibility with democracy. Islam was painted as a triple threat: political, civilizational, and demographic.[69]

Orientalism. The definitions that I will be referring to as Orientalism are the blatant discriminations of peoples that are found in the geographical area as referred to as "The Middle East" from scholars (Flaubert, Disraeli, Stewart Mill, etc.) as being "racially inferior" in terms of intellect, backward, under humanized, antidemocratic, backward, barbaric, and so forth."[70]

Like the definition, the keywords, phrases, or that I looked for in Trump's speeches and interviews concerning Iran as a country, and the comparisons that Trump used between Iran and subtle uses of stereotypical words or phrases. For example, before he became president, Trump repeatedly said that "Iran is taking over Iraq" in his interviews and speeches. In an interview on "This Week" on ABC News, on December 20, 2015, Trump had the assumption that nuclear energy would empower Iran to go into Iraq and "take it over."[71] A direct interpretation of this is an overthrow of the Iraqi government and installing a pro-Iranian government. In addition, in the same interview, Trump assumed that Iran would use nuclear energy as a guise to create nuclear weapons or use the JCPOA to acquire funds to obtain the means to buy a nuclear weapon. This is an example of Orientalism for me because of the assumption that a country such as Iran,

[69] Esposito, 294.
[70] Said, *Orientalism*, 150.
[71] George Stephanopoulos, "One on one with Donald Trump, Trump 'Great Honor' to be praised by Putin," ABC NEWS, December 2015.

which happens to be in the Middle East, would engage in threatening and hostile behavior without providing clear and sufficient evidence.

## Tools and Instruments

First, I used the search engine *NexisUni* to find the top twenty-five relevant transcripts from each month starting in January 2015 to March 8$^{t}$, 2018 to find interviews and transcripts from Trump. Below are the search criteria that I used:

- Publication Type: News Transcripts
- Date: Jan 2015
- Language: English
- Terms and Sources: Trump and Iran
- People: Donald Trump
- Industry: Media & Telecommunications
- Search: Trump and Iran

After I set the criteria into Nexus Uni, I used the feature "search relevancy." From there, I found the top twenty-five searches per month.

Second, I kept track of the interviews and speeches I found for that month. I used an excel spreadsheet. I kept track of the interviews and speeches that I found and reviewed. Often, *NexisUni* gave me an interview, but it would be about what other journalists said about Iran and the JCPOA, not Trump's own words when I searched through the interview. If Trump's word were present, I wrote "yes" on the spreadsheet and recorded the date. If there were no words that Trump said about Iran and the JCPOA, I recorded "no."

Third, after I found the relevant interviews and speeches made by Trump, I saved the documents using "Atlas.ti." I chose this qualitative software based on the practicality in organizing all the interview documents I found on Nexus Uni.

Fourth, in each interview, I coded the phrases or words Trump used in his speeches on Iran and the JCPOA compared the usage of certain words, phrases, themes, and paragraphs found in these interviews and speeches. From there, I created these categories into codes.

a. Evidence of Subtle Racism
b. Evidence of Islamophobia
c. Evidence of Orientalism
d. Evidence of Racism

Finally, I finished coding the documents I found from each year using the *Atlas.it* features to download the statistical data that I generated from my coding. I cleaned the data to remove irrelevant functions from the data. Also, I removed any duplicates that I found in the spreadsheet. I sorted the documents by date (from the year 2015-to 2021).

# Chapter V.

## Analysis and Results

I first begin this portion of my analysis by examining the evidence I gathered from the transcripts. In January 2015 and January 2021, I did not find that Trump said anything related to any of the four categories, even when I observed their transcripts. However, there were other words that he spoke about Iran during these months, but they were not related to the four categories that are part of my analysis. Therefore, they will not be included in my data.

As presented in Table 1, it is staggering to discover how many times a sitting US President was able to use Subtle Racism and Orientalism when speaking about a country. First, the most obvious analysis is that there were no occurrences of Islamophobia in Trump's speeches about Iran. However, I discovered many occurrences regarding too Subtle Racism in his speeches that I observed.

Table 1. Grand Total of Counted Occurrences of all Four Categories, 2015-2020.

| Months | Sum of Evidence of "Subtle Racism" | Sum of Evidence of Islamophobia | Sum of Evidence of Orientalism | Sum of Evidence of Racism |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 2015/02 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| 2015/03 | 2 | 0 | 1 | 1 |
| 2015/04 | 2 | 0 | 1 | 0 |
| 2015/06 | 2 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| 2015/07 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| 2015/08 | 4 | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| 2015/09 | 5 | 0 | 4 | 0 |
| 2015/10 | 3 | 0 | 2 | 0 |
| 2015/11 | 2 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| 2015/12 | 6 | 0 | 3 | 1 |
| 2016/01 | 4 | 0 | 2 | 0 |
| 2016/02 | 5 | 0 | 2 | 1 |
| 2016/03 | 4 | 0 | 3 | 0 |
| 2016/04 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| 2016/06 | 1 | 0 | 1 | 0 |
| 2016/07 | 2 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| 2016/08 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| 2016/09 | 3 | 0 | 2 | 0 |
| 2016/10 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| 2016/11 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| 2016/12 | 4 | 0 | 0 | 0 |

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 2017/02 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| 2017/04 | 2 | 0 | 2 | 0 |
| 2017/05 | 4 | 0 | 2 | 0 |
| 2017/09 | 1 | 0 | 1 | 0 |
| 2017/10 | 4 | 0 | 6 | 0 |
| 2017/12 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| 2018/01 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| 2018/04 | 4 | 0 | 2 | 0 |
| 2018/05 | 1 | 0 | 1 | 0 |
| 2019/01 | 1 | 0 | 2 | 0 |
| 2019/05 | 4 | 0 | 1 | 0 |
| 2019/06 | 3 | 0 | 1 | 0 |
| 2019/07 | 2 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| 2019/08 | 5 | 0 | 3 | 0 |
| 2019/09 | 6 | 0 | 4 | 0 |
| 2020/01 | 2 | 0 | 2 | 0 |
| 2020/03 | 2 | 0 | 2 | 0 |
| 2020/04 | 3 | 0 | 3 | 0 |
| 2020/09 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| 2020/10 | 2 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| 2020/12 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 |
| Grand Total | 104 | 0 | 59 | 3 |

What is also important is that each time there were occurrences of Subtle Racism at its peak, the ones that I counted, it seemed to rise during an election cycle, first in November 2015 and between the months of November 2019 and January 2020. Another surprising finding that I discovered is the occurrences of Racism before Trump was elected. After Trump was elected in 2016, I observed no direct occurrences of racism about Iran from the transcripts I gathered and my definition of racism in speeches. Below is a combined graph of all the gathered evidence (see Figure 1).

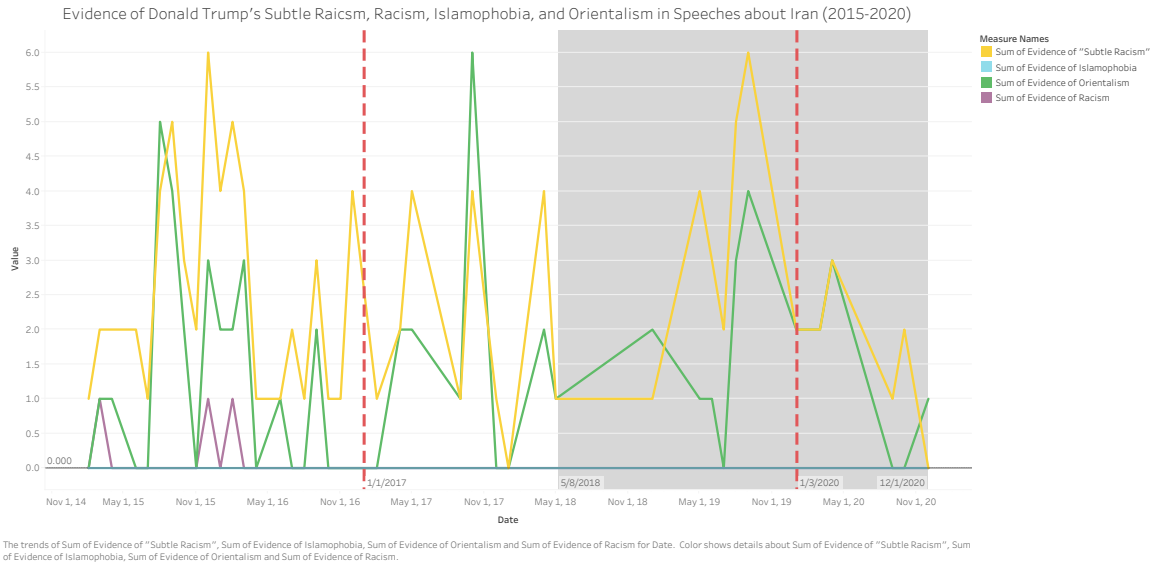



Figure 1. Evidence of Donald Trump's Subtle Racism, Racism, and Orientalism in Speeches about Iran, 2015-2020.

*Source: Appendix, Raw Data. Transcripts obtained from Nexis Uni. Analyzed by using Atlas.ti, Graphed using Tableau.*

I created this next graph visualizes my findings in graph form (see Figure 1). I put down two significant events that I found were important. The two red lines on the graphs mark specific events. The first event, of course, was the election of Trump. The second

event relates to the assassination of General Sulemani of Iran. For this graph, I could not put down all of the events between the United States and Iran, especially regarding the repetitive reimposing of sanctions. The portion of the graft marked in grey starting from May 8, 2018, is the day that Trump withdrew from the JCPOA.

There are a few noticeable things about the graph that I would like to point out. The period of the graph before he became president to the time he became president, there was a high frequency of usage of Racism, Orientalism, and Subtle Racism. As mentioned previously, there was no evidence found that Trump used Islamophobia as part of his policies towards Iran. The period after he got elected, racism suddenly dropped, but the frequency of subtle racism orientalism continued. Why was this, I wondered? It is possible that he wanted to gain as much support as possible in his initial decision to withdraw from the JCPOA agreement?

It was interesting to see that for months, there was a decline in two of the main categories, Orientalism and Subtle Racism. However, tensions between Iran and the United States increased. In the months leading up to the assassination of General Sulemani in January 2020, there was a rise in Orientalism and Subtle Racism used by the former President. Therefore, I made an interesting observation. If there was a big decision regarding the administration's policy, there was a rise in these categories of Subtle Racism and Orientalism. There was a link between his spoken words about Iran and a policy-making decision, such as the withdrawal from the JCPOA.

## Subtle Racism and Orientalism: Two Sides of the Same Coin?

From my analysis that I observed, the occurrences of both Subtle Racism and Orientalism both had similar patterns. Each time there were occurrences of Subtle

Racism, there were also occurrences of Orientalism. Why was that I wondered? Below is a combination of subtle racism and orientalism occurrences that I observed and analyzed in Trump's Speeches about Iran (see Figure 2).

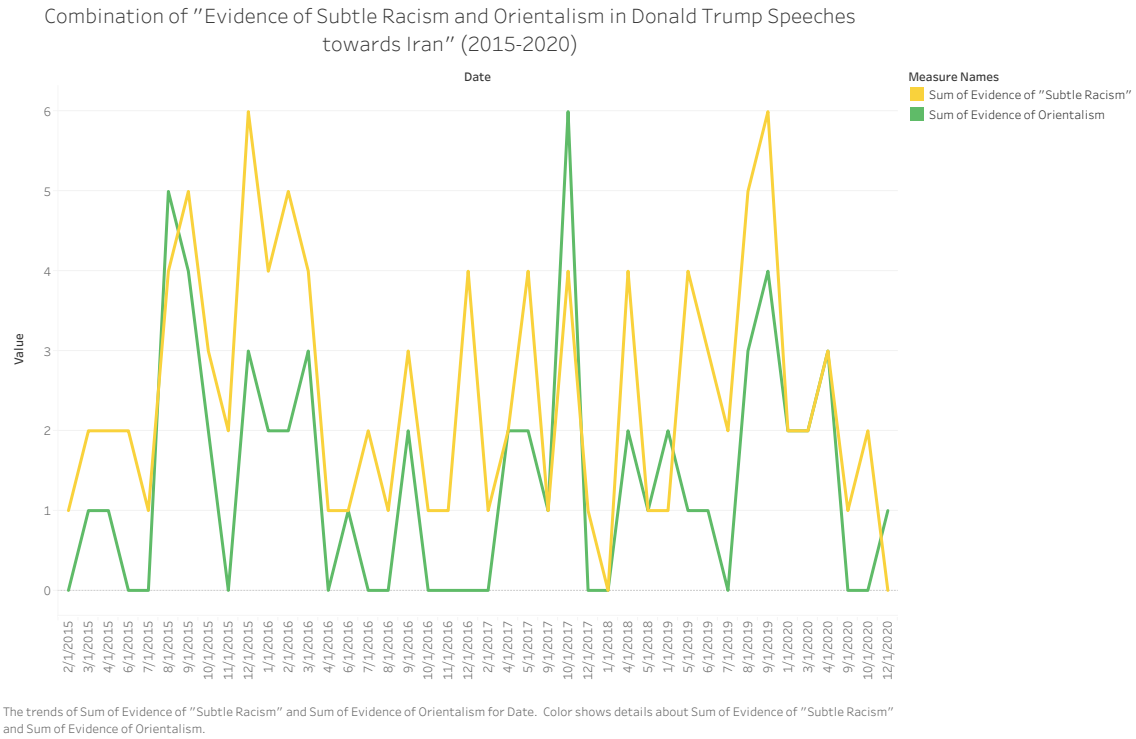



Figure 2. Combination of Evidence of Subtle Racism and Orientalism in Trump Speeches about Iran, 2015-2020.

*Source: See Appendix, Raw Data. Transcripts obtained from Nexis Uni. Analyzed by using Atlas.ti.*

## A Closer Look at the Relationship between Racism and Orientalism

One may notice the months August to September 2015, October 2017, and September 2019 are the dates that I have observed that had high occurrences of Subtle Racism and Islamophobia. To observe what event took place between the Iranian government and the Trump Administration, I gathered all the quotes from those months. I created a table explaining why these occurrences happened. First, I generated a graph of

my discovery, and below is a table of what I discovered, the quotes, and the events or explanations of the events. (See Table 2.)

Table 2. Occurrences of Subtle Racism and Orientalism in Trump Speeches about Iran from 2015-2020 and Possible Explanations.

| Date | Quote | Event/Explanation | Evidence of Subtle Racism | Evidence of Orientalism |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 28-Aug-15 | Well, look at Iran now, what about the pact? Did you see the other day they are going to inspect their own site? The worst site, the most important site, they're going to self-inspect. Can you believe it? It's -- can we even, are we even saying this? Are we even saying this? | This quote is him at a rally (campaign rally) he was criticizing John Kerry, and the Iran deal. | Yes | |
| 11-Aug-15 | I'd make sure that Saudi Arabia and, by the way, Iran, which gives plenty of money to ISIS, I would make sure, I -- believe it or not, Iran is funneling money into ISIS too and Iraq is going to Iran just like I predicted in 2004. | He was asked a question from Chris Cuomo on CNN, how would he take oil from Iran. He accused Iran of finding ISIS, and part of the funding was using oil money. This was his response. | Yes | |

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 11-Aug-15 | TRUMP: I would take the oil away, I'd take their money away, I'd take their source of money away. | He was asked a question from Chris Cuomo on CNN, how would he take oil from Iran. He accused Iran of finding ISIS, and part of the funding was using oil money. This was his response. | | Yes |
| 11-Aug-15 | TRUMP: Well, look, all the problems (inaudible) disaster with Iran. Do you know, even if the deal isn't approved, if the deal isn't approved, they still get the money? Which is something I heard the other day, which is im. They're going to be so rich, so powerful, so mean. They're going to be so angry. | He was asked from Cuomo: But you have to get the oil and, you know, Iran would say we're actually one of the ones who are fighting you -- fighting ISIS for you in a lot of places and that's why they got some leverage at that deal (inaudible). This was his response. The background to the question is the negotiation of the JCPOA deal | | Yes |

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 11-Aug-15 | TRUMP: (inaudible) it's going to go down as one of the dumb deals of all time, in my -- and one of the most dangerous deals ever signed. They're still getting much (inaudible). | Interview with Cuomo when Cuomo was Trump what he thought about the Nuclear deal, the causes and the affects of an arrangement. Cuomo said that there could be repercussions if Iran violated the agreement, but Trump had other thoughts about the deal, and still was heavily critical of the deal. CUOMO: Well, that's not exactly how it works. If they don't do what they need to do there is snapback. | | Yes |
| 13-Oct-17 | TRUMP: We will not continue down a path whose predictable conclusion is more violence, more terror, and the very real threat of Iran's nuclear breakout. | Trump was working on decertifying the JCPOA, and asked Congress to come up with a nuclear deal in 60 days. | Yes | Yes |
| 13-Oct-17 | TRUMP: The Iran deal, forget about deals between countries. This is one of the dumbest | Context, he was working on decertifying the JCPOA | | Yes |

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | contracts I have seen of any kind. | | | |
| 13-Oct-17 | TRUMP: Given the regime's murderous past and present, we should not take lightly its sinister vision for the future. The regime's two favorite chants are death to America and death to Israel. | Context, he was working on decertifying the JCPOA, and asked a question on what he thought of the deal. | Yes | Yes |
| 11-Oct-17 | TRUMP: You'll find out. | The report is from a transcript, after meeting military leaders, and he said in the meeting, according to Burnett (CNN) calm before the storm. Some referred this was a subtle response to having military action in Iran. | Yes | |
| 11-Sep-19 | TRUMP: It is the ultimate option. And there are options that are a lot less than that and we'll see. We're in a very powerful position. Right now, we're in a very, very powerful position. I would say the | Background from Acosta: "President Trump warned the U.S. could take military action against Iran in retaliation for what the administration sees as a clear | Yes | |

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | ultimate option, meaning go in war. | strike by Tehran on an oil facility in Saudi Arabia." | | |
| 20-Sep-19 | These are the highest sanctions ever imposed on a country. We've never done to it this level. And it's too bad what's happening with Iran. It's going to hell, doing poorly. | Trump placed new sanctions on Iran's national bank. | Yes | Yes |
| 20-Sep-19 | TRUMP: We are by far the strongest military in the world. Going into Iran would be a very easy decision, as I said before. It would be very easy, the easiest thing. Most people thought I would go in within two seconds, but plenty of time, plenty of time. I think I'm showing remarkable restraint. | The U.S. blamed oil attacks on Iran. And Trump's response to the accusation. | Yes | |
| 25-Sep-19 | All nations have a duty to act. No responsible government should | | Yes | Yes |

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | subsidize Iran's bloodlust. As long as Iran's menacing behavior continues, sanctions will not be lifted. They will be tightened. | | | |
| 24-Sep-19 | TRUMP: Iran knows, if they misbehave, they're on borrowed time. They're not doing well. | | | Yes |

Based on my discoveries and my analysis, it is obvious to conclude from the evidence gathered in three of the four areas that I observed that there is a combination of both Subtle Racism and Orientalism used in speeches about Iran. Thus, the obvious conclusion is that Trump's usage of both Subtle Racism and Orientalism was influential in his decision to withdraw from the JCPOA agreement. Another obvious conclusion that I made from my observation from my transcripts is that the usage of both could mean that they are part of the same coin. But what about Islamophobia? Why did I not discover that Trump used Islamophobia in his speeches? In the next portion, I will discuss possible reasons why I did not discover Islamophobia in his speeches about Iran.

## Chapter VI.

## Connecting the Dots

My research showed how there was a connection between Trump's decision to withdraw from the JCPOA with Islamophobia, Subtle Racism, Orientalism, and Orientalism. During my analysis of Trump's speeches about Iran, I could not find any blatant words spoken by Trump towards Iran that had a connection with Islamophobia. However, I found phrases spoken by Trump towards Iran were present, and there were numerous patterns of negative Orientalism of a derogatory, offensive nature and Subtle Racism.

I turn my attention briefly again to the domestic policies of the Trump Administration that mainly were highlighted by an anti-Muslim agenda and other forms of discrimination. As mentioned, before Trump became president, he proposed a series of policies that ranged from Muslim Americans registering with the federal government[72] to signing an executive order to temporarily ban several predominantly Muslim countries, including Iran, from entering the United States.[73] These policy proposals led me to wonder: with so much anti-Islamic rhetoric spoken by Trump in the creation of policies such as the infamous "Muslim ban" domestically, why did Trump not speak any anti-Islamic words towards Iran and their Islamic government? Why wasn't this part of my

[72] Trip Gabriel, "Donald Trump Says He'd 'Absolutely' Require Muslims to Register," *The New York Times*, November 20, 2015, sec. Politics, https://www.nytimes.com/politics/first-draft/2015/11/20/donald-trump-says-hed-absolutely-require-muslims-to-register/.
[73] "Trump Travel Ban: Read the Full Executive Order | CNN Politics," CNN, March 6, 2017, https://www.cnn.com/2017/03/06/politics/trump-new-travel-ban-executive-order-full-text/index.html.

hypothesis fulfilled when I believed it would be, based on what he had said during his campaign run for the White House?

I surmised several reasons why he decided not to use such an approach. For example, he could have spoken something considered Islamophobic about Iran privately in the White House or amongst his inner circles. His advisors might have advised him not to talk so blatantly about Iran in such a way in fear of both foreign policy ramifications not only with Iran, but also Iranian allies, and even with US partners and other countries as well who happened to have Islam as part of their government and a core of their belief system, especially towards their Saudi allies. Thus, to speak plainly, it would have been political suicide.

If Trump had not spoken any words that were considered Islamophobic towards Iran, it was highly possible that other members of his cabinet that represented the administration spoke about Iran and used Islamophobia. One individual immediately came to my mind. That individual was the former Secretary of State, Mike Pompeo.

Despite the various roles the former Secretary of State had while at the White House from 2018-2021, it seemed that Trump hired him in May 2018 to do one job: deal with Iran. The same month he was hired, he created a list of twelve demands that Iran must comply with to get a new nuclear treaty with the Trump administration.[74] That same year, in a November/December 2018 commentary in *Foreign Affairs* magazine, Pompeo spoke of another strategy towards Iran. Moreover, he used the exact threatening words that Trump had used: "Iran has been put on notice" and "that the United States will not allow their destabilizing activities to go unchecked." He reiterated much of what he had

[74] "Mike Pompeo Speech: What Are the 12 Demands given to Iran?," Al Jazeera, May 21, 2018, https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2018/5/21/mike-pompeo-speech-what-are-the-12-demands-given-to-iran.

already said when he became the Secretary of State in May that year but emphasized "protecting America's security interest." In other words, in both "the 12 demands speech" and the "Confronting Iran" commentary, it was as if Pompeo was speaking in a manner that, on the surface, seemed benign and political but underneath was very condescending towards Iran: "what they should do," "these are the rules," "what you (Iran) must do, and you must abide by my demands to get sanctions lifted and other economic incentives."[75] These statements have very similar parallels that Said has spoken about in *Orientalism.*

> Being a White Man was, therefore an idea and a reality. It involved a reasoned position towards both the white and the nonwhite worlds. It meant—in the colonies—speaking in a certain way, behaving according to a code of regulations, and even feeling certain things and not others. It meant specific judgments, evaluations, gestures. It was a form of authority before which nonwhites, and even whites themselves were expected to bend.[76]

The former Secretary Pompeo's critiques of Iran fit the definitions and the criteria of blatant Orientalism. What is more interesting in the analysis of his article on "Confronting Iran" is that every time there was a mention of the word "Islamic," it was attached to phrases that signify violence or acts of aggression. Pompeo's words, in my opinion, are a sign of subtle Islamophobia. Below are several times in "Confronting Iran" when the former secretary spoke about Iran but replaced Iran with "Islamic."

> 1. "Leading from behind at best only delayed Iran's pursuit of becoming a nuclear power while allowing the Islamic Republic's malign influence and terror threat to grow."
>
> 2. "With Iran, similarly, the Trump administration is pursuing a "maximum pressure" campaign designed to choke off revenues that the regime—and particularly the Islamic Revolutionary Guard Corps (IRGC), part of Iran's military that is directly beholden to the supreme leader—uses to fund violence through Hezbollah in Lebanon, Hamas in the Palestinian territories, the Assad

[75] Pompeo, "Confronting Iran."
[76] Said, *Orientalism*, 227.

regime in Syria, the Houthi rebels in Yemen, Shiite militias in Iraq, and its own agents covertly plotting around the world."

3. "The United States is asking every nation that is sick and tired of the Islamic Republic's destructive behavior to stand up for the Iranian people and join our pressure campaign."

4."We do not seek war. But we must make painfully clear that escalation is a losing proposition for Iran; the Islamic Republic cannot match the United States' military prowess, and we are not afraid to let Iran's leaders know it."

5. "The regime is so wedded to certain ideological principles—including the export of the Islamic Revolution through proxy warfare and the subversion of fellow Muslim-majority countries, implacable opposition to Israel and the United States, and stringent social controls that restrict the rights of women—that it cannot endure any competing ideas."[77]

These pieces of evidence suggest that the former secretary, although not speaking directly about Islam, subtly associated the words and phrases within this article with Islamophobia. I now examine these quotes, including my other terms, Subtle Racism, Racism, and Orientalism) from the same analysis of Trump's interviews and speeches.

1. When the former secretary spoke of an "Islamic" republic, he used or associated the word "choke" and "funding violence." Especially the words "Islamic" and "funding violence" were used in the same sentence and always a "go-to" for those who wanted to promote Islamophobic attitudes.
2. The second quote, with "sick and tired" and "destruction" and "Islamic" in the same sentence, also speaks volumes that this speech was an example of a subtle Islamophobia.
3. In the third quote, he emphasized the emotions of "protecting human rights" by saying that he and the United States were "standing up" for the Iranian people against the Islamic regime's oppression. I find it hypocritical for many

[77] Pompeo.

reasons since he said that he could rescue Iranians from Islamic oppression but at the same time supported policies domestic and abroad that did the opposite. Examples include supporting the construction of the Israeli settlements in Palestinian lands, not to mention the border control issue in the United States that saw migrants being held in the most horrendous conditions[78] that were clear violations of their human rights.

4. In the fourth quote, he invoked Iran's opposition to Israel. I believe he purposely used the "opposition to Israel" subtlety as a sign to gain sympathetic ears for those who believe in Zionism and subtlety suggesting that "opposition to Israel" was a form of discrimination and anti-Semitism. It was very misleading. Opposition against Israel's occupation in the region is not the same or equivalent to anti-Semitism. Finally, the same heroic pattern of speech mentioned that the United States advocates for "the rights of women" when speaking against Iran. These deep-seated myths are similar amongst prevalent myths about Muslim women and the treatment of women and are a prime example of speech used amongst those who are Islamophobic.[79]

In conclusion, although Trump did not say anything related to Islamophobia in his speeches, the discovery of Pompeo's use of subtle Islamophobia *Confronting Iran* speech

[78] Adam Serwer, "A Crime by Any Name," *The Atlantic*, July 3, 2019, https://www.theatlantic.com/ideas/archive/2019/07/border-facilities/593239/.
[79] "Debunking Myths on Women's Rights, Muslim Women, Feminism and Islamophobia in Europe," European Website on Integration, July 7, 2017, https://ec.europa.eu/migrant-integration/library-document/debunking-myths-womens-rights-muslim-women-feminism-and-islamophobia-europe_en.

signifies Trump's association with Islamophobia-by-proxy. On the surface, it does look like a policy suggestion or a proposal. But the use of related words associated with Orientalism, Subtle Racism, Islamophobia, and Racism by both parties suggests that the issues relating to Iran were motivated by the four factors I analyzed from Trump. Finally, it is an even more obvious reason why this chauvinistic ideology of Trump influenced the withdrawal of the JCPOA.

## Conclusion:

## The Guise of Racism, but the Continuation of Republican-led Foreign Policy Strategy?

Initially, I found that those supporters who argued in favor of Trump and his lack of a silver tongue, or "say it like it is attitude," also agreed with his policymaking decisions. They also believed that there must be a change in the policy and removal of the current status quo. A few key examples include threatening to withdraw from NATO and pulling out the Paris Climate Agreement. In a September/October 2020 issue of *Foreign Affairs*, Nadia Schadlow writes:

> In his campaign and presidency, Trump has offered some correctives to the illusions of the past—often bluntly and sometimes inconsistently. His departures from traditional ways of talking about and conducting foreign policy stem from an embrace of the uncomfortable truth that visions of benevolent globalization and peace-building liberal internationalism have failed to materialize, leaving in their place a world that is increasingly hostile to American values and interests.[80]

If this was true, why did Trump revert to the same old policies with Iran by applying economic sanctions to change the country's behavior? Therefore, the argument of "departure from old ways" and "confronting uncomfortable truths" is not valid and irrelevant, considering that the same strategy was used numerous times by previous presidents since the creation of the current Iranian government back in 1979.

Finally, I believe there was a connection between Trump's domestic policies, the African American civil rights movement, and foreign policy. The review "Foreign Policy and Civil Rights" addressed the study of Mary. L. Dudziak of Princeton University, in

[80] Nadia Schadlow, "The End of American Illusion," *Foreign Affairs*, October 9, 2020, https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/americas/2020-08-11/end-american-illusion.

which she saw a connection with civil rights in America as pivotal to the United States foreign policy abroad. Dudziak discusses post the Post World War II Civil Rights Movement. “Supporting of American prestige abroad,” thus supporting policies seen as racial equality, was part of the mission aboard, especially in setting the example of a Democratic nation combating Soviet authoritarian policies.[81]

The shift between the time of the Cold War to today’s time with the foreign policy with the Middle East is seen as dramatic. Using Dudziak’s theory, if the federal government's strategy was to support civil rights reform and promote American prestige abroad, then the racially charged proposals and domestic policies of the Trump Administration can also be seen as a reflection of many issues and decisions of its foreign policies. Therefore, there is a connection to the withdrawal of the JCPOA, and this connection comes from analyzing domestic policies, especially with those relating to the immigration of a xenophobic nature and prejudices against Islam by the Trump administration usage of the Federal government to promote their policies.

Thus, in summary, my analysis of former President Trump having a lack of Islamophobia in his speeches to his Secretary of State speaking about Iran in a subtle Islamophobia way, combined with Trump’s blunt use of words when describing Iran, and the continuation of aggression towards Iran, all were factors that led to the withdrawal of the policy.

Finally, Trump’s issues with Iran, without a doubt, were indeed motivated by discrimination and racism. The withdrawal did show who he was as a person and who he was as a leader. During his tenure as president, the issues with Iran eroded American

[81] Dudziak reviewed in Alex Lubin, “Foreign Policy and Civil Rights,” *American Quarterly* 54, no. 3 (September 2002): 529-35 doi:10.1353/aq.2002.0026.

credibility in the region. Trump's back and forth aggression that followed afterward resulted in the assassinations of Iranian General Qasem Soleimani in January 2020[82] and the casting doubt on the assassination of Saudi journalist Jamal Khashoggi[83] eroded the nation's diplomatic credibility with their allies abroad, and unfortunately led to a series of events and consequences that has cost lives. Trump's issues with Iran and the threat of blowing up cultural sites,[84] his willingness to invade, and a lack of civility and calmness did show the world who he was as a person, not as a president or a leader of a democratic nation representing democracy. Towards the beginning of 2020, and the last year of Trump in an election year, the world saw the lack of clarity and leadership, and it was deadly. The Trump Administration's response to the COVID-19 pandemic and the handling of this administration during the first few months has shown the world, and again, exposed that the administrations lack both the confidence and the leadership ability to make the most critical decisions. Trump lost the American audience during the pandemic, which resulted in a massive loss of lives, which created an atmosphere for him to lose the 2021 election.

It takes more than just harsh words and looking at the world from a discriminatory perspective to make a president. The JCOPA withdrawal by the administration resulted from discrimination of all levels and a lack of stability and leadership in the executive branch.

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[82] Michael Crowley, Falih Hassan, and Eric Schmitt, "U.S. Strike in Iraq Kills Qassim Suleimani, Commander of Iranian Forces," *The New York Times*, January 3, 2020, sec. World, https://www.nytimes.com/2020/01/02/world/middleeast/qassem-soleimani-iraq-iran-attack.html.
[83] Arron Blake, "Analysis | The Ugly Story of Trump and Jamal Khashoggi Is Confirmed," *Washington Post*, February 27, 2021, http://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/2021/02/26/why-intel-report-jamal-khashoggi-is-so-damning-trump/.
[84] Laurel Wamsley, "Trump Says He'll Target Iran's Cultural Sites. That's Illegal," *NPR*, January 6, 2020, sec. Middle East, https://www.npr.org/2020/01/06/794006073/trump-says-hell-target-iran-s-cultural-sites-that-s-illegal.

In summary, one cannot easily dismiss the occurrences of both Subtle Racism and Orientalism in Trump's speeches about Iran, before signing for the JCOPA and after withdrawing from the JCPOA. The frequencies of events for subtle racism occurring were higher than those in Orientalism. However, there is an apparent correlation between the two.

I could not find any occurrence of Islamophobia in his speeches about Iran, which refuted part of my hypothesis. But I discovered that Trump's Secretary of State used a subtle Islamophobia when discussing Iran. Therefore, since Pompeo was a representative of the Trump administration, I feel that this portion was fulfilled. I mention this as "Islamophobia by proxy." The second proof that I have is that the Trump Administration's domestic policies were of a xenophobic and discriminatory nature. I mentioned Dudziak's study and made connections with the Trump Administration's policies not only with Iran but also with other countries as well. Therefore, I could not find verbatim words spoken by Trump, but the noise generated from his cabinet and his domestic policies for me suggests that he certainly used all four categories.

The hypothesis that was generated when I began this journey was formulated from my understanding of domestic and public policy at the time. As I conclude this study, I surmise the follow up to the study is the correlation between the domestic policies relating to Islamophobia and the international policy with the country of Iran.

Again, the evidence gathered could be interpreted by different other individuals. I did my absolute best in following the definitions of Subtle Racism, Racism (OFR), Orientalism, and Islamophobia to the course as I conducted my analysis. Of course, the

limitations that I would have been the lack of expertise in all of the subjects since before I started this project, I was experienced in these issues on an informal level. But after learning, reading, and educating myself on these subjects for months, I feel that I have become extremely familiar with the subjects on all levels.

In my take on Trump's policies towards the country of Iran and withdrawal from the JCPOA, my hypothesis is correct that the withdrawal was based on these sentiments and not solely on politics. The language he used and was allowed to use when speaking about Iran did not go unnoticed. When called out on the words he used and often exploited stereotypes, he embraced the accusations.

Therefore, I recommend that future administrations and United States diplomats carefully consider their choice of words, not only with Iran. Whether they be Republican or Democratic, they must not resort to this same tactic or enforce values onto one country. And suppose we choose words and pursue harmful policies solely because the government practices a religion that is different from US policymakers. In that case, it brings us down and makes the values that we have to seem hollow and lacking substance

# Appendix

## Raw Data

| | DATE 1 | DATE 2 | D | Document Name | Evidence of "Subtle Racism" | Evidence of Islamophobia | Evidence of Orientalism | Evidence of Racism |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Q21_1 | 2/17/15 | 2015/02 | 21 | Feb 17 2015 Another ISIS Horror in Iraq_ Fighting ISIS With Jobs_ .PDF | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Q20_1 | 3/31/15 | 2015/03 | 20 | March 31 2015 Trusting President Obama_ Negotiating a Nuke Deal_ Clin.PDF | 2 | 0 | 1 | 1 |
| Q19_1 | 4/1/15 | 2015/04 | 19 | April 1 2015 Conan O_Brien Highlights Anger Towards Indiana_ Donald.PDF | 1 | 0 | 1 | 0 |
| Q27_1 | 4/15/15 | 2015/04 | 27 | April 15,2015 Another ISIS Horror in Iraq; Fighting ISIS with Jobs.PDF | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Q18_1 | 6/16/15 | 2015/06 | 18 | June 16 2015 Interview with Donald Trump _ Donald Trump Gets into the.PDF | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Q17_1 | 6/25/15 | 2015/06 | 17 | June 25 2015 CNN _State of the Union_ Interview with Donald Trump_ R.PDF | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Q25_1 | 7/14/15 | 2015/07 | 25 | July 14, 2015 Anderson Cooper.PDF | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Q11_1 | 8/6/15 | 2015/08 | 11 | August 6 2015 Republican Presidential Hopefuls Meet Face to Face_ MH3.PDF | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Q13_1 | 8/7/15 | 2015/08 | 13 | Aug 7 2015 Donald | 0 | 0 | 2 | 0 |

| | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | | Trump Live on _CNN Tonight__ Trump_ _I won the d.PDF | | | | |
| Q14_1 | 8/11/15 | 2015/08 | 14 | Aug 11 2015 Trump Maintains Lead in GOP Race_ Trump Claims Iran Fun.PDF | 2 | 0 | 2 | 0 |
| Q12_1 | 8/16/15 | 2015/08 | 12 | Aug 16 2015 Face to Face with Donald Trump _ Stumping at the Iowa S.PDF | 1 | 0 | 1 | 0 |
| Q15_1 | 8/28/15 | 2015/08 | 15 | Aug 28 2015 Trump In Massachusetts Tonight_ Trump_ _This is Not A F.PDF | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Q10_1 | 9/10/15 | 2015/09 | 10 | September 10 2015 Interview with Donald Trump_ Trump Pulls Away From Fiel.PDF | 3 | 0 | 4 | 0 |
| Q9_1 | 9/29/15 | 2015/09 | 9 | September 29th 2015 Afghan Forces Fight to Retake Key City_ Obama_ Putin Cl.PDF | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Q22_1 | 9/29/15 | 2015/09 | 22 | Sep 29, 2015 Afghan Forces Fight to Retake Key City_ Obama_ Putin Cl.PDF | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Q7_1 | 10/4/15 | 2015/10 | 7 | October 4th 2015 ONE-ON-ONE WITH DONALD TRUMP_ TRUMP ON OREGON MASS SHOO.PDF | 2 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Q6_1 | 10/6/15 | 2015/10 | 6 | October 6 2015 Interview with Donald Trump_ Afghanistan Plan.PDF | 0 | 0 | 2 | 0 |
| Q5_1 | 10/25/15 | 2015/10 | 5 | October 25 2015 ONE- | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 |

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| | | | | ON-ONE WITH DONALD TRUMP_ CARSON CALLS ON TRUMP TO.PDF | | | | |
| Q4_1 | 11/3/15 | 2015/11 | 4 | November 3 2015 Donald Trump News Conference_ Clinton Pulls Ahead of Sa.PDF | 2 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Q2_1 | 12/4/15 | 2015/12 | 2 | December 4th 2015 Trump Criticized For Using Stereotypes While Speaking T.PDF | 2 | 0 | 0 | 1 |
| Q1_1 | 12/7/15 | 2015/12 | 1 | December 7 2015 Trump Calls for Ban on Muslims Entering U.S._ Trump Cam.PDF | 2 | 0 | 1 | 0 |
| Q3_2 | 12/20/15 | 2015/12 | 3 | December 20 2015 ONE-ON-ONE WITH DONALD TRUMP_ TRUMP_ _GREAT HONOR_ TO B.PDF | 2 | 0 | 2 | 0 |
| Q58_1 | 1/6/16 | 2016/01 | 58 | Jan 6 2016 Trump VS. Cruz On Birther Question_ Trump_ _I Don_t Kno.PDF | 3 | 0 | 1 | 0 |
| Q55_1 | 1/18/16 | 2016/01 | 55 | Jan 18 2016 Trump_ Nikki Haley is Right_ I am Angry_ Trump_ I Will.PDF | 1 | 0 | 1 | 0 |
| Q53_1 | 2/18/16 | 2016/02 | 53 | Feb 18 2016- Donald Trump Criticizes Pope Francis_ Interview with Pr.PDF | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Q54_1 | 2/26/16 | 2016/02 | 54 | Feb 26 2016 Trump Holds Rally In Texas_ Trump_ Media | 1 | 0 | 1 | 0 |

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| | | | | Dishonest_ Tru.PDF | | | | |
| Q52_2 | 2/27/16 | 2016/02 | 52 | Feb 27 2016 Donald Trump Gives a Campaign Speech in Arkansas_ Hilla.PDF | 1 | 0 | 0 | 1 |
| Q52_1 | 2/27/16 | 2016/02 | 52 | Feb 27 2016 Donald Trump Gives a Campaign Speech in Arkansas_ Hilla.PDF | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Q51_1 | 2/28/16 | 2016/02 | 51 | Feb 28 2016- Donald Trump Disavows David Duke_ Sen. Jeff Sessions En.PDF | 1 | 0 | 1 | 0 |
| Q50_1 | 3/24/16 | 2016/03 | 50 | March 24 2016-2106 Presidential Candidates on AIPAC_ Cruz on Path to.PDF | 4 | 0 | 3 | 0 |
| Q47_1 | 4/25/16 | 2016/04 | 47 | April 25 2016 Cruz_ Kasich Team Up Against Trump_ Clinton Tries to Pi.PDF | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Q46_1 | 6/21/16 | 2016/06 | 46 | June 21 2016 Trump_s Bare Campaign Coffers Raise Concern_ Russian Ha.PDF | 1 | 0 | 1 | 0 |
| Q42_1 | 7/1/16 | 2016/07 | 42 | July 1 2016 Loretta Lynch and Bill Clinton_ Trump Addresses Western.PDF | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Q43_1 | 7/13/16 | 2016/07 | 43 | July 13 2016 Interview with Donald Trump_ A Study in Contrast_ New P.PDF | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Q37_1 | 8/3/16 | 2016/08 | 37 | August 3 2016 Clinton up by 10 in New FOX Poll_ Trump Under Attack_ W.PDF | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 |

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| Q35_1 | 9/6/16 | 2016/09 | 35 | September 6 2016 Clinton On Tax Returns_ Trump on Immigration_ Trump Tow.PDF | 2 | 0 | 2 | 0 |
| Q34_1 | 9/7/16 | 2016/09 | 34 | September 7 2016 Clinton_ Trump Square Off At Commander-In-Chief Forum_.PDF | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Q31_1 | 10/20/16 | 2016/10 | 31 | October 20th 2016 Trump Will Keep _American In Suspense_ Over Accepting E.PDF | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Q30_1 | 11/7/16 | 2016/11 | 30 | November 7 2016 Donald Trump Gives Election-Eve Speech_ Trump__We Have.PDF | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Q32_1 | 12/14/16 | 2016/12 | 32 | December 14 2016 Trump Summit_ Climate Change_ Interest Rate Hike_ Syria.PDF | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Q29_1 | 12/25/16 | 2016/12 | 29 | December 25 2016 NBC _Meet the Press_.PDF | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Q33_1 | 12/25/16 | 2016/12 | 33 | December 25 2016 What Kind of President Will Trump Be__ Christmas Messag.PDF | 2 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Q94_1 | 2/1/17 | 2017/02 | 94 | February 1 2017 Trump Administratio n Puts Iran On Notice_ Awaiting Trum.PDF | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Q95_1 | 2/3/17 | 2017/02 | 95 | February 3 2017 Houston Prepares for Super Bowl_ Trump Administratio n T.PDF | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Q89_1 | 4/5/17 | 2017/04 | 89 | April 5 2017 Trump_Abdu llah News Conference_ | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |

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| | | | | Trump Believes Susan Ri.PDF | | | | |
| Q87_1 | 4/20/17 | 2017/04 | 87 | April 20 2017 White House Calls for Review of Iran Nuclear Deal_ Bill.PDF | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Q88_2 | 4/20/17 | 2017/04 | 88 | April 20 2017 Police Officer and Suspect Killed in Paris Shooting_ Tr.PDF | 1 | 0 | 1 | 0 |
| Q90_1 | 4/20/17 | 2017/04 | 90 | April 20th 2017 Trump Presser_New GOP Health Care Plan_ Interview With.PDF | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Q92_2 | 4/20/17 | 2017/04 | 92 | April 20th 2017 ISIS Claims _Fighter_ Carried Out Paris Shooting Attack.PDF | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 |
| Q82_1 | 5/22/17 | 2017/05 | 82 | May 22 2017 Trump Continues Criticism Of Iran On Middle East Trip.PDF | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Q83_1 | 5/22/17 | 2017/05 | 83 | May 22 2017 President Trump_s Visit to Israel is Highly Appreciated.PDF | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Q84_1 | 5/22/17 | 2017/05 | 84 | Yes May 22 2017 Source_ Flynn To Plead Fifth_ Decline Senate Subpoena_.PDF | 1 | 0 | 1 | 0 |
| Q85_1 | 5/22/17 | 2017/05 | 85 | May 22 2017 Flynn Invoking Fifth Amendment in Russia Probe_ Documen.PDF | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Q86_2 | 5/22/17 | 2017/05 | 86 | May 22 2017 President Trump Trying His Hand As Peacemaker_ | 1 | 0 | 1 | 0 |

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| | | | | Trump Ur.PDF | | | | |
| Q78_1 | 9/19/17 | 2017/09 | 78 | September 19 2017 Trump Threatens in U.N. Speech_ Feinstein on Trump Spee.PDF | 1 | 0 | 1 | 0 |
| Q66_1 | 10/11/17 | 2017/10 | 66 | October 11 2017 LAPD Responds To 911 Call At Home Of Harvey Weinstein_s. PDF | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Q75_1 | 10/11/17 | 2017/10 | 75 | October 11 2017 Trump_s Plans_ International Reaction_ Wine Country Wil.PDF | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 |
| Q63_2 | 10/13/17 | 2017/10 | 63 | October 13 2017 Interview With Alaska Senator Dan Sullivan_ President T.PDF | 1 | 0 | 2 | 0 |
| Q63_1 | 10/13/17 | 2017/10 | 63 | October 13 2017 Interview With Alaska Senator Dan Sullivan_ President T.PDF | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Q64_1 | 10/13/17 | 2017/10 | 64 | October 13 2017 Deaths Rising_ Hundreds Missing in California_s Inferno.PDF | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Q68_1 | 10/13/17 | 2017/10 | 68 | October 13 2017 Trump_ U.S. Will not Recertify Iran Nuclear Deal Iran.PDF | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 |
| Q70_1 | 10/13/17 | 2017/10 | 70 | October 13 2017 Priebus Interviewed by Special Counsel in Russia Probe .PDF | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Q71_1 | 10/13/17 | 2017/10 | 71 | October 13 2017 Trump Assails Major Parts of Obama_s Legacy_ | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |

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| | | | | Trump to D.PDF | | | | |
| Q72_1 | 10/13/17 | 2017/10 | 72 | October 13 2017 Trump Threatens To Terminate Iran Nuke Deal _At Any Tim.PDF | 1 | 0 | 1 | 0 |
| Q73_1 | 10/14/17 | 2017/10 | 73 | October 14 2017 President Trump Unravels Obama_s Legacy_ World Leaders.PDF | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 |
| Q67_1 | 10/15/17 | 2017/10 | 67 | October 15 2017 Trump Ends _7 Billion in Obamacare Subsidies_ Trump Dec.PDF | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Q74_1 | 10/16/17 | 2017/10 | 74 | October 16 2017 Mogadishu Experienced its Worst Attacks in Years_ North.PDF | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Q60_1 | 12/18/17 | 2017/12 | 60 | December 18 2017 At Least Six Killed in WA Train Derailment_ America Fir.PDF | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Q62_1 | 12/31/17 | 2017/12 | 62 | December 31 2017 President Trump Warns Iran the World is Watching_ Lawma.PDF | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Q119_1 | 1/11/18 | 2018/01 | 119 | January 11 2018 Young Girls Murdered In Pakistan_ California Buried Und.PDF | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Q106_3 | 4/13/18 | 2018/04 | 106 | April 13 2018 _Red Line_ Crossed In Use Of Chemical Weapons_ Joint Ai.PDF | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 |
| Q109_1 | 4/15/18 | 2018/04 | 109 | April 15 2018 U.S._ U.K._ And France Launched 100_ Missiles | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 |

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| | | | | At Target.PDF | | | | |
| Q111_1 | 4/24/18 | 2018/04 | 111 | April 24 2018 Interview With Wyoming Senator John Barrasso_ President.PDF | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Q111_2 | 4/24/18 | 2018/04 | 111 | April 24 2018 Interview With Wyoming Senator John Barrasso_ President.PDF | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Q112_2 | 4/24/18 | 2018/04 | 112 | April 24 2018 Trump_ _Insane_ Iran Deal _Should_ve Never_ Been Made_.PDF | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Q113_1 | 4/24/18 | 2018/04 | 113 | April 24 2018 Trump Hosting French President at the White House_ Afte.PDF | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Q97_2 | 4/25/18 | 2018/04 | 97 | April 25 2018 Trump Signals Progress with European Negotiators on Ira.PDF | 1 | 0 | 1 | 0 |
| Q101_1 | 5/8/18 | 2018/05 | 101 | May 8 2018 President Trump Withdraws From Iran Nuclear Deal And Sa.PDF | 1 | 0 | 1 | 0 |
| Q160_1 | 9/18/19 | 2019/09 | 160 | September 18 2019 Trump Threatens _Ultimate Option_ against Iran Mechani.PDF | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Q161_1 | 9/20/19 | 2019/09 | 161 | September 20 2019 New Immigration Deal_ Ridiculous Story_ WSJ_ President.PDF | 1 | 0 | 1 | 0 |
| Q162_1 | 9/22/19 | 2019/09 | 162 | September 22 2019 Saudi Diplomat_ Act Of War If Attack Launched | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 |

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| | | | | From Iran.PDF | | | | |
| Q163_2 | 9/24/19 | 2019/09 | 163 | September 24 2019 Trump Ordered Hold on Ukraine Military Aid Days before.PDF | 1 | 0 | 2 | 0 |
| Q164_1 | 9/25/19 | 2019/09 | 164 | September 25 2019 U.S. House Launches Trump Impeachment Inquiry_ Trump Ca.PDF | 1 | 0 | 1 | 0 |
| Q165_1 | 9/16/19 | 2019/09 | 165 | September 16 2019 Assessing The Attack On Saudi Oil Refineries_ President.PDF | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Q166_1 | 8/30/19 | 2019/08 | 166 | August 30 2019 Interview With Hollywood_ Florida_ Mayor Josh Levy_ Flo.PDF | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Q167_1 | 8/17/19 | 2019/08 | 167 | August 17 2018 Rep. Tlaib Rejects Israel_s Offer to Visit_ Trump Erupt.PDF | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Q169_1 | 8/26/19 | 2019/08 | 169 | August 26 2019 Trump Splits With Allies At G7 Summit_ Trump Misleads_.PDF | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Q170_1 | 8/26/19 | 2019/08 | 170 | August 26 2019 Trump_ Macron Take Questions as G-7 Summit Ends. Aired.PDF | 2 | 0 | 1 | 0 |
| Q171_1 | 8/26/19 | 2019/08 | 171 | August 26 2019 President Trump Attends G-7 Summit_ Markets Dive Over G.PDF | 1 | 0 | 2 | 0 |
| Q176_1 | 7/8/19 | 2019/07 | 176 | July 8 2019 World Cup_ Equal Pay For Better | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 |

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| | | | | Work_ Iran To Break Nuc.PDF | | | | |
| Q178_1 | 7/19/19 | 2019/07 | 178 | July 19 2019 Interview With Rep. Michael Waltz (D-FL)_ Discussing Ir.PDF | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Q179_1 | 6/23/19 | 2019/06 | 179 | June 23 2019 Sunday Sitdown with President Donald Trump_ NBC.PDF | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Q180_1 | 6/20/19 | 2019/06 | 180 | June 20 2019 Trump_s Words_ _You_ll Find Out__ If U.S. Will Strike I.PDF | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Q181_1 | 6/23/19 | 2019/06 | 181 | June 23 2019 U.S.-Iran Tensions_ North Korea_s Kim Receives _Persona.PDF | 1 | 0 | 1 | 0 |
| Q185_1 | 5/15/19 | 2019/05 | 185 | May 15 2019 Iran Says No War but They are Ready if U.S. Strikes The.PDF | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Q186_2 | 5/20/19 | 2019/05 | 186 | May 20 2019 Trump Threatens Iran After Days of De-Escalation_ Trump.PDF | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Q187_1 | 5/16/19 | 2019/05 | 187 | May 16 2019 Trump Meeting With Swiss Government President This Hour.PDF | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Q188_2 | 5/21/19 | 2019/05 | 188 | May 21 2019 Pressure Grows on Pelosi to Begin Impeachment Proceedin.PDF | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Q189_1 | 5/14/19 | 2019/05 | 189 | May 14 2019 Trump Threatens to Slap Tariffs on All Chinese Imports_.PDF | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 |

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| Q191_1 | 5/21/19 | 2019/05 | 191 | May 21 2019 White House Tells Former Counsel To Defy Subpoena_ Mixe.PDF | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Q192_2 | 5/3/19 | 2019/05 | 192 | Febuary 3 2019 Trump to Deliver First Address Under Divided Government. PDF | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 |
| Q194_2 | 1/2/19 | 2019/01 | 194 | January 2 2019 Trump Stands by His _5 Billion Wall Ahead of Meeting wi.PDF | 1 | 0 | 2 | 0 |
| Q196_2 | 12/24/20 | 2020/12 | 196 | December 24 2020 Iran says Trump eyeing conflict to distract from _failu.PDF | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 |
| Q197_1 | 10/9/20 | 2020/10 | 197 | October 9 2020 Trump to Conduct Another Super Spreader Event_ Nine Att.PDF | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Q198_2 | 10/10/20 | 2020/10 | 198 | October 10 2020 Iran _not intimated_ by Trump_s threats in radio interv.PDF | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Q199_1 | 9/18/20 | 2020/09 | 199 | September 18 2020 Vaccine Timeline__ President Trump Holds White House Pr.PDF | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Q206_1 | 4/2/20 | 2020/04 | 206 | April 2 2020 Iran FM tells Trump to stop listening to _warmongers_.PDF | 1 | 0 | 2 | 0 |
| Q207_1 | 4/19/20 | 2020/04 | 207 | April 19 2020 More than 41_000 Coronavirus Deaths Reported in the U.S.PDF | 1 | 0 | 1 | 0 |
| Q208_2 | 4/18/20 | 2020/04 | 208 | April 18 2020 Donald Trump And Coronavirus | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 |

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| | | | | Task Force Daily Briefing_.PDF | | | | |
| Q209_1 | 3/26/20 | 2020/03 | 209 | March 26 2020 Interview with President Trump.PDF | 1 | 0 | 1 | 0 |
| Q210_1 | 3/13/20 | 2020/03 | 210 | March 13 2020 Iran rejects Trump_s _hypocritical _coronavirus help of.PDF | 1 | 0 | 1 | 0 |
| Q216_2 | 1/9/20 | 2020/01 | 216 | January 9 2020 House Votes on Limiting Trump_s War Powers_ Did Iran Sh.PDF | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Q217_2 | 1/7/20 | 2020/01 | 217 | January 7 2020 Trump_ We Saved A Lot Of Lives By Killing Soleimani_ U.PDF | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Q218_1 | 1/8/20 | 2020/01 | 218 | January 8 2020 Sen. Tom Cotton (R-AR) Is Interviewed About The Briefin.PDF | 1 | 0 | 2 | 0 |

*Raw Data 1: Statistical Data with Counts*

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