



The Rhetoric Of Political Discourse In Abdelhamid Ibn Badis Writings

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Abstract:

Political discourse is a part of literature, as it represents the center of argumentative eloquence, and embodies the linguistic space in which all issues of managing civil life are published and simplified.

His bet is not to carry a message or spread an ideology, but to confirm the identity of a preacher. It is a rhetorical text that works to immediately influence the listener by raising a number of thorny issues and addressing them with rational and emotional arguments.

Abdel Hamid Ibn Badis and his association believe that if a religious scholar is not knowledgeable about politics or working in it, then he is not a scholar. The Badisian political discourse, with its argumentative eloquence, has succeeded in convincing the Algerian people and enlightening their awakening, in inducing them to believe in their patriotism and empowering the Algerian personality, i.e. for reasons of unity, and confronting what threatens it with simple rhetorical language and scenes that connect the mind and the passion under the pretext of citizenship.

Keywords: Rhetoric, political discourse, argumentation, Abdelhamid Ibn Badis.

Introduction:

Living with others is achieved. God Almighty says: "And We have made you into nations and tribes that you may know one another..." (Al-Hujurat, verse 13).

No one can tolerate isolation, as its benefits are linked to helping others. Interests may conflict and opinions may differ between right and wrong, so the situation requires the presence of people who are proficient in speech and argumentation, and they are the deciding factor.

Among the discourses that expanded and raised their voices was the political discourse. This literary genre played despite the delay of its methods in our country due to the circumstances of technology and the intractable conditions of slavery that restricted its launch, but did not curb it. The red cry of politicians was launched, calling for raising the banner of truth with their discourses aiming for reform and education, and its structure became stronger, including the Badisi political discourse.

What are the rhetorical contents that political discourse possesses to achieve persuasive work?

1- Political discourse:

The eloquence and skill of the Arabs in public speaking, which is one of the types of political communication in the ancient world, and with the advent of Islam, Muhammad, may God bless him and grant him peace, used traditional political types such as public speaking, debate, message and teachings. Some verses of the Holy Qur'an can be viewed as quasi-political discourse, especially those that address some issues of governance such as the relationship with the ruler, the ethics of war and its laws and the relationship with minorities. Muslims knew forms of negotiation such as the incident of Saqifah Bani Sa'idah. The Arabs were interested in the Umayyad and Abbasid eras, their interest in political communication was summarized in two fields: written political communication by establishing the composition offices, and oral political communication represented in: sermons before clashing with the enemy, negotiations, debates, Friday prayers... (Abdul Latif, 112-113).

This discourse belongs to political literature, the cognitive field whose sun has risen on cognitive fields. Among the first to analyze political discourse from a rhetorical perspective is Muhammad al-Omari. According to him, it is closer to Aristotle's consultative rhetoric, as political discourse represents the center of argumentative rhetoric, as it is the linguistic space in which all issues of managing civil life are published and simplified... (al-Omari, pp. 78-79). To clarify the function of political discourse, Muhammad Al-Omari relied on the statement of one of the scholars who says: "The supreme challenge of political discourse is not, as one might think, to carry a message or spread an ideology, or to move towards action, but rather to affirm the identity of a speaker in order to facilitate the engagement of a listener" (Al-Omari, p. 79). Based on this statement, we understand the basis of political discourse that represents the identity of a political group. And that the political entity is language and speech, i.e. discourse, before it is people and platforms, (Mishbal, 2014, 303).

Nizar Al-Tajditi says: "If we limit our view of political discourse from the perspective of the message it directs to the public, it appears to be a rhetorical text above all else that works to immediately influence the general listener by raising a number of thorny issues and addressing them with compelling rational and emotional arguments (evidence, examples, evidence, analogies, etc.) and dressing them in influential and convincing images and styles (metaphors, metaphors, etc.)" (Mishbal, 2014, 110).

Al-Omari says: "However, the persuasive function of this discourse and its argumentative nature make its main approach the rhetorical approach" (Al-Omari, 79).

Accordingly, he turns in his rhetorical analysis to the arguments on which it is based, thus dismantling the structures of the latter on which the discourse relies.

Political discourse, in its first instance, aims to provoke thought and action more than it aims to demonstrate. It is not about establishing the truth with reason, independently of opinions, but rather about trying to transform or strengthen opinions that are marked by emotion, and to make them oscillate between the system of reason and the system of passion, combining logos, ethos, and pathos in order to answer the question that the citizen is supposed to be asking. As for the politician, this is a strategic issue in choosing and how to present values (Al-Wali, 2015, 98).

To pass judgment on an argument as bad or absolutely invalid, i.e. on its validity, one must do so within the context of the communication situation and the context that characterizes it. Moreover, the judgment will differ according to its relation to the internal coherence of a particular argument, which is subject to the choice of values used by the subject who is arguing, or to the impact that the act of persuasion can have on the addressee, which is something that is difficult to predict in every case that can be measured according to argumentative accuracy. What is more coherent, more truthful and less fallacious: "Voting for Chirac is saving the republic." Or "Voting for Chirac is the very destruction of the republic"? In any case, he was the winner with the greatest impact after the first round of the presidential elections in April 2002 in France (Al-Wali, 2015, 99).

There is no doubt that modern politics is dialogue for the management of civil affairs, a dialogue between strategies represented by parties, as there is no politics in the modern era without parties.

Dialogue is linked to arranging values from most beneficial to least harmful. These values are arranged within the framework of constraints imposed by reality. Dialogue here does not lead to certainty (Al-Omari, 79).

In this regard, Muhammad Al-Omari provided an example: When I tell you that what is most just is to distribute wealth among workers in order to raise the standard of living, that is, we are involved in managing civil life. You can respond to me that what is most beneficial is to accumulate wealth in the hands of investors in order to carry out major projects that benefit everyone. After a dialogue, we move on to adopting what is beneficial or less harmful for both parties. Wealth is taken care of within the limits that do not waste workers' rights, and respect workers' rights that do not waste capital and lead to the closure of the factory. The issue was in the polarization and conflict between the interests of the two parties in the negotiation. And according to the political environment in which they are negotiating: Is the ruling party, for example, the Socialist Party or the Liberal Party, and is the economic situation active or stagnant, profits or losses... everything is possible (Al-Omari, 272).

From the above, we find that rhetorical possibility in political discourse is possible because the dialogue in it is not based on axioms and mathematical rules.

Rhetoric and politics collude because of that distinctive effect on the recipients, as Cicero says: "It is certain that nothing... seems to me more beautiful than the ability to attract the attention of the assembled people by speech, as well as to attract the intelligent, and to drag the wills in every direction according to what the speaker wants... What is more enjoyable to the soul and the ear than a local speech, adorned with the wisdom of ideas, and the nobility of expressions? What is more powerful than that which restrains the passions of the people?" (Mishbal, 2016, p. 35).

Constantin Salvastro called rhetoric the art of improving speech. The art of good speech, which found in the field of politics the most fertile ground to express itself. As the art of organizing the city and society on the basis of the distribution of power relations, it was formed as a wide-open field for rhetorical exchange and the establishment of arrangements that prevent chaos and tyranny (Mishbal, 2014, p. 35).

Research into political discourse is inextricably linked to rhetoric. Thus, as soon as Muhammad al-Jabri began writing his book: *The Arab Political Mind*, he surrendered himself to rhetoric, and its presence was intense in analyzing and deconstructing the political mind. He talks about the politician and the mechanisms of constructing his speeches: what serves his cause and convictions, he employs rhetoric (simile, metaphor, allusion, and analogy) and employs mysticism (similarity) as well as induction and deduction, and at the same time works according to the principle that every situation has its own saying, the goal of which is to convince others (Mishbal, 2015, p. 159).

The mechanism of political reason is belief. And belief is in the heart, as is usually said, that is, in the presence of emotion, and hence the emotional lining that accompanies political discourse, and hence the recruitment of imagination, the use of symbols, and addressing public opinion and the public (Mishbal, 2014, p. 37).

The fallacies that sought to separate rhetoric from some speeches, she could not rid herself of them, the more her argument increased, the more she sank into them.

Theodore de Cadar says: Rhetoric (specifically rhetoric) is the art of creating (preparing arguments, arranging, and expressing based on appropriate analyses, accompanied by everything that can serve to persuade in civil matters. Theodore of leaving

Contestant explains this relationship through the concept of power. For any society to function... For any normally organized society to function, it needs to respect certain rules. These rules are based on a social contract between the members of the society, and some

authority. Autorité Individuals give up some rights and other freedoms are guaranteed. The ideal functioning of society is achieved when all individuals respect the standards imposed by the recognized authority through the free expression of the group's will in order to enjoy, in return, all the freedoms guaranteed by the social contract (Al-Omari, 159).

2- The eloquence of political discourse of Sheikh Abdel Hamid Ibn Badis:

A- The political principle of Sheikh Ibn Badis:

The Canadian historian who presented his thesis under the title Abdelhamid Ibn Badis, the Reform Thinker and Leader of the Algerian National Movement, says: "Ibn Badis' interests extended from religious aspects to political affairs, and his thinking touched on social and cultural matters. He expressed his views on the issue of civilization for Algerians and for humanity as a whole." He also said: "The results of Ibn Badis' efforts were that Algeria preserved its Arab Islamic character, while France's explicit goals were to destroy this character." (Ben Rahal, 106).

Sheikh Abdelhamid Ibn Badis says about his political principle: "We are Algerian Muslims, within the colonies of the French Republic. Because we are Muslims, we work to preserve the traditions of our religion, which call for human perfection. We are keen on brotherhood and peace among peoples. In preserving these traditions, we preserve the most important components of our nationalism and the greatest reasons for our happiness and contentment, because we know that people cannot live in two countries, and that religion is a great force that should not be underestimated, and that a government that ignores the religion of the people is mistreating its policy and bringing harm and trouble upon it. Rather, it may suffer defeats and seditions, as happened to the Herriot government in the recent era. We do not mean by this that we mix religion and politics in all our affairs, nor that religious men interfere in our politics, but rather we mean considering religion as our foundation, a legitimate source for our behavior, and a system that we work on in our lives." ... (Ammamra, 2003, 213).

Imam Ibn Badis entered the arena of political conflict between his nation and the occupiers, challenging injustice and fighting tyranny with the same determination with which he faced ignorance and stagnation, and resisted imitation and corruption (Ibn Samina, 319).

B- The position of the Association of Muslim Scholars on politics:

The Association of Scholars believes that if a religious scholar is not knowledgeable about politics or working in it, then he is not a scholar. If a religious scholar abandons politics, who will direct and manage it?

There is no doubt that the ignorant and dissolute person will take over, sinking the ship and causing misery for the nation.

The basis of her opinion was the liberation of Algeria on the basis of complete Arabism, true Islam, and living science. She liberated minds, refined ideas, and awakened feelings, and the natural result of that was the liberation of bodies, because the first is a stepping stone to the second (Ben Rahhal, 46).

C- A rhetorical analysis of the Badisi political discourse: the homeland and patriotism (right is above all and the homeland is before everything).

Sheikh Muhammad al-Ghazali said: "Sheikh al-Ibrahimi's rhetorical or eloquent talents may be greater than those of Ibn Badis, but Sheikh Ibn Badis is an imam and an imam who brings together many talents that orbit around Sheikh al-Bashir al-Ibrahimi and other scholars" (Bin Rahhal, 106).

Al-Hussein Bani Hashim wrote a plan to analyze a speech based on Chaim Perelman's theory of argumentation.

1- The time frame of the text Framing it in time, place and occasion: "The right is above everyone and the homeland comes before everything." The writer was keen to adorn the forehead of the first issue of his first newspaper, Al-Muntaqid, published in September 1938 with this phrase.

2- Providing data about the recipients The people of the great homeland, a section of those who know nothing but their small homelands, and these are the selfish ones who live on their nations as parasites live on the blood of other animals. A section claimed that they know nothing but the greater homeland, and a section recognized all of these nationalisms and placed them in their proper places.

3- Defining the text's claim: with which he launched his media struggle, so that it would be the title of his reform project and the slogan of his civilizational struggle (Mishbal, 2014, 159).

4- Pilgrims' path:

***Disclosing the starting points of the pilgrims:**

***Extracting and classifying the arguments' introductions:**

"There were days when the word homeland and patriotism were criminal words that no one could pronounce, and very few felt its meaning."

"Today, the word homeland and patriotism have become easy for every tongue. Some people may say it without understanding its meaning, and others may say it with their tongues and not be able to claim it in their written and official documents. Those who imagine in it what they know about their patriotism are frightened by it, and others deny it, claiming that it is against their humanity" (Talibi, 2014, 366).

Arguments based on connection enable the transfer of the acceptance obtained regarding the premises to the results and are divided into quasi-logical arguments close to formal thought of a logical or mathematical nature, arguments based on the structure of reality that are based on the connection between elements existing in reality, and arguments based on the structure of reality that enable, based on a special case, the proof of a precedent or the establishment of a general rule or the creation of a model (Mishbal, 2014, 152).

***Badisi discourse and latent axioms:**

"Among the laws of creation is self-love to preserve survival, and survival is the building of the universe.... From his childhood, man loves his home and his family because of his need for them... and the home is nothing but a small homeland... so if he gradually advances in age, the horizon of his love expands and the circle of his homeland begins to expand accordingly. So if he enters the arena of life and gets to know those who are like him in his past and present and what he looks forward to in his future, and finds in them his image in his tongue, conscience, morals, inclinations and tendencies... he feels towards them the love that he felt for his family in his childhood and because of what is in it... of the instinct of self-love and the desire for survival, and these are the people of his great homeland, and his love for them, in general terms, is patriotism.

* Extracting opinions that go back to common sense:

"No one knows or loves the greater homeland except those who know the duty of the greater homeland, and no one knows or loves the greater homeland except those who know and love the smaller homeland."

Man finds his image, his goodness, and his happiness in his home and his small country, as well as in his home and his large country, and he finds it in all of humanity, his greater country.

Just Islamic nationalism is that which preserves the family with all its components and the nation with all its components and respects humanity in all its races and religions (Talibi, 2014, 367-368).

*** The declared values that lie behind the Badisi discourse:**

1 - The writer's concept of homeland and patriotism: which means the home and place of a person. Then the concept of homeland developed in the modern era and came to mean spiritual, historical and fateful ties that transcend spatial and material boundaries, thus generating the meaning of patriotism.

2 - Highlighting the components of the national character: The fruits of political struggle do not bear fruit unless they are based on a sound awareness of the self, a deep sense of the factors that distinguish it from values and components, and a sincere readiness to sacrifice for it. The one who contemplates the Imam's heritage realizes that the most prominent personal components of the Algerian nation realize that the Islamic religion comes at the forefront of them, which are: Islam, Arabism, Algeria, and humanity, and what branches from them and what is connected to them from belief and law, language and morals, heritage and civilization.

3 - Defending the personality: Its two axes: empowering the personality, i.e. empowering the reasons for unity and rejecting the factors of division, and confronting the plots that target it (Ibn Samina, 320-353).

***Extracting and classifying arguments:**

Arguments based on connection (arguments based on the structure of reality): One of the laws of creation is self-love to preserve survival, and survival is the building of the universe.

If he is nourished with correct knowledge, he will feel love for everyone in whom he finds his human image, and the whole earth will be his homeland, and this is his greater homeland.

No one knows or loves the greater homeland except those who know the duty of the greater homeland, and no one knows or loves the greater homeland except those who know and love the smaller homeland.

A section that only knows their small homelands: These are the selfish ones who live on their nations as parasites live on the blood of other animals, and they are usually not good even to their relatives and family.

Just Islamic nationalism: It is the one that preserves the family with all its components and the nation with all its components and respects humanity in all its races and religions (Talibi, 2014, 367-368).

It addresses all of humanity in all its races, saying: "And We have certainly honored the children of Adam and carried them on the land and sea and provided for them of the good things and preferred them over much of what We have created, with [definite] preference." (Al-Isra, verse 70)

And He addresses it in all its religions with the Almighty's saying: "To you be your religion, and to me mine" (Al-Kafirun, verse 6).

And He addresses all nations and homelands with the words of God Almighty: "And if they incline to peace, then incline to it and rely upon God" (Al-Anfal, verse 61). And with the words of God Almighty: "But whoever attacks you, attack him in proportion to his attack upon you. And fear God and know that God is with the righteous" (Al-Nahl, verse 126).

Extracting rhetorical aspects and analyzing their argumentative function:

1 - The news of sentences: We begin the study of this part with the title of the speech: "The truth is above everyone and the homeland is above everyone." It is known to every rational person that the intention of the informant with his news is to benefit the addressee, and this is called

the benefit of the news, or that the informant is aware of the ruling, and does not know that you know it, and this is called the necessary benefit of the news (Al-Qazwini, 2007, 30). So the informant in his title intended the benefit of the news.

In its first part ("The truth is above all"), there is an allusion to falsehood and its perpetrators. The writer only means the foreign occupiers, the enemies of truth, freedom, and humanity. At the same time, the second part of that phrase ("The homeland comes before everything") realizes the sincerity of the Imam's feelings and his insistence on serving it and sacrificing for it. Likewise, he says: The word homeland and patriotism is a criminal word that no one can utter, and very few feel its meaning. That is, at a time when the fraudsters were waging a fierce war on this homeland with all the values, components, and capabilities it represents (Ibn Samina, 322-323).

The leadership of truth had a meaning and a structure. Perhaps the writer wanted to instill in people's souls, through this structural composition, that it is not easy for a nation that lacks these two elements (truth and religion) to achieve the goals it aspires to (Ibn Samina, 323).

2- The palace style: Negation and exception are the means of specialization in it. And restriction is the specialization of one thing by another in a specific way (Al-Jarim and Amin, 2011, 359).

Only those who know the duty of the great homeland know the love of the greater homeland, and only those who know and love the small homeland know and love the great homeland.

A group of them know only their small homelands...and a group claimed that they know only the greater homeland. The writer alludes to the meaning of insistence on intensifying efforts and limiting them in order to advance the service of these three: truth, homeland, and religion (Ibn Samina, 323).

3- Of the improvements:

A-Rhyme: It is a collusion in the two parts of prose on one letter, and this is the meaning of what al-Sakaki said: "Rhyme in prose is like rhyme in poetry." And from the subtleties of rhyme is what Badī' al-Zamān al-Hamadhānī said in a letter of his to Ibn Firqun: "My book and the sea, even if I have not seen it, I have heard its story, and al-Layth, even if I have not become familiar with it, I have imagined his creation, and the just king, even if I have not met him, his fame has reached me, and whoever has seen the trace of the sword has seen most of it" (al-Qazwini, 2007, 386).

The writer says: Since childhood, a person loves his home and his family because he sees his need for them and his derives his survival from them...

The rhyme is far from affectation, free from useless repetition, which increases the strength of the style and the smoothness of expression.

B- Antithesis Combining a thing and its opposite in speech. Al-Buhturi says:

It is provided to me from where I do not know And longing creeps into me from where I know.

The antithesis is only mentioned twice in the text, once in the writer's saying: "And he knew those who were similar to him in his past and present." Between the words "his past" and "his present," it is a positive antithesis.

And a group knows their great homeland and works for its sake in everything they see as good and beneficial, even if it means bringing harm and evil to other nations... The antithesis between the two words: benefit and harm. It is an antithesis of affirmation (Al-Jarim and Amin, 2011, 468).

***Pronouns**As for the implied pronouns or analogies, Al-Khatib employed a number of them:

1- Emphasis tools:The word homeland and patriotism has become easy for everyone to pronounce. Some people may say it without understanding its meaning, and others may say it with their tongues and not be able to claim it in their official written documents.

The investigation has been reported to be connected to the past tense. The preacher wants to emphasize in his invitation the belief in the homeland.

A section claimed that they only knew the greater homeland and denied the patriotism of nations.

The affirmative tool is: you must believe in the greater homeland.

2- One of the methods that was repeated in the text is the condition, such as: If he grows older, the horizon of his love expands and the circle of his homeland expands accordingly.

If he is nourished with correct knowledge, he will feel love for everyone in whom he finds his human image, and the whole earth will be his greater homeland.

The speaker linked two events, the second of which depends on the first, through the condition.

The first example presented an argument that the older we get, the more we love our country.

In the second example, he presented another argument, which is that true knowledge drives us to love humanely.

***From the graphic images:**

They always work to suck the blood of nations. Metaphorical metaphor, the simile is mentioned and the thing being compared to, the predatory animal, is omitted, while one of its essentials, the quality of sucking, is kept.

The prince's leadership and his public address made his speech simple, so the flowers of eloquence became few.

From our analysis of the Badisi discourse, the eloquence of the political discourse becomes apparent, as Nizar Tajditi says, in transforming the harshest dramatic events into rhetorical scenes, in which the political phenomenon is simplified and dealt with in simple language, reaching minds and hearts under the pretext of citizenship (Mishbal, 2016, 144).

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