

**THE REPRESENTATION OF ISLAM: A CRITICAL
DISCOURSE ANALYSIS ON GEERT WILDER'S SPEECH**

THESIS

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UNIVERSITAS ISLAM NEGERI MAULANA MALIK IBRAHIM
MALANG
2021**

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DISCOURSE ANALYSIS ON GEERT WILDER'S SPEECH**

THESIS

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In Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of *Sarjana Sastra* (S.S)

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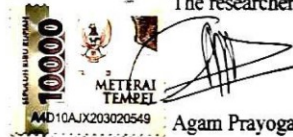
**DEPARTMENT OF ENGLISH LITERATURE
FACULTY OF HUMANITIES
UNIVERSITAS ISLAM NEGERI MAULANA MALIK IBRAHIM
MALANG
2021**

STATEMENT AUTHORSHIP

I state that the thesis entitled "*The Representation of Islam: A Critical Discourse Analysis on Geert Wilder's Speech*" is my original work. I do not include any materials previously written or published by another person, except those cited as references and written in bibliography. Hereby, if there is any objection or claim, I am the only person who is responsible for that.

Malang, 21 April 2021

The researcher



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APPROVAL SHEET

This is to certify that Agam Prayoga's thesis entitled **The Representation of Islam: A Critical Discourse Analysis on Geert Wilder's Speech** has been approved for thesis examination at the Faculty of Humanities, Universitas Islam Negeri Maulana Malik Ibrahim Malang, as one of the requirements for the degree of *Sarjana Sastra* (S.S).

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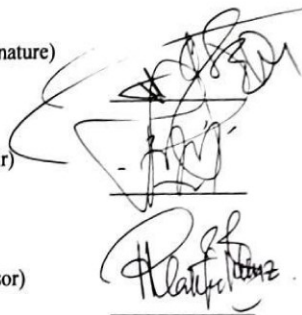
This is to certify that Agam Prayoga's thesis entitled **The Representation of Islam: A Critical Discourse Analysis on Geert Wilder's Speech** has been approved by the Board of Examiners as one of the requirements for the degree of *Sarjana Sastra* (S.S) in Department of English Literature.

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MOTTO

"Allah tidak membebani seseorang, melainkan sesuai kesanggupannya."

QS. Al-Baqarah: 286

DEDICATION

To my beloved parents, Rohmat and Suryani and also
my little sister, Aulia Anggraini.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

Alhamdulillah, in the name of Allah SWT, the most gracious and merciful God who has always given me guidance and blessing every single day and one I worship and ask for help to finish this thesis. May *salawat* and *salam* always be upon the prophet Muhammad SAW who has brought lights for the Islam and has guided us on the truth way. Firstly, my sincere gratitude delivered to Dr. Hj. Syafiyah, M.A as the dean of the Faculty of Humanities and Rina Sari, M.Pd as the head of Department of English Literature, for being proficient leaders of this faculty. Further, I would like to thank to Nur Latifah, M.A.TESL as my advisor, who has continuously and patiently helped me finishing this thesis.

Subsequently, I would like to say big thanks to my mother and father for being the supportive parents I have. Both of them patiently helped me for my study and are always next to me. For my father, thank you for always reminding me and supporting me. Thank you for listening my grievance when I was down and have no idea to do my thesis. Furthermore, I say thank you to all my friends who support me. Especially Rizal Fathur Hidayat, Aswi Mustofa Luthfiansyah, Dhimas Ilham Jehansyah who have stayed together, support each other, and through everything together since third semester. Also, Julyo Windy, Anas Nadya, Yusril Ihza, Fajri Aldiki, Zakki Zam, and Ronny Yahya who supported me and companied me to write my thesis. The last, I would like to thank to my partners Surrotun Siqoyah, Syafina Azalia, Nailu Fadhilatil Aidati, and Luluk Nur Farida who always supported each other and shared our happiness and difficulties.

The last, the writer aware this undergraduate thesis is still far from being perfect. Thus this research is open to be criticized for those who are in academically proficient with the topic and theory related to argumentation strategy and ideological square. Last but not least, I hope that this example of my thesis could be beneficial as reference for further researcher.

ABSTRACT

Prayoga, Agam. (2021). The Representation of Islam: A Critical Discourse Analysis on Geert Wilder's Speech. Undergraduate Thesis. Department of English Literature, Faculty of Humanities, Universitas Islam Negeri Maulana Malik Ibrahim Malang.

Advisor : Nur Latifah, M.A.TESL

Keywords : Representation, argumentation, ideology

This research applied Van Dijk's Critical Discourse Analysis focusing on argumentation strategy and ideological square strategy. Both strategies are used to analyze political speech. Therefore, Wilder's speech was chosen to be object of the research because his speech talked about Muslim immigrants and is presumed consisting of prejudice, negative representation, and racism. So, by analyzing Wilder's speech, the researcher attempted to provide new insight how Wilder utilized his arguments to represent Islam and also to reveal his ideology.

The research attempted to discover Wilder's argumentation strategy and Ideology. There are nine argumentation strategies proposed by Van Dijk (2000, 2006). Then, the researcher attempted to reveal Wilder's ideology using ideological square. Those two aspects are used to found how Wilder represented Islam and where his political interest goes. The descriptive qualitative approach was used to analyze the research because it was appropriate to describe argumentation strategy and ideological square. Also, the researcher is the key instrument to analyze the data.

The result showed that there were seven *generalization* and five *evidentially* strategies which are mostly used by Wilder. This strategy referred to create prejudice about Muslim immigrants. Also, Wilder's argumentation tends to frame Islam and political opponents negatively. So, the essence of Wilder's speech aimed to create negative representation of Islam and to gain support of his political goals.

ABSTRAK

Prayoga, Agam. (2021). Representasi Islam: Analisis Wacana Kritis pada pidato Geert Wilder. Skripsi. Jurusan Sastra Inggris, Fakultas Humaniora, Universitas Islam Negeri Maulana Malik Ibrahim Malang.

Advisor : Nur Latifah, M.A.TESL

Keywords : Representation, argumentation, ideology

Penelitian ini menggunakan Analisis Wacana Kritis Van Dijk yang berfokus pada strategi argumentasi dan *ideological square*. Kedua strategi tersebut dapat digunakan untuk menganalisa pidato politik. Pidato Wilder dipilih sebagai objek penelitian karena membicarakan imigran muslim dan diduga berisi tentang prasangka, representasi negatif, dan rasisme. Jadi dengan menganalisa Pidato Wilder, peneliti mencoba memberikan pandangan baru bagaimana Wilder menggunakan argumennya untuk menggambarkan Islam dan juga membuka ideologinya.

Terdapat sembilan strategi argumentasi yang dikemukakan oleh Van Dijk (2000, 2006). Strategi tersebut untuk menganalisa bagaimana Wilder memformulasi argumennya untuk merepresentasikan Muslim immigrant. Lalu, peneliti mengungkap ideology Wilder dengan *Ideological Square*. Dua aspek tersebut digunakan untuk menemukan bagaimana Islam direpresentasikan dan kearah mana kepentingan politik Wilder. Penelitian ini menggunakan pendekatan deskriptif kualitatif karena sesuai untuk mendiskripsikan argumen yang digunakan Wilder. Peneliti sebagai instrument utama untuk menganalisa data.

Hasil penelitian menunjukkan bahwa terdapat tujuh *generalization* dan lima *evidentially* strategi yang sering digunakan oleh Wilder. Strategi tersebut mengacu pada prasangka buruk terhadap Muslim immigrant. Argumen Wilder juga condong menggambarkan Islam dan lawan politiknya secara negatif. Jadi isi dari pidato Wilder bertujuan untuk membentuk representasi negatif tentang Islam dan mendapatkan dukungan untuk tujuan politiknya.

مستخلص البحث

برايبوغا، أغام. (2021). تمثيل الإسلام: نقد الخطاب على الخطاب من ويلدير. بحث جامعي. قسم الأدب الإنجليزية. كلية العلوم الإنسانية. جامعة مولانا مالك إبراهيم ما لانج.

المشرفة: نور لطيفة الماجستير

الكلمات المفتاحية: التمثيل، الرأي، الأيديولوجيا

يستخدم هذا البحث تحليل نقد الخطاب عند فان ديك الذي يركز على استراتيجية الرأي واستراتيجية المربع الأيديولوجيا. تستعمل استراتيجياتان اثنتان لتحليل الخطاب السياسي. ويختار الخطاب من ويلدير كموضوع البحث لأنه يتحدث عن المهاجرين المسلمين ويعبر أن يحتوي على الظن والتمثيل السلبي، والعنصرية. فيحاول الباحث بتحليل هذا الخطاب لإعطاء الرأي الجديد عن كيفية استفادة ويلدير من رأيه في خطابه لوصف الإسلام وفتح أيديولوجياه.

يوجد تسع استراتيجيات الرأي يعرضها فان ديك (2000، 2006). تحلل تلك استراتيجية كيفية ويلدير في سبك رأيه لوصف المهاجرين المسلمين. ويعبر الباحث أيديولوجياه من حيث استراتيجية المربع الأيديولوجيا. يستخدم هذان جانبان لايجاد كفيته في وصف الإسلام وجهة مهمته السياسية. يستعمل الباحث منهج وصفي كفي لأنه يناسب لوصف رأي ويلدير.

وتشير نتائج البحث إلى سبع استراتيجيات تعميم وخمس ايتراتيجيات بشكل واضح يستعملها ويلديردائما. تراجع هذه استراتيجية إلى سوء الظن على المهاجرين المسلمين. ويميل رأي ويلدير إلى تأطير الإسلام ومعارضه السياسية سلبيًا. فالنقطة المهمة من خطاب ويلدير هي لصناعة التمثيل السلبي للإسلام ولحصول على مساعدة في هدفه السياسي.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

THESIS COVER	i
STATEMENT OF AUTHORSHIP	ii
APPROVAL SHEET	iii
LEGITIMATION SHEET	iv
MOTTO	v
DEDICATION	vi
ACKNOWLEDGEMENT	vii
ABSTRACT	ix
TABLE OF CONTENTS	xii
CHAPTER I: INTRODUCTION	1
A. Background of Study.....	1
B. Research Question.....	3
C. Research Objective.....	3
D. Significant of the Study.....	4
E. Scope of Limitation.....	4
F. Definition of Key terms	5
G. Previous Studies	6
H. Research Method.....	11
1. Research Design.....	11
2. Research Instrument.....	12
3. Data	12
4. Data Source	12
5. Data Collection.....	13
6. Data Analysis	14
CHAPTER II: REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE	16
A. Critical Discourse Analysis.....	16
B. Critical Discourse Analysis by Van Dijk.....	17

C. Ideology.....	18
D. Argumentation Strategy	19
E. Ideological Square.....	22
F. Biography of Geert Wilder.....	24
G. Background of Speech	25
CHAPTER III: FINDINGS AND DISCUSSIONS	26
A. Research Findings	26
B. Discussions.....	56
CHAPTER IV: CONCLUSION AND SUGGESTION	61
A. Conclusion.....	61
B. Suggestion.....	63
REFERENCES.....	64
APPENDIX.....	67

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

A. Background of Study

Representation is the way of describing a thing or individual through language. Also, representation deals with meaning and language to culture (Hall, 1997). Practically, an event that is described by politicians tends to use political speech for their message can be understood. Therefore the message can be strengthened by giving intonation or pressure, description, word order, and others (Van Dijk, 2006). For instance, religious issues, discrimination, racism, or other sensitive issues will be described using individual languages and particular way. The goal of representation is to be believed by society. In sum, representation is a way of conveying an event to the public in a particular way and knowledge based on what they think.

Representation of Islam, especially, is not a new phenomenon. There are many researches showed that Islam is represented negatively. Moreover, Islam is also attributed to terrorism, submission, and inferior (Poole, 2009). Poole's argument is also emphasized by several terrorist attacks linked to Islam. Therefore, many western politicians reject their arrival because Islam represented as a threat and terrorism, which can danger western countries. So, certain politicians who view Islam as a threat will formulate prejudice about them.

The research is conducted on the right-wing politician of Netherland, Geert Wilder. He is an anti-Islam politician because he has taken controversial actions

such as creating a short movie which humiliated Islam in 2008, *Fitna*, and held face-drawing of Prophet Muhammad SAW in 2018. Recently, his speech in the United States spread his ideology of anti-Islam, which is harmful to Islam minorities in the United States and other countries. The concern of research is to analyze on Wilder's speech in his way of representing Islam and uncover his political interests.

Moreover, research of Islam representation through political glasses such as Geert Wilder, Donald Trump, and others has already been conducted by many researchers through various approaches and investigations. Van Dijk stated that Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), because it deals with social power abuse, authority, and dissimilarity, can be analyzed and produced and rejected by text and conversation in social life (2001). Hence the researcher believes that the topic of the CDA is compatible for examining the speech of Wilder because speech is a form of social reality and the way of expressing their politics to society. In sum, Wilder's political speech is an example of discourse by using various strategies to gain his political interest.

The research aims to prove the anti-Islam ideology of Wilder by employing van Dijk's ideological square (2006) and investigate Wilder's speech through the argumentation strategy proposed by van Dijk (2000, 2006). By utilizing van Dijk's analysis, it can excavate the hidden information or implicit meanings in representing Islam. Furthermore, political speech always brings argumentation, which attempts to deliver substance and obtain particular purposes. Every group of politicians, then, has their own ideology spread in society to get their goal, such

as gaining many followers and being believed by society. In fact, the research of Islam representation which reveals the political interest, meaning, and others have already conducted in political speech, such as Khan et al (2019); Rohmah (2018); Sawitri (2017); Mohammadi and Javadi (2016); Sharifi et al (2016). Mostly the researchers attempted to uncover the hidden message or hidden ideology. Whereas other researchers also focused on media text, for instance, Ghauri and Umber (2019); Anwar (2018) attempted to investigate media text through various CDA.

Finally, this research is essential because political speech brings political interest (van Dijk, 2006). By these objectives, many ways are used, such as argumentation strategies and how ideology is carried. Since several years ago, sensitive issues such as religion have always been linked to politics and raised in the form of texts and speech to achieve individuals' or groups' political interests. Therefore the aim of this research is to reveal how Wilder described Islam through CDA and to show his political interest.

B. Research Questions

1. How does Geert Wilder use argumentation strategies to represent Islam in United States 2019?
2. What is Geert Wilder's ideology in his speech in United Stated 2019?

C. Research Objective

1. To investigate the argumentation strategies used by Geert Wilder in his speech in United Stated 2019.

2. To reveal Geert Wilder's ideology in his speech in United States 2019.

D. Significance of the Study

This research aims to contribute to Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), focusing on argumentation strategy and ideological strategy, also enriching political discourse knowledge. The research expected to reveal Wilder's Ideology and provide valid information to the readers to comprehend the argumentation strategies used by individuals or groups to represent Islam in a particular way, to reveal specific discourse produced by political groups, and to spotlight power abuse of politician. Practically, this research can be further investigated in the future by combining other aspects and can be a reference for further research. Based on Islam's issue in the last year that occurred in several countries and caused a lot of controversies, there should be a new insight into how Western politicians represent Islam. So, readers do not obtain false information about Islam. Therefore, by discovering the argumentation strategies, the readers could analyze and understand individuals' or groups' political interests.

E. Scope of Limitation

This research focuses on Wilder's speech in the United States, 2019. The researcher applies Ideological Square and Argumentation Strategies proposed by Van Dijk's (2006). Ideological Square has four essential elements:

1. Emphasize Our good things,
2. Emphasize Their bad things,

3. De-emphasize Our bad things, and
4. De-emphasize Their bad things

Those four basic elements are to reveal the ideology of Wilder in his speech because these four aspects are the strategy in shaping and spreading ideology. The following analysis is an argumentation strategy. There are twenty-seven strategies, including argumentation itself. However, the researcher concentrates on Argumentation Strategies, which consist of *Authority*, *Comparison*, *Counterfactuals*, *Evidentially*, *Fallacies*, *Generalization*, *Illustration*, *Number Game*, *Reasonableness* (Van Dijk, 2000, 2006). So, both of the strategies above are relevant to analyze Wilder's speech.

F. Definition of Key Term

1. **Representation:** It is the process of describing individual or groups. The object can be human being or thing. In political speech, representation is often used by speakers to describe certain object in particular way. In addition, representation is also interconnected with meaning and political interest.
2. **Ideology:** is a belief or a tool to involve in social life, especially politic. Individual or group has their own ideology and each ideology has their own characteristics. In politic, ideology often spread through speech, newspaper, social media and others. However, bad or good ideology depends on the objective of each individual or group.

3. **Argumentation:** process of creating reasons and conclusions. Every politician speech contains argumentation which forming logical statements and it may be believed by the audience.

G. Previous Studies

The researcher found seven previous studies relevant to the representation of Islam. There are various objects of previous studies, such as speech, newspaper, and talk show. In other words, the previous studies' objects are in the form of spoken or written. The researcher considers two elements to utilize them as previous studies. First, Islam issues are the first consideration because this research analyzes representation of Islam. Second is the scope of methodology, the researcher chooses Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) as the method because it can outline how language used by individual or group within institutional and political (Baxter, 2010). There were eight previous studies that had been conducted and related CDA research. Also there were various objects of research that had been applied.

Recently research, Khan et al (2019) conducted the research focused on Trump's discursive strategy and Islamophobic rhetoric. The researcher employed ideological square and ideological discourse. The result, then, found that Donald Trump employed several discursive strategies to represent Islam in America negatively. *Polarization us vs them* is a dominant strategy of Donald Trump in order to distinguish between Islam and American, considering Islam is minorities in America. This research employed identical theory but the current research

focused on argumentation strategy. In part of Ideological discourse analysis, the previous research utilized all points but in current research only focused on argumentation. In addition, the current research applied Van Dijk's books 2000 and 2006. The previous research highlighted power in discourse and the current research aimed to reveal the argumentation strategy to obtain political supports. So, the different from previous research was how the researcher utilized the theory and objectives of research.

Larashayu (2019) conducted research textual analysis on Chimamanda's speech. The researcher applied CDA and Halliday's theory which was Systematic Functional Linguistic focusing on textual process. There were two types of textual process; grammatical cohesion and lexical cohesion. Meanwhile, the difference from current research was the theory. The current research applied ideological square and ideological discourse analysis proposed by Van Dijk which was part of CDA. There were four categories of ideological square applied for current research. Then, ideological discourse specifically focused on argumentation which aimed to reveal how Wilder utilized argumentation strategy to obtain political supports and political interests. The researcher utilized audiovisual object which could understand the situation of speech and understand the response of audience. In addition, audio text was needed to assist the analysis.

Then, Rohmah (2018) conducted research on Donald Trump's speeches. The researcher utilized van Dijk's macrostructure, microstructure, and superstructure analysis combining van Dijk's socio-cognitive approach. Meanwhile the result of the research was found 64 expressions as linguistic features used by Donald

Trump. From those result indicates that Donald Trump attempted to frame person or group in negative representation. In the current research, the researcher employed ideological square and ideological discourse analysis proposed by Van Dijk (2000 & 2006). In ideological discourse analysis, the researcher focused on argumentation. The previous research sought for expressions while the current research sought for argumentation strategy and reveal Wilder's ideology. In addition, the current research also intended to reveal how Wilder utilized argumentation strategy to obtain political supports and political interests. In other words, the current research did not just analyze Wilder's argumentation strategy and discover ideology but also researcher intended to reveal the meaning behind Wilder's speech and his political intention.

Anwar (2018) analyzed Donald Trump's *tweet* by applying van Leeuwin framework (2008). The results, Donald Trump preferred to employ an inclusion strategy on his Twitter account to share his opinion over the issues. In the current research also analyzed political actor named Geert Wilder and applied CDA for the research. So, both researches basically analyzed political actor which reveal their political interests or individual benefits. In the contrary, the current research focused on ideological square ideological discourse. Those ideas proposed by Van Dijk in analyzed political context especially racism. There were four categories of ideological square while ideological discourse only focused on argumentation. So, the current research was quietly different from previous research because the previous one analyzed using van Leeuwin's theory. However both analyzed social reality that occurred in political context.

Another politician, Sawitri (2017) analyzed Barack Obamas speech over the Islam issue. The researcher found that Barack Obama provided different ways of representing Islam in America. It showed Barack Obama described Islam minorities in America positively and support them against related issues such as discrimination, hate crimes, Islam sentiment. In addition Obama gave a solution to fight extremist group (ISIS). In the current research, the researcher investigate Dutch politician, Geert Wilder. In other words there will be different output of research. Barack Obama is a tolerant politician in America while Geert Wilder is an anti-immigrant politician in Netherland. Similarly, both researchers investigate on the speech. Sawitri (2017) utilized three-dimensional model proposed by Norman Fairclough (1995) which analyzed speech based on *text analysis, interpretation, and explanation*. In contrast, the current research utilized ideological square and ideological discourse proposed by Van Dijk (2000, 2006). In the part of ideological discourse, the researcher focused on Wilder's argumentations. Those argumentations were part of Wilder's strategy to gain his political interest. The following, it analyzed using ideological square aimed to discover Wilder's ideology. So, by analyzing Wilder's speech, the research need to seek for what the behind speech was or what Wilder brought in United State.

The following, Mohammadi and Javadi (2016) conducted the research to find out discourse structure and ideological square of Donald Trump's speech. It showed that in the linguistics level could highlight ideology of Donald Trump through text of speech. The researcher applied Fairclough's diagrammatic representation and ten-question model. A diagrammatic representation consisted

of text, discourse practice, and socio-cultural practice. While ten-question model consisted of vocabulary, grammar, and text-structure. Those theories were applied in previous research. In contrast, the present research analyzed Wilder's speech using Van Dijk's ideological square and ideological discourse (2000, 2006). Ideological square consisted of four categories and ideological discourse focused on argumentation. Wilder's speech would be analyzed using argumentation's theory of Van Dijk. Then, Wilder's argumentation would be classified and analyzed using ideological square. So, the current research was different from the previous research. However both researches intended to analyze social reality especially in political speech and to reveal political interest

Sharifi et al (2016) analyzed textual and contextual text of Fareed Zakaria. Textual analysis focused on access and participants while contextual focused on style, meaning and argumentation level. The results were *implication, vagueness, generalization, clarity, and categorization* on Zakaria's speech. As the result the CNN's representation of Muslim related issues was biased and stereotypical. Meanwhile, the current research analyzed Wilder's speech using on ideological square and ideological discourse. There were four aspects of ideological square that proposed by Van Dijk (2006) and there were nine argumentations part of ideological discourse (Van Dijk, 2000, 2006). The difference from previous research was the application of Van Dijk's theory. Sharifi et al utilized Van Dijk's theory (1991) which involved textual and contextual while the current research applied ideological square and ideological discourse. In addition, the researcher only focused on argumentation in part of ideological discourse. So, by applying

Van Dijk's theory consisting of ideological square and ideological discourse, the researcher aimed to reveal Wilder's argumentation and ideology. Also, the researcher intended to reveal what Wilder's political interest behind his speech.

The last previous studies, research of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) has already conducted in the form of written. Ghauri and Umber (2019) found that The Age and The Australian newspaper had different representation of Islam and Muslim. The researchers investigated the editorials of both newspapers using ideological square and lexicalization approach proposed by Van Dijk. The Age described Islam and Muslim positively in contrast The Australian portrayed Islam and Muslim negatively. In the current research also applied ideological square but it applied with argumentation approach which was part of ideological discourse. The current research conducted on political speech named Geert Wilder. The researcher aimed to analyze Wilder's speech using ideological square and argumentation strategy. In addition, it also revealed how politician used his power in giving speech and revealed Wilder's political interests.

H. Research Method

1. Research Design

This research applied descriptive qualitative approach to analyze how Wilder represented Islam in his speech. The aims of applying qualitative research were to analyze Wilder's argumentation strategy and reveal Wilder's ideology. Additionally, the researcher could discover individuals' or groups' meaning in social life where human behavior and event occur (Creswell, 2003,

2012). Finally, this research provided depth comprehension of representation of Islam through a political speech by argumentation strategies and ideological square.

2. Research Instrument

The main research instrument was the researcher himself. The researcher observed, collected, examined and investigated the data through Wilder's speech in Unites Stated, 2019. This research employed Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) proposed Van Dijk (2000, 2006) as tools to examine and investigate the research. Thus, the researcher would play as main researcher to analyze this research, starting from collecting, analyzing, investigating data and explaining the research result.

3. Data

The research data is forms of audiovisual and text. Those data were taken from Youtube, on PVV channel. First data is audiovisual about Wilder's speech. Then, the second data is English text of Wilder's speech. It was used to assist the researcher in order to understand the essence of speech well. The English text was taken from unofficial website, named Yousubtitle.com.

4. Data Source

The Video was taken from YouTube channel of *PVVpers* on January 23, 2020 <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=oiPKd5X--wY> and uploaded on

December 12, 2019. It is Wilder's speech on United States about freedom and Islam. The researcher believes that the video consist of how Wilder represents Islam. The script, then, was taken from unofficial website, <https://www.yousubtitles.com/> on January 23, 2020 and the researcher re-transcript of the text in order to gain valid text of Wilder's speech.

5. Data Collection

At this point, the researcher sought out the controversial issues of Islam. Based on last year's issues, several conservative politicians gave false information over Islam issues. Therefore, the researcher conducted several steps to collect the data.

Firstly, the researcher sought out English speech of Europe politician related to Islam. English speech was chosen as the first requirement because English would be easy to understand. Then, researcher found five videos on YouTube which uploaded three years earlier. All those videos possibly to analyze were watched and identified. Finally, researcher took Wilder's speech, entitled "*Speech Geert Wilders in USA over vrijheid en Islam*", in the United States, 2019 as the data for the research. The video was taken from Youtube, precisely from PVV channel.

Unfortunately, the video of Wilder's speech did not support English subtitle. The researcher, then, downloaded the English subtitle from unofficial website, named Yousubtitle.com. This subtitle was used to assist the researcher in analyzing Wilder's speech. However, the researcher also

attempted to check the accuracy of English subtitle with the video in order to obtain precise subtitle.

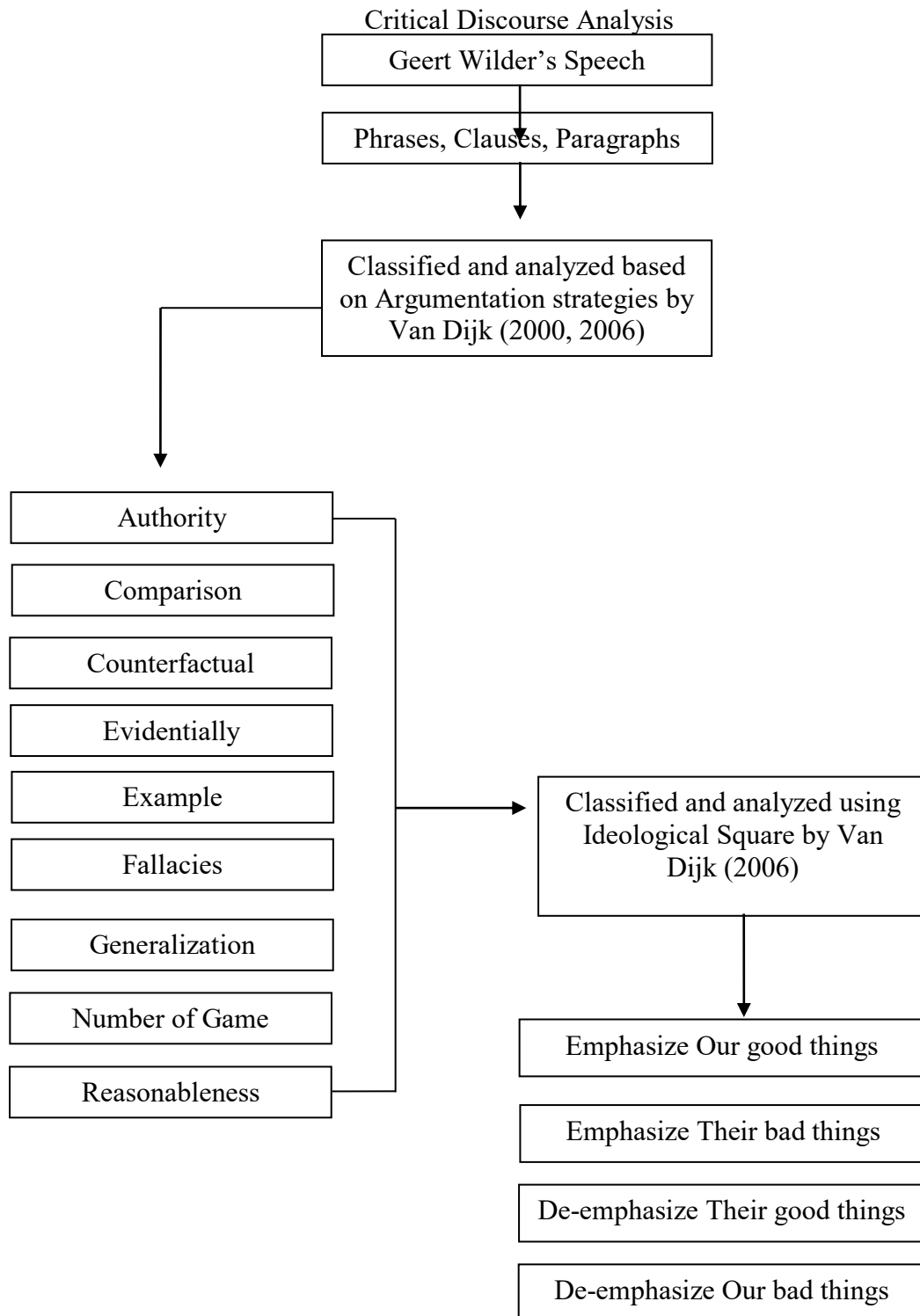
The last, the researcher sought out the Wilder's argumentation strategies. Those data can be form of phrases, clauses, or paragraphs. The second objective would be known after analyzing Wilder's argumentation.

5. Data Analysis

There are several steps to analyze the data. After collecting data, the researcher classified those data based on category of argumentation strategies. There are nine strategies of argumentation that proposed by Van Dijk (2000, 2006). Those are of *Authority*, *Comparison*, *Counterfactuals*, *Evidentially*, *Fallacies*, *Generalization*, *Illustration*, *Number Game*, *Reasonableness*. Each of them has its own function. Then, the researcher analyzed those strategies by describing them.

After analyzing Wilder's argumentation, the researcher classified them based on ideological square, proposed by Van Dijk (2006). This aimed to discover Wilder's ideology and how his political interests. So, the first analysis was used to know how the concern of Wilder's argumentations. Finally, the researcher concluded the result of research based on analysis. In addition, to conclude what the most used argumentation strategy and how his ideology.

This is how Van Dijk's theory applied to analyze Wilder's speech:



CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE

A. Critical Discourse Analysis

Critical Discourse Analysis is an analysis of how the relationship of language with social reality. CDA mainly related to social problems such as war, discrimination, and racism, often occurring in political context. It is not just analysis of discourse or language itself but also wider analysis of language (Fairclough, 2018). The aims are to identify, resist, or expose the existing social problems such as representation of Islam. There are various ways political actors describing Islam. It depends on whose perspective. Individuals or groups who do not support Islam will attempt to describe them negatively and vice versa. That representation is part of social reality that occurred in society. It is more than just producing language but how the relationship of language with other elements. In sum, CDA contribution offers a better explanatory of social problems and change.

Hart defined that Critical Discourse Analysis is the relation between language and society (2010). Language is a vital tool in society because by using language, people can understand society. Mainly Critical Discourse Analysis points out political context. Politic, which usually has ambiguous arguments, is challenging to understand. For instance, in speech, it can be seen how the relationship between speakers and society. They convey the messages, shaping ideology, and persuade society those are by producing language. Therefore, the aims of Critical Discourse Analysis understand, expose or even reveal the messages and arguments of politic

figures. It shows how political figures use their language in society, how they produce language and others. By understanding the relation of language and society, Critical Discourse Analysis intends to obtain a change in society.

Furthermore, the word 'critical' in CDA does not mean critical as methodological, but critical refers to criticizing social reality (Billig, 2003). There are many social realities familiarly occurred, such as power abuse, racism, discrimination, and others. Those problems could harm a particular group or individual. For example, minorities group will tend to be discriminated by dominant groups because specific individuals or groups disagree with their existence, which is different from dominant groups. This social reality is one of examples that should be criticized or resisted because it harms particular groups or individuals. Moreover, social reality should be change into a better social life. Finally, Critical Discourse Analysis is one way of criticizing social facts through academic work.

B. Critical Discourse Analysis by Van Dijk

Critical Discourse Analysis is precisely related to the political context. It is research which deal with social power abuse, authority, inequality, are enacted and produced by text and talk in social life (Van Dijk, 2001). Text or talk plays a vital role in creating discourse, especially in a political context. Van Dijk's definition views how social problems occurred. For instance, Muslim immigrants' discrimination issue often happens because of their generalization toward Islam as a terrorist. As a result, they spread fear and insecurity about immigrants. Also,

individual or group spread their ideology, which is relevant in situations of conflict between groups. In sum, Critical Discourse Analysis aims to understand, expose, identify, or reveal the social problems related to the political context.

In political discourse, Van Dijk proposed Ideological Square to analyze the ideology and Argumentation Strategy to identify how speakers produce or formulate speech arguments.

C. Ideology

Ideology is a belief or knowledge spread by a particular group. The belief consists of knowledge, attitude, culture, and so on. Therefore the foundation of social representation is ideology (van Dijk, 2006). In politics, each group has their own ideology and vision. All things that are represented in public can be positive or negative depends on who evaluates them. For instance, right-wing or left-wing, whatever right-wing said it will always be right for their supporters and vice versa. In politics, the purpose is enhancing reputation, existing values and spread their opinion. As a result, they will get many supports and reach their political goal.

In this case, van Dijk offered an ideological square to identify individual or group ideology. There are two groups in politics, ingroup and outgroup. Speakers tend to discuss what they have achieved, what they have done, and positive things. Those things refer to ingroup while outgroup will be displayed negative values such as war, discrimination, racism and so forth. So, speakers often discuss positive things about their own group rather than negative things.

D. Argumentation Strategy

1. Authority

People tend to believe what experts are saying because it is their field to explain that. This strategy is based on an important or expert role. Sometimes speakers take the wrong opinion and may mention false information. However, speakers can emphasize what they defend by mentioning individual or institution has power. The result will be more objective and trustworthy (Van Dijk, 2000, 2006). So, this strategy aims to strengthen what speakers defend in order for people believe what speakers convey.

2. Comparison

Comparison is the representing of one thing or person as similar to or like another (Merriam Webster Dictionary, accessed October 2020). On the contrary, in the political or racist talk, comparison does not describe individuals or groups similarly but differently. There are in-group and out-group which basically, in-group reflects to positive things while out-group refers to negative things (Van Dijk, 2006). In other words, speakers will always represent their group positively by what they have already achieved while out-group or political opponents will represent negatively. Additionally, a different group will convey in their own way. This strategy aims to show what speakers and their group achieve and to build positive representation. In sum, political individuals or groups who have different visions will be portrayed negatively.

3. Counterfactuals

Counterfactual is an argumentation strategy that expresses empathy (Van Dijk, 2006). In the speech, this strategy attempts to persuade the audience to imagine what possibly occurs. So, counterfactuals involve people to see the difficult situation and feel empathy.

4. Evidentially

Each individual or group may have a different opinion about minorities or immigrations. To make their opinion more acceptable, they provide evidence or proof obtained from paper, reliable spokespersons, witnessed by themselves (van Dijk, 2000, 2006). Various ways can obtain evidence. Evidentially carry out trustworthy and credibility. By providing evidence, speakers' argumentation is more reliable. Furthermore, evidentially is the strategy to emphasize speakers' opinion to be trusted.

5. Fallacies

In politics, fallacies may occur when speakers provide illogic arguments. It means that speakers' argumentation may be faulty. Unfortunately, speakers' argumentation can be correct because many people say so (van Dijk, 2000). It is called a major opinion and minor opinion will be marginalized. In sum, the relation between conclusion and premise is incorrect.

6. Generalization

Generalization has a simple formulation of argumentation. Speakers apply generalization strategy to portray things or individuals generally. It can be obtained from a single reference or preferred reference. In other words, speakers may describe things or individuals positively or negatively depends on the condition and context. In the political context, speakers only take a single reference that is profitable and decrease political opponents' reputation. Also, it is applied to create prejudice about minorities or immigrants (Van Dijk, 2006). So, generalization strategy is the easiest way to make a negative representation.

7. Illustration

This strategy is similar to evidentially, but illustration utilizes a short story to provide evidence. Illustration aims to emphasize what speakers defend by creating a short story to produce plausible general points (van Dijk, 2000, 2006). Furthermore, when the story belongs to the speakers' experience, they will place themselves as representation of people, whether it is right of left-wing. Concrete examples have emotional impacts that bring speakers' objective. It can be form of political, economic, minorities, and other issues. In sum, providing concrete example is a powerful argumentation in speech.

8. Number Game

Speakers' utilize statistic or number to have strong and credible argumentations. Number or statistic shows fact rather than opinion. (Van Dijk, 2000, 2006). Speakers may not always speak by their own point of view and provide data that emphasize their argumentation. Furthermore, data is a valid research by experts, which can be accounted for its research. Number and statistic tend to be trusted because they represent objectivity and fact. However, each speaker has their own data to convey. So, number or statistic has the power to emphasize object and make speakers' argument reliable.

9. Reasonableness

This strategy is typically used by speaker when their argument tends to be unreasonable. Hence, reasonableness aims to show speakers positive self-presentation and impression management (Van Dijk, 2000).

E. Ideological Square

1. Emphasize Our good things

Speakers who represent their own group will tend to describe positively (Van Dijk, 2006). The good things could bring many advantages for speakers. Good things mean something that easily acceptable for society. However, the individual or group always has a political interest. When speakers convey good things, they want to increase their public reputation or seek more

supporters. In the end, speakers easily obtain society trust, and also it can be a power for speakers.

2. Emphasize Their bad things

Bad things become weakness of individual or group. In political or racist talk, this strategy aims to portray the opponents negatively (Van Dijk, 2006). They will compare what they achieve and what opponents do not. Therefore, speakers utilize opponents' bad things to decrease their reputation and to weak them. As a result, the maneuver of supporters will possibly change to other groups. So, in racist speech or debate, bad things are a common topic to discuss, in order create negative representation of opposite groups.

3. De-emphasize Our bad things

In politic, there are many various ways of conveying their opinion. If speakers emphasize one thing, there will be another thing which is de-emphasized (Van Dijk, 2006). Previously, Bad things is weakness, therefore speakers will minimize or will not discuss their bad things. Each group or individual will not discuss their bad things because it can weak them. So, speakers will look like a fair and credible group to be chosen by covering bad things.

4. De-emphasize Their good things

Speakers will attempt to display the opposite groups as bad as possible. This strategy aims to covering their good things. Their good thing can be as a thread for speakers that's why speakers will consider it does not exist or is not discussed (Van Dijk, 2006). Speakers only focus on their bad things, in other words it is the best way to cover their good things. They will be framed as un-credible groups. In sum, Their good things will be rarely to be discussed by speakers.

F. Biography of Geert Wilder

Geert Wilder is a Dutch politician born on 6th of September 1963 (Vossen, 2017). He and his family lived in Venlo, which is Catholic regency and located in Limburg's southern province. Then, politically, Wilder became Netherland national parliament in 1998 (BBC News, 2011). He is the leader of the Party of Freedom, known as PVV in Netherland. One of his party principles is to fight against Islam (Vossen, 2017). In other words, Wilder and his party are clearly anti-Islam. He even a vocal Dutch politician who proclaim the danger of Islam. Guardian News (2008), he said, "I don't hate Muslim. I hate Islam". He believed that Islam is not a religion but it is an ideology. There were Wilder's several controversial actions. For example, he made a short film called 'Fitna', about the dark side of Islam in 2008. The following, he made a drawing competition of Islam's Prophet Muhammad SAW. In addition, he proposed several policies

toward Islam, such as ban Qur'an, mosque, burqa, and others related to Islamic symbols.

G. Background of Speech

Geert Wilder delivered a speech in David Horowitz Freedom Center, in America. His speech is about Freedom and Islam and uploaded in PVV YouTube channel on 12th of December 2019. David Horowitz Freedom Center is an organization that defends American Value from Left radical and Islam. In other words it is anti-Islam organization as well as Wilder.

CHAPTER III

FINDING AND DISCUSSION

This chapter consists of research findings and discussion. There are two sections of discussion, argumentation strategy and ideological square. The first section identifies Wilder's argumentation strategy and the second section classifies Wilder's argumentation into Ideological square. The result aims to reveal Wilder's ideology and how Muslim is represented by Wilder

3.1 Data Description

The primary data of this research is text of Wilder's speech. The text was taken from unofficial website, named Yousubtitle.com because there is no English text in official website. However, the researcher conducted transcribing in order to obtain exact text of Wilder's speech. The speech which is about freedom and Islam was delivered in 2019 when Wilder visited United States, precisely in David Horowitz Freedom Center.

This speech has 35.14 minutes which mostly talked about Islam. The researcher classified it into 13 paragraphs and there were 19 founded data. The data was taken based on the objective of research and related to Muslim. Those data are quite relevant to be analyzed. In addition, the data is tabulated below:

Datum 1

“They fail to subscribe to the view to the truth that Islam and freedom are incompatible. As we can see in any country in the world where Islam is already dominant today. Everywhere Islam hoots, freedom dies,…”

In the first Datum, Wilder focuses on describing the European leaders and Islam negatively. Negatively means that they, European leaders, do not protect the freedom because many Muslim immigrants are allowed to come to Europe seeking for asylum. Therefore, Wilder argues the arrival of Muslim immigrants becomes major issue. His speech conveys the warning of dangerous of Islam to audience. So, in the beginning of Wilder’s speech, he wants to show that Islam can harm America freedom.

Wilder’s argumentations aim to generalize political opponents and Islam. The generalization strategy functions to make negative characteristics of them, especially Islam. This prejudice aims to portray Islam as a threat of United States. For example, Islam is represented dominant. According to Meriam Webster, dominant can be interpreted as powerful which in Wilder’s speech indicates that Islam is powerful group. Specifically, Islam is a dangerous group. Therefore, Wilder argues that ‘everywhere Islam hoots, freedom dies’. That argumentation produces negative representation of Islam. By representing Islam is dominant, Wilder intends to convey that Our freedom dies because of Islam.

Unfortunately, Wilder’s argumentations carry vagueness. Everywhere Islam hoots, freedom dies. This argumentation only blames Islam because Wilder

does not provide concrete information of the freedom death. It is only stated that Islam and freedom are incompatible. Furthermore, Wilder basically only formulates negative characters of Islam. So, Wilder specifically intends to critique the current European leaders who still accept Muslim Immigrant. He also rejected the arrival of Muslim immigrants in Europe. Furthermore, Islam was represented as colonize who destroy value of Western civilization.

Datum 2

“And here in America your president, Donald J Trump, proves to be a very wise and a very brave man. A very brave man who fights against evil. He fought the Islamic State and rightfully ordered their leader to be killed. He built a wall at your southern border and he introduced travel bans from Islamic countries such as Iran, Libya, Somalia, Syria, and Yemen. He allows very few to zero resettlement of so-called refugees in the United States of America”.

In Datum 2, Wilder emphasizes his group's good things by providing several evidences. He states that Donald Trump is a brave person who fights against evil. Evil, here, refers to terrorism which is attached to Islam. To strengthen his statement, Wilder provides concrete evidences. First, Donald Trump killed the leader of ISIS, on 26th October 2019 (BBC News, 2019, volume). This evidence can indicate that Trump successfully eradicated terrorism, considering ISIS is known terrorism organization. Second, Trump is building southern border of America. It aims to decrease the number of Immigrant who

came from Mexico. Third, Travel ban from six Islamic countries. Trump argued that the order needed to stop terrorist entering the US (BBC News, 2017). Those evidences which mentioned by Wilder are trustworthy evidences to prove that Donald Trump is a brave president.

Those three policies basically refuse the immigrant, especially Muslim immigrant. Therefore, Wilder praises President Donald Trump for those policies. It indicates that Wilder also has similar political goal which refuses the existence of Islam in his country, Netherland. By mentioning those policies, it also implies that Islam is dangerous religion because it refers to terrorism. In contrast, critic said it was a ban on Muslim (BBC News, 2017). In the end, Wilder's argumentation strategy is to provide trustworthy evidences to support his statement that Donald Trump is a brave president. This move also aims to make the credibility and objectivity.

So, Wilder's statement can be accepted for audience and represented Donald Trump a successful President. Moreover, Wilder represents Muslim immigrant who need to ban as threat of country.

Datum 3

"I also admire president Trump's unwavering support for the State of Israel. He made America the first nation in the world to move its embassy to Jerusalem".

Wilder strongly supports Donald Trump for moving his embassy in Jerusalem. Jerusalem is contested territory for Israel and Palestine and both

intended to claim it. The city contains sites holy, such as Western Wall for Jews and Haran al-Sharif or Al-Aqsa mosque for Moslem. Wilder support Donald Trump because he wanted Jerusalem belongs to Israel. It can be seen from his personally support for Israel. Similarly, in 4th paragraph of his speech when Iran attacked Israel, he gave support to Israel. Wilder also ever lived and worked in Israel therefore he fully supported Donald Trump's move.

Wilder's argument is a form of social reality which is framed into achievement of particular individual. He mentioned 'President Trump' which referred to an Authority. It means an individual who has power to move US embassy. In other side, Palestine is the one who is harmed because they cannot pray again in Haran al-Sharif. Wilder did not represent Islam negatively or positively but he implicitly said that Jerusalem belongs to Israel. Wilder specifically focused on Trump's decision and covered the fact itself. The fact, Trump's decision undercuts US credibility as neutral party in this conflict (Vox, 2018). This argument aims to support that Wilder's statement that President Donald Trump fully supports Israel.

In sum, as politician Wilder's support toward Donald Trump indicates that he is on Israel side rather than a neutral politician in conflict between Israel and Palestine.

Datum 4

"We stand strong with Israel when they triumph and we stand strong with Israel in the hours of need. When dark Islamic forces rain rockets upon it citizens of

Israel, we stand strong with Israel. And just this week we saw again rockets of hatreds pouring down on innocent Israeli citizens”.

Datum 4 shows that Wilder invited audience to support Israel in every circumstance. ‘We stand strong with Israel’, it repeated three times which indicates that Wilder influence the audience to support Israel. This statement is followed by evidence that Israel was attacked by Islamic forces. Wilder’s argument seems trustworthy because he mentioned the current incident which attacked Israel or he saw it from the news. In other side, Wilder represented Islam as ‘dark Islamic’ which means worst and dangerous religion. Furthermore, considering from the conflict, Dark Islamic forces specifically refer to Palestine army or other Muslim countries that support Palestine.

Unfortunately, Wilder generalized them as dark Islamic because he intended to describe Islam negatively. It is not just conflict between two countries but shifts into religion conflict. Wilder’s argument tends to blame Islam because he aimed to spread the hatred of Islam. By generalizing Islam negatively, it definitely harms other Muslim. Wilder’s strategy is to provide the attack of Islam as evidence to support Israel.

So, Wilder’s strategy refers to asking audience to support Israel in the conflict and blame Islam because of attacking Israel. In addition, Wilder represented Islam as a suspect of the conflict.

Datum 5

”When the evil empire of Iran threatens to wipe Israel off the map. We stand strong with Israel and we stand strong with Israel in their quest for peace and justice. In the fight against the anti-semitic BDS movements”.

Datum 5 is still related to Datum 4 that Wilder invited audience to support Israel. This Datum still basically talked about the conflict between Israel and Palestine but now Wilder specifically mentioned Iran as a threat of Israel. As Muslim country, Iran is described as an evil empire because Iran fully supports Palestine in this conflict. The aim of Wilder argument is to frame Iran’s move as a suspect who harms Israel.

In contrast, Wilder did not mention any attack from Israel toward Palestine or other Muslim countries. He just mentioned the Iran’s attack and narrated into bad action. In other words, his argumentation is to cover Israel attacks and describe Israel as a victim. Wilder’s argument quietly tends to de-emphasize Israel bad things. Iran is framed as an example to prove that Islam is dangerous religion who can harm others. Therefore Wilder strongly blamed and framed Iran negatively. In addition, an organization of Palestine freedom, BDS, is framed a threat of Israel. Apparently, Wilder attempts to describe individuals or groups who harm Israel negatively, especially Muslim countries.

In Sum, to gain huge support of audience, Wilder provides the evidence to convince them that Israel is a victim in the territorial conflict between Israel and Palestine. Then, Islam is represented as perpetrator.

Datum 6

“And today today, we see the Jews leaving from Europe. Unfortunately, Jews are leaving Europe today because of the Islamic and the left anti-semitism”.

Wilder fully accuses Islam and Left-wing as the cause of Jews leaving Europe. His accusation is unfounded because there is no concrete evidence to prove his statement. Basically, Wilder conveys the prejudice about Islam and the opposition. In previous datum, it already shows that Individuals or groups who do not stand with Israel will be blamed and represented negatively.

Wilder’s argumentation seems to convince audience that opposition and Islam did the bad things toward Israel. It still refers to previous Datum which Wilder asked support for Israel. Israel was represented as victim meanwhile Islam was characterized unrighteous religion. It proves that Wilder provided a big support to Israel.

Wilder’s argumentation aims to generalize Islam negatively. Islam is represented as dangerous religion, suspect of criminal action, and so on. Those characteristics are only Wilder’s accusation to frame Islam as wicked as well. Considering his political interest rejected Muslim immigrant in Europe especially in Netherland. Therefore Wilder generalizes Islam as a dangerous threat.

So, Datum 6 shows that Wilder’s argumentation aims to represent Islam and the opposition negatively.

Datum 7

“My friends, in Europe most government leaders exactly do the opposite as President Trump. They open the borders to more and more immigrants, most of them from Islamic countries with Islamic values. As a matter of fact we are now in the process of being colonized by Islamic colonists”.

Wilder compared most of Europe leaders with Donald Trump differently. Most European leaders were described taking a wrong decision. It is caused they do not do like Donald Trump which is basically about fighting against Islam. Therefore, Wilder described them as if they do not fight for their country. Wilder’s comparison is to frame most European leaders negatively.

Wilder’s argumentation provides example that is described as negative action of the opposition. For example opening the border for immigrants, especially Muslim immigrants, it is categorized as wrong action because it can influence Western civilization. Wilder is a Dutch conservative politician who rejects Muslim immigrants in Europe. Therefore the opposition is described negatively. In contrast, Donald Trump is described positively. It can be seen in Datum 2 and 3 which Wilder praises Donald Tumps’s actions.

This comparison aims to represent Islam and groups who support Muslim immigrants negatively. Also, Wilder represents Islam as colonist which means a threat of European values. It frames Islam as dangerous religion moreover Wilder wanted to spread hatred about Islam. Furthermore, Wilder intends to say that he

rejects Muslim immigrant, to spread the negative things of Islam and to convince the audience that Islam is dangerous.

In sum, Wilder's argumentation showed that he blamed the opposition by comparing them with Donald Trump and his comparison strongly made prejudice about Islam.

Datum 8

“And the truth is once again that the Western civilization, our civilization, based on Humanity on Judaism and Christianity is the best civilization on earth. It's far superior to the Islamic civilization”.

In Datum 8, Wilder claimed that Western Civilization is far superior to the Islamic civilization. Wilder intends to show that Judaism and Christianity are the best civilization. In other words, they are the best religion. It is not only between West and East but also it is mainly about religion.

His strategy only represents in-group good things meanwhile Islam is represented negatively. Additionally, Wilder compares both differently because Islam is not part of Western civilization. It can be seen when Wilder mention our civilization, the word of our refers to Wilder's in-group consists of Judaism and Christianity. Therefore, they are represented positively. Otherwise, Islam is represented negatively because Islam is part of out-group. Since the beginning of speech, Wilder has already strongly campaigned to reject Muslim immigrant. He also characterizes Islam as violence, terrorism, threat, and so on. For instance, in

Datum 7, Islam is represented colonizing Western civilization. Hence, Islam is compared far inferior to Judaism and Christianity.

Unfortunately, Wilder's argumentation does not provide any data that emphasizes his argumentation. There is no further illustration about his comparison. Basically, his argumentation is only personal point of view aims to show his civilization is far superior. So, Wilder is implicitly just making prejudice and strengthening his group.

In sum, Wilder's comparison is clearly to emphasize his group and shows that Islam is unwanted religion. Additionally, it is personal point of view of Wilder because he clearly degrades Islam and there is no reliable source mentioned to support what Wilder claims.

Datum 9

"It even became worse in Europe when not only the left but also many of the so-called conservatives or conservative liberals, as the German Chancellor Merkel of our own Prime Minister Rutte from Netherlands, are acting like the left today. They are the ones opening our borders to mass immigrations. They are the ones inviting the Islamization of societies, of inviting the culture of hate and submission, of giving away our national security, our freedom of speech, our national sovereignty our cultural identity".

Datum 9 shows that Wilder blamed particular European leaders for their decision. He mentions German Chancellor Merkel and Netherland Prime Minister,

Rutte, because they open the border for immigration, especially Muslim immigrants. Therefore, Wilder states that European became worse. So, those two European leaders can be classified into part of out-group. In other words, they are Wilder's opposition.

Wilder's argumentations aim to frame European leaders' policy as the cause of many immigrants in Europe. He mentions the European leaders' policy as the evidence because only European leaders have the authority to open the border of country. Therefore, Wilder blames their move and also accuses them as part of left-wing. It also emphasizes what Wilder's claim that Europe becomes worse. Hereinafter, his argumentations involve Islam which is represented negative culture. Islam is also characterized as culture of hate and submission. So, Wilder intends to blame political opponents or part of out-group because they provide asylum for Muslim immigrants.

However, Wilder implicitly intends to reject Muslim immigrants in Europe. It can be proven from how Wilder strongly blames German Chancellor and Netherland Prime Minister's policy. The policy that opens the border for Muslim immigrants is faulty. Additionally, for Wilder, freedom and Islam are incompatible. So, rejection of Muslim immigrants is part of Wilder's political interest.

In sum, out-group, are political opponents and Islam, will always tend to represent negatively. Therefore, Wilder blames them because they have different value and vision.

Datum 10

“The followers of Islam however are well organized, well-funded, and highly motivated by the dangerous ideology”.

Data 10 indicated that Wilder intended to spread the hatred of Islam. He extremely described Islam as dangerous ideology. Referring to previous data represented Islam negatively, it seems that Wilder strongly reject the existence of Muslim immigrant in Europe. Therefore he provides negative characteristics and spread the hatred of Islam.

Wilder’s argumentation strongly indicates that he spread the hatred toward Islam. It can be seen from the words that Wilder used, such as well organized, well-funded, and highly motivated. Those words refer to negative meaning because Wilder rejects Muslim immigrant in Europe. However, to make prejudice, Islam is generalized negatively. Datum 10 also shows that Wilder’s argumentation aims to gain support his political interest which resists the existence of Muslim immigrant. There are many European leaders still accepts Muslim immigrants. Therefore, Wilder conveys that Islam is dangerous ideology.

In sum, Wilder’s argumentation is just personal point of view because there is no evidence to prove his argumentation. He generalized Islam based on terrorism because terrorism often relates to Islam. Therefore Islam is represented having negative characteristics.

Datum 11

“Unfortunately, if you resist, you will pay a very high price, as I experienced myself as dr. Bob said I got many fatwas. I'm on the death list of many Islamic terror organizations and I left under 24/7 police protection and security and in government safe safe houses with my wife for more than 15 years now”.

In Datum 11, Wilder explains his consequence of fighting against Islam. The consequence which is a death threat is based on his own experience. This death threat shows to emphasize his argument that Islam is a dangerous religion. It also frames Islam into negative presentation because Wilder lives under police protection because of Islam. His strategy is to provide the objectivity of his argument and to make what he defends is a plausible. Furthermore, Wilder's experience as concrete example is to contribute negative other-presentation. It refers to Islam which is represented negatively and categorized dangerous religion.

Besides, representing Islam negatively, Wilder also attempts to convince the audience that Islam is dangerous religion based on his death threat. This attempt is to gain many groups to hate Islam in order no more Muslim immigrant in Western countries. Wilder is not just telling about bad things of Islam but also he is telling to reject Muslim immigrant and Islam itself. However, his argument is easily known that it defends his points. Those are; fighting Islam will receive high price and it makes negative presentation of Islam.

In sum, Wilder's strategy aimed to prove that Islam is a dangerous. By telling his death threat, it also emphasize his point which is represented Islam negatively. In addition, Islam is also represented as threat of Western countries.

Datum 12

"....asking a crowd about Moroccans in the Netherlands, the group with one of the highest crime rates. 80 percent, 80 percent of all Dutch Muslims who went to fight to Syria and Iraq for the Islamic state were Moroccans".

In Datum 12, Wilder applies number statistic to emphasize his argumentation. He claims that Moroccans has the highest crime rates in Netherland, exactly 80 percent of crime rates. This strategy shows the objectivity and provides powerful impact. Wilder also intends to formulate prejudice about the Moroccans. So, Moroccans immigrants are represented a dangerous group who can harm Netherland

Furthermore, Wilder mentions 80 percent of Dutch Muslim. The number of 80 percent indicate huge amount and will give strong impact which spreads hate of Islam to audience. The audience does not know precisely how many Moroccans population in Netherland but if Wilder mentions 80 percent, it means a lot of crime rates of Moroccans. Specifically, His strategy provides the number that aimed to strengthen his argumentation and show the objectivity. It also indicates fact and plausible argumentation rather than point of view. Generally, this strategy aims to emphasize Moroccans bad things.

In addition, Wilder intends to convey that Moroccans is the example of dangerous of Muslim immigrants. There are 80 percent of Moroccans crime rates in Netherland. Moreover, they are linked to Islamic state as known as ISIS which is terrorist organization. It is powerful move to emphasize the dangerous of Muslim immigrants. Wilder's argumentations aim to warn and invite the audience about Muslim immigrant. It also represents Islam negatively as the religion.

In sum, Wilder's argumentation utilizes the number statistic to provide strong and trustworthy argument. By mentioning the high number which attached to Moroccans, Wilder intends to represent them as dangerous Moroccans..

Datum 13

“So, the European elites are also allowing terrorists killing innocent people, shouting Allahu Akbar. They allow Islamic schools where children like in my own country, Holland are being taught that Christians should be lashed stoned and beheaded by the sword. They allow that Jews wearing a kippah are beaten up in our streets. They allow no-go zones where Sharia law is the law of the land or at least a lot of the streets”.

In Datum 13, Wilder tends to blame the opposition, exactly the European elites, and also involves Islam. In argumentation strategy, the out-group will tend to describe negatively because they have different political interest. Those European elites refer to out-group of Wilder because he opposes and categorizes them negatively. Apparently, Wilder intends to tell that the opposition has

different value from Holland. In contrast, in-group will be represented positively. For example Datum 2 and Datum 3, those Datum tell about Donald Trump's moves framed into achievement by Wilder. It can be seen that Trump is one of Wilder's in-group therefore Trump is represented positively.

Furthermore, Wilder also involves Islam in blaming the opposition. Islam is represented a threat which brings destruction over Holland. His argument tends to formulate prejudices toward Islam. Those prejudices can be seen from his own arguments. For instance, Islam teaches the children to lash and behead other religions and Islam will beat the Jews who wear kippah. Those are only Wilder's generalization to make Islam representation and to emphasize that Islam is dangerous religion.

As the result, Wilder's argumentations aim to represented Islam and the opposition negatively. It also mainly aims to convince the audience that Islam has negative value for Western countries.

Datum 14

“That our values like freedom, the equality between men and women do not exist anymore. That violence rape and intolerant became more dominant and Western values are replaced by values resembling sharia law”.

In Datum 14, Wilder shows the consequences of accepting Muslim immigrant. He intends to spread bad impacts of Muslim immigrants to Western countries. Most of European leaders still believe in multiculturalism and diversity.

It can be seen from their move that most of European leaders open the border for Immigrants, especially Muslim immigrants who seek for asylum. Furthermore, Wilder applies generalization argumentation to make prejudice about Islam.

Wilder's argumentations mainly blame the arrival of Muslim immigrants in Europe. To blame them, Wilder formulates prejudice about Muslim immigrants in order to gain negative representation of Islam. Those argumentations clearly represent Islam as a threat that can danger majority because of their values. For example gender inequality, violence, and rape are linked to Islam. Therefore, those negative characteristics are attached to Muslim Immigrants. In contrast, Wilder does not provide any reliable source related to those issues. In other words, Wilder's argumentations aim to make the hatred toward Islam and represent Islam negatively.

In addition, Wilder's goal is specifically also to reject the arrival of Muslim immigrants. It can be seen from his argumentation, *That violence, rape and intolerant became more dominant and Western values are replaced by values resembling sharia law*. It means that Western countries are in danger because of Muslim immigrants. Then, Wilder mentions violence, rape, and intolerant which mean negative words. Those words utilize to describe Muslim immigrant as dangerous group. Unintentionally, Wilder also invites the audience to reject Muslim immigrants.

In sum, Wilder's argumentations are a form of Wilder's rejection himself of Muslim immigrants. Behind that, he campaigns that Islam is a threat of western countries and invites people to reject Islam.

Datum 15

“And if we don't fight back, we will lose everything. Indeed, we are facing the first and most major existential threat and the first time since the Second World War. The ancient heritage of our forefathers is under attack. And we have to stand up and defend it. A century and a half ago, here in America a young president said exactly what I mean. And this is what Abraham Lincoln said in the year 1862: ‘the dogmas of the quiet past are inadequate for the stormy presence. The occasion is piled high with difficulty and we must rise with the occasion’”.

In Datum 15, Wilder warns the audience that Islam is colonizing Western civilization. He also persuades the audience to fight Islam or they will lose everything. Islam is represented as the most major existential threat. In other words, Wilder aims to formulate negative representation of Islam.

Wilder strategy utilizes figure of Abraham Lincoln. He mentions Abraham Lincoln because Abraham is a former 16th president of United States which are inspired and great (Britannica, accessed October 31, 2020). Wilder states that Our situation is being attacked by Islam and if we don't fight it now we will lose everything. He also invites the audience to reject the arrival of Muslim immigrants. So, Islam is represented as a threat that endangers Western civilization. To strengthen his statement Wilder mentions Abraham Lincoln's quote, *‘the dogmas of the quiet past are inadequate for the stormy presence. The occasion is piled high with difficulty and we must rise with the occasion’*. In other words, Wilder conveys that we have the occasion to fight Islam.

Apparently, Wilder argumentation is only personal point of view therefore he utilizes Abraham Lincoln quote. In the contrary, Wilder's argumentations are exaggerated because it can be seen from his own word, '*we are facing the first and most major existential threat*'. It aims to represent Islam as colonist or negative representation. In sum, by mentioning Abraham Lincoln's quote, Wilder aims to emphasize his statement which fights Islam. His argumentation does not provide any credibility or reliability because Wilder wants to persuade the audience to reject Muslim immigrants. Additionally, Islam is represented as major existential threat.

Datum 16

"First, stop pretending that Islam is a religion. Islam is not a religion. Islam is a totalitarian ideology based on conquest, submission, and violence".

Wilder shares the step of fighting Islam to the audience. The first one is to deny Islam as a religion because Wilder argues that Islam can danger Western countries. His argumentation basically invites the audience to reject Muslim immigrants.

Wilder's argumentation indicates to generalize Islam negatively. It is because Wilder's political interest to spread negative representation of Islam. Even it also convinces the audience that Islam is dangerous ideology. Islam is represented as a threat of Western countries because of Wilder's hatred toward Islam. Furthermore, Wilder utilizes negative words to characterize Islam. There

are conquest, submission, and violence. In Merriam Webster dictionary, conquest and violence refer to negative meaning while submission is neutral. However those words are used by Wilder to make negative characteristics of Islam. So, besides generalizing Islam negatively, Wilder also utilizes negative words to represent Islam.

In contrast, instead of providing concrete argumentations, Wilder only uses his personal point of view. However Wilder cannot define any religion based on opinion. Islam is defined as totalitarian ideology based on Wilder's political interest. He rejects Muslim immigrants in Western countries especially in Netherland. Therefore, Wilder generalize Islam or Muslim immigrants negatively because he also intends to spread the hatred of Islam by referring Islam into negative words.

In sum, Wilder's argumentations represent Islam a threat of country. He generalizes Islam into negative representation. Furthermore, his argumentations are based on his political interest which aims to disgrace Islam.

Datum 17

"We should not grant them their freedom to rob us of our freedom. So no more Islamic schools, no more mosques for they represent an ideology of hate, of violence, of submission".

Wilder does not only reject the existence of Muslim immigrant in Europe but also Islamic symbols. This Datum is Wilder's second suggestion of fighting

Islam and previously, Wilder characterizes Islam negatively. His movement quibbles to defend our constitutional which is different from Islam. Therefore, Islam is represented to rob their constitutional freedom.

Wilder's argumentation attempts to frame Islam as Islamic colonist. It also generalizes Islam negatively. Islam is accused to rob Western freedom and represented as ideology of hate, violence, submission. Wilder's argumentation does not defend freedom constitutional but it aims to spread the negative Islam representation. It can be seen from his argumentations. Mostly, Wilder mentions violence to describe Islam therefore his argumentation is about to disgrace Islam. Furthermore, he utilizes Generalization strategy because it is simplest way to formulate prejudice toward Islam.

In sum, the aim of Wilder's argumentation encourages the audience to reject Islamic symbols in United States.

Datum 18

“Third, we should stop the immigration full stop the immigration from Islamic nation. We should immediately deport all immigrants who commit crimes and act according to Sharia law”.

In Datum 18, Wilder specifically invites the audience to stop Muslim immigrants entering Western countries. This is a third step that Wilder suggests to audience of fighting Islam. Wilder's rejection of Muslim immigrant is not only in

Netherland but he also conveys this movement in United States. His movement aims to spread the hatred of Islam and to obtain many supporters.

Wilder's argumentation attempts to influence the audience to be aware of Muslim immigrants. In the first sentence, Stop means do not open the border for Muslim immigrants because there are a lot of asylum seekers from Muslim countries. Moreover, Wilder also represented them as a threat that can harm other individuals. The first sentence is form of Wilder's political interest to stop Muslim immigrants in United States. The second sentence, then, carries vagueness and generalization. Wilder suggests *deporting all immigrants who commit crimes and act according to Sharia law*. Immigrants who commit crime definitely will be punished by local laws however all crime is a prohibited action. Yet, immigrants who act according to Sharia law will also be deported. This argumentation brings vagueness because Wilder represents Sharia law as criminal action. Terrorism itself does not belong to Islam. In other words, Muslim immigrants who are praying will be deported because praying is one of Muslim's obligations. So, Wilder's argumentations aim to frame Muslim immigrants as a dangerous group.

In sum, Wilder intends to convey that Islam is a dangerous ideology that danger Western value. Islam is also represented as violence and crime. Therefore, his speech mostly talks about the rejection of Muslim immigrants.

	Emphasize Our good things	Emphasize Their bad things	De-emphasize Our bad things	De-emphasize Their good things
Datum 1		✓		
Datum 2	✓			
Datum 3	✓			
Datum 4			✓	
Datum 5			✓	
Datum 6		✓		
Datum 7		✓		
Datum 8	✓			
Datum 9		✓		
Datum 10		✓		
Datum 11		✓		
Datum 12		✓		

Datum 13		✓		
Datum 14		✓		
Datum 15		✓		
Datum 16		✓		
Datum 17		✓		
Datum 18		✓		

The following section, after analyzing using Argumentation strategy, the data will be classified and analyzed using Ideological Square strategy. This strategy, precisely, aims to assist previous analyzing in order to reveal Wilder's ideology. Ideological Square consists of four strategies such as Emphasize Our good things, Emphasize Their good things, De-emphasize Our bad thing, and De-emphasize Their bad thing.

- Emphasize Our good things

This strategy is basically used to show what speaker and allies achieve as self-pride. Typically, this strategy is always related to good things of his group. It can be seen from how Wilder describes his ally and how he utilizes the diction. Based on findings above, there are three data of emphasizing Our good things. Two of them are about Donald Trump which describes positively. It is because Trump's movement is also Wilder's goal which intends to reject Muslim immigrants in Netherland. Furthermore, Wilder uses positive words to describe Donald Trump such as wise and brave. It polarizes that Donald Trump is part of in-group of Wilder. Also, his speech was held in David Horowitz Freedom Center which is Donald Trump's supporter.

In contrast, those three data are quite different from describing other individuals. For example, when Wilder describes German chancellor, Merkel and Netherland Prime Minister, Rutte, he tends to blame them because of their movements. They open the border for Muslim immigrants

therefore Wilder disagree with that movement. Wilder argues that it is the cause which can invite Islamization and can be a threat of country. So, it is not only blaming German Chancellor and Netherland Prime Minister but also it represents Muslim immigrants as a threat.

Furthermore, politically Wilder will support the leaders who also reject Muslim immigrants in contrast Wilder will disagree with the leaders who opens the border for them. Therefore, his speech praises Donald Trumps and compares other leaders with Donald Trump negatively. In sum, Wilder does not only emphasize Our good things but also he blames and represents other group negatively. Also, Islam is represented as colonist.

- Emphasize Their bad things

This strategy aims to make negative other representation. It is applied to describe political opponents or other groups. Typically the strategy is related to bad things such as violence, crime, intolerant, and so on. Mostly, Wilder applies this strategy to describe Islam negatively. There are thirteen data classified into emphasize Their bad things. All of them are represented Islam negatively including blaming European leader who provide asylum for Muslim immigrants.

Based on data above, Wilder mostly characterizes Islam into violence and threat. Politically, the essence of his speech also aims to obtain many supporters who hate Islam. Wilder aimed to formulate

prejudice about Islam especially Muslim immigrants. For example, in Datum 16, Islam is represented as totalitarian ideology. According to Dictionary.com, totalitarian means controlling freedom, will, or thoughts which are value of Western countries. Therefore, when Wilder represents Islam as totalitarian ideology, it means that Islam will take Western value. In other words Islam is also represented as authoritarian. There are many campaigns that aim to overthrow and disgrace Islam for instance, rejecting the Islamic school, mosque and Muslim immigrants. Moreover, those campaigns are followed by Wilder's argumentations which tend to provide Islam negative representation. Those are part of Wilder's political interest when delivered speech in United States because he already stopped Islamic symbolism such as Islamic burqa and kneecap in Netherland. So, Wilder does not only represent Islam negatively but also Wilder invites the audience to reject Muslim immigrant and Islamic symbols.

In contrast, most of Wilder's argumentations only functions to generalize Islam and some are biased. For instance, Wilder characterizes Islam well-organized, well-funded, and dangerous ideology which refer to terrorism. Basically, Wilder intends to mention that Islam is a group of terrorist.

In Sum, this strategy is mostly used by Wilder because he intends to portray Islam negatively. Instead of

- De-emphasize Our bad things

This strategy is applied to cover Our bad things. Usually, this topic will rarely show up in speech because speaker does not want the audience or viewers listen about Our bad things. Speaker will prefer to emphasize their bad things instead of de-emphasize our bad things. In Wilder's speech, he only applied this strategy once. So, this strategy is rarely used by Wilder because he aims to cover Our bad things.

Based on data above, Datum 4 and 5 are classified into this strategy because he frames that the only attack is from Islam, exactly Palestine and Iran. Those Datum tells about the attacking of the conflict between Israel and Palestine. Wilder represents those Islamic countries as the evil that rains rockets to Israel. Then, that attacks are represented as Islam bad things. By conveying those attacks, Wilder wants to show that Islam is a dangerous and violence group. Therefore, the aim of this strategy hides Our bad things by portraying out-group as a perpetrator.

On the contrary, Wilder hides the Israel attacks to Palestine. There are many reports that Israel attacks Palestine during last several years. For instance on August, 2019, Israel killed four Palestinians in Gaza borders, which reported by DW news. The latest attack happened on November, 2019, reported by Al Jazerra. In fact, Israel attacks also goes to Palestine. So, Wilder's argumentations place Islamic countries, such as Palestine, as the terrorist who attacks Israel.

In sum, the bad things of Wilder's group will tend not to mention in his speech, even it is never mentioned. By not mentioning Our bad things, it means Wilder de-emphasizes Our bad things.

- De-emphasize Their good things

Based on data above, this strategy does not occur in Wilder's speech. Mostly, there are only good and bad things. The good one will refer to in-group which is Wilder's group and the bad one will refer to out-group which is political opponents and Islam. By representing Islam negatively, Wilder does not only de-emphasize but also Wilder denies that Islam has good things. In sum, Wilder rejects the existence of Islam and rejects Muslim immigrants who seek for asylum in Western countries.

3.2 Discussion

There are two main findings of the research which are argumentation strategy and ideology. Firstly, the researcher attempted to figure out Wilder's argumentation strategy. This strategy was proposed by Van Dijk and branch of Critical Discourse Analysis. The result showed that Wilder's tried to frame Islam negatively by attributing into violence, terrorism, and evil. The researcher also tried to discover Wilder's political interests because he was giving speech in United State so definitely he brought his political interests. Secondly, the finding answered Wilder's ideology. The second analysis also utilized the first analysis to discover Wilder's ideology. From Wilder's speech, it showed that he is far right-wing and anti-Islam.

The findings have figure out that there were eighteen argumentation strategies in Wilder's speech. There were 8 Generalization, 5 Evidentially, 2 Comparison, 1 Authority, 1 Number of Game, 1 Illustration. The most used was generalization aimed to make prejudice about immigrants (Van Dijk, 2006). As the majority Wilder attempted to frame immigrants, especially Muslim immigrants negatively. In datum 1 for instance, Wilder mentioned that Islam is already dominant and Islam hoots, freedom dies. In other words, Wilder intended to make prejudice about Islam which may affect Muslim immigrants. Generalization strategy is lack of concrete evidences (Van Dijk, 2006). So, Generalization that proposed by Van Dijk is still relevant today, especially in political context. However it seems that Generalization is often used to counter political opponent or group. Previously, Khan et al (2019) found that

Generalization is often used in Trump's speech. Also, the aim is to create polarization between majority and minority. However, Khan et al applied all level of Van Dijk theory. In sum, the current research attempted to focus on argumentation level, one of them is Generalization. The result is still relevant and often used by politician. Generalization is not only to make prejudice about immigrants but also it can be for others who basically have different vision or ideology.

The following is Evidentially strategy. This strategy is opposite of generalization strategy because the arguments is followed by evidence. Therefore, to make Wilder's claim or statement more plausible, it was also provided several evidences (Van Dijk, 2000, 2006). The evidences can be obtained from newspaper, online media, or have seen something by themselves. The researcher found five Evidentially strategies of Wilder's speech. Wilder aimed to ensure the audience and his viewers in youtube that what he conveyed was truly happened. For instance datum 4, Wilder saw that Iranian rockets attacked Israel citizen. Wilder did not mention how he saw it or how it came from. It can be as concrete evidence to support Wilder's argument. Van Dijk stated that the information can be obtained from everywhere including with their own eyes (2000, 2006). However, information needs to be followed by credible sources. The credible source aims to support speaker point of view in order to create trustworthy point of view. So, the information which seen by their own eyes is not relevant today because it is not totally right.

Furthermore, Wilder also utilized comparison strategy. Comparison means describing between two things or in-group and out-group differently (Van Dijk, 2000, 2006). In-group which associated with Wilder tend to describe positively, otherwise out-group will be negatively. In datum 7 and 8 were the example of Comparison that was conveyed by Wilder. He described that most Europe government conducted the wrong action such as opening border for immigrants meanwhile Trump was closed the border for immigrants, especially Muslim immigrants. In other words, Wilder has interests as well as Trump therefore he described European government who opened border negatively. Van Dijk (2006) argued that Comparison talked about refugees and minorities. But comparison can be used to compare political opponents negatively. In other words, Van Dijk's theory may develop gradually. In Datum 7, Wilder described that most of European leader made wrong policy which opened the border for immigrants. They who opened the border must have different vision from Wilder therefore he described most of European leader who opened the border negatively.

Researcher also found other strategies such as Authority, Illustration and Number of Game. Van Dijk (2000, 2006) argued that authority is used to support speaker's argument, by mentioning individual or organization that has capability. In the current research Wilder often mentioned Trump and Abraham Lincoln to support his argument. Wilder's speech was held in United State therefore he mentioned American figure to inspire the audience. Wilder often mentioned Trump because he has identical goal with Trump such as closed the border for minorities or refugees. So, Van Dijk's theory still occurs nowadays and most of

politician still used it to support their argument. In addition, different ideology will mentioned different authorities.

Then, Illustration occurred once in the current research. Researcher found one illustration strategy by sharing Wilder's personal experience. Van Dijk (2000, 2006) argued that illustration is strong move because it provides concrete examples such as short story. Van Dijk also added concrete stories could provide emotional impact. In datum 11, Wilder shared his experience of life under police protection because of death threat. He showed the consequence of facing Muslim immigrants and framed Muslim immigrants as threat of Western. So, Wilder's argument was concrete enough because he shared his experience to support his argument.

Number of game is one of strategy that utilized data or statistic, basically about numbers (Van Dijk, 2000, 2006). The numbers can be obtained from many sources, typically numbers that can support Wilder's argument. Each politician will take sources that are profitable for their own group. In Wilder's speech, he mentioned that Moroccans has highest crime rates in Netherland, 80 percent. He intended to show that fact by mentioning number. Previously, Sharifi et al (2016) found that Zakaria also used number and statistic to provide fact. In this case, politicians will typically mention number from their associated sources or fit source for their group. In the current research, unfortunately, Wilder did not mention any reliable source to strengthen his data. Van Dijk (2000, 2006) added that number and statistic can be obtained from news reports. Also, nowadays

reliable data is accessible on social media. So, number and statistic will show objectivity and fact followed by reliable sources.

In the second analysis, the researcher applied Van Dijk's ideological square (2006) to discover Wilder's ideology and how polarization occurred in his speech. There were 18 data that categorized into four categories of ideological square. The result showed that 13 of 18 data pointed to emphasized Their bad things. It means that Wilder described Muslim immigrants and political opponents negatively. Furthermore, 3 of 18 data went to emphasize Our good things. It means to show positive representation of Wilder's group and ally by mentioning his achievements or ally's achievements. The last, 2 of 18 data is de-emphasize our bad things. it means to cover up the bad things of Wilder's group and ally.

Most of data above describe Islam and Muslim immigrants negatively. Wilder also rejected muslim immigrants in Europe therefore he also support Trump's move to close the border from several muslim countries (BBC News, 2017). The polarization *us vs them* occurred in Wilder's speech. Us referred to Wilder group and ally or majority and them referred to minorities and political opponents. In previous study, Khan et al (2019) also showed that Muslim categorized into them. So, politicians who are anti-immigrants especially Muslim immigrant will be categorized out-group because they are not part of majority.

Based on two analyses above, the researcher found that Wilder was clearly anti-Islam and Muslim immigrants. He did not only describe Muslim immigrant, Islam, and political opponents negatively but also Wilder sought political support in United States. It was also including support Israel from Islamic country attack.

CHAPTER IV

CONCLUSION AND SUGGESTION

A. Conclusion

Based on the finding and discussion, the research can be concluded that the essence of Wilder's speech is not to warn the audience but mainly aims to represent Islam negatively. Most of Wilder's argumentations are only generalization. In other words, he only formulates prejudice about Islam. There are eight generalization strategies used by Wilder. And all of them portray Islam as a threat of the country. The following is evidentially strategies. There are six evidentially strategies used by Wilder. Evidentially can be obtained in various ways, such as hearing from other individuals or seeing something by himself. This strategy carries objectivity because Wilder used it to provide trustworthy argumentation. However, some of Wilder's evidentially argumentation shows biased because he intends to disgrace Islam. Those are the dominant strategies used by Wilder. So, Most of Wilder's speech is to spread the hatred of Islam by generalizing it.

The second section of the discussion, Wilder's argumentations tend to be classified into emphasizing Their bad things. It is a dominant strategy used by Wilder. Previously, there are many generalization strategies because it is handy to convey instead of providing concrete argumentation. In addition, Wilder's generalization also tends to emphasize Islam bad things. For instance, Islam is represented as colonist, threat, and so on. Therefore, in second section, it tends to

emphasize Islam bad things. Otherwise, Wilder emphasizes his group good things but it is not as much as Islam bad things. So, based on Wilder's speech, Wilder is Anti-Islam politician because many of his argumentation represents Islam negatively and intends to stop Muslim immigrants. Also, to prevent Muslim immigrants in Western countries is one of Wilder's political interests.

Finally, based on the first and second discussion, it is concluded that Wilder mostly applies argumentation strategy of Generalization. By using that strategy, Islam is represented negatively by providing negative characteristics. The following research also proves that Wilder's ideology is Anti-Islam. There are many factors that can support Wilder's ideology. First, Wilder blame and disgrace Islam in his speech. Second, the speech is held in David Horowitz Freedom Center which is America conservative organization. Third, Wilder supports Israel in conflict Israel and Palestine.

B. Suggestion

There are several suggestions for further research. First, it can be combined with other theories that assist the research objective because it can enrich data research. Many CDA experts can be applied for further research, for instance, Norman Fairclough, Christopher Hart, and so on. The research can discover deeper and unique discussion about racism, discrimination, or others by combining several theories. Second, various objects can be analyzed, such as newspapers, online media, or interviews related to social reality. Social reality can be easily found in those media because it is accessible and provides various discourses. The last, sensitive issues have occurred for the last decade. Many politicians used sensitive issues for their political interests.

Consequently, there must be the ones who are harmed. Therefore, there should be social reality research digging all aspects such as meaning, interest, and so on. To provide a new insight into what actually occurs in social life.

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APPENDIX

No	Paragraph	Data Analysis	Category
1	3	They fail to subscribe to the view to the truth that Islam and freedom are incompatible. As we can see in any country in the world where Islam is already dominant today. Everywhere Islam hoots, freedom dies stop the beating Islam	Generalization
2	3	And here in America your president, Donald J Trump, proves to be a very wise and a very brave man. A very brave man who fights against evil. He fought the Islamic state and rightfully ordered their leader to be killed. He built a wall at your southern border and he introduced travel bans from Islamic countries such as Iran Libya Somalia Syria and Yemen. He allows very few to zero resettlement of so-called refugees in the United States of America.	Evidentially
3	4	I also admire president Trump's unwavering support for the State of Israel. He made America the first nation in the world to move	Evidentially

		its embassy to Jerusalem.	
4	4	we stand strong with Israel in the hours of need. When dark Islamic forces reigns rockets upon its citizens of Israel, we stand strong with Israel. And just this week we saw again rockets of hatreds pouring down on innocent Israeli citizens.	Evidentially
5	4	When the evil empire of Iran threatens to wipe Israel off the map. We stand strong with Israel and we stand strong with Israel in their quest for peace and justice. In the fight against the anti-semitic BDS movements.	Evidentially
6	5	And today today, we see the Jews leaving from Europe. Unfortunately, Jews are leaving Europe today because of the Islamic and the left anti-semitism	Generalization
7	5	My friends, in Europe most government leaders exactly do the opposite as President Trump. They open the borders to more and more immigrants, most of them from Islamic countries with Islamic values. As a matter of fact we are now in the process of being colonized by Islamic colonists.	Comparison

8	6	<p>And the truth is once again that the Western civilization, our civilization, based on Humanity on Judaism and Christianity is the best civilization on earth. It's far superior to the Islamic civilization.</p>	Comparison
9	6	<p>It even became worse in Europe when not only the left but also many of the so-called conservatives or conservative liberals, as the German Chancellor Merkel of our own Prime Minister Rutte from Netherlands, are acting like the left today. They are the ones opening our borders to mass immigrations. They are the ones inviting the Islamization of societies, of inviting the culture of hate and submission, of giving away our national security, our freedom of speech, our national sovereignty our cultural identity.</p>	Evidentially
10	7	<p>The followers of Islam however are well organized, well-funded, and highly motivated by the dangerous ideology.</p>	Generalization
11	7	<p>Unfortunately, if you resist, you will pay a very high price, as I experienced myself as dr. Bob said I got many fatwas. I'm on the death</p>	Illustration

		list of many Islamic terror organizations and I left under 24/7 police protection and security and in government safe safe houses with my wife for more than 15 years now.	
12	8	asking a crowd about Moroccans in the Netherlands, the group with one of the highest crime rates. 80 percent, 80 percent of all Dutch Muslims who went to fight to Syria and Iraq for the Islamic state were Moroccans.	Number of Game
13	10	So, the European elites are also allowing terrorists killing innocent people, shouting <i>Allahu Akbar</i> . They allow Islamic schools where children like in my own country, Holland are being taught that Christians should be lashed stoned and beheaded by the sword.	Generalization
14	10	That our values like freedom, the equality between men and women do not exist anymore. That violence rape and intolerant tolerance became more dominant and Western values are replaced by values resembling sharia law.	Generalization
15	10	Indeed, we are facing the first and most major	Authority

		<p>existential threat and the first time since the Second World War. The ancient heritage of our forefathers is under attack. And we have to stand up and defend it. A century and a half ago, here in America a young president said exactly what I mean. And this is what Abraham Lincoln said in the year 1862: ‘the dogmas of the quiet past are inadequate for the stormy presence. The occasion is piled high with difficulty and we must rise with the occasion.</p>	
16	11	<p>First, stop pretending that Islam is a religion. Islam is not a religion. Islam is a totalitarian ideology based on conquest submission and violence.</p>	Generalization
17	11	<p>We should not grant them their freedom to rob us of our freedom. So no more Islamic schools, no more mosques for they represent an ideology of hate, of violence, of submission.</p>	Generalization
18	11	<p>Third, we should stop the immigration full stop the immigration from Islamic nation. We shoot immediately deport all immigrants who</p>	Generalization

		commit crimes and act according to Sharia law.	
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Freedom and Islam Speech

Geert Wilder

Hello America, how are you today? as always it's really such an honor for me to be at restoration weekend. To be amongst friends brave people who are determined to let freedom prevail. People who supported me for so many years like my dear friend and Ally dr. Bob Schulman. Bob, thank you so much for everything you have been doing for us all those years, thank you. Also thank you David Horowitz, for all the inspiration and so many others that I'm seeing here today will help me in any phase of my life or trouble like Nina Rosenwald, Daniel Pipes and so many others thank you all so much. Every time I set foot on American soil. I feel the energy of the country that is characterized by freedom like no other country in the world and where bravery is still being held in high regard. I feel the energy of the country that was established to realize a vision, to realize an ideal, to discover and to maintain Liberty among men.

America was built on courage, on imagination and the undeniable determination which is still very much needed in the world today. I love the United States of America where Old Glory, your flag is always flying high, proud, and bright stars and stripes forever. And I specifically remember a very special moment last July, at the White House a Dutch art collector met with the American commander-in-chief, President Donald Trump, to present him with a very special flag, an American flag. A flag that was proudly held and proudly raised on one of the first ships that landed at the beaches of Normandy in 1944. And that flag that

flag graced the landing craft that was commanded by Howard from there baked, an American of Dutch descent. And at a perilous fight it witnessed how brave young Americans fought and died against the battle, against tyranny. And that beautiful old and battled Scout flag returned home, exactly 75 years after the liberation of Europe. And it's that flag that reminds me how connected how United we are the Americans and the Dutch. It reminds me that though our countries may be an ocean apart in the darkest hour of our history America answered. It reminds me that we share our history, we share the color of our flags, we share the beautiful red white and blue. But we also share our future because we share the same values. We believe in freedom, we believe in justice, we believe in Liberty. And we know that these principles are as valuable as they are vulnerable. May our flags remind us as I quote the great President Ronald Reagan that our freedom is never more than one generation away from extinction. We didn't pass it to our children in the bloodstream. It must be thoughtful, it must be protected and handed on to them to do the same.

Unfortunately most of the European leaders do not don't protect our freedom. The freedom, that American soldiers fought for and sacrificed their life for. After Nazism, after communism was defeated, they fail to stop Islamism today. They open our borders to more and more Islam and belief in cultural relativism. In the sickening mantra that all cultures are equal which of course they are not. They fail to subscribe to the view to the truth that Islam and freedom are incompatible. As we can see in any country in the world where Islam is already dominant today. Everywhere Islam hoots freedom dies. Stop the beating Islam.

Neutrality in the face of evil is evil but appeasement is downright suicide. And here in America your president, Donald J Trump, proves to be a very wise and a very brave man. A very brave man who fights against evil. He fought the Islamic state and rightfully ordered their leader to be killed. He built a wall at your southern border and he introduced travel bans from Islamic countries such as Iran Libya Somalia Syria and Yemen. He allows very few to zero resettlement of so-called refugees in the United States of America. And he is not sidelines by the nonsense of the left who are obsessed with fake issues like climate change. He is focusing on the real important issues like security, economy, and terrorism. And believe me, for somebody who is coming from Europe this is all historic it is legendary to have a president like that.

I wish we had such a brave leaders in Europe. People who put our own people and nation first as president Trump puts America first. And as a foreign politician I should not interfere in domestic American politics. But allow me as a friend of America to give a message as the leader of the Opposition in the Dutch parliament, to all my colleagues in your House of Representatives, to the Democrats in the house most specifically. For all your president I say to my colleagues in your house for all your president Donald Trump has done for your country. He does not deserve impeachment he deserves the Nobel Peace Prize. I also admire president Trump's unwavering support for the State of Israel. He made America the first nation in the world to move its embassy to Jerusalem. He recognized he recognized the sovereignty of Israel over the Golan Heights. He knows he knows that Israel is one of us that Israel is the first line of defense of a

common heritage and culture. That Israel indeed is a beacon of light in an area of total darkness. And just like the American soldiers stormed the Normandy beaches in 1944, today young Israeli men and women are fighting for our freedom, for our civilization, for our values, and they deserve our utmost respect. So, I believe we all must stand strong with Israel. We have to stand strong with Israel. We stand strong with Israel when they triumph and we stand strong with Israel in the hours of need. we stand strong with Israel in the hours of need. When dark Islamic forces rain rockets upon it citizens of Israel, we stand strong with Israel. And just this week we saw again rockets of hatreds pouring down on innocent Israeli citizens. But remember my friends 'Am Yisrael Chai', the Jewish nation leaves, the Jewish nation leaves, is resilient and will defeat it fish's enemies. When the evil empire of Iran threatens to wipe Israel off the map. We stand strong with Israel and we stand strong with Israel in their quest for peace and justice. In the fight against the anti-semitic BDS movements.

Last week the European Court of Justice ruled that products made in Judea and Samaria can no longer be labeled in Europe as made in Israel. And this kangaroo court describes these territories as occupied territories. But my friends those are not occupied territories. These are liberated territories. I lived and worked in Judea for almost a year. It's the heartland of the Jewish States. And today today, we see the Jews leaving from Europe. Unfortunately, Jews are leaving Europe today because of the Islamic and the left anti-semitism. And Evelyn Marcus a dear friend of mine, where's Evelyn? this Evelyn please Evelyn Marcus who is here she's standing there. Evelyn Marcus made the documentary

called 'Never Again is now', I repeat 'Never Again is Now' exactly about that issue. And I recommend you to watch it to support it. It is important that this film 'Never Again is Now' about Jews leaving Europe because of anti-semitism, is watched by us and elsewhere. Thank you so much Evelyn for making this documentary. My friends, in Europe most government leaders exactly do the opposite as President Trump. They open the borders to more and more immigrants, most of them from Islamic countries with Islamic values. As a matter of fact we are now in the process of being colonized by Islamic colonists. They dismantle our nation states. They give away our national sovereignty to bureaucratic institutions our leaders like the European Union. They a piece the evil ideology and they facilitate the demise of freedom of speech. Actually, they are the one, not your leaders but our leaders are the ones that deserve to be impeached.

My friends I believe in freedom, I believe in the American dream, a better life for generations to come. Where anyone can obtain their own version of success through sacrifice, through risk taking, through hard work. It's a dream that many European citizens share. But in order to keep that dream alive, we have to stand up for the truth. And the Russian writer and dissident Alexander Solzhenitsyn used to say that the truth is seldom sweet. It's almost always very bitter. And he was right. But the truth should be heard. And the truth is once again that the Western civilization, our civilization, based on Humanity on Judaism and Christianity is the best civilization on earth. It's far superior to the Islamic civilization. And I do believe that the best days lie ahead of us but only if we

persevere, no matter what. Only if we resist this totalitarian ideology called Islam that is threatening us. All we have to fight back. And someone who never gave up, someone who never gave up. And I'm sure never will give up is David Horowitz. Somebody who spoke before here, called him a giant, and he really is. David has been an inspiration to me and to many others. Not only in America, but around the world for a very long time. His mission, David's mission and death of his freedom center, is very clear and very strong. Identify the enemy and devise ways to defeat him. And the collaboration between the political left and America's enemies abroad and criminals at home is not only an American phenomenon, we experience it in Europe. Every day and his David's mission to defend free societies which are under attack from the enemies within and without, is more topical than ever. It even became worse in Europe when not only the left but also many of the so-called conservatives or conservative liberals, as the German Chancellor Merkel of our own Prime Minister Rutte from Netherlands, are acting like the left today. They are the ones opening our borders to mass immigrations. They are the ones inviting the Islamization of societies, of inviting the culture of hate and submission, of giving away our national security, our freedom of speech, our national sovereignty our cultural identity. They believe that issues as climate change are more important than stopping Islamic barbarism. And for that fight and for that resilience that we have, also the people of Europe, have to thank David Horowitz. Thank you David for your inspiration.

Unfortunately most of our European leaders are weak, chicken-hearted and afraid. The followers of Islam however are well organized, well-funded, and

highly motivated by the dangerous ideology. Unfortunately, they are more often better motivated than the majority of our own people. That the Alliance of the left and the Liberals that they made an alliance with but fortunately these weak politicians don't represent the future. They don't represent hope. More and more Europeans today see the necessity to vote for politicians who are willing and able to stand up against the evil of Islam. To defend our superior culture. To protect our freedom. And in many many European countries we see that patriots are gaining electoral power. In Italy, in Hungary, in Greece, in Belgium, in France, and last week our friends from the Fox party in Spain doubled their seats. So if we stand up and resist, the future is ours. The future belongs to the Patriots of Europe. But there is no time to wait for future. We need to act today. It is our duty that we push back, that we fight back and defend what our fathers and forefathers fought for. We won't let the progressive and the Islamic allies define our future. We won't let them destroy our prosperity. We won't let them destroy our future. Unfortunately, if you resist, you will pay a very high price, as I experienced myself as dr. Bob said I got many fatwas. I'm on the death list of many Islamic terror organizations and I left under 24/7 police protection and security and in government safe safe houses with my wife for more than 15 years now. But besides that I have been taken to court and threatened to be taken to court in the Netherlands, in Austria, in Pakistan, in Jordan, in the Islamic Republic of Iran, in Saudi Arabia, and I'm a persona non grata for life in Indonesia. It's a legal jihad against the freedom of speech. Not only from Islamic barbaric regimes but also from Western countries. Western governments like my own home country.

because indeed for over a decade now the Dutch political establishment and the public prosecutors are hunting me down. They are waging the legal war, the legal jihad against me with the sole purpose for silencing me. Silencing my dissenting opinion. Silencing my and their political opponents.

Twelve years ago, I made a short documentary called 'Fitna'. About the dark sides of the Quran and the Islam. And the Dutch government even at that time tried to stop me from making this movie, for distributing this movie. And they tried to get me convicted for the crime of us exposing the truth. And right after my full acquittal at that time, the form of Dutch Ministry of justice, was responsible for the Dutch Public Prosecutor's Office set to a senior official that Wilders is getting too much in our way. So the political witch-hunt continued. And since then, since the last five years I am entangled in a second political trial in my home country. Weeks I had to spend in a special secured court room where normally terrorists are being tried. I had to spend my days in that horrific courtroom instead of Parliament's. And what do they claim was my crime? asking a crowd about Moroccans in the Netherlands, the group with one of the highest crime rates. 80 percents, 80 percents of all Dutch Muslims who went to fight to Syria and Iraq for the Islamic state were Moroccans. And now there are solid evidences that the Ministry of Justice has influenced this trial, have tried to steer it. Political settling of scores of the highest order. And indeed, as dr. Bob said, I am the leader of the second biggest party in the Dutch parliament. I'm the leader of the Opposition in the Dutch parliament. But I almost spend more time in courtroom and with lawyers than I debate in Parliament's. And as if that's not

enough today, also Austria is considering to prosecute me now for a speech I held in 2015, almost five years ago in Vienna. As a guest of one of the major political parties. I spoke about the dangers of Islam. You can see my speech on YouTube. And in Austria it seems that if a group of people feel offended, it is already punishable by law. And indeed, one Austrian mosque organization one filed a complaint after my speech. And now I could be prosecuted and jailed for two years in Austrian jail. I hope you will all come and visit me by the way.

But whether I end up in jail and not is not the most pressing issue. I gave up my personal freedom years ago. The real question is will free speech will speaking the truth about Islam be put behind bars? well that's even the larger question, will we leave Europe's children the values of Rome, Athens, and Jerusalem or the values of Mecca, Teheran, and Gaza? what will be the choice? and this legal battle my friends is not over yet. But I tell you that whatever the outcome will be, I will never be silent. I will always speak the truth. I will always discuss issues regarding Islam and mass immigration. For that, it's not only my political mission but it's my mission of my life. It's about freedom. It's the mission to safeguard us from the dangers of Islamization. So we have to never ever give up. Dr. Bob already just quoted Edmund Burke, who said the only thing necessary for triumph, for the triumph of evil, is for good men to do nothing. Unfortunately in Europe, most men do nothing. They allow our women being harassed and raped. They allow young Muslim girls to be genitally mutilated. Only in my own country, in Holland, more than 40.000 women have been genitally mutilated, more than 40.000. They allow Pakistani grooming gangs to rape young British

girls. My dear ally Katie Hopkins, I believe spoke about it yesterday. where's Katie Hopkins? can you please stand up? my friends, indeed, let me just say a few words if you allow me about Katie Hopkins. Katie Hopkins is a real brave person. She is the true hero. She is somebody who Europe needs more people about. She's not afraid. She speaks the truth. I recommend that you follow her. She is tougher than Margaret Thatcher and she's braver, braver than president Prime Minister Johnson. She should be the next Prime Minister of the United Kingdom.

So, the European elites are also allowing terrorists killing innocent people, shouting *Allahu Akbar*. They allow Islamic schools where children like in my own country, Holland are being taught that Christians should be lashed stoned and beheaded by the sword. They allow that Jews wearing a kippah are beaten up in our streets. They allow no-go zones where Sharia law is the law of the land or at least a lot of the streets. In many European cities today, they allow the indigenous people to feel as if they are foreigners in their own land. It's a bloody shame but it is happening today. And the people of Europe the people of Europe have had enough of this treasonous behavior from the elites, who adore multiculturalism and destroy our identity and our traditions. I'm not exaggerating. Parts of Europe resemble war zones today. When you look at major cities in France, in Belgium, in the Netherlands, in the United Kingdom, in Sweden, and anywhere else in Europe, at least not in Eastern Europe with a western part of Europe, you see that it looks like northern Africa or the Middle East. That our values like freedom, the equality between men and women do not exist anymore. That violence rape and intolerant tolerance became more dominant and Western values are replaced by

values resembling sharia law. So it's time to say enough is enough. We have to say no more. Please say no more. No more terror, no more Sharia law, no more anti-semitism, no more legal jihad, no more evil, no more political weakness, no more Islam, stop selling us out. My friends the essence of my speech today is that Europe is in the process of being Islamized and it's getting worse by the day. And if we don't fight back, we will lose everything. Indeed, we are facing the first and most major existential threat and the first time since the Second World War. The ancient heritage of our forefathers is under attack. And we have to stand up and defend it. A century and a half ago, here in America a young president said exactly what I mean. And this is what Abraham Lincoln said in the year 1862: 'the dogmas of the quiet past are inadequate for the stormy presence. The occasion is piled high with difficulty and we must rise with the occasion. As our case is new, so we must think a new. We must disenthral ourselves and then we shall save our country and of growth'. And I can think of no better moment to defend the freedom than now. And it is up to us to let as many people as possible to realize this.

For we are a free men and women of the West, and freedom is our birthright. And those who want to deny liberty to us, do not belong to our society. It is as simple as that. So this is what I believe, we Europeans, we in Europe should do. And maybe you should do the same but that's up to you. First, stop pretending that Islam is a religion. Islam is not a religion. Islam is a totalitarian ideology based on conquest submission and violence. Islam is not a religion. Second protect our constitutional freedoms by not granting them to a totalitarian

ideology that wants to rob us of our freedom. Let them not use our freedoms to rob us of our freedoms. Let us not be too politically correct. We should not grant them their freedom to rob us of our freedom. So no more Islamic schools, no more mosques for they represent an ideology of hate, of violence, of submission. Third, we should stop the immigration full stop the immigration from Islamic nation. We should immediately deport all immigrants who commit crimes and act according to Sharia law. There is no room for Sharia law in a free society. Fourth, we must all and always support Israel and allow them to protect themselves against vicious enemies like the Islamic Republic of Iran. We Europeans should reintroduce national border control. For we have none at this time. If you enter Greece, you are in Holland. We should reintroduce national border control. We should introduce like the Israelis do and have administrative detention to detain potential terrorists. This is what we should do.

We should stop Islamic symbolism. I am very proud that since August first the Islamic burqa and the Islamic kneecap is because of the majority of the Dutch parliament supported the motions from me to ban it is outlawed in the Netherlands and public places. And we should of course to be able to speak the truth introduce a European kind of first amendment, so that Islam critics cannot be prosecuted anymore. I believe there are two things that Americans should do. First, learn your lessons from Europe. Learn your lessons for Europe. Islam already arrived at America. We heard speakers before me rightfully saying that but it's just don't think it's a long way before you become the second Europe. Islam will conquer before you know it. Be resilient. stand up and fight for your freedom and against

Islam. And second, please second maybe the most important thing I ask Americans to do is, re-elect President Donald J Trump. And let us not be afraid when people are no longer afraid to speak the truth.

Seemingly invincible evil empires begin to crumble. And Islam is one of those evil empires. And it too, I am sure will collapse once people hear and understand the truth about Islam more as they do today. So we have no alternative than to make stand against the enemies of freedom, from within and without. As David taught us. And our enemies should know that we will never, never apologize for being freemen. We will never bow for the combined forces of Mecca and the left. And we will never surrender. My friends, there is no stronger force than the force of free men, fighting for the great cause of Liberty. And the West indeed is in danger today. But we can still prevail even when we are insulted. Even when we are harassed and intimidated, even when they take us to court for speaking the truth, even when we are marked for death, even for stating an opinion. We must never be silenced. Never ever be silenced. And I promise you, at the end of the day we will win. Thank you and good luck to you all.

CURRICULUM VITAE



Agam Prayoga was born in Ponorogo on March 6th, 1996. He graduated from SMK Bakti Ponorogo in 2014. He actively volunteered in Metro Inject garage Ponorogo and joined workshop from several companies. Furthermore, He took English course in 2015 in Pare, Kediri and started his advanced education in 2016 at Department of English Literature of UIN Maulana Malik Ibrahim Malang. He finished his study in 2020. During study at University, he participated charity event once a year with English Literature '16 peers and also Maliki English Festival and English Budaya.