



**Discurso Nacionalista de Donald Trump en las Elecciones Presidenciales Estadounidenses de
2016**

POR:

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**TRABAJO DE GRADO PARA OPTAR AL TÍTULO DE POLITÓLOGO
MODALIDAD MONOGRAFÍA**

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Resumen

En el 2016 se realizaron unas nuevas elecciones presidenciales en Estados Unidos, un proceso electoral que fue importante hasta para el mundo entero debido a que el mundo funciona bajo una lógica económica interconectada, una supuesta lógica que se puede llamar globalizada y en donde Estados Unidos desempeña un papel grande dentro de esta globalización.

Un candidato llamó la atención por su discurso, atacando a países vecinos, tildando de criminales a otros, y llamando a la desglobalización de su país, entre otros temas. El entonces candidato Donald Trump, a simple vista, usó un tipo de discurso en donde optaba por poner los intereses del país primero por sobre los del mundo globalizado, combinado con esos ataques xenofóbicos y de odio a sus opositores, personajes del mismo partido, aliados de su país, etc. Un discurso que se puede catalogar como nacionalista ¿pero realmente lo fue? ¿fue una táctica usar principalmente este discurso por sobre otros? ¿Qué tan efectivo fue su aparente discurso nacionalista en atraer a los votantes?

Mediante un análisis de su discurso y mirando qué es lo que se puede entender como “discurso nacionalista”, es que entraremos a analizar en este trabajo estas elecciones que sorprendieron a muchos y encontraremos si el discurso nacionalista fue algo que Trump usó por sobre otros tipos de discurso.

Palabras Clave: *Elecciones Presidenciales 2016, Estados Unidos, Donald Trump, Discurso Nacionalista, Nacionalismo, Desglobalización, Religión, Discurso, Análisis de Coyuntura.*

Introducción

Era el año 2015 y Estados Unidos, como de costumbre, se estaba preparando para ver como empezarían a avanzar las elecciones presidenciales de 2016. En dicho país esto se empieza a notar un año antes de las elecciones generales ya que en este sistema bipartidista se llevan a cabo unas elecciones primarias que suelen empezar a principio del año electoral¹ y finaliza a mediados de dicho año, pero los candidatos empiezan sus anuncios antes.

Una persona salió desde su torre el 16 de junio de 2015 y comenzó a dar un discurso violento y nacionalista extremo con el que estaba anunciando finalmente su candidatura a la presidencia de Estados Unidos, una candidatura a la que estuvo aludiendo en entrevistas muchos años atrás, el candidato era Donald Trump. Aparece con un discurso lleno de insultos a otras culturas, supuesta violencia sexual, racismo, xenofobia, pero también, dentro de su discurso manejaba cierto tono de ataque a una tendencia mundial neoliberal establecida años atrás, la globalización.

¿Qué pasó? ¿por qué ganó este tipo de candidato? Preguntas similares rodeaban el mundo mientras veían unos con terror y otros con carcajadas como uno de los países más poderosos del mundo globalizado eligió a un sujeto que representaba lo opuesto a como el mismo país se presenta a sí mismo en el exterior, sin saber realmente que las **personas** lo estaban escuchando y llevaron a la victoria por una razón, por el hecho de que los gobernantes nacionales hasta el momento no garantizaban 100% el bienestar interno del país, concentrándose en realizar políticas encaminadas hacia la globalización, algo contra lo que Trump estaba hablando. Su discurso representó una especie de terapia extraña que los tranquilizaba y veían en él un candidato que, de ser electo, dañaría de alguna manera a aquellos gobernantes que no habían pensado en la totalidad de sus ciudadanos.

Entonces **¿Cuál fue el papel del discurso nacionalista en la victoria de Donald Trump durante las elecciones presidenciales de Estados Unidos en el 2016?** ¿El nacionalismo desempeñó un papel importante? ¿el contexto del momento le benefició su postura radical nacionalista? La idea del actual trabajo es intentar responder estas preguntas, buscando las respuestas en el contexto estadounidense de 2016 durante la presidencia de Barak Obama mediante un **Análisis de Coyuntura**; mientras que al mismo tiempo buscaré, en los discursos de Trump, qué tanto predominan los distintos tipos de nacionalismos estadounidenses en sus palabras intentando probar que el uso de ese tipo de discurso si fue predominante por sobre los demás, viendo que si fue una movida electoral el usarlo; todo esto

¹ 2016 en este caso.

mediante el uso del **Análisis del Discurso**, y en donde escogí 5 discursos importantes para realizarles este tratamiento. Siendo esas las metodologías que usaré, las expondré más a fondo en todo el primer capítulo.

En este entraré a analizar varios temas **básicos de estructura y definiciones**. Inicialmente hablaré a fondo de las distintas metodologías que se usarán en este trabajo, entrando a hablar sobre el Análisis de Coyuntura y el Análisis del discurso. Después empezaré a tratar un tema que ya mencioné y que Trump mismo mencionó mucho en su discurso hasta formó con ese tema uno de los slogans de su campaña “America First” o “América Primero”, me refiero a los ataques a la globalización o como también se puede conocer a esto, la “**Desglobalización**”, exponiéndolo debido a que es una característica de uno de los tipos de nacionalismo que exponía Trump. El capítulo 1 cierra con un tema que está ligado a la desglobalización y es el **nacionalismo**, y el papel de la religión en la aparición de estos nacionalismos, incluyendo algunos de estos en el mismo contexto norteamericano. Por su parte, en el capítulo 2 y 3 desarrollaré el Análisis de Coyuntura y el Análisis del Discurso respectivamente, siguiendo la estructura general presentada por autores. Y finalizando el trabajo con las conclusiones.

Capítulo 1

Analizando Metodologías

Análisis de Coyuntura

La estructura social es un sistema que está compuesto por muchos actores y dinámicas, factores como la política, economía, etc. Es una estructura que se va formando con el tiempo y dentro de un contexto específico y único a la sociedad que se investiga². Las elecciones de 2016 en Estados Unidos ocurrieron bajo unas condiciones sociales específicas a ese momento de la historia del país, que es importante resaltar para entender el comportamiento de los votantes en estas, un análisis de coyuntura. En el análisis de coyuntura nos encargamos de estudiar un fenómeno que siempre está ligado a diferentes sucesos, hechos o circunstancias (CEDIB, 2006, pp. 3), que ocurren durante cierto periodo de tiempo específico y dentro de una sociedad bajo un contexto social determinado, la cual actúa bajo un conjunto de fenómenos y acciones (CEDIB, 2006, pp. 3). **Es uno de estos fenómenos estructurados los que se investiga en este trabajo**, el hecho de que en la elección de Donald Trump, diversos contextos sociales jugaron un papel importante, y para poder entender un poco mejor esa realidad social, este tema sobre la coyuntura será de vital ayuda.

El análisis de coyuntura tiene diferentes significados, el texto del Centro de Documentación e Información Bolivia (CEDIB, 2006, pp. 3) lo define como “La coincidencia de dos o más hechos, particularmente en el tiempo; coincidencia que da o entrega sentido a una situación” y dice “Lo real, lo histórico-social, por tanto, no es algo simple u homogéneo que pueda reducirse a un elemento o causa (reduccionismo, esencialismo); lo real se manifiesta como una ligazón de factores, elementos y situaciones presentes y pasadas” (CEDIB, 2006, pp. 4) y lo definen hasta como una “lucha de clases en una sociedad específica y en un momento determinado” (CEDIB, 2006, pp. 5)

Las situaciones sociales no suelen tener una única causalidad, como lo explica Jaramillo (2004, pp. 231-236); existen diferentes cosas que pueden afectar un evento, como lucha de clases o no en la sociedad investigada, el sistema político manejado por esa sociedad, la posición de una persona con

² A modo de ejemplo se puede mirar el contexto actual de Colombia y como la historia influyó ese contexto. La Colombia conservadora que conocemos actualmente fue formada por años de ideologías políticas de derecha conservadoras, desde las imposiciones españolas, luego la época de la Regeneración y constitución conservadora de 1886 que perduró más de 100 años.

influencia en esa estructura, algún evento reciente como las acciones de personas o políticos en esa comunidad. La CEDIB (2006, pp. 6) dice que “para realizar un Análisis de Coyuntura es indispensable tener elementos e información que coadyuven a conocer la estructura de la sociedad que se estudia, así como lo referido a las leyes generales del desarrollo de la sociedad.” Para realizar un adecuado análisis de coyuntura, se debe tener lógicamente conocimiento del contexto en donde se desarrolla el fenómeno que deseamos analizar, por eso hay que conocer algunas de las particularidades del contexto en donde se desarrollan los hechos.

La política estadounidense y su contexto se puede analizar mediante la prensa escrita³ y los canales internacionales de noticias, los debates políticos que realizan por televisión, viendo las elecciones y leyendo documentos. Todas son herramientas para entender sobre el cómo se desenvuelven los distintos grupos políticos mayoritarios en ese sistema bipartidista, y como los candidatos de otros partidos políticos o “Third Party” no tienen realmente posibilidades en el sistema electoral⁴ dominado por los partidos Demócrata y Republicano. Asimismo, se entiende que dentro del trabajo investigativo pueden deslizarse, sin notarlo, distintos sesgos propios del investigador y que muchas investigaciones son expuestas a interpretaciones subjetivas por parte de otras personas, de los hechos mostrados (Montenegro, 2011, pp. 103). Una practica que intentaré evitar como cualquier otro.

Continuando con el tema, hay que decir que, con el análisis de coyuntura, pretendo comprender más la realidad estadounidense y encontrar en esta los puntos que más favorecieron de alguna manera los discursos de Trump, con sus argumentos reales o falsificados, y su eventual victoria. Y exponer los hechos fácilmente comprobables que rodearon estas elecciones. Escojo el análisis de coyuntura por lo que dije sobre la causalidad anteriormente. Este evento estuvo rodeado de otros sucesos que influyeron en el contexto estadounidense, y que afectaron las votaciones en algunos de los estados. Con “afectaron las votaciones” me refiero a que, debido ciertos eventos que pretendo continuar investigando, las personas se pudieron haber sentido desilusionadas con el sistema político o con los políticos por los que suelen votar; algo que en las votaciones pudo haberse visto por el abstencionismo⁵ o por el pequeño margen de victoria de Trump en un Estado en particular. El análisis de coyuntura como tal, será expuesto en el capítulo 2 del presente trabajo.

³ Internet también.

⁴ En elecciones nacionales principalmente.

⁵ Usual en países en donde votar no es obligatorio.

Análisis del Discurso

Bajo el ámbito descrito, o sea, las elecciones presidenciales estadounidenses de 2016, encontramos de igual manera otros tipos de análisis posibles, que no solo usan el modelo empírico sino también el modelo hermenéutico, trabajado por muchas ciencias de lo social; estos análisis manejan también temas que rodean a la política en general, como las relaciones con el elector, el manejo del poder, análisis del discurso, etc. Ahora, la comunicación forma parte fundamental de la política: informar a la ciudadanía sobre nuevas políticas, tratados, negociaciones para pasar una ley en el congreso; y cualesquiera que sean las cosas que ocurren “tras bambalinas”, los ejemplos son más de los que mencioné brevemente en este párrafo.

Así, la comunicación seguirá siendo una parte importante de la política por mucho tiempo. Tan importante ha sido, que el análisis de la comunicación fue otro de los temas que la ciencia política emprendió en trabajar, el análisis del discurso de los políticos. Este último como disciplina es relativamente nuevo. En los años 60 ocurrió el “giro lingüístico” un periodo donde recobraría popularidad el análisis del discurso; según veo, esto se dio junto al Giro en la Mirada del que hablaba Maria Uribe (2012), en donde el papel del sujeto fue ganando más popularidad en las investigaciones, junto a lo cualitativo.

Durante el “giro lingüístico”, la disciplina del análisis del discurso se desarrolló más y obtuvo una mayor importancia en el ámbito científico, ya que los investigadores se dieron cuenta de las posibilidades que este ofrecía al investigador interesado en la formación de las instituciones sociales, y a la aplicación de este tipo de análisis en disciplinas como la antropología, ciencia política, psicología, entre otros (Soage, 2006, pp. 46).

Como muchos términos en las ciencias sociales, existen diferentes definiciones a lo que es el Análisis del Discurso. Norman Fairclough indica que el discurso es, en un sentido amplio, “el uso del lenguaje como una forma particular de la práctica social” y, en un sentido más estricto, “el lenguaje utilizado para representar una determinada práctica social desde un punto de vista determinado” (Fairclough, 1995, pp. 54, 56). Por su parte, Michael Foucault dice “Creo que, de hecho, he añadido a sus significados, tratándolo a veces como el dominio general de todas las declaraciones, a veces como un grupo de declaraciones individualizable, y a veces como una práctica regulada que explica un número de declaraciones” (Soage, 2006, pp. 46)

El Análisis del Discurso se inspira en ciencias interpretativas como la hermenéutica, la fenomenología, el estructuralismo y la deconstrucción (Marsh y Stocker, 1997, pp. 125). David Howard, en el texto de Marsh y Stocker (1997) nos dice que a la teoría del discurso le interesa el papel que representan las prácticas e ideas sociales significativas en la vida política. Analiza de qué manera los sistemas de significado o “discursos” configuran la comprensión que las personas tienen de sus propios roles sociales y cómo influyen en sus actividades políticas. Pero que el concepto de discurso incluye en su marco de referencia todo tipo de prácticas sociales y políticas, así como instituciones y organizaciones. (Marsh y Stocker, 1997, pp. 125).

Por medio de la Hermenéutica entonces, el investigador social pretende comprender el comportamiento en sociedad mediante la identificación con el agente que actúa en ella; tratando de mirar al mismo tiempo cómo se forman los discursos que se generan dentro de esa sociedad.

Peñas Felizzola (pp. 3) expone en su trabajo los puntos de vista de Burnham sobre el análisis del discurso. Este afirma que esta categoría es una de las nuevas aproximaciones o enfoques en la investigación política, cuyo centro de atención es “el rol que el lenguaje y las comunicaciones tienen en la formación del mundo social” (Burnham, 2008, pp. 248). Según Burnham (pp. 250), el discurso se refiere a “las prácticas de hablar y escribir (...) el discurso se define como la interrelación de textos, conversaciones y prácticas, asociadas con un objeto en particular”. En consecuencia, según este mismo autor, el análisis del discurso consiste en “el rol que el lenguaje, textos, conversaciones, los medios y aun las investigaciones académicas tienen en los procesos de creación de instituciones y formación de conducta”. Peñas Felizzola (pp. 3) concluye que otros insumos con los cuales se trabaja en este enfoque son artículos de prensa, programas de televisión, trabajos académicos y debates.

En resumidas cuentas y además de lo dicho un par de párrafos atrás, se puede decir que el discurso político nacionalista, a modo general y sin todavía entrar en el caso específico actual, es uno de los principales medios que los actores públicos usan a su favor (o en favor del territorio en ciertos casos) para expresar todo tipo de cosas diferentes, algunos muestran las distintas problemáticas que acogen a la sociedad, expresan su descontento antes ciertos hechos; otros, como en el discurso nacionalista trabajado en esta investigación, lo usan para moldear el pensamiento de personas desinformadas, expandir realidades inventadas por ellos mismos, aprovechándose del contexto en el que viven las personas y retorciéndolo de una manera que beneficie al que esté diciendo el discurso nacionalista.

De igual manera, el discurso nacionalista, bien usado, se puede usar para hacer un llamado moderado a querer el país donde viven, no para levantar odios sino amor por la propia tierra.

Como cualquier aspecto de la vida en sociedad, el discurso nacionalista **tiene sus lados positivos y negativos**; he hablado en extensión sobre la negatividad de un discurso nacionalista xenófobo, pero también existe el nacionalismo de amar a su propio país, queriendo que otras personas vengan y lo disfruten también. El discurso político es algo que seguirá estando presente en la política en los años venideros así que tener ciudadanos informados es vital para evitar caer en las trampas que ponen estos discursos y para que al mismo tiempo podamos detectar las mentiras e improbabilidades cuando las dicen los actores públicos.

Pero la definición base para escoger este método es la de Barbara Johnstone, quien dice que el análisis del discurso se refiere a “maneras de hablar, que se reflejan en la repetida elección de ciertas estructuras y formulaciones, conducen a maneras habituales de imaginar el mundo que vienen a parecer naturales e incontestables” (2002, pp. 29). Esta concepción del discurso es compartida en mayor o menor medida por las principales escuelas de análisis del discurso.

Mediante el análisis del discurso se busca identificar en la palabra hablada o escrita de cierta persona o individuos, un patrón o secuencia que se repite. En ocasiones se analiza un solo discurso o escrito, esto se hace principalmente en tareas o talleres. A modo de ejemplo se puede ver el trabajo de Aurelia Ana Vasile (2017, pp. 23-31) en donde se aplicó este procedimiento. Analizando el trabajo de Vasile, podemos notar que, al usar el análisis del discurso, se buscan patrones en distintas transcripciones de discursos de Trump y Hillary cuando estaban de candidatos para las elecciones que yo estoy investigando. El trabajo de Vasile (2017), en sí, buscaba ver si el discurso electoral dentro de estas dos campañas, cambiaba o se volvían más polarizadores (positiva o negativamente) a medida que se acercaba el fin de las elecciones generales. Y tomaron seis discursos del comienzo de la campaña y seis del final de la misma; para analizarlos en busca del objetivo ya mencionado. Sus resultados encontraron que en los de Donald Trump sobre inmigración, el discurso se volvía más polarizador a medida que se estaban terminando las elecciones, entre otros hallazgos.

El rango teórico buscaba, como lo dije, observar la polarización que creaban los discursos dados, Vasile (2017, pp. 24) atribuye esto a palabras, expresiones, también a oraciones u otros tipos de comunicación no verbal; entendiendo que todas estas palabras juegan una parte importante en la

comunicación. Y el significado, asignado por la estructura social, a cada una de esas palabras y demás cosas buscadas, activa varios tipos de respuestas. Por esto se piensa, en parte, que el resultado electoral es influenciado por el tipo de discurso que se maneje; dependiendo del discurso, puede resultar más costoso (tanto financiera como psicológicamente) para las campañas que usen los discursos (Vasile, 2017, pp. 25). La autora escogió palabras positivas como: gracias, héroes, amor, etc. Y negativas como: hostil, miedo, división, etc.

Mi tema de investigación busca también analizar los discursos, pero solo del candidato Donald Trump, buscando en diversos momentos de la campaña, las palabras, frases y demás cosas, que prueben que el discurso de Trump estuvo plagado con cierto tipo de nacionalismo, y este mismo fue usado basado en la coyuntura estadounidense del momento el cual analizaré, como lo dije, usando el análisis de coyuntura; un análisis de coyuntura apoyado por un análisis del Discurso.

Desde el análisis del discurso fúnebre de Pericles en favor de la gloria de Atenas, el aparente simple discurso de Gettysburg de Abraham Lincoln sobre la guerra civil, hasta el discurso en la toma de posesión de distintos líderes políticos. El análisis del discurso nos da información de los futuros planes de los políticos, el Estado de la Nación, su opinión⁶ sobre hechos del Estado en cuestión y otra gran cantidad de datos. Haciendo de este, como lo mencioné, un objeto de estudio necesario para la ciencia política.

La victoria de Donald Trump sorprendió a muchos, por su comportamiento público y por su discurso político tan extremo⁷ con tintes nacionalistas. Analizaré el papel que este tema, vital en la política, desempeño en las elecciones presidenciales de 2016 en Estados Unidos, una de las elecciones más controversiales que ha tenido ese país, mirándolo desde la campaña del candidato republicano, Donald Trump.

⁶ Fabricada o legítima.

⁷ Tema que muchos políticos tratan con cuidado.

Desglobalización

¿Qué es? Consecuencias para el Estados Unidos de 2016

El mundo vive. Todo está conectado, distintos engranajes, grandes y pequeños, conectan y hacen funcionar los países. Estamos en un mundo globalizado, bajo un sistema que necesita que todo esté conectado; el sistema capitalista, en donde se le da prioridad a la economía, siendo el neoliberalismo la actual tendencia predominante. Un modelo económico del que hablaré un poco más en el capítulo 2. Una tendencia que incluye beneficios económicos para las empresas, pero principalmente para sus CEO en mi opinión; una tendencia que trae consigo una desregulación interna en los países que acogen dichas políticas, apoyados precisamente por políticos que pretenden beneficiar a las empresas con la disminución del Estado.

Era de esperarse que aparecieran voces en contra de este modelo económico, usualmente de ideologías políticas de izquierda. Pero también aparecieron los movimientos, como los de desglobalización, que aceptan el sistema económico y lo abrazan y acogen por el bien que hace, pero rechazan alguna de las consecuencias de este sistema. Estos movimientos específicos de desglobalización buscan mantenerse en el capitalismo, pero no quieren las consecuencias de que el mundo esté hyperconectado ya que en cierta medida sus propios países salen perjudicados; estos grupos buscan que sus propios países sean los beneficiados de alguna manera y que los bienes, servicios y demás que llegan de naciones alejadas se puedan conseguir o crear de alguna manera dentro de sus propias naciones.

Los desglobalizantes critican el aumento en el precio de varios bienes de uso diario como los alimentos, alteración en la cadena de suministros y recientemente critican los problemas que han ocurrido alrededor de las vacunas contra el COVID-19 y como solo algunas farmacéuticas podían beneficiarse de estas⁸. Y como se esperaba, las ideas que suelen dar estos grupos desglobalizadores para combatir estos problemas de la globalización son las de repatriar las compañías, aumentar la producción de los países de manera interna, aranceles para los que planeen llevarse sus fábricas y otros que he ido mencionando en el actual trabajo.

⁸ Información sobre el tema en: <https://www.project-syndicate.org/commentary/deglobalization-and-its-discontents-by-joseph-e-stiglitz-2022-05/spanish?barrier=accesspaylog>

Para Fanjul (2020) las causas de la desglobalización son variadas, este muestra algunas en su artículo, como el aumento en las políticas o propuestas proteccionistas. El **proteccionismo** busca, valga la redundancia, proteger la producción nacional, ya sea poniendo impuestos extra a las importaciones o dando incentivos para beneficiar la producción del propio país, provocan **daños a las cadenas de producción** y por ende al mundo globalizado. De igual forma, Fanjul (2020) expone que los nuevos ataques contra el **multilateralismo**, entendiendo este como la “cooperación” entre varios países para obtener algún fin productivo, han fomentado la continuidad de los movimientos desglobalizantes (esto último se ha vuelto política en Estados Unidos).

Otros motivos de la creciente desglobalización son, según Fanjul (2020), el aumento de los temores en cuanto a la **dependencia** de “suministros esenciales” extranjeros por parte de diversas naciones, haciendo llamados a que la producción se realice dentro del mismo territorio; las críticas hacia la **globalización y sus consecuencias**, entre otras razones.

El autor Fanjul (2019) expone en su artículo de 2019, aparte de explicar más o menos cómo funcionan las cadenas globales de valor y la interconexión existente entre las empresas de un país a otro en la línea de producción, cuenta que las políticas proteccionistas como imponer aranceles a importaciones de un producto de un país puede afectar la cadena de producción en otro país, afectando la economía de los países involucrados. De igual manera expone que estos ataques al mercado global propiciados por la desglobalización son una paradoja, porque, para él, estos han sido motores de beneficios económicos y bienestar mundiales.

Por otro lado, al artículo le encuentro algunas críticas, por ejemplo, el autor Fanjul no está viendo las graves consecuencias que este sistema mundial ha traído para los ciudadanos menos favorecidos y que para mí son mayoría. Muy pocos países se benefician al final de un mercado económico mundial interconectado y salen de la pobreza, específicamente la pobreza económica, ejemplos son Estados Unidos, China, entre otros. La gran mayoría se benefician mínimamente. El beneficio de un mercado global interconectado es mínimo en especial si el nivel de corrupción interna del país (que es usual) es grande. Para que un país sea realmente rico se debe mirar el modo en el que tratan a los que menos tienen, no solo mirar índices económicos a nivel nacional.

Dejando de lado a los desglobalizantes por ahora, pasaré a exponer el otro tema que trabaja Trump en sus discursos, el nacionalismo, exponiendo algunas ideas de autores, así como algunos de sus posibles orígenes en la religión Estadounidense.

Vuelta a los Estados Nacionales y al Nacionalismo

El caso de Estados Unidos y Trump

El nacionalismo económico y el proteccionismo comercial no son ideas nuevas, estas se han hablado antes y han sido dichas por candidatos a cargos de elección popular y por políticos en otros momentos y en la actualidad, un tipo de ideologías y discursos que fueron usados por el entonces candidato Donald Trump así como pretendo demostrarlo en el caso de este trabajo.

Estados Unidos por mucho tiempo ha sido uno de los principales actores que impulsa la liberalización económica y la globalización (Steinberg 2017) y no solo eso, es uno de los principales actores del ámbito internacional, tanto que sus políticas en relaciones internacionales pueden afectar a sus aliados. La llegada de ideas como las del entonces candidato Trump no es realmente algo nuevo, otros personajes⁹ han hecho llamados a un desmonte de prácticas de la globalización como el de descentralizar la empresa y llevarlas a otros países para disminuir costos¹⁰.

“Make America Great Again” slogan de la campaña de Trump era una de esas frases que decía mucho, pero de la cual la comunidad leía muy poco, un slogan que viéndolo bien contenía ideas nacionalistas, ideas con sus propias consecuencias que, desde mi opinión, el usual desconocimiento político de las personas no les daba para sentarse a analizar realmente lo que esto traería. Make America Great Again era una crítica al supuesto estado en el que estaba Estados Unidos bajo la presidencia de Obama, pero también a una idea de que el país había perdido el respeto del mundo con el pasar de los años, perdido identidad, una frase que hacía alusión a que supuestamente los políticos no pensaban en poner primero a los ciudadanos en la creación de políticas públicas en especial de manera internacional y los tratados internacionales; pero principalmente se basaba en una idea real (de las pocas realidades que hablaba Trump) sobre que la globalización suele beneficiar más a naciones extranjeras debido a que las practicas globalizantes mismas hace que las fabricas busquen generar mayor producción y muchas veces eso implica llevar las fabricas a otros lugares del mundo en donde sea más económico para los dueños, o llevarse procesos debido a que la mano de obra es más costosa en Estados Unidos que en otro país.

⁹ Como los líderes que atendieron al Foro Economico Mundial en Davos: <https://www.project-syndicate.org/commentary/deglobalization-and-its-discontents-by-joseph-e-stiglitz-2022-05/spanish?barrier=accesspaylog>

¹⁰ Uno de los llamados de los desglobalizadores que ya expuse brevemente en la página anterior.

Desde mi punto de vista toda su campaña fue basada en exageraciones para beneficiar su discurso. La misma globalización que ataca Trump ha beneficiado mucho a Estados Unidos, mucho más que a países como Colombia y sectores campesinos. Trump se aprovechó del contexto del momento, de la percepción que las personas tenían de que todo estaba peor de lo que decían los datos, mientras que los datos mostraba una Estados Unidos con un crecimiento económico estable desde la caída de 2008, un Estados Unidos que continuaba con su poder en regiones del mundo (fuese por respeto o por miedo). Pero el candidato presentó un Estados Unidos alternativo para aquellos que habían dejado de creer, los cuales no son pocos.

Volviendo al tema general de los nacionalismos, tenemos que Steinberg (2017) afirma que el comercio mundial ha desacelerado su dinamismo desde hace varios años (sin tener en cuenta las recesiones) intentando buscar disminuir o hacer retroceder las practicas globalizantes. El autor otorga múltiples ejemplos como China intentando cambiar su modelo de exportaciones a uno más interno que no dependa del comercio internacional; otro ejemplo es la disminución en la demanda mundial, disminución en la inversión y el comercio, entre otros ejemplos. Y como expuso, también se puede agregar el aumento de desglobalizadores en escenarios de poder político, como el caso de la actual investigación o el Brexit en Gran Bretaña.

El caso de Brexit es un ejemplo claro de desglobalización liderado por un grupo de mayoría conservadora que criticaban las prácticas de la Unión Europea y la pérdida de soberanía de Gran Bretaña, la intención de los que estaban a favor de sacar a esta nación de la UE era la de “take back control” o “Retomar el control” del país¹¹, con un discurso nacionalista y apelando al patriotismo, un discurso similar al dado por Trump en la campaña por la presidencia de 2016.

Asimismo, el comercio internacional ha experimentado no solo desaceleración, sino también unos cambios (Steinberg 2017), como que las cadenas de producción y suministro, debido a los avances tecnológicos, ya no se hacen en un solo país industrializado, se realizan en varios países. A partir de estos nuevos cambios en el comercio es que han aparecido acuerdos como el de la Unión Europea-Mercosur¹² o el Trans-Pacific Partnership (TPP) o Acuerdo Trans-Pacífico¹³, un tratado que cobró

¹¹ Un artículo sobre el tema: <https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2020/dec/13/brexit-is-the-worst-decision-of-modern-times-why-are-its-critics-in-cabinet-so-silent>

¹² Buscando reducir los frenazos a los que se han enfrentado por las políticas proteccionistas de China y de Estados Unidos: https://elpais.com/internacional/2019/06/28/actualidad/1561741765_367243.html

¹³ Información al respecto se puede obtener en: http://www.sice.oas.org/tpd/tpp/tpp_s.asp

fuerza cuando Estados Unidos mostró interés alrededor de 2005, varias administraciones continuaron con las negociaciones y finalmente fue firmado en 2016 bajo la presidencia de Barak Obama¹⁴ que buscaba rebajar barreras comerciales entre algunos países de la cuenca del pacifico, entre otros temas. Un acuerdo al que Donald Trump optó por salirse por ser uno de los tratados que destruían los trabajos de los estadounidenses y por ser “injusto” para norteamérica¹⁵.

Y, de igual manera, debido a la dependencia que tienen tantos países de Estados Unidos, se empezó a notar que con la posible victoria del entonces candidato Trump, se podrían dar pasos hacia atrás y desmontar varias de las bases construidas hacia la liberalización económica mundial (Steinberg 2017).

En el discurso de Donald Trump encontré diversos momentos en donde expone sus propuestas ideas nacionalistas, algunos de estos ejemplos los encontramos en propuestas como la de que las empresas se queden en el propio país en vez de ponerlas en otros, que recordemos hacen parte de la desglobalización; Trump propuso políticas proteccionistas como ponerles aranceles a productos importados, etc. Propuestas que giraban en torno a ese nacionalismo en donde primarían los intereses estadounidenses, propuestas que parecía decir y hacer solo cuando le convenía porque Estados Unidos siguió siendo miembro de varias organizaciones internacionales durante la presidencia de Donald.

Otras de las ideas de Trump fue que el sistema comercial mundial y los distintos acuerdos comerciales se burlan (García Encina, 2016)¹⁶ o toman provecho de Estados Unidos (Steinberg 2017), que supuestamente el país está debilitado, lo cual es algo falso. Asimismo busca que el sistema le sirva solo a su propio país¹⁷, tanto en economía, como en trabajos. Resumiéndose todo en el proteccionismo y nacionalismo mencionado párrafos atrás. Un nacionalismo que no favorece la cooperación internacional que ha venido funcionando para algunos, incluyendo, en general, a Estados Unidos.

¹⁴ Recordando que varios países estuvieron en las negociaciones e hicieron parte de los firmantes.

¹⁵ Trump recordó sus razones en el video del siguiente link: <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-us-canada-38059623>

¹⁶ Un comentario que ya había hecho en 1987 según la autora García Encina (2016), y lo volvió a repetir en las elecciones de 2016 como si fuese el mismo tiempo.

¹⁷ Muchos de los puntos clave de la política exterior que busca Trump se pueden ver en la paginas 13 a la 19 del siguiente reporte recuperado en: <https://ustr.gov/sites/default/files/files/reports/2017/AnnualReport/AnnualReport2017.pdf>

“President Obama has weakened our military by weakening our economy” “We’re rebuilding other countries while weakening our own” – Trump en su primer discurso de Política exterior¹⁸ . Y al mismo tiempo fue otra de sus propuestas de campaña con tendencias desglobalizantes, en donde el candidato expresa que Norte América se ha concentrado en reconstruir otros países descuidando el propio. Ideas nacionalistas que replicó en su discurso de toma de posesión:

“From this day forward, it’s going to be only America first, America first. Every decision on trade, on taxes, on immigration, on foreign affairs will be made to benefit American workers and American families. We must protect our borders from the ravages of other countries making our product, stealing our companies and destroying our jobs. Protection will lead to great prosperity and strength.”

Este sistema económico que domina al mundo actualmente fue planteado bajo la idea de una mano invisible, pero es de ilusos pensar que el mercado se autorregulará, el mercado no está controlado por una mano invisible como decía metafóricamente Adam Smith, sino por personas, y las personas se pueden volver avaras fácilmente; siempre y cuando haya dinero y una persona de por medio, nunca se puede confiar en la autorregulación de nada.

En la actualidad tenemos nacionalismos en otros lados del mundo que han afectado las políticas exteriores e internas de los países. Por ejemplo Rodrigo Duterte, quien subió a la presidencia de las Filipinas por medio de una campaña antidroga violenta¹⁹ y con un nacionalismo anti-estadounidense poco característico en sus predecesores. Un nacionalismo usado con la pragmática (Teehankee, 2016. pp. 71) y que tiene sus bases en las cuatro narrativas de régimen que más han durado en ese país, que son: la narrativa de la “revolución inconclusa”, de la “Gran Nación”, de “la buena gobernanza”, y de la “masa”. (Teehankee, 2016. pp. 71).

Tenemos otro ejemplo en Marine le Pen, una de las candidatas a la presidencia de Francia durante el 2017²⁰, usando una campaña similar a la de Trump en los Estados Unidos el año inmediatamente anterior.

¹⁸ Se puede leer en: <https://time.com/4309786/read-donald-trumps-america-first-foreign-policy-speech/>

¹⁹ Lamb, Kate. (2017, 12 de Noviembre). Rodrigo Duterte: the president warlord of the Philippines. *The Guardian*. Recuperado de: <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2017/nov/12/rodrigo-duterte-president-philippines-anti-drugs-campaign-thousands-killed>

²⁰ Nowak, Marysia y Branford, Becky. (2017, 10 de Febrero). France elections: What makes Marine Le Pen far right?. *BBC*. Recuperado de: <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-38321401>

La historia ha mostrado el tipo de oportunidades que da el nacionalismo a algunos individuos, tanto aspirantes a políticos, gobernantes, e incluso en otros sectores de la vida; se han ya mencionado algunos ejemplos en este trabajo; pero el uso del nacionalismo extremo siempre ha de ser visto como un problema²¹; distintos personajes como Hitler en Alemania²², Rodrigo Duterte en las Filipinas, Marine Le Pen en Francia (estos dos últimos ya expuestos en párrafos atrás), entre otros; líderes que se aprovecharon de las condiciones en las que se encontraban sus naciones, abriéndose paso con discursos que apelaban a todo tipo de nociones; abriéndole paso al mismo tiempo a todo tipo de políticas dañinas para la humanidad en general, como evitar la entrada de cierto grupo religioso al territorio^{23 24 25}, asesinatos o persecución en masa de grupos minoritarios^{26 27}, o comenzar guerras a nivel mundial.

En el presente, el nacionalismo continua su crecimiento, aparte de los mencionados en párrafos anteriores, tenemos el ejemplo de la guerra Iraq-Estados Unidos, en donde el presidente del momento, George Bush (2001 – 2009), luego del ataque a las torres gemelas en 2001, comenzó a usar todo momento para apelar a los sentimientos aparentemente destrozados de los estadounidenses, así como defender los supuestos valores que representa Estados Unidos como la “libertad”, para impulsar una guerra abierta e invadir otro país soberano. Mediante el uso de discurso e imágenes de corte nacionalista, Bush convenció al congreso de acceder a una posible guerra e hizo lo mismo en las naciones unidas, atrayendo a diferentes países a una guerra que no era de ellos (McCartney, 2004). Y debido a este discurso nacionalista continuo de George Bush, muchas personas se fueron incluyendo más en el grupo que Bonikowski y Dimaggio (2017) llaman “ardent nationalists”, que creen en la supuesta superioridad de los Estados Unidos, tanto cultural como éticamente (Bonikowski y Dimaggio, 2017).

²¹ Sin olvidar algo que mencioné en la introducción y es que un nacionalismo moderado no es malo, lo malo es usarlo para el odio.

²² Benjamin, John. (2011, 16 de Mayo). Adolf Hitler’s account of the ‘Nation’ and ‘Nationalism’. *E-International Relations*. Recuperado en: <http://www.e-ir.info/2011/05/16/adolf-hitlers-account-of-the-%E2%80%98nation%E2%80%99-and-%E2%80%98nationalism%E2%80%99/>

²³ Diamond, Jeremy. (2015, 8 de Diciembre). Donald Trump: Ban all Muslim travel to U.S. *CNN Politics*. Recuperado en: <http://edition.cnn.com/2015/12/07/politics/donald-trump-muslim-ban-immigration/index.html>

²⁴ Mindock, Clark. (2017, 5 de Diciembre). Travel Ban: What is Trump's major immigration policy, and why is it called a 'Muslim ban'? All you need to know. *Independent*. Recuperado en: <http://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/americas/us-politics/travel-ban-trump-what-is-it-muslim-countries-list-restrictions-latest-a8093821.html>

²⁵ En el caso de Trump los musulmanes, además de buscar avivar el odio hacia los mexicanos.

²⁶ *United States Holocaust Memorial Museum*. Nazi Germany 1933-1939: Early Stages of Persecution. *My Jewish Learning*. Recuperado de: <https://www.myjewishlearning.com/article/1933-1939-early-stages-of-persecution/>

²⁷ Varela, Ricardo. (2015, 31 de Agosto). Trump's immigration plan would require every Latino to show their papers, please. *The Guardian*. Recuperado de: <https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2015/aug/31/donald-trump-immigration-plan-would-require-every-latino-to-show-papers>

Este último grupo es muy peculiar y creo que es característico en gran parte de Estados Unidos, los patriotas extremos. Dentro del discurso de Trump, como se verá en el resto de capítulos, mucha de las palabras que usaba hacían mención a ese orgullo estadounidense, su poder en el mundo, que nadie se debe “burlar” de ellos, que la comunidad internacional se está aprovechando de Estados Unidos, entre otros. Un orgullo nacional del que muchos se han llenado con el pasar de los años y en donde miran desde arriba a las demás naciones del mundo. Se llenan de orgullo por el poderío económico y poderío militar que ha amasado Estados Unidos. Y los intentos de atacar ese poderío representado en los militares, policía, entre otros símbolos, son un ataque que hace que estos ardientes nationalists pongan el grito en el cielo o sigan propuestas o ideas extremas como la guerra de Iraq o seguir discursos radicales y violentos como los del entonces candidato Donald Trump.

Finalizo esta sección diciendo que, dependiendo del país, hay diversos actores que entran a desempeñar un papel grande dentro de las decisiones que acaban direccionando el camino que toma un país tanto políticamente como en otros aspectos de la vida; en el caso de esta investigación y Estados Unidos, estamos viendo el poder que desempeña el nacionalismo en este direccionamiento. Sin embargo, otro actor grande que ha estado presente desde hace muchos años de la vida en sociedad y que entra en las decisiones de la vida es la religión. ¿tiene relación alguna la religión con los nacionalismos? Esta es una pregunta que se expondrá en las próximas páginas.

La influencia de la religión en los nacionalismos que llegan al siglo 21 en Estados Unidos

La religión ha participado en escenarios de poder desde tiempos antiguos, las personas se han matado por seres invisibles que les murmuran al oído a los que llaman dioses; se han asesinado durante la era medieval hasta en los mismos tiempos actuales, luchando por territorios que les dieron sus dioses, o asesinando personas que dibujan a su dios. Las ideologías que se le inculcan a las personas basándose en la fe afectan incluso el hacer de las políticas públicas. A fin de cuentas, la religión es fuerte nos guste o no. Es tan fuerte que hasta tuvieron que sacar políticas para separar el Estado y la iglesia, una medida que, aunque exista, nunca impide que afecte las decisiones de los hacedores de política que son creyentes.

McCartney (2004) nos habla sobre la guerra que promovió la administración Bush hijo, y en su discurso casi siempre integraba esta “identidad nacional”, agregando palabras (que los Estados Unidos creen que son de ellos) como “libertad” o añadiendo imágenes religiosas. Por ejemplo “In every generation, the world has produced enemies of human freedom. They have attacked America, because we are freedom’s home and defender.” (...) “terrorists “can’t stand freedom; they hate what America stands for.” (McCartney, 2004, pp. 408).

El autor analiza, como se expuso, la influencia del nacionalismo en el departamento de política exterior del país. Y para obtener muchos de sus datos, se concentró en la deconstrucción de los discursos del expresidente Bush; uso de material visual noticioso de los años de su presidencia; así como el análisis de ciertas políticas exteriores y tendencias dentro de estas, prestando especial atención a Iraq. McCartney (2004) nos muestra el modo en el que el presidente George Bush, en los subsecuentes días del ataque a las torres gemelas, mediante el uso de imágenes y discursos nacionalistas (y la inclusión del llamado “Enemy Complex” trabajado por Wang (2017) sin mencionar las palabras religiosas e ideologías fuertemente defendidas por los “ardent nationalist”), pavimenta el camino que llevaría a la guerra contra el grupo religioso que realizó el ataque del 11 de septiembre, pero de algún modo, incriminó e hizo el centro de la venganza a un país que poco había tenido que ver con el ataque mismo, Iraq. Mediante su discurso, Bush arrastró consigo a otro buen número de países consiguiendo así que no solo se violara la soberanía de otro país, sino posicionar el ataque a las torres gemelas como un problema mundial.

Es así entonces que McCartney (2004) da un viaje al pasado del país en búsqueda de la identidad que los estadounidenses abrazan, y cómo se les metió en la cabeza que son ellos los únicos o los protagonistas de una misión de llevar ciertos valores al mundo; una identidad que tratan de impartir (imponer) en el resto de actores internacionales.

Y no es la primera vez que la religión entra en la política de ese país; en Estados Unidos la religión incluso se ha incrustado en el mismo nacionalismo. El problema nacionalista en Estados Unidos ha existido desde hace mucho tiempo, se puede ver que durante la guerra de independencia se clamaban principios nacionalistas y dos autores en particular nos enseña estas realidades, Chuanxing Wang (2017) y Paul McCartney (2004). En ese entonces los norteamericanos manifestaron la convicción de que “su revuelta nacionalista contra Gran Bretaña fue un episodio histórico y que su objetivo no

era solo obtener justicia para ellos mismos, sino también el de inaugurar una nueva era democrática en la historia humana.” (McCartney, 2004, pp. 402)

Así como también moldearon los deseos del nuevo país, a cambiar y hacer actuar a otros como a sí mismos; actitud mostrada en ocasiones por sus propias políticas de asuntos exteriores en donde asumen que los intereses nacionales de Estados Unidos y el bien de la humanidad son la misma cosa (McCartney, 2004, pp. 402) (Bonikowski y Dimaggio, 2017), como la ya mencionada invasión de Bush a Iraq, entre otros ejemplos.

Esta “misión” de hacer el mundo un lugar mejor (desde el punto de vista norteamericano), con el pasar del tiempo, se ha visto reflejado en el modo de pensar de sus propios ciudadanos, haciéndoles creer que su país es diferente que y mejores que los demás Estados. (McCartney, 2004, pp. 403). Cabe recordar que, a nivel individual, cada uno de nosotros es diferente de alguna forma u otra, pero el excepcionalismo mostrado por los norteamericanos desde ese entonces muestra un elemento de superioridad a los demás (McCartney, 2004. pp. 403). Esta identidad nacional sale de la religión civil americana que les recuerda que “su misión” tiene un valor trascendental y que sus ideales patrióticos van apoyados por un dios. (Gaddie y Goidel, 2015)

De igual manera, en el tiempo de historia norteamericana encontramos el nacionalismo basado en la cultura, que viene de la tradición estadounidense de Asentamientos (Wang, 2017. pp. 346); por esta mentalidad es que se comenzó a decir dentro de esa sociedad, que los asentadores difieren de los inmigrantes en que los primeros crean sociedades y los segundos no (pensamiento que llevaría al desagrado por ciertos extranjeros dentro del país). Para mantener el proyecto de construcción de ciudades necesitaban inmigrantes y en ese entonces fueron colonialistas ingleses. Como resultado de esto, las políticas migratorias y las fronteras estaban increíblemente abiertas a los europeos, precisamente para ayudar con ese proyecto Republicano. Una situación adversa de esta política migratoria, es que las tendencias xenofóbicas dentro de las sociedades Asentadoras durante el siglo XIX se dispararon, con la expansión de las categorías religiosas y étnicas sobre quién podía ser llamado Norte Americano. (Wang, 2017. pp. 347)

Este nacionalismo continúa en existencia, apareciendo también los nacionalismos conocidos como “Enemy Complex” (Wang, 2017) que busca la necesidad de siempre tener un enemigo; y el nacionalismo basado en las creencias, originado en la tradición liberal. Asimismo, Gaddie y Goidel

(2015) hablan de tres tipos de nacionalismos, que persisten en los Estados Unidos: Nacionalismo **“Unhyphenated”** Personas que se identifican como “americanos” negando todo tipo de relación sanguínea con extranjeros.

Tenemos a los Cristianos Nacionalistas (Gaddie y Goidel, 2015), que son los que promueven el pensamiento de que “América tiene un lugar especial en el plan de Dios”; “Dios ha elegido a América para liderar el mundo”; “Estados Unidos fue fundada como una nación cristiana” (Con el 62% de las personas encuestadas creyendo tales frases). Frases que no tocaré porque incurriría en un juicio de valor violento. Vemos también cómo este tipo de nacionalismo se asemeja al trabajado por McCartney (2004). Bonikowski y Dimaggio (2017) unen de cierto modo al nacionalista cristiano con el nacionalismo **“Unhyphenated”**; llamándolo como “restrictive nationalists.” Hombres y mujeres que dicen que alguien es un “verdadero americano” solo si hablan inglés, son cristianos y nacieron en los Estados Unidos.

Gaddie y Goidel (2015) terminan con los Nuevos Nacionalistas, que tienen características que se imbrican con los del tipo Cristiano, siendo calificado como un “Régimen de la Elite Blanca” Todos al mismo tiempo caracterizados también con el desagrado por las minorías que han estado en crecimiento dentro del país.

Otros datos interesantes son los que nos muestran las estadísticas que van desde el 2002 yendo hasta el 2014 e inclusive algunas estadísticas salidas durante las elecciones del 2016 en Estados Unidos (Smidt, 2017). Se pueden analizar estas estadísticas y se pueden encontrar patrones de votación de los distintos grupos religiosos que se pueden encontrar dentro de Estados Unidos.

El autor Smidt (2017) nos habla sobre el papel que ha jugado la religión durante los años de existencia del país, la constante mención de Dios en los discursos políticos y de cómo esta ha servido como una categoría fundamental de identidad y asociación. Asimismo, dentro de las estadísticas, se muestran las distintas afiliaciones dentro de los partidos políticos mayoritarios (Demócrata y Republicano), entre las que se incluyen los religiosos (católicos, protestantes, católicos romanos, judíos, etc.)

Durante todo el texto, el autor se encarga de analizar las tendencias electorales de los distintos grupos (principalmente los religiosos) que acuden a dar su voto en elecciones presidenciales de varios años.

Table 1 Republican Presidential Voting Patterns by Religious Tradition over Time. (Source: University of Akron, National Surveys of Religion and Politics)

	1996 (in %) (N = 4037)	2000 (in %) (N = 4004)	2004 (in %) (N = 4000)	2008 (in %) (N = 4000)	2012 (in %) (N = 2002)
Evangelical Protestants	65	70	75	72	75
Mainline Protestants	51	57	51	50	50
Black Protestants	10	7	17	5	2
Roman Catholics	44	44	50	46	50
Unaffiliated	34	38	28	27	23
Other Faith Traditions	30	35	43	41	50

Tabla 1 - Obtenida del trabajo de Smidt (2017, pp. 135) – Patrones de votación del partido republicano por tradición religiosa.

Table 2 American Cultural Values Related to Religion in Political Life

% Agreeing	2004 (in %)	2008 (in %)	2012 (in %)	2014 (in %)
It is important to me that the President has strong religious beliefs ^a	69	67	66	–
It is important to me the President has strong religious beliefs ^{b,c}	–	74	70	–
Organized religious groups should stand up for their beliefs in politics ^a	76	69	72	–
Churches and other houses of worship should keep out of political matters ^b	–	54	–	–
Churches and other houses of worship should not come out in favor of candidates ^{b,c}	–	71	71	–
It is important to me that members of Congress have strong religious beliefs ^d	–	–	–	61

Sources:

^aUniversity of Akron, National Surveys of Religion and Politics, N = 4000 in 2004, N = 4000 in 2008, N = 2012 in 2012

^bPew Religion and Public Life Survey, 2008, N = 2905

^cPew Religion and Public Life Survey, 2012, N = 3484

^dPew Religion and Politics Survey, September 2014, N = 2002

Tabla 2 - Obtenida del trabajo de Smidt (2017, pp. 136) – mostrando que tan importante son los valores culturales salidos de la religión en la política según los encuestados.

De igual manera, en diferentes encuestas mostradas, Smidt (2017) presenta el pensamiento de muchos ciudadanos en cuanto al gobierno en general, como afecta la religión los índices de

favorabilidad, entre otras cosas, ofreciendo también posibles respuestas a la pregunta de por qué ganó quien ganó. Un ejemplo de estas es que las personas querían un cambio en el gobierno, sin importar que el que fuera no tuviera experiencia política alguna.

Entre las conclusiones a las que llega Smidt (2017), la religión tuvo poca influencia sobre las elecciones presidenciales del 2016. Esto se entiende debido a que los grupos que suelen votar republicano, dieron su voto en el 2016 al partido republicano y lo mismo para el partido demócrata. Sin embargo y como se expuso, la religión desempeñó un papel importante en la aparición de varios de los nacionalismos existentes en estados unidos, como los “ardent nationalist”, o los que les hace creer que tienen una misión de “salvar” el mundo; nacionalismos que Trump usó basándose en el contexto, real, falso o exagerado, de que Estados Unidos estaba perdiendo poder, entre otras frases que se han mostrado en el actual trabajo. Las variaciones dentro de los distintos años analizados no es para nada significativa como para decir que los grupos religiosos cambiaron radicalmente su postura frente a los partidos tradicionales del país del norte en el 2016, sin importar los comentarios hechos por los candidatos.

Capítulo 2

Análisis de Coyuntura

El Acontecimiento

Como ya he expuesto, en el actual trabajo se intentará buscar dentro del discurso del candidato Trump, los factores culturales del país de los cuales tomó provecho para obtener la victoria en el colegio electoral; esta sección proporcionará una imagen general, un contexto en el cual se desarrollaron estas elecciones , en el capítulo 3 ofreceré una visión más específica del contexto de los Estados en donde se desarrollaron los discursos que en este trabajo usé como ejemplo, para que el lector obtenga una visión más amplia sobre lo que sucedía en el momento y el por qué el discurso que usaba Trump se enfocaba en el nacionalismo, como estoy intentando demostrar, específicamente en la desglobalización estadounidense en un mundo globalizado que no estaba beneficiando del todo a los **ciudadanos** y que por esto decidieron, aparentemente, apoyar al candidato y su discurso.

El discurso de Trump estaba plagado con tendencias xenofóbicas también y alejado por completo de la realidad ^{28 29 30 31} en una variedad grande de casos; mas sin embargo, también decía algunas verdades de la realidad de Estados Unidos, sobre políticas públicas nacionales e internacionales que terminaron perjudicando al buen vivir de varios Estados. Los votantes escuchaban a Trump y lo fueron llevando de victoria en victoria en las primarias hasta obtener finalmente la candidatura del partido republicano. Todo esto en un país pintado, en la mayoría de casos, de forma opuesta a lo que Trump representaba, en el exterior; un país presentado por los medios del entretenimiento como uno de los mejores países para vivir, como un país que acepta al diferente, como un país incluyente; y el hecho que hayan elegido a alguien que representa cosas tan opuestas para dirigir ese país confunde a algunos.

Trump fue uno de los varios ejemplos del uso del nacionalismo en ese año, proveniente de uno de los países con mayor protagonismo político, y que, a pesar de su supuesto avance cultural, las

²⁸ Leonhardt, David y Thompson, Stuart. (2017, 21 de Julio). Trump's Lies. *The New York Times*. Recuperado de: <https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2017/06/23/opinion/trumps-lies.html>

²⁹ (2016-2017). All Statements from Donald Trump. Recuperado de: <http://www.politifact.com/personalities/donald-trump/statements/byruling/false/>

³⁰ Wickenden, Dorothy. (2017, 8 de Septiembre). Trump and the Politics of Xenophobia. *The New Yorker*. Recuperado de: <https://www.newyorker.com/podcast/political-scene/trump-and-the-politics-of-xenophobia>

³¹ Sunstein, Cass. (2017, 26 de Mayo). Yes, Trump is Making Xenophobia More Acceptable. *Bloomberg*. Recuperado de: <https://www.bloomberg.com/view/articles/2017-05-26/yes-trump-is-making-xenophobia-more-acceptable>

personas fueron influenciadas por las propuestas, de un millonario con el que por alguna razón se identificaban, o más específicamente, veían en él una especie de alternativa y en su discurso una sanación por estar tan agotados de los discursos y políticas de los que habían gobernado hasta el momento, que con sus políticas internacionales se beneficiaban más las naciones extranjeras, para así expandir la influencia de Estados Unidos en otras regiones, todo esto a costa de apoyar tratados que perjudicaban la inversión interna del país y le quitaban recursos de alguna manera a sus propios ciudadanos.

El análisis de coyuntura de este capítulo se intentará dar luz al estado en el que estaba Estados Unidos para 2016, año en el que se realizó la elección general para la presidencia. De pronto entendiendo este contexto por el que pasaban se podrá entender un poco más el camino que ya le tenían pavimentado a Donald Trump para que avanzara tanto como lo hizo en la carrera por la casa blanca. Pero como todo análisis de coyuntura, este contiene una estructura básica, unas partes las cuales se irán titulando y que una vez leído todo este capítulo, se entienda ese momento en la historia de distintas maneras.

Contexto

Comenzaré hablando un poco del sistema económico y político predominante en Estados Unidos, el neoliberalismo, la cual hace que muchas de las decisiones de la vida cotidiana se centren alrededor del trabajo para obtener dinero sin el cual no se puede sobrevivir. Un sistema brutal que no tiene piedad ni con los millones que no tienen posibilidades de sostenerse con un solo sueldo, un sistema que se encarga de adorar el dinero y la avaricia.

Es bien sabido que cada Estado del mundo tiene sus propias formas de financiamiento, dejando de lado las conocidas. Países como Japón reciben beneficios extra de la pescadería, países como Venezuela en un momento se beneficiaron del petróleo; y si bien las formas de recolección de dinero son muy variadas. Estados Unidos empezó a manejar un sistema económico salido del liberalismo en donde se prioriza la supuesta libertad individual, pero en donde, como se ha visto en todo el mundo, se privilegia el dinero por sobre todas las cosas y personas, el neoliberalismo y sus intenciones de generar más producción y disminuir intervención del Estado. Un brutal generador de desigualdades desde mi punto de vista mirando los hechos.

La neoliberalización política contó con un contexto internacional muy favorable, con la crisis y el derrumbe de los proyectos del “socialismo realmente existente” en la Unión Soviética y Europa oriental (Estrada Álvarez, 2015, pp. 16). El contexto internacional neoliberal del momento (años 80 y 90) da a conocer una muestra clara del sistema y sus posibles consecuencias, lo vimos con Margaret Thatcher en Inglaterra, pero principalmente doy el ejemplo de Estados Unidos con Ronald Reagan que es el ejemplo que ayuda a entender el contexto analizado de 2016.

La implementación de políticas neoliberales bajo su gobierno generaron despidos masivos en empresas como AT&T, General Electric, entre otras; pero consiguieron aumentar la productividad con los trabajadores que quedaban (que es lo que buscaban) haciendo que trabajasen más, pero no les aumentaban los salarios de manera adecuada; mientras que los directivos de esas compañías se hicieron cada vez más ricos; hubo una explosión de bancarrotas durante esos tiempos de más del 600% así como un aumento en las encarcelaciones... El neoliberalismo fue el causante del deterioro progresivo del sistema de salud y de educación, la famosa crisis financiera de 2007-2008³², entre otras cosas; pero claro, a los mercados les encantó en su momento, disminución de los impuestos, privatizaciones, aumentaron los porcentajes en la bolsa de valores³³, la economía subió, y eso es lo único que importa en una sociedad capitalista, el dios dinero.

No importa si el presidente o candidato político del momento maneja un discurso xenófobo y racista como Donald Trump, los que lo apoyan dicen “favorecerá a la economía”. No importa que el presidente haya creado un ambiente político en el país en donde es más fácil asesinar líderes sociales, como con el presidente Iván Duque (Álvaro Uribe, si somos realistas³⁴), los que los defienden dirán “pero mire que la economía ha crecido”³⁵.

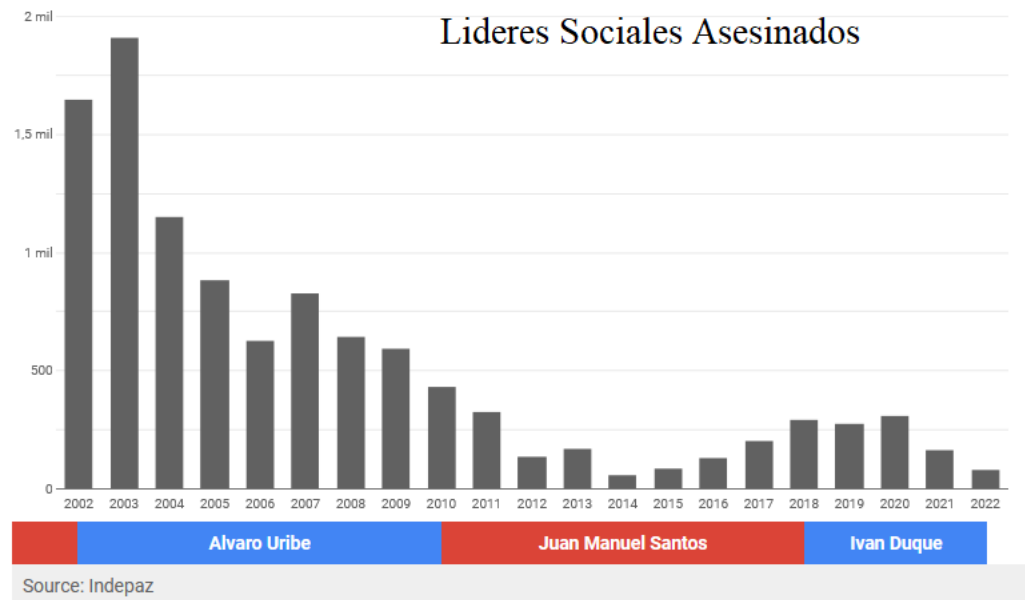
³² Monbiot, George (2016, 15 de abril). Neoliberalism – the ideology at the root of all our problems. *The Guardian*. Recuperado en: <https://www.theguardian.com/books/2016/apr/15/neoliberalism-ideology-problem-george-monbiot>

³³ Para ver estos y otros datos remito al documental de Michael Moore “Capitalismo, una historia de amor”

³⁴ Incluso los datos de líderes sociales asesinados durante Uribe fue mucho más alto que durante Duque; algo que podemos apreciar en la imagen.

³⁵ (2019, 3 de Octubre). El país creció 3% en el tercer trimestre: Bancolombia. *Revista Dinero*. Recuperado en: <https://www.dinero.com/economia/articulo/cuanto-crecio-colombia-en-el-tercer-trimestre-de-2019/277662>

Assassinations of social leaders



Aguilar (1996) es un autor que ve en las políticas públicas una forma de volver al Estado más eficiente y durante este proceso de volverlo “eficiente” es que se debe liberalizar al Estado mismo. Este autor se basa solo en lo mismo en lo que se basan los capitalistas, dinero, el Estado no puede ser manejado como una empresa a mi parecer, el Estado debe estar dispuesto a realizar acciones que representarán pérdidas económicas (hasta cierta medida).

Estoy de acuerdo con la crítica que Estrada Álvarez (2015) hace al neoliberalismo, bajo un sistema de estos, en donde solo importan las ganancias, no se puede esperar nunca equidad ni mucho menos un sistema en donde se protejan los derechos de la comunidad; los derechos que importan en este sistema son principalmente los del mercado.

Al capitalismo, o especificando más, al neoliberalismo, no le interesa crear empleos, lo único que le interesa es generar ganancias para sí mismos, si ellos pudiesen automatizar con máquinas todo el proceso en sus negocios, lo harían sin dudar. El traslado de las fábricas a lugares más económicos, en donde podrían pagar menos salarios, es una acción regular en esta economía mundial y una de las cosas expresamos en partes anteriores, benefició un poco a Trump por estar en contra de ese tipo de políticas.

Es de ilusos pensar que el mercado se autorregulará, el mercado no está controlado por una mano invisible como decía metafóricamente Adam Smith, sino por personas, y las personas se pueden

volver avaras fácilmente; siempre y cuando haya dinero y una persona de por medio, nunca se puede confiar en la autorregulación de nada. Los capitalistas avaros quieren y han obtenido muchos beneficios, los siguen y seguirán consiguiendo por su aparente control sobre las naciones y por el imperante sistema de acumulación capitalista (Jairo Álvarez, 2015, pp.4).

Las elecciones de 2016 en Estados Unidos dejaron un sin sabor en muchas personas del país del norte, y debido a la globalización y el poderío maneja Estados Unidos en ese país y mundo capitalista, el resto de países también quedaron sorprendidos por la victoria del empresario Donald Trump.

Continuando con el contexto, cabe recordar que para el año 2016, el presidente Barack Obama estaba en su último año de gobierno, y una vez comenzaron las primarias, comenzó también el discurso de los candidatos sobre lo que estaba bien, pero principalmente lo que para ellos estaba mal o lo que se debió haber hecho de otra forma.

Si bien la elección de Barak Obama fue histórica, y muchos creyeron que las relaciones raciales en Estados Unidos mejorarían, no fue así. Esta elección no quiso decir que el racismo institucional característico del país iba a desaparecer, el racismo y la xenofobia continuaron y para 2016, muchos africanos americanos habían sido asesinados sin razón aparente en encuentros con la policía, y distintos movimientos como Black Lives Matter describían las relaciones con la institucionalidad en general malas para entonces (Dimock, 2017). Mientras un país cantaba victoria con su elección y después apoyaban a Obama durante sus 8 años de gobierno, otra gran parte del país continuaba con sus disputas y luchas raciales. Oponiéndose al presidente no solo por su color de piel sino por sus ideologías políticas.

Para finales de la presidencia de Obama, el país vio un resurgir en ciertas tecnologías como los teléfonos inteligentes, así como del uso de las redes sociales como twitter³⁶, ambas cosas aumentaron su uso en el mundo, y en nuestro caso, aumentó dentro de Estados Unidos (Dimock, 2017). Para bien o para mal, las redes sociales también jugarían un papel importante en las elecciones de 2016, en donde el candidato referido en esta investigación, Donald Trump, ya sabía manejar y tenía una base de seguidores fuerte. Redes que usaba para distribuir todo tipo de falsas noticias o rumores que

³⁶ Que llevaba 2 años de existencia para la primera campaña de Obama.

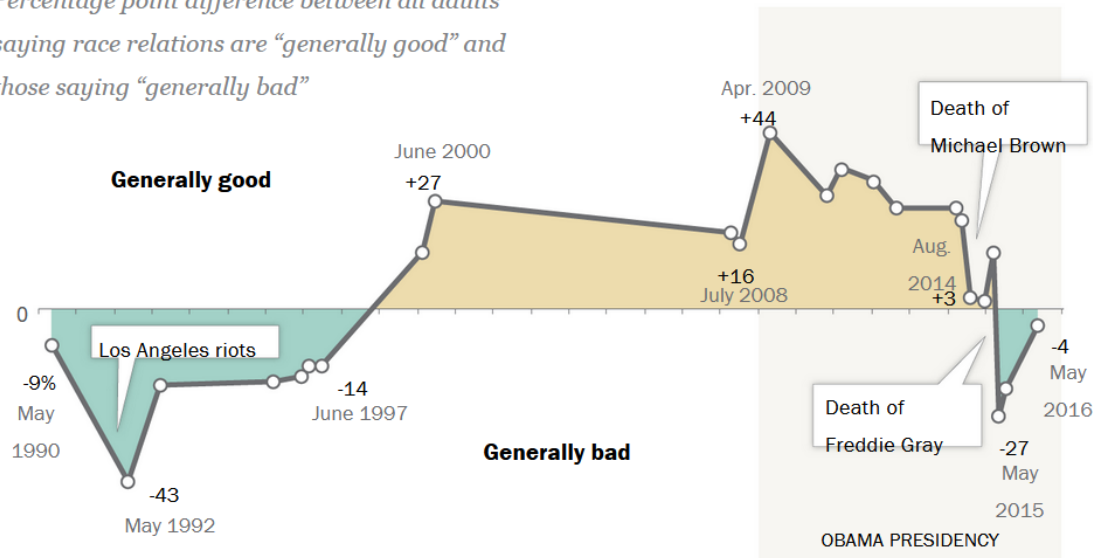
él mismo tildaba como verdades y que sus mismos seguidores se encargaban de replicar sin siquiera confirmar si eran hechos o no.

Obama, a 2016, siguió apoyando matrimonio del mismo sexo, un sistema de salud modificado por el conocido “Obamacare”, una de sus legislaciones más importantes. La economía se recuperó de una crisis económica y creció progresivamente durante sus 8 años como presidente. A 2016, en su presidencia se registró el mayor crecimiento en creación de trabajos con el sector privado (White House, 2016)

De igual manera, muchos estadounidenses (y personas del mundo también) estaban ansiosas por los avances tecnológicos, temerosos por el pensamiento real de que las empresas reemplazarán trabajadores por máquinas para mantenerse competitivos en un mundo globalizado (White House, 2016); condiciones que les ha dificultado a las familias el salir de la pobreza, porque si bien ha crecido la economía y los trabajos, estos son más exprimidos en sus labores. Una problemática que no es exclusiva para ese país. De igual manera, para 2016, particularmente en Estados Unidos, se mantenía el miedo de parte de una parte del país, de que los indocumentados y otros inmigrantes les quitaran los trabajos, siendo esté un punto grande en la campaña presidencial de Trump. Todo esto a pesar de que, durante la presidencia de Obama, se registró un alto número de deportaciones de indocumentados; administración que, según Cecilia Muñoz asesora de política interna de Obama, priorizaba las deportaciones de criminales y de personas recién llegadas al país sin un record criminal³⁷.

³⁷ La noticia se puede encontrar en: <https://edition.cnn.com/2019/07/13/politics/obama-trump-deportations-illegal-immigration/index.html>

Percentage point difference between all adults saying race relations are “generally good” and those saying “generally bad”



Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted Feb. 29-May 8, 2016. Trend data from CBS News and New York Times surveys.
PEW RESEARCH CENTER

Imagen tomada del PEW RESEARCH CENTER, mostrando la opinión de un grupo personas encuestadas en distintos años sobre el tema de la raza y las relaciones con el Estado.

Desafortunadamente, la clase media continuó su aparente descenso (Dimock, 2017) y la desigualdad entre ricos y pobres llegó a uno de sus puntos más altos (DeSilver, 2013). Asimismo, y como se mencionó atrás, la economía vino creciendo después de la recesión de 2007-2008 pero a pesar del crecimiento económico progresivo, en el escenario político los candidatos, incluyendo Donald Trump, repetían sin cesar comentarios sobre lo mal que iba la economía. Comentarios que buscaban hacerle creer a las personas que Estados Unidos estaba débil, cuando en realidad ese país es uno de los que más gasta en el apartado militar desde hace años.

Las divisiones políticas se vieron en aumento, más de lo normal, en donde solo el 14% de los republicanos apoyaban (Dimock, 2017) al presidente demócrata Obama.

Average % approving of president's job performance during each administration

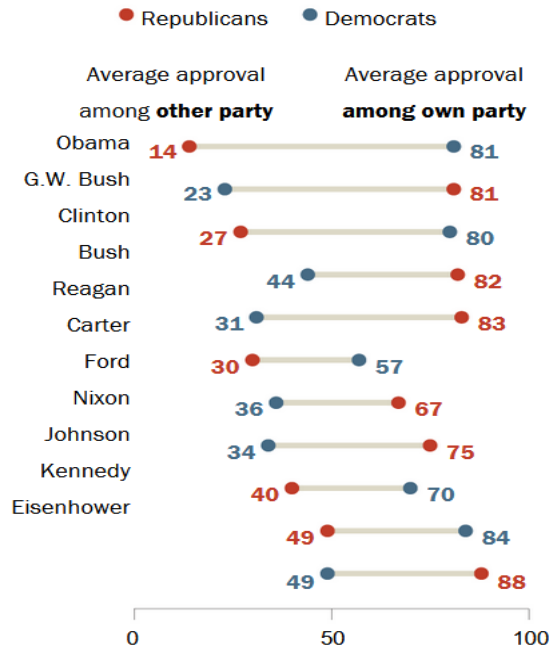


Imagen tomada del PEW RESEARCH CENTER, mostrando el índice de aprobación de arios presidentes de Estados Unidos, entre demócratas (azules) y republicanos (rojos).

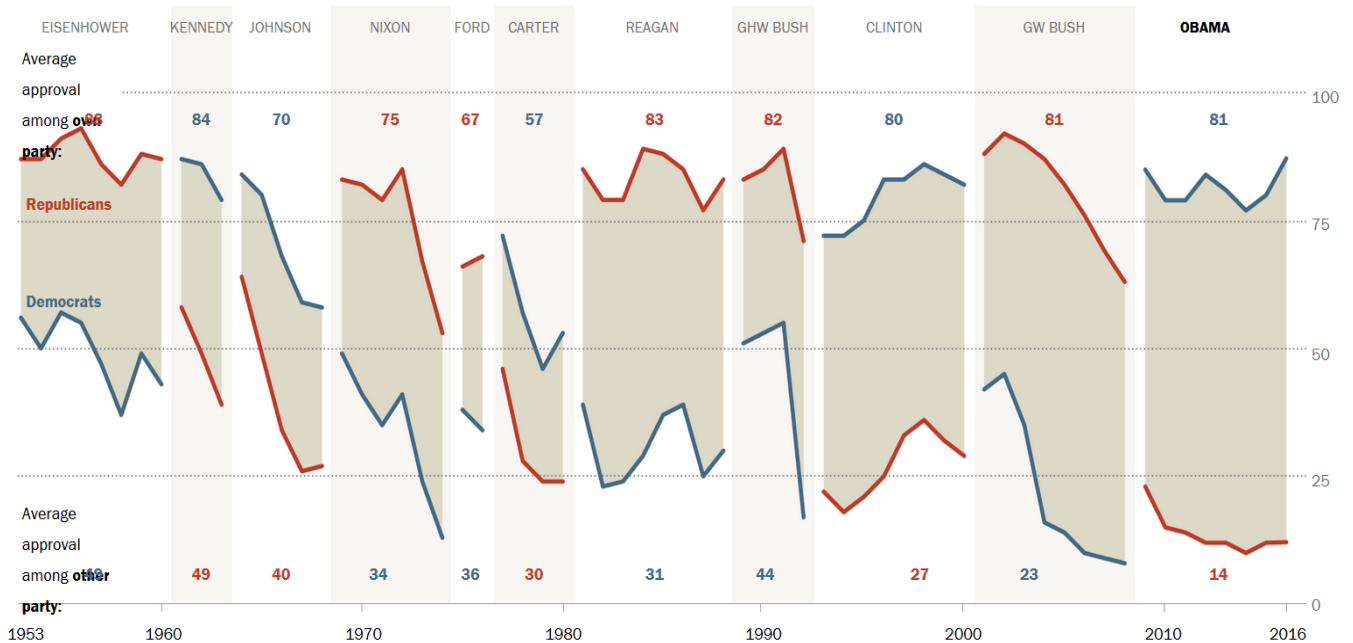


Imagen tomada del PEW RESEARCH CENTER, mostrando el índice de aprobación de arios presidentes de Estados Unidos, entre demócratas (azules) y republicanos (rojos).

La desconfianza en el gobierno siguió constante en estados unidos, un problema que ocurre incluso en Colombia. En 2015, por ejemplo, después de los ataques en París³⁸ y tiroteos en EE.UU, las personas tenían poca confianza en el Estado para defenderlos de ataques exteriores, incluso los mismos estadounidenses.

Algo con lo que no contaban muchos analistas de las elecciones y que no entendían, era el por qué tantas **personas oyentes del discurso de Trump** le prestaban atención al magnate y solo lo entenderían hasta que ya era tarde para hacer algo. Esto se veía principalmente en el “Rust Belt”³⁹ o “Cinturón de Oxido” es una región compuesta principalmente de 4 Estados Michigan, Ohio, Pennsylvania y Wisconsin que se especializaron en la construcción de industrias a gran escala lo cual les proporcionó un crecimiento económico y se conocieron en ese siglo XX como “Steel Belt”, “Factory Belt” entre otras variaciones⁴⁰. Después de ciertos acontecimientos económicos en los años 50 del siglo XX, los productos importados comenzaron a ser más baratos que los producidos internamente, llegó la automatización en la cadena de producción y los despidos asociados a esto, la internacionalización de las empresas, todo, a fin de cuentas, relacionado con la globalización. Fue entonces que en este contexto comenzó el declive de ese prolífico cinturón hasta que pasó a ser “Rust Belt”, conocida así por una constante desindustrialización, pérdida de población, decadencia urbana y una caída económica de las industrias internas debido al outsourcing o tercerización y las otras prácticas globalizantes que mencioné.

Las personas escuchaban a Trump en estos importantes Estados electorales, escuchaban los explosivos comentarios pero se concentraban en algo razonable que decía, el daño que la globalización le hizo a sus Estados.

Siguiendo, el año 2016 fue un periodo en donde parecía ponerse a prueba nuevamente el nivel moral y humano en distintos países; el método usado fue el de las Campañas y Procesos Electorales, tema ya muy trabajado por diversas disciplinas incluida la ciencia política. Por mencionar algunos de los hechos ocurridos: en Gran Bretaña estaba el Brexit donde miembros de los partidos mayoritarios hicieron campaña a favor y en contra de la salida de Gran Bretaña de la Unión Europea, con la

³⁸ Sobre los ataques y subsecuente juicio: <https://www.france24.com/en/europe/20211110-france-s-ex-president-hollande-relives-night-of-2015-paris-terror-attacks-as-witness-at-trial>

³⁹ Información sobre el Rust Belt en: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Rust_Belt

⁴⁰ Información extra sobre el “Rust Belt” en: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Rust_Belt

campana del “Leave” usando tácticas desinformativas ^{41 42}, consiguiendo ganar al final el SI a la salida, así como el orgullo y la desinformación. ^{43 44}.

Por su parte, en Colombia se llevaron a cabo unas elecciones donde se votaría el fin del conflicto con uno de los grupos guerrilleros que azotaba al país, surgieron campañas por el SI y por el NO e igualmente se usaron tácticas deplorables por algunos grupos donde terminó ganando el NO a la paz, y al mismo tiempo el odio y la desinformación.

La otra elección, que es la que se investiga en este trabajo, ocurrió en Estados Unidos. En donde, luego de meses de primarias, la candidata final del partido Demócrata, Hillary Clinton; se enfrentaba a uno de los personajes más controversiales del momento, el candidato Republicano, Donald Trump^{45 46}. Una campaña plagada de acusaciones falsas y verdaderas entre ambos.

Finalizando este contexto del momento, pasamos ahora a otra fase del análisis de coyuntura, explicar detalles como los actores, conceptos entre otros temas relacionados.

Actores y sus perfiles

Donald Trump. Trump ha hecho parte del sector privado desde hace mucho, su inestabilidad ha sido visible en diversas oportunidades, incluida su ambivalencia en el sector político⁴⁷ habiendo

⁴¹ Travis, Alan. (2016, 27 de Junio). The leave campaign made three key promises – are they keeping them?. *The Guardian*. Recuperado de: <https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/jun/27/eu-referendum-reality-check-leave-campaign-promises>

⁴² Ross, Tim. (2016, 15 de Mayo). Boris Johnson: The EU wants a superstate, just as Hitler did. *The Telegraph*. Recuperado de: <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/2016/05/14/boris-johnson-the-eu-wants-a-superstate-just-as-hitler-did/>

⁴³ Travis, Alan. (2016, 27 de Junio). The leave campaign made three key promises – are they keeping them?. *The Guardian*. Recuperado de: <https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/jun/27/eu-referendum-reality-check-leave-campaign-promises>

⁴⁴ Kampmark, Binoy. (2016, 16 de Junio). The London Bubble, Brexit and Smug Incompetence. *Center for Research on Globalization*. Recuperado de: <https://www.mondialisation.ca/the-london-bubble-brexit-and-smug-incompetence/5531230>

⁴⁵ (2016, 8 de Octubre). Transcript: Donald Trump’s Taped Comments About Women. *The New York Times*. Recuperado en: <https://www.nytimes.com/2016/10/08/us/donald-trump-tape-transcript.html>

⁴⁶ Jacobs, Ben y Siddiqui, Sabrina. (2016, Octubre 8). 'You can do anything': Trump brags on tape about using fame to get women. *The Guardian*. Recuperado en: <https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/oct/07/donald-trump-leaked-recording-women>

⁴⁷ Chasmar, Jessica. (2015, 15 de Junio). Donald Trump changed political parties at least five times: report. *The Washington Times*. Recuperado en: <https://www.washingtontimes.com/news/2015/jun/16/donald-trump-changed-political-parties-at-least-fi/>

cambiado partidos políticos un alto número de veces, terminando por escoger al partido Republicano que fue el partido por el cual presentó su cuestionable candidatura para la presidencia de los Estados Unidos. Donald Trump, en toda su carrera como hombre de negocios ha tenido problemas con la verdad⁴⁸, por eso los que lo conocen no les sorprende la cantidad de mentiras que dijo durante la candidatura presidencial (y su eventual presidencia)⁴⁹. En los párrafos anteriores presenté todo tipo de fuentes en donde se pueden ver argumentos sobre la realidad, pero que él mismo tilda de “Fake News”⁵⁰; un historial necesario para comprender el peligro que puede presentar una persona tan inestable y divisora como se comprobó que es él.

El discurso nacionalista de Trump, fue apelando a muchas cosas, haciéndose ver a sí mismo como un “outsider” de la política, una de las cosas que pudo haberlo beneficiado. Algunas voces podrán decir que los años de Obama pavimentaron el camino para que alguien como Trump llegara a la casa blanca. Pero desde mi punto de vista, no fue solo Obama, fue el mismo contexto que se ha venido formando a través de los años y distintos presidentes.

Partido Republicano. Fundado alrededor de 1854⁵¹, se convirtió en uno de los dos partidos predominantes en Estados Unidos y su sistema bipartidista. A partir del siglo 20 y 21⁵² sus políticas se fueron moviendo, en su mayoría, hacia las conservadoras, partidarios de la disminución del Estado y favorecen la libertad individual, la libertad de “triunfar”, en teoría, por sí mismo en el sistema capitalista.

Conceptos

Ya mencioné conceptos relevantes en el capítulo 1 de este trabajo de grado.

⁴⁸ Fahrenthold, David y O’Harrow, Robert. (2016, 10 de Agosto). Trump: A True Story. *The Washington Post*. Recuperado en: https://www.washingtonpost.com/graphics/politics/2016-election/trump-lies/?utm_term=.fffe6acfa9d7

⁴⁹ (2016-2017). All Statements from Donald Trump. Recuperado de: <http://www.politifact.com/personalities/donald-trump/statements/byruling/false/>

⁵⁰ Coll, Steve. (2017, 11 de Diciembre). Donald Trump’s “Fake News” Tactics. *The New Yorker*. Recuperado en: <https://www.newyorker.com/magazine/2017/12/11/donald-trumps-fake-news-tactics>

⁵¹ Parte de la historia del partido: <https://www.history.com/topics/us-politics/republican-party>

⁵² Más sobre la historia de dicho partido: <https://www.britannica.com/topic/Republican-Party>

Variables Estructurales - Estructuras involucradas

Elecciones. Un tema tan antiguo que data hasta el origen de las polis mismas (Sabine, 1994, pp. 31 - 42). Las polis fueron el mejor acercamiento de la época al concepto de ciudad-estado. Eran autosuficientes, capitales políticas y económicas y manejaban bajo distintos niveles el concepto, nuevo para el momento, de Democracia.

En las elecciones entran en juego distintos factores como para decir con certeza que el principal factor que ayudó a Trump fue su discurso, como por ejemplo el hecho de que ni siquiera ganó el voto popular, solo obtuvo la mayoría en el colegio electoral. Así como es difícil decir que en cualquier elección el candidato que use el discurso nacionalista aumentará su proyección de victoria.

Las elecciones no son algo simplemente numérico, detrás de cada voto hay un ser vivo con su libre albedrío y una historia que, dependiendo del contexto en el que vive, lo condujo a votar de un modo u otro o a no votar.

Para resumir, en esta investigación se entenderán las elecciones como un medio democrático mediante el cual podemos elegir a los representantes que dictarán el camino a seguir dentro del territorio en el que se realicen. Existen todo tipo de críticas a estas dependiendo del estado en el que sucedan, desde que se arreglan las elecciones en favor de cierto candidato o partido hasta comentarios sobre su ineficacia, el bien y el mal siempre existirá. Sea como sea, y como una nota personal, en los países en los que se realizan este tipo actividades y sin importar las críticas de los procesos, los habitantes deben participar en estos actos democráticos para demostrar su apoyo a este tipo de sistema que se ha popularizado en el mundo y mostrar sus opiniones en las urnas. De llegar a demostrarse que algunas de las críticas que tienen los procesos electorales son ciertas en el territorio, ya no sería culpa del ciudadano.

Colegio Electoral de Estados Unidos.⁵³ En Estados Unidos, los candidatos políticos son electos, no por el voto popular de los ciudadanos exactamente, sino por los “electores”⁵⁴ del Colegio

⁵³ Información se puede encontrar en muchas partes incluyendo: <https://www.archives.gov/electoral-college/history#whyec>

⁵⁴ Diversa información extra sobre el tema se puede encontrar en: <https://www.usa.gov/election#item-36072>

Electoral. En los papeles federalistas⁵⁵, Alexander Hamilton⁵⁶, James Madison⁵⁷, entre otros, introdujeron la idea del colegio electoral. Idea que quedó incluida en la constitución⁵⁸ del país, al cual se le fueron añadiendo diversas enmiendas sobre el mismo tema.

El proceso funciona similar en casi todos los Estados, recordando que cada uno tiene un número total distinto de “electores”; al final del día de elecciones, cada Estado cuenta el total de votos de las personas y el que obtenga mayoría en votos obtiene TODOS los “electores” de ese Estado en el colegio electoral; al final, en elecciones presidenciales, gana el que obtenga o supere los 270 votos del colegio electoral. Entonces, como cada Estado tiene obviamente un número distinto de “electores” en el colegio electoral, el victorioso no necesariamente será el que obtuvo el mayor número de votos de los ciudadanos.

Este método está inscrito en la constitución política estadounidense de 1776 para darle más representación a los Estados más pequeños. Sin embargo, se volvió para muchos un punto de crítica ya que varios presidentes han sido elegidos por el colegio electoral a pesar de haber perdido el voto popular.

Democracia. Los personajes que resultan electos democráticamente para dirigir un país pueden cambiar el rumbo de la historia de toda una sociedad; mediante decisiones políticas mal tomadas (o bien tomadas, dependiendo del punto de vista) pueden llevar a la ciudadanía a la muerte en guerras sin sentido, o mediante su discurso o sus acciones pueden unir a las personas bajo una misma causa (buena o mala).

Movimientos antiglobalizantes – explicados en el capítulo 1

⁵⁵ Una serie de ensayos escritos por algunos de los “padres fundadores” entre 1787 y 1988 para urgir, en su momento, para que en New York se aceptara la propuesta de la nueva Constitución Política estadounidense

⁵⁶ Alexander Hamilton menciona en el Federalista 68 el tema, leído en: <https://guides.loc.gov/federalist-papers/text-61-70#s-lg-box-wrapper-25493455>

⁵⁷ James Madison habló sobre esto en el Federalista 10, el cual se puede leer en: <https://guides.loc.gov/federalist-papers/text-1-10#s-lg-box-wrapper-25493273>

⁵⁸ Es importante dar a conocer que las palabras “Colegio Electoral” no aparece como tal en la constitución, aparece es “Electores” como se ve en su artículo 2, sección 1: <https://www.archives.gov/electoral-college/provisions#clause2>

Causas del Acontecimiento

Como se explicó más o menos, Trump tomó provecho en su discurso para apelar a una gran parte de la sociedad que venía con cierto descontento por la política tradicional y veían en este candidato⁵⁹ una forma de llevarle la contraria a dicho sistema. En el contexto mismo de este análisis de coyuntura, encontramos como las políticas globalizantes estaban terminando por disminuir los trabajos de los habitantes de dicho país, y otra plataforma en el discurso de Trump fue “America First” que buscaba luchar precisamente contra esas políticas globalizantes.

Posibles consecuencias

La consecuencia del uso del discurso nacionalista se ha visto anteriormente, no es raro que los políticos y otros actores sociales usen este tipo de lenguaje. El nacionalismo a nivel extremo vimos que llevó a Trump a la victoria incluyendo el tomar provecho del descontento general con ciertos contextos estadounidenses.

Viéndolo a un futuro, Muchos políticos y otros líderes usaran las victorias de Trump y otros líderes mundiales del pasado y presente, para ellos mismos empezar a usar el lenguaje nacionalista divisorio. Dependiendo de los contextos internos de esos países en donde comience a predominar el nacionalismo extremo, estos discursos, en el peor de los casos, llevará al poder a esos nuevos líderes nacionalistas y a sus ideologías que podrían ser dañinas para el resto del país y la política internacional.

De igual manera y viendo el otro lado de la moneda como alternativa, una parte de la población usará esos mismos ejemplos, esas victorias del nacionalismo, como una experiencia contra la cual escudar a sus propias naciones para evitar que ocurra de nuevo el alzamiento de líderes que puedan o no terminar llevando al país por esos caminos llenos de odio.

Posibilidades de cambios en la realidad histórica

Desde el punto de vista analítico, las condiciones necesarias para la materialización de cambios en la realidad, es realizar revolcamiento completo de la mentalidad capitalista. Dejar de pensar en el

⁵⁹ Bernie Sanders fue otro candidato del lado demócrata que lo veían como tal, en especial por lo llamativo de sus ideas socialdemócratas.

“yo” como actor social y comenzar a pensar en el “nosotros” como actores sociales que podemos cuidarnos los unos a los otros. Esto se traduce en materia política a realizar una moderación considerable a las políticas capitalistas para pensar más en lo social, esto implica pagar más impuestos para la universalización de la salud y otros programas.

Esto irá generando en las personas un cambio psicológico que irá aplicando también a los niños, generando un cambio en la cultura capitalista que cree una nueva generación de personas que sean más incluyentes a políticas sociales amplias e incluyentes, sin ponerles muchos “peros” a visiones distintas.

Todo lo anterior con el fin de crear, como mencioné, una nueva generación de personas con una capacidad crítica y evitar que candidatos como Donald Trump y sus discursos de odio hacia el extranjero y demás, tengan pocas posibilidades de prosperar de llegar al poder. Personas que piensan más en el “nosotros” como sociedad tienen la mentalidad necesaria para que salgan a demostraciones públicas de oposición o se animen a participar del gobierno mismo. Una sociedad que se aleja del capitalismo desmedido como el actual, tiene más tiempo para sí mismo y posibilidades de participar en la política de una manera u otra.

Concluyo recordando que en el análisis de coyuntura nos encargamos de estudiar un fenómeno que siempre está ligado a diferentes sucesos, hechos o circunstancias, durante cierto periodo de tiempo (CEDIB, 2006, pp. 3); todo dentro de una sociedad bajo un contexto social determinado, la cual actúa bajo un conjunto de fenómenos y acciones.

Capítulo 3

Análisis del discurso

Entro ahora en la otra parte grande de la investigación y que se puede usar como prueba de que el discurso nacionalista predominó sobre muchos de los discursos del candidato Donald Trump, llegando a la conclusión de que el uso de este fue una táctica importante para su eventual victoria. Para este capítulo vuelvo a traer a colación lo que expliqué en el capítulo 1, página 12 del actual trabajo, una definición dada por la autora Barbara Johnstone, quien dice que el análisis del discurso se refiere a “maneras de hablar, que se reflejan en la repetida elección de ciertas estructuras y formulaciones, conducen a maneras habituales de imaginar el mundo que vienen a parecer naturales e incontestables” (2002, pp. 29).

Recordando que mediante el análisis del discurso se busca identificar en la palabra hablada o escrita de cierta persona o individuos, un patrón o secuencia que se repite; teniendo en cuenta también el ejemplo de Análisis del Discurso usado en el trabajo de Aurelia Ana Vasile (2017, pp. 23-31) en donde se aplicó este mismo procedimiento. Analizando el trabajo de Vasile, podemos notar que buscaba ver si el discurso electoral dentro de estas dos campañas, cambiaba o se volvían más polarizadores (positiva o negativamente) a medida que se acercaba el fin de las elecciones generales, y al usar el análisis del discurso, se buscan patrones en distintas transcripciones de discursos de Trump y Hillary cuando estaban de candidatos para estas mismas elecciones; estos patrones los identifican analizando las palabras o frases dentro de esos transcrips.

La **metodología** que usaré es la misma usada por Aurelia Ana Vasile (2017) en ese trabajo, analizaré 5 discursos de Donald Trump que pondré completos y que fueron dados en las elecciones, subrayando frases en donde resaltaré el uso del nacionalismo y sus características como la desglobalización antes analizada. Finalizando dicho discurso sacaré por aparte esos fragmentos y daré un pequeño comentario propio sobre el por qué fue subrayado y mi interpretación, si en un discurso habla de un tipo de nacionalismo y luego repite el estamento, yo no repetiré el comentario que pude haber hecho; por ejemplo, cuando se haga mención a “America First” hare el comentario pertinente la primera vez que lo encontré y la próxima vez que Trump hable sobre el tema solo pondré unas pocas palabras en vez del comentario propio. Al final de cada discurso y análisis propio, pondré un conteo de palabras (el total de la frase) en donde predominó el nacionalismo para mostrar que el uso del nacionalismo si predominó o si no lo hizo.

De igual manera, antes de cada discurso daré un contexto específico al Estado en donde se dio el discurso como tal, para que se entienda por qué algunos Estados fueron escuchando atentamente al discurso aparentemente nacionalista del entonces candidato Trump y lo llevaron a su victoria. Las conclusiones en el capítulo 4 son tanto del análisis del discurso que es la parte central de este trabajo de grado y también serán las conclusiones generales de todo el trabajo.

Empiezo así a investigar varios discursos del entonces candidato, para analizar la importancia del nacionalismo en su discurso y propuestas dichas durante estos. Esta importancia la **analizaré, como dije, viendo la cantidad de veces que el candidato usa palabras o frases que hacen alusión al nacionalismo explicado en el capítulo 1 de este trabajo y los demás términos que se desprenden del nacionalismo como alusiones al poder estadounidense, xenofobia y las que hagan alusión a esos nacionalismos.**

Empiezo entonces a analizar el discurso inicial, con el que comenzó su campaña ese 16 de junio de 2015, un discurso dado dentro de la Trump Tower, más allá del Trump Café, el Trump Bar, entre otros lugares⁶⁰ nombrados con su apellido y que sin duda alguna usa como marca para que lo reconozcan.

Análisis del Primer Discurso - Anuncio de Candidatura

Contexto

Este discurso lo dio Donald Trump en la Trump Tower como expuse finalizando la página anterior, una edificación ubicada en la ciudad de New York, una ciudad tan famosa como lo es diversa, tanto políticamente como por la variedad de nacionalidades de sus habitantes, una ciudad en donde, basándonos en su elección a alcalde desde , predomina de alguna manera el partido demócrata incluyendo en los últimos 9 años⁶¹. Y en las elecciones presidenciales existe una tendencia similar, en donde los newyorkers han votado, desde 1988, en su mayoría por candidatos presidenciales demócratas⁶².

¿por qué dar el discurso en un Estado demócrata? Trump nació en New York, fue la ciudad en donde fue organizando su trabajo en el sector privado. Además, porque, a pesar de ser un Estado y una

⁶⁰ Sobre el tema: https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/donald-trump-is-now-a-candidate-for-president-of-the-united-states/2015/06/16/5e6d738e-1441-11e5-9ddc-e3353542100c_story.html?itid=lk_inline_manual_2

⁶¹ Lista de alcaldes de New York. Recuperado en: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/List_of_mayors_of_New_York_City

⁶² Resultados de elecciones presidenciales en New York. Recuperado en: https://www.270towin.com/states/New_York

ciudad demócrata, es un Estado, como dije, variado políticamente, y no todos son demócratas. En el lugar se encontraban simpatizantes de Trump debido la fama que había conseguido en esa ciudad estadounidense, muchos conocían allá el tipo de persona que era Trump mucho antes que el mundo lo supiese⁶³. El lugar contenía simpatizantes y, debido a la poca organización inicial, explican que miembros del equipo de Trump salió a atraer ciudadanos y turistas que pasaban cerca para intentar llenar el lugar⁶⁵. Su ciudad natal, fue por estas y otras razones que decidió dar su discurso inicial allí a pesar de la poca preparación, haciendo parecer que no estaba realmente interesado en pasar mucho tiempo en la carrera política.

El discurso y sus fragmentos con tinte nacionalista

Primer discurso - Anuncio de lanzamiento de campaña⁶⁶

Junio 16, 2015

TRUMP: Wow. Whoa. That is some group of people. Thousands.

So nice, thank you very much. That's really nice. Thank you. It's great to be at Trump Tower. It's great to be in a wonderful city, New York. And it's an honor to have everybody here. This is beyond anybody's expectations. There's been no crowd like this.

And, I can tell, some of the candidates, they went in. They didn't know the air-conditioner didn't work. They sweated like dogs.

(LAUGHTER)

⁶³ Peter Mehlman presenta en su artículo información sobre la vida de Trump y su desconexión con New York a pesar de haber vivido años allá, en: <https://www.theatlantic.com/ideas/archive/2019/11/donald-trump-was-never-real-new-yorker/601324/>

⁶⁴ Lincoln Mitchell muestra información sobre la relación de Trump con New York en: <https://theconversation.com/new-yorkers-knew-donald-trump-first-and-they-spurned-him-before-many-american-voters-did-148303>

⁶⁵ Recuento de esto en: https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/donald-trump-is-now-a-candidate-for-president-of-the-united-states/2015/06/16/5e6d738e-1441-11e5-9ddc-e3353542100c_story.html?itid=lk_inline_manual_2

⁶⁶ Se encuentra en: <https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/post-politics/wp/2015/06/16/full-text-donald-trump-announces-a-presidential-bid/>

They didn't know the room was too big, because they didn't have anybody there. How are they going to beat ISIS? I don't think it's gonna happen.

(APPLAUSE)

Our country is in serious trouble. We don't have victories anymore. We used to have victories, but we don't have them. When was the last time anybody saw us beating, let's say, China in a trade deal? They kill us. I beat China all the time. All the time.

(APPLAUSE)

AUDIENCE MEMBER: We want Trump. We want Trump.

TRUMP: When did we beat Japan at anything? They send their cars over by the millions, and what do we do? When was the last time you saw a Chevrolet in Tokyo? It doesn't exist, folks. They beat us all the time.

When do we beat Mexico at the border? They're laughing at us, at our stupidity. And now they are beating us economically. They are not our friend, believe me. But they're killing us economically.

The U.S. has become a dumping ground for everybody else's problems.

(APPLAUSE)

Thank you. It's true, and these are the best and the finest. When Mexico sends its people, they're not sending their best. They're not sending you. They're not sending you. They're sending people that have lots of problems, and they're bringing those problems with us. They're bringing drugs. They're bringing crime. They're rapists. And some, I assume, are good people.

But I speak to border guards and they tell us what we're getting. And it only makes common sense. It only makes common sense. They're sending us not the right people.

It's coming from more than Mexico. It's coming from all over South and Latin America, and it's coming probably -- probably -- from the Middle East. But we don't know. Because we have no protection and we have no competence, we don't know what's happening. And it's got to stop and it's got to stop fast.

(APPLAUSE)

TRUMP: Islamic terrorism is eating up large portions of the Middle East. They've become rich. I'm in competition with them.

They just built a hotel in Syria. Can you believe this? They built a hotel. When I have to build a hotel, I pay interest. They don't have to pay interest, because they took the oil that, when we left Iraq, I said we should've taken.

So now ISIS has the oil, and what they don't have, Iran has. And in 19 -- and I will tell you this, and I said it very strongly, years ago, I said -- and I love the military, and I want to have the strongest military that we've ever had, and we need it more now than ever. But I said, "Don't hit Iraq," because you're going to totally destabilize the Middle East. Iran is going to take over the Middle East, Iran and somebody else will get the oil, and it turned out that Iran is now taking over Iraq. Think of it. Iran is taking over Iraq, and they're taking it over big league.

We spent \$2 trillion in Iraq, \$2 trillion. We lost thousands of lives, thousands in Iraq. We have wounded soldiers, who I love, I love -- they're great -- all over the place, thousands and thousands of wounded soldiers.

And we have nothing. We can't even go there. We have nothing. And every time we give Iraq equipment, the first time a bullet goes off in the air, they leave it.

Last week, I read 2,300 Humvees -- these are big vehicles -- were left behind for the enemy. 2,000? You would say maybe two, maybe four? 2,300 sophisticated vehicles, they ran, and the enemy took them.

AUDIENCE MEMBER: We need Trump now.

TRUMP: You're right.

(APPLAUSE)

AUDIENCE MEMBER: We need Trump now.

TRUMP: Last quarter, it was just announced our gross domestic product -- a sign of strength, right? But not for us. It was below zero. Whoever heard of this? It's never below zero.

Our labor participation rate was the worst since 1978. But think of it, GDP below zero, horrible labor participation rate.

And our real unemployment is anywhere from 18 to 20 percent. Don't believe the 5.6. Don't believe it.

That's right. A lot of people up there can't get jobs. They can't get jobs, because there are no jobs, because China has our jobs and Mexico has our jobs. They all have jobs.

But the real number, the real number is anywhere from 18 to 19 and maybe even 21 percent, and nobody talks about it, because it's a statistic that's full of nonsense.

AUDIENCE MEMBER: We want Trump now.

TRUMP: Our enemies are getting stronger and stronger by the way, and we as a country are getting weaker. Even our nuclear arsenal doesn't work.

It came out recently they have equipment that is 30 years old. They don't know if it worked. And I thought it was horrible when it was broadcast on television, because boy, does that send signals to Putin and all of the other people that look at us and they say, "That is a group of people, and that is a nation that truly has no clue. They don't know what they're doing. They don't know what they're doing."

AUDIENCE MEMBER: We need Trump now.

(APPLAUSE)

TRUMP: We have a disaster called the big lie: Obamacare. Obamacare.

Yesterday, it came out that costs are going for people up 29, 39, 49, and even 55 percent, and deductibles are through the roof. You have to be hit by a tractor, literally, a tractor, to use it, because the deductibles are so high, it's virtually useless. It's virtually useless. It is a disaster.

TRUMP: And remember the \$5 billion Web site? \$5 billion we spent on a Web site, and to this day it doesn't work. A \$5 billion Web site.

I have so many Web sites, I have them all over the place. I hire people, they do a Web site. It costs me \$3. \$5 billion Web site.

(APPLAUSE)

AUDIENCE: We want Trump. We want Trump. We want Trump. We want Trump.

TRUMP: Well, you need somebody, because politicians are all talk, no action. Nothing's gonna get done. They will not bring us -- believe me -- to the promised land. They will not.

As an example, I've been on the circuit making speeches, and I hear my fellow Republicans. And they're wonderful people. I like them. They all want me to support them. They don't know how to bring it about. They come up to my office. I'm meeting with three of them in the next week. And they don't know -- "Are you running? Are you not running? Could we have your support? What do we do? How do we do it?"

I like them. And I hear their speeches. And they don't talk jobs and they don't talk China. When was the last time you heard China is killing us? They're devaluing their currency to a level that you wouldn't believe. It makes it impossible for our companies to compete, impossible. They're killing us.

But you don't hear that from anybody else. You don't hear it from anybody else. And I watch the speeches.

AUDIENCE MEMBER: No more free (inaudible).

TRUMP: Thank you.

I watch the speeches of these people, and they say the sun will rise, the moon will set, all sorts of wonderful things will happen. And people are saying, "What's going on? I just want a job. Just get me a job. I don't need the rhetoric. I want a job."

And that's what's happening. And it's going to get worse, because remember, Obamacare really kicks in in '16, 2016. Obama is going to be out playing golf. He might be on one of my courses. I would invite him, I actually would say. I have the best courses in the world, so I'd say, you what, if he

wants to -- I have one right next to the White House, right on the Potomac. If he'd like to play, that's fine.

(APPLAUSE)

In fact, I'd love him to leave early and play, that would be a very good thing.

(LAUGHTER)

But Obamacare kicks in in 2016. Really big league. It is going to be amazingly destructive. Doctors are quitting. I have a friend who's a doctor, and he said to me the other day, "Donald, I never saw anything like it. I have more accountants than I have nurses. It's a disaster. My patients are beside themselves. They had a plan that was good. They have no plan now."

We have to repeal Obamacare, and it can be -- and -- and it can be replaced with something much better for everybody. Let it be for everybody. But much better and much less expensive for people and for the government. And we can do it.

(APPLAUSE)

AUDIENCE: Trump. Trump. Trump. Trump. Trump. Trump.

TRUMP: So I've watched the politicians. I've dealt with them all my life. If you can't make a good deal with a politician, then there's something wrong with you. You're certainly not very good. And that's what we have= representing us. They will never make America great again. They don't even have a chance. They're controlled fully -- they're controlled fully by the lobbyists, by the donors, and by the special interests, fully.

Yes, they control them. Hey, I have lobbyists. I have to tell you. I have lobbyists that can produce anything for me. They're great. But you know what? it won't happen. It won't happen. Because we have to stop doing things for some people, but for this country, it's destroying our country. We have to stop, and it has to stop now.

AUDIENCE: It needs Trump.

TRUMP: Now, our country needs -- our country needs a truly great leader, and we need a truly great leader now. We need a leader that wrote "The Art of the Deal."

AUDIENCE MEMBER: Yes.

TRUMP: We need a leader that can bring back our jobs, can bring back our manufacturing, can bring back our military, can take care of our vets. Our vets have been abandoned.

(APPLAUSE)

And we also need a cheerleader.

You know, when President Obama was elected, I said, "Well, the one thing, I think he'll do well. I think he'll be a great cheerleader for the country. I think he'd be a great spirit."

He was vibrant. He was young. I really thought that he would be a great cheerleader.

AUDIENCE MEMBER: But not a leader.

TRUMP: He's not a leader. That's true. You're right about that.

But he wasn't a cheerleader. He's actually a negative force. He's been a negative force. He wasn't a cheerleader; he was the opposite.

We need somebody that can take the brand of the United States and make it great again. It's not great again.

(APPLAUSE)

We need -- we need somebody -- we need somebody that literally will take this country and make it great again. We can do that.

(APPLAUSE)

And, I will tell you, I love my life. I have a wonderful family. They're saying, "Dad, you're going to do something that's going to be so tough."

You know, all of my life, I've heard that a truly successful person, a really, really successful person and even modestly successful cannot run for public office. Just can't happen. And yet that's the kind of mindset that you need to make this country great again.

So ladies and gentlemen...

(APPLAUSE)

I am officially running...

(APPLAUSE)

... for president of the United States, and we are going to make our country great again.

(APPLAUSE)

It can happen. Our country has tremendous potential. We have tremendous people.

We have people that aren't working. We have people that have no incentive to work. But they're going to have incentive to work, because the greatest social program is a job. And they'll be proud, and they'll love it, and they'll make much more than they would've ever made, and they'll be -- they'll be doing so well, and we're going to be thriving as a country, thriving. It can happen.

(APPLAUSE)

I will be the greatest jobs president that God ever created. I tell you that.

(APPLAUSE)

I'll bring back our jobs from China, from Mexico, from Japan, from so many places. I'll bring back our jobs, and I'll bring back our money.

Right now, think of this: We owe China \$1.3 trillion. We owe Japan more than that. So they come in, they take our jobs, they take our money, and then they loan us back the money, and we pay them in interest, and then the dollar goes up so their deal's even better.

How stupid are our leaders? How stupid are these politicians to allow this to happen? How stupid are they?

(APPLAUSE)

I'm going to tell you -- thank you. I'm going to tell you a couple of stories about trade, because I'm totally against the trade bill for a number of reasons.

Number one, the people negotiating don't have a clue. Our president doesn't have a clue. He's a bad negotiator.

He's the one that did Bergdahl. We get Bergdahl, they get five killer terrorists that everybody wanted over there.

We get Bergdahl. We get a traitor. We get a no-good traitor, and they get the five people that they wanted for years, and those people are now back on the battlefield trying to kill us. That's the negotiator we have.

Take a look at the deal he's making with Iran. He makes that deal, Israel maybe won't exist very long. It's a disaster, and we have to protect Israel. But...

AUDIENCE MEMBER: Yes, we do. Yes, we do.

(APPLAUSE)

TRUMP: So we need people -- I'm a free trader. But the problem with free trade is you need really talented people to negotiate for you. If you don't have talented people, if you don't have great leadership, if you don't have people that know business, not just a political hack that got the job because he made a contribution to a campaign, which is the way all jobs, just about, are gotten, free trade terrible.

Free trade can be wonderful if you have smart people, but we have people that are stupid. We have people that aren't smart. And we have people that are controlled by special interests. And it's just not going to work.

So, here's a couple of stories happened recently. A friend of mine is a great manufacturer. And, you know, China comes over and they dump all their stuff, and I buy it. I buy it, because, frankly, I have an obligation to buy it, because they devalue their currency so brilliantly, they just did it recently, and nobody thought they could do it again.

But with all our problems with Russia, with all our problems with everything -- everything, they got away with it again. And it's impossible for our people here to compete.

So I want to tell you this story. A friend of mine who's a great manufacturer, calls me up a few weeks ago. He's very upset. I said, "What's your problem?"

He said, "You know, I make great product."

And I said, "I know. I know that because I buy the product."

He said, "I can't get it into China. They won't accept it. I sent a boat over and they actually sent it back. They talked about environmental, they talked about all sorts of crap that had nothing to do with it."

I said, "Oh, wait a minute, that's terrible. Does anyone know this?"

He said, "Yeah, they do it all the time with other people."

I said, "They send it back?"

"Yeah. So I finally got it over there and they charged me a big tariff. They're not supposed to be doing that. I told them."

Now, they do charge you tariff on trucks, when we send trucks and other things over there.

Ask Boeing. They wanted Boeing's secrets. They wanted their patents and all their secrets before they agreed to buy planes from Boeing.

Hey, I'm not saying they're stupid. I like China. I sell apartments for -- I just sold an apartment for \$15 million to somebody from China. Am I supposed to dislike them? I own a big chunk of the Bank of America Building at 1290 Avenue of the Americas, that I got from China in a war. Very valuable.

I love China. The biggest bank in the world is from China. You know where their United States headquarters is located? In this building, in Trump Tower. I love China. People say, "Oh, you don't like China?"

No, I love them. But their leaders are much smarter than our leaders, and we can't sustain ourself with that. There's too much -- it's like -- it's like take the New England Patriots and Tom Brady and have them play your high school football team. That's the difference between China's leaders and our leaders.

They are ripping us. We are rebuilding China. We're rebuilding many countries. China, you go there now, roads, bridges, schools, you never saw anything like it. They have bridges that make the George Washington Bridge look like small potatoes. And they're all over the place.

We have all the cards, but we don't know how to use them. We don't even know that we have the cards, because our leaders don't understand the game. We could turn off that spigot by charging them tax until they behave properly.

Now they're going militarily. They're building a military island in the middle of the South China sea. A military island. Now, our country could never do that because we'd have to get environmental clearance, and the environmentalist wouldn't let our country -- we would never build in an ocean. They built it in about one year, this massive military port.

They're building up their military to a point that is very scary. You have a problem with ISIS. You have a bigger problem with China.

And, in my opinion, the new China, believe it or not, in terms of trade, is Mexico.

So this man tells me about the manufacturing. I say, "That's a terrible story. I hate to hear it."

But I have another one, Ford.

So Mexico takes a company, a car company that was going to build in Tennessee, rips it out. Everybody thought the deal was dead. Reported it in the Wall Street Journal recently. Everybody thought it was a done deal. It's going in and that's going to be it, going into Tennessee. Great state, great people.

TRUMP: All of a sudden, at the last moment, this big car manufacturer, foreign, announces they're not going to Tennessee. They're gonna spend their \$1 billion in Mexico instead. Not good.

Now, Ford announces a few weeks ago that Ford is going to build a \$2.5 billion car and truck and parts manufacturing plant in Mexico. \$2.5 billion, it's going to be one of the largest in the world. Ford. Good company.

So I announced that I'm running for president. I would...

(APPLAUSE)

... one of the early things I would do, probably before I even got in -- and I wouldn't even use -- you know, I have -- I know the smartest negotiators in the world. I know the good ones. I know the bad ones. I know the overrated ones.

You get a lot of them that are overrated. They're not good. They think they are. They get good stories, because the newspapers get buffaloe (ph). But they're not good.

But I know the negotiators in the world, and I put them one for each country. Believe me, folks. We will do very, very well, very, very well.

But I wouldn't even waste my time with this one. I would call up the head of Ford, who I know. If I was president, I'd say, "Congratulations. I understand that you're building a nice \$2.5 billion car factory in Mexico and that you're going to take your cars and sell them to the United States zero tax, just flow them across the border."

And you say to yourself, "How does that help us," right? "How does that help us? Where is that good"? It's not.

So I would say, "Congratulations. That's the good news. Let me give you the bad news. Every car and every truck and every part manufactured in this plant that comes across the border, we're going to charge you a 35-percent tax, and that tax is going to be paid simultaneously with the transaction, and that's it.

Now, here's what is going to happen. If it's not me in the position, it's one of these politicians that we're running against, you know, the 400 people that we're (inaudible). And here's what's going to happen. They're not so stupid. They know it's not a good thing, and they may even be upset by it. But then they're going to get a call from the donors or probably from the lobbyist for Ford and say,

"You can't do that to Ford, because Ford takes care of me and I take care of you, and you can't do that to Ford."

And guess what? No problem. They're going to build in Mexico. They're going to take away thousands of jobs. It's very bad for us.

So under President Trump, here's what would happen:

(APPLAUSE)

The head of Ford will call me back, I would say within an hour after I told them the bad news. But it could be he'd want to be cool, and he'll wait until the next day. You know, they want to be a little cool.

And he'll say, "Please, please, please." He'll beg for a little while, and I'll say, "No interest." Then he'll call all sorts of political people, and I'll say, "Sorry, fellas. No interest," because I don't need anybody's money. It's nice. I don't need anybody's money.

I'm using my own money. I'm not using the lobbyists. I'm not using donors. I don't care. I'm really rich. I (inaudible).

(APPLAUSE)

And by the way, I'm not even saying that in a -- that's the kind of mindset, that's the kind of thinking you need for this country.

AUDIENCE MEMBER: Absolutely.

TRUMP: So -- because we got to make the country rich.

It sounds crass. Somebody said, "Oh, that's crass." It's not crass.

We got \$18 trillion in debt. We got nothing but problems.

We got a military that needs equipment all over the place. We got nuclear weapons that are obsolete.

We've got nothing. We've got Social Security that's going to be destroyed if somebody like me doesn't bring money into the country. All these other people want to cut the hell out of it. I'm not going to cut it at all; I'm going to bring money in, and we're going to save it.

(APPLAUSE)

But here's what's going to happen:

After I'm called by 30 friends of mine who contributed to different campaigns, after I'm called by all of the special interests and by the -- the donors and by the lobbyists -- and they have zero chance at convincing me, zero -- I'll get a call the next day from the head of Ford. He'll say. "Please reconsider," I'll say no.

He'll say, "Mr. President, we've decided to move the plant back to the United States, and we're not going to build it in Mexico." That's it. They have no choice. They have no choice.

There are hundreds of things like that. I'll give you another example.

TRUMP: Saudi Arabia, they make \$1 billion a day. \$1 billion a day. I love the Saudis. Many are in this building. They make a billion dollars a day. Whenever they have problems, we send over the ships. We say "we're gonna protect." What are we doing? They've got nothing but money.

If the right person asked them, they'd pay a fortune. They wouldn't be there except for us.

And believe me, you look at the border with Yemen. You remember Obama a year ago, Yemen was a great victory. Two weeks later, the place was blown up. Everybody got out -- and they kept our equipment.

They always keep our equipment. We ought to send used equipment, right? They always keep our equipment. We ought to send some real junk, because, frankly, it would be -- we ought to send our surplus. We're always losing this gorgeous brand-new stuff.

But look at that border with Saudi Arabia. Do you really think that these people are interested in Yemen? Saudi Arabia without us is gone. They're gone.

And I'm the one that made all of the right predictions about Iraq. You know, all of these politicians that I'm running against now -- it's so nice to say I'm running as opposed to if I run, if I run. I'm running.

(APPLAUSE)

But all of these politicians that I'm running against now, they're trying to disassociate. I mean, you looked at Bush, it took him five days to answer the question on Iraq. He couldn't answer the question. He didn't know. I said, "Is he intelligent?"

Then I looked at Rubio. He was unable to answer the question, is Iraq a good thing or bad thing? He didn't know. He couldn't answer the question.

How are these people gonna lead us? How are we gonna -- how are we gonna go back and make it great again? We can't. They don't have a clue. They can't lead us. They can't. They can't even answer simple questions. It was terrible.

But Saudi Arabia is in big, big trouble. Now, thanks to fracking and other things, the oil is all over the place. And I used to say it, there are ships at sea, and this was during the worst crisis, that were loaded up with oil, and the cartel kept the price up, because, again, they were smarter than our leaders. They were smarter than our leaders.

There is so much wealth out there that can make our country so rich again, and therefore make it great again. Because we need money. We're dying. We're dying. We need money. We have to do it. And we need the right people.

So Ford will come back. They'll all come back. And I will say this, this is going to be an election, in my opinion, that's based on competence.

AUDIENCE MEMBER: Yes.

TRUMP: Somebody said -- thank you, darlin'.

(APPLAUSE)

Somebody said to me the other day, a reporter, a very nice reporter, "But, Mr. Trump, you're not a nice person."

AUDIENCE MEMBER: We don't need nice.

TRUMP: That's true. But actually I am. I think I am a nice person. People that know me, like me. Does my family like me? I think so, right. Look at my family. I'm proud of my family.

(APPLAUSE)

By the way, speaking of my family, Melania, Barron, Kai, Donnie, Don, Vanessa, Tiffany, Ivanka did a great job. Did she do a great job?

(APPLAUSE)

Great. Jared (ph), Laura and Eric, I'm very proud of my family. They're a great family.

(APPLAUSE)

So the reporter said to me the other day, "But, Mr. Trump, you're not a nice person. How can you get people to vote for you?"

I said, "I don't know." I said, "I think that number one, I am a nice person. I give a lot of money away to charities and other things. I think I'm actually a very nice person."

But, I said, "This is going to be an election that's based on competence, because people are tired of these nice people. And they're tired of being ripped off by everybody in the world. And they're tired of spending more money on education than any nation in the world per capita, than any nation in the world, and we are 26th in the world, 25 countries are better than us in education. And some of them are like third world countries. But we're becoming a third world country, because of our infrastructure, our airports, our roads, everything. So one of the things I did, and I said, you know what I'll do. I'll do it. Because a lot of people said, "He'll never run. Number one, he won't want to give up his lifestyle."

TRUMP: They're right about that, but I'm doing it.

Number two, I'm a private company, so nobody knows what I'm worth. And the one thing is that when you run, you have to announce and certify to all sorts of governmental authorities your net worth.

So I said, "That's OK." I'm proud of my net worth. I've done an amazing job.

I started off -- thank you -- I started off in a small office with my father in Brooklyn and Queens, and my father said -- and I love my father. I learned so much. He was a great negotiator. I learned so much just sitting at his feet playing with blocks listening to him negotiate with subcontractors. But I learned a lot.

But he used to say, "Donald, don't go into Manhattan. That's the big leagues. We don't know anything about that. Don't do it."

I said, "I gotta go into Manhattan. I gotta build those big buildings. I gotta do it, Dad. I've gotta do it."

And after four or five years in Brooklyn, I ventured into Manhattan and did a lot of great deals -- the Grand Hyatt Hotel. I was responsible for the convention center on the west side. I did a lot of great deals, and I did them early and young. And now I'm building all over the world, and I love what I'm doing.

But they all said, a lot of the pundits on television, "Well, Donald will never run, and one of the main reasons is he's private and he's probably not as successful as everybody thinks."

So I said to myself, you know, nobody's ever going to know unless I run, because I'm really proud of my success. I really am.

(APPLAUSE)

I've employed -- I've employed tens of thousands of people over my lifetime. That means medical. That means education. That means everything.

So a large accounting firm and my accountants have been working for months, because it's big and complex, and they've put together a statement, a financial statement, just a summary. But everything will be filed eventually with the government, and we don't extensions or anything. We'll be filing it right on time. We don't need anything.

(APPLAUSE)

And it was even reported incorrectly yesterday, because they said, "He had assets of \$9 billion." So I said (ph), "No, that's the wrong number. That's the wrong number. Not assets."

So they put together this. And before I say it, I have to say this. I made it the old-fashioned way. It's real estate. You know, it's real estate.

It's labor, and it's unions good and some bad and lots of people that aren't in unions, and it's all over the place and building all over the world.

And I have assets -- big accounting firm, one of the most highly respected -- 9 billion 240 million dollars.

AUDIENCE MEMBER: Yeah.

TRUMP: And I have liabilities of about \$500 million (ph). That's long-term debt, very low interest rates.

In fact, one of the big banks came to me and said, "Donald, you don't have enough borrowings. Could we loan you \$4 billion"? I said, "I don't need it. I don't want it. And I've been there. I don't want it."

But in two seconds, they give me whatever I wanted. So I have a total net worth, and now with the increase, it'll be well-over \$10 billion. But here, a total net worth of -- net worth, not assets, not -- a net worth, after all debt, after all expenses, the greatest assets -- Trump Tower, 1290 Avenue of the Americas, Bank of America building in San Francisco, 40 Wall Street, sometimes referred to as the Trump building right opposite the New York -- many other places all over the world.

So the total is \$8,737,540,00.

Now I'm not doing that...

(APPLAUSE)

I'm not doing that to brag, because you know what? I don't have to brag. I don't have to, believe it or not.

I'm doing that to say that that's the kind of thinking our country needs. We need that thinking. We have the opposite thinking.

We have losers. We have losers. We have people that don't have it. We have people that are morally corrupt. We have people that are selling this country down the drain.

So I put together this statement, and the only reason I'm telling you about it today is because we really do have to get going, because if we have another three or four years -- you know, we're at \$8 trillion now. We're soon going to be at \$20 trillion.

TRUMP: According to the economists -- who I'm not big believers in, but, nevertheless, this is what they're saying -- that \$24 trillion -- we're very close -- that's the point of no return. \$24 trillion. We will be there soon. That's when we become Greece. That's when we become a country that's unsalvageable. And we're gonna be there very soon. We're gonna be there very soon.

AUDIENCE MEMBER: Make America strong.

TRUMP: So, just to sum up, I would do various things very quickly. I would repeal and replace the big lie, Obamacare.

AUDIENCE MEMBER: Yeah.

(APPLAUSE)

I would build a great wall, and nobody builds walls better than me, believe me, and I'll build them very inexpensively, I will build a great, great wall on our southern border. And I will have Mexico pay for that wall.

AUDIENCE MEMBER: Yes.

TRUMP: Mark my words.

(APPLAUSE)

Nobody would be tougher on ISIS than Donald Trump. Nobody.

(APPLAUSE)

I will find -- within our military, I will find the General Patton or I will find General MacArthur, I will find the right guy. I will find the guy that's going to take that military and make it really work. Nobody, nobody will be pushing us around.

AUDIENCE MEMBER: Yes.

(APPLAUSE)

TRUMP: I will stop Iran from getting nuclear weapons. And we won't be using a man like Secretary Kerry that has absolutely no concept of negotiation, who's making a horrible and laughable deal, who's just being tapped along as they make weapons right now, and then goes into a bicycle race at 72 years old, and falls and breaks his leg. I won't be doing that. And I promise I will never be in a bicycle race. That I can tell you.

(APPLAUSE)

I will immediately terminate President Obama's illegal executive order on immigration, immediately.

(APPLAUSE)

Fully support and back up the Second Amendment.

(APPLAUSE)

Now, it's very interesting. Today I heard it. Through stupidity, in a very, very hard core prison, interestingly named Clinton, two vicious murderers, two vicious people escaped, and nobody knows where they are. And a woman was on television this morning, and she said, "You know, Mr. Trump," and she was telling other people, and I actually called her, and she said, "You know, Mr. Trump, I always was against guns. I didn't want guns. And now since this happened" -- it's up in the prison area -- "my husband and I are finally in agreement, because he wanted the guns. We now have a gun on every table. We're ready to start shooting."

I said, "Very interesting."

So protect the Second Amendment.

(APPLAUSE)

End -- end Common Core. Common Core should -- it is a disaster. Bush is totally in favor of Common Core. I don't see how he can possibly get the nomination. He's weak on immigration. He's in favor of Common Core. How the hell can you vote for this guy? You just can't do it. We have to end -- education has to be local.

Rebuild the country's infrastructure.

AUDIENCE MEMBER: Yeah.

TRUMP: Nobody can do that like me. Believe me. It will be done on time, on budget, way below cost, way below what anyone ever thought.

I look at the roads being built all over the country, and I say I can build those things for one-third. What they do is unbelievable, how bad.

You know, we're building on Pennsylvania Avenue, the Old Post Office, we're converting it into one of the world's great hotels. It's gonna be the best hotel in Washington, D.C. We got it from the General Services Administration in Washington. The Obama administration. We got it. It was the most highly sought after -- or one of them, but I think the most highly sought after project in the history of General Services. We got it. People were shocked, Trump got it.

Well, I got it for two reasons. Number one, we're really good. Number two, we had a really good plan. And I'll add in the third, we had a great financial statement. Because the General Services, who are terrific people, by the way, and talented people, they wanted to do a great job. And they wanted to make sure it got built.

TRUMP: So we have to rebuild our infrastructure, our bridges, our roadways, our airports. You come into La Guardia Airport, it's like we're in a third world country. You look at the patches and the 40-year-old floor. They throw down asphalt, and they throw.

You look at these airports, we are like a third world country. And I come in from China and I come in from Qatar and I come in from different places, and they have the most incredible airports in the world. You come to back to this country and you have LAX, disaster. You have all of these disastrous airports. We have to rebuild our infrastructure.

Save Medicare, Medicaid and Social Security without cuts. Have to do it.

(APPLAUSE)

Get rid of the fraud. Get rid of the waste and abuse, but save it. People have been paying it for years. And now many of these candidates want to cut it. You save it by making the United States, by making us rich again, by taking back all of the money that's being lost.

Renegotiate our foreign trade deals.

AUDIENCE MEMBER: Yes.

(APPLAUSE)

TRUMP: Reduce our \$18 trillion in debt, because, believe me, we're in a bubble. We have artificially low interest rates. We have a stock market that, frankly, has been good to me, but I still hate to see what's happening. We have a stock market that is so bloated.

Be careful of a bubble because what you've seen in the past might be small potatoes compared to what happens. So be very, very careful.

And strengthen our military and take care of our vets. So, so important.

AUDIENCE MEMBER: Yes.

(APPLAUSE)

TRUMP: Sadly, the American dream is dead.

AUDIENCE MEMBER: Bring it back.

TRUMP: But if I get elected president I will bring it back bigger and better and stronger than ever before, and we will make America great again.

Thank you. Thank you very much.

(APPLAUSE)

Extractos subrayados en el discurso

“They didn't know the room was too big, because they didn't have anybody there. How are they going to beat ISIS? I don't think it's gonna happen. (...) Our country is in serious trouble. We don't have victories anymore. We used to have victories, but we don't have them” – Haciendo referencia posiblemente al supuesto debilitamiento de las fuerzas estadounidenses, y como se vio en el análisis de coyuntura del actual trabajo, es un argumento falso usado por Trump para fines políticos.

“When did we beat Japan at anything? They send their cars over by the millions, and what do we do? When was the last time you saw a Chevrolet in Tokyo? It doesn't exist, folks. They beat us all the time.” – Al comienzo del discurso encontramos unas ideas que se convertirían en propuestas en lo que se catalogó como desglobalización, atacando al multilateralismo del que se vale el capitalismo globalizado.

“When Mexico sends its people, they're not sending their best. They're not sending you. They're not sending you. They're sending people that have lots of problems, and they're bringing those problems with us. They're bringing drugs. They're bringing crime. They're rapists. And some, I assume, are good people. (...) It's coming from more than Mexico. It's coming from all over South and Latin America, and it's coming probably -- probably -- from the Middle East. But we don't know. Because we have no protection and we have no competence, we don't know what's happening. And it's got to stop and it's got to stop fast.” – La xenofobia. Avivando la flama del odio para que sus seguidores repelen en sus propias comunidades, de un modo u otro, a aquellos que son extranjeros, en este caso México, Latinoamérica y oriente medio, pero otras nacionalidades serán atacadas por Donald Trump en futuros discursos. Xenofobia usada para crear un cierto sentido de nacionalidad propia estadounidense, diciendo al mismo tiempo que estos extranjeros se apropian de lo que “debería ser” para ellos como lo son los puestos de trabajo; o en el caso del párrafo actual, diciendo que el crimen en su país es culpa exclusivamente de los extranjeros.

“(...) and I love the military, and I want to have the strongest military that we've ever had, and we need it more now than ever (...) We lost thousands of lives, thousands in Iraq. We have wounded soldiers, who I love, I love -- they're great -- – El uso o insinuación de favorecer a las fuerzas armadas de ese país es también un método de apelar al nacionalismo. Intentando hacer alusión al poderío en fuerza bruta que tiene Estados Unidos y que ellos mismos referencian para sentirse orgullosos de sí mismos, no todos, pero si una parte de la población. Sin mencionar la defensa de

las armas de fuego en la segunda enmienda de la constitución y que profetan grupos como la National Rifle Association (NRA), defendida también por grupos dentro de los mismos estadounidenses.

“That's right. A lot of people up there can't get jobs. They can't get jobs, because there are no jobs, because China has our jobs and Mexico has our jobs. They all have jobs.” – Alusión a los procesos contra los que están los desglobalizantes.

“Well, you need somebody, because politicians are all talk, no action. Nothing's gonna get done. They will not bring us -- believe me -- to the promised land. They will not” – Si bien esta frase no tiene que ver con el nacionalismo, la traigo a colación porque es una de las maneras en las que Trump decidió presentarse ante el público, un “outsider” de la política.

“(….)and they don't talk China. When was the last time you heard China is killing us? They're devaluing their currency to a level that you wouldn't believe. It makes it impossible for our companies to compete, impossible. They're killing us.” – Referencia el hecho del poderío de China y les echa la culpa sobre el estado del Mercado estadounidense y sus propias no tan buenas fabricas

“So I've watched the politicians. I've dealt with them all my life (...) And that's what we have= representing us. They will never make America great again. They don't even have a chance (...) Now, our country needs -- our country needs a truly great leader, and we need a truly great leader now. We need a leader that wrote "The Art of the Deal.”

(...)

We need somebody that can take the brand of the United States and make it great again. It's not great again.

(...)

We need -- we need somebody -- we need somebody that literally will take this country and make it great again. We can do that” – La frase de “make America great again” entra en acción en el discurso de Trump, una frase que da a entender que el país está en caos, una frase que resume las ideas desde las que basa sus discurso, basándose en que el país está mal y que hubo un tiempo en donde estuvo mejor.

Aunque desde mi punto de vista, lo que buscaba es que Trump buscaba un retroceso para que norteamérica fuera de los blancos solamente (posible y principalmente de hombre y no de las

mujeres) y darle más poder aun a las grandes corporaciones. Esto último se puede argumentar de la misma frase de Trump, de volver a un tiempo en donde las cosas estaban “mejor”, pero devolverse implica perder todas las luchas sociales que han ganado las mujeres, personas de color y extranjeros en ese país ¿pretende Trump entonces volver a esa norteamérica donde los más beneficiados era la raza blanca? Así parece.

“We need a leader that can bring back our jobs, can bring back our manufacturing, can bring back our military, can take care of our vets. Our vets have been abandoned.” – Toca la desglobalización, y las fuerzas armadas como simbolo de nacionalismo.

“...for president of the United States, and we are going to make our country great again” – similar a lo que dije anteriormente sobre la frase.

“It can happen. Our country has tremendous potential. We have tremendous people” – Esto no es solo a Estados Unidos, es una táctica de apelar al orgullo propio de los ciudadanos y del país.

“I will be the greatest jobs president that God ever created” - Aquí entra nuevamente el nacionalismo religioso, en donde los estadounidenses se apropian de ciertos dioses, nombrándolo siempre en discursos políticos. Desafortunadamente, a pesar de escribir en leyes y demás que existen los Estados seculares, la religión y política van muchas veces de la mano en muchos países incluyendo Estados Unidos, y Trump no pasó por alto esto.

“I’ll bring back our jobs from China, from Mexico, from Japan, from so many places. I’ll bring back our jobs, and I’ll bring back our money.” – Desglobalización

“(...) We owe Japan more than that. So they come in, they take our jobs, they take our money, and then they loan us back the money, and we pay them in interest (...)” – desglobalización

“China comes over and they dump all their stuff” – crítica a la globalización.

“it’s impossible for our people here to compete” – crítica a la globalización

“We could turn off that spigot by charging them tax until they behave properly.” – ideas desglobalizantes

“So Mexico takes a company, a car company that was going to build in Tennessee, rips it out. Everybody thought the deal was dead. Reported it in the Wall Street Journal recently. Everybody thought it was a done deal. It's going in and that's going to be it, going into Tennessee. Great state, great people.

(...) All of a sudden, at the last moment, this big car manufacturer, foreign, announces they're not going to Tennessee. They're gonna spend their \$1 billion in Mexico instead. Not good.” – Como vemos, esta es una de las criticas de los desglobalizantes hacia la globalización y el multilateralismo.

“Now, Ford announces a few weeks ago that Ford is going to build a \$2.5 billion car and truck and parts manufacturing plant in Mexico. \$2.5 billion, it's going to be one of the largest in the world. Ford. Good company.” – Desglobalización

“But I wouldn't even waste my time with this one. I would call up the head of Ford, who I know. If I was president, I'd say, "Congratulations. I understand that you're building a nice \$2.5 billion car factory in Mexico and that you're going to take your cars and sell them to the United States zero tax, just flow them across the border.”

And you say to yourself, "How does that help us," right? "How does that help us? Where is that good"? It's not.

So I would say, "Congratulations. That's the good news. Let me give you the bad news. Every car and every truck and every part manufactured in this plant that comes across the border, we're going to charge you a 35-percent tax, and that tax is going to be paid simultaneously with the transaction, and that's it. ” – Desglobalización

“And guess what? No problem. They're going to build in Mexico. They're going to take away thousands of jobs. It's very bad for us.

So under President Trump, here's what would happen:

(...)

The head of Ford will call me back, I would say within an hour after I told them the bad news. But it could be he'd want to be cool, and he'll wait until the next day. You know, they want to be a little cool.

And he'll say, "Please, please, please." He'll beg for a little while, and I'll say, "No interest." Then he'll call all sorts of political people, and I'll say, "Sorry, fellas. No interest," because I don't need anybody's money. It's nice. I don't need anybody's money." – Desglobalización

"We got a military that needs equipment all over the place. We got nuclear weapons that are obsolete." – Alusión al militarismo estadounidense. Pero detrás de los militares hay un número de empresas que se benefician ¿cuáles? Las que les brindan sus armamentos de combate e infraestructura para las misiones que pudieran o no realizar. La industria de la Guerra se está defendiendo también en este discurso.

"He'll say, "Mr. President, we've decided to move the plant back to the United States, and we're not going to build it in Mexico." That's it. They have no choice. They have no choice." – Sigue con el mismo ejemplo de la fábrica Ford y la desglobalización.

"There is so much wealth out there that can make our country so rich again, and therefore make it great again. Because we need money. We're dying. (...)" – El uso de la frase para hacer volver a Estados Unidos a un punto en el tiempo en donde los blancos eran más beneficiados y en donde las corporaciones seguían manteniendo poder y sus empleados uno menor. Ya se explicó más o menos el por qué lo interpreto así. En el pasado las personas con más beneficios eran los hombres blancos y las corporaciones, como en la época del republicano Ronald Reagan.

"We have people that are morally corrupt. We have people that are selling this country down the drain" – Haciendo referencia a la globalización y envío de partes de fábricas a otras partes por fuera de Estados Unidos.

"I would build a great wall, and nobody builds walls better than me, believe me, and I'll build them very inexpensively, I will build a great, great wall on our southern border. And I will have Mexico pay for that wall." – Xenofobia. Nuevamente con la idea de repeler la entrada de extranjeros ya que, según Trump y sus seguidores, los extranjeros son los que ocasionan el crimen en ese país. Los estadounidenses parece que no son los culpables de ningún crimen según las palabras de Donald y sus seguidores. Sobre el tema de México, por medio de un análisis detallado de estadísticas y otros estudios en migración, Wise (2016)⁶⁷ argumenta que los 11 millones de inmigrantes ilegales⁶⁸ son

⁶⁷ Más sobre su estudio en: <http://www.redalyc.org/pdf/660/66049818006.pdf>

⁶⁸ Que residen en el país del norte en 2016.

parte fundamental de la economía Estadounidense. El solo hecho de que Trump y otros líderes políticos propongan y hayan propuesto, muestra un desconocimiento general sobre el papel fundamental de los extranjeros, como los mexicanos, en el crecimiento del país. Y no son solo los inmigrantes ilegales si no también los más de 30 millones de descendencia mexicana que viven en el país del norte los que aportan constantemente a la economía norteamericana.

“I will find -- within our military, I will find the General Patton or I will find General MacArthur, I will find the right guy. I will find the guy that's going to take that military and make it really work. Nobody, nobody will be pushing us around.” – Ejército como símbolo nacionalista estadounidense. Fortalecer el ejército (que ya es fuerte a pesar de lo que diga Trump), el símbolo de poder nacional que muchos estadounidenses defiende.

“I will immediately terminate President Obama's illegal executive order on immigration, immediately.” – Haciendo referencia a un acto administrativo del presidente Barak Obama que defendía a los que llevan un tiempo viviendo en el país. Dada la xenofobia manejada en su discurso en general, el ataque a esa orden ejecutiva le parece algo normal. De igual manera, y conociendo sus discursos pasados, Trump dice estas palabras como futura política pública bajo la pretensión de que el supuesto exceso de extranjeros que entra al país es lo que ocasiona problemas como el crimen y la pérdida de trabajos de las que hablan sus seguidores.

“Fully support and back up the Second Amendment.” – Defensa de las armas y su venta pública. Algo que mencioné antes que las armas pueden ser otro símbolo nacionalista, ligado al mismo tiempo al ejército, policía, y demás.

“Now, it's very interesting. Today I heard it. Through stupidity, in a very, very hard core prison, interestingly named Clinton, two vicious murderers, two vicious people escaped, and nobody knows where they are. And a woman was on television this morning, and she said, "You know, Mr. Trump," and she was telling other people, and I actually called her, and she said, "You know, Mr. Trump, I always was against guns. I didn't want guns. And now since this happened" -- it's up in the prison area -- "my husband and I are finally in agreement, because he wanted the guns. We now have a gun on every table. We're ready to start shooting.” – Una historia que es muy fácil que sea mentira, todo con el fin de hacer creer que todos quieren las armas en ese país. Pero es un debate que hace del tema y las armas un símbolo nacionalismo, por las razones anteriormente expresadas. El arma

como símbolo de poder, un poder que está relacionado con la industria militarista y policial de Estados Unidos, un poder con el cual han ganado estatus en el mundo actual, sin dejar de lado el poder económico que han amasado.

“(…)

So protect the Second Amendment. (...)” – La defensa de las armas va ligada a la idea de poder que manejan como tema nacionalista.

“(…) *He's weak on immigration (...)*” – Ideas xenofóbicas atacando las políticas migratorias de Obama. Esta frase del discurso va ligada a la idea de que hay una pérdida de la identidad nacional estadounidense, y a la supuesta pérdida de trabajos que podrían ser para norteamericanos, entre otras ideas.

“(…) *You save it by making the United States, by making us rich again, by taking back all of the money that's being lost.*” – Desglobalizantes

“And strengthen our military and take care of our vets. So, so important” – Ejército como símbolo de protección del país mientras al mismo tiempo un símbolo nacionalista.

“But if I get elected president I will bring it back bigger and better and stronger than ever before, and we will make America great again” – Hablando sobre volver grande de nuevo a norteamérica. Todo bajo la idea de que antes era mejor y ya expuse que ese “antes” es donde solo un grupo de personas tenía más derechos. Aquí se puede traer la idea del “sueño americano”, ideal por el que muchos migran hacia ese país del norte, un “sueño” que realmente es una ilusión. La verdadera razón por la que ese sueño “está muerto”, es por personas como el entonces candidato Trump, los dueños de las grandes corporaciones, el 1% más rico que hace lo que pueden para mantener oprimidos y dominados a las personas. El sueño americano es solo eso, una idea para ilusionar a las personas, pensando que eventualmente podrán ser como esos más ricos, cuando por detrás de las cortinas esa elite usa un sistema para evitar que muchos accedan a ese modo de vida.

Eliminando la palabra “TRUMP” del inicio de los párrafos dando a entender que el que habla es el entonces candidato. Eliminando las intervenciones de las audiencias y la palabra “Applause”. Encuentro que el transcript del discurso contiene un total de alrededor de 6.421 palabras y alrededor de 1436 de esas fueron usadas en frases que hacen alusión al nacionalismo, esto se hizo cogiendo frase por frase y valiéndome del contador de palabras integrado en Word.

Análisis - discurso Política exterior

Contexto

El discurso fue dado en el Mayflower Hotel de Washington, D.C. (Estado de Columbia) la capital del país. Es un Estado que ha votado predominantemente por demócratas en las elecciones presidenciales, al menos desde que la enmienda 23 a la constitución política de ese país le proporcionó derecho a hacer parte del colegio electoral⁶⁹. Washington es una ciudad capital muy turística principalmente por todos los monumentos y edificaciones gubernamentales que se han hecho famosas por la industria del entretenimiento y por el valor histórico que representa para el país mismo, una ciudad que ha visto una recuperación interna de los problemas que la aquejaban en la segunda mitad del siglo XX ⁷⁰. Para 2016, en la ciudad se discutía una propuesta para volverse Estado, añadiéndose a la larga pelea⁷¹ para obtener representación mayor, propuesta aprobada⁷² por la ciudadanía pero que no entró en juego en estas elecciones presidenciales.

La **audiencia** escuchaba y aplaudía por una de las razones expuestas en el primer discurso aquí analizado, solo que en este caso si eran simpatizantes de Trump en su mayoría. Los halagos y aplausos a su discurso muestra la aceptación positiva de los receptores ante las palabras del entonces candidato. Las medidas proteccionistas que tomaría y demás todas eran bienvenidas por este publico que aparentemente prefería o no les importaban los explosivos comentarios de Trump contra aliados en el extranjero e incluso naciones vecinas.

El discurso y sus fragmentos con tinte nacionalista

Discurso Sobre Política Exterior⁷³

Thank you for the opportunity to speak to you, and thank you to the Center for National Interest for honoring me with this invitation. It truly is a great honor. I'd like to talk today about how to develop

⁶⁹ Información sobre los resultados electorales en la capital estadounidense en:

https://www.270towin.com/states/District_of_Columbia

⁷⁰ Historia sobre esta ciudad capital la podemos encontrar en:

https://planning.dc.gov/sites/default/files/dc/sites/op/page_content/attachments/Chapter%201_1.pdf

⁷¹ Artículo detallando algunas de esas luchas. Recuperado en: <https://www.smithsonianmag.com/smithsonian-institution/how-washington-dc-defined-its-epic-struggle-for-representation-180957613/>

⁷² Información sobre el referéndum en:

https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/2016_Washington,_D.C.,_statehood_referendum

⁷³ Se puede encontrar en: <https://time.com/4309786/read-donald-trumps-america-first-foreign-policy-speech/>

a new foreign policy direction for our country, one that replaces randomness with purpose, ideology with strategy, and chaos with peace.

TRUMP: It's time to shake the rust off America's foreign policy. It's time to invite new voices and new visions into the fold, something we have to do. The direction I will outline today will also return us to a timeless principle. My foreign policy will always put the interests of the American people and American security above all else. It has to be first. Has to be.

That will be the foundation of every single decision that I will make. America...

(APPLAUSE)

America first will be the major and overriding theme of my administration. But to chart our path forward, we must first briefly take a look back. We have a lot to be proud of.

In the 1940s we saved the world. The greatest generation beat back the Nazis and Japanese imperialists. Then we saved the world again. This time, from totalitarianism and communism. The Cold War lasted for decades but, guess what, we won and we won big. Democrats and Republicans working together got Mr. Gorbachev to heed the words of President Reagan, our great president, when he said, tear down this wall.

(APPLAUSE)

History will not forget what he did. A very special man and president. Unfortunately, after the Cold War our foreign policy veered badly off course. We failed to develop a new vision for a new time. In fact, as time went on, our foreign policy began to make less and less sense. Logic was replaced with foolishness and arrogance, which led to one foreign policy disaster after another.

They just kept coming and coming. We went from mistakes in Iraq to Egypt to Libya, to President Obama's line in the sand in Syria. Each of these actions have helped to throw the region into chaos and gave ISIS the space it needs to grow and prosper. Very bad. It all began with a dangerous idea that we could make western democracies out of countries that had no experience or interests in becoming a western democracy.

We tore up what institutions they had and then were surprised at what we unleashed. Civil war, religious fanaticism, thousands of Americans and just killed be lives, lives, lives wasted. Horribly

wasted. Many trillions of dollars were lost as a result. The vacuum was created that ISIS would fill. Iran, too, would rush in and fill that void much to their really unjust enrichment.

They have benefited so much, so sadly, for us. Our foreign policy is a complete and total disaster. No vision. No purpose. No direction. No strategy. Today I want to identify five main weaknesses in our foreign policy.

First, our resources are totally over extended. President Obama has weakened our military by weakening our economy. He's crippled us with wasteful spending, massive debt, low growth, a huge trade deficit and open borders. Our manufacturing trade deficit with the world is now approaching \$1 trillion a year.

We're rebuilding other countries while weakening our own. Ending the theft of American jobs will give us resources we need to rebuild our military, which has to happen and regain our financial independence and strength. I am the only person running for the presidency who understands this and this is a serious problem.

I'm the only one — believe me, I know them all, I'm the only one who knows how to fix it.

(APPLAUSE)

Secondly, our allies are not paying their fair share, and I've been talking about this recently a lot. Our allies must contribute toward their financial, political, and human costs, have to do it, of our tremendous security burden. But many of them are simply not doing so.

TRUMP: They look at the United States as weak and forgiving and feel no obligation to honor their agreements with us. In NATO, for instance, only 4 of 28 other member countries besides America, are spending the minimum required 2 percent of GDP on defense. We have spent trillions of dollars over time on planes, missiles, ships, equipment, building up our military to provide a strong defense for Europe and Asia.

The countries we are defending must pay for the cost of this defense, and if not, the U.S. must be prepared to let these countries defend themselves. We have no choice.

(APPLAUSE)

The whole world will be safer if our allies do their part to support our common defense and security. A Trump administration will lead a free world that is properly armed and funded, and funded beautifully.

Thirdly, our friends are beginning to think they can't depend on us. We've had a president who dislikes our friends and bows to our enemies, something that we've never seen before in the history of our country. He negotiated a disastrous deal with Iran, and then we watched them ignore its terms even before the ink was dry. Iran cannot be allowed to have a nuclear weapon, cannot be allowed. Remember that, cannot be allowed to have a nuclear weapon.

(APPLAUSE)

And under a Trump administration, will never, ever be allowed to have that nuclear weapon.

(APPLAUSE)

All of this without even mentioning the humiliation of the United States with Iran's treatment of our ten captured sailors — so vividly I remember that day. In negotiation, you must be willing to walk. The Iran deal, like so many of our worst agreements, is the result of not being willing to leave the table.

When the other side knows you're not going to walk, it becomes absolutely impossible to win — you just can't win. At the same time, your friends need to know that you will stick by the agreements that you have with them. You've made that agreement, you have to stand by it and the world will be a better place. President Obama gutted our missile defense program and then abandoned our missile defense plans with Poland and the Czech Republic. He supported the ouster of a friendly regime in Egypt that had a longstanding peace treaty with Israel, and then helped bring the Muslim Brotherhood to power in its place.

Israel, our great friend and the one true democracy in the Middle East has been snubbed and criticized by an administration that lacks moral clarity. Just a few days ago, Vice President Biden again criticized Israel, a force for justice and peace, for acting as an impatient peace area in the region.

President Obama has not been a friend to Israel. He has treated Iran with tender love and care and made it a great power. Iran has, indeed, become a great, great power in just a very short period of

time, because of what we've done. All of the expense and all at the expense of Israel, our allies in the region and very importantly, the United States itself.

We've picked fights with our oldest friends, and now they're starting to look elsewhere for help. Remember that. Not good.

Fourth, our rivals no longer respect us. In fact, they're just as confused as our allies, but in an even bigger problem is they don't take us seriously anymore. The truth is they don't respect us. When President Obama landed in Cuba on Air Force One, no leader was there, nobody, to greet him.

Perhaps an incident without precedent in the long and prestigious history of Air Force One. Then amazingly, the same thing happened in Saudi Arabia. It's called no respect. Absolutely no respect.

TRUMP: Do you remember when the president made a long and expensive trip to Copenhagen, Denmark, to get the Olympics for our country, and after this unprecedented effort, it was announced that the United States came in fourth — fourth place? The president of the United States making this trip — unprecedented — comes in fourth place. He should have known the result before making such an embarrassing commitment. We were laughed at all over the world, as we have been many, many times.

The list of humiliations go on and on and on. President Obama watches helplessly as North Korea increases its aggression and expands further and further with its nuclear reach. Our president has allowed China to continue its economic assault on American jobs and wealth, refusing to enforce trade deals and apply leverage on China necessary to rein in North Korea. We have the leverage. We have the power over China, economic power, and people don't understand it. And with that economic power, we can rein in and we can get them to do what they have to do with North Korea, which is totally out of control.

He has even allowed China to steal government secrets with cyber attacks and engaged in industrial espionage against the United States and its companies. We've let our rivals and challengers think they can get away with anything, and they do. They do at will. It always happens. If President Obama's goal had been to weaken America, he could not have done a better job.

Finally, America no longer has a clear understanding of our foreign policy goals. Since the end of the Cold War and the breakup of the Soviet Union, we've lacked a coherent foreign policy. One day,

we're bombing Libya and getting rid of a dictator to foster democracy for civilians. The next day, we're watching the same civilians suffer while that country falls and absolutely falls apart. Lives lost, massive moneys lost. The world is a different place.

We're a humanitarian nation, but the legacy of the Obama-Clinton interventions will be weakness, confusion and disarray, a mess. We've made the Middle East more unstable and chaotic than ever before. We left Christians subject to intense persecution and even genocide.

(APPLAUSE)

We have done nothing to help the Christians, nothing, and we should always be ashamed for that, for that lack of action. Our actions in Iraq, Libya and Syria have helped unleash ISIS, and we're in a war against radical Islam, but President Obama won't even name the enemy, and unless you name the enemy, you will never ever solve the problem.

(APPLAUSE)

Hillary Clinton also refuses to say the words radical Islam, even as she pushes for a massive increase in refugees coming into our country. After Secretary Clinton's failed intervention in Libya, Islamic terrorists in Benghazi took down our consulate and killed our ambassador and three brave Americans. Then, instead of taking charge that night, Hillary Clinton decided to go home and sleep. Incredible.

Clinton blames it all on a video, an excuse that was a total lie, proven to be absolutely a total lie. Our ambassador was murdered and our secretary of state misled the nation. And, by the way, she was not awake to take that call at 3 o'clock in the morning. And now ISIS is making millions and millions of dollars a week selling Libya oil. And you know what? We don't blockade, we don't bomb, we don't do anything about it. It's almost as if our country doesn't even know what's happening, which could be a fact and could be true.

TRUMP: This will all change when I become president.

To our friends and allies, I say America is going to be strong again. America is going to be reliable again. It's going to be a great and reliable ally again. It's going to be a friend again. We're going to finally have a coherent foreign policy based upon American interests and the shared interests of our allies.

(APPLAUSE)

We're getting out of the nation-building business and instead focusing on creating stability in the world. Our moments of greatest strength came when politics ended at the water's edge. We need a new rational American foreign policy, informed by the best minds and supported by both parties, and it will be by both parties — Democrats, Republicans, independents, everybody, as well as by our close allies.

This is how we won the Cold War and it's how we will win our new future struggles, which may be many, which may be complex, but we will win if I become president.

(APPLAUSE)

First, we need a long-term plan to halt the spread and reach of radical Islam. Containing the spread of radical Islam must be a major foreign policy goal of the United States and indeed the world. Events may require the use of military force, but it's also a philosophical struggle, like our long struggle in the Cold War.

In this, we're going to be working very closely with our allies in the Muslim world, all of which are at risk from radical Islamic violence, attacks and everything else. It is a dangerous world, more dangerous now than it has ever been.

We should work — thank you.

(APPLAUSE)

We should work together with any nation in the region that is threatened by the rise of radical Islam. But this has to be a two-way street. They must also be good to us. Remember that. They have to be good to us, no longer one way. It's now two-way. And remember, us and all we're doing, they have to appreciate what we've done to them. We're going to help, but they have to appreciate what we've done for them. The struggle against radical Islam also takes place in our homeland. There are scores of recent migrants inside our borders charged with terrorism. For every case known to the public, there are dozens and dozens more. We must stop importing extremism through senseless immigration policies. We have no idea where these people are coming from. There's no documentation. There's no paperwork. There's nothing. We have to be smart. We have to be vigilant.

A pause for reassessment will help us to prevent the next San Bernardino or frankly, much worse. All you have to do is look at the World Trade Center and September 11th, one of the great catastrophes, in my opinion, the single greatest military catastrophe in the history of our country; worse than Pearl Harbor because you take a look at what's happened, and citizens were attacked, as opposed to the military being attacked — one of the true great catastrophes.

And then there's ISIS. I have a simple message for them. Their days are numbered. I won't tell them where and I won't tell them how. We must...

(APPLAUSE)

... we must as a nation be more unpredictable. We are totally predictable. We tell everything. We're sending troops. We tell them. We're sending something else. We have a news conference. We have to be unpredictable. And we have to be unpredictable starting now.

But they're going to be gone. ISIS will be gone if I'm elected president. And they'll be gone quickly. They will be gone very, very quickly.

(APPLAUSE)

TRUMP: Secondly, we have to rebuild our military and our economy. The Russians and Chinese have rapidly expanded their military capability, but look at what's happened to us. Our nuclear weapons arsenal, our ultimate deterrent, has been allowed to atrophy and is desperately in need of modernization and renewal. And it has to happen immediately. Our active duty armed forces have shrunk from 2 million in 1991 to about 1.3 million today. The Navy has shrunk from over 500 ships to 272 ships during this same period of time. The Air Force is about one-third smaller than 1991. Pilots flying B-52s in combat missions today. These planes are older than virtually everybody in this room.

And what are we doing about this? President Obama has proposed a 2017 defense budget that in real dollars, cuts nearly 25 percent from what we were spending in 2011. Our military is depleted and we're asking our generals and military leaders to worry about global warming.

We will spend what we need to rebuild our military. It is the cheapest, single investment we can make. We will develop, build and purchase the best equipment known to mankind. Our military dominance must be unquestioned, and I mean unquestioned, by anybody and everybody.

But we will look for savings and spend our money wisely. In this time of mounting debt, right now we have so much debt that nobody even knows how to address the problem. But I do. No one dollar can be wasted. Not one single dollar can we waste. We're also going to have to change our trade, immigration and economic policies to make our economy strong again. And to put Americans first again.

This will ensure that our own workers, right here in America, get the jobs and higher pay that will grow our tax revenues, increase our economic might as a nation, make us strong financially again. So, so important. We need to think smart about areas where our technological superiority, and nobody comes close, gives us an edge.

This includes 3D printing, artificial intelligence and cyber warfare. A great country also takes care of its warriors. Our commitment to them is absolute, and I mean absolute. A trump administration will give our servicemen and women the best equipment and support in the world when they serve and where they serve. And the best care in the world when they return as veterans and they come back home to civilian life. Our veterans...

(APPLAUSE)

Our veterans have not been treated fairly or justly. These are our great people and we must treat them fairly. We must even treat them really, really well and that will happen under the Trump administration.

(APPLAUSE)

Finally, we must develop a foreign policy based on American interests. Businesses do not succeed when they lose sight of their core interests and neither do countries. Look at what happened in the 1990s. Our embassies in Kenya and Tanzania — and this was a horrible time for us — were attacked. and 17 brave sailors were killed on the USS Cole.

And what did we do? It seemed we put more effort into adding China into the World Trade organization, which has been a total disaster for the United States. Frankly, we spent more time on that than we did in stopping Al Qaida. We even had an opportunity to take out Osama bin Laden and we didn't do it

And then we got hit at the World Trade Center and the Pentagon. Again, the worst attack on our country in its history. Our foreign policy goals must be based on America's core national security interests. And the following will be my priorities.

In the Middle East our goals must be, and I mean must be, to defeat terrorists and promote regional stability, not radical change. We need to be clear sighted about the groups that will never be anything other than enemies. And believe me, we have groups that no matter what you do, they will be the enemy.

TRUMP: We have to be smart enough to recognize who those groups are, who those people are, and not help them. And we must only be generous to those that prove they are indeed our friends.

(APPLAUSE)

We desire to live peacefully and in friendship with Russia and China. We have serious differences with these two nations, and must regard them with open eyes, but we are not bound to be adversaries. We should seek common ground based on shared interests.

Russia, for instance, has also seen the horror of Islamic terrorism. I believe an easing of tensions, and improved relations with Russia from a position of strength only is possible, absolutely possible. Common sense says this cycle, this horrible cycle of hostility must end and ideally will end soon. Good for both countries.

Some say the Russians won't be reasonable. I intend to find out. If we can't make a deal under my administration, a deal that's great — not good, great — for America, but also good for Russia, then we will quickly walk from the table. It's as simple as that. We're going to find out.

Fixing our relations with China is another important step — and really toward creating an even more prosperous period of time. China respects strength and by letting them take advantage of us economically, which they are doing like never before, we have lost all of their respect.

We have a massive trade deficit with China, a deficit that we have to find a way quickly, and I mean quickly, to balance. A strong and smart America is an America that will find a better friend in China, better than we have right now. Look at what China is doing in the South China Sea. They're not supposed to be doing it.

No respect for this country or this president. We can both benefit or we can both go our separate ways. If need be, that's what's going to have to happen.

After I'm elected president, I will also call for a summit with our NATO allies and a separate summit with our Asian allies. In these summits, we will not only discuss a rebalancing of financial commitments, but take a fresh look at how we can adopt new strategies for tackling our common challenges. For instance, we will discuss how we can upgrade NATO's outdated mission and structure, grown out of the Cold War to confront our shared challenges, including migration and Islamic terrorism.

(APPLAUSE)

I will not hesitate to deploy military force when there is no alternative. But if America fights, it must only fight to win.

(APPLAUSE)

I will never send our finest into battle unless necessary, and I mean absolutely necessary, and will only do so if we have a plan for victory with a capital V.

(APPLAUSE)

Our goal is peace and prosperity, not war and destruction. The best way to achieve those goals is through a disciplined, deliberate and consistent foreign policy. With President Obama and Secretary Clinton we've had the exact opposite — a reckless, rudderless and aimless foreign policy, one that has blazed the path of destruction in its wake.

After losing thousands of lives and spending trillions of dollars, we are in far worst shape in the Middle East than ever, ever before. I challenge anyone to explain the strategic foreign policy vision of Obama/Clinton. It has been a complete and total disaster.

I will also be prepared to deploy America's economic resources. Financial leverage and sanctions can be very, very persuasive, but we need to use them selectively and with total determination.

TRUMP: Our power will be used if others do not play by the rules. In other words, if they do not treat us fairly. Our friends and enemies must know that if I draw a line in the sand, I will enforce that line in the sand. Believe me.

(APPLAUSE)

However, unlike other candidates for the presidency, war and aggression will not be my first instinct. You cannot have a foreign policy without diplomacy. A superpower understands that caution and restraint are really truly signs of strength. Although not in government service, I was totally against the war in Iraq, very proudly, saying for many years that it would destabilize the Middle East. Sadly, I was correct, and the biggest beneficiary has been has been Iran, who is systematically taking over Iraq and gaining access to their very rich oil reserves, something it has wanted to do for decades.

And now, to top it off, we have ISIS. My goal is to establish a foreign policy that will endure for several generations. That's why I also look and have to look for talented experts with approaches and practical ideas, rather than surrounding myself with those who have perfect resumes but very little to brag about except responsibility for a long history of failed policies and continued losses at war. We have to look to new people.

(APPLAUSE)

We have to look to new people because many of the old people frankly don't know what they're doing, even though they may look awfully good writing in the New York Times or being watched on television.

Finally, I will work with our allies to reinvigorate Western values and institutions. Instead of trying to spread universal values that not everybody shares or wants, we should understand that strengthening and promoting Western civilization and its accomplishments will do more to inspire positive reforms around the world than military interventions.

(APPLAUSE)

These are my goals as president. I will seek a foreign policy that all Americans, whatever their party, can support, so important, and which our friends and allies will respect and totally welcome. The world must know that we do not go abroad in search of enemies, that we are always happy when old

enemies become friends and when old friends become allies, that's what we want. We want them to be our allies.

We want the world to be — we want to bring peace to the world. Too much destruction out there, too many destructive weapons. The power of weaponry is the single biggest problem that we have today in the world.

To achieve these goals, Americans must have confidence in their country and its leadership. Again, many Americans must wonder why we our politicians seem more interested in defending the borders of foreign countries than in defending their own. Americans...

(APPLAUSE)

Americans must know that we're putting the American people first again on trade.

(APPLAUSE)

So true. On trade, on immigration, on foreign policy. The jobs, incomes and security of the American worker will always be my first priority.

(APPLAUSE)

No country has ever prospered that failed to put its own interests first. Both our friends and our enemies put their countries above ours and we, while being fair to them, must start doing the same. We will no longer surrender this country or its people to the false song of globalism. The nation-state remains the true foundation for happiness and harmony. I am skeptical of international unions that tie us up and bring America down and will never enter...

(APPLAUSE)

TRUMP: And under my administration, we will never enter America into any agreement that reduces our ability to control our own affairs.

(APPLAUSE)

NAFTA, as an example, has been a total disaster for the United States and has emptied our states — literally emptied our states of our manufacturing and our jobs. And I've just gotten to see it. I've

toured Pennsylvania. I've toured New York. I've toured so many of the states. They have been cleaned out. Their manufacturing is gone.

Never again, only the reverse — and I have to say this strongly — never again; only the reverse will happen. We will keep our jobs and bring in new ones. There will be consequences for the companies that leave the United States only to exploit it later. They fire the people. They take advantage of the United States. There will be consequences for those companies. Never again.

Under a Trump administration, no American citizen will ever again feel that their needs come second to the citizens of a foreign country.

(APPLAUSE)

I will view as president the world through the clear lens of American interests. I will be America's greatest defender and most loyal champion. We will not apologize for becoming successful again, but will instead embrace the unique heritage that makes us who we are.

The world is most peaceful and most prosperous when America is strongest. America will continue and continue forever to play the role of peacemaker. We will always help save lives and indeed humanity itself, but to play the role, we must make America strong again.

(APPLAUSE)

And always — always, always, we must make, and we have to look at it from every angle, and we have no choice, we must make America respected again. We must make America truly wealthy again. And we must — we have to and we will make America great again. And if we do that — and if we do that, perhaps this century can be the most peaceful and prosperous the world has ever, ever known. Thank you very much, everybody. I appreciate it. Thank you.

(APPLAUSE)

Thank you very much.

(APPLAUSE)

Thank you.

Extractos subrayados en el discurso

“The direction I will outline today will also return us to a timeless principle. My foreign policy will always put the interests of the American people and American security above all else. It has to be first. Has to be.” – Desglobalización

“America first will be the major and overriding theme of my administration. But to chart our path forward, we must first briefly take a look back. We have a lot to be proud of.

In the 1940s we saved the world. The greatest generation beat back the Nazis and Japanese imperialists. Then we saved the world again. This time, from totalitarianism and communism. The Cold War lasted for decades but, guess what, we won and we won big. Democrats and Republicans working together got Mr. Gorbachev to heed the words of President Reagan, our great president, when he said, tear down this wall.” – Trump usa el nacionalismo en este caso para decirle al Estados Unidos que lo escucha, que ellos son como “los salvadores” del planeta, un nacionalismo que recordemos les hace creer que tienen la “misión” de hacer el mundo “un lugar mejor” como explicó el autor McCartney (2004, pp. 403). Un autor que, como se expuso en el capítulo religión y poder, da un viaje al pasado del país en búsqueda de la identidad que los estadounidenses abrazan, y cómo se les metió en la cabeza que son ellos los únicos o los protagonistas de una misión de llevar ciertos valores al mundo; una identidad que tratan de impartir (imponer) en el resto de actores internacionales.

“We’re rebuilding other countries while weakening our own. Ending the theft of American jobs will give us resources we need to rebuild our military, which has to happen and regain our financial independence and strength. I am the only person running for the presidency who understands this and this is a serious problem.” – Nacionalismo desglobalizante. Alusión a que los trabajos deben ser exclusivamente para los norteamericanos y no deben llevarse a otros países, concentrar las políticas en el interior del país y dejar de preocuparse por otros países.

“Recuperar nuestra independencia financiera” palabras graciosas del candidato, como si Estados Unidos no fuese lo suficientemente rico. Pero este trabajo no es para demostrar todas las mentiras que dice Trump cuando habla, es para poner en contexto el uso del discurso nacionalista en la campaña presidencial.

“Secondly, our allies are not paying their fair share, and I’ve been talking about this recently a lot. Our allies must contribute toward their financial, political, and human costs, have to do it, of our tremendous security burden. But many of them are simply not doing so.

They look at the United States as weak and forgiving and feel no obligation to honor their agreements with us. In NATO, for instance, only 4 of 28 other member countries besides America, are spending the minimum required 2 percent of GDP on defense. We have spent trillions of dollars over time on planes, missiles, ships, equipment, building up our military to provide a strong defense for Europe and Asia.

The countries we are defending must pay for the cost of this defense, and if not, the U.S. must be prepared to let these countries defend themselves. We have no choice.” – Refiriendose al desequilibrio que hay en cuanto a lo invertido en la NATO con respecto de otros países integrantes. Trump insta a que paguen lo que él dice que es “justo” que paguen los demás integrantes. Desde el punto de vista del candidato, todo lo que supuestamente EEUU aporta en materia internacional podría estarse usando dentro del país en vez de estarse usando para “defender” otros.

Personalmente para esto, lo mejor sería que dejaran de invertir tanto en las fuerzas militares, una cantidad enorme del producto interno bruto de ese país.

“(…) Our president has allowed China to continue its economic assault on American jobs and wealth, refusing to enforce trade deals and apply leverage on China necessary to rein in North Korea.” – Refiriendose a la perdida de trabajos de norteamerica frente a China y las políticas monetarias que este último ha realizado y que afecta el comercio internacional, el cual eventualmente golpea a Estados Unidos.

“(…) He has even allowed China to steal government secrets with cyber attacks and engaged in industrial espionage against the United States and its companies.” – Protección de la industria del propio país.

“(…) We’ve made the Middle East more unstable and chaotic than ever before. We left Christians subject to intense persecution and even genocide

We have done nothing to help the Christians, nothing, and we should always be ashamed for that, for that lack of action. Our actions in Iraq, Libya and Syria have helped unleash ISIS, and we’re in a war against radical Islam, but President Obama won’t even name the enemy, and unless you name the enemy, you will never ever solve the problem.

Hillary Clinton also refuses to say the words radical Islam, even as she pushes for a massive increase in refugees coming into our country. After Secretary Clinton's failed intervention in Libya, Islamic terrorists in Benghazi took down our consulate and killed our ambassador and three brave Americans. Then, instead of taking charge that night, Hillary Clinton decided to go home and sleep. Incredible.” – El párrafo en cuestión se refiere a su oponente del momento Hillary Clinton y la critica por supuestamente ella no haber defendido los intereses de Norteamérica cuando fue secretaria de Estado, después de un atentado en Benghazi. Catalogo esto como nacionalismo, porque para Trump la política internacional siempre debe ir encaminada a defender primero a “América”. De igual manera, y a mi parecer, los constantes ataques a otra religión, sea cual sea el motivo (justificado o no), lo hace para mostrar los “peligros extranjeros” que pueden llegar al país.

“To our friends and allies, I say America is going to be strong again. America is going to be reliable again. It's going to be a great and reliable ally again. It's going to be a friend again. We're going to finally have a coherent foreign policy based upon American interests and the shared interests of our allies.” – El poder nacional y mundial del país.

Una de las tantas contradicciones que Trump dice en sus distintos “discursos” y en el mismo párrafo... ¿la política exterior estará basada en los intereses de Norte América Y TAMBIÉN en los intereses de los aliados? Ridículo. Esto viene de un candidato que se ha encargado de decir “America First”.

“(...) Our moments of greatest strength came when politics ended at the water's edge. (...)” – Insinuación al slogan de “America First” y una implementación de políticas cuyo foco no sean las naciones extranjeras.

“We should work together with any nation in the region that is threatened by the rise of radical Islam. But this has to be a two-way street. They must also be good to us. Remember that. They have to be good to us, no longer one way. It's now two-way. And remember, us and all we're doing, they have to appreciate what we've done to them. We're going to help, but they have to appreciate what we've done for them. The struggle against radical Islam also takes place in our homeland.” – Critica a la globalización.

“There are scores of recent migrants inside our borders charged with terrorism. For every case known to the public, there are dozens and dozens more. We must stop importing extremism through senseless immigration policies. We have no idea where these people are coming from. There’s no documentation. There’s no paperwork. There’s nothing. We have to be smart. We have to be vigilant.” – Uso nuevamente de la xenofobia. Diciendo que los que llegan del extranjero llevan consigo el crimen

“A pause for reassessment will help us to prevent the next San Bernardino or frankly, much worse. All you have to do is look at the World Trade Center and September 11th, one of the great catastrophes, in my opinion, the single greatest military catastrophe in the history of our country; worse than Pearl Harbor because you take a look at what’s happened, and citizens were attacked, as opposed to the military being attacked — one of the true great catastrophes.” – Alusión al ejército y la pérdida de vidas estadounidenses. Discurso similar como el usado por el entonces presidente Bush hijo para que los distintos países lo acompañaran en la guerra sin sentido contra Iraq.

“Secondly, we have to rebuild our military and our economy. The Russians and Chinese have rapidly expanded their military capability, but look at what’s happened to us. Our nuclear weapons arsenal, our ultimate deterrent, has been allowed to atrophy and is desperately in need of modernization and renewal. And it has to happen immediately. Our active duty armed forces have shrunk from 2 million in 1991 to about 1.3 million today. The Navy has shrunk from over 500 ships to 272 ships during this same period of time. The Air Force is about one-third smaller than 1991. Pilots flying B-52s in combat missions today. These planes are older than virtually everybody in this room.

And what are we doing about this? President Obama has proposed a 2017 defense budget that in real dollars, cuts nearly 25 percent from what we were spending in 2011. Our military is depleted and we’re asking our generals and military leaders to worry about global warming.

We will spend what we need to rebuild our military. It is the cheapest, single investment we can make. We will develop, build and purchase the best equipment known to mankind. Our military dominance must be unquestioned, and I mean unquestioned, by anybody and everybody” – es normal hacer mención al ejército en discursos políticos pero Trump lo está haciendo durante un discurso cuyo fin son la futura política exterior. Y esto lo hace para nuevamente usar al ejército y el poder de Estados Unidos como símbolo nacional, proyectando esto hacia el exterior.

Gracioso como Trump dice “Cheapest, single investment we can make” cuando el gasto en defense es a lo que más se le invierte en ese país.

“We’re also going to have to change our trade, immigration and economic policies to make our economy strong again. And to put Americans first again.” – Nacionalismo.

“This will ensure that our own workers, right here in America, get the jobs and higher pay that will grow our tax revenues, increase our economic might as a nation, make us strong financially again.”
– Apelando a la “superioridad” de norteamérica

“A great country also takes care of its warriors. Our commitment to them is absolute, and I mean absolute. A trump administration will give our servicemen and women the best equipment and support in the world when they serve and where they serve. And the best care in the world when they return as veterans and they come back home to civilian life. Our veterans...

Our veterans have not been treated fairly or justly. These are our great people and we must treat them fairly. We must even treat them really, really well and that will happen under the Trump administration.” – Fuerzas militares, poderío military.

“Finally, we must develop a foreign policy based on American interests.” – America First como política de los intereses nacionalistas.

“It seemed we put more effort into adding China into the World Trade organization, which has been a total disaster for the United States.” – Desglobalización

“Our foreign policy goals must be based on America’s core national security interests.” – America first.

“And we must only be generous to those that prove they are indeed our friends” – el equilibrio mundial no importa en su discurso, solo lo que beneficie a Estados Unidos en material de relaciones internacionales.

“Some say the Russians won’t be reasonable. I intend to find out. If we can’t make a deal under my administration, a deal that’s great — not good, great — for America, but also good for Russia, then we will quickly walk from the table.

(...)

We have a massive trade deficit with China, a deficit that we have to find a way quickly, and I mean quickly, to balance. A strong and smart America is an America that will find a better friend in China, better than we have right now. (...)” – Muy conveniente que, en el caso de China y Rusia, Trump decida que ya no es que el aliado demuestre que son amigos, sino que ahora ambas naciones deben beneficiarse.

“I will not hesitate to deploy military force when there is no alternative. But if America fights, it must only fight to win.

I will never send our finest into battle unless necessary, and I mean absolutely necessary, and will only do so if we have a plan for victory with a capital V.” – De Nuevo referencia el poder estadounidense y el poderío military para hacer sentir a sus ciudadanos “orgullosos”

“Finally, I will work with our allies to reinvigorate Western values and institutions. Instead of trying to spread universal values that not everybody shares or wants, we should understand that strengthening and promoting Western civilization and its accomplishments will do more to inspire positive reforms around the world than military interventions.” – desglobalización, esta es una de las pocas ideas con las que concuerdo con Trump, las intervenciones militares para llevar ideas estadounidenses a culturas distintas solo porque el mismo estadosunidos le da la gana y no porque realmente es lo que pedían los invadidos.

“These are my goals as president. I will seek a foreign policy that all Americans, whatever their party, can support, so important, and which our friends and allies will respect and totally welcome. The world must know that we do not go abroad in search of enemies (...)” – Muy gracioso que diga que los aliados le darán la bienvenida a esas políticas nacionalistas de las que habló durante toda la campaña, muestra su propio desconocimiento de las relaciones internacionales en un mundo globalizado, o simplemente lo dijo para que el “discurso” sonara “bonito”. Una Estados Unidos que exige más de otros y participa menos en materia internacional son políticas que definitivamente no serán bienvenidas por esos aliados.

De igual manera, esto es lo que pasa cuando otros países dependen de una superpotencia para generar ingresos internos. En mi opinión un país solo, no debe depender de otro a menos que sea un grupo de aliados.

“(...) Again, many Americans must wonder why we our politicians seem more interested in defending the borders of foreign countries than in defending their own. Americans... Americans must know that we’re putting the American people first again on trade.

So true. On trade, on immigration, on foreign policy. The jobs, incomes and security of the American worker will always be my first priority.

No country has ever prospered that failed to put its own interests first. Both our friends and our enemies put their countries above ours and we, while being fair to them, must start doing the same. We will no longer surrender this country or its people to the false song of globalism. The nation-state remains the true foundation for happiness and harmony. I am skeptical of international unions that tie us up and bring America down and will never enter...

And under my administration, we will never enter America into any agreement that reduces our ability to control our own affairs.” – En esta parte del discurso Trump hace mención explícita a la globalización, una “falsa canción” según él.

“NAFTA, as an example, has been a total disaster for the United States and has emptied our states — literally emptied our states of our manufacturing and our jobs And I’ve just gotten to see it. I’ve toured Pennsylvania. I’ve toured New York. I’ve toured so many of the states. They have been cleaned out. Their manufacturing is gone.” – Nacionalismo

“Never again, only the reverse — and I have to say this strongly — never again; only the reverse will happen. We will keep our jobs and bring in new ones. There will be consequences for the companies that leave the United States only to exploit it later. They fire the people. They take advantage of the United States. There will be consequences for those companies. Never again.

Under a Trump administration, no American citizen will ever again feel that their needs come second to the citizens of a foreign country.” – Mención a las políticas proteccionistas antiglobalizantes.

“I will view as president the world through the clear lens of American interests. I will be America’s greatest defender and most loyal champion. We will not apologize for becoming successful again, but will instead embrace the unique heritage that makes us who we are.

The world is most peaceful and most prosperous when America is strongest. America will continue and continue forever to play the role of peacemaker. We will always help save lives and indeed humanity itself, but to play the role, we must make America strong again.” – Nacionalismo, apela al sentido de orgullo de los ciudadanos recordando el poder que maneja Estados Unidos en el mundo. Menciona nuevamente la idea de que norteamérica es “el salvador” del mundo democrático.

“And always — always, always, we must make, and we have to look at it from every angle, and we have no choice, we must make America respected again. We must make America truly wealthy again. And we must — we have to and we will make America great again. And if we do that — and if we do that, perhaps this century can be the most peaceful and prosperous the world has ever, ever known” – De nuevo dice falsamente que Norte América no es respetada mundialmente, lo cual es cierto en el sentido político por sus invasiones, etc. Aún así nadie duda del poder actual que ellos manejan desde hace muchos años, el poder que los convirtió en unos abusadores e imperialistas en parte del planeta globalizado.

Eliminando la palabra “TRUMP” del inicio de los párrafos dando a entender que el que habla es el entonces candidato. Eliminando las intervenciones de las audiencias y la palabra “Applause”. Encuentro que el transcript del discurso contiene un total de alrededor de 4665 palabras y alrededor de 2003 de esas fueron usadas en frases que hacen alusión al nacionalismo.

Análisis – Discurso en la Republican National Convention (RNC)

Contexto

La Convención Nacional Republicana se llevó a cabo en Cleveland, Ohio, una ciudad en donde predomina el voto demócrata pero un Estado en donde ha predominado por cierto margen el voto hacia los republicanos⁷⁴. El Estado y la misma Cleveland hacen parte del “Rust Belt”⁷⁵ o “Cinturón de Oxido” una región conocida así por una constante desindustrialización, pérdida de población, decadencia urbana y una caída económica de las industrias internas debido al outsourcing o tercerización en contra del que Trump habló tanto y otras razones. A partir de los años 50 del siglo XX, Ohio fue uno de esos Estados en donde se empezó a ver esta caída. Sin mencionar el generalizado racismo institucional que se vivió a nivel nacional incluyendo en este Estado.

La inseguridad es un tema siempre generalizado en política, durante el discurso Trump hizo alusión a este tema, aliándose con la policía que en su momento (y aun todavía) estaba bajo un comprensible ataque debido a que los mismos oficiales, en sistemáticas oportunidades, mostraban exceso de fuerza contra supuestos sospechosos, operaciones en donde ocurrieron varias muertes innecesarias por ese exceso de fuerza.

Durante la misma convención se ratificó la plataforma programática del partido republicano, que habla sobre los principios y políticas partidarias a partir de ese año, concentrándose en que supuestamente recuperarán la prosperidad y la seguridad del país, dedicando inclusive esta plataforma al ejército, la policía y los “First Responders”⁷⁶.

Este discurso fue dado en la convención republicana, lleno por completo por simpatizantes, militantes y representantes legales del partido Republicano, el partido por el que Trump decidió buscar la candidatura ahora se la estaba entregando oficialmente. Lugar lleno en su mayoría por futuros aliados políticos que buscaban que el partido retomase el control de la casa blanca; carteles que decían “Prison for Hillary”⁷⁷. Por esto, si el lugar no hubiese estado lleno de aplausos ante su discurso, hubiese sido un problema para el candidato y el partido mismo.

⁷⁴ Tendencias del voto en Ohio en elecciones presidenciales se pueden ver en: <https://www.270towin.com/states/Ohio>

⁷⁵ Información sobre el Rust Belt en: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Rust_Belt

⁷⁶ Sobre la plataforma republicana 2016: <https://web.archive.org/web/20160801204003/https://www.gop.com/the-2016-republican-party-platform/>

⁷⁷ Algunas fotos se ven aquí: <https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/ng-interactive/2016/jul/24/republican-national-convention-look-back-in-pictures>

El discurso proamerica y America First tuvo aparentemente un buen impacto en las zonas del Rust Belt, que le dieron algunos Estados que solían ser demócratas y que votaron en estas elecciones de 2016 a favor del discurso de Trump a modo de protesta por no estar beneficiándose de las políticas demócratas.

El discurso y sus fragmentos con tinte nacionalista

Discurso de aceptación de candidatura en la Republican National Convention⁷⁸

Friends, delegates and fellow Americans: I humbly and gratefully accept your nomination for the presidency of the United States.

Together, we will lead our party back to the White House, and we will lead our country back to safety, prosperity, and peace. We will be a country of generosity and warmth. But we will also be a country of law and order.

Our Convention occurs at a moment of crisis for our nation. The attacks on our police, and the terrorism in our cities, threaten our very way of life. Any politician who does not grasp this danger is not fit to lead our country.

Americans watching this address tonight have seen the recent images of violence in our streets and the chaos in our communities. Many have witnessed this violence personally, some have even been its victims.

I have a message for all of you: the crime and violence that today afflicts our nation will soon come to an end. Beginning on January 20th 2017, safety will be restored.

The most basic duty of government is to defend the lives of its own citizens. Any government that fails to do so is a government unworthy to lead.

It is finally time for a straightforward assessment of the state of our nation.

I will present the facts plainly and honestly. We cannot afford to be so politically correct anymore.

⁷⁸ Se puede encontrar en: <https://www.politico.com/story/2016/07/full-transcript-donald-trump-nomination-acceptance-speech-at-rnc-225974>

So if you want to hear the corporate spin, the carefully-crafted lies, and the media myths the Democrats are holding their convention next week.

But here, at our convention, there will be no lies. We will honor the American people with the truth, and nothing else.

These are the facts:

Decades of progress made in bringing down crime are now being reversed by this Administration's rollback of criminal enforcement.

Homicides last year increased by 17% in America's fifty largest cities. That's the largest increase in 25 years. In our nation's capital, killings have risen by 50 percent. They are up nearly 60% in nearby Baltimore.

In the President's hometown of Chicago, more than 2,000 have been the victims of shootings this year alone. And more than 3,600 have been killed in the Chicago area since he took office.

The number of police officers killed in the line of duty has risen by almost 50% compared to this point last year. Nearly 180,000 illegal immigrants with criminal records, ordered deported from our country, are tonight roaming free to threaten peaceful citizens.

The number of new illegal immigrant families who have crossed the border so far this year already exceeds the entire total from 2015. They are being released by the tens of thousands into our communities with no regard for the impact on public safety or resources.

One such border-crosser was released and made his way to Nebraska. There, he ended the life of an innocent young girl named Sarah Root. She was 21 years-old, and was killed the day after graduating from college with a 4.0 Grade Point Average. Her killer was then released a second time, and he is now a fugitive from the law.

I've met Sarah's beautiful family. But to this Administration, their amazing daughter was just one more American life that wasn't worth protecting. One more child to sacrifice on the altar of open borders. What about our economy?

Again, I will tell you the plain facts that have been edited out of your nightly news and your morning newspaper: Nearly Four in 10 African-American children are living in poverty, while 58% of African American youth are not employed. 2 million more Latinos are in poverty today than when the President took his oath of office less than eight years ago. Another 14 million people have left the workforce entirely.

Household incomes are down more than \$4,000 since the year 2000. Our manufacturing trade deficit has reached an all-time high – nearly \$800 billion in a single year. The budget is no better.

President Obama has doubled our national debt to more than \$19 trillion, and growing. Yet, what do we have to show for it? Our roads and bridges are falling apart, our airports are in Third World condition, and forty-three million Americans are on food stamps.

Now let us consider the state of affairs abroad.

Not only have our citizens endured domestic disaster, but they have lived through one international humiliation after another. We all remember the images of our sailors being forced to their knees by their Iranian captors at gunpoint.

This was just prior to the signing of the Iran deal, which gave back to Iran \$150 billion and gave us nothing – it will go down in history as one of the worst deals ever made. Another humiliation came when president Obama drew a red line in Syria – and the whole world knew it meant nothing.

In Libya, our consulate – the symbol of American prestige around the globe – was brought down in flames. America is far less safe – and the world is far less stable – than when Obama made the decision to put Hillary Clinton in charge of America's foreign policy.

I am certain it is a decision he truly regrets. Her bad instincts and her bad judgment – something pointed out by Bernie Sanders – are what caused the disasters unfolding today. Let's review the record. In 2009, pre-Hillary, ISIS was not even on the map.

Libya was cooperating. Egypt was peaceful. Iraq was seeing a reduction in violence. Iran was being choked by sanctions. Syria was under control. After four years of Hillary Clinton, what do we have? ISIS has spread across the region, and the world. Libya is in ruins, and our Ambassador and his staff were left helpless to die at the hands of savage killers. Egypt was turned over to the radical Muslim brotherhood, forcing the military to retake control. Iraq is in chaos.

Iran is on the path to nuclear weapons. Syria is engulfed in a civil war and a refugee crisis that now threatens the West. After fifteen years of wars in the Middle East, after trillions of dollars spent and thousands of lives lost, the situation is worse than it has ever been before.

This is the legacy of Hillary Clinton: death, destruction and weakness.

But Hillary Clinton's legacy does not have to be America's legacy. The problems we face now – poverty and violence at home, war and destruction abroad – will last only as long as we continue relying on the same politicians who created them. A change in leadership is required to change these outcomes. Tonight, I will share with you my plan of action for America.

The most important difference between our plan and that of our opponents, is that our plan will put America First. Americanism, not globalism, will be our credo. As long as we are led by politicians who will not put America First, then we can be assured that other nations will not treat America with respect. This will all change in 2017.

The American People will come first once again. My plan will begin with safety at home – which means safe neighborhoods, secure borders, and protection from terrorism. There can be no prosperity without law and order. On the economy, I will outline reforms to add millions of new jobs and trillions in new wealth that can be used to rebuild America.

A number of these reforms that I will outline tonight will be opposed by some of our nation's most powerful special interests. That is because these interests have rigged our political and economic system for their exclusive benefit.

Big business, elite media and major donors are lining up behind the campaign of my opponent because they know she will keep our rigged system in place. They are throwing money at her because they have total control over everything she does. She is their puppet, and they pull the strings.

That is why Hillary Clinton's message is that things will never change. My message is that things have to change – and they have to change right now. Every day I wake up determined to deliver for the people I have met all across this nation that have been neglected, ignored, and abandoned.

I have visited the laid-off factory workers, and the communities crushed by our horrible and unfair trade deals. These are the forgotten men and women of our country. People who work hard but no longer have a voice.

I AM YOUR VOICE.

I have embraced crying mothers who have lost their children because our politicians put their personal agendas before the national good. I have no patience for injustice, no tolerance for government incompetence, no sympathy for leaders who fail their citizens.

When innocent people suffer, because our political system lacks the will, or the courage, or the basic decency to enforce our laws – or worse still, has sold out to some corporate lobbyist for cash – I am not able to look the other way.

And when a Secretary of State illegally stores her emails on a private server, deletes 33,000 of them so the authorities can't see her crime, puts our country at risk, lies about it in every different form and faces no consequence – I know that corruption has reached a level like never before.

When the FBI Director says that the Secretary of State was “extremely careless” and “negligent,” in handling our classified secrets, I also know that these terms are minor compared to what she actually did. They were just used to save her from facing justice for her terrible crimes.

In fact, her single greatest accomplishment may be committing such an egregious crime and getting away with it – especially when others have paid so dearly. When that same Secretary of State rakes in millions of dollars trading access and favors to special interests and foreign powers I know the time for action has come.

I have joined the political arena so that the powerful can no longer beat up on people that cannot defend themselves. Nobody knows the system better than me, which is why I alone can fix it. I have seen firsthand how the system is rigged against our citizens, just like it was rigged against Bernie Sanders – he never had a chance.

But his supporters will join our movement, because we will fix his biggest issue: trade. Millions of Democrats will join our movement because we are going to fix the system so it works for all Americans. In this cause, I am proud to have at my side the next Vice President of the United States: Governor Mike Pence of Indiana.

We will bring the same economic success to America that Mike brought to Indiana. He is a man of character and accomplishment. He is the right man for the job. The first task for our new

Administration will be to liberate our citizens from the crime and terrorism and lawlessness that threatens their communities.

America was shocked to its core when our police officers in Dallas were brutally executed. In the days after Dallas, we have seen continued threats and violence against our law enforcement officials. Law officers have been shot or killed in recent days in Georgia, Missouri, Wisconsin, Kansas, Michigan and Tennessee.

On Sunday, more police were gunned down in Baton Rouge, Louisiana. Three were killed, and four were badly injured. An attack on law enforcement is an attack on all Americans. I have a message to every last person threatening the peace on our streets and the safety of our police: when I take the oath of office next year, I will restore law and order our country.

I will work with, and appoint, the best prosecutors and law enforcement officials in the country to get the job done. In this race for the White House, I am the Law And Order candidate. The irresponsible rhetoric of our President, who has used the pulpit of the presidency to divide us by race and color, has made America a more dangerous environment for everyone.

This Administration has failed America's inner cities. It's failed them on education. It's failed them on jobs. It's failed them on crime. It's failed them at every level.

When I am President, I will work to ensure that all of our kids are treated equally, and protected equally.

Every action I take, I will ask myself: does this make life better for young Americans in Baltimore, Chicago, Detroit, Ferguson who have as much of a right to live out their dreams as any other child America?

To make life safe in America, we must also address the growing threats we face from outside America: we are going to defeat the barbarians of ISIS. Once again, France is the victim of brutal Islamic terrorism.

Men, women and children viciously mowed down. Lives ruined. Families ripped apart. A nation in mourning.

The damage and devastation that can be inflicted by Islamic radicals has been over and over – at the World Trade Center, at an office party in San Bernardino, at the Boston Marathon, and a military recruiting center in Chattanooga, Tennessee.

Only weeks ago, in Orlando, Florida, 49 wonderful Americans were savagely murdered by an Islamic terrorist. This time, the terrorist targeted our LGBT community. As your President, I will do everything in my power to protect our LGBT citizens from the violence and oppression of a hateful foreign ideology. To protect us from terrorism, we need to focus on three things.

We must have the best intelligence gathering operation in the world. We must abandon the failed policy of nation building and regime change that Hillary Clinton pushed in Iraq, Libya, Egypt and Syria. Instead, we must work with all of our allies who share our goal of destroying ISIS and stamping out Islamic terror.

This includes working with our greatest ally in the region, the State of Israel. Lastly, we must immediately suspend immigration from any nation that has been compromised by terrorism until such time as proven vetting mechanisms have been put in place.

My opponent has called for a radical 550% increase in Syrian refugees on top of existing massive refugee flows coming into our country under President Obama. She proposes this despite the fact that there's no way to screen these refugees in order to find out who they are or where they come from. I only want to admit individuals into our country who will support our values and love our people.

Anyone who endorses violence, hatred or oppression is not welcome in our country and never will be.

Decades of record immigration have produced lower wages and higher unemployment for our citizens, especially for African-American and Latino workers. We are going to have an immigration system that works, but one that works for the American people.

On Monday, we heard from three parents whose children were killed by illegal immigrants Mary Ann Mendoza, Sabine Durden, and Jamiel Shaw. They are just three brave representatives of many thousands. Of all my travels in this country, nothing has affected me more deeply than the time I

have spent with the mothers and fathers who have lost their children to violence spilling across our border.

These families have no special interests to represent them. There are no demonstrators to protest on their behalf. My opponent will never meet with them, or share in their pain. Instead, my opponent wants Sanctuary Cities. But where was sanctuary for Kate Steinle? Where was Sanctuary for the children of Mary Ann, Sabine and Jamiel? Where was sanctuary for all the other Americans who have been so brutally murdered, and who have suffered so horribly?

These wounded American families have been alone. But they are alone no longer. Tonight, this candidate and this whole nation stand in their corner to support them, to send them our love, and to pledge in their honor that we will save countless more families from suffering the same awful fate.

We are going to build a great border wall to stop illegal immigration, to stop the gangs and the violence, and to stop the drugs from pouring into our communities. I have been honored to receive the endorsement of America's Border Patrol Agents, and will work directly with them to protect the integrity of our lawful immigration system.

By ending catch-and-release on the border, we will stop the cycle of human smuggling and violence. Illegal border crossings will go down. Peace will be restored. By enforcing the rules for the millions who overstay their visas, our laws will finally receive the respect they deserve.

Tonight, I want every American whose demands for immigration security have been denied – and every politician who has denied them – to listen very closely to the words I am about to say.

On January 21st of 2017, the day after I take the oath of office, Americans will finally wake up in a country where the laws of the United States are enforced. We are going to be considerate and compassionate to everyone.

But my greatest compassion will be for our own struggling citizens. My plan is the exact opposite of the radical and dangerous immigration policy of Hillary Clinton. Americans want relief from uncontrolled immigration. Communities want relief.

Yet Hillary Clinton is proposing mass amnesty, mass immigration, and mass lawlessness. Her plan will overwhelm your schools and hospitals, further reduce your jobs and wages, and make it harder for recent immigrants to escape from poverty.

I have a different vision for our workers. It begins with a new, fair trade policy that protects our jobs and stands up to countries that cheat. It's been a signature message of my campaign from day one, and it will be a signature feature of my presidency from the moment I take the oath of office.

I have made billions of dollars in business making deals – now I'm going to make our country rich again. I am going to turn our bad trade agreements into great ones. America has lost nearly-one third of its manufacturing jobs since 1997, following the enactment of disastrous trade deals supported by Bill and Hillary Clinton.

Remember, it was Bill Clinton who signed NAFTA, one of the worst economic deals ever made by our country.

Never again.

I am going to bring our jobs back to Ohio and to America – and I am not going to let companies move to other countries, firing their employees along the way, without consequences.

My opponent, on the other hand, has supported virtually every trade agreement that has been destroying our middle class. She supported NAFTA, and she supported China's entrance into the World Trade Organization – another one of her husband's colossal mistakes.

She supported the job killing trade deal with South Korea. She has supported the Trans-Pacific Partnership. The TPP will not only destroy our manufacturing, but it will make America subject to the rulings of foreign governments. I pledge to never sign any trade agreement that hurts our workers, or that diminishes our freedom and independence. Instead, I will make individual deals with individual countries.

No longer will we enter into these massive deals, with many countries, that are thousands of pages long – and which no one from our country even reads or understands. We are going to enforce all trade violations, including through the use of taxes and tariffs, against any country that cheats.

This includes stopping China's outrageous theft of intellectual property, along with their illegal product dumping, and their devastating currency manipulation. Our horrible trade agreements with China and many others, will be totally renegotiated. That includes renegotiating NAFTA to get a much better deal for America – and we'll walk away if we don't get the deal that we want. We are going to start building and making things again.

Next comes the reform of our tax laws, regulations and energy rules. While Hillary Clinton plans a massive tax increase, I have proposed the largest tax reduction of any candidate who has declared for the presidential race this year – Democrat or Republican. Middle-income Americans will experience profound relief, and taxes will be simplified for everyone.

America is one of the highest-taxed nations in the world. Reducing taxes will cause new companies and new jobs to come roaring back into our country. Then we are going to deal with the issue of regulation, one of the greatest job-killers of them all. Excessive regulation is costing our country as much as \$2 trillion a year, and we will end it. We are going to lift the restrictions on the production of American energy. This will produce more than \$20 trillion in job creating economic activity over the next four decades.

My opponent, on the other hand, wants to put the great miners and steel workers of our country out of work – that will never happen when I am President. With these new economic policies, trillions of dollars will start flowing into our country.

This new wealth will improve the quality of life for all Americans – We will build the roads, highways, bridges, tunnels, airports, and the railways of tomorrow. This, in turn, will create millions more jobs. We will rescue kids from failing schools by helping their parents send them to a safe school of their choice.

My opponent would rather protect education bureaucrats than serve American children. We will repeal and replace disastrous Obamacare. You will be able to choose your own doctor again. And we will fix TSA at the airports! We will completely rebuild our depleted military, and the countries that we protect, at a massive loss, will be asked to pay their fair share.

We will take care of our great Veterans like they have never been taken care of before. My opponent dismissed the VA scandal as being not widespread – one more sign of how out of touch she really is. We are going to ask every Department Head in government to provide a list of wasteful spending projects that we can eliminate in my first 100 days. The politicians have talked about it, I'm going to do it. We are also going to appoint justices to the United States Supreme Court who will uphold our laws and our Constitution.

The replacement for Justice Scalia will be a person of similar views and principles. This will be one of the most important issues decided by this election. My opponent wants to essentially abolish the

2nd amendment. I, on the other hand, received the early and strong endorsement of the National Rifle Association and will protect the right of all Americans to keep their families safe.

At this moment, I would like to thank the evangelical community who have been so good to me and so supportive. You have so much to contribute to our politics, yet our laws prevent you from speaking your minds from your own pulpits.

An amendment, pushed by Lyndon Johnson, many years ago, threatens religious institutions with a loss of their tax-exempt status if they openly advocate their political views.

I am going to work very hard to repeal that language and protect free speech for all Americans. We can accomplish these great things, and so much else – all we need to do is start believing in ourselves and in our country again. It is time to show the whole world that America Is Back – bigger, and better and stronger than ever before.

In this journey, I'm so lucky to have at my side my wife Melania and my wonderful children, Don, Ivanka, Eric, Tiffany, and Barron: you will always be my greatest source of pride and joy. My Dad, Fred Trump, was the smartest and hardest working man I ever knew. I wonder sometimes what he'd say if he were here to see this tonight.

It's because of him that I learned, from my youngest age, to respect the dignity of work and the dignity of working people. He was a guy most comfortable in the company of bricklayers, carpenters, and electricians and I have a lot of that in me also. Then there's my mother, Mary. She was strong, but also warm and fair-minded. She was a truly great mother. She was also one of the most honest and charitable people I have ever known, and a great judge of character.

To my sisters Mary Anne and Elizabeth, my brother Robert and my late brother Fred, I will always give you my love you are most special to me. I have loved my life in business.

But now, my sole and exclusive mission is to go to work for our country – to go to work for all of you. It's time to deliver a victory for the American people. But to do that, we must break free from the petty politics of the past.

America is a nation of believers, dreamers, and strivers that is being led by a group of censors, critics, and cynics.

Remember: all of the people telling you that you can't have the country you want, are the same people telling you that I wouldn't be standing here tonight. No longer can we rely on those elites in media, and politics, who will say anything to keep a rigged system in place.

Instead, we must choose to Believe In America. History is watching us now.

It's waiting to see if we will rise to the occasion, and if we will show the whole world that America is still free and independent and strong.

My opponent asks her supporters to recite a three-word loyalty pledge. It reads: "I'm With Her". I choose to recite a different pledge.

My pledge reads: "I'M WITH YOU – THE AMERICAN PEOPLE."

I am your voice.

So to every parent who dreams for their child, and every child who dreams for their future, I say these words to you tonight: I'm With You, and I will fight for you, and I will win for you.

To all Americans tonight, in all our cities and towns, I make this promise: We Will Make America Strong Again.

We Will Make America Proud Again.

We Will Make America Safe Again.

And We Will Make America Great Again.

THANK YOU.

Extractos subrayados en el discurso

"We will honor the American people with the truth, and nothing else." – Apela al orgullo de los ciudadanos.

“Our Convention occurs at a moment of crisis for our nation. The attacks on our police, and the terrorism in our cities, threaten our very way of life. Any politician who does not grasp this danger is not fit to lead our country.” – La instrumentalización de la institución de la policía es similar a cuando se usa la mención del ejército, este tipo de nacionalismo apela al orgullo que los ciudadanos sobre la posición del país en materia de poderío internacional.

“Decades of progress made in bringing down crime are now being reversed by this Administration’s rollback of criminal enforcement.” – Similar a la mención de alguna institución que usa armas. En este caso, la sola noción de haber disminuido de alguna manera (política pública o disminución de dineros públicos) las campañas contra criminales se pueden considerar un ataque al orgullo del poder que sienten muchos estadounidenses, al menos desde el punto de vista de Trump que está usando el nacionalismo para atraer a aquellas personas que piensan así.

“The number of police officers killed in the line of duty has risen by almost 50% compared to this point last year. Nearly 180,000 illegal immigrants with criminal records, ordered deported from our country, are tonight roaming free to threaten peaceful citizens.” – La administración de Obama fue una de las que más deportaciones realizó.

Aquí entra de nuevo Trump a usar la xenofobia y usar el nacionalismo para que las personas odien al extranjero que supuestamente “se robó un trabajo que podía ser para un estadounidense”, o para culparles de todo el crimen que ocurre en ese país.

“The number of new illegal immigrant families who have crossed the border so far this year already exceeds the entire total from 2015. They are being released by the tens of thousands into our communities with no regard for the impact on public safety or resources.

One such border-crosser was released and made his way to Nebraska. There, he ended the life of an innocent young girl named Sarah Root. She was 21 years-old, and was killed the day after graduating from college with a 4.0 Grade Point Average. Her killer was then released a second time, and he is now a fugitive from the law.

I’ve met Sarah’s beautiful family. But to this Administration, their amazing daughter was just one more American life that wasn’t worth protecting. One more child to sacrifice on the altar of open

borders. What about our economy?” - Nacionalismo basado en la cultura, que viene de la tradición estadounidense de Asentamientos (Wang, 2017. pp. 346); por esta mentalidad es que se comenzó a decir dentro de esa sociedad, que los asentadores difieren de los inmigrantes en que los primeros crean sociedades y los segundos no (pensamiento que llevaría al desagrado por ciertos extranjeros dentro del país). Una situación adversa de esta política migratoria, es que las tendencias xenofóbicas dentro de las sociedades Asentadoras durante el siglo XIX se dispararon, con la expansión de las categorías religiosas y étnicas sobre quién podía ser llamado Norte Americano. (Wang, 2017. pp. 347)

“Not only have our citizens endured domestic disaster, but they have lived through one international humiliation after another. (...)

(...) Another humiliation came when president Obama drew a red line in Syria – and the whole world knew it meant nothing. ” – Cuando Trump habla de “humillación” es una forma de hablar sobre el respeto que ellos mismo piensan que tienen a nivel internacional, al mismo tiempo usando este discurso para apelar a ese orgullo herido que planea devolverles. Realmente el mundo no desconoce el poder que maneja estados unidos, Trump es el que está diciendo esto como si fuese cierto para sus fines políticos. Lo que estados Unidos no tiene es que, al menos de mi parte, no lo vemos como un país superior, solo que el poder que manejan económico y militar es que pueden imponerse cuando quieran y exigir lo gusten.

“In Libya, our consulate – the symbol of American prestige around the globe – was brought down in flames. America is far less safe – and the world is far less stable – than when Obama made the decision to put Hillary Clinton in charge of America’s foreign policy. ” – “The symbol of American prestige around the globe” El mismo Trump decidió darle ese estatus de superioridad a ese específico consulado. Y lo hace precisamente para volver a insinuar que el orgullo que los ciudadanos sienten por su país fue herido por las políticas o descuidos de la administración de Obama. Nacionalismo “Enemy Complex” (Wang, 2017), además de los Cristianos Nacionalistas (Gaddie y Goidel, 2015), que son los que promueven el pensamiento de que “América tiene un lugar especial en el plan de Dios”; “Dios ha elegido a América para liderar el mundo”.

“The most important difference between our plan and that of our opponents, is that our plan will put America First. Americanism, not globalism, will be our credo. As long as we are led by politicians who will not put America First, then we can be assured that other nations will not treat

America with respect. This will all change in 2017.” – Una mención más directa a la globalización en forma de crítica. Americanismo es lo que pretende Trump, el nacionalismo norte americano. Este es un tipo de nacionalismo que más le ayudó en algunos Estados Pendulo perjudicados por las políticas internacionales.

“The American People will come first once again. My plan will begin with safety at home – which means safe neighborhoods, secure borders, and protection from terrorism. There can be no prosperity without law and order. On the economy, I will outline reforms to add millions of new jobs and trillions in new wealth that can be used to rebuild America.” – Insinuaciones al fortalecimiento de la policia, recordando su papel y el del ejercito como representación física del poder norte Americano.

“I have visited the laid-off factory workers, and the communities crushed by our horrible and unfair trade deals. These are the forgotten men and women of our country. (...) I have embraced crying mothers who have lost their children because our politicians put their personal agendas before the national good” – America First. Hablando sobre como los extranjeros u otras naciones reciben mejor trato en los acuerdos internacionales a los que se opone Trump en su discurso.

“(...) The first task for our new Administration will be to liberate our citizens from the crime and terrorism and lawlessness that threatens their communities. America was shocked to its core when our police officers in Dallas were brutally executed. In the days after Dallas, we have seen continued threats and violence against our law enforcement officials. Law officers have been shot or killed in recent days in Georgia, Missouri, Wisconsin, Kansas, Michigan and Tennessee.

On Sunday, more police were gunned down in Baton Rouge, Louisiana. Three were killed, and four were badly injured. An attack on law enforcement is an attack on all Americans. I have a message to every last person threatening the peace on our streets and the safety of our police: when I take the oath of office next year, I will restore law and order our country. ” – Mención a instituciones que representan el poder Estadounidense. Un ataque a dichas instituciones es un ataque al orgullo nacional desde el punto de vista del discurso nacionalista.

“Every action I take, I will ask myself: does this make life better for young Americans in Baltimore, Chicago, Detroit, Ferguson who have as much of a right to live out their dreams as any other child America?”

To make life safe in America, we must also address the growing threats we face from outside America (...) – America First como slogan del discurso nacionalista.

“Only weeks ago, in Orlando, Florida, 49 wonderful Americans were savagely murdered by an Islamic terrorist. (...)” – Poner elogios a su propio país, abrazar la bandera, son formas de hacer creer que quiere a su país y su gente (lo sienta de verdad o no).

“Lastly, we must immediately suspend immigration from any nation that has been compromised by terrorism until such time as proven vetting mechanisms have been put in place.” – Xenofobia. Usada en este caso de la mano de una religión que no es principal en Estados Unidos.

“My opponent has called for a radical 550% increase in Syrian refugees on top of existing massive refugee flows coming into our country under President Obama. She proposes this despite the fact that there’s no way to screen these refugees in order to find out who they are or where they come from. I only want to admit individuals into our country who will support our values and love our people.”

Anyone who endorses violence, hatred or oppression is not welcome in our country and never will be” – Referencia a proteger los valores norteamericanos, esto lo dice a pesar de que muchos inmigrantes que él ataca admiten y ponen en practica esos supuestos valores.

“Decades of record immigration have produced lower wages and higher unemployment for our citizens, especially for African-American and Latino workers. We are going to have an immigration system that works, but one that works for the American people” – Xenofobia. America First.

“On Monday, we heard from three parents whose children were killed by illegal immigrants Mary Ann Mendoza, Sabine Durden, and Jamiel Shaw. They are just three brave representatives of many thousands. Of all my travels in this country, nothing has affected me more deeply than the time I have spent with the mothers and fathers who have lost their children to violence spilling across our border.”

These families have no special interests to represent them. There are no demonstrators to protest on their behalf. My opponent will never meet with them, or share in their pain. Instead, my opponent wants Sanctuary Cities. But where was sanctuary for Kate Steinle? Where was Sanctuary for the children of Mary Ann, Sabine and Jamiel? Where was sanctuary for all the other Americans who have been so brutally murdered, and who have suffered so horribly?

These wounded American families have been alone. But they are alone no longer. Tonight, this candidate and this whole nation stand in their corner to support them, to send them our love, and to pledge in their honor that we will save countless more families from suffering the same awful fate.”
 – xenophobia. Exacerbando datos de los crímenes cometidos por inmigrantes ilegales en comparación por todos los crímenes cometidos por los mismos estadounidenses.

“We are going to build a great border wall to stop illegal immigration, to stop the gangs and the violence, and to stop the drugs from pouring into our communities. I have been honored to receive the endorsement of America’s Border Patrol Agents, and will work directly with them to protect the integrity of our lawful immigration system.

By ending catch-and-release on the border, we will stop the cycle of human smuggling and violence. Illegal border crossings will go down. Peace will be restored. By enforcing the rules for the millions who overstay their visas, our laws will finally receive the respect they deserve.

Tonight, I want every American whose demands for immigration security have been denied – and every politician who has denied them – to listen very closely to the words I am about to say.”
 Xenofobia. Echa la culpa a los inmigrantes por la violencia en el país.

“But my greatest compassion will be for our own struggling citizens. My plan is the exact opposite of the radical and dangerous immigration policy of Hillary Clinton. Americans want relief from uncontrolled immigration. Communities want relief.

Yet Hillary Clinton is proposing mass amnesty, mass immigration, and mass lawlessness. Her plan will overwhelm your schools and hospitals, further reduce your jobs and wages, and make it harder for recent immigrants to escape from poverty.” – Xenofobia.

“I have a different vision for our workers. It begins with a new, fair trade policy that protects our jobs and stands up to countries that cheat. It’s been a signature message of my campaign from day one, and it will be a signature feature of my presidency from the moment I take the oath of office.

I have made billions of dollars in business making deals – now I’m going to make our country rich again. I am going to turn our bad trade agreements into great ones. America has lost nearly-one third of its manufacturing jobs since 1997, following the enactment of disastrous trade deals supported by Bill and Hillary Clinton.

Remember, it was Bill Clinton who signed NAFTA, one of the worst economic deals ever made by our country.” – Desglobalización.

“I am going to bring our jobs back to Ohio and to America – and I am not going to let companies move to other countries, firing their employees along the way, without consequences.

My opponent, on the other hand, has supported virtually every trade agreement that has been destroying our middle class. She supported NAFTA, and she supported China’s entrance into the World Trade Organization – another one of her husband’s colossal mistakes.

She supported the job killing trade deal with South Korea. She has supported the Trans-Pacific Partnership. The TPP will not only destroy our manufacturing, but it will make America subject to the rulings of foreign governments. I pledge to never sign any trade agreement that hurts our workers, or that diminishes our freedom and independence. Instead, I will make individual deals with individual countries.

No longer will we enter into these massive deals, with many countries, that are thousands of pages long – and which no one from our country even reads or understands. We are going to enforce all trade violations, including through the use of taxes and tariffs, against any country that cheats.” –

Las políticas desglobalizantes se ven plasmadas en el discurso de Trump

“Our horrible trade agreements with China and many others, will be totally renegotiated. That includes renegotiating NAFTA to get a much better deal for America – and we’ll walk away if we

don't get the deal that we want. We are going to start building and making things again." – Desglobalización

"We will completely rebuild our depleted military, and the countries that we protect, at a massive loss, will be asked to pay their fair share." – Nacionalismo referenciando el poder del país a través de sus instituciones policiales y/o militares. Igualmente habla sobre los tratados con otros países para que beneficien primeramente a Estados Unidos, "lo justo".

"We will take care of our great Veterans like they have never been taken care of before." – Poder nacional y el ejército como símbolo.

"My opponent wants to essentially abolish the 2nd amendment. I, on the other hand, received the early and strong endorsement of the National Rifle Association and will protect the right of all Americans to keep their families safe." – La defensa de las armas en el país.

"At this moment, I would like to thank the evangelical community who have been so good to me and so supportive. You have so much to contribute to our politics, yet our laws prevent you from speaking your minds from your own pulpits.

An amendment, pushed by Lyndon Johnson, many years ago, threatens religious institutions with a loss of their tax-exempt status if they openly advocate their political views." – La religión, como actor importante del mundo en muchos aspectos de la vida de varios grupos sociales.

"(...) It is time to show the whole world that America Is Back – bigger, and better and stronger than ever before." – Menciona el orgullo nacional por la larga historia de poder sobre otras naciones que ha tenido Estados Unidos. Esta "misión" de hacer el mundo un lugar mejor (desde el punto de vista norteamericano), con el pasar del tiempo, se ha visto reflejado en el modo de pensar de sus propios ciudadanos, haciéndoles creer que su país es diferente que y mejores que los demás Estados (McCartney, 2004, pp. 403).

"History is watching us now. (...)

It's waiting to see if we will rise to the occasion, and if we will show the whole world that America is still free and independent and strong.” – Nacionalismo. Mención al poderio estadounidense, similar al mencionado por McCartney (2004, pp. 403).

“My pledge reads: “I’M WITH YOU – THE AMERICAN PEOPLE.” ” – Insinuación sobre que pensará primero en el país en vez de los temas relacionados a la globalización.

“To all Americans tonight, in all our cities and towns, I make this promise: We Will Make America Strong Again.

We Will Make America Proud Again.

We Will Make America Safe Again.

And We Will Make America Great Again” – Nacionalismo.

Eliminando la palabra “TRUMP” del inicio de los párrafos dando a entender que el que habla es el entonces candidato. Eliminando las intervenciones de las audiencias y la palabra “Applause”. Encuentro que el transcript del discurso contiene un total de alrededor de 4350 palabras y alrededor de 1895 de esas fueron usadas en frases que hacen alusión al nacionalismo.

Análisis – Discurso dado en un rally en Michigan 2016

Contexto

El Estado de Michigan ha sido predominantemente demócrata desde los años 90 en cuanto a resultados presidenciales se refiere; sin embargo, es considerado como un “Swing State” o “Estado Péndulo” especialmente desde las elecciones presidenciales de 2016, es llamado así por ser un Estado que puede terminarlo ganando un demócrata o un republicano en las elecciones presidenciales y también porque algunos de sus gobernadores y otros representantes electos suelen variar de partido en partido, cada uno manteniendo de cuando en cuando una mayoría pequeña⁷⁹.

Al igual que el discurso anterior dado en Cleveland, Michigan también contiene ciudades que hacen parte del Rust Belt o Cinturon de Oxido, Michigan, Ohio, Pennsylvania y Wisconsin. Como fue bien mostrado por Michael Moore en algunos de sus documentales y en sus “5 razones por las que Trump ganará”⁸⁰, los **votantes** y asistentes de este discurso escucharon a Trump a pesar de los otros destructivos comentarios que ha hecho. Ciudadanos de un Estado que también se ha visto perjudicado por las malas prácticas de las compañías y que han ido perdiendo representación interna y las políticas públicas que no han beneficiado mucho la industria estadounidense. Esto último ha sido uno de los puntos nacionalistas del discurso de Trump, que correctamente ha repetido que algunos de los tratados internacionales como NAFTA, apoyado por su entonces oponente en la carrera por la casa blanca, Hillary Clinton, ha ayudado a “destruir” esos Estados industriales que hacen parte del ahora llamado Cinturon de Oxido. El discurso de Trump cautivó a los votantes perjudicados de estos Estados que sintieron en el candidato una futura ayuda industrial que no habían tenido de otros gobernantes del país.

El discurso y sus fragmentos de tinte nacionalista

Discurso dado en un rally en Michigan 2016⁸¹

Abril 19, 2016

Donald Trump: (00:10)
Thank you very much. Thank you. Thank you. What a crowd. Wow. Look at that, boy. What a

⁷⁹ Sobre el estado de la política interna de Michigan: <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Michigan>

⁸⁰ Se puede encontrar aquí: <https://michaelmoore.com/trumpwillwin/>

⁸¹ Se puede encontrar en: <https://www.rev.com/blog/transcripts/donald-trump-michigan-speech-transcript-asks-black-voters-what-do-you-have-to-lose>

crowd. Thank you. Thank you very much. Thank you. We just set a record in this building, folks, so that's good news. That's fantastic. Thank you. I love Michigan. And I was telling you come November, to be specific, November 8th, with your help we are going to win and we are going to win big. And we are going to the White House, and we are going to bring jobs back to our country, and we are going to bring jobs back to Michigan. It's going to be a victory for the people, a victory for the wage earner, the factory work. Remember this, a big, big victory for the factory worker. They haven't had those victories for a long time, a victory for every citizen and for all of the people whose voices have not been heard for many, many years. They're going to be heard again.

Donald Trump: (01:47)

It'll be a win for the voters. Not for the, pundits, not for the journalists, not for the lobbyists, not for the global special interests funding my opponent's campaign. It's going to be your victory. These are hard times for many in this country. I just got back from a tour of the suffering and devastation in Louisiana. Perhaps you can tell by the way I'm dressed, just got off the plane. It was actually incredible, the spirit of the people is incredible. The devastation, likewise, they've never seen anything like it, but the spirit of the people is incredible. And honestly, Obama ought to get off the golf course and get down there.

Donald Trump: (02:56)

We mourn for the lives lost, and we pledge our help, comfort, and support to every last person in need. To the people of Louisiana, we are with you, and we will always be with you. In my visit, I saw not only the suffering of our people, but also their strength, courage, and really unbeatable spirit. Their spirit will overcome. We have a lot to overcome in our country, especially the fact that our jobs are being taken away from us and going to other lands. And we're not going to allow it to happen. And especially it's happening right here in Michigan. It's an amazing spirit that we will need to rebuild our country. It's that strength that we're going to need to create the new American future our children so much deserve.

Donald Trump: (04:14)

In this new... Thank you. Thank you very much. In this new future, millions of workers on the sidelines will be returned to the workforce. And if I'm not elected President, that will never happen. Believe me, they're talking to you, they're playing you, but believe me, you know the answer. And I have to say that I've been talking about Michigan and the car industry and how your businesses and plants have been ripped out of your land. And I've been doing it for four years to the people of

Michigan. Other people started talking about it last week. They're not going to do anything about it. Crumbling roads, bridges and airports will be replaced with the infrastructure our country needs and deserves.

Donald Trump: (05:13)

Families trapped in welfare will be provided with jobs and opportunity. Children stuck in failing government schools will be able to attend the school of their choice. Government will become lean, effective, responsible, and honest. **Our border will be protected, and our children will be safe, very, very safe.**

Crowd: (05:51)

Build that wall. Build that wall. Build that wall. Build that wall. Build that wall.

Donald Trump: (05:56)

And we will build the wall. Don't worry about it, we will build the wall.

Crowd: (05:59)

Build that wall. Build that wall. Build that wall. Build that wall. Build that wall. Build that wall. Build that wall. Build that wall. Build that wall. Build that wall.

Donald Trump: (06:22)

Law and order will be restored. And the poorest places in our country will know safety and peace again. **American values and cultures will be cherished, and I mean cherished, and celebrated once again.** But to achieve this new American future, we must break free from the bitter failures of the past and reject the same insiders telling us the same old lies over and over and over again. No group in America has been more harmed by Hillary Clinton's policies than African Americans. No group, no group. If Hillary Clinton's goal was to inflict pain on the African American community, she could not have done a better job. It's a disgrace. Tonight, I'm asking for the vote of every single African American citizen in this country who wants to see a better future. The inner cities of our country have been run by the democratic party for more than 50 years, their policies have produced only poverty, joblessness, failing schools, and broken homes. It's time to hold democratic politicians accountable for what they have done to these communities. At what point do we say, "Enough"? At what point do we say, "Enough"? It's time to hold failed leaders accountable for their results, not just their empty words over and over again. Look at what the democratic party has done to the city as an example, and there are many others, of Detroit, 40% of Detroit's residents, 40% live in poverty.

Half of all Detroit residents do not work and cannot work and can't get a job. Detroit tops the list of most dangerous cities in terms of violent crime. Number one. This is the legacy of the democratic politicians who have run this city. This is the result of the policy agenda embraced by crooked Hillary Clinton.

Crowd: [\(09:50\)](#)

Lock her up! Lock her up! Lock her up! Lock her up! Lock her up! Lock her up! Lock her up! Lock her up! Lock her up! Lock her up! Lock her up! Lock her up!

Donald Trump: [\(10:14\)](#)

33,000 emails gone. The only way to change results is to change leadership. We can never fix our problems by relying on the same politicians who created our problems in the first place. A new future requires brand new leadership. Look how much African American communities have suffered under democratic control, To those, I say the following.

Donald Trump: [\(11:03\)](#)

To those I say the following, "What do you have to lose by trying something new like Trump?" What do you have to lose?

Audience: [\(11:14\)](#)

Trump, Trump, Trump, Trump, Trump, Trump, Trump.

Donald Trump: [\(11:32\)](#)

I say it again, "What do you have to lose?" Look, what do you have to lose? You're living in poverty, your schools are no good, you have no jobs, 58% of your youth is unemployed. What the hell do you have to lose? And at the end of four years, I guarantee you that I will get over 95% of the African American vote, I promise you. Because I will produce, I will produce for the inner cities and I will produce for the African Americans. And the Democrats, the Democrats will not produce and all they've done is taking advantage of your vote, that's all they've done. And once the election's over they go back to their palaces in Washington and you know what? They do nothing for you, just remember it.

Donald Trump: [\(12:36\)](#)

So you have nothing to lose. One thing we know for sure is that if you keep voting for the same people you will keep getting the same, exactly the same result. **My administration will go to work**

for you as no one has ever done before. We will work, we will bring back jobs, we will work. By contrast, the one thing every item in Hillary Clinton's agenda has in common is that it takes jobs and opportunities away from African American workers. It takes jobs away from all workers because your companies are leaving Michigan, your companies are leaving every single state in our union. They're going to Mexico, they're going everywhere but here.

Donald Trump: (13:50)

Hillary Clinton supports open borders which means many thing, but it means people pour in and they take your jobs. Whether you like it or don't like it they take your jobs. Her fierce opposition to school choice, you need choice, you have to get your children into good schools. You do that through competition, you need choice. Her plan to massively raise taxes on small business and everyone one, \$1.3 trillion tax increase, whereas I'm cutting taxes very substantially for business and for the middle class. Her tremendous opposition to American energy, the opposition is fierce. And her record of giving our jobs away to many, many other countries. America must reject the bigotry of Hillary Clinton who sees communities of color only as votes not as human beings worthy of a better future.

Donald Trump: (15:10)

Hillary Clinton would rather provide a job to a refugee from overseas than to give that job to unemployed African American youth in cities like Detroit, who have become refugees in their own country. It's time to get our country back to work and that includes an all out effort to help young African Americans get the good paying jobs that they deserve. Hillary Clinton's plan would bring in an estimated 620,000 refugees in her first term at a lifetime benefit cost of some \$400 billion to our country according to the Senate Immigration Subcommittee. Hillary Clinton wants to be America's Angela Merkel.

Donald Trump: (16:18)

By the way, for the price of supporting one refugee in the United States, we could support 12 in a safe zone in the Middle East or let's say, Syria. The improved refugee screening standards I have proposed will save countless billions of dollars. It's called extreme vetting, extreme vetting. We will invest a portion of the money saved in a jobs program for inner city youth. The African American community has given so much to this country. They fought and died in every war since the revolution, they've lifted up the conscience of our nation in the long march towards civil rights. They've sacrificed so much for the national good, yet nearly four in 10 African American children

still live in poverty and 58%, as I said, of young African Americans are not working, they cannot find a job.

Donald Trump: (17:33)

We must do better as a country. I refuse to believe that the future must be like the past, it won't be. Our future is going to be a great future for everyone, for everyone. In a Trump administration all workers of all colors will get priority for jobs in their own country, which is about time. I want higher wages for African Americans, for Hispanic Americans and for all Americans, we want higher wages. Many, many workers in our country are making substantially less money today in real wages than they made 18 years ago. They're working two jobs instead of one, they're working much harder as they get older and it's supposed to be the opposite. We're going to stop it. We're going to create great jobs and we're going to get the wages up.

Donald Trump: (18:41)

Hillary Clinton is a throwback to an ugly past where politicians preyed on our poorest citizens while selling them out for personal gain. Promises, promises, all talk no action. All talk no action politicians. They talk, talk, talk, you vote them in with great fanfare and then they do nothing. With Trump that's not going to happen, believe me. We must turn the page on yesterday. Only a change in leadership will produce a change in outcomes and we can't take as a country four more years of Obama, and that's what you get with Hillary Clinton but probably worse.

Donald Trump: (19:38)

In this new American future, American workers will always come first. America first, always come first. This will include a complete revitalization of the Michigan manufacturing section. Now, you have to understand, the Michigan manufacturing sector is a disaster, is a disaster. Look at your notes, look at your stats, look at what's happening to your State. You're losing your businesses, it's like taking candy away from a baby. And many people in this audience right now that think you have jobs you're going to find out very soon that your company is leaving for Mexico or some other place and you're not going to have your job very long. And if Trump gets in those days are over folks, those days are over.

Donald Trump: (20:42)

We will be bringing back our jobs to Michigan. There will be a very big price to pay for those companies that want to leave our land, go someplace else, manufacture their goods and sell them

back with no retribution, it won't happen, there will be consequence. It won't happen, it will not happen. Michigan lost more than one in four of its manufacturing jobs since NAFTA. As you know, NAFTA, one of the worst trade bills in history, maybe, maybe, the worst trade bill ever signed in the history of the world not only in our country. It's emptied out Michigan, it's emptied out New England, it's emptied out in New York State, it's emptied out so many of our great companies. They leave and they fire. We end up with devastation, we end up with unemployment, we end up with nothing. The bill was signed by Bill Clinton, it was supported by Hillary Clinton.

Donald Trump: [\(22:01\)](#)
... supported by Hillary Clinton. Right here in this community, you've lost one in seven manufacturing jobs since Bill Clinton put China into the World Trade Organization, another Hillary Clinton backed deal, she backs all the deals. And by the way, she will be back in Trans-Pacific Partnership, TPP, if she is elected, just mark your words. Just remember, you know it's going to happen. She considered it the gold standard. All of a sudden, when she heard me talking about it, she said, I can't win this one, so she went against it. She'll go back immediately. And you saw that when the governor of Virginia who's her friend said that was going to happen.

Donald Trump: [\(22:50\)](#)
Detroit lost more than one in three manufacturing jobs following the NAFTA and WTO agreements that were supported very strongly by my opponent. No industry has been hurt more by Hillary Clinton's policies than the automobile industry, or as we call it, the car industry. It has been a total disaster. According to the Bureau of Labor Statistics, before NAFTA went into effect, there were 285,000 auto workers in Michigan. Today, that number is down to only 160,000, and it's going to be a lot lower because if you look at the massive plants being built right now in Mexico, car plants, folks, you can kiss a lot of these jobs goodbye. But not with me, not with me, won't happen.

Donald Trump: [\(23:50\)](#)
In 2014, General Motors announced plans to double its investments in Mexico by 2018. Not good. In April, 2016, Ford Motor Company announced plans to invest another 1.6 billion constructing an auto plant in Mexico. Mexico will become the car capital of the world very, very quickly, and Michigan is going to end up with lots of empty buildings all over the place unless you elect Donald Trump president, in which case is not going to happen. The same month, Fiat Chrysler announced 1,300 layoffs. The list goes on and on.

Donald Trump: (24:44)

We will turn it around, we will turn it around fast. We will meet with these companies and we will say, it will not be easy for you to move your plant to Mexico, for you to sell your cars through what will be a very strong border, and for you not to pay tax on those cars coming in. And when we tell them that there will be a substantial tax on the cars that they make in Mexico and other places, number one, they're not going to move in the first place, and number two, if they do, our country's going to make one heck of a lot of money.

Donald Trump: (25:28)

But to save your jobs and to do all of the things that I'm talking about, we have to win on November 8th. The destruction that NAFTA started will be finished off if the Trans-Pacific partnership is approved. It will be almost, nothing's as bad as NAFTA, but it will be almost as bad as NAFTA. We know from Hillary's closest friend that she's planning to ram through TPP if she's elected. She even called it, as I said, the gold standard. It's passage would be a disaster for Michigan in particular, for the car industry in particular, for the people of Michigan. I won't let it happen. According to the Economic Policy Institute, the United States trade deficit with the proposed TPP member countries cost over one million manufacturing jobs in our country in 2015. By far the biggest losses occurred in motor vehicles and parts, which lost nearly 740, 000, think of that, 740,000 manufacturing jobs. Michigan ranks first for jobs lost as a share of state workforce due to trade deficit with TPP members. Just imagine how many more automobile jobs will be lost if Hillary gets her wish and approves TPP. It will not be pretty. That's why I have announced that we will withdraw from the deal before that deal can ever, ever, ever happen.

Donald Trump: (27:44)

I had previously laid out a detailed seven point plan for trade reform available on my website. It includes strong protections against currency manipulation from countries like China and tariffs against any nation that cheats by unfairly subsidizing their goods, of which many of them do. My plan also includes a total renegotiation of NAFTA so our jobs can come back. And if we can't make a much, much better deal than we have right now, we will walk.

Donald Trump: (28:41)

I'm not in any way, shape or form an isolationist, I don't believe in it, but we have to make great deals for our country. We're losing in our whole trade negotiation with the oil countries over \$800 billion a year, that's a trade deficit. Who negotiates these deals? We want great trade deals and we

will have them. But we want trade deals that work for America that create jobs and wealth for our country, that work for the American worker. We want to shrink our almost \$800 billion trade deficit. We don't want to expand it, and it's has been expanding for years. For years and years, you look at the charts, up, up, up, up, up.

Donald Trump: (29:48)

And I say to myself so often, why don't they do something about it? And the reason is, we have political hacks as our negotiators. We have politicians as our negotiators. We have politicians that are controlled, like Hillary Clinton, by her donors, her special interests and her lobbyists. And they won't let her do what's right for our workers and for our country. We want to be leading the world in production, exports, and manufacturing. We want jobs to leave from other countries and come into our country for a change. Another major issue in this race is foreign policy. Hillary Clinton has made one bad foreign policy decision after another, beginning with the support for going to war in Iraq. And I opposed it so strongly, nobody cared. I was a civilian, but I opposed it. I said, you will have a total destabilization of the middle East. It was such common sense. And look what happened. Her tenure as Secretary of State may be regarded as the most disastrous in United States history, but she's totally without remorse. Her failed decisions as Secretary of State unleashed ISIS onto the world. But has she ever apologized for the death and destruction she has caused? No. Look at the world before and after she became Secretary of State.

Donald Trump: (31:42)

Pre-Hillary, in the early 2009s, Iraq was seeing a reduction in violence. Libya was somewhat stable. Syria was under control. The group we now know today ISIS was close to being extinguished. Iran was being choked by sanctions. Now, take a look at what we have. Fast forward to the present time. After Hillary, here's what it looks like. Iraq is in total chaos. Syria is in the midst of a disastrous civil war and a refugee crisis now threatens Europe and the United States, where we're taking in thousands and thousands and thousands of people. ISIS has been unleashed onto the entire world. Iran, the world's top state sponsor of terrorism has been put on the path to nuclear weapons, was given \$400 million in ransom payment cash, where they just yesterday caught Obama in yet another lie.

Donald Trump: (33:01)

And yet another lie, very much like, "You can keep your doctor. You can keep your plan Obamacare." A total disaster. It will be repealed. It will be replaced.

Donald Trump: (33:22)
Hillary Clinton is a legacy of death, destruction and terrorism. America deserves a better legacy. All of you deserve a much, much better future. I am the change agent. I am the change agent. I am your messenger. And I've said it many times. I am nothing more than your messenger. It's a message of strong defense, common sense. Take care of our vets. Great education, get rid of common core. Great healthcare, get rid of Obamacare. Save our Second Amendment, which is under tremendous siege right now.

Donald Trump: (34:23)
Hillary Clinton is the defender of the status quo, or what we have. While our country lost badly under Hillary Clinton, she cashed in big time. Our country was losing. Our people were losing, but she is cashing in. Bill Clinton's speaking fees surged while Hillary was Secretary of State. Bill was paid almost \$50 million for speeches during her tenure, an increase in 44% over the previous four years. And by the way, things came out today that blow everything away. Then there was all the money funneled into the Clinton Foundation from foreign governments and corporations. It was pay for play.

Crowd: (35:18)
Boo.

Donald Trump: (35:21)
Yet Hillary Clinton, who is indifferent to the suffering she has caused, has no remorse at all. She offers no apologies for selling government favors, no apologies for unleashing ISIS, no apologies for her open borders, no apologies for lying about her emails or about Benghazi. The only way to learn the full depth of her public corruption is to read the 33,000 emails that she deleted. And the only way to get justice in this rigged system is to show up and vote on November 8th, and vote big, big, big.

Donald Trump: (36:19)
I will bring your jobs back. So are you ready to vote?

Crowd: (36:26)
Yeah.

Donald Trump: (36:29)

And what about your future? Is it going to be great, good or terrible?

Crowd: (36:34)

Great.

Donald Trump: (36:35)

Great. If you're ready to vote for honest government and the honest government that you deserve, a Trump administration will end the corruption and restore integrity to government service. Remember, I'm funding my campaign. I'm spending tremendous amounts of money on running for office. I'm raising money for the Republican Party and the Republican National Committee, which I think is doing a very good job, but I'll tell you more about that on November 8th. I'll let you know if they do a good job or if they do not such a good job, but I think they're going to do a great job.

Donald Trump: (37:18)

No one will be above the law. In a Trump administration, the State Department will work for the country, not for Hillary Clinton's donors. And I will work for you, and I will work for no one else. I will work for you. I will never lie to you. I will never put any other interests before you, and I will never, ever stop fighting for you. Never.

Donald Trump: (37:58)

The government will work for the people again. That means we are only going to admit individuals into our country who support our values, and we're not going to issue visas where adequate screening controls take place. We are going to make sure that we have total screening. And without it, we cannot continue to have our government run like this. We will also seek to join in partnership with any nation that wishes to join us in defeating and destroying ISIS.

Donald Trump: (38:40)

At home, taxes will go down, especially for ... Look, I mean, it's going to go down for a lot of people. For business, they're going down. Businesses are going to flourish. They're going to come pouring back. But taxes will go down, especially for middle income Americans. Small business rates will be lowered to 15% so we can put millions of new jobs into our poorest neighborhoods. As I said, Obamacare will be repealed and replaced. Voters, not special interests, will be in charge, finally. We are going to bring our country together again. We have a divided country. It's totally

divided. The era of division will be replaced with a future of unity, total unity. We will love each other. We will have one country. Everybody will work together.

Donald Trump: (39:51)

We are going to do it by emphasizing what we all have in common as Americans. It's time to break with the failures of the past and to fight for every last child in this country to have the better future they deserve. In my administration, every American will be treated equally, protected equally and honored equally. **We will reject bigotry and hatred and oppression in all of its forms and seek a new future built on our common culture and values as one American people.**

Donald Trump: (40:38)

This is the change I am promising to all of you: an honest government with low taxes, a thriving economy, and a just society for each and every American. It's time to vote for a new American future. **Together, we will make America wealthy again. We will make America united again. We will make America proud again. We will make America safe again. And we will make America great again.** God bless you. Thank you. Thank you very much, Michigan. Thank you. (singing)

Extractos subrayados en el discurso

“(...) we are going to win and we are going to win big. And we are going to the White House, and we are going to bring jobs back to our country, and we are going to bring jobs back to Michigan. It's going to be a victory for the people, a victory for the wage earner, the factory work. Remember this, a big, big victory for the factory worker. They haven't had those victories for a long time (...)”

– Desglobalización. Los trabajos de las fabricas son llevados a otras partes y Trump pretende devolverlos. Una cantidad de trabajos manufactureros de Michigan se perdieron durante el periodo del tratado de libre comercio conocido como NAFTA - North American Free Trade Agreement (Canada, Mexico Estados Unidos) y con las ideas de la World Trade Organization (WTO)⁸² Así que este tipo de discursos usados en un lugar como este Estado, resultaría más llamativo de lo normal.

“We have a lot to overcome in our country, especially the fact that our jobs are being taken away from us and going to other lands. And we're not going to allow it to happen. And especially it's happening right here in Michigan.” – Desglobalización.

⁸² Recuperado en: <https://www.citizen.org/article/michigan-job-loss-during-the-nafta-wto-period/>

“In this new future, millions of workers on the sidelines will be returned to the workforce. And if I’m not elected President, that will never happen. Believe me, they’re talking to you, they’re playing you, but believe me, you know the answer. And I have to say that I’ve been talking about Michigan and the car industry and how your businesses and plants have been ripped out of your land. And I’ve been doing it for four years to the people of Michigan.” – Desglobalización.

“Our border will be protected, and our children will be safe, very, very safe. (...) And we will build the wall. Don’t worry about it, we will build the wall.” – Xenofobia usada como nacionalismo.

“American values and cultures will be cherished, and I mean cherished, and celebrated once again” – Habla sobre una supuesta pérdida de cultura, de pronto metiendo disimuladamente el “Let’s Make America Great Again”. Cuando desde mi parecer, se refiere a uno valores culturales posiblemente machistas, racistas y xenofóbicos; una norte américa del pasado en donde predominaban los derechos de los hombres blancos.

“(...) My administration will go to work for you as no one has ever done before. We will work, we will bring back jobs, we will work. By contrast, the one thing every item in Hillary Clinton’s agenda has in common is that it takes jobs and opportunities away from African American workers. It takes jobs away from all workers because your companies are leaving Michigan, your companies are leaving every single state in our union. They’re going to Mexico, they’re going everywhere but here” – Desglobalización.

“Hillary Clinton supports open borders which means many thing, but it means people pour in and they take your jobs. Whether you like it or don’t like it they take your jobs” – Xenofobia y desglobalización.

“Her tremendous opposition to American energy, the opposition is fierce. And her record of giving our jobs away to many, many other countries” – Desglobalización.

“Hillary Clinton would rather provide a job to a refugee from overseas than to give that job to unemployed African American youth in cities like Detroit, who have become refugees in their own country. It’s time to get our country back to work and that includes an all out effort to help young

African Americans get the good paying jobs that they deserve” – Critica al mundo globalizado, una característica en los desglobalizadores.

“Hillary Clinton’s plan would bring in an estimated 620,000 refugees in her first term at a lifetime benefit cost of some \$400 billion to our country according to the Senate Immigration Subcommittee. Hillary Clinton wants to be America’s Angela Merkel.” – Xenofobia. Insinuando al mismo tiempo que se perderá la cultura norteamericana y sus trabajos. Nacionalismo similar al nacionalismo basado en la cultura explicado por Wang (2017. pp. 346).

“By the way, for the price of supporting one refugee in the United States, we could support 12 in a safe zone in the Middle East or let’s say, Syria. The improved refugee screening standards I have proposed will save countless billions of dollars. It’s called extreme vetting, extreme vetting. We will invest a portion of the money saved in a jobs program for inner city youth.” – Xenofobia. Mantener por fuera del país al mayor numero de inmigrantes y dificultarles la entrada al país mediante el “extreme vetting”

“They’ve sacrificed so much for the national good, yet nearly four in 10 African American children still live in poverty and 58%, as I said, of young African Americans are not working, they cannot find a job.” – Critica a las practicas multilateralistas.

“In a Trump administration all workers of all colors will get priority for jobs in their own country, which is about time” – America first como slogan nacionalista.

“We’re going to create great jobs and we’re going to get the wages up” – America First.

“In this new American future, American workers will always come first. America first, always come first. This will include a complete revitalization of the Michigan manufacturing section” – Desglobalización. America First como critica a esa globalización y apelar al orgullo estadounidense.

“And many people in this audience right now that think you have jobs you’re going to find out very soon that your company is leaving for Mexico or some other place and you’re not going to have your job very long. And if Trump gets in those days are over folks, those days are over.” - Desglobalización. America First como critica a esa globalización y apelar al orgullo estadounidense.

“We will be bringing back our jobs to Michigan. There will be a very big price to pay for those companies that want to leave our land, go someplace else, manufacture their goods and sell them back with no retribution, it won’t happen, there will be consequence. It won’t happen, it will not happen. Michigan lost more than one in four of its manufacturing jobs since NAFTA. As you know, NAFTA, one of the worst trade bills in history, maybe, maybe, the worst trade bill ever signed in the history of the world not only in our country. It’s emptied out Michigan, it’s emptied out New England, it’s emptied out in New York State, it’s emptied out so many of our great companies. They leave and they fire. We end up with devastation, we end up with unemployment, we end up with nothing.” – Crítica a la globalización y el multilateralismo representado en los acuerdos internacionales.

“... supported by Hillary Clinton. Right here in this community, you’ve lost one in seven manufacturing jobs since Bill Clinton put China into the World Trade Organization (...) And by the way, she will be back in Trans-Pacific Partnership, TPP, if she is elected, just mark your words. Just remember, you know it’s going to happen. She considered it the gold standard” – Desglobalización.

“Detroit lost more than one in three manufacturing jobs following the NAFTA and WTO agreements that were supported very strongly by my opponent. No industry has been hurt more by Hillary Clinton’s policies than the automobile industry, or as we call it, the car industry. It has been a total disaster. According to the Bureau of Labor Statistics, before NAFTA went into effect, there were 285,000 auto workers in Michigan. Today, that number is down to only 160,000, and it’s going to be a lot lower because if you look at the massive plants being built right now in Mexico, car plants, folks, you can kiss a lot of these jobs goodbye. But not with me, not with me, won’t happen.” – Crítica a la globalización.

“In 2014, General Motors announced plans to double its investments in Mexico by 2018. Not good. In April, 2016, Ford Motor Company announced plans to invest another 1.6 billion constructing an auto plant in Mexico. Mexico will become the car capital of the world very, very quickly, and Michigan is going to end up with lots of empty buildings all over the place unless you elect Donald Trump president, in which case is not going to happen. The same month, Fiat Chrysler announced 1,300 layoffs. The list goes on and on” – Desglobalización

“We will turn it around, we will turn it around fast. We will meet with these companies and we will say, it will not be easy for you to move your plant to Mexico, for you to sell your cars through what will be a very strong border, and for you not to pay tax on those cars coming in. And when we tell them that there will be a substantial tax on the cars that they make in Mexico and other places, number one, they’re not going to move in the first place, and number two, if they do, our country’s going to make one heck of a lot of money” – Desglobalización. Amenazando con aranceles a los empresarios que quieran llevarse parte de las fabricas a otras partes del mundo.

“But to save your jobs and to do all of the things that I’m talking about, we have to win on November 8th. The destruction that NAFTA started will be finished off if the Trans-Pacific partnership is approved. It will be almost, nothing’s as bad as NAFTA, but it will be almost as bad as NAFTA. We know from Hillary’s closest friend that she’s planning to ram through TPP if she’s elected. She even called it, as I said, the gold standard. It’s passage would be a disaster for Michigan in particular, for the car industry in particular, for the people of Michigan. I won’t let it happen. According to the Economic Policy Institute, the United States trade deficit with the proposed TPP member countries cost over one million manufacturing jobs in our country in 2015. By far the biggest losses occurred in motor vehicles and parts, which lost nearly 740, 000, think of that, 740,000 manufacturing jobs. Michigan ranks first for jobs lost as a share of state workforce due to trade deficit with TPP members. Just imagine how many more automobile jobs will be lost if Hillary gets her wish and approves TPP. It will not be pretty. That’s why I have announced that we will withdraw from the deal before that deal can ever, ever, ever happen.” – Critica a la globalización y los tratados internacionales de los que planea salirse o renegociarlos debido al daño que han hecho en sectores del país.

“I had previously laid out a detailed seven point plan for trade reform available on my website. It includes strong protections against currency manipulation from countries like China and tariffs against any nation that cheats by unfairly subsidizing their goods, of which many of them do. My plan also includes a total renegotiation of NAFTA so our jobs can come back. And if we can’t make a much, much better deal than we have right now, we will walk.” – Desglobalización.

“I’m not in any way, shape or form an isolationist, I don’t believe in it, but we have to make great deals for our country. We’re losing in our whole trade negotiation with the oil countries over \$800 billion a year, that’s a trade deficit. Who negotiates these deals? We want great trade deals and we

will have them. But we want trade deals that work for America that create jobs and wealth for our country, that work for the American worker.” – Crítica a la globalización. Gracioso que diga que no es un “isolationist” cuando muchas de las propuestas van encaminadas a alejarse de las ideas globalizadoras que involucran la participación de cooperadores internacionales y otras naciones.

“We have politicians that are controlled, like Hillary Clinton, by her donors, her special interests and her lobbyists. And they won’t let her do what’s right for our workers and for our country. We want to be leading the world in production, exports, and manufacturing. We want jobs to leave from other countries and come into our country for a change.” – Crítica a la globalización.

“(…) Take care of our vets (…) Save our Second Amendment, which is under tremendous siege right now.” – El ejército como símbolo de poder, así como lo son el derecho a tener armas, el cual en ese país se volvió un tema nacionalista para muchos.

“She offers no apologies for selling government favors, no apologies for unleashing ISIS, no apologies for her open borders” – Xenofobia.

“(…) I will bring your jobs back. So are you ready to vote?” – Crítica a las prácticas globalizantes de enviar partes de las fábricas estadounidenses a otras zonas donde pueden pagarle al trabajador más poco.

“In a Trump administration, the State Department will work for the country, not for Hillary Clinton’s donors. And I will work for you, and I will work for no one else. I will work for you. I will never lie to you. I will never put any other interests before you, and I will never, ever stop fighting for you. Never.” – Nacionalismo. America First como política proteccionista de los intereses de América del Norte.

“The government will work for the people again. That means we are only going to admit individuals into our country who support our values, and we’re not going to issue visas where adequate screening controls take place. We are going to make sure that we have total screening. And without it, we cannot continue to have our government run like this.” – Xenofobia como nacionalismo. Intentos de dificultar la entrada al país para proteger la supuesta identidad nacional que, según su

discurso, se ha ido perdiendo por culpa también de las diferentes culturas entrando al país y quedándose a vivir.

“(...) taxes will go down, especially for ... Look, I mean, it’s going to go down for a lot of people. For business, they’re going down. Businesses are going to flourish. They’re going to come pouring back. (...)” – Practicas desglobalizantes. Traer de regreso los negocios que se fueron del país, disminuyendo impuestos adentro y, como vimos, aumentándolos si realizan las practicas globalizantes de enviar sus fabricas a otros países.

“(...) We will reject bigotry and hatred and oppression in all of its forms and seek a new future built on our common culture and values as one American people” – Defender los valores nacionales estadounidenses como forma de nacionalismo.

“(...) Together, we will make America wealthy again. We will make America united again. We will make America proud again. We will make America safe again. And we will make America great again.” – Nacionalismo pretendiendo poner primero al país y devolverla a una epoca en donde no habia tanta diversidad cultural a pesar de ser un pais que se construyó dentro de esa misma diversidad.

Eliminando la palabra “TRUMP” del inicio de los párrafos dando a entender que el que habla es el entonces candidato. Eliminando las intervenciones de las audiencias y la palabra “Applause”. Encuentro que el transcript del discurso contiene un total de alrededor de 4.226 palabras y alrededor de 2.492 de esas fueron usadas en frases que hacen alusión al nacionalismo.

Análisis - Discurso – Victoria Elecciones 2016

Contexto

Donald Trump dio su discurso de victoria en New York, de este Estado ya di un contexto en el primer discurso analizado. Solo cabe decir que era de esperarse que diera el discurso de victoria desde la misma ciudad donde anunció su candidatura y donde nació, a pesar de estar desconectado sin darse cuenta de lo que algunos dicen que es realmente “New York”, el “verdadero” New York⁸³.

El discurso y sus fragmentos con tinte nacionalista

Discurso de victoria elecciones 2016⁸⁴

Noviembre 9

"Thank you. Thank you very much, everyone. Sorry to keep you waiting; complicated business; complicated. Thank you very much.

"I've just received a call from Secretary Clinton. She congratulated us, it's about us, on our victory, and I congratulated her and her family on a very, very hard-fought campaign. I mean, she fought very hard. Hillary has worked very long and very hard over a long period of time, and we owe her a major debt of gratitude for her service to our country. I mean that very sincerely.

"Now it's time for America to bind the wounds of division, have to get together. To all Republicans and Democrats and independents across this nation, I say it is time for us to come together as one united people. It's time. I pledge to every citizen of our land that I will be president for all Americans, and this is so important to me.

⁸³ Como mencioné en el primer discurso analizado, Peter Mehlman presenta en su artículo información sobre la vida de Trump y su desconexión con New York a pesar de haber vivido años allá, en:

<https://www.theatlantic.com/ideas/archive/2019/11/donald-trump-was-never-real-new-yorker/601324/>

⁸⁴ Recuperado en: <https://news.sky.com/story/donald-trumps-election-victory-speech-full-transcript-10651128>

"For those who have chosen not to support me in the past, of which there were a few people, I'm reaching out to you for your guidance and your help so that we can work together and unify our great country.

"As I've said from the beginning, ours was not a campaign, but rather an incredible and great movement made up of millions of hard-working men and women, who love their country and want a better, brighter future for themselves and for their families. It's a movement comprised of Americans from all races, religions, backgrounds and beliefs who want and expect our government to serve the people - and serve the people it will.

"Working together, we will begin the urgent task of rebuilding our nation and renewing the American dream. I've spent my entire life and business looking at the untapped potential in projects and in people all over the world. That is now what I want to do for our country. Tremendous potential. I've gotten to know our country so well, tremendous potential. It's going to be a beautiful thing. Every single American will have the opportunity to realise his or her fullest potential. The forgotten men and women of our country will be forgotten no longer.

"We are going to fix our inner cities and rebuild our highways, bridges, tunnels, airports, schools, hospitals. We're going to rebuild our infrastructure, which will become, by the way, second to none. And we will put millions of our people to work as we rebuild it.

"We will also finally take care of our great veterans. They've been so loyal, and I've gotten to know so many over this 18-month journey. The time I've spent with them during this campaign has been among my greatest honours. Our veterans are incredible people. We will embark upon a project of national growth and renewal. I will harness the creative talents of our people and we will call upon the best and brightest to leverage their tremendous talent for the benefit of all. It's going to happen.

"We have a great economic plan. We will double our growth and have the strongest economy anywhere in the world. At the same time, we will get along with all other nations willing to get along with us. We will be. We'll have great relationships. We expect to have great, great relationships. No dream is too big, no challenge is too great. Nothing we want for our future is beyond our reach. America will no longer settle for anything less than the best. We must reclaim our country's destiny and dream big and bold and daring. We have to do that. We're going to dream of things for our country and beautiful things and successful things once again.

"I want to tell the world community that while we will always put America's interests first, we will deal fairly with everyone, with everyone -- all people and all other nations. We will seek common ground, not hostility. Partnership, not conflict.

"And now I'd like to take this moment to thank some of the people who really helped me with this, what they are calling tonight, very, very historic victory. First, I want to thank my parents, who I know are looking down on me right now. Great people. I've learned so much from them. They were wonderful in every regard. I had truly great parents.

"I also want to thank my sisters, Mary Anne and Elizabeth, who are here with us tonight. And, where are they? They're here some place. They're very shy, actually. And my brother Robert, my great friend. Where is Robert? Where is Robert? My brother Robert. And they should all be on this stage, but that's OK. They're great. And also my late brother, Fred. Great guy. Fantastic guy. Fantastic family. I was very lucky. Great brothers, sisters; great, unbelievable parents.

"To Melania and Don, and Ivanka, and Eric and Tiffany and Baron, I love you and I thank you, and especially for putting up with all of those hours. This was tough. This was tough. This political stuff is nasty and it's tough. So I want to thank my family very much. Really fantastic. Thank you all. Thank you all."

(Mr Trump goes on to thank some political allies, such as Rudy Giuliani and Chris Christie, as well as praising the work of police and the secret services.)

"We're going to get to work immediately for the American people. And we're going to be doing a job that hopefully you will be so proud of your president. You'll be so proud. Again, it's my honour. It was an amazing evening. It's been an amazing two-year period. And I love this country. Thank you. Thank you very much."

Extractos subrayados en el discurso

"I pledge to every citizen of our land that I will be president for all Americans, and this is so important to me" – America First.

“Working together, we will begin the urgent task of rebuilding our nation and renewing the American dream.” Make America great again como slogan de ideas nacionalistas.

“We will also finally take care of our great veterans. They've been so loyal, and I've gotten to know so many over this 18-month journey. The time I've spent with them during this campaign has been among my greatest honours. Our veterans are incredible people” – Ejercito como simbolo nacionalista del poderio estadounidense.

“We will double our growth and have the strongest economy anywhere in the world. At the same time, we will get along with all other nations willing to get along with us.” – America First. Nacionalismo desglobalizante.

“(…) America will no longer settle for anything less than the best. We must reclaim our country's destiny and dream big and bold and daring. We have to do that. We're going to dream of things for our country and beautiful things and successful things once again.” – Let's make America great again.

“I want to tell the world community that while we will always put America's interests first, we will deal fairly with everyone (…)” – America First.

“We're going to get to work immediately for the American people. (…) And I love this country (…)”
– America First.

Eliminando la palabra “TRUMP” del inicio de los párrafos dando a entender que el que habla es el entonces candidato. Eliminando las intervenciones de las audiencias y la palabra “Applause”. Encuentro que el transcript del discurso contiene un total de alrededor de 947 palabras y alrededor de 321 de esas fueron usadas en frases que hacen alusión al nacionalismo.

Capítulo 4

Conclusiones

Entonces ¿Cuál fue el papel del discurso nacionalista en la victoria de Donald Trump durante las elecciones presidenciales de Estados Unidos en el 2016? Una respuesta que obtuve analizando el discurso de Trump.

El uso o alusión a ideas nacionalistas como la bandera, las independencias, etc⁸⁵, no es algo raro en los discursos políticos. Personalmente tengo el pensamiento de que un cierto nivel de nacionalismo no es malo, siempre y cuando no esté relacionado con el odio, discriminación y demás. No me gusta como los colombianos parecen volverse nacionalistas (en el buen sentido de la palabra, preocupándose por el país) solo cuando juega la selección Colombia de fútbol. O cuando se le exige o se preocupa más por ese deporte que por la gestión de los mismos políticos. Pero cuando son usados de manera desmesurada es fácil ir notando tendencias a que el nacionalismo se está usando como una táctica electoral principal.

En el discurso de Trump noté este tipo de táctica desde el primer discurso con el cuál anunció su candidatura, discurso que analicé aquí en este trabajo encontrando el uso desmesurado de alusiones nacionalistas. El discurso de Donald Trump en las elecciones presidenciales de 2016 estuvo plagado de fabricaciones, llamados a no poner atención a los datos estadísticos oficiales para beneficiar sus propias propuestas, pero su otro tema principal aparte de las exageraciones y mentiras, fue el nacionalismo. El nacionalismo de Trump estaba (y está) basado en parte de la xenofobia, avivando la flama del odio para que sus seguidores repelen en sus propias comunidades, de un modo u otro, a aquellos que son extranjeros. En sus discursos solía atacar mucho a México, Latinoamérica y medio oriente, pero otras nacionalidades serán atacadas por Donald Trump en futuros discursos. La xenofobia fue usada para crear un cierto sentido de nacionalidad propia estadounidense, diciendo al mismo tiempo que estos extranjeros se apropian de lo que “debería ser” para ellos como lo son los puestos de trabajo, o diciendo de un modo u otro que el crimen en su país es culpa exclusivamente de los extranjeros. Gaddie y Goidel (2015) hablan del nacionalismo “**Unhyphenated**” los cuales niegan relación sanguínea con extranjeros y uno de los tantos posibles primeros recuentos de xenofobia en Estados Unidos.

⁸⁵ Los símbolos nacionalistas pueden variar de país en país pero hay algunos que son usados en todos.

“When Mexico sends its people, they're not sending their best. They're not sending you. They're not sending you. They're sending people that have lots of problems, and they're bringing those problems with us. They're bringing drugs. They're bringing crime. They're rapists. And some, I assume, are good people. (...) It's coming from more than Mexico. It's coming from all over South and Latin America, and it's coming probably -- probably -- from the Middle East. But we don't know. Because we have no protection and we have no competence, we don't know what's happening. And it's got to stop and it's got to stop fast.” – Discurso anunciando su candidatura

Las religiones predominantes en Estados Unidos fueron mencionadas en menor medida en los discursos específicos que analicé; Trump mencionaba principalmente los grupos religiosos como el Islam radical y la necesidad de derrotarlos, y no olvidemos que Estados Unidos parece tener la necesidad de tener siempre un enemigo como explicado en Wang (2017) un tipo de nacionalismo muy peculiar conocido por Wang como “enemy complex” del que ya hablé en la sección de religión; asimismo, Trump habló de los evangélicos en su discurso dado ante la Republican National Convention donde aceptó su candidatura. Sin embargo, como bien lo expresé en el capítulo 1, las tendencias electorales de varios grupos religiosos⁸⁶ como los evangélicos y otros grupos no suele variar mucho entre las distintas campañas electorales, unos votaran demócrata y otros republicanos, sin importar quién sea el candidato de ambos partidos.

Pero es importante anotar que, aunque no se mencione, la religión siempre está activa en países como Estados Unidos que tiene distintos tipos. Religión y política, es una relación fuerte, tanto que hay personas que votan dependiendo de las corrientes religiosas que algún candidato tenga. Y es este tipo de nacionalismo el que también les da la idea a los estadounidenses de que son los “salvadores del mundo” porque supuestamente luchan por la “libertad” y esto lleva a la otra línea fuerte que vi en sus discursos, y es aquella representada en el ejército o la policía como símbolo nacionalista del poder que tiene el país a nivel interno e internacional para llevar a cabo esa “misión divina” de “liberar” otras naciones.

“(...) and I love the military, and I want to have the strongest military that we've ever had, and we need it more now than ever (...)” – Trump en el discurso donde anuncia su candidatura.

⁸⁶ Para encontrar más detalles sobre la religión y el poder, referencio, como indiqué en el párrafo, esa sección específica del capítulo 1 del actual trabajo.

El uso o insinuación de favorecer a las fuerzas armadas de ese país es también un método de apelar al nacionalismo. La fuerza bruta que tiene Estados Unidos y que ellos mismos referencian para sentirse orgullosos de sí mismo, no todos, pero si una parte grande de la población. No se puede olvidar la férrea defensa de las armas de fuego y de la segunda enmienda de la constitución y que profetan grupos como la National Rifle Association (NRA), defendida también por grupos dentro de los mismos estadounidenses sin importar cuantos tiroteos hayan. Armas, policía, ejercito. Este es un poder que ellos mismos creen se está usando para bien.

“Secondly, we have to rebuild our military and our economy. The Russians and Chinese have rapidly expanded their military capability, but look at what’s happened to us. (...) Our military is depleted and we’re asking our generals and military leaders to worry about global warming.” – Trump en el discurso de relaciones internacionales.

Trump usa el nacionalismo y al ejército como símbolo para presentarse o recordándose a sí mismos como “los salvadores” del planeta, un nacionalismo que recordemos les hace creer que tienen la “misión” de hacer el mundo “un lugar mejor” viene acompañado por el apoyo de “Dios”, esta es una identidad nacional de la religión civil americana como explicaron los autores Gaddie y Goidel (2015) y McCartney (2004, pp. 403) y que cité en el capítulo 1 del actual trabajo.

Y por tal motivo, cualquier ataque a las fuerzas militares y la policía, como desfinanciarlos, es un ataque al orgullo norteamericano y su poder para llevar “libertad” al mundo.

El discurso del entonces candidato también estaba encaminado a lo que analicé anteriormente, y pienso que este tema fue uno de los argumentos que le ayudó más, la desglobalización, notando que el eslogan “America First” hacía alusión a exactamente eso, “América Primero”⁸⁷. Atacando a su rival del momento Hillary Clinton, por supuestamente ser la continuidad de las políticas del presidente Obama, por las políticas y tratados internacionales como NAFTA⁸⁸, así como el hecho de que se estén, según él, reconstruyendo otros países mientras que se debilita el propio, entre otros. Esta característica de su discurso nacionalista lo usó adecuadamente debido a las condiciones

⁸⁷ Otra característica, desagradable en mi opinión, de Estados Unidos es que cuando dicen “América” se refieren a ellos mismos. Como si ese país fuese el único en el continente o, peor aún, creer que ellos son los mandamases en el continente y por esto creer que pueden llamarse a sí mismos “América”

⁸⁸ En el discurso de materia internacional lo critica. Asimismo, en el discurso de aceptación de la candidatura republicana.

tan degradantes por las que algunos Estados de ese país habían pasado y sufrido, todo debido a las políticas internacionales que beneficiaban poco la producción interna.

“We’re rebuilding other countries while weakening our own. Ending the theft of American jobs will give us resources we need to rebuild our military, which has to happen and regain our financial independence and strength. I am the only person running for the presidency who understands this and this is a serious problem.” – Donald Trump en el discurso de políticas internacionales.

Un nacionalismo desglobalizante que critica las tendencias del mundo como el multilateralismo del que se vale el capitalismo globalizado e insinuando que norte américa estaba débil debido a estas tendencias. El candidato propone medidas proteccionistas a través de aranceles a las empresas estadounidenses que pretendan llevarse sus fábricas y trabajos a otros lugares del mundo, así como aranceles a aquellos que pretendan importar su materia prima de otros países en vez de usar la del propio Estados Unidos, argumentando a que los trabajos deben ser exclusivamente para los norteamericanos y no deben llevarselos a otros países, concentrar las políticas en el interior del país y dejar de preocuparse por otros.

“That’s right. A lot of people up there can’t get jobs. They can’t get jobs, because there are no jobs, because China has our jobs and Mexico has our jobs.” – Trump en su discurso de presentation de la candidatura

El equilibrio mundial no importa en su discurso, solo lo que beneficie a Estados Unidos en material de relaciones internacionales. Repetir que un muro fronterizo se construirá para alejar “amenazas”⁸⁹. Un banneo a los vuelos⁹⁰ de naciones con cierto tipo de religión.

“We’re also going to have to change our trade, immigration and economic policies to make our economy strong again. And to put Americans first again.” – Trump en su discurso de relaciones internacionales.

⁸⁹ Corbett, Erin. (2018, 13 de diciembre). Trump Has Said Mexico Will Pay for the Border Wall at Least 20 Times Since 2015. *Fortune*. Recuperado en: <https://fortune.com/2018/12/13/trump-mexico-border-wall/>

⁹⁰ Diamond, Jeremy. (2015, 8 de Diciembre). Donald Trump: Ban all Muslim travel to U.S. *CNN Politics*. Recuperado en: <http://edition.cnn.com/2015/12/07/politics/donald-trump-muslim-ban-immigration/index.html>

En mi opinión, para que el uso del nacionalismo tenga efecto en un discurso político, el político debe usarla de vez en cuando. El hecho de que el entonces candidato haya usado la cantidad tan amplia de palabras dentro de frases relacionadas al nacionalismo en los discursos analizados muestra el direccionamiento que Trump quería darle a su candidatura y uno de los modos en que quería presentarse ante los ciudadanos.

¿El nacionalismo desempeñó un papel importante? Definitivamente sí. **Al final de cada discurso puse el número de veces que hizo alusión al tema y en comparación con la totalidad del discurso, se nota que la mayor parte de la estructura de los discursos analizados comprendían alusiones a los nacionalismos expuestos en este trabajo o a temas relacionados con estos como mención a instituciones como el ejército, la policía, etc.** Al entonces candidato Donald Trump, basándome en lo que analicé, le sirvió mucho el nacionalismo en sus discursos, valiéndose del contexto para fortalecer este tipo de discurso. Valiéndose asimismo de la fuerte xenofobia que seguía viva en una parte de la población y el descontento con la situación laboral que percibían muchos. Así como en otras campañas políticas, el contexto del momento desempeñó un papel muy importante, ya que varios de los sucesos internacionales e internos del país le daban argumentos, fuesen falsos, exagerados o verdaderos, a algunas de las propuestas de Trump. Sucesos como los ataques a la policía⁹¹ y las políticas internacionales que no beneficiaban primeramente a norteamérica.

El uso desmesurado de ideológicas nacionalistas, de acciones como abrazar la bandera, confirma que una de las tácticas principales de Trump en esta campaña fue la de usar el discurso nacionalista para su beneficio. Apoyado por parte del contexto en el que vivía el país finalizando la presidencia de Barak Obama en 2016

Los nacionalismos que visitamos están intrincadamente relacionados con la cultura propia del país, desde la xenofobia originaria de los pueblos asentarios hasta la defensa de las armas y las instituciones de poder.

⁹¹ Los cuales fueron desencadenados por ellos mismos al atacar a algunos miembros de la sociedad civil desarmada. Pero Trump y otros prefieren no verlo de esa manera para poder usar ese símbolo de poder y “orgullo” nacional. Recuperado en: <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-us-canada-52905408>

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