

**POWER REPRESENTING IDEOLOGY IN DONALD  
TRUMP'S POLITICAL SPEECH**

**THESIS**

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IBRAHIM MALANG  
2019**

# **POWER REPRESENTING IDEOLOGY IN DONALD TRUMP'S POLITICAL SPEECH**

## **THESIS**

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2019**

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I state that the thesis entitled **“Power Representing Ideology in Donald Trump’s Political Speech”** is my original work. I do not include any materials previously written or published by another person, except those ones that are cited as references and written in the bibliography. Hereby, if there is an objection or claims I am the only person who is responsible for that.

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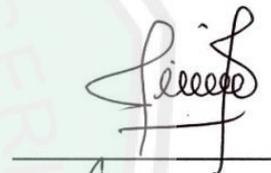
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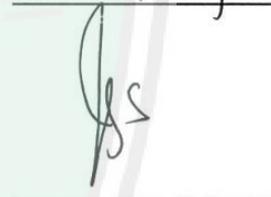
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## MOTTO

يُؤْتِي الْحِكْمَةَ مَنْ يَشَاءُ ۚ وَمَنْ يُؤْتَ الْحِكْمَةَ فَقَدْ أُوتِيَ خَيْرًا كَثِيرًا ۗ وَمَا يَذَّكَّرُ إِلَّا  
أُولُو الْأَلْبَابِ

(2:269) He grants wisdom to those whom He wills; and whoever is granted wisdom has indeed been granted much good. Yet none except people of understanding take heed.



## **DEDICATION**

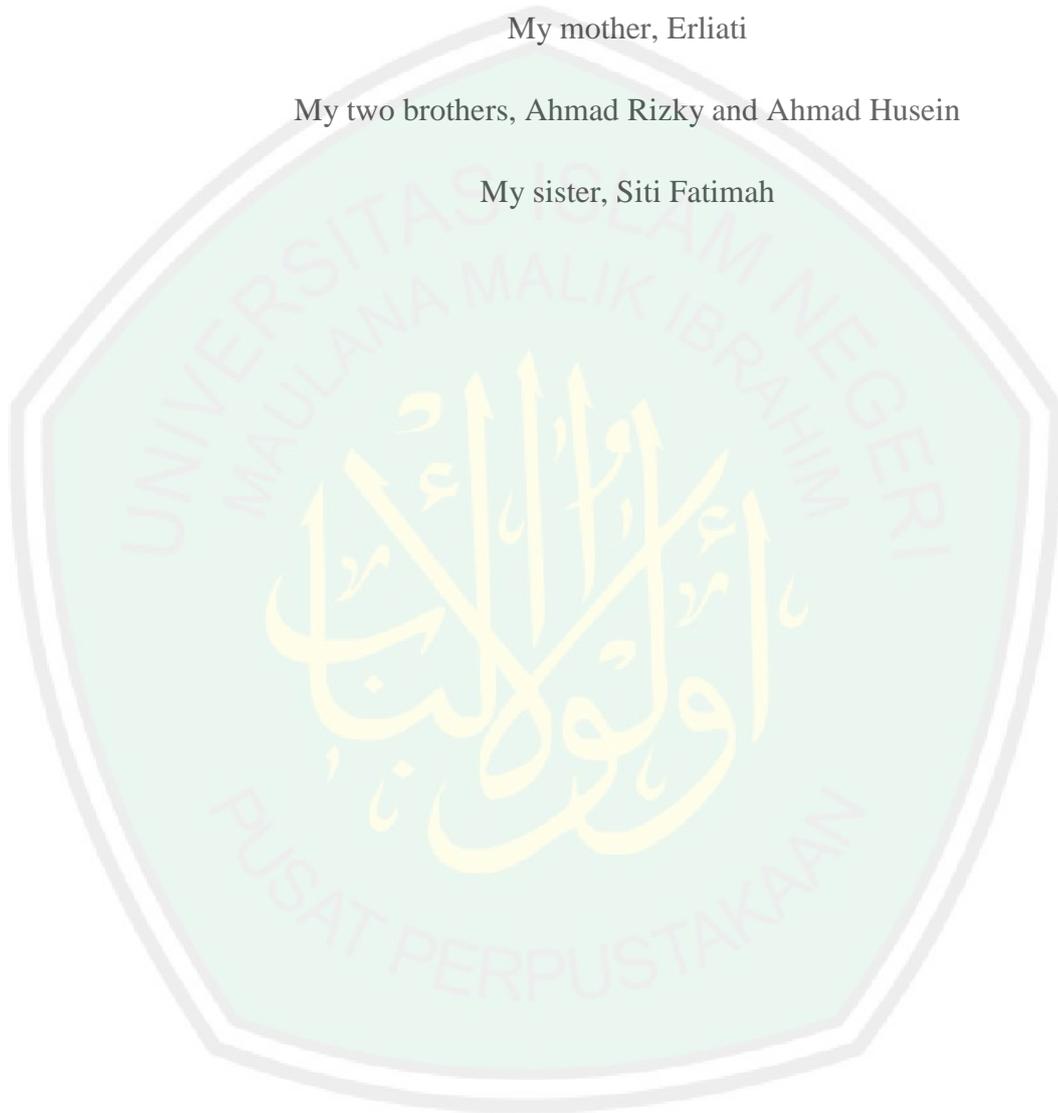
I proudly dedicate this thesis to

My father, Mustafa

My mother, Erliati

My two brothers, Ahmad Rizky and Ahmad Husein

My sister, Siti Fatimah



## ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

All praise to Allah S.W.T. as the highest power, who gives His blessing for all creatures in the universe. Particularly, His blessing is given to me, so I can finish this thesis entitled “Power Representing Ideology in Donald Trump’s Political Speech”. *Shalawat and Salam* praise to our beloved Prophet Rasulullah Muhammad p.b.u.h, the messenger as well as the one who brings good news to human life.

First of all, I thank my family as my support system which always prays for me and gives the best advice as best as they can. Then, I am able to accomplish this thesis successfully because of some talented people who always give advice, guidance, and critique in order to improve this thesis. I would like to thank my advisor, Dr. Meinarni Susilowati, for her critical advice and unsurpassed knowledge of doing research that are invaluable in both academic and personal levels. Then, I would like to thank my two examiners, Dr. Rohmani Nur Indah, M. Pd. and Mrs. Lina Hanifiyah, M. Pd. who gave the best comments and suggestions to get the best research.

Then, my deepest gratitude is to all lecturers at English Letters Department who have taught me so many great lessons. My thank also delivers to my parents who never stop loving and keep praying for me. Then, thank you for my dearest comrade in arms, Leni Widiati, my unbiological sisters Ifa, Kenny, Nenik, Enong, and Suci. Our togetherness teaches me to be a better person as a place for sharing happiness. Thank you so much. The last, as an ordinary human I realize some of my weaknesses in conducting this thesis. Therefore, I expect that everyone who read this thesis could improve the betterment of this research and conduct better research in the future. Thank you

Malang, 29 April, 2019

The Researcher

## ABSTRACT

Ulhasanah, Witra. 2019. *Power Representing Ideology in Donald Trump's Political Speech*. Minor Thesis (*Skripsi*). Department of English Literature, Faculty of Humanities, Universitas Islam Negeri Maulana Malik Ibrahim Malang

Advisor : Dr. Meinarni Susilowati, M. Ed.

**Keywords** : Power, Ideology, Political speech

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This research aimed at reporting how such a controversial speech served a certain degree of power which represented particular ideology. The researcher selected this topic because power representing ideology could be a potential investigation for the researcher. Thus, power in political speech could demonstrate the speaker's ideology through the language that the speaker's used.

Methodologically, the researcher assumed discursive strategies proposed by Wodak. This research is categorized as descriptive qualitative as the research design. From this study, the researcher found 15 data. The data were classified by using Wodak's (2009) theory to see the power which represents ideology in Donald Trump political speech.

The results showed that President Donald Trump used all five types of discursive strategies including, nomination or referential strategies, predication strategies, perspectivation strategies, argumentation strategies and intensification strategies. With the use of all five types of the discursive strategies within positive self-presentation this study could get the findings.

For the future researchers, it is recommended to find more comprehensive data to investigate power representing ideology in very distinct approaches and different context. Such ironical expressions may conceptualize the nature of ideological power in various patterns in different contexts. These studies would give broaden insights to linguistics field. Moreover, by combining two or more theory could result the new finding.

## ABSTRAK

Ulhasanah, Witra. 2019. Ideologi Merepresentasikan Kekuasaan dalam Pidato Politik Donald Trump. Skripsi. Jurusan Sastra Inggris. Fakultas Humaniora. Universitas Islam Negeri Maulana Malik Ibrahim Malang.

Pembimbing : Dr. Meinarni Susilowati, M. Ed.

Kata kunci : Power, Ideologi, Pidato politik

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Penelitian ini bertujuan untuk melaporkan bagaimana pidato kontroversial tersebut menunjukkan tingkat kekuasaan tertentu yang mewakili ideologi tertentu. Peneliti memilih topik ini karena kekuasaan yang merepresentasikan ideologi dapat menjadi bahan penelitian yang potensial bagi peneliti. Dengan demikian, kekuasaan dalam pidato politik dapat menunjukkan ideologi pembicara melalui bahasa yang digunakan pembicara.

Secara metodologis, peneliti mengasumsikan strategi diskursif yang dikemukakan oleh Wodak. Penelitian ini tergolong deskriptif kualitatif sebagai desain penelitian. Dari penelitian ini, peneliti menemukan 15 data. Data diklasifikasikan menggunakan teori Wodak (2009) untuk melihat kekuatan yang merepresentasikan ideologi dalam pidato politik Donald Trump.

Hasil penelitian menunjukkan bahwa presiden Donald Trump menggunakan kelima jenis strategi diskursif yang meliputi, strategi nominasi atau refensial, strategi prediksi, strategi perspektif, strategi argumentasi, dan strategi intensifikasi. Dengan menggunakan kelima jenis strategi diskursif dalam presentasi diri yang positif, penelitian ini dapat memperoleh temuan.

Bagi peneliti selanjutnya disarankan untuk menemukan data yang lebih komprehensif untuk menyelidiki kekuasaan yang merepresentasikan ideologi dalam pendekatan yang sangat berbeda dan konteks yang berbeda. Ekspresi ironis seperti itu dapat mengkonseptualisasikan sifat kekuasaan ideologis dalam berbagai pola dalam konteks yang berbeda. Studi-studi ini akan memberikan wawasan yang lebih luas ke

bidang linguistik. Selain itu, dengan menggabungkan dua teori atau lebih dapat menghasilkan temuan baru.



## مستخلص البحث

الحسنة, ويرا. ٢٠١٩. القوة التي تمثل الأيديولوجية في الخطاب السياسي دونالد ترامب. بحث جامعي. قسم اداب الإنجليزية. كلية علوم الإنسانية. جامعة مولانا مالك إبراهيم الإسلامية الحكومية مالانج.

المشرف: الدكتورة مينرني سوسيلوواتي الماجستير.

الكلمات المفتاحية: السلطة, أيديولوجية, خطاب سياسي.

يهدف هذا البحث إلى التحقيق في السلطة التي تمثل أيديولوجية دونالد ترامب في خطابه السياسي حول الاعتراف بالقدس عاصمة لإسرائيل. اختار الباحث هذا الموضوع لأن القوة التي تمثل الأيديولوجية يمكن أن تكون تحقيقاً محتملاً للباحث. وهكذا، يمكن للسلطة في الخطاب السياسي أن تظهر أيديولوجية المتحدث من خلال اللغة التي يستخدمها المتحدث.

يصنف هذا البحث على أنه وصفي نوعي مثل Wodak منهجيا، افترض الباحث استراتيجيات خطابية اقترحها (٢٠٠٩) Wodak تصميم البحث. من هذه الدراسة وجد الباحث ١٥ بيانات. تم تصنيف البيانات باستخدام نظرية لمعرفة القوة التي تمثل الأيديولوجية في خطاب دونالد ترامب السياسي.

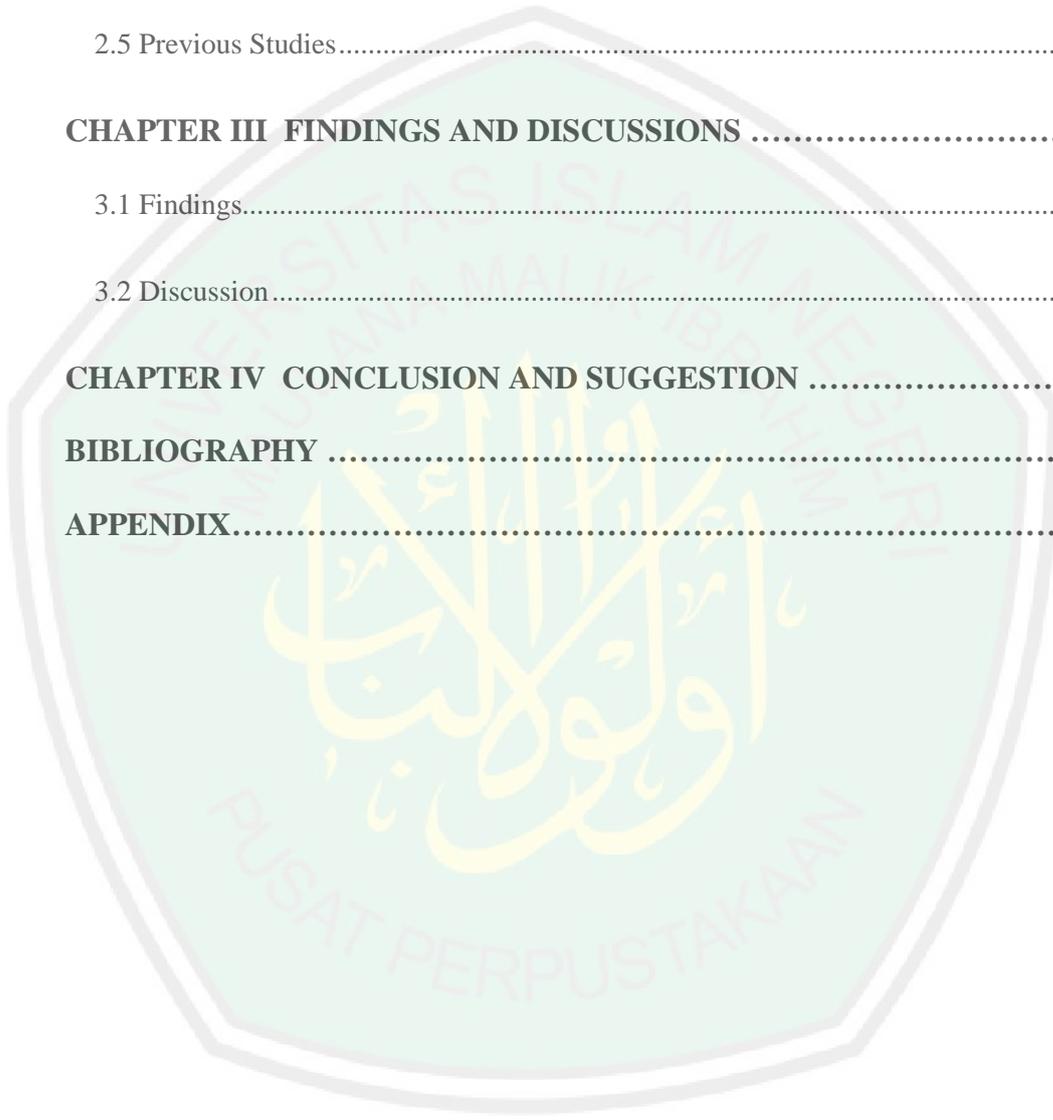
أظهرت النتائج أن الرئيس دونالد ترامب استخدم جميع الأنواع الخمسة من الاستراتيجيات الخطابية بما في ذلك استراتيجيات الترشيح أو المراجع واستراتيجيات التنبؤ واستراتيجيات المنظور واستراتيجيات الجدل واستراتيجيات التكتيف. باستخدام جميع الأنواع الخمسة للاستراتيجيات الخطابية ضمن العرض الذاتي الإيجابي، يمكن لهذه الدراسة الحصول على النتائج.

بالنسبة للباحثين المستقبليين، يوصى بالعثور على بيانات أكثر شمولاً للتحقيق في السلطة التي تمثل الأيديولوجية في مناهج متميزة للغاية وسياق مختلف، باستثناء السياسة. يمكن للباحث في المستقبل التحقيق في القوة التي تمثل الأيديولوجية في سياق التعليم باستخدام نظرية أخرى. ستعطي هذه الدراسات رؤى أوسع لمجال علم اللغة. علاوة على ذلك، من خلال الجمع بين نظريتين أو أكثر يمكن أن يؤدي إلى اكتشاف جديد.

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## CHAPTER I

### INTRODUCTION

This chapter presents background of study, research question, research significance, research scope and limitation, definition of the key terms and research method which used to conduct this research.

#### 1.1 Research Background

This research focuses on investigating the power representing the ideology of Donald Trump in his speech about recognizing Jerusalem as the capital of Israel. This study also emphasized ideology performed by social actor as means of transforming power relations. According to Wodak and Meyer (2001), ideology is an important aspect of establishing and maintaining unequal power relations. It means ideology and power are related to each other. Thus, ideology for Martin (2014) is a generalization of social relations; it is the ideal form of the actual relations, seen from the perspective of one position in this set of relations, but universalized, idealized and abstracted. According to Wodak (2008), ideology is seen as one sided perspective world view composed of related mental representations, convictions, opinions, attitudes and evaluations which are shared by a member of a specific social group. Ideologies serve as an important means of establishing hegemonic identity narratives by controlling the access of specific discourses or public spheres.

Power is ability to control people and events. According to Wodak (2001) power is about relation of differences and effects of difference in social structures.

There are some powers implemented in some ways, those are ‘actional power’ (physical force and violence), the control of people through threats and promises, an attachment to authority, (the exertion of authority and submission to authority) and technical control through objects, such as means of production, means of transportation, weapons, and so on (Popitz, 1992).

The unity of language and other social matters ensure that language is entwined in social power in several ways: language indexes power, expresses power, involved in any contention and a challenge to power (Wodak and Meyer, 2001). Power does not derive from power, but language can be used to challenge and overthrow power, and also change distributions of power in the long and short term. Power is characterized not only by the grammatical forms in the text but also by a person’s control over a social occasion through the text genre. Therefore, it needs CDA to answer the research problem of this study.

Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) is an approach to critically analyze discourse which is addressing problems of social change. Chouliariki and Fairclough (1999) in Wodak and Meyer (2001) explain and elaborate something about CDA, showing not only how the analytical framework for investigating language in relation to power and ideology developed, but also how CDA is useful in disclosing the discursive nature of much contemporary social and cultural change. CDA opens the window of social problems because social problems are largely constituted in discourse. CDA may be defined as concerned with analyzing the transparent structural relationships between dominance, power and controls manifested in language. CDA aims to investigate critically social

inequality as it is expressed, signaled, constituted, legitimized and so on by language use in discourse (Wodak & Meyer, 2001). As Habermas claims that language is also a medium of domination and social force. Therefore, it served to legitimize relations of organized power.

According to Wodak, the concept of analyzing discourse called as Discourse Historical Approach (DHA). There are three tools or principal of DHA, such as having identified the specific topics of a specific discourse, discursive strategies are investigated, and linguistic means are examined. In accordance with other approaches devoted to CDA as has already been implied, the discourse- historical approach perceives both written and spoken language as a form of social practice (Fairclough and Wodak, 1997). Discourse is a way of signifying a particular domain of social practice from particular perspective (Fairclough, 1995). We assume a dialectical relationship between particular discursive practices and the specific fields of action (including situations, institutional frames, and social structures) in which they are embedded.

Donald Trump is a controversial politician who likes to create problems to Muslims in the world. He liked to discriminate against Muslims in the world. The speech entitled “Recognizing Jerusalem as the capital of Israel” showed that Trump against all Muslims in the world because the Middle East conflict became the concern of all Muslims in the world. This research took Donald Trump’s speech about recognizing Jerusalem as the Capital of Israel because the speech showed Donald Trump’s power. Tragically, his declaration caused many controversies because many countries did not agree with his statement which

decided Jerusalem as the Capital of Israel. Therefore, it indicated that the language used by Donald Trump in his political speech frequently aimed at showing his power, influencing people through the ideological construction of his arguments.

This topic became crucial to be discussed because the recognition declared by Trump could be a historical peak. As a fact, the American previous presidents signed waiver, only Trump who brave to declare the recognition that Jerusalem is the capital of Israel. Moreover, the effect of that recognition is not peace but the last forever war. The Middle East conflicts were getting worse in 2017 after Donald Trump declared his decision that Jerusalem is the capital of Israel. President Trump said recognizing Jerusalem as the capital of Israel was a peace process. But he did not explain how the peace would achieve within that recognition. This is still being a question, how can two regions achieve peace while those two regions still fight each other. According to him, the first step of recognizing Jerusalem was moving the US embassy from Tel Aviv to East Jerusalem.

As a result, his decision has not made any peace yet, or war could happen even at the longest. Besides that, the researcher took this political speech as her concern to be analyzed, because the researcher as a Muslim could imagine how Palestinians got that affliction. Besides, Arab leaders across the Middle East have warned the move could lead to turmoil and hamper U.S. efforts to restart long-stalled Israeli-Palestinian peace talks (Farrel, S, 2018).

Some previous researchers have conducted researches on power and ideology. First, Putra (2016) investigated power relation on Donald Trump's political campaign. The finding shows that Donald Trump reflects his power relation toward people by using discursively delegitimize other people, races, and also politicians through victimizing, underestimating even discriminating others in making him more powerful than them. Second, Swari (2017) investigated rhetorical devices and power relation of Hillary Clinton's and Donald Trump's statement in Presidential debate. The finding shows that Hillary Clinton's and Donald Trump used pronoun 'I', 'we', and 'us' for positive self-presentation and pronoun 'you', 'he/she' for negative self-presentation. Furthermore, discursive strategies of power relation become significant way for Donald Trump and Hillary Clinton to portray their power relation by strengthening and emphasizing their argument to build ideological construction. Third, Nazla (2017) examines ideology reflected from persuasive strategies in Nara Masista Rakhmania's speech at United Nations General Assembly. The results show that there are three persuasive strategies reflected the speaker's ideology involves repetition, analogy and proposition.

The last, Thomas (2015) identifies a significant number of those impediments and indicates how the Analytic Hierarchy Process AHP can productively address them. A summary of the highlights of the AHP approach precedes how it has been applied to the Israeli–Palestinian conflict.

From those previous studies, this research focuses on analyzing power of Donald Trump which represents his ideology in his political speech. Hence, this

study would focus on the discourse historical approach which provides five ways to investigate the power which represents ideology of Donald Trump because previous researchers haven't done research power representing ideology. Therefore, this research is important to be conducted in order to see how language power can influence the reader's judgment.

### **1.2 Research Question**

How does power represent ideology in Donald Trump's speech on recognizing Jerusalem as the capital of Israel?

### **1.3 Research Significance**

Based on the topic, this research gives theoretical and practical contributions especially for interdisciplinary area of political speech to understand power and ideology on Wodak's theory.

Theoretically, this research is projected to give academic comprehension particularly in developing a theoretical framework of Wodak's discourse historical approach performed by President Donald Trump on his political speech.

Practically, this research can give some knowledge to the students of English Letters Department, especially to the students who are concerned with linguistics area in order to understand the language of politicians which indicates power and ideology. Furthermore, this research would be a potential source for future researchers in similar study related to power and ideology in different discourses such as education, media, and so forth.

#### **1.4 Research Scope and Limitation**

This research focuses on power which represents ideology on Donald Trump's political speech using CDA theory proposed by Wodak (2009). Additionally, this research limited the data only for political speech of Donald Trump was held in Diplomatic Reception room of White House on December 6, 2017 about recognizing Jerusalem as the capital of Israel.

#### **1.5 Research Method**

This section provides the description of research design, research instrument, data source, data collection and data analysis.

##### **a. Research Design**

In this research, the researcher uses constructivism paradigm. This constructivism paradigm is used to understand the problem which has resourceful source of data. Moreover, this research related to social problem and it deals with qualitative research. The researcher started with formulating the data which encouraged by the related theories in order to analyze the data used in this research.

This research is categorized as qualitative research because it has some qualitative points; first, the purpose of this research is to understand how power represents ideology in Donald Trump speech by using CDA theory. Second, the data in this research are soft data in the forms of words and utterances.

This research used CDA approach because it was the appropriate approach for analyzing the linguistic phenomena related to power and ideology in social

practice. It encompassed the strategy of revealing power and ideology through deciding and labeling one region becomes other's ownership.

#### b. Research Instrument

The main instrument of this research is I myself as human instrument that collected and analyzing the data. I am the only one who obtained, collected and analyzed the data because there were no other instruments that can do this except me myself.

#### c. Data Source

The data were taken from a political speech of Donald Trump held on December 6, 2017. The original video of Donald Trump's speech was obtained from the website, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=OAKxZeFc8Jk>.

Otherwise, the script was downloaded from the website entitled "Statement by President Trump on Jerusalem" <https://www.whitehouse.gov/briefings-statements/statement-president-trump-jerusalem/> because it served the compatible sequences of utterances with the video.

#### d. Data Collection

I used the following steps to collect the data. First, I tried to find the video of Donald Trump speech about recognizing Jerusalem as the capital of Israel. Second, I watched the video to understand what the speaker's talk about. Third, I searched the script of the video. Forth, I matched the utterances in video with the words in the script. Last, I watched again the video for several times in order to

see how Donald Trump showed his power and ideology through the words that he used.

#### e. Data Analysis

To answer the research question, some steps have done. After collecting the data from the course, the researcher analyzed the data. First, the researcher identified the utterances which indicate power. Then the researcher classified which utterances those include into five discursive strategies. Every type of discursive strategies has classification. First type is nomination that contains membership categorization, metaphors, metonymies, and synecdoche. Second type is predication strategy that contains stereotypical, evaluative attribution of positive or negative traits and implicit or explicit predicates. The third type is perspectivization which contains means of reporting, description, narration or quotation of events and utterances. The fourth type is argumentation strategies that contains discrimination or preferential. The last type is intensification or mitigation that contains illocutionary force (discriminatory) utterances. Then, the researcher elaborated or explains the data based on the theory. The last, the researcher made conclusion from the result of the analysis.

### 1.6 Definition of Key Terms

To make the points of this research clear, the terms are explained as follows:

1. **Power** is defined as the ability of Donald Trump to control over others often because of his powerfulness, wealth, strength. It reflected from his declaration or announcement of recognizing Jerusalem as the capital of Israel.

2. **Ideology** is defined as the perspective of Donald Trump that could be seen from his convictions, attitudes and opinions.
3. **Political speech** is defined as the speech delivered by Donald Trump which aims to inform the audience about his decision to recognize Jerusalem as the capital of Israel.



## CHAPTER II

### REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE

This chapter explains theories related to this present study. It discusses the theories about critical discourse analysis of Ruth Wodak, power, ideology, political speech and previous studies.

#### 2.1 Power

Power is someone's authority to control and influence people to do something. Holzschleiter (2005) defines power in discourse as actor's struggles over different interpretations of meaning. This struggle for semiotic hegemony relates to the selection of 'specific linguistic codes, rules for interaction, rules for the access to the meaning-making forum, rules for decision-making, turn-taking, opening of access, making contributions and interventions' (2005:69).

Power is about relations of difference and particularly about the effects of differences in social structures (Wodak, 2001:11). When power is associated to language, "language is entwined in social power in a number of ways: language indexes power, expresses power, I involved where there is contention over and a challenge to power" (Wodak, 2001:11). In social relations, language and power are closely connected to each other. Power does not derive from language, but language can be used to challenge power, to subvert it, to alter distributions of power in the short and long term. Language provides articulated means for differences in power in social hierarchical structures (Wodak, (2001:11). Thus the

analysis of language is valuable instrument to inspect the power relation such as dominance and inequality in media discourses.

## **2.2 Ideology**

Ideology is the faith or belief of someone or many people in something. Moreover, ideology is a system of ideas based on values judgments and attitudes, which aid certain forces within a society to further their interests or to stabilize their power, a descriptive approach which elucidates the origin and activity of such structures of ideas serving political power, by analyzing the means and patterns by which the ideology is linguistically realized, is of necessity critical ideology (Wodak, 1988:59).

The concept of ideology is presented involving cognitive and social psychology, sociology and discourse analysis (van Dijk, 2004:4). Ideology is a set of belief systems including a person's beliefs, values, goals, and anticipations. Van Dijk (2000) discussed it more by stating: the cognition definition of ideology is given in terms of the social cognition that are shared by the members of the group. The social dimension explains what kind of groups; relations between groups and institutions are involved in the development and reproduction of ideologies. The discourse dimension of ideologies explains how ideologies influence our daily texts and talks, how we understand ideological discourse, and how discourse, and how discourse involved in the reproduction of ideology in society (Van Dijk, 2004: 4).

## **2.3 Critical Discourse Analysis**

This sub chapter contains a brief description of Discourse Historical Approach in order to make the readers can understand the theory of this study.

### **2.3.1 CDA Wodak's Discourse Historical Approach**

Discourse-Historical Approach (DHA) provides a vehicle for looking at latent power dynamics and the range of potentials in agents, because it integrates and triangulates knowledge about historical sources and the background of social and political fields within which discursive events are embedded (see Wodak, 2009: 38). Moreover, the DHA distinguishes between three dimensions which constitute textual meanings and structure: the topics which are spoken/ written about, the discursive strategies employed and the linguistic means that are drawn upon to realize both topics and strategies.

Systematic qualitative analysis in DHA takes four layers of context into account; the intertextual and interdiscursive relationships between utterances, texts, genres and discourses, the extra-linguistic social/sociological and variables, the history and archaeology of texts and organizations, the institutional frames of the specific context of a situation.

There are five types of discursive strategies, all involved in positive self- and negative other- presentation. Strategy generally refers to a plan of practices, including discursive practices, adopted to achieve a particular social, political, psychological or linguistic goal.

a. Referential or Nomination strategies

Social actors are constructed and represented, for example, through the creation of in- group and out- group. This is done through a number of categorization devices, including metaphors, metonymies and synecdoches, in the form of a part for the whole or a whole standing for the part. It means, the analyst label the social actors positively or negatively, appreciatively or depreciatorily. Furthermore, identify a certain actor or collective, inferring a threat or opportunity posed by their behavior or interests.

b. Predicational strategies

Social actors as individuals, group members or group as a whole, are linguistically characterized through predications. *Predicational strategies* may, for example, be realized as evaluative attributions of negative and positive traits in the linguistic form of implicit or explicit predicates. These strategies aim to label social actors in a more or less positive or negative manner, and are thus closely related to nomination strategies.

c. Argumentation strategies

There are argumentation strategies and amounts of topoi through which positive and negative attributions are justified. Meanwhile, topoi are parts of argumentation which belong to the obligatory premises of an argument with the conclusion or the central claim. For example, it could be suggested that the social and political inclusion or exclusion of persons or policies is legitimate. Establish the internal logic of the argument (how the issue should be dealt with) through form (topoi) and content (warrants). Reisigl and Wodak (2001) define

*topoi* as parts of argumentation which belong to the obligatory premises of an argument, whether explicit or tacit. *Topoi* are central to the analysis of seemingly convincing fallacious arguments which are widely adopted in all political debates and genres (Kienpointner, 1996: 562).

d. Perspectivation strategies

One may focus on the *perspectivation*, framing or discourse representation by means of which speakers express their involvement in discourse, and position their point of view in the reporting, description, narration or quotation of relevant events or utterances. Reinforce the speaker's legitimacy by aligning the issue at hand with the speaker, the relevant field of action/ control and the discourse topic.

e. Intensification or mitigation

There are intensifying strategies in the one hand and mitigation strategies on the other. Both of these help to qualify and modify the epistemic status of a proposition by intensifying or mitigating the illocutionary force of utterances. These strategies can be an important aspect of the presentation in as much as they operate it by either sharpening it or toning it down.

## 2.4 Political Speech

Political is the speech which delivered by politician in a certain condition or event. Political speech sometimes was used as the tools for deciding things. Political speech here was used as the decision to recognize the territorial of the region over other region.

Critical analysis of historical texts it is generally problematic to reconstruct the experiential correlations, using only written data associated with given linguistic conventions in a certain historical situation (Wodak, 1988: 58). This is especially true of political discourse with its power to persuade and elicit actions. In interpreting discourse one must take care not to apply present day intuitive and associative values, because of a lack of detailed knowledge of the pragmatic and psychological dimensions of a given historical situation.

Perceiving meaning means that the interpretation of historical linguistic data must be supported by an exact knowledge of the socio-historical context from which the historical-linguistic sources derive. The various sociological, socio-psychological and linguistic approaches which deal critically with the analysis of ideological language use, for example the study of the origin of myths, stereotypes, jargons, provide us with the necessary tools, which together with methods of textual analysis, enable us to analyze the meaning of political texts and to elucidate and objectify their role in historical processes.

According to Abdul, political discourse is a method of decision making in a democracy. A decision implies that some agreement prevails as to which of several courses of action is most desirable for achieving a goal (Johnson & F. Johnson, 2000). Making a decision is just one step in the more general problem-solving process of goal-directed groups. After defining a problem or issue, thinking over alternative courses of action, and weighing the advantages and disadvantages of each, a decision is made as to which course is the most desirable for them to implement.

## 2.5 Previous Studies

Some previous researchers have conducted researches on power and ideology. But this present study is definitely different from the previous research. The first, Putra (2016) investigated power relation on Donald Trump's political campaign. The finding shows that Donald Trump reflects his power relation toward people by using discursively delegitimize other people, races, and also politicians through victimizing, underestimating even discriminating others in making him more powerful than them.

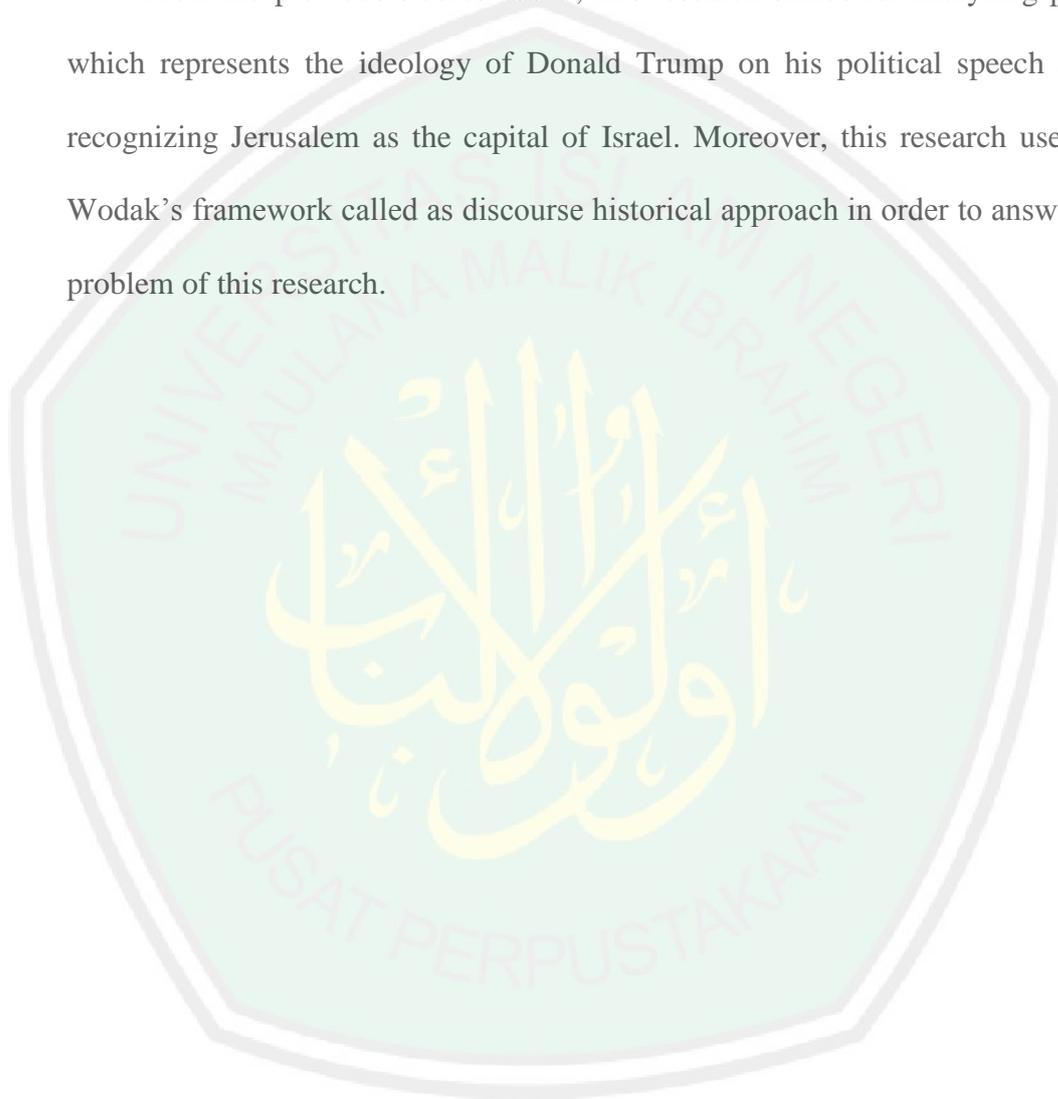
The second, Swari (2017) investigated rhetorical devices and power relation of Hillary Clinton's and Donald Trump's statement for representing group affiliation on October 19, 2016 U.S presidential debate. The finding shows that Hillary Clinton's and Donald Trump used pronoun 'I', 'we', and 'us' for positive self-presentation and pronoun 'you', 'he/she' for negative self-presentation. Furthermore, discursive strategies of power relation become significant way for Donald Trump and Hillary Clinton to portray their power relation by strengthening and emphasizing their argument to build ideological construction.

The third, Nazla (2017) examines ideology reflected from persuasive strategies in Nara Masista Rakhmania's speech at United Nations General Assembly. The results show that there are three persuasive strategies reflected the speaker's ideology involves repetition, analogy and proposition.

The last, Thomas (2015) identifies a significant number of those impediments and indicates how the Analytic Hierarchy Process AHP can productively address them. A summary of the highlights of the AHP approach

precedes how it has been applied to the Israeli–Palestinian conflict. The journal titled a structured scientific solution to the Israeli–Palestinian conflict: the analytic hierarchy process approach.

From the previous studies above, this research stands for analyzing power which represents the ideology of Donald Trump on his political speech about recognizing Jerusalem as the capital of Israel. Moreover, this research used the Wodak’s framework called as discourse historical approach in order to answer the problem of this research.



## CHAPTER III

### FINDINGS AND DISCUSSIONS

This chapter presents the finding and discussion. The finding consists of the analysis of data based on CDA's theory of discursive strategies of Wodak (2009) on power and ideology. The results of the analysis are discussed in the next section precisely in the discussion.

#### 3.1 Findings

This research analyzes power which represents ideology of Donald Trump in his political speech about recognizing Jerusalem as the Capital of Israel. The speech delivered by Donald Trump in White House hold on December 6th 2017. His speech is as the announcement of recognizing Jerusalem as the capital of Israel. This research classified the speech into 15 data. The data is analyzed by using discursive strategies proposed by Wodak (2009) to emerge the power which represents the speaker's ideology. According to Wodak (2009), discursive strategies take five types, all involved positive self-presentation and the negative other presentation, such as nomination or referential (NN), predication Pr, perspectivation (Pp), argumentation (Ag) and intensification or mitigation (Mg).

Every type of discursive strategies has classification. The first is nomination or referential strategy, where the linguistic devices and interests are membership categorization, metaphors, and metonymies, and synecdoche. The second is predication strategy which appears in stereotypical, evaluative attribution of positive or negative traits and implicit or explicit predicates. The

third is perspectivation which use means of reporting, description, narration or quotation of events and utterances. The last is intensification or mitigation which intensifying or mitigating the illocutionary force of utterances. The details of data as follows:

### **Data 1**

Donald Trump made a promise in his 2016 election campaign to move the U.S. embassy to Jerusalem because the problem between Israel and Palestine become a pressure in Washington. However, Trump acted under a 1995 law that requires the United States to move its embassy to Jerusalem. On the other hand, the previous presidents consistently signed these waivers more than two decades. Hence, he made a new approach to solve the problem between Israel and Palestine. He stated as follows;

*“Thank you. When I came into office, I promised to look at the world’s challenges with open eyes and very fresh thinking. We cannot solve our problems by making the same failed assumptions and repeating the same failed strategies of the past. Old challenges demand new approaches. My announcement today marks the beginning of a new approach to conflict between Israel and the Palestinians.”*

From the data above, Donald Trump stated the way he saw the problem between Israel and Palestine. He used the word ‘promised’ to show his power so then people would understand that he truly cared about the problem between Israel and Palestine. He also tried to influence people through his perspective that the problem between Israel and Palestine should be solved by a new way or approach. He convinced the people by stating that old way didn’t give any peace for both countries.

He shared his perspective that could be counted as the ideology to make sure that people would agree with his announcement or recognition. Moreover, Trump used two pronouns on his statement those are, 'I' and 'We' to show himself in a positive self-presentation. So then, people would agree with his thought that the problem between Israel and Palestine should be solved by his new approach. As the conclusion, Trump used nomination strategies as one of five types of discursive strategies as his power to represent his ideology through using those pronouns.

#### **Data 2**

The second excerpt contained the plan of Congress to move the American embassy to Jerusalem and recognizing Jerusalem as the capital of Israel. The action of Congress was reaffirmed by the Senate six month ago. Trump said that the plan of Congress to move the U.S embassy to Jerusalem and recognizing Jerusalem as the capital of Israel had been done since 1995. He also said that the plan of Congress was reaffirmed by the Senate only six month ago.

*“In 1995, Congress adopted the Jerusalem Embassy Act, urging the federal government to relocate the American embassy to Jerusalem and to recognize that that city — and so importantly — is Israel’s capital. This act passed Congress by an overwhelming bipartisan majority and was reaffirmed by a unanimous vote of the Senate only six months ago.”*

From the excerpt above, Trump stated the history of recognizing Jerusalem as the capital of Israel by relocating the American embassy to Jerusalem which done by Congress since 1995. His statement indicated perspectivation strategies because he positioned his point of view in the form of reporting. He mentioned

the history of recognizing Jerusalem as the capital of Israel, because he wanted everyone to be sure of his statement.

In 1995, congress has decided to relocate the American embassy to Jerusalem and to recognize that city as Israel's capital city. So, he just continued what the congress has done. He also wanted to convince all people that he recognized Jerusalem as Israel's capital city not because of his personal purpose but it has done by the congress. Of course, it was not easy to convince the people that recognizing Jerusalem as the Israel's capital city is his personal purpose. Because people could see that Trump always took sides of Israel and supported Israel.

### **Data 3**

In this section, Donald Trump mentioned that previous American president has exercised the law's waiver and refused to move American embassy to Jerusalem for over 20 years. But the last waiver was signed by President Trump on June 4, 2018.

*“Yet, for over 20 years, every previous American president has exercised the law's waiver, refusing to move the U.S. embassy to Jerusalem or to recognize Jerusalem as Israel's capital city.”*

From the excerpt above, Donald Trump mentioned the previous American president which means that it referred to membership categorization as part of Nomination or Referential strategy. After mentioning the social actor, his utterance followed by his predication. He predicated or labeled the previous American presidents in negative manner. He predicates them explicitly through mentioning the word “refusing”. He said that previous American presidents

refused to move the US embassy. But then, he could officially state Jerusalem as the capital city of Israel. Furthermore, Donald Trump tried to show his power by predicating every previous American president was worse than him in solving the problem between Israel and Palestine. The previous presidents refused to move the US embassy to Jerusalem. According to Trump, moving the US embassy was the way to dominate Palestine territory.

#### **Data 4**

Donald Trump said that previous American presidents tried to delay the recognition of Jerusalem as the capital of Israel. Because they believed that delaying to recognize Jerusalem would cause of peace.

*“Presidents issued these waivers under the belief that delaying the recognition of Jerusalem would advance the cause of peace. Some say they lacked courage, but they made their best judgments based on facts as they understood them at the time. Nevertheless, the record is in. After more than two decades of waivers, we are no closer to a lasting peace agreement between Israel and the Palestinians. It would be folly to assume that repeating the exact same formula would now produce a different or better result.”*

Trump said that the previous presidents only delayed the recognition of Jerusalem as Israel’s capital city. According to Trump, what previous presidents did has no better result which means the problem between Israel and Palestine haven’t reach any peace yet. The data above contained membership categorization which refers to Presidents. Then, there was also predication “delaying the recognition” which mentioned by Trump and he tried to predicate the previous presidents in negative manner. He wanted to show his power by saying the other president in a bad image. Of course, his ideology is represented by his power by

revealing his opinion that repeating the same formula of solving the problem between Israel and Palestine is foolish assumptions. In other words, he wanted all people follow his direction to change the strategies of solving the problem between Israel and Palestine.

#### Data 5

Donald Trump officially recognized Jerusalem as the capital of Israel. On that day, he was proud to declare what the previous presidents have failed to be delivered. Previous President just failed to deliver, so he was delivering.

*“Therefore, I have determined that it is time to officially recognize Jerusalem as the capital of Israel. While previous presidents have made this a major campaign promise, they failed to deliver. Today, I am delivering.”*

Donald Trump denoted that every previous president failed to deliver the recognition just because they thought that delaying that recognition would reach the peace between Israel and Palestine. Moreover, Trump made the changes. He officially recognized Jerusalem as the capital city of Israel. He mentioned the previous presidents which refer to membership categorization device. According to the classification of five discursive strategies, Trump utterances included to nomination strategy because he mentioned the previous American presidents. He mentioned the previous presidents as the membership categorization to represent his ideology through his power. He strengthened his arguments by putting the previous presidents in a negative manner. Since, the previous presidents failed to deliver the recognition of Jerusalem as the capital of Israel.

**Data 6**

The decision to recognize Jerusalem as the capital of Israel is the best interest of the United States of America. The US wanted to reach peace between Israel and Palestine. According to Trump, this recognition has already been delayed so long.

*“I’ve judged this course of action to be in the best interests of the United States of America and the pursuit of peace between Israel and the Palestinians. This is a long-overdue step to advance the peace process and to work towards a lasting agreement”*

President Trump said that reaching the peace between Israel and Palestinians was the best interest of the United States of America. In this excerpt, there was pronoun ‘I’ which uttered by Trump and followed by the US’s interest of pursuit of peace between Israel and Palestine. He labeled himself positively. Because he stated that his purpose is good for both region, Israel and Palestine. He invited the people to agree with him by saying the good things of his decision.

According to him, he said that reaching the peace between Israel and Palestine is United States of America pursuits. Of course, the USA pursued that peace because they wanted to get more advantage of it. The U.S. has been supporting Israel for so long. Hence, the U.S. did giving the best as they can even what they do harmful Palestinians. Just like what President Trump did before. From this excerpt, the nomination strategy came up. Hence, Trump placed himself in positive presentation and other in negative presentation.

**Data 7**

Donald Trump delivered that the right of Israel region is the same as the other sovereign nation to determine its own capital. He defended Israel but he did not defend Palestinians.

*“Israel is a sovereign nation with the right like other sovereign nation to determine its own capital. Acknowledging this as a fact is a necessary condition for achieving peace”*

Trump tried to position his point of view in the form of an argument. He expressed his involvement by saying that Israel has the right to determine its own capital. It clearly, he indicated his view even it was controversial. He only defended Israel which has the right to choose the capital city but not Palestine too.

This excerpt contains perspective strategy. He showed his power relation through positioning his point of view. He strengthened his point of view by saying that determining Israel’s own capital would achieve peace. He also showed his power which represents his ideology for believing that Israel has the right to choose its own capital city.

**Data 8**

In this data, Trump mentioned that recognizing the capital of Israel has been done under President Truman since 70 years ago. He also said that Jerusalem is the home of Israeli government in order to strengthen his statements.

*“It was 70 years ago that the United States, under President Truman, recognized the State of Israel. Ever since then, Israel has made its capital in the city of Jerusalem--- the capital the Jewish people established in ancient times. Today, Jerusalem is the seat of the modern Israeli government. It is the home of the Israeli parliament, the Knesset, as well as the Israeli Supreme Court. It is the*

*location of the official residence of the Prime Minister and the President. It is headquarters of many government ministries”*

Trump accepted as true the recognition of State of Israel since under President Truman. It meant, it was 70 years ago. Then, Israel made Jerusalem as their capital city. There were many membership categorizations in this excerpt, such President, Jewish people, Israeli government, Prime Minister, Israeli Parliament and Israeli Supreme Court. Of course, membership categorization refers to Nomination strategy. Trump tried to classify the people who would live in Jerusalem after recognizing Jerusalem as the capital of Israel in order to show his powerful as the president. He forced himself and the people agree to him. Then, he has divided the place for the American elites.

#### **Data 9**

The speaker asserted that Jerusalem is the place of three great religious such as Muslims, Jews, and Christians. But the fact showed that Israeli fight against Palestinians.

*“For decades, visiting American presidents, secretaries of state, and military leaders have met their Israeli counterparts in Jerusalem, as I did on my trip to Israel earlier this year. Jerusalem is not just the heart of three great religions, but it is now also the heart of one of the most successful democracies in the world. Over the past seven decades, the Israeli people have built a country where Jews, Muslims, and Christians, and people of all faiths are free to live and worship according to their conscience and according to their beliefs. Jerusalem is today, and must remain, a place where Jews pray at the Western Wall, where Christians walk the Stations of the Cross, and where Muslims worship at Al-Aqsa Mosque.”*

Jerusalem indeed the heart of three great religions and the place where Jews, Muslims, and Christians, and people all of faiths are free to live and worship

according to their conscience and according to their beliefs. Even, in real life Muslims terribly do not feel safe to worship. He tried to position his point of view by stating that Jerusalem is the most successful democracies. Furthermore, he tried to report his trip for earlier this year. He met some Israeli counterparts. From the reporting of his trip, it indicated perspectivation strategy in the form of reporting his trip to Jerusalem.

#### **Data 10**

Every American previous president declined to recognize Jerusalem officially, therefore they signed the waiver. They hoped with delaying the recognition of Jerusalem as Israel's capital would bring peace.

*However, through all of these years, presidents representing the United States have declined to officially recognize Jerusalem as Israel's capital. In fact, we have declined to acknowledge any Israeli capital at all. But today, we finally acknowledge the obvious: that Jerusalem is Israel's capital. This is nothing more, or less, than recognition of reality. It is also the right thing to do. It's something that has to be done.*

Trump positioned his point of view through his involvement by saying that recognizing Jerusalem as Israel's capital is the right to do and it is something that has to be done. It could be seen from the way he stated his decision. He forced all the things according to what he thought. He thought that recognizing Jerusalem as the capital of Israel officially, it would solve the problem between Israel and Palestinians.

He compared the previous condition and the present condition based on what he has done. He was brave to recognize Jerusalem as the capital city of Israel even much people did not agree with his decision. We could not believe that by

enforcing the things would give the best result. Supporting Israel and discriminating Palestine became the way of Donald trump reached the peace between those to region.

#### **Data 11**

In this part, President Trump revealed the preparation of moving the American embassy from Tel Aviv to Jerusalem. It was also a form of his effort and his consistency to help recognizing Israel's capital.

*That is why, consistent with the Jerusalem Embassy Act, I am also directing the State Department to begin preparation to move the American embassy from Tel Aviv to Jerusalem. This will immediately begin the process of hiring architects, engineers, and planners, so that a new embassy, when completed, will be a magnificent tribute to peace.*

Trump was reporting how he would start the process of founding the American embassy in Jerusalem. He obviously managed its founding by hiring the architects, engineers, and planners therefore the projects starts as soon as possible. By reporting what he has done, his utterances included into perspectivation strategy. He thought that his effort would be a magnificent tribute to peace. But actually he did not know what would happen after finishing the movement of American embassy from Tel Aviv to Jerusalem.

#### **Data 12**

President Trump made the announcements very clear, because his action of facilitating the peace agreement would be great for those both sides. He said that his decision is not intended to help Israelis only but also for the Palestinian.

*In making these announcements, I also want to make one point very clear: This decision is not intended, in any way, to reflect a departure from our strong commitment to facilitate a lasting peace agreement. We want an agreement that is a great deal for the Israelis and a great deal for the Palestinians. We are not taking a position of any final status issues, including the specific boundaries of the Israeli sovereignty in Jerusalem, or the resolution of contested borders. Those questions are up to the parties involved.*

From the data above, it can be seen that Trump used intensification strategies. Because Trump tried to intensify his utterances about his decision of moving American embassy from Tel Aviv to Jerusalem by revealing his strong commitment to facilitate a lasting peace agreement. The United States wants an agreement that great for the Israelis and the Palestinians.

### **Data 13**

In this data, Trump stated that the United States showed his seriousness of helping facilitate a peace agreement for Israel and Palestinians. The, he would do everything according to his powerfulness.

*The United States remains deeply committed to helping facilitate a peace agreement that is acceptable to both sides. I intend to do everything in my power to help forge such an agreement. Without question, Jerusalem is one of the most sensitive issues in those talks. The United States would support a two-state solution if agreed to by both sides.*

After he gave the explanation about his involvement to facilitate a peace agreement for both sides, he actually emphasized that he is powerful president who brave to help the problem between Israel and Palestinians. In this data, Trump statement was categorized as intensification strategy because he intensified himself by saying that he would do everything in his power to help forge such an

agreement. As a fact, he just supported Israel to torture Palestinians in order to get what Israeli wants.

#### **Data 14**

In this data, Trump commended the achievement of The Middle East region. He said this region should not hold by bloodshed again.

*So today, we call for calm, for moderation, and for the voices of tolerance to prevail over the purveyors of hate. Our children should inherit our love, not our conflicts. I repeat the message I delivered at the historic and extraordinary summit in Saudi Arabia earlier this year: The Middle East is a region rich with culture, spirit, and history. Its people are brilliant, proud, and diverse, vibrant and strong. But the incredible future awaiting this region is held at bay by bloodshed, ignorance, and terror.*

He used the argumentation strategy as the way of commending the Middle East region. He wanted the Middle East also in the same side. So the peace agreement would be easy to be achieved. He tried to influence the people especially people in the Middle East region to realize that our children should inherit the love not the conflicts. He showed as if him neutral for both sides. But the fact showed that his decision was unfair for both sides.

#### **Data 15**

The last data showed that Trump would invite the Vice President Pence to check and ensure the partners in the Middle East to work together. Trump also invited the partners to defeat radicalism.

*Vice President Pence will travel to the region in the coming days to reaffirm our commitment to work with partners throughout the Middle East to defeat radicalism that threatens the hopes and dreams of future generations. It is time for the many who desire peace to expel the extremists from their midst. It is time*

*for all civilized nations, and people, to respond to disagreement with reasoned debate -- not violence.*

Trump tried to defame the Middle East people by saying that it is time to expel the extremists from the midst. It means that he tried to influence the people to believe that the extremist is coming from Palestinians itself. He also showed his power by commanding Vice President Pence to travel the region to make sure that the moving of American Embassy would start as soon as possible. Thus, he showed his power to represent his ideology that the extremist is coming from Palestinians itself, so it's time to discriminate Palestinians. His statement is categorized as predication strategy because he stereotypes the Middle East in negative traits.

### **3.2 Discussion**

The findings above showed that Donald Trump often used his power relation to represent his ideology in the speech. He used five types of discursive strategies, including nomination or referential strategy, predication strategy, argumentation strategy, perspectivation strategy, and intensification strategy. He used those discursive strategies in order to show his power which represents his ideology through his ideological construction.

From the findings above showed that there were 15 data. The data consist of five types of discursive strategies, including nomination or referential strategy, predication strategy, argumentation strategy, perspectivation strategy, and intensification strategy. The first, data showed that nomination strategies consist of 4 data which are in data 1, 5, 6, and 8. The second, predication strategies

consist of 3 data which are in data 3, 4, and 15. The third, the argumentation strategies consist of 1 data which is in data 14. The fourth, perspectivation strategies consist of 4 data which are in data 2, 7, 9, 10, and 11. The last but not least, the intensification strategies consist of 2 data which are in data 12 and 13.

Based on the findings, ideology and power representation reflected on Trump utterances. His utterances included into five discursive strategies; such as nomination or referential strategies, predication strategies, argumentation strategies, perspectivation strategies, and intensification strategies. Based on it, the nomination strategy was used to construct himself in-groups or out-groups. Predication was used to label himself positively or negatively, deprecatorily or appreciatively. Then, He used Argumentation strategy to justify political inclusion or exclusion. He used perspectivation strategy to express involvement and positioning the speaker's point of view in the form of reporting, description, narration or quotation. He used intensification strategy to intensify or mitigate the illocutionary force of utterances. Moreover, Trump produced perspectivation strategies more than other discursive strategies. It means, Trump always wanted to express his involvement and position his point of view in the form of reporting, description, narration and quotation.

The details could be seen in data 2 that Trump stated the history of relocating US embassy to Jerusalem since 1995. Means that, this recognition not based on his personal purpose but it has done by the Congress. Subsequently, in data 7 Trump said that Israel is a sovereign nation with the right like other sovereign nation to determine its own capital. Afterwards, Trump reveal that Jerusalem

indeed the heart of three great religions and the place where Jews, Muslims, and Christians, and people all of faiths are free to live and worship according to their conscience. Likewise in data 10, Trump demonstrated his involvement saying recognizing Jerusalem as Israel capital city is the right thing to do and it was something that has to be done. Then, Trump reported his process of founding the architects, engineers, and planners to start the projects. His utterances included into perspective strategies.

This research provides the analysis using the theory of discursive strategies in order to emerge the power representing ideology in Donald Trump political speech. Of course, the discursive strategies here proposed by Ruth Wodak. Donald Trump showed his power relation to represent his ideology through the statements of his ideological construction.

## CHAPTER IV

### CONCLUSION AND SUGGESTION

This chapter presents the conclusion and suggestion of the study. It concludes the data findings in the previous chapter to answer the research problem. Also, this chapter provides suggestion to the reader, specifically to the next researchers in conducting similar topic of linguistic studies.

#### 4.1 Conclusion

This study examined the power representing ideology of Donald Trump on his political speech. From the data analysis, the use of five discursive strategies which used above showed that Donald Trump political speech supported the intended meaning of his declaration. By combining the two terms of critical discourse analysis, Trump discursively influence and control people to follow his ideological construction.

Based on the findings, Donald Trump used five types of discursive strategies, including nomination or referential strategy, predication strategy, argumentation strategy, perspectivation strategy, and intensification strategy to portray his power and ideology so the people would trust him. It concluded that there were 15 data which indicated five types of discursive strategies by Wodak theory.

From the conclusion, the result of this research is useful to discuss the interdisciplinary of political speech to understand power and ideology on critical discourse analysis area. It is suggested for the next researcher to find more

comprehensive data to investigate power representing ideology in very distinct approaches and different context, except politics. Future researcher could investigate power representing ideology in education context using other theory. These studies would give broaden insights to linguistics field. Moreover, by combining two or more theory could result the new finding.

#### **4.2 Suggestion**

From the conclusion, the result of this research is useful to discuss the interdisciplinary of political speech to understand power and ideology on critical discourse analysis area.

It is suggested for the next researcher to find more comprehensive data to investigate power representing ideology in very distinct approaches and different context, except politics. Future researcher could investigate power representing ideology in education context using other theory. These studies would give broaden insights to linguistics field. Moreover, by combining two or more theory could result the new finding.

Based on the findings, it is recommended to further investigate power and ideology representation which transpires ironical expressions as positive self-representations. Such ironical expressions may conceptualize the nature of ideological power in various patterns in different contexts

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# APPENDIX

## **Statement by President Trump on Jerusalem**

THE PRESIDENT: Thank you. When I came into office, I promised to look at the world's challenges with open eyes and very fresh thinking. We cannot solve our problems by making the same failed assumptions and repeating the same failed strategies of the past. Old challenges demand new approaches.

My announcement today marks the beginning of a new approach to conflict between Israel and the Palestinians.

In 1995, Congress adopted the Jerusalem Embassy Act, urging the federal government to relocate the American embassy to Jerusalem and to recognize that that city — and so importantly — is Israel's capital. This act passed Congress by an overwhelming bipartisan majority and was reaffirmed by a unanimous vote of the Senate only six months ago.

Yet, for over 20 years, every previous American president has exercised the law's waiver, refusing to move the U.S. embassy to Jerusalem or to recognize Jerusalem as Israel's capital city.

Presidents issued these waivers under the belief that delaying the recognition of Jerusalem would advance the cause of peace. Some say they lacked courage, but they made their best judgments based on facts as they understood them at the time. Nevertheless, the record is in. After more than two decades of waivers, we are no closer to a lasting peace agreement between Israel and the Palestinians. It would be folly to assume that repeating the exact same formula would now produce a different or better result.

Therefore, I have determined that it is time to officially recognize Jerusalem as the capital of Israel.

While previous presidents have made this a major campaign promise, they failed to deliver. Today, I am delivering.

I've judged this course of action to be in the best interests of the United States of America and the pursuit of peace between Israel and the Palestinians. This is a long-overdue step to advance the peace process and to work towards a lasting agreement.

Israel is a sovereign nation with the right like every other sovereign nation to determine its own capital. Acknowledging this as a fact is a necessary condition for achieving peace.

It was 70 years ago that the United States, under President Truman, recognized the State of Israel. Ever since then, Israel has made its capital in the city of Jerusalem — the capital the Jewish people established in ancient times. Today, Jerusalem is the seat of the modern Israeli government. It is the home of the Israeli parliament, the Knesset, as well as the Israeli Supreme Court. It is the location of the official residence of the Prime Minister and the President. It is the headquarters of many government ministries.

For decades, visiting American presidents, secretaries of state, and military leaders have met their Israeli counterparts in Jerusalem, as I did on my trip to Israel earlier this year.

Jerusalem is not just the heart of three great religions, but it is now also the heart of one of the most successful democracies in the world. Over the past seven decades, the Israeli people have built a country where Jews, Muslims, and Christians, and people of all faiths are free to live and worship according to their conscience and according to their beliefs.

Jerusalem is today, and must remain, a place where Jews pray at the Western Wall, where Christians walk the Stations of the Cross, and where Muslims worship at Al-Aqsa Mosque.

However, through all of these years, presidents representing the United States have declined to officially recognize Jerusalem as Israel's capital. In fact, we have declined to acknowledge any Israeli capital at all.

But today, we finally acknowledge the obvious: that Jerusalem is Israel's capital. This is nothing more, or less, than a recognition of reality. It is also the right thing to do. It's something that has to be done.

That is why, consistent with the Jerusalem Embassy Act, I am also directing the State Department to begin preparation to move the American embassy from Tel Aviv to Jerusalem. This will immediately begin the process of hiring architects, engineers, and planners, so that a new embassy, when completed, will be a magnificent tribute to peace.

In making these announcements, I also want to make one point very clear: This decision is not intended, in any way, to reflect a departure from our strong commitment to facilitate a lasting peace agreement. We want an agreement that is a great deal for the Israelis and a great deal for the Palestinians. We are not taking a position of any final status issues, including the specific boundaries of the Israeli sovereignty in Jerusalem, or the resolution of contested borders. Those questions are up to the parties involved.

The United States remains deeply committed to helping facilitate a peace agreement that is acceptable to both sides. I intend to do everything in my power to help forge such an agreement. Without question, Jerusalem is one of the most sensitive issues in

those talks. The United States would support a two-state solution if agreed to by both sides.

In the meantime, I call on all parties to maintain the status quo at Jerusalem's holy sites, including the Temple Mount, also known as Haram al-Sharif.

Above all, our greatest hope is for peace, the universal yearning in every human soul. With today's action, I reaffirm my administration's longstanding commitment to a future of peace and security for the region.

There will, of course, be disagreement and dissent regarding this announcement. But we are confident that ultimately, as we work through these disagreements, we will arrive at a peace and a place far greater in understanding and cooperation.

This sacred city should call forth the best in humanity, lifting our sights to what it is possible; not pulling us back and down to the old fights that have become so totally predictable. Peace is never beyond the grasp of those willing to reach.

So today, we call for calm, for moderation, and for the voices of tolerance to prevail over the purveyors of hate. Our children should inherit our love, not our conflicts.

I repeat the message I delivered at the historic and extraordinary summit in Saudi Arabia earlier this year: The Middle East is a region rich with culture, spirit, and history. Its people are brilliant, proud, and diverse, vibrant and strong. But the incredible future awaiting this region is held at bay by bloodshed, ignorance, and terror.

Vice President Pence will travel to the region in the coming days to reaffirm our commitment to work with partners throughout the Middle East to defeat radicalism that threatens the hopes and dreams of future generations.

It is time for the many who desire peace to expel the extremists from their midst. It is time for all civilized nations, and people, to respond to disagreement with reasoned debate — not violence.

And it is time for young and moderate voices all across the Middle East to claim for themselves a bright and beautiful future.

So today, let us rededicate ourselves to a path of mutual understanding and respect. Let us rethink old assumptions and open our hearts and minds to possible and possibilities. And finally, I ask the leaders of the region — political and religious; Israeli and Palestinian; Jewish and Christian and Muslim — to join us in the noble quest for lasting peace.

Thank you. God bless you. God bless Israel. God bless the Palestinians. And God bless the United States. Thank you very much. Thank you.

(The proclamation is signed.)

END

