

**REFLECTION OF IDEOLOGY: A CRITICAL DISCOURSE  
ANALYSIS OF JOE BIDEN'S SPEECH ON THE END OF THE  
WAR IN AFGHANISTAN**

**THESIS**

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**DEPARTMENT OF ENGLISH LITERATURE  
FACULTY OF HUMANITIES  
UNIVERSITAS ISLAM NEGERI MAULANA MALIK IBRAHIM MALANG  
2022**

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**THESIS**

Presented to

Universitas Islam Negeri Maulana Malik Ibrahim Malang  
in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for Degree of *Sarjana Sastra* (S.S.)

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2022**

### STATEMENT OF THE AUTHORSHIP

I state that the thesis entitled **“Reflection of Ideology: A Critical Discourse Analysis of Joe Biden’s Speech on The End of The War in Afghanistan”** is my original work. I do not include any materials previously written or published by another person, except those cited as references and written in the bibliography. Hereby, if there is any objection or claim, I am the only person who is responsible for that.

Malang, 27 May 2022



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## APPROVAL SHEET

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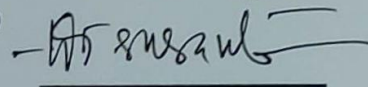
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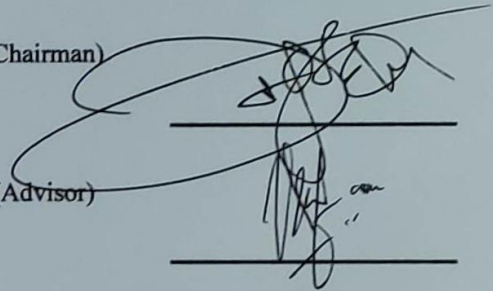
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## **MOTTO**

“A lie told often enough becomes the truth”

-Vladimir Ilyich Ulyano

## **DEDICATION**

This thesis is proudly dedicated to my lovely family: my father, *Bapak* Anwari; my mother, *Ibu* Rohayati; my older sisters, *Mbak* Umi Qois and *Mbak* Uswatun Khasanah.

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I would like to thank Allah Swt., The Lord of the world who never stops offering millions of favors and His gifts. Second, sholawat and greetings are always poured out to our Prophet Muhammad SAW who has brought us to a bright era, as we are living today.

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Malang, 30 May 2022  
The researcher

Achmad Fauzi



## ABSTRACT

Fauzi, Achmad. 2021. *Reflection of Ideology: A Critical Discourse Analysis of Joe Biden's Speech on The End of The War in Afghanistan*. Thesis. Linguistics, Department of English Literature, Faculty of Humanities, Universitas Islam Negeri Maulana Malik Ibrahim Malang.

Advisor : Vita Nur Santi, M.Pd.

Keywords : Ideology, CDA, Joe Biden, Afghanistan War

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The aim of this study is to find out the ideology behind Joe Biden's speech about ending the war in Afghanistan which was broadcast on August 31, 2021 using the theory of critical discourse analysis (CDA) from Van Dijk. I analyzed the data using 3 elements of text analysis according to Van Dijk: macrostructure, superstructure, and microstructure to reveal the ideology. Furthermore, I also classifies the ideologies found into 6 categories of ideology from a semantic point of view to find the most dominant ideology in the speech. The research problem in this study is: What is the ideology behind Joe Biden's speech about ending the war in Afghanistan?

This study uses descriptive qualitative method to capture the richness of the context and personal perspectives of the subject based on the collection and analysis of non-numeric data such as observations, interviews, documentation, and other more discursive sources of information. The research data is in the form of speech transcripts taken from the official presidential website <https://www.whitehouse.gov>, while the speech video is accessed through the CNBC Television Youtube channel. The data was analyzed in three steps: Looking at the 3 levels of text analysis using van Dijk's CDA, classifying the data into each category, and analyzing the data using the analytical tools that have been determined in each category.

The results showed that the Biden's speech contained various ideologies. Security, reasons to stop war, and America's future are found in the macrostructural elements. The superstructure elements represent the ideologies of successful evacuations, the dangerous but inevitable but necessary evacuations, and America's new future. While the microstructural elements show ideology regarding the security of the evacuation process, the reasons for the US-Afghanistan war, no guarantee of safe evacuation, reasons for stopping the war, America's future, solidarity, responsibility, and humanity. The results of the ideological classification based on the semantic point of view show that there are 11 self-identity descriptions, 5 activity descriptions, 6 goal descriptions, 6 norm and value descriptions, 2 position and relation descriptions, 3 resource descriptions, and an additional 3 other-identity descriptions. The dominance of this self-identity description shows the affirmation of Biden's dominance and the legitimacy of his decision. I suggest for future studies to explore other elements that have not been covered by this research: cognition and social context. I also suggest to always consider the level of novelty of the data given that speech is heavily influenced by political dynamics with a brief degree of novelty.

## مستخلص البحث

فوزي احمد. 2021. انعكاس الأيديولوجيا: تحليل نقدي للخطاب لخطاب جو بايدن في نهاية الحرب في أفغانستان. البحث الجامعي. دراسة اللغة. قسم اللغة الأدبية الإنجليزية. كلية العلوم الإنسانية. جامعة مولانا مالك إبراهيم الإسلامية الحكومية مالانج.

المشرف : فيتا نور سانتني، الماجيستير

الكلمات المفتاحية : الأيديولوجيا، ج د أ، جو بايدن، حرب أفغانستان

الهدف من هذه الدراسة هو معرفة الأيديولوجية وراء خطاب جو بايدن حول إنهاء الحرب في أفغانستان والذي تم بثه في 31 أغسطس 2021 باستخدام نظرية تحليل الخطاب النقدي (CDA) من فان ديك. لقد قمت بتحليل البيانات باستخدام 3 عناصر لتحليل النص وفقاً لفان ديك: البنية الكلية، والبنية الفوقية، والبنية الدقيقة للكشف عن الأيديولوجية. علاوة على ذلك، أقوم أيضاً بتصنيف الأيديولوجيات الموجودة في 6 فئات من الأيديولوجيا من وجهة نظر دلالية للعثور على الأيديولوجية الأكثر هيمنة في الخطاب. مشكلة البحث في هذه الدراسة هي: ما هي الأيديولوجية وراء خطاب جو بايدن حول إنهاء الحرب في أفغانستان؟

تستخدم هذه الدراسة الطريقة الوصفية النوعية لالتقاط ثراء السياق ووجهات النظر الشخصية للموضوع بناءً على جمع وتحليل البيانات غير الرقمية مثل الملاحظات والمقابلات والتوثيق وغيرها من مصادر المعلومات الأكثر استطرادية. تأتي بيانات البحث في شكل نصوص كلام مأخوذة من الموقع الرئاسي الرسمي <https://www.whitehouse.gov> ، بينما يتم الوصول إلى فيديو الخطاب عبر قناة CNBC Television Youtube. تم تحليل البيانات في ثلاث خطوات: النظر إلى المستويات الثلاثة لتحليل النص باستخدام تحليل CDA الخاص بـ van Dijk ، وتصنيف البيانات في كل فئة ، وتحليل البيانات باستخدام الأدوات التحليلية التي تم تحديدها في كل فئة.

وأظهرت النتائج أن خطاب بايدن احتوى على أيديولوجيات مختلفة. تم العثور على الأمن، وأسباب وقف الحرب، ومستقبل أمريكا في العناصر الهيكلية الكلية. تمثل عناصر البنية الفوقية أيديولوجيات عمليات الإخلاء الناجحة، وعمليات الإجلاء الخطيرة ولكن الحتمية ولكنها ضرورية، ومستقبل أمريكا الجديد. بينما تظهر العناصر المجهريّة أيديولوجية فيما يتعلق بأمن عملية الإخلاء، وأسباب الحرب الأمريكية الأفغانية، وعدم ضمان الإخلاء الأمن، وأسباب وقف الحرب، ومستقبل أمريكا، والتضامن، والمسؤولية، والإنسانية. تظهر نتائج التصنيف الأيديولوجي بناءً على وجهة النظر الدلالية أن هناك 10 أوصاف للهوية الذاتية، و 5 أوصاف للنشاط، و 6 أوصاف للهدف، و 6 أوصاف للمعيار والقيمة، و 2 أوصاف للعلاقة، و 3 أوصاف للمصدر. تظهر هيمنة وصف الهوية الذاتية هذا تأكيد هيمنة بايدن وشرعية قراره. أقترح إجراء دراسات مستقبلية لاستكشاف العناصر الأخرى التي لم يشملها هذا البحث: الإدراك والسياق الاجتماعي. أقترح أيضاً التفكير دائماً في مستوى حادثة البيانات نظراً لأن الكلام يتأثر بشدة بالديناميكيات السياسية بدرجة وجيزة من الحادثة.

## ABSTRAK

Fauzi, Achmad. 2021. *Reflection of Ideology: A Critical Discourse Analysis of Joe Biden's Speech on The End of The War in Afghanistan*. Skripsi. Linguistik, Jurusan Sastra Inggris, Fakultas Humaniora, Universitas Islam Negeri Maulana Malik Ibrahim Malang.

Dosen Pembimbing : Vita Nur Santi, M.Pd.

Kata Kunci : Ideologi, AWK, Joe Biden, Perang Afghanistan

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Tujuan dari penelitian ini adalah untuk mengetahui ideologi di balik pidato Joe Biden tentang mengakhiri perang di Afghanistan yang disiarkan pada 31 Agustus 2021 dengan menggunakan teori analisis wacana kritis (CDA) dari Van Dijk. Saya menganalisis data menggunakan 3 elemen analisis teks menurut Van Dijk: makrostruktur, suprastruktur, dan mikrostruktur untuk mengungkap ideologi. Selanjutnya, saya juga mengklasifikasikan ideologi yang ditemukan ke dalam 6 kategori ideologi dari sudut pandang semantik untuk menemukan ideologi yang paling dominan dalam pidato. Masalah penelitian dalam penelitian ini adalah: Apa ideologi di balik pidato Joe Biden tentang mengakhiri perang di Afghanistan?

Penelitian ini menggunakan metode deskriptif kualitatif untuk menangkap kekayaan konteks dan perspektif pribadi subjek berdasarkan pengumpulan dan analisis data non-numerik seperti observasi, wawancara, dokumentasi, dan sumber informasi lain yang lebih diskursif. Data penelitian berupa transkrip pidato yang diambil dari situs resmi kepresidenan <https://www.whitehouse.gov>, sedangkan video pidato diakses melalui kanal Youtube CNBC Television. Data dianalisis dalam tiga langkah: Melihat 3 level analisis teks menggunakan CDA van Dijk, mengklasifikasikan data ke dalam setiap kategori, dan menganalisis data menggunakan alat analisis yang telah ditentukan di setiap kategori.

Hasil penelitian menunjukkan bahwa pidato Biden mengandung berbagai ideologi. Keamanan, alasan untuk menghentikan perang, dan masa depan Amerika ditemukan dalam elemen makrostruktur. Elemen suprastruktur mewakili ideologi evakuasi yang berhasil, evakuasi yang berbahaya tetapi tak terhindarkan tetapi perlu, dan masa depan baru Amerika. Sedangkan elemen mikrostruktur menunjukkan ideologi mengenai keamanan proses evakuasi, alasan perang AS-Afghanistan, tidak ada jaminan evakuasi yang aman, alasan penghentian perang, masa depan Amerika, solidaritas, tanggung jawab, dan kemanusiaan. Hasil klasifikasi ideologi berdasarkan segi semantik menunjukkan bahwa terdapat 10 deskripsi identitas diri, 5 deskripsi aktivitas, 6 deskripsi tujuan, 6 deskripsi norma dan nilai, 2 deskripsi posisi dan relasi, 3 deskripsi sumber daya. Dominasi deskripsi identitas diri ini menunjukkan penegasan dominasi Biden dan legitimasi keputusannya. Saya menyarankan untuk penelitian selanjutnya untuk mengeksplorasi elemen lain yang belum tercakup oleh penelitian ini: kognisi dan konteks sosial. Saya juga menyarankan untuk selalu mempertimbangkan tingkat kebaruan data mengingat pidato sangat dipengaruhi oleh dinamika politik dengan tingkat kebaruan yang singkat.

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## **CHAPTER I**

### **INTRODUCTION**

This chapter contains background of the study, research question, the objectives of the study, significances of the study, the scope and limitation, and the key terms of the study. On the other hand, this chapter also provides about the previous study and research method. The research method consists of the research design, data and data source, data collection, and data analysis.

#### **A. Background of The Study**

The notion of ideology was first coined by Antoine Destutt de Tracy in the mid-18th century. In the beginning, Destutt as a philosopher, proposed ideology as a science of ideas or a structured knowledge which derives from human consciousness interacting with their environment (Vyverberg 1979). The knowledge is used to determine the rules that govern the human way of life. Ideology then re-interpreted in the next century by scholars. They expanded the definition of ideology in the economic, political, and social spheres. Karl Marx, as one of the most influential economic, political, and social theorist in the 19th century, stated that ideology is a set of tools used to achieve equality and prosperity in society (Drucker 1972). Thomas Hill Green, a British philosopher, suggested a more political notion of ideology. In his view, ideology is a set of rules used to maintain the power of government in the regulation of its population (Tyler 2003). Other notions have also been suggested by several other philosophers such as Machiavelli and Descartes.

The relation between ideology and politics in particular becomes stronger in later developments, even more complicated. Modern scholars have found no precise notion of the relation of two. Van Dijk recognize this complexity. He stated that there are numerous factors and variables involved between both, such as groups, societies, forces, actions, mind, and knowledge, which cannot possibly cover the entire discussion of ideology and politics. The relationship between ideology and politics is simplified in practice as a tool to analyze the political phenomena that occur. A simple notion of ideology in politics is a collection of ethical ideals, principles, doctrines, myths, or certain symbols of a major social movement, institution, class or group that explain how society should work and provide political and cultural plans for governing a specific society. Although there are still many shortcomings, such as the role of thought, power, and communication, for the time being, this notion is the most relevant.

In addition to politic, ideology is also linked to language. Linguists such as Van Dijk, Hodge, and Foucault stated that separating ideology from language is nearly impossible. The relationship between ideology and language becomes inseparable because each language produced by individuals or groups is certainly ideological. Ideology shapes and is shaped by language. In the critical linguistic, the relation between ideology and language is not limited to using language as a tool for publishing policies. Moreover, language is used as a tool to legitimize power and maintain the status quo. Language allows a policy-maker to easily propagate an ideology so that the public supports him or, conversely, insults the

political opponents. In short, language empowers the dominant party to control ideology, beliefs, and knowledge of those who are dominated by it (van Dijk 2006).

Speech is one of the most interesting objects of study when it comes to issues of ideology and language. Speeches, especially by state leaders, are considered as the main gateway for linguists to analyze various aspects related to the use of language, including the ideology behind it. This analysis can cover a variety of variables, including the function of ideology in the speech. Some speeches serve to legitimize power, others serve to control public opinion.

This research will focus on analyzing the ideology behind the speech of the 46th president of America, Joseph Robinette Biden Jr., on August 31. Joe Biden issued a statement regarding his decision to evacuate civilians and withdraw troops as the end the war in Afghanistan. He stated the reasons, causes, and considerations that led him to decide that stopping the war in Afghanistan and carrying out a full-scale evacuation was the best thing he could do at this point.

This speech became interesting considering that America has been in Afghanistan since 2001. This means that America has experienced 5 elections since the war in Afghanistan was declared. Two decades of war under the pretext of eradicating terrorism after 9/11, America has finally decided to leave. Although, ending this war is not an absolute decision of Biden because Trump as his predecessor had made a deal with the Taliban before, but Biden has made stopping this war possible. This is one of the historic moments in America's war record in particular, and for the peace of the entire nation in general.



To be able to see the ideology behind Biden's speech, this study adopts critical discourse analysis (CDA) proposed by Van Dijk. The use of CDA in this research is carried out because the object of discussion is still within the scope of the dominant group that gives control to the public about an information. This is in accordance with Dijk's statement that ideology is always channeled by dominant individuals or groups to legitimize power and public control (van Dijk 1993).

CDA in this study will focus on the dimensions of the text only, without including the dimensions of social cognition and social context. This is with the consideration that to analyze ideology, focusing on the dimensions of the text will be more effective. According to Van Dijk, the dimensions of the text consist of three main parts: the microstructure of the text which also consists of various elements such as syntax, semantics, diction, and rhetoric, then the superstructure in the form of a framework, organization, or schema of the text, and macro structure in the form of global meaning.

With many elements analyzed, Van Dijk's theory becomes the right tool for this research. This theory is also able to answer the relationship between discourse, power, domination, and social structure better than other theories in the context of this research. Scope and limitations will be described in the next section.

## **B. Problem of The Study**

Related to the background of the study, this research attempts to answer the main question: What is ideology behind Biden's speech on the end of the war in Afghanistan?

### **C. Objective of The Study**

In line with the research questions above, the objective is to find ideology behind Biden's speech by describing the discursive technique formulated by Van Dijk.

### **D. Significances of The Study**

Theoretically, this research does not provide anything new except to provide support and strengthen the CDA theory presented by van Dijk. Meanwhile, practically, this research is expected to be able to provide information about what ideology is hidden behind Biden's speech about his decision to evacuate civilians and end the war in Afghanistan. That way, the reader can have a broader perspective on the issue and avoid unwanted ideology and framing.

### **E. Scope and Limitation**

This study focuses on the analysis of CDA by Van Dijk to find the ideology behind Joe Biden's speech about the end of the war in Afghanistan. This study limits the object to Joe Biden's speech about the end of the war in Afghanistan broadcast from the White House dining room on August 31, 2021. The transcription of the speech was obtained from <https://www.whitehouse.gov>.

### **F. Definition of Key Terms**

1. **Ideology** : A collection of ethical ideals, principles, doctrines, myths, or certain symbols of a major social movement, institution, class or group that explain how society should work and provide political and cultural plans for governing a specific society.

2. **Joseph Robinette Biden Jr.** : An American politician from the Democratic Party who served as the 46th President of America.
3. **The end of the war in Afghanistan** : The recall of troops and a massive evacuation by the American government after fighting in Afghanistan for more than two decades.

#### **G. Previous Studies**

There have been a lot of previous studies that have made Joe Biden's speech an object. The first research was conducted by Renaldo in May 2021. Renaldo used Van Dijk's CDA to analyze the presuppositions and ideology behind Joe Biden's inaugural speech as president in January. As a result, he found three types of presuppositions in the speech: lexical, existential, and factive. He also found the embodiment of Biden's ideology in the form of issues around immigration, health, racism, democracy, and climate change (Renaldo 2021). The limitation of the study is that Renaldo only analyzes speech at the microstructure level. Meanwhile, there are many other aspects in text dimension that have not been explored at the super-structure and macro-structure levels.

The second research on Joe Biden's speech was conducted by Rahmadiananto. Using the theory of presuppositions proposed by Huang, he analyzed the presuppositions contained in Joe Biden's inaugural address. As a result, Rahmadiananto found 44 presuppositions which were categorized into 9 categories of presuppositions. Overall, descriptive presuppositions are the most common (Rahmadiananto 2021). The difference between the research conducted by Rahmadiananto and this research is in the analytical tools used. While Rahmadiananto

uses Huang's presupposition theory, this study uses CDA by Van Dijk. The research is also limited to the context of presuppositions and does not cover ideology.

The third study of Joe Biden's Speech was conducted by Siregar. Using Van Dijk's CDA, he analyzed the discourse components of the textual dimension in Joe Biden's speech after being declared victorious over Trump on November 8, 2020. Not only that, Siregar also analyzed the ideology in Biden's speech (Siregar 2021). The basic difference between the research conducted by Siregar and this research is in the object. This study will later analyze Biden's speech when he announced the end of the war in Afghanistan.

Fourth is research from Vianica and Tanto. Both of them examined text elements using van Dijk's CDA in Joe Biden's speech at the Democratic National Convention on August 30, 2020. The focus of the research was to find the contribution of language in building good and bad images. As a result, Vianica and Tanto found that Biden used several linguistic tools to support his positive image in politics. On the other hand, Biden also uses it to create a bad image of Trump (Vianica, Tanto 2021). While the research by Vianica and Tanto focuses on the use of language as a form of political image of good and bad, this research focuses more on the ideology formed by Biden. The ideological classification will be presented later.

Further research on Joe Biden's speech came from Sartika. She researched the political discourse on the presidential debate between Joe Biden and Donald Trump. By using aspects of personal pronouns, three part-lists, fillers, and

interruptions, Sartika found that Biden and Trump tended to mock each other using sarcasm (Sartika 2021). The most prominent difference between Sartika's research and this research is the focus on the use of analytical aspects. Sartika's research uses four aspects that are part of CDA, while this study uses van Dijk's CDA text analysis theory which includes macrostructure, superstructure, and microstructure.

## **H. Research Method**

### **1. Research Design**

This study adopted a qualitative descriptive model to analyze the issue by CDA in Joe Biden's speech. Qualitative research typically studies many variables intensively over an extended period of time to capture the richness of context and personal perspectives of the subject based on the collection and analysis of non-numerical data such as observations, interviews, documentation, and other more discursive sources of information (Gay et al. 2012). In qualitative research, the data can be collected from documentations. Arikunto states that documentation method is to seek data from books, notes, transcribe newspaper, magazine, agenda, etc (Arikunto 1983). For this research, the documentation used is a transcription of Joe Biden's speech about the end of the war in Afghanistan on August 30, 2021.

### **2. Data and Data Source**

The data of this research are words, phrases, and sentences from Joe Biden's speech about the end of the war in Afghanistan which was broadcast from the dining room of the White House on October 30, 2021. Expression and intonation are limitations in this study. The data used in the research are

obtained from video and transcription. Video is accessed through CNBC Television's YouTube channel and speech transcription is accessed via <https://www.whitehouse.gov>.

### 3. Data Collection

In order to ensure that research data are consistent with the study objectives, data collection is done by observation. Data collection begins with determining the object of research: Joe Biden's speech about ending the war in Afghanistan. Next, I made observations on the object of research to obtain data in the form of words, phrases, and sentences that suit this research. Observation is the most appropriate method, since this research relies heavily on transcriptions of Joe Biden's speech. Data in the form of expression and intonation are the limitations in this study. The order of data collection is as follows:

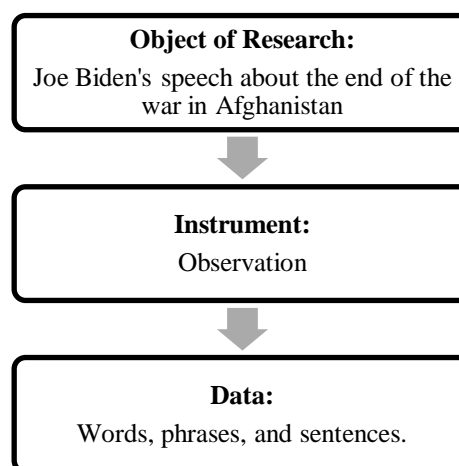


Chart 1.1: Data collection process

### 4. Data Analysis

I used several steps to analyze the data. The first step is to look at the level of CDA analysis mentioned by van Dijk including macrostructure,

superstructure, and microstructure which have each analysis tool. Next, I classified the data in the form of words, phrases, and sentences into each category. The last step, I did the analysis according to the categories already mentioned.

## **CHAPTER II**

### **REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE**

This chapter will present several theories that are relevant and support this research. These theories include the analysis of discourse, critical discourse analysis, and the theory of social cognition from Van Dijk. This chapter also discusses the notion of ideology, ideology in critical linguistics, as well as ideology in critical discourse analysis.

#### **A. Discourse Analysis**

The concept of discourse varies among experts. Halliday and Hasan stated that the speech can be in any format, written or oral. Every text can be considered a discourse as long as the text contains linguistic and interconnected units to form a single meaning (Halliday and Hasan 2014). According to Stubb and Coulthard, the discourse is a text that has been pronounced and not written (Stubbs 1983) (Coulthard and Condlin 2014). Van Dijk provides a more flexible concept associated with discourse. He stated that discourse in the form of text is a theoretical conception of the language user's competence, while discourse in the form of speech is more to the result of an act of communication that has been produced (Dijk 1980). Another notion is given by Brown and Yule who see that the text is a product of people who speak, while discourse is a process in it. More discourse occurs in the form of spoken text (Brown et al. 1983). In short, discourse can be understood as a result of communication from participants involved in a coherent combination of texts. Both the reader and the writer or between the listener and the speaker.



Brown and Yule stated that the Discourse Analysis means to do an analysis of the language used. Van Dijk in his News Discourse explained that analysis is the process of discourse analysis of language use and language goal in obtaining a description more explicitly and systematically regarding what is delivered. Cook added that in the analysis of discourse is not enough to just analyze the linguistic elements, but also take into account the context of the discourse that builds up (Cook 1989).

Discourse analysis can work by combining many linguistic aspects. Starting from grammatical, phonetic, semantic, morphological, to syntactic. Therefore, the analysis of discourse can not be separated from the coherence relations, overall topics, schematic forms, stylistics and rethorical dimensions. A simple practice of using discourse analysis is the analysis of two sentences that may have different interpretations when read separately or combined.

However, in its development, many experts feel that analyzing texts using only linguistic units to determine textual and contextual meaning is very limited. Researchers believe there are other aspects that influence a discourse, one of which is the social aspect. This is the beginning of the Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) era.

## **B. Critical Discourse Analysis**

Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) arises from the limitations of DA that is not able to reach other aspects behind a discourse. CDA exists as an analytical tool to see what lies behind and under the surface. There will be always motives and

backgrounds encourage discourse to form or be formed. That is why CDA sees discourse as something that does not have neutral values. There is partisanship that is contained in every discourse that is trying to be conveyed to the audience, (Habibie 2018). The CDA, in practice, will focus more on highlighting the relationship of power, domination, and social inequality that exists. Van Dijk stated that the main purpose of CDA is a reaction to social issues that occur in society. This is different from DA which is limited to a paradigm, discipline, or theory of discourse. Van Dijk also stated that CDA must be able to see how discourse is used in a sociopolitical context related to injustice, inequality, and legitimacy practices (van Dijk 1993).

In its development, there are several theories and CDA approaches proposed by experts. The first CDA theory and approach was formed by Fowler, Hodge and Kress, and Trew in 1979. The resultant theory of their formation states that a language has three main functions: ideational functions, interpersonal functions, and textual functions. Ideational function means that language has the ability to communicate past, present, or future events. The interpersonal function is that language can express the attitude of the speaker and his relationship with the listener or reader. Whereas textual function means language has a function as a communication tool that presents expression and coherence through the compiled text. Fowler, Hodge, Kress, and Trew then used these three functions to dissect and analyze discourse. This theory and approach uses text as the main object by highlighting vocabulary selection and nominalization (the process of changing the verb into a noun) (Fairclough 2010).

Another theory in CDA was put forward by Van den Week. He uses the inclusion and exclusion approach. The inclusion approach means it sees how actors are included or presented in a discourse. There are at least six strategies used in inclusion: objective abstraction, nomination, nomination-categorization, identification, determination-undetermination, and assimilation-individualization. Whereas the exclusion approach means removing actors from a discourse, or not involving it in the discourse. Either issued only in part, or in whole. There are three kinds of strategies used in the exclusion approach: passive, nominalization, and subordinate clause substitution. Passive strategy means that many discourses use the form of passive sentences to erase the actors behind the discourse. While the nominalization strategy is to change verbs into nouns aiming to minimize the presence of actors in a discourse (Van Leeuwen 2008). This theory is subsequently less acceptable because of its shortcomings which are only able to analyze discourse in the text, without looking at the whole process of discourse formation.

Teun A. Van Dijk proposed a different theory and approach using CDA. Van Dijk introduced the theory of social cognition that combines how the process of discourse is spread with the linguistic elements contained in the discourse. This theory further exposes a deeper relationship between power and domination in a discourse that is rolled out. Van Dijk divides the elements of discourse into three classifications: text, social cognition, and social context. In the text classification, Van Dijk divides it into three levels: macro-structure as a global idea that is presented in the discourse, superstructure as the framework or organization of discourse, and micro-structure that uses linguistic elements as analysis tools. The

linguistic elements used are semantic, syntax, stylistic, and rhetorical elements. Social cognition means a discourse must be seen its formation process starting from the production of discourse at the individual level, up to various social factors that influence the discourse. In this case, socio-cultural context functions as a bridge to connect between text and social context which later becomes the third classification.

Fairclough stated that discourse cannot be separated from the three aspects that shape it: the text, the practice of discourse formation, and the socio-cultural context. Furthermore, these three aspects are better known as three-dimensional analysis. Text, according to Fairclough has 3 important elements in its formation, namely, representation, relationships, and identity. The process of forming a discourse is closely related to how the background of the writer or producer of the discourse. In this case, the environment of the discourse producers will be very influential. Whereas the practice of socio-cultural context is divided into three types: situational, institutional, and social.

Unfortunately, some experts say that Fairclough's CDA is more inclined to DA because he does not specify the linguistic elements that should be analyzed in the text. There are three views on language when it comes to DA or CDA that all linguists agree on: positivism, constructivism, and critical views. The CDA proposed by Fairclough, due to the lack of detail on the linguistic elements used, is then categorized into constructivism view.

### **C. Teun A. Van Dijk's Model of Critical Discourse Analysis**

Van Dijk defines CDA in general as one of the studies that specifically analyzes text and speech, which grows from two main studies, critical semiotic and critical linguistic. The emergence of CDA is influenced by socio-political awareness as well as an oppositional way of researching communication, language, and discourse. The aspects affecting the emergence of CDA make it very difficult to define its boundaries such as principles, theories, methods, and objectives.

Van Dijk proposed a CDA theory known as the theory of social cognition. This theory states that discourse cannot simply emerge without the social background that shapes it. He highlighted many sociopolitical issues such as power, domination, inequality, and others. Social power is the main issue discussed by Van Dijk. The purpose of social power is the privilege of access for individuals or certain groups of wealth, status, class, knowledge and education, and communication (Clegg 1989) (Lukes 1986). These social forces eventually form a social control for one individual or group over another. This social control then develops by not only limiting or eliminating the access of other individuals or groups, but also through cognitive means such as persuasion, stimulation, and manipulation (van Dijk 1993).

The focus of the CDA is the abuse of power. The CDA does not highlight illegal powers that do not violate social principles. That is why the term domination, not power, is used. Furthermore, this domination can turn into hegemony when the discourse rolled out by the dominant group is accepted by the dominated group and is considered normal (Gramsci, Hoare, and Nowell-Smith 1971) (Hall and Du Gay 1996).

Van Dijk's CDA formulates that discourse is formed from three main dimensions: the dimensions of the text, social cognition, and social context. The essence of the analysis proposed by Van Dijk is to combine the three dimensions into one unit. The text dimension analyzes how a text structure and discourse strategy is constructed to highlight a particular theme. The level of social cognition is needed to study the process of discourse production at the level of individuals who create discourse. Meanwhile, the social context level studies how a discourse revolves in society as an effect of the discourse being rolled out (Eriyanto 2001).

Van Dijk's analysis model diagram can be described as follows:

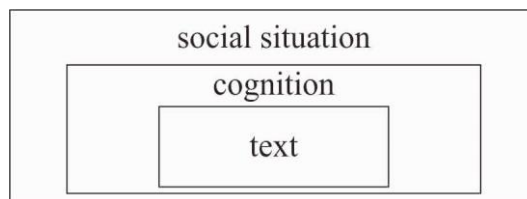


Table 2.1: Van Dijk's Model of Critical Discourse Analysis

Meanwhile, the research schemes and methods that are used are as follows:

STRUCTURE	METHOD
<b>TEXT</b> Analyzing how a discourse in the form of speech is formed in terms of various aspects of language so that it has the power to marginalize a particular group or idea.	Critical Linguistics
<b>SOCIAL COGNITION</b> Analyze the background of the discourse producer. Starting from the background of discourse producer, to the motives that allow the discourse producer to make the discourse.	History Review
<b>SOCIAL CONTEXT</b> Analyzing how the discourse develops in society. Starting from how the discourse is reproduced to the effect it has on the general public.	History and Literature Review

Table 2.2: Van Dijk's Three Dimensional Framework Analysis and Methods

## D. Van Dijk's Text Analysis Framework

The text referred to the discourse itself. Either in the form of written discourse or spoken discourse. According to Van Dijk, a text consists of three inseparable elements: macro-structure, super-structure, and micro-structure. Each has sub elements as an analytical tool. Below are the details:

ELEMENTS	TOOLS	OBJECTS
Macrostructure	<b>Thematic</b> A topic or theme that is emphasized in the text	Topic: Actors, events, groups
Superstructure	<b>Schematic</b> Highlighting how a discourse is presented in terms of the scheme or order in which it is presented	Plot and scheme: Opening, content, closing
Microstructure	<b>Semantics</b> Analyzing how a meaning is emphasized in discourse to the exclusion of other meanings. For example, exacerbating one party and favoring the other	Background, details, meaning, presupposition
Microstructure	<b>Syntactic</b> Analyzing the form and structure of sentences used in a discourse	Pronouns, coherence
Microstructure	<b>Stylistic</b> Highlighting how words are selected and used in a discourse	Lexicon
Microstructure	<b>Rhetoric</b> Analyzing how a discourse is presented	metaphor

Table 2.3: Text Dimension Elements

### 1. Macrostructure

The first is macro-level analysis, sometimes known as macrostructure. This macrostructure is the overall meaning of a document that may be seen by looking at the issue or theme raised in a discourse. Thematic structures are explored at the macro-level. The theoretical concept of macrostructure is used to organize

and make apparent the concept of themes in a discourse. Such themes demonstrate the crux or fundamental information of a speech, i.e. its overall meaning. This suggests that macrostructures are semantic objects in speech. Thematic, on the other hand, attempts to identify meaningful categories or themes in a body of data by examining the text. General description is a thematic element. It is also known as the primary concept, synopsis, or major point of a work. The topic demonstrates the dominating theme, centrality, and importance of the story. Van Dijk also called the text macrostructure as semantic macrostructure because in the end, the macrostructure will also be related to the meaning of the text (Dijk 1980:198). This study divides macrostructural analysis into three parts: actors, events, and groups (Sinambela 2019).

## **2. Superstructure**

The superstructure is the second level. This is the discourse structure connected to the textual framework, or how the components of the text are organized in a whole discourse. From the beginning to the finish, most texts or discourses follow a pattern. Plot depicts the text's pieces ordered and sorted to generate a unified meaning. For example, daily conversation discs feature initial greetings systems, speech material, and a closing section. A scientific journal or writing on knowledge contains schematics such as abstraction, background of study, issues, aims, hypotheses, content, and conclusions.

The importance of schematic, according to van Dijk (van Dijk 2008), is a discoursemaking method to promote a certain topic to be transmitted by organizing pieces in a specific sequence. The diagram underlines which priority



takes precedence and what might therefore be a method for concealing crucial information. The process of preparing something involves more than only the technical parts of journalism (which are regarded significant and noteworthy), but it also has an impact. Because showing a specific segment of a component is a specific protrusion procedure that hides the other part. This study divides superstructural analysis into three parts: opening, content, and closing.

### **3. Microstructure**

Lexical structures are explored at the microstructure level because of their relevance and value in political discourse analysis. Simply by carefully selecting words and styles of expression, a text or speech may be delivered that is directly targeted to appeal to an audience, and a study of the language used can give a text or speech that is directly tailored to appeal to an audience (Thorne 1997). In political speech, lexical structure is an important instrument for strategic positioning; hence, the careful selection of words in each message is critical to enforcing that strategy. The words used are crucial in defining identity and framing any given event, giving actions, objects, and subjects involved a unique meaning.

Briefly, microstructure highlights the linguistic elements of the text. The linguistic elements used in the analysis of the Van-Dijk micro-structure are syntax, semantic, lexicon, and rhetorical. Below are details of each microstructure element and its analysis tools:

### **a. Semantics**

Semantics is analyzing how a meaning is emphasized in discourse to the exclusion of other meanings. For example, exacerbating one party and favoring the other. There are 5 sub-elements for semantics:

#### **1) Background**

Background is a component of the discourse that can have an impact on the semantic (meaning) that is being displayed. When writing a discourse, a discourse writer frequently indicates the background of the written event. The chosen background influences whose side of the audience will be taken. The context is usually exhibited first, before the discourse's opinion, with the goal of persuading by providing the idea that the discourse's perspective is quite sensible. As a result, context aids in determining how a person interprets an experience.

#### **2) Details**

Detailed discrete elements have to do with a person's ability to control how information is shown. The author will present inflated information that favors him or gives him a positive image. Instead, if the information is harmful to self-position, he will reveal it in minimal amounts (or not at all). Information that is useful to the communicator is not only shown in abundance, but also in great detail if the data requires it. A purposeful rendering to generate a certain picture is complete detail and length. This specific aspect is a tactic through which the author of the speech displays his attitude in an implicit manner. The general dimension of the event,

which sections are discussed in length and which parts are presented in a few details, should be studied while reviewing the details.

### **3) Meaning**

Elements meaning sees information in a way that plainly and obviously helps communicators. The ultimate objective is to make available to the public only information that is useful to communicators. Beneficial information is delivered in a straightforward manner with strong phrases that lead directly to the facts. Meanwhile, negative information is couched in euphemism language and presented in a confusing manner.

### **4) Presupposition**

Presuppositions are statements that are used to back up the meaning of a text. If the setting encourages ideas by providing context, the presuppositions encourage opinions by providing some reliable premises. The news text, in general, made a lot of assumptions. This presumption is an unverified truth, yet it provides a foundation for supporting a certain viewpoint. Presuppositions, while based on assumptions, are often founded on common sense notions, logical or logical presuppositions, none of which are (yet) unchallenged (untrusted opinion). It has already been accepted by the public.

### **b. Syntactic**

Syntactic is analyzing the form and structure of sentences used in a discourse.

There are 2 sub-elements for syntactic:

## 1) Pronouns

The pronoun is a tool for manipulating language and forming a creative community. A pronoun is a tool that the communicator uses to indicate his position in a conversation. The formal attitude communicator expresses his attitude by utilizing the pronoun "I" or "we" in his expression. When the pronoun "we" is used, however, it indicates that the attitude is a reflection of a widespread attitude in a certain society. The line between communicator and audience is intentionally blurred to represent the communicator's attitude as well as the community's overall attitude. The usage of plural pronouns such as "our/us" has ramifications for solidarity, alliance, and public attention, as well as a reduction in self-criticism and opposition (Eriyanto 2001).

## 2) Coherence

The connectedness or interweaving of words or phrases in a text is referred to as coherence. When two phrases depicting separate facts are joined, they appear to become cohesive. When two phrases are linked by a "and" causation, they become causative. The use of conjunctions to connect facts demonstrates this coherence. Causal linkages, state relationships, time, circumstances, and so on can all be used to connect two phrases. When it comes to combining sentences, the conjunction word employed (and, therefore, but, then, because, although) has a distinct meaning. Coherence offers the listener the sense that two facts have been abstracted and related. Forms of sentences (connected with a

logical style of thinking that explains the proposition in a sequence of sentences), coherence (relationship between word and sentence), and the selection of a number of pronouns are all syntactic characteristics of a discourse.

### **c. Stylistic**

The lexicon or diction is the single sub-member of this element. Essentially, this aspect represents how a person selects words from a large pool of possibilities. The words used are ideologically significant and reveal how a person's meaning relates to fact/reality. The words used reveal a particular mindset and viewpoint. Different word choices can be used to describe the same occurrence.

### **d. Rethoric**

At the rhetorical level, strategy refers to the manner in which a person talks or writes. The manner in which the speaker or author delivers the messages to the public or audience. Rhetoric is used to persuade others. Rhetoric may also be seen in interactions, whether official or casual, that provide the sense of how someone is presenting himself in front of an audience. Expression and metaphor are two parts of rhetoric.

#### **1) Metaphor**

The core content of a speech is conveyed not just via text, but also through metaphor, a term used as an ornament or feeling of a discourse. The usage of specific metaphors can provide important clues to the interpretation of

a text. Journalists employ metaphors strategically as a foundation for thinking and defending specific viewpoints or ideas in front of the public. Writers employ societal views, everyday idioms, proverbs, ancestral knowledge, old words, and maybe a phrase drawn from sacred texts to bolster the overall theme.

### **E. Ideology**

Initially, ideology was understood as a structured collection of ideas and knowledge which was the result of human interaction with the environment. These ideas and knowledge are then used to determine the rules that govern how a group of people live. This notion was given by Antoine Destutt de Tracy, an 18th century French philosopher.

The notion of ideology then developed in various fields of science in the following centuries. Critical linguistics is one of them. Van Dijk states that in simple terms, ideology can be understood as the social basis of representation shared by group members (Dijk 1998). Fairclough states that ideology is the embodiment of aspects that exist in the world and can be demonstrated with the aim of maintaining or changing power and social relations (Fairclough, Ebooks Corporation, and Routledge 2003).

CDA sees ideology as the position, attitude, belief, perspective, etc. of one social group that is closely related to the power and dominance of other groups. This perspective is different from the description of ideology in general which stops at the belief of a group that uses ideology to regulate and enforce the rules in it. So in simple terms, ideology according to critical linguistics view can be understood

as a set of strong ideas or representations of a system that works and is used for the benefit of a particular group. Jan Renkeima in "Discourse Studies: An Introductory Textbook" describes the relationship between CDA and ideology as follows:

Macrostructure	Superstructure	Microstructure
There is an ideology behind discourse (theme) a text.	There is an ideology behind schema, such as the beginning, middle, end and also the structure of a meaning.	There is an ideology behind words and sentences a text.

Table 2.4: The Relation of CDA and Ideology (Renkema and Schubert 2018)

Furthermore, Van Dijk revealed that the study of CDA cannot be separated from ideology. The two are closely related and cannot be separated. Ideology shapes discourse and vice versa. Therefore, there are several benchmarks related to semantics, implications, and topics of discourse to reveal the ideology behind it. The benchmarks are self-identity description, activity description, goal description, norm and value description, position and relation description, and source description (van Dijk 1995).

Self-identity description means that discourse producers invite the audience to be aware of their identity and position such as, their identity, origins, and others. Self-identity description is usually used to emphasize the position of the discourse maker along with the audience. The function of identity description varies, ranging from strengthening positions, asserting dominance, legitimizing ideology, to overthrowing other groups who do not have power. In practice, the description of identity alludes to the identity of minority groups in relation to race, gender, religion, and ethnicity.

Activity description means that the discourse producer invites the audience to realize what they have to do including their main role, social role, and future

aspirations. Activity descriptions generally contain discourse with positive connotations considering that this reflects what their main role is. A simple example of an activity description is an environmental activist delivering a discourse about their goal of protesting against environmental pollution. The environmental activist invites the audience to be aware of their goal, which is to fight all activities that tend to cause environmental damage. Activity description makes sense when goal descriptions of one group have a positive value.

Goal description means that the discourse producers invite the audience to understand that what they will or have done is a good and positive goal. One simple example, an environmental activist stated that what his group was doing and fighting for fighting environmental damage was a good thing. One thing that needs to be underlined is that the goal description greatly influences how this group wants to be seen and evaluated by other groups.

Norms and values descriptions means that the discourse producers invites the audience to believe together that what is done and the goal of their group is good in accordance with the prevailing norms and values. This description often leads to the justification of one party and the blame of the "other". An example, an environmental activist invites his group that any act that harms the environment must be fought in an extreme way. In fact, extreme methods without long-term solutions will only exacerbate the situation. Moreover, the activist also indirectly accused all companies that were "considered" destroying the environment as bad groups.



Position and relation descriptions mean that discourse producers invite the audience to be aware of their positions and relationships with other groups. This means indirectly describing relations as a tool that leads to polarization, conflict, discrimination, and even humiliation. An activist described his group's relationship and position clearly with companies that were "considered" damaging the environment. The polarization that emerges is that environmental activists are always right and good, while companies are always wrong and bad. In fact, there is a middle way, namely the establishment of cooperation between the two groups to create a better environment and life.

Resource description means that discourse producers invite audiences to defend or, conversely, seize resources that can support their group's goals. One simple example when a discourse maker invites his group to defend resources is an activist who invites residents in his neighborhood to reject development because nature is their main resource. While the opposite example is a labor activist who invites his group to seize access to production tools and machines. Resource descriptions are closely related to defending, attacking, and seizing resources.

#### **F. Joseph Robinette Biden Jr.**

Joseph Robinette Biden Jr. or Joe Biden is an American politician who currently serves as the 46th President of America after being officially sworn in on January 20, 2021. Biden's political career began in 1969 where he appeared as a public defender and then worked under a law firm led by an active democrat. . Later, it was this Democrat who introduced Biden to the Democratic party. The party that became his identity during the political arena.

In 1972, Biden defeated Republican incumbent J. Caleb Boggs to become the junior United States senator from Delaware. He was the only Democrat willing to challenge Boggs. Due to his lack of campaign funds, he was thought to have a little chance of winning. Family members ran and staffed the campaign, which relied on visiting voters in person and handing them position papers, a tactic made possible by Delaware's small size. He was helped by Democratic pollster Patrick Caddell and the AFL–CIO. Environmental concerns, disengagement from Vietnam, civil rights, mass transit, fair taxation, health care, and public dissatisfaction with "politics as usual" were all on his agenda. Just months before the election, Biden trailed Boggs by more than thirty percentage points, but his energy, lovely young family, and ability to connect with people's emotions worked in his favor, and he won with 50.5 percent of the vote. He was 29 years old at the time of his election, but reached the constitutionally required age of 30 before he was sworn in as Senator.

Joe Biden's next career path took him to the United States Senate, where he was elected as a Democrat in 1972 and reelected in 1978, 1984, 1990, 1996, 2002, and 2008, serving from January 3, 1973, until January 15, 2009, when he resigned to become Vice President; chair, Committee on the Judiciary (One Hundredth through One Hundredth Congresses), Committee on Foreign Relations; was an unsuccessful candidate for the Democratic presidential nomination in 2008. However, on the Democratic ticket led by Barack Obama, he was elected Vice President of the United States in 2008; reelected in 2012, and served from January

20, 2009, to January 20, 2017; chosen as the 46th President of the United States on November 3, 2020; and inaugurated on January 20, 2021.

Some of the controversies surrounding Biden's presidency during the 2020 election are the 2020 Trump Tulsa rally, 2020 United States Postal Service crisis, Attempts to overturn the 2020 United States presidential election, Bernie Bro, Biden–Ukraine conspiracy theory, Domestic reactions to the 2021 United States Capitol attack, Eastman memorandums, List of companies that halted US political contributions in January 2021, Josh Hawley, 2021 United States inauguration week protests, 2020 Iowa Democratic presidential caucuses, Italygate conspiracy theory, Joe Biden sexual assault allegation, Media coverage of Bernie Sanders, Arnon Mishkin, Post-election lawsuits related to the 2020 United States presidential election, Pre-election lawsuits related to the 2020 United States presidential election, QAnon, Russia and Black Lives Matter, Carla Sands, Sedition Caucus, Stand back and stand by, Texas v. Pennsylvania, Trump–Raffensperger phone call, 2021 United States Capitol attack, 2020–21 United States election protests, and United States v. Flynn. Some of the controversies that caught the public's attention the most were the First impeachment of Donald Trump, Post-election lawsuits related to the 2020 United States presidential election, the 2021 United States Capitol attack, and the Trump–Ukraine scandal.

#### **G. Biden's Speech on The End of The Afghanistan War**

August 31, 2021, Joe Biden, President of the United States of America gave his statement regarding the massive evacuation and withdrawal of American troops from Afghanistan. This withdrawal also marks the two-decade war that America

has fought in Afghanistan. The war that began with one of the deadliest terrors in history, 9/11.

Joe Biden's decision was not a sudden one. This decision is the result of long-standing peace efforts by U.S., Afghanistan and the Taliban. Efforts that lead to peace in Afghanistan have actually been tried many times. However, due to several factors, peace has not yet been realized. Only on February 29, 2020, there was a significant agreement between U.S. and the Taliban.

The United States has promised to withdraw most of its troops with assurances that the Taliban and Afghanistan will soon negotiate towards a peaceful state. In addition, the United States also requested that the Taliban stop all activities that lead to terrorism. Negotiations between the Taliban and intra-Afghan only took place in September and in accordance with a previous agreement, the United States withdrew 2,500 troops from Afghanistan.

Unfortunately, along with the withdrawal of troops that occurred in November, negotiations between the Taliban and intra-Afghans reached a stalemate. There is no way of peace between the Taliban and intra-Afghan. Even the two of them routinely launched attacks on each other. NATO Secretary-General Jens Stoltenberg warned the United States that a premature withdrawal of troops could cause the intra-Afghan government to collapse and the Taliban to return to power.

On April 14, 2021, Joe Biden announced that he would withdraw all United States troops from Afghanistan. Nonetheless, Biden said he would actively participate in various peace efforts between the Taliban and the intra-Afghan

government. The United States will provide various support until the time of troop withdrawal.

The Taliban forces managed to seize control of Kabul, the capital of Afghanistan, after getting easy resistance from intra-Afghan troops. As soon as the Taliban came to power, the Taliban leader stated that the transfer of power would be implemented as soon as possible. The main mission of the Taliban is to make Afghanistan a country with an open and inclusive Islamic government.

In August, Biden again issued a statement that he remained adamant about withdrawing all US troops from Afghanistan. He reasoned that America's mission to eradicate terrorism was over. Although in practice, the withdrawal of soldiers and civilians who sided with the United States experienced many obstacles, but on August 30, 2021, the 20 year war in Afghanistan was over.

There are many opinions about this policy. Some opposed stopping the war, arguing that when the Taliban finally came to power, the 20 years of war the United States had fought would be in vain. On the other hand, many people support this policy, arguing that America has been in Afghanistan too long. America has spent a lot of lives and materials on the 20 years of war.

This study will look at Joe Biden's ideology behind his speech on ending the war in Afghanistan. Joe Biden has clearly stated his reasons. Nevertheless, Joe Biden's ideology becomes significant considering the decisions he made will forever be recorded in history, both U.S and world history.

## **CHAPTER III**

### **FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION**

In this chapter, the study presents explanation through two main parts of this research, finding and discussion. As stated in the problem of the study, This study aims to reveal the ideology behind Joe Biden's speech about the end of the war in Afghanistan. I will present the findings that will be analyzed using text analysis from van Dijk, namely: macrostructure which includes actors (**A.1-**), events (**B.1-**), and groups (**C.1**); superstructure which includes opening (**D.1-**), content (**E.1-**), and closing sections (**F.1-**); microstructure that includes analysis using linguistic tools: semantics: background (**G.1-**), detail (**H.1-**), meaning (**I.1-**), presupposition (**J.1-**); syntactic: pronouns (**K.1-**), coherence (**L.1-**); stylistic (**M.1-**); rethoric: metaphor (**N.1-**).

Furthermore, ideological analysis (**O.1-**) will be categorized into six semantic categories to reveal the most dominant ideology, namely: self-identity description, activity description, goal description, norm and value description, position and relation description, and source description. The discussion section contains a more detailed explanation and my other views as a researcher.

#### **A. Findings**

Below are the findings related to text analysis covering macrostructure, superstructure, and microstructure. Furthermore, findings related to ideological classification will also be presented.

## 1. Macrostructure

The macrostructure focuses on discussing thematic elements. Thematic elements can be seen from the main idea, summary, or main points of the entire text. To find the thematic elements in Joe Biden's speech about the end of the war in Afghanistan, I divide the analysis into three parts, namely: actors, events, and groups.

### a. Actor

The actor section shows who the actors are involved in a discourse in a certain situation to display the events that occurred. Actors in Joe Biden's speech included some of the most important and powerful actor. Here are the findings:

- A.1:**  
*In April, I made the decision to end this war.*
- A.2:**  
*I was not going to extend this forever war. . .*
- A.3:**  
*I take responsibility for the decision.*

The actor in the data above can be seen from the use of the pronoun "I" as the subject that dominates the rest of the Biden's speech. The use of "I" as a subject also shows the power possessed by the actor. It shows that Joe Biden as president of the U.S. has a prominent role in the theme raised. Biden, who is also Commander-in-Chief and have the power to decide, said he had carefully discussed the decision to withdraw troops from Afghanistan do evacuation for Americans there. More than that, Biden also gave assurances that this was the best decision he could make. Although on the way of evacuation, America must face various kinds of threats and complications.

Moreover, there is no strong reason to prolong the war that should have been stopped a decade ago.

**A.4:**

*As General McKenzie said, this is the way the mission was designed.*

**A.5:**

*My predecessor, the former President, signed an agreement with the Taliban to remove U.S. troops by May the 1st,. . .*

The actors in the two data above use the third person point of view and both become the subject. Datum **A.4** shows General McKenzie as an actor and Datum **A.5** shows Donald Trump. The position of both in the sentence as the subject shows the power they have to take part in making decisions. Through these data, Biden upheld the decisions he made regarding the procedures for withdrawing U.S. troops and civilians by giving credit to General Kenneth F. McKenzie Jr. as United States Central Command and the role of the former president, Donald J. Trump, in the mission to stop war and build peace in Afghanistan.

**A.5:**

*Because we were attacked by Osama bin Laden and al Qaeda on September 11th, 2001,. . .*

The placement of Osama bin Laden as the subject in the passive voice shows that Biden's main focus is to mention Osama as the actor behind the terror that hit America in 2001. The mention of Osama becomes significant to the theme because according to Biden, the main reason America went to war in Afghanistan was to eradicate terrorism which was led by him. While Osama was tried in 2011. In this case, Biden wants to remind America that their goal is complete and the evacuation and withdrawal of troops is the most



appropriate decision. In the end it also helped strengthen the theme of his speech.

## b. Events

The events section shows a series of events that support a discourse theme. In general, Biden presents the events that supported his decision to end the war in Afghanistan. Here are the findings:

### **B.1:**

*. . .the United States ended 20 years of war in Afghanistan — the longest war in American history.*

### **B.2:**

*We completed one of the biggest airlifts in history. . .*

Data **B.1** and **B.2** were chosen because they contain events that affect the overall theme of the speech. **B.1** and **B.2** use past tense verbs as predicates to indicate facts that have already happened. Joe Biden began his speech by mentioning the event that led to his speech, namely his decision to stop the war in Afghanistan. This decision to end the war was marked by the massive withdrawal of U.S. troops, American civilians, and Afghan civilians who supported America. The mention of these events gives a clear idea of the themes that will be mentioned in the remainder of the speech.

### **B.3:**

*. . .,we engaged in an around-the-clock effort to provide every American the opportunity to leave.*

**B.3** contains events that demonstrate Biden's response to the concerns surrounding the evacuation process. The evacuation process received various responses when it was first published. Mainly because the attention of American citizens is focused on evacuation procedures and safety. The mention of this event is to answer the concerns that arise in the community.

**B.4:**

*We delivered justice to bin Laden on May 2nd, 2011 — over a decade ago.*

**B.4** contains events that are the reason America no longer has any reason to go to war in Afghanistan. Osama has received justice in the past decade. America's presence in Afghanistan for a prolonged period is a waste of time.

**c. Groups**

The groups section shows the groups involved in supporting the discourse theme. These groups can be described as groups that support the purpose of the discourse or vice versa. Here are the findings:

**C.1:**

*...the United States ended 20 years of war in Afghanistan — the longest war in American history.*

**C.2:**

*the men and women of the United States military, our diplomatic corps, and intelligence professionals did their job and did it well, . . .*

**C.3:**

*So, we were ready when the Afghan Security Forces — after two decades of fighting for their country and losing thousands of their own — did not hold on as long as anyone expected.*

**C.4:**

*...the United Nations Security Council passed a resolution that sent a clear message about what the international community expects the Taliban to deliver on moving forward,*

**C.1, C.2, C.3, and C.4** were chosen as data because they contain groups that have a significant effect on the overall theme of the speech. The data above shows groups that are supportive of Biden's decision. These groups are Americans, people in the American military including intelligence and diplomats, the Afghan Security Forces; and the United Nations.

Americans are considered pro because they have the same goal with Biden, which is to stop the protracted war. This also applies to people in the American military including intelligence and diplomats. The Afghan Security

Forces as America's allies are considered pro because their initial goal was to build political and social stability in Afghanistan after the Taliban was overthrown. Meanwhile, the United Nations in this case acts as the highest council on inter-state security and always supports peace efforts carried out in Afghanistan.

**C.5:**

*. . .handing over the country to their enemy, the Taliban. . .*

**C.6:**

*We struck ISIS-K remotely,. . .*

**C.5** and **C.6** indicate the existence of two other groups against American interests, namely the Taliban and ISIS-K. The Taliban are the main reason why America used to come to Afghanistan. In the end, the Taliban was also the reason America had to withdraw its troops and stop the war. Despite frequent peace efforts, whether between America and the Taliban or the Afghan government and the Taliban, the Taliban finally managed to seize the Afghan capital, Kabul, and reign again. ISIS-K began to enter the American radar and was considered a dangerous terrorist group in 2015. Although, ISIS-K does not have any support for the Taliban. On the contrary, both are groups that have their own ideology and goals.

**C.7:**

*And there's nothing China or Russia would rather have, would want more in this competition than the United States to be bogged down another decade in Afghanistan.*

**C.7** indicates the presence of other groups that significantly support the main theme. These groups are China and Russia. China and Russia, although not having any influence in this incident, were still mentioned by Biden. This is because both are the largest superpowers and the main competitors of the U.S.

both from an economic and political point of view. The mention of the two is nothing more than a reminder to all audiences that only America was still wasting time, energy, and money by continuing to fight wars with no clear purpose.

#### **d. Ideology behind The Theme**

Overall, the theme of Joe Biden's speech was to detail the events and reasons behind his decision to end the war in Afghanistan, which was marked by the massive evacuation of civilians and US troops on August 31. This is because the withdrawal raised some controversy. The first is because of the unsafe evacuation procedure. Second is about Afghanistan to become a peaceful country after America left it. This theme can be seen from the three macrostructural elements that compose it. The actor element is dominated by Biden himself as U.S. president who has authority and responsibility. The events element shows the sequence of events that is the reason why the evacuation must be done and war in Afghanistan must be stopped. While the elements of groups indicate parties that support or become the main reason for stopping the war.

The ideology built on the actor element is that Biden wants to be represented as a president who prioritizes the safety of American citizens, especially the soldiers who go to war. Stopping the war meant preventing more loss of life and material loss. In addition, he also built the ideology that he is a visionary American president and knows what is best for America in the future. He

through the reasons presented conveyed several facts that it was time for America to move forward from the endless war.

Biden's elements of events and groups were used to support his ideology from the start. Biden cites the events in sequence as well as the groups involved.

This is to strengthen his decision to stop the war as well as build his self-image as a president who cares about the safety of his citizens.

## 2. Superstructure

Superstructure discusses how a discourse or text is delivered in order. According to Van Dijk, the discourse delivery scheme has an effect on what topics to be conveyed (van Dijk 2008). Understanding the superstructure is important because it allows some parts of the discourse to be highlighted and some parts to be hidden. In general, a discourse or text has an opening, content, and closing section. Here are the findings regarding the superstructure of Joe Biden's speech:

### a. Opening

#### ***D.1:***

*The extraordinary success of this mission was due to the incredible skill, bravery, and selfless courage of the United States military and our diplomats and intelligence professionals*

#### ***D.2:***

*The bottom line: Ninety [Ninety-eight] percent of Americans in Afghanistan who wanted to leave were able to leave.*

The opening part briefly can be seen from the two sentences above. In the first sentence (**D.1**), Biden recounts in detail the evacuation and withdrawal of American troops and civilians from Afghanistan. Biden stated that despite the many obstacles during the process, the evacuation proceeded quite well.

In the second sentence (**D.2**), Biden summarizes his opening and emphasizes that nearly 98 percent of Americans and Afghans have been evacuated safely. Placing these points at the beginning shows that Biden wants to address American concerns about the evacuation process first. Moreover, Biden even called the withdrawal of troops from Afghanistan and the evacuation a success. This shows that the phrase "extraordinary success" in **D.1** is a clue to the ideology that Biden wants to build. He wanted to showcase his success in evacuating American soldiers and civilians to listeners who were actually worried about safety issues. This ideology was strengthened by the mention of the percentage of Americans who were successfully evacuated.

## **b. Content**

### ***E.1:***

*Leaving August the 31st is not due to an arbitrary deadline; it was designed to save American lives.*

### ***E.2:***

*So we were left with a simple decision: Either follow through on the commitment made by the last administration and leave Afghanistan, or say we weren't leaving and commit another tens of thousands more troops going back to war.*

### ***E.3:***

*Their recommendation was that the safest way to secure the passage of the remaining Americans and others out of the country was not to continue with 6,000 troops on the ground in harm's way in Kabul, but rather to get them out through non-military means.*

### ***E.4:***

*The bottom line is: There is no evacuatio- — evacuation from the end of a war that you can run without the kinds of complexities, challenges, and threats we faced. None.*

At **E.1**, Biden stated that although August 31 was the planned date, safety was the main consideration. Biden always seems to prioritize the safety of his citizens over other factors. This is indicated by the use of the word "safety". However, **E.2** shows that America was just only two choices, between

continuing the war by sending more troops, or stopping the war by evacuating. E.2 became part of the content because it contains the word "leave".

Furthermore, at **E3**, Biden stated his decision to evacuate after seeking the opinion of civilians and military advisors — the Secretary of State, the Secretary of Defense, the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff although there are still risks to be faced. The word "safest" is the keyword in **E.3**. **E4** closes the content of Biden's speech. He stressed that no evacuation option from war could be carried out without security risks.

Biden made the reasons for the evacuation to be carried out as a core part of his speech. This shows that previously there was a lot of controversy surrounding the evacuation out there, especially regarding security issues. By placing him at the core, Biden wants to show that he cares deeply about the safety of Americans. He wanted to show, once again, that his decision was for the best and not without consideration.

The ideology that wants to be built in the content section is found in the words "complexities", "challenges", and "threats"(**E.4**). The ideology that Biden wants to build through the use of these words is that the evacuation and withdrawal of troops from Afghanistan is a necessity that must be carried out in due course. Although in practice there are many complexities in procedures, challenges, and threats from the Taliban and ISIS-K.

### c. Closing

**F.1:**  
*The world is changing.*  
**F.2:**

*We have to shore up America's competitive[ness]. . .*

**F.3:**

*. . .it's time to look to the future, not the past*

The closing section shows that Biden has a better outlook on America's future.

According to him, it is no longer the time for America to be busy with a war that has been around for two decades. Biden said in **F.1** America must now focus on competing with China and Russia on the issue of cyber attacks and nuclear deployments.

In addition to showing his views on the future, Biden did not forget to reveal some facts related to why America should move forward. He mentioned the costs spent during the war in Afghanistan and how many soldiers' lives had to be lost during the two decades of war. Biden uses these facts to support his opinion on ending the war.

The sentences "changing", "competitiveness", and "future" become ideological clues in the closing section. Biden wants to build on the ideology that now is the time for America to focus on changing the face of future competition. Biden stressed that drowning in two decades of war is not a good future because global issues have changed so much.

### 3. Microstructure

Microstructure focuses on the linguistic parts of a discourse or text. The selection of linguistic parts such as syntactic, semantics, lexicon, and rhetoric greatly influences how a discourse or text is presented to the audience. Even according to Thorne, a slight change in the lexicon can affect some or all of a discourse or text (Thorne 1997). This is later used by discourse producers as the



dominant group to show their ideology and goals to the audience. Here are the findings regarding the microstructure elements in Joe Biden's speech:

#### **a. Semantics**

##### **1) Background**

Background is a component of the discourse that can have an impact on the semantic (meaning) that is being displayed. The following is a quote that can represent the background of Biden's speech as a whole:

**G.I:**  
*We completed one of the biggest airlifts in history, with more than 120,000 people evacuated to safety.*

The background to Biden's speech was delivered at the very beginning by mentioning the successful evacuation of American civilians and soldiers from Afghanistan. This mention of successful evacuation has a specific purpose. Previously, the issue of evacuation caused differences of opinion in various circles in America with the point of debate being on the safety factor. By citing the success of the evacuation as the background, Biden wanted to invite the audience to understand that what was debated before and during the evacuation is no longer a problem. Furthermore, this discourse will help him in providing reasons why evacuation should and must be carried out.

##### **2) Details**

Detailed discrete elements have to do with a person's ability to control how information is shown. The speaker will present inflated information that favors him or gives him a positive image. Instead, if the information is harmful to self-position, he will reveal it in minimal amounts (or not at

all). Here are some excerpts that contain details such as the mention of numbers and detailed dates in Biden's speech:

**H.1:**

*We completed one of the biggest airlifts in history, with more than 120,000 people evacuated to safety.*

**H.2:**

*Our Operation Allied Rescue [Allies Refuge] ended up getting more than 5,500 Americans out.*

Biden conveyed in detail the number of soldiers, American civilians, and Afghans who supported the Americans who were successfully evacuated (**H.1, H.2**). This number is used to support his earlier assertion that he was successful in evacuating Afghanistan.

**H.3:**

*After more than \$2 trillion spent in Afghanistan*

**H.4:**

*... after 800,000 Americans serving in Afghanistan*

Another part that gets detailed with the mention of numbers is the number of costs and soldiers who died during the two decades of war in Afghanistan (**H.3, H.4**). This detail is used by Biden to support his statement that he decided to end the war in Afghanistan.

**H.5:**

*we were attacked by Osama bin Laden and al Qaeda on September 11th, 2001, and they were based in Afghanistan. We delivered justice to bin Laden on May 2nd, 2011 —*

On the other hand, Biden did not provide enough details regarding the reasons why America was able to endure such a long war in Afghanistan, in this case the last ten years (**H.5**). Biden said the reason America was fighting in Afghanistan was to hunt down Osama Bin Laden. Unfortunately, Biden avoided the fact that even though Bin Laden was killed in 2011, America would still be at war in Afghanistan for the next

ten years. Obviously this is something that Biden wants to hide in his speech even though all information and data regarding the American war in Afghanistan can be accessed on the government's official website.

### 3) Meaning

Meaning talks about how the speaker conveys useful information directly and unequivocally while covering up information that may be detrimental to him. Here are some quotes that represent meaning:

**I.1:**

*We completed one of the biggest airlifts in history, with more than 120,000 people evacuated to safety.*

**I.2:**

*In April, I made the decision to end this war.*

Biden directly conveyed several facts such as the success of the evacuation process and the decision to stop the war in Afghanistan that he made in April (**I.1, I.2**). Both use past verbs to show facts about events that have already happened. These two statements were delivered directly and clearly because Biden wanted to take advantage by inviting the audience to give a positive response first.

**I.3:**

*The bottom line: Ninety [Ninety-eight] percent of Americans in Afghanistan who wanted to leave were able to leave.*

**I.4:**

*Let me be clear: Leaving August the 31st is not due to an arbitrary deadline; it was designed to save American lives.*

In the data above, Biden tends to use affirmative phrases to conclude the points and arguments he conveys to make his point clear. Biden conveys some of the information so convoluted that he needs a concluding sentence at the end of each point. Some of the information conveyed in a convoluted manner, the first is related to the percentage of Americans who

were successfully evacuated (**I.3**). The second information is related to the evacuation date (**I.4**).

**I.5:**

*The bottom line is: There is no evacuation — evacuation from the end of a war that you can run without the kinds of complexities, challenges, and threats we faced. None.*

While the third information is related to his consideration that there is no safest way of evacuation (**I.5**). The affirmation phrase is again found in this datum. This suggests Biden tends to deliver speeches with too much information to make them convoluted. Convoluted information delivery often makes the audience lose focus on the main point. This indirectly benefits Biden as the party responsible for the evacuation.

#### **4) Presupposition**

Presupposition is an opinion whose truth is not guaranteed that is used to support the main idea of a discourse. However, presuppositions are usually logical common sense. Here are some excerpts containing the presupposition in Biden's speech:

**J.1:**

*So we were left with a simple decision: Either follow through on the commitment made by the last administration and leave Afghanistan, or say we weren't leaving and commit another tens of thousands more troops going back to war.*

Based on the presuppositional analysis proposed by Huang (Huang 2014), **J.1** is included in the aspectual type of state predicates. This is because the sentence is expressed implicitly with the aim of obtaining confirmation of the assumptions in the speech after the utterance is made. The assumption that arises in **J.1** is that there are actually several other options other than stopping the war by evacuating or continuing the war

by sending more troops. Nevertheless, Biden gave a phrase that suggests there are only two options left for America regarding Afghanistan. This leads the audience to choose from two possibilities that are considered better.

**J.2:**

*Imagine if we had begun evacuations in June or July, bringing in thousands of American troops and evacuating more than 120,000 people in the middle of a civil war.*

**J.2** falls into the category of counterfactual conditional presuppositions.

The easiest feature is the use of an if-clause. Biden in this sentence shows the opposite of what has happened, namely if the evacuation was carried out in June or July. The assumption that emerges is that there will be no evacuation in June or July. Biden's said that if the evacuation was carried out in June or July, the risks and threats would be the same. This opinion, although unverified, will be considered as true because Biden in the previous and following sections provides a lot of facts in detail.

**J.3:**

*The fundamental obligation of a President, in my opinion, is to defend and protect America — not against threats of 2001, but against the threats of 2021 and tomorrow.*

**J.3** is included in the presupposition of implicative predicates. This is because Biden has implicitly expressed his opinion on the duties of a president, which is generally known by everyone. The audience is well aware of the duties of a president. This opinion can be debated even though it has become common sense. Biden expressed this opinion in order to gain sympathy from Americans regarding his decision to end the war and evacuate.

**J.4:**

*I respectfully suggest you ask yourself this question: If we had been attacked on September 11, 2001, from Yemen instead of Afghanistan, would we have ever gone to war in Afghanistan — even though the Taliban controlled Afghanistan in 2001? I believe the honest answer is “no.”*

**J.4** falls into the category of counterfactual conditional presuppositions.

This is due to the use of an if-clause in it. The assumption that then arises is that the terror attacks in America in 2011 were not from Yemen, but Afghanistan. This assumption then leads to a conclusion that the reason America attacked Afghanistan was with the aim of eliminating terrorism, not focusing on the political turmoil there.

**J.5:**

*As Commander-in-Chief, I firmly believe the best path to guard our safety and our security lies in a tough, unforgiving, targeted, precise strategy that goes after terror where it is today, not where it was two decades ago. That's what's in our national interest.*

**J.5** is categorized as presupposition implicative predicates because Biden conveys something that has become a general assumption implicitly. The assumption that arises is that the president's job is to ensure the safety and security of its citizens from various threats. Furthermore, Biden rode the paradigm of the audience and convinced them that America's goals today are different from those of two decades ago. This opinion certainly answers various debates that exist in America in particular and around the world in general about the evacuation.

## **b. Syntactic**

### **1) Pronouns**

A pronoun is a word that is used instead of a noun or noun phrase. Pronouns refer to either a noun that has already been mentioned or to a

noun that does not need to be named specifically. CDA sees pronoun a tool that the communicator uses to indicate his position in a conversation and also a tool for manipulating language and forming a creative community. Here are some quotes in Biden's speech that contain pronouns that have a significant ideological influence:

The use of the subjective personal pronoun "I" is mostly found in macrostructural element, actor, findings (**A.1-A.3**). The use of "I" as a subject in the text shows the formality of the discourse producers (Eriyanto, 2001). Biden tried to be formal considering the speech about the evacuation and ending the war in Afghanistan was broadcast officially through the presidential channel.

**K.1:**

*So, we were ready when the Afghan Security Forces — after two decades of fighting for their country and losing thousands of their own — did not hold on as long as anyone expected.*

The use of the pronoun "we" as subjective personal pronouns in **K.1** shows the attitude of a particular community that agrees with each other (Eriyanto 2001). In this case, Biden involved several parties in his decision-making sequence regarding the evacuation and withdrawal of troops. With the participation of other parties, Biden's decisions are stronger.

**K.2:**

*The extraordinary success of this mission was due to the incredible skill, bravery, and selfless courage of the United States military and our diplomats and intelligence professionals.*

The use of the pronoun "our/us" is also found in Biden's speech. These pronouns are used to show solidarity, alliance, public concern, and reduce

self-criticism or resistance. The use of possessive personal pronouns "our" in **K.2** is to show solidarity with those who have fought in the evacuation mission.

**K.3:**

*Our strategy has to change too.*

**K.4:**

*That's what's in our national interest.*

**K.3** and **K.4** show the use of possessive personal pronouns "our" as a way to build alliances and alignments between Biden and his audience towards the same mission, prepare America for the challenges ahead.. Biden also fused the boundaries between himself as a discourse producer and his audience.

**K.5:**

*I refused to continue in a war that was no longer in the service of the vital national interest of our people.*

The use of possessive personal pronouns "our" in **K.5** shows a tendency towards public concern. This is considering the use of "our" as an attention grabber outside the discourse producer. Biden wants the audience to pay attention and think about America's future that is no longer about war.

**K.6:**

*we've got to learn from our mistakes.*

The use of the possessive personal pronouns "our" in **K.6** indicates a tendency to reduce self-criticism and defense. By using "our", it means that Biden wants to blur the boundaries between himself and his audience. In this context, Biden does not want to bear the guilt of the past (war)



alone by inviting the entire audience to realize that these mistakes were made together. Thus, Biden seemed less guilty and less criticism of him.

## 2) Coherence

The connectedness or interweaving of words or phrases in a text is referred to as coherence. Here are some quotes in Biden's speech that contain coherence that have a significant bearing on ideology:

**L.1:**

*Only the United States had the capacity and the will and the ability to do it, and we did it today.*

**L.2:**

*And still, the men and women of the United States military, our diplomatic corps, and intelligence professionals did their job and did it well,*

**L.3:**

*Again, more than 5,500 Americans were airlifted out. and for those who remain, we will make arrangements to get them out if they so choose.*

**L.4:**

*We will continue to work to help more people leave the country who are at risk. and we're far from done.*

Coherence in Biden's speech is dominated by the relationship between sentences with the repetition of keywords using the conjunction "and" as additive. This can be found in **L.1**, **L.2**, **L.3**, and **L.4**. The use of the conjunction "and" is found in two equivalent sentences that have the meaning of supporting each other. The intensity of using "and" as an additive indicates emphasis. In this case, Biden wants to emphasize the evacuation process and its follow-up. He wanted to emphasize that the evacuation process is and will continue until all Americans are safe.

**L.5:**

*. . . , risking their lives not for professional gains but to serve others; not in a mission of war but in a mission of mercy.*

**L.6:**

*Their recommendation was that the safest way to secure the passage of the remaining Americans and others out of the country was not to continue with 6,000 troops on the ground in harm's way in Kabul, but rather to get them out through non-military means*

**L.7:**

*The fundamental obligation of a President, in my opinion, is to defend and protect America — not against threats of 2001, but against the threats of 2021 and tomorrow.*

In addition to repetition coherence, contrast comparison coherence was also found using the conjunction contrast "but" as in **L.5**, **L.6**, and **L.7**. Contrasting comparison conjunctions are used to unite two sentences that have opposite meanings. The use of "but" invalidates the meaning from the previous sentence.

### **c. Stylistics**

Stylistics analyzes lexicon elements or word choices used in a discourse or text. In his speech, Biden tends to use words that have positive and formal connotations for himself, and negative connotation for other party such as:

**M.1:**  
*Thirteen heroes gave their lives.*

According to the Oxford dictionary, gave or give means to hand something to somebody so that they can look at it, use it or keep it for a time. Biden used the word dramatized to describe soldiers who died on the battlefield. Dramatic impression can be reduced by choosing other words such as “passed away” or “killing in action” (K.I.A). However, the use of dramatized words can create a positive impression for the discourse producers.

**M.2:**  
*We owe them and their families a debt of gratitude we can never repay. .*

The word "debt" in the Oxford Dictionary means a sum of money that somebody owes. Biden's assumption is that the greatest debt to the American people that cannot even be paid is the services of its soldiers on the battlefield. This is included as a form of dramatization. By not using the word "debt", the

sentence can still be understood well. However, the use of the word "debt" created a positive impression and conveyed solidarity with the soldiers.

**M.3:**

*and they did it knowing ISIS-K terrorists — sworn enemies of the Taliban — were lurking in the midst of those crowds.*

The word "lurking" in the Oxford Dictionary means to wait somewhere secretly, especially because you are going to do something bad or illegal. Biden's use of the word "lurking" has a strong negative impression. This shows Biden's hatred of ISIS-K as a terrorist. On the other hand, the use of this word can trigger another hatred towards the audience. Another alternative to "lurking" which may have a less strong negative meaning is "hiding" or "keeping out of sight".

**M.4:**

*... expects the Taliban to deliver on moving forward, notably freedom of travel, freedom to leave.*

The word "freedom" in this context does not have a positive connotation, but a negative one. By using the word "freedom" which means the power or right to do or say what you want without anyone stopping you, the assumption that arises is that the Taliban do not give any freedom to its citizens. The Taliban seem to confine their citizens with strict rules. Another alternative that can be used to reduce the negative impression is to use the word "right" or "due".

Biden also uses a variety of words when describing the sadness of veterans who fought on the battlefield, such as "away from their families", "missed birthdays, anniversary", "financial struggle", "divorce", and so on. In this case, word details are used to reinforce the meaning of the previous word.

#### d. Rhetoric

*N.1:*

*not in a mission of war but in a mission of mercy.*

The phrase "mission of mercy" consists of two words: "mission" and "mercy". Literally, the meaning of the word "mission" is an important official job that a person or group of people is given to do, especially when they are sent to another country. While the meaning of "mercy" is a kind or forgiving attitude towards somebody that you have the power to harm or right to punish. Metaphorically, "mission of mercy" is an operation to help people who are in trouble or danger.

*N.2:*

*That the threat from terrorism continues in its pernicious and evil nature.*

The phrase "evil nature" consists of two words: "evil" and "nature". Literally, the word "evil" means enjoying harming others; morally bad and cruel. While the meaning of "nature" is the usual way that a person or an animal behaves that is part of their character. Metaphorically, "evil nature" is the nature of humans to do evil and damage.

### 4. Ideology Classification

#### a. Self-Identity Description

Self-identity description means that discourse producers invite the audience to be aware of their identity and position such as, their identity, origins, and others. The data presented are quotes in Biden's speech that contain pronouns that are relevant to the purpose of his speech.

DATA	CODE
<u>I</u> made the decision to end this war.	<b>O.1</b>
But <u>I</u> still instructed our national security team to prepare for every eventuality — even that one.	<b>O.2</b>
<u>I</u> had authorized 6,000 troops — American troops — to Kabul to help secure the airport.	<b>O.3</b>
<u>The Taliban</u> has made public commitments. . .	<b>O.4</b>
<u>I</u> was not going to extend this forever war, and I was not extending a forever exit. The decision to end the military airlift operations at Kabul airport was based on the unanimous recommendation of <u>my civilian and military advisors</u> —	<b>O.5</b>
<u>I</u> ask: What is the vital national interest? In my view, we only have one: to make sure Afghanistan can never be used again to launch an attack on our homeland.	<b>O.6</b>
The fundamental obligation of a President, in <u>my</u> opinion, is to defend and protect America — not against threats of 2001, but against the threats of 2021 and tomorrow.	<b>O.7</b>
<u>I</u> simply do not believe that the safety and security of America is enhanced by continuing to deploy thousands of American troops. . .	<b>O.8</b>
I'm the fourth President <u>who</u> has faced the issue of whether and when to end this war.	<b>O.9</b>
So, when <u>I</u> hear that we could've, should've continued the so-called low-grade effort in Afghanistan, at low risk to our service members, at low cost, <u>I</u> don't think enough people understand how much we have asked of the 1 percent of this country who put that uniform on, who are willing to put their lives on the line in defense of our nation.	<b>O.10</b>

Table 3.1: Self-Identity Description

Biden uses the description of self-identity 10 times with the intention of asserting dominance and legitimizing ideology. Biden often mixes assertion of dominance with ideological legitimacy in the data. He used his assertion of dominance as the U.S. president who has the highest authorization to justify his decision to evacuate and withdraw troops from Afghanistan. In addition, Biden also used his authorization to take actions that he said made the evacuation process safer. This is to answer the polemic circulating in America that the process of evacuating and withdrawing troops in Afghanistan has a high risk of danger. Furthermore, Biden also uses assertions of dominance to convey his aspirations for America in the future

to be a safe nation. Thus, the audience can receive well what is conveyed by him.

In addition to self-identity descriptions, Biden also uses other-identity descriptions. Other-identity description is used to describe other people or groups according to the purpose of the discourse producer. There are at least 3 other-identity descriptions in Biden's speech: M.9, M.16, and M.31. In M.9, Biden describes the Afghan Government as a failure by claiming that their president fled amid rampant chaos and corruption so the Taliban could take the capital Kabul. The depiction of the Afghan government's failure provides the ideology that the Taliban's occupation of Kabul is not America's fault, but the Afghan government's. The Taliban in O.4 is described by Biden as a group that still needs to be watched out for. Although they already have a good commitment to the fate of American civilians. With this statement, Biden wanted to reassure audiences that the Taliban remains a dangerous armed group and he seeks to ensure the safety of American civilians still living in Afghanistan. Furthermore, in O.9 Biden gave an overview of previous presidents who he considered failed to resolve the war that lasted for two decades. Although not directly conveyed, Biden's description is quite clear. In doing so, he invites the audience to believe that his attempt to stop the war was a success.

#### **b. Activity Description**

Activity description means that the discourse producer invites the audience to realize what they have to do including their main role, social role, and

future aspirations. The data presented are quotes in Biden's speech that contain verbs that are relevant to the purpose of his speech.

DATA	CODE
We <u>completed</u> one of the biggest airlifts in history, with more than 120,000 people evacuated to safety.	<b>O.11</b>
. . . we <u>set</u> the date of August 31st for American troops to withdraw.	<b>O.12</b>
Our Operation Allied Rescue [Allies Refuge] ended up <u>getting</u> more than 5,500 Americans out.	<b>O.13</b>
Ninety [Ninety-eight] percent of Americans in Afghanistan who wanted to leave were able to <u>leave</u> .	<b>O.14</b>
My predecessor, the former President, <u>signed</u> an agreement with the Taliban to remove U.S. troops by May the 1st. . .	<b>O.15</b>

Table 3.2: Activity Description

Biden uses the 5 activity descriptions. Activity description is used to describe activities that have positive connotations for discourse producers in particular, and the entire audience in general. Overall, Biden reveals a timeline of evacuation activities and troop withdrawals from Afghanistan, starting from the successful airlift (O.11), initial evacuation decision (O.12), and several other evacuation activities following the main evacuation (O.13). Biden reiterates the successful evacuation of the M.14. On O.15, Biden gave credit to his predecessor, Donald J. Trump, who initiated the troop withdrawal agreement.

### c. Goal Description

Goal description means that the discourse producers invite the audience to understand that what they will or have done is a good and positive goal. The data presented are quotes in Biden's speech that contain verbs that are relevant to the purpose of his speech.

DATA	CODE
It was <u>designed</u> to operate under severe stress and attack.	<b>O.16</b>
We remain committed to <u>get</u> them out if they want to come out.	<b>O.17</b>

Remember why we went to Afghanistan in the first place? Because we were <u>attacked</u> by Osama bin Laden.	<b>O.18</b>
We <u>succeeded</u> in what we set out to do in Afghanistan over a decade ago.	<b>O.19</b>
I firmly <u>believe</u> the best path to guard our safety and our security lies in a tough, unforgiving, targeted, precise strategy that goes after terror where it is today, not where it was two decades ago.	<b>O.20</b>
It's about <u>ending</u> an era of major military operations to remake other countries.	<b>O.21</b>

Table 3.3: Goal Description

Goal description is a way for discourse producers to control how the audience perceives the positive goals they have. There are 6 Goal descriptions in Biden's speech. Broadly speaking, the goal description in Biden's speech talked about the purpose of preparing troops for evacuation missions (O.16), the commitment to continue to carry out further evacuations of American civilians who are still left behind (O.17), evaluating America's motives for fighting in Afghanistan and why now is the time to stop (O.18, O.19), and the goal of a better future for America after the war (O.20, O.21). These goals lead audiences to believe that all the goals the U.S. government has are good because that's how they want to be seen.

#### **d. Norms and Values Description**

Norms and values description means that the discourse producers invites the audience to believe together that what is done and the goal of their group is good in accordance with the prevailing norms and values. This description is divided into two: Good and bad norms. The data presented are quotes in Biden's speech which contain verbs and nouns that have good and bad connotations that are relevant to the purpose of his speech.



DATA	CODE
. . . they <u>risked</u> their lives to get American citizens, Afghans who helped us, citizens of our Allies and partners. . . (Good)	<b>O.22</b>
and they did it knowing ISIS-K terrorists — sworn enemies of the Taliban — were <u>lurking</u> in the midst of those crowds. (Bad)	<b>O.23</b>
. . .we reached out 19 times to Americans in Afghanistan, with multiple warnings and offers to <u>help</u> them leave Afghanistan. (Good)	<b>O.24</b>
I urge all Americans to join me in grateful <u>prayer</u> for our troops and diplomats and intelligence officers who carried out this mission of mercy in Kabul. . . (Good)	<b>O.25</b>
And to everyone who is now offering or who will offer to <u>welcome</u> Afghan allies to their homes around the world, including in America: We thank you. (Good)	<b>O.26</b>
A lot of our veterans and their families have gone through <u>hell</u> — (Good)	<b>O.27</b>

Table 3.4: Norm and Value Description

Norm and value descriptions are also found in Biden's speech. This description is divided into two: good when associated with discourse producers, and bad when associated with opposing people or groups. There are at least 6 norm and value descriptions. Biden provides a description of norms and values when talking about soldiers risking their lives on evacuation missions (O.22). On the other hand, Biden gives a bad description when it comes to the Taliban and ISIS-K (O.23). He also tries to show positive norms and values when stating that the government has repeatedly offered the evacuation of American citizens in Afghanistan (O.24). Norms and other positive values are displayed when Biden invites all of America to send prayers for those on the battlefield (O.25). Furthermore, Biden also expressed his gratitude to the world for being willing to accept refugees from Afghanistan (O.26). The last positive norm and value is when Biden expressed his condolences to all the soldiers who have fought in Afghanistan for the past two decades (O.27). All positive

norms and values that Biden displays are to create a good self-image and vice versa.

**e. Position and Relation Description**

Position and relation description means that discourse producers invite the audience to be aware of their positions and relationships with other groups. The data presented is excerpts from Biden's speech that explains the U.S. attitude, position, and relationship with other parties regarding Afghanistan and terrorism.

DATA	CODE
The assumption was that more than <u>300,000</u> Afghan National Security Forces. . .	<b>O.28</b>
The United States will never rest. We will not forgive. We will not forget. We will hunt you down to the ends of the Earth. . .	<b>O.29</b>

Table 3.5: Position and Relation Description

Position and relation descriptions are used to reveal relationships between individuals or groups. There are 2 of these descriptions in Biden's speech. O.28 describes the relationship between America and the previous Afghan government. Biden positioned America as an ally for Afghanistan which has helped a lot, especially in terms of the military, although in the end the Afghan government had to lose to the Taliban. O.29 explained that America and its allies would take firm action against all acts of terrorism. This reaffirms the position of America together with its allies in holding a shared commitment to counter terrorism.

**f. Resource Description**

Resource description means that discourse producers invite audiences to defend or, conversely, seize resources that can support their group's goals.

The data presented are excerpts of Biden's speech that explain the power and power that the U.S. has to do something.

DATA	CODE
Only the United States <u>had</u> the capacity and the will and the ability to do it, and wedid it today.	<b>O.30</b>
The assumption was that more than <u>300,000</u> Afghan National Security Forces. . .	<b>O.31</b>
The United States will never rest. We will not forgive. We will not forget. We will hunt you down to the ends of the Earth. . .	<b>O.32</b>

Table 3.6: Resource Description

The resource description in Biden's speech was used to emphasize the resources America has in carrying out the evacuation and future plans to fight terrorism. There are 3 resource descriptions. O.30 describes America's enormous resources that, according to Biden, succeeded in carrying out a very risky process of evacuation and withdrawal of troops. O.31 describes the American resources given to Afghanistan to fight the Taliban before the Taliban Government was overthrown. O.32 describes America's resources to fight terrorism in the future, namely America's own strength along with its allied countries.

## B. Discussion

The 2020 U.S. election became one of the most controversial elections in American election history. Starting from the first impeachment of former President, Donald J. Trump in December 2019 until the last time related to allegations of interference by Iranian hackers in November 2021. One of the biggest controversies was the attack by Trump supporters on the U.S. Capitol with demands to annul Joe Biden's victory. Several major cases continued to shroud last year's U.S. election until the end of 2021.

Trump and Biden have opposite styles of leadership, although they share some similarities. Trump uses "punishment" more often when dealing with those he doesn't like. In contrast, Biden tends to use "reward" and "promise". When it comes to politics and policy, Trump tends to take an extreme approach. On the other hand, Biden took a peaceful and cooperative approach. When it comes to managing the white house, Trump is stricter by keeping his circle of confidants small. Trump tends to be more suspicious of those around him. Biden, on the other hand, is using looser management. He realized that there would never be complete loyalty in the political sphere (Stevesaideman).

The road to the White House for Joe Biden has been fraught with controversy. Nevertheless, Biden who comes from a background as a politician knows very well how to give a good persona in front of the American people. Research conducted by Siregar shows that Biden's speech when he became president-elect on November 8, 2020 contained ideologies about unity, equality, and freedom (Siregar 2021). Research by Renaldo reveals the ideologies contained in Biden's inaugural speech, namely democracy, the fight against racial injustice for immigrants, and climate change (Renaldo 2021). In this study, the ideology contained is safety, security, humanity, and plans for America in the future.

According to the issues and ideologies contained in his speech, it can be concluded that Biden often uses mainstream and problem-focused ideologies as stated by Renaldo. This is in stark contrast to his predecessor, Trump, who focused more on issues and ideologies regarding racial, violence, crime, and drug trafficking (Presidential speech before Congress for the first time February 28, 2017).

However, Biden's mainstream ideology that became his political persona was deemed insufficient to convince the American people, even after he took office. Moreover, the issue of the massive evacuation and withdrawal of troops from America as a sign of ending the war in Afghanistan has become a big issue and tested his leadership. It makes sense that in his speech, Biden talked a lot about the safety of the citizens and soldiers who were evacuated because that was the crux of the problem. In this way, Biden avoided the public outcry that disagreed with the evacuation. Biden also raised ideologies about humanity and the cost of war to strengthen his decision. At the end, the ideology of America's future is given by Biden. This, apart from strengthening his decision, was also to show his audience his priorities as America's new president.

In some areas, this research has unreachable limitations. The first limitation is in the analysis tool that uses CDA: the three-dimensional framework from Van Dijk with more specificity in the textual part. Findings using other CDAs or analyzes using dimensions of social cognition and social practice may yield different results. The next limitation is the data used. Researchers used data in the form of speech transcript text and ignored other data such as expressions and pronunciation intonation. These data may be useful for future research.

Analyzing Joe Biden's social cognition in the speech became an interesting topic in the future. Social cognition will focus on the background and motives that caused Biden to give the speech. Furthermore, the analysis of social context is also an interesting topic to discuss. The effect of Biden's speech on the evacuation and

end of war in Afghanistan as it rolls across society will demonstrate the effectiveness and influence of Joe Biden as president of America.

## **CHAPTER IV**

### **CONCLUSION AND SUGGESTION**

This chapter consists of the conclusion and suggestion given by me. The conclusion was based on the data analysis from the previous chapter. The analysis contains macrostructure which includes actors, events, and groups; superstructure which includes opening, content, and closing sections; microstructure that includes analysis using linguistic tools, and ideology classification in Joe Biden's speech about the end of the war in Afghanistan. Based on the result of the data analysis, I concluded and suggested for future studies.

#### **A. Conclusion**

Ideology can be seen through the analysis of Van Dijk's text which consists of three elements: macrostructure, superstructure, and microstructure. In the macrostructure consisting of actors, events, and groups, the visible ideologies are Biden's priorities regarding the safety of Americans and soldiers evacuated from Afghanistan, his reasons for stopping the war, and America's vision for the future. While in the superstructure, ideology is divided into three parts: opening, content, and closing. The opening section shows Biden's success in evacuating, the content section shows Biden's reasons for the unavoidable but necessary evacuation hazards, and the closing section shows America's new focus in the future; competition with China and Russia.

The microstructural elements provide a more detailed picture of Biden's ideology. The semantics section which consists of background, details, intentions,

and presuppositions reveals Biden's ideology about ensuring the safety of the evacuation process, the reason America went to war in Afghanistan in the first place, the reason there was no guaranteed safe evacuation, why America must stop the war from now on, and the Biden's mission as America's top priority for the future. The syntactic part, which consists of pronouns and coherence, shows Biden's ideology of solidarity and the responsibility for evacuation that he holds. The stylistic part shows Biden's ideology regarding the sense of humanity he showed to the parties fighting on the Afghan battlefield in general, and in the evacuation process in particular. The rhetorical passage generally does not contain any ideology.

NO	Element	Element Part	Ideology
1.	Macrostructure	Actors	Safety, Reasons for stopping war, America's future
		Events	
		Groups	
2.	Superstructure	Opening	Evacuation success
		Content	Unavoidable but necessary dangerous evacuation
		Closing	America's new future
3.	Microstructure	Semantics: Background, Details, Meaning, Presupposition	America-Afghanistan war reason
			No guaranteed safe evacuation
			Reasons for stopping war
			America's future
		Syntactic: Pronouns, Coherence	Solidarity
			Responsibility
		Stylistic	Humanity
		Rethoric: Metaphors	

Table 4.1: Ideology in Joe Biden's Speech

The dominant ideology that can be found in Biden's speech about evacuation and ending the war in Afghanistan is security, reasons and motives for evacuation,



and America's post-war future. These ideologies are relevant because from the outset, the plan to evacuate and end the war in Afghanistan has drawn a lot of controversy, especially regarding security issues. Joe Biden as America's new president delivered the speech to address the concerns of the public.

Next is the semantic classification of ideology. There were 32 data classified into six semantic categories with details: 10 self-identity descriptions, 5 activity descriptions, 6 goal descriptions, 6 norm and value descriptions, 2 position and relation descriptions, 3 resource descriptions. The position and relation description is found twice along with the Resource Description. From the data above, it can be concluded that self-identity descriptions dominated Biden's speech about evacuating and ending the war in Afghanistan. This dominance indicates that Biden wants an affirmation of his dominance as America's president who has the right to determine the highest decisions. Moreover, self-identity descriptions also indicate that Biden is trying to legitimize his decisions.

## **B. Suggestion**

The speech of the American president has always been an object of interest when it comes to the branch of linguistics considering the influence of America on the world, both in political, social, and economic terms. Joe Biden's speech on the evacuation and cessation of war in Afghanistan in this study is one of them. However, with limited theories and research methods, new spaces for research are always available.

Regarding the object of research, I suggest that the quality of the data's newness is one thing that needs to be considered. The object of research, especially in the form of speeches related to certain events, is actual and quickly replaced with other speeches. The level of attractiveness of the object is also another consideration because not all presidential speeches (especially the American president) have a high level of attractiveness.

Regarding the theory used, linguistics provides many relevant and interesting theories to use, both basic theories, or developments from existing theories. For example, this study uses Van Dijk's CDA by focusing on text analysis. Other analytical spaces such as focusing on social cognition and social context are still available. Finally, I hope that this research can contribute to the field of linguistics in general and CDA analysis in particular. Other developments from this research are always welcome.

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## **APPENDIX**

### **REMARKS BY PRESIDENT BIDEN ON THE END OF THE WAR IN AFGHANISTAN**

August 31, 2021

State Dining Room

3:28 P.M. EDT

THE PRESIDENT: Last night in Kabul, the United States ended 20 years of war in Afghanistan — the longest war in American history.

We completed one of the biggest airlifts in history, with more than 120,000 people evacuated to safety. That number is more than double what most experts thought were possible. No nation — no nation has ever done anything like it in all of history. Only the United States had the capacity and the will and the ability to do it, and we did it today.

The extraordinary success of this mission was due to the incredible skill, bravery, and selfless courage of the United States military and our diplomats and intelligence professionals.

For weeks, they risked their lives to get American citizens, Afghans who helped us, citizens of our Allies and partners, and others onboard planes and out of the country. And they did it facing a crush of enormous crowds seeking to leave the country. And they did it knowing ISIS-K terrorists — sworn enemies of the Taliban — were lurking in the midst of those crowds.

And still, the men and women of the United States military, our diplomatic corps,

and intelligence professionals did their job and did it well, risking their lives not for professional gains but to serve others; not in a mission of war but in a mission of mercy. Twenty servicemembers were wounded in the service of this mission. Thirteen heroes gave their lives.

I was just at Dover Air Force Base for the dignified transfer. We owe them and their families a debt of gratitude we can never repay but we should never, ever, ever forget.

In April, I made the decision to end this war. As part of that decision, we set the date of August 31st for American troops to withdraw. The assumption was that more than 300,000 Afghan National Security Forces that we had trained over the past two decades and equipped would be a strong adversary in their civil wars with the Taliban.

That assumption — that the Afghan government would be able to hold on for a period of time beyond military drawdown — turned out not to be accurate.

But I still instructed our national security team to prepare for every eventuality — even that one. And that's what we did.

So, we were ready when the Afghan Security Forces — after two decades of fighting for their country and losing thousands of their own — did not hold on as long as anyone expected.

We were ready when they and the people of Afghanistan watched their own government collapse and their president flee amid the corruption and malfeasance, handing over the country to their enemy, the Taliban, and significantly increasing the risk to U.S. personnel and our Allies.

As a result, to safely extract American citizens before August 31st — as well as embassy personnel, Allies and partners, and those Afghans who had worked with us and fought alongside of us for 20 years — I had authorized 6,000 troops — American troops — to Kabul to help secure the airport.

As General McKenzie said, this is the way the mission was designed. It was designed to operate under severe stress and attack. And that's what it did.

Since March, we reached out 19 times to Americans in Afghanistan, with multiple warnings and offers to help them leave Afghanistan — all the way back as far as March. After we started the evacuation 17 days ago, we did initial outreach and analysis and identified around 5,000 Americans who had decided earlier to stay in Afghanistan but now wanted to leave.

Our Operation Allied Rescue [Allies Refuge] ended up getting more than 5,500 Americans out. We got out thousands of citizens and diplomats from those countries that went into Afghanistan with us to get bin Laden. We got out locally employed staff of the United States Embassy and their families, totaling roughly 2,500 people. We got thousands of Afghan translators and interpreters and others, who supported the United States, out as well.

Now we believe that about 100 to 200 Americans remain in Afghanistan with some intention to leave. Most of those who remain are dual citizens, long-time residents who had earlier decided to stay because of their family roots in Afghanistan.

The bottom line: Ninety [Ninety-eight] percent of Americans in Afghanistan who wanted to leave were able to leave.

And for those remaining Americans, there is no deadline. We remain committed to



get them out if they want to come out. Secretary of State Blinken is leading the continued diplomatic efforts to ensure a safe passage for any American, Afghan partner, or foreign national who wants to leave Afghanistan.

In fact, just yesterday, the United Nations Security Council passed a resolution that sent a clear message about what the international community expects the Taliban to deliver on moving forward, notably freedom of travel, freedom to leave. And together, we are joined by over 100 countries that are determined to make sure the Taliban upholds those commitments.

It will include ongoing efforts in Afghanistan to reopen the airport, as well as overland routes, allowing for continued departure to those who want to leave and delivery of humanitarian assistance to the people of Afghanistan.

The Taliban has made public commitments, broadcast on television and radio across Afghanistan, on safe passage for anyone wanting to leave, including those who worked alongside Americans. We don't take them by their word alone but by their actions, and we have leverage to make sure those commitments are met.

Let me be clear: Leaving August the 31st is not due to an arbitrary deadline; it was designed to save American lives.

My predecessor, the former President, signed an agreement with the Taliban to remove U.S. troops by May the 1st, just months after I was inaugurated. It included no requirement that the Taliban work out a cooperative governing arrangement with the Afghan government, but it did authorize the release of 5,000 prisoners last year, including some of the Taliban's top war commanders, among those who just took control of Afghanistan.

And by the time I came to office, the Taliban was in its strongest military position since 2001, controlling or contesting nearly half of the country.

The previous administration's agreement said that if we stuck to the May 1st deadline that they had signed on to leave by, the Taliban wouldn't attack any American forces, but if we stayed, all bets were off.

So we were left with a simple decision: Either follow through on the commitment made by the last administration and leave Afghanistan, or say we weren't leaving and commit another tens of thousands more troops going back to war.

That was the choice — the real choice — between leaving or escalating.

I was not going to extend this forever war, and I was not extending a forever exit. The decision to end the military airlift operations at Kabul airport was based on the unanimous recommendation of my civilian and military advisors — the Secretary of State, the Secretary of Defense, the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff and all the service chiefs, and the commanders in the field.

Their recommendation was that the safest way to secure the passage of the remaining Americans and others out of the country was not to continue with 6,000 troops on the ground in harm's way in Kabul, but rather to get them out through non-military means.

In the 17 days that we operated in Kabul after the Taliban seized power, we engaged in an around-the-clock effort to provide every American the opportunity to leave. Our State Department was working 24/7 contacting and talking, and in some cases, walking Americans into the airport.

Again, more than 5,500 Americans were airlifted out. And for those who remain,

we will make arrangements to get them out if they so choose.

As for the Afghans, we and our partners have airlifted 100,000 of them. No country in history has done more to airlift out the residents of another country than we have done. We will continue to work to help more people leave the country who are at risk. And we're far from done.

For now, I urge all Americans to join me in grateful prayer for our troops and diplomats and intelligence officers who carried out this mission of mercy in Kabul and at tremendous risk with such unparalleled results: an airma- — an airlift that evacuated tens of thousands to a network of volunteers and veterans who helped identifies [identify] those needing evacuation, guide them to the airport, and provided them for their support along the way.

We're going to continue to need their help. We need your help. And I'm looking forward to meeting with you.

And to everyone who is now offering or who will offer to welcome Afghan allies to their homes around the world, including in America: We thank you.

I take responsibility for the decision. Now, some say we should have started mass evacuations sooner and "Couldn't this have be done — have been done in a more orderly manner?" I respectfully disagree.

Imagine if we had begun evacuations in June or July, bringing in thousands of American troops and evacuating more than 120,000 people in the middle of a civil war. There still would have been a rush to the airport, a breakdown in confidence and control of the government, and it still would have been a very difficult and dangerous mission.

The bottom line is: There is no evacuation — evacuation from the end of a war that you can run without the kinds of complexities, challenges, and threats we faced. None.

There are those who would say we should have stayed indefinitely for years on end. They ask, “Why don’t we just keep doing what we were doing? Why did we have to change anything?”

The fact is: Everything had changed. My predecessor had made a deal with the Taliban. When I came into office, we faced a deadline — May 1. The Taliban onslaught was coming.

We faced one of two choices: Follow the agreement of the previous administration and extend it to have — or extend to more time for people to get out; or send in thousands of more troops and escalate the war.

To those asking for a third decade of war in Afghanistan, I ask: What is the vital national interest? In my view, we only have one: to make sure Afghanistan can never be used again to launch an attack on our homeland.

Remember why we went to Afghanistan in the first place? Because we were attacked by Osama bin Laden and al Qaeda on September 11th, 2001, and they were based in Afghanistan.

We delivered justice to bin Laden on May 2nd, 2011 — over a decade ago. Al Qaeda was decimated.

I respectfully suggest you ask yourself this question: If we had been attacked on September 11, 2001, from Yemen instead of Afghanistan, would we have ever gone to war in Afghanistan — even though the Taliban controlled Afghanistan in 2001? I

believe the honest answer is “no.” That’s because we had no vital national interest in Afghanistan other than to prevent an attack on America’s homeland and their friends — our friends. And that’s true today.

We succeeded in what we set out to do in Afghanistan over a decade ago. Then we stayed for another decade. It was time to end this war.

This is a new world. The terror threat has metastasized across the world, well beyond Afghanistan. We face threats from al-Shabaab in Somalia; al Qaeda affiliates in Syria and the Arabian Peninsula; and ISIS attempting to create a caliphate in Syria and Iraq, and establishing affiliates across Africa and Asia. The fundamental obligation of a President, in my opinion, is to defend and protect America — not against threats of 2001, but against the threats of 2021 and tomorrow.

That is the guiding principle behind my decisions about Afghanistan. I simply do not believe that the safety and security of America is enhanced by continuing to deploy thousands of American troops and spending billions of dollars a year in Afghanistan.

But I also know that the threat from terrorism continues in its pernicious and evil nature. But it’s changed, expanded to other countries. Our strategy has to change too.

We will maintain the fight against terrorism in Afghanistan and other countries. We just don’t need to fight a ground war to do it. We have what’s called over-the-horizon capabilities, which means we can strike terrorists and targets without American boots on the ground — or very few, if needed.

We've shown that capacity just in the last week. We struck ISIS-K remotely, days after they murdered 13 of our servicemembers and dozens of innocent Afghans.

And to ISIS-K: We are not done with you yet.

As Commander-in-Chief, I firmly believe the best path to guard our safety and our security lies in a tough, unforgiving, targeted, precise strategy that goes after terror where it is today, not where it was two decades ago. That's what's in our national interest.

And here's a critical thing to understand: The world is changing. We're engaged in a serious competition with China. We're dealing with the challenges on multiple fronts with Russia. We're confronted with cyberattacks and nuclear proliferation. We have to shore up America's competitive[ness] to meet these new challenges in the competition for the 21st century. And we can do both: fight terrorism and take on new threats that are here now and will continue to be here in the future. And there's nothing China or Russia would rather have, would want more in this competition than the United States to be bogged down another decade in Afghanistan.

As we turn the page on the foreign policy that has guided our nat- — our nation the last two decades, we've got to learn from our mistakes. To me, there are two that are paramount. First, we must set missions with clear, achievable goals — not ones we'll never reach. And second, we must stay clearly focused on the fundamental national security interest of the United States of America.

This decision about Afghanistan is not just about Afghanistan. It's about ending an era of major military operations to remake other countries. We saw a mission of counterterrorism in Afghanistan — getting the terrorists and stopping attacks — morph into a counterinsurgency, nation building — trying to create a democratic, cohesive, and unified Afghanistan — something that has never been done over the many centuries of Afghans' [Afghanistan's] history. Moving on from that mindset and those kind of large-scale troop deployments will make us stronger and more effective and safer at home.

And for anyone who gets the wrong idea, let me say it clearly. To those who wish America harm, to those that engage in terrorism against us and our allies, know this: The United States will never rest. We will not forgive. We will not forget. We will hunt you down to the ends of the Earth, and we will — you will pay the ultimate price.

And let me be clear: We will continue to support the Afghan people through diplomacy, international influence, and humanitarian aid. We'll continue to push for regional diplomacy and engagement to prevent violence and instability. We'll continue to speak out for basic rights of the Afghan people, especially women and girls, as we speak out for women and girls all around the globe. And I've been clear that human rights will be the center of our foreign policy.

But the way to do that is not through endless military deployments, but through diplomacy, economic tools, and rallying the rest of the world for support.

My fellow Americans, the war in Afghanistan is now over. I'm the fourth President who has faced the issue of whether and when to end this war. When I was running

for President, I made a commitment to the American people that I would end this war. And today, I've honored that commitment. It was time to be honest with the American people again. We no longer had a clear purpose in an open-ended mission in Afghanistan.

After 20 years of war in Afghanistan, I refused to send another generation of America's sons and daughters to fight a war that should have ended long ago.

After more than \$2 trillion spent in Afghanistan — a cost that researchers at Brown University estimated would be over \$300 million a day for 20 years in Afghanistan — for two decades — yes, the American people should hear this: \$300 million a day for two decades.

If you take the number of \$1 trillion, as many say, that's still \$150 million a day for two decades. And what have we lost as a consequence in terms of opportunities? I refused to continue in a war that was no longer in the service of the vital national interest of our people.

And most of all, after 800,000 Americans serving in Afghanistan — I've traveled that whole country — brave and honorable service; after 20,744 American servicemen and women injured, and the loss of 2,461 American personnel, including 13 lives lost just this week, I refused to open another decade of warfare in Afghanistan.

We've been a nation too long at war. If you're 20 years old today, you have never known an America at peace.

So, when I hear that we could've, should've continued the so-called low-grade effort in Afghanistan, at low risk to our service members, at low cost, I don't think



enough people understand how much we have asked of the 1 percent of this country who put that uniform on, who are willing to put their lives on the line in defense of our nation.

Maybe it's because my deceased son, Beau, served in Iraq for a full year, before that. Well, maybe it's because of what I've seen over the years as senator, vice president, and president traveling these countries.

A lot of our veterans and their families have gone through hell — deployment after deployment, months and years away from their families; missed birthdays, anniversaries; empty chairs at holidays; financial struggles; divorces; loss of limbs; traumatic brain injury; posttraumatic stress.

We see it in the struggles many have when they come home. We see it in the strain on their families and caregivers. We see it in the strain of their families when they're not there. We see it in the grief borne by their survivors. The cost of war they will carry with them their whole lives.

Most tragically, we see it in the shocking and stunning statistic that should give pause to anyone who thinks war can ever be low-grade, low-risk, or low-cost: 18 veterans, on average, who die by suicide every single day in America — not in a far-off place, but right here in America.

There's nothing low-grade or low-risk or low-cost about any war. It's time to end the war in Afghanistan.

As we close 20 years of war and strife and pain and sacrifice, it's time to look to the future, not the past — to a future that's safer, to a future that's more secure, to a future that honors those who served and all those who gave what President Lincoln

called their “last full measure of devotion.”

I give you my word: With all of my heart, I believe this is the right decision, a wise decision, and the best decision for America.

Thank you. Thank you. And may God bless you all. And may God protect our troops.

3:54 P.M. EDT

## **CURRICULUM VITAE**



Achmad Fauzi was born in Bekasi on May 17, 1997. He spent his childhood in a small town in Central Java, Purworejo. Fauzi graduated from the religious department at MA Al-IMAN BULUS in 2014. During his studies in high school, he learned a lot about Arabic grammar such as Nahwu and Saraf. After graduating, Fauzi continued to State Islamic University Maulana Malik Ibrahim Malang in 2015 with a major in English Literature. During his semester break, Fauzi devoted himself to MTs AL-IMAN 02 BULUS as a teaching staff for English subjects.