

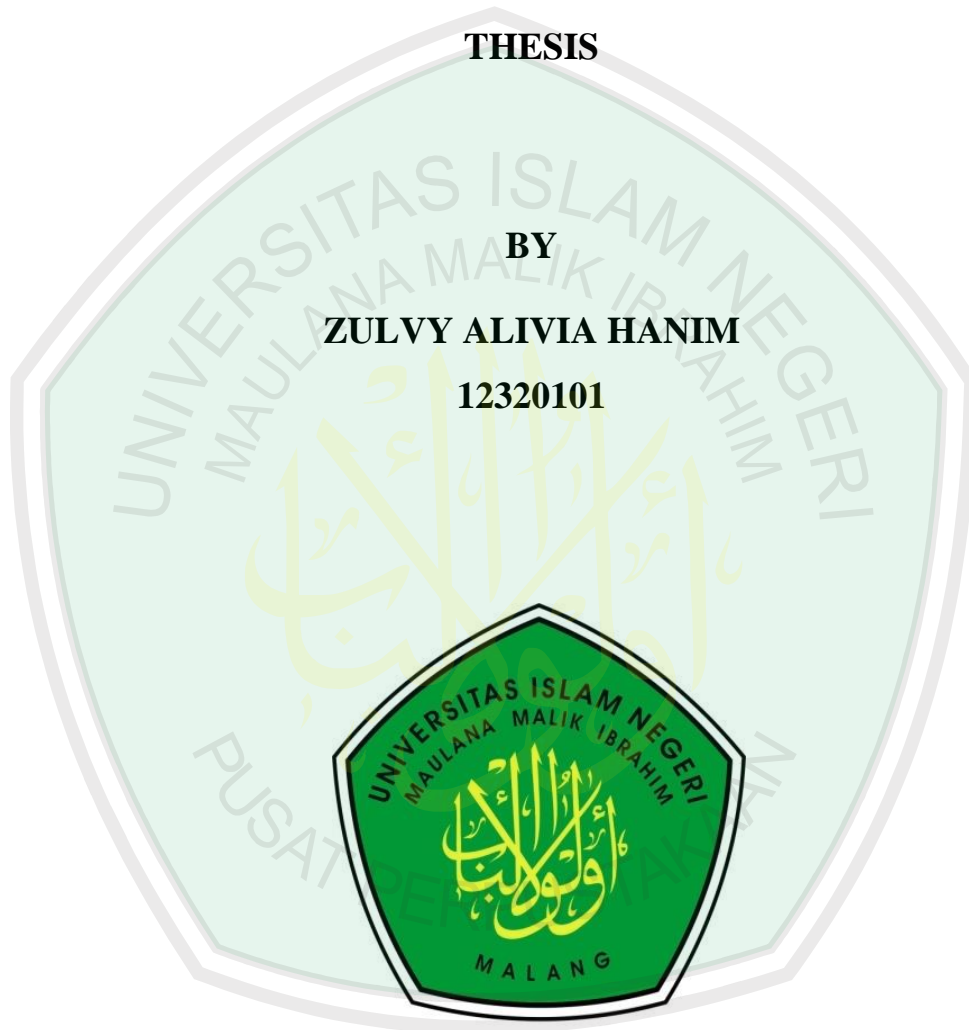
**RHETORICAL DEVICES ON GLENN BECK'S SPEECH IN
CONSERVATIVE POLITICAL ACTION CONFERENCE
(CPAC) 2016**

THESIS

BY

ZULVY ALIVIA HANIM

12320101



ENGLISH LANGUAGE AND LETTERS DEPARTMENT

FACULTY OF HUMANITIES

MAULANA MALIK IBRAHIM STATE ISLAMIC UNIVERSITY

MALANG

2016

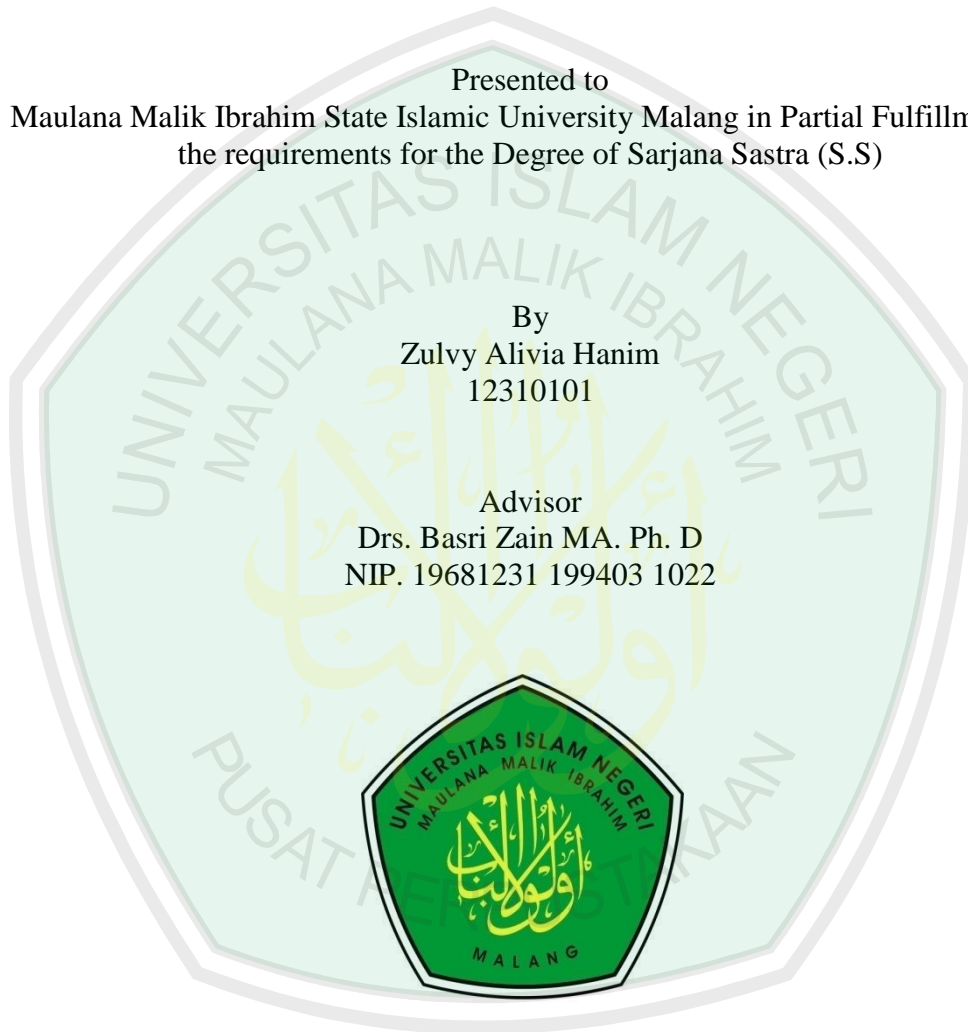
**RHETORICAL DEVICES ON GLENN BECK'S SPEECH IN
CONSERVATIVE POLITICAL ACTION CONFERENCE
(CPAC) 2016**

THESIS

Presented to
Maulana Malik Ibrahim State Islamic University Malang in Partial Fulfillment of
the requirements for the Degree of Sarjana Sastra (S.S)

By
Zulvy Alivia Hanim
12310101

Advisor
Drs. Basri Zain MA. Ph. D
NIP. 19681231 199403 1022



ENGLISH LANGUAGE AND LETTERS DEPARTMENT

FACULTY OF HUMANITIES

MAULANA MALIK IBRAHIM STATE ISLAMIC UNIVERSITY

MALANG

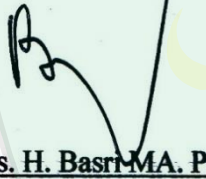
2016

APPROVAL SHEET

This is to certify that Zulvy Alivia Hanim's thesis entitled *Rhetorical Devices on Glenn Beck's Speech in CPAC 2016* has been approved by the thesis advisor for further approval by the Board of Examiners

Malang, July 17th 2016

Advisor,



Drs. H. Basri, MA, Ph. D
NIP. 19681231 199403 1022

Head of English Language
and Letters Department,



Dr. Syamsuddin, M.Hum
NIP. 1969 12 2200604 1 001

Dean of Faculty of Humanities

Maulana Malik Ibrahim State Islamic University of Malang,



Dr. Hj. Istiadah, M.A
NIP. 19670313 1992032 002

LEGITIMATION SHEET

This is to certify Zulvy Alivia Hanim's thesis entitled *Rhetorical Devices on Glenn Beck's Speech in Conservative Political Action Conference (CPAC) 2016* has been approved by the Board of Examiners as the requirement for the degree of Sarjana Sastra

The Board of Examiners

Signatures

1. Dr. H. Djoko Susanto, M.Ed, Ph.D (Main Examiner)
NIP. 19670529 200003 1 001



2. Abdul Azis, Ph.D (Chair)
NIP. 19690628 200604 1 004



3. Drs. H. Basri MA. Ph. D (Advisor)
NIP. 19681231 199403 1022

Malang, July 17th 2016

Dean of Faculty of Humanities
Maulana Malik Ibrahim State Islamic University of Malang,



Dr. Hj. Istiadah, M.A
NIP. 196703 131992032 002

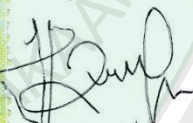
STATEMENT OF THESIS AUTHORSHIP

I declare that the thesis that I wrote to fulfill the requirement for the degree of *Sarjana Sastra (SI)* in Department of English Letters and Language, Faculty of Humanities, The State Islamic University of Maulana Malik Ibrahim Malang entitled **Rhetorical Devices on Glenn Beck's Speech in Conservative Political Action Conference (CPAC) 2016** is truly my original work. It does not incorporate any materials previously written or published by another person except those indicated in quotations and bibliography. Due to this fact, I am the only one person responsible for the thesis if there is any objection or claim for others.

Malang, July 17th 2016

Zulvy Alivia Hanim,




NIM. 12320101

MOTTO

من كان يؤمن بالله واليوم الآخر، فليقل خيرا، أو ليسمت (متفق عليه)

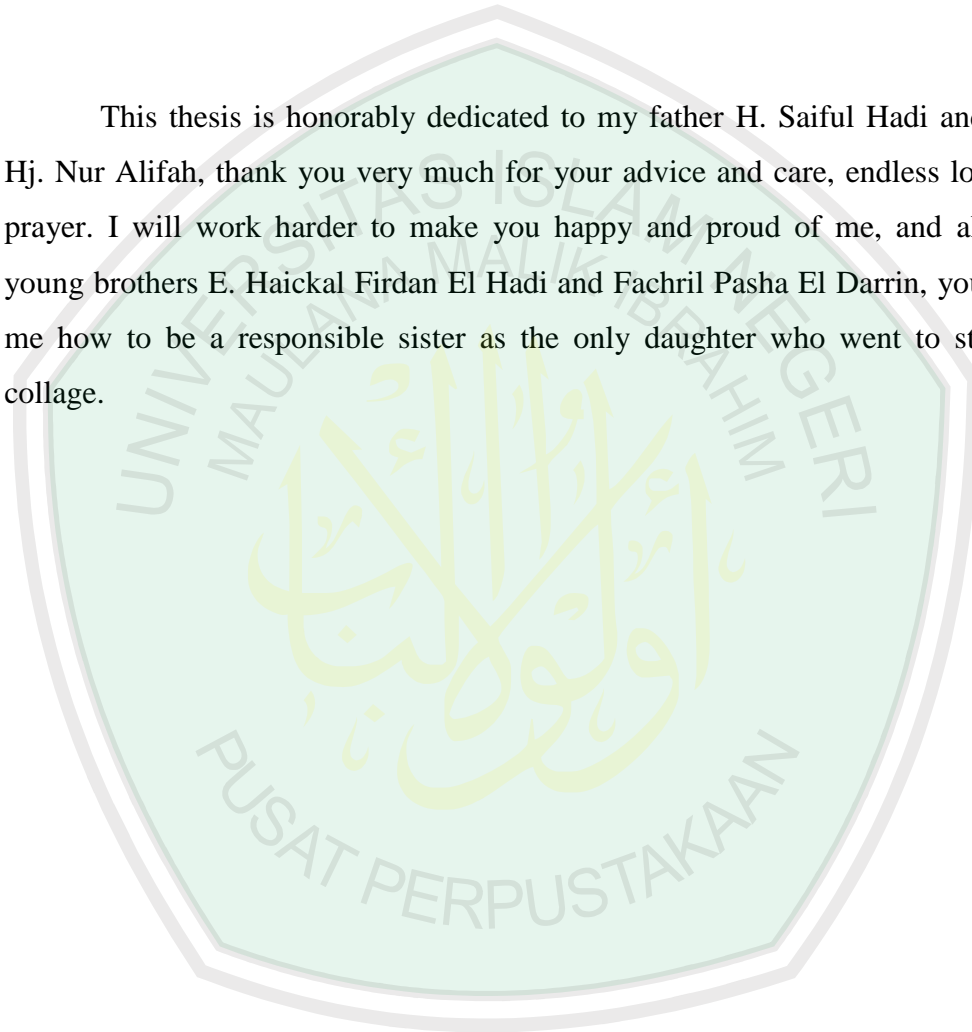
Barang siapa yang beriman kepada Allah dan hari akhir, maka
berkatalah yang baik atau lebih baik diam

(HR. Bukhari dan Muslim)



DEDICATION

This thesis is honorably dedicated to my father H. Saiful Hadi and mom Hj. Nur Alifah, thank you very much for your advice and care, endless love and prayer. I will work harder to make you happy and proud of me, and also my young brothers E. Haickal Firdan El Hadi and Fachril Pasha El Darrin, you show me how to be a responsible sister as the only daughter who went to study in collage.



ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

Alhamdulillah, all my praise is to Allah SWT, who has given me guidance and blessing in finishing this thesis, entitled *Rhetorical Devices on Glenn Beck's Speech in CPAC 2016* as well. Shalawat and Salam are also delivered to the prophet Muhamad SAW, who has been a good model in the overall of our life.

The researcher here realized that this thesis would not be finished without any help and motivation for people who support during the process for conducting this research. Thus, I would like to give my sincere gratitude to my beloved parents, H. Saiful Hadi and mom Hj. NurAlifah, who always pray for me and support me financially and spiritually and also my advisor, Drs. H. Basri Zain M.A. Ph.D, who has continually guided me throughout the entire process of the thesis writing with all constructive comments and suggestions to make this thesis perfect.

Secondly, my thanks are aimed to the lecturers of English Language and Letters Department for being so kind and generous in giving their meaningful knowledge, and the last one, the biggest thanks to all of my entire friends, students in English Letters and Language department, my beloved partner Wildan Arif H., S.E who inspiring me, supporting, helping and accompany me in finishing my thesis, my best friends Khusnul Khotimah, who always give me support all the time, accompany me in happy and sad condition. I will not forget your support.

Finally, the researcher truly realized that this thesis still need the constructive critics and suggestion from the readers in order to make it perfect and hopefully it can be useful for the readers, especially for the Language and Letters students.

Malang, July 17th, 2016

Zulvy Alivia Hanim

NIM: 12320101

ABSTRACT

Hanim, Zulvy Alivia 2016. *Rhetorical Devices on Glenn Beck's Speech in Conservative Political Action Conference 2016* Thesis. English Language and Letters Department, Faculty of Humanities, Maulana Malik Ibrahim State Islamic University of Malang. Advisor: Drs. Basri Zaid M.A Ph. D

Key Words: Microstructure, Rhetoric, Rhetorical Devices.

This paper concentrates on the use of rhetorical devices and how it applied in the political speech delivered by Glenn Beck. Its focus is on the English rhetorical devices on CPAC 2016 speech in America. Political speech is characterized by rich information related to the condition of the government which reflects the social condition in the society. Focusing on the use of metaphor, euphemism, the rule of three, parallelism and pronoun, this research shows how certain aspects of communication are affected by rhetorical devices.

By means using Descriptive Qualitative research, this thesis is focuses on describing the way the speaker uttered and implied the implicit meaning of the rhetorical devices and also to find how it constructed in this speech. After collecting the data, the data were identified and analyzed into the application of rhetorical devices based on Jones and Peccei 2004 compare with the critical discourse analysis framework restricted on the micro structure element purposed by Van Dijk.

The result of the study showed that the speaker used five rhetorical devices in his speech. There are 19 devices found in the data. The use of metaphor, parallelism, pronoun, euphemism and the rule of three used when the speaker wanted to highlighted the important message from his speech. In addition, the microstructure of rhetorical device showed the use of high and low intonation is the way Glenn stressing the device which has the important message were making this speech more powerful and create a positive reaction from the audience. Furthermore, those devices show that what has already stated by Glenn is only to invite people to faith with their principle.

The empirical data are contributed to the lecturers, the students, and the next researchers. For the lecturers, it is recommended to use the references for teaching. Then, for the students, it is recommended to use the references in learning and applying how to become good public speaker. Moreover, this research can provide the important direction which can be followed up by the next researchers. It would be good if the next researcher use other types of speech such as education or economical speech. It is expected also that examining the debate or comparing two speech which got the bad and the good commentary from the viewer.

ABSTRAK

Hanim, Zulvy Alivia 2016. Perangkat Retoris dalam Pidato Glenn Beck dalam Konferensi Aksi Politik Konservatif 2016. Skripsi. Jurusan Bahasa dan Sastra Inggris, Fakultas humaniora, Universitas Islam Negeri Maulana Malik Ibrahim Malang. Pembimbing: Drs. Basri Zaid M.A Ph. D

Kata kunci: Mikro struktur, Retorika, Perangkat Retoris.

Penelitian ini berkonsentrasi pada penggunaan perangkat retorik dan bagaimana hal tersebut diterapkan dalam pidato politik yang disampaikan oleh Glenn Beck. Penelitian ini terfokus pada perangkat retorik pada pidato CPAC 2016 di Amerika. Pidato politik dicirikan oleh kaya informasi yang terkait dengan kondisi pemerintah yang mencerminkan kondisi sosial dalam masyarakat, terfokus pada penggunaan metafora, eufemisme, *the rule of three*, paralelisme dan kata ganti, penelitian ini menunjukkan bagaimana aspek-aspek komunikasi tertentu dipengaruhi oleh perangkat retorik.

Dengan cara menggunakan riset kualitatif deskriptif, penelitian ini berfokus pada menggambarkan bagaimana cara pembicara mengungkapkan makna yang tersirat dan tersembunyi dengan menggunakan perangkat retorik dan juga untuk menemukan bagaimana hal tersebut dibangun dalam pidato ini. Setelah pengumpulan data, data diidentifikasi dan dianalisa menggunakan perangkat retorik berdasarkan teori Jones dan Peccei 2004 digabungkan dengan analisis wacana kritis yang dibatasi pada unsur mikro struktur teori Van Dijk.

Hasil penelitian menunjukkan bahwa si pembicara menggunakan lima perangkat retorik dalam sambutannya. Ada 19 perangkat ditemukan dalam data. Penggunaan metafora, paralelisme, kata ganti, eufemisme dan aturan dari tiga digunakan ketika pembicara ingin untuk disorot sebagai pesan penting dari pidatonya. Selain itu, mikrostruktur pada perangkat retorik menunjukkan penggunaan tinggi dan rendah intonasi adalah cara Glenn menekankan perangkat yang memiliki pesan penting yang membuat pidato ini lebih kuat dan menciptakan reaksi positif dari para penonton. Selain itu, perangkat-perangkat tersebut menunjukkan bahwa apa sudah telah dinyatakan oleh Glenn adalah hanya untuk mengundang orang untuk percaya dengan prinsip mereka.

Data empiris memberikan kontribusi terhadap dosen, mahasiswa, dan peneliti selanjutnya. Untuk dosen, dianjurkan untuk menggunakan referensi untuk mengajar. Kemudian, untuk siswa, disarankan untuk menggunakan referensi dalam mempelajari dan menerapkan cara menggunakan kesopanan. Selain itu, penelitian ini dapat memberikan arah yang penting yang dapat diikuti oleh para peneliti selanjutnya. Akan lebih baik jika peneliti berikutnya menggunakan jenis pidato lain seperti pidato tentang pendidikan atau pidato ekonomi. Diharapkan juga peneliti selanjutnya dapat menggunakan debat atau membandingkan dua pidato yang mendapatkan komentar baik dan buruk dari para penonton.

مستخلص البحث

حنيم، زلفي اليفيا. 2016. الأجهزة البلاغية في خطاب جلين بيك في المؤتمر المحافظ العمل السياسي

2016. البحث العلمي. قسم اللغة الإنجليزية وأدائها. كلية الإنسانية. جامعة مولانا مالك إبراهيم

الإسلامية الحكومية مالانج. المشرف بسري زين الماجستير.

الكلمة الأساسية: *Microstructure* ، الخطابة، "الأجهزة البلاغية"

هذا البحث يركز على استخدام الأجهزة البلاغية وكيفية تطبيقه في خطاب سياسي ألقاه جلين بيك. ركز هذا البحث على الأجهزة البلاغية في الكلام CPAC 2016 في أمريكا. خطاب سياسي يتسم بمعلومات غنية تتصل بشرط للحكومة التي تعكس الظروف الاجتماعية في المجتمع، وركز على استخدام استعارة، كناية، حكم ثلاثة، والتوازي والضمائر، وهذا البحث يبين جوانب الاتصالات محددة كيف تتأثر الأجهزة البلاغية.

باستخدام البحث النوعي الوصفي، يركز هذا البحث على وصف كيف المتكلم يعبر عن معنى بين السطور والمخفية باستخدام الأجهزة البلاغية، وأيضاً للبحث عن كيفية الأمور شيدت في هذا الخطاب. بعد جمع البيانات، يتم التعرف على البيانات وتحليلها باستخدام جهاز بلاغية استناداً إلى نظرية جونز و 2004 بيكسي مقترنة بتحليل الخطاب النقدي يقتصر على نظرية الجزئي لعناصر هيكل فإن ديبك.

وأظهرت النتائج أن المتكلم يستخدم خمسة أجهزة البلاغية في خطابه. وهناك 19 من الأجهزة الموجودة في البيانات. استخدام الاستعارة والتوازي، والضمائر، وكناية وسيادة ثلاثة يستخدم عندما يريد المتكلم أن أبرز رسالة هامة من خطابه. وبالإضافة إلى ذلك، والمجهرية على الأجهزة البلاغية يظهر الاستخدام العالية والمنخفضة لهجة هو الطريقة التي تؤكد جلين الجهاز الذي لديه رسالة هامة التي جعلت هذا الكلام هو أقوى ويخلق رد فعل إيجابي من الجمهور. وبالإضافة إلى ذلك، تلك الأجهزة تبين أن ما ذكر بالفعل قبل جلين فقط دعوة الناس إلى الاعتقاد في مبادئها.

هو تسهم البيانات التجريبية للأساتذة والطلاب والباحثين. لأساتذة الجامعات، من المستحسن استخدام الإشارة إلى التدريس. ثم، للطلاب، ومن المستحسن استخدام المراجع في الدراسة وتطبيق كيفية استخدام المداراة. وبالإضافة إلى ذلك، يمكن توفير هذا البحث اتجاه هام يمكن اتباعها من قبل الباحثين اللاحقة. فإنه سيكون من الأفضل إذا كان الباحث القادم باستخدام أنواع أخرى من الكلام كالكلام عن التعليم أو الكلام الاقتصادي. ومن المتوقع الباحث القادم يمكن أيضاً استخدام المناقشة أو مقارنة كلمتين أن يحصل الجيدة والسيئة على تعليقات من الجمهور.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

APPROVAL SHEET	i
LEGITIMATION SHEET.....	ii
CERTIFICATE OF THESIS AUTHORSHIP.....	iii
MOTTO.....	iv
DEDICATION.....	v
ACKNOWLEDGEMENT	vi
ABSTRACT.....	vii
TABLE OF CONTENT	x
CHAPTER I: INTRODUCTION.....	1
1.1 Introduction.....	1
1.1.1 Background of the Study.....	1
1.1.2 Research Question.....	5
1.1.3 Objective of the Study.....	6
1.1.4 Significance of the Study.....	6
1.1.5 Scope and Limitation of the Study.....	6
1.1.6 Definition of the Key Terms.....	7
1.2 Research Method.....	7
1.2.1 Research Design.....	8
1.2.2 Research Instrument.....	8
1.2.3 Data Sources.....	9
1.2.4 Data Collection.....	9
1.2.5 Data Analysis.....	10
CHAPTER II: REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE.....	12
2.1 Theoretical Framework.....	12
2.1.1 Rhetoric.....	12
2.1.2 Rhetorical Devices.....	14

2.1.2.1 Metaphor	14
2.1.2.2 Euphemism.....	15
2.1.2.3 The rule of three.....	16
2.1.2.4 Parallelism.....	17
2.1.2.5 Pronoun.....	17
2.1.3 Critical Discourse Analysis	18
2.1.3.1 Microstructure.....	20
2.1.3.1.1 Graphic.....	21
2.1.3.1.2 Metaphor.....	22
2.2 Previous Study.....	23
CHAPTER III: FINDING AND DISCUSSION.....	25
3.1 Findings.....	25
3.1.1 Rhetorical Device.....	25
3.1.1.1 Euphemism.....	25
3.1.1.2 Metaphor.....	29
3.1.1.3 Parallelism.....	36
3.1.1.4 The Rule of Three.....	42
3.1.1.5 Pronoun.....	45
3.1.2 Microstructure.....	49
3.1.2.1 Graphic.....	49
3.1.2.1 Metaphor.....	50
3.2 Discussion	50
CHAPTER IV: Conclusion and Suggestion	54
4.1 Conclusion	54
4.2 Suggestion	56
BIBLIOGRAPHY.....	59
APPENDIX.....	

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Introduction

This chapter discusses background of the study, statement of the problem, objective of the study, significance of the study, scope and limitation, definition of the key terms, and research method.

1.1.1 Background of Study

Rhetoric is a technique of language use. It is an art on effective expression and persuasive use of language either spoken or written communication. It has purposes such as to persuade and invite people to do the action and agree with the speaker's argumentation. Nowadays, the society needs the leader who can lead and has the ability to speak and influence people. For the exact instance is J.F. Kennedy who has a good speaking skill, then he can invite people to listen what he said by creating good speech. This is one of the reasons how the leader create a successful power in his leadership.

In the world history, the ability to speak or deliver the speech is the major instrument to affect the mass. Language is used to convince other people. A matter of fact, disability to use the appropriate language can bring speaker to give unclear information and this situation will make the speaker turn into the negative impact in his life as the leader because he is unable to give good information or any ideas from his speech. By learning rhetoric, it is able to help the speaker to

cover the way the speaker should do, either the technique of the speech, or the appropriate language that the speaker should do while doing the speech.

According to a conventional view, rhetoric has to do with the effectiveness of argumentation to persuade or influence a target audience (Tindale, 2004). In case, as the speaker, people have to think about selecting the appropriate diction and strategies to deliver her/his speech in order to persuade others.

Nowadays, Rhetoric becomes a major concern since it is very important while delivering the argumentation. Griffin (2003) stated that rhetoric is the ability to see the available means of persuasion. It focuses on the intentional act of using words to have an effect. Hence, the speaker should consider and pay attention to the way he/she considers to the choice of contextual word while speaking in front of public. Safra et al (2007) said that rhetoric is the faculty of observing in any given case related to persuasion that constructed in social communication. This concept of rhetoric is equal with Leff's concept. He defined that rhetoric deals with specific issues, how proposition relates to social norms and circumstance, also accommodates and beautifies the ordinary language, Walton (2007: 17). The writer can remark that rhetoric is the skill of elegant and persuasive way of speaking in form of speech.

In this current study, the writer focuses on the speech as the subject to be analyzed because it takes some interactions between the speaker and audience directly. In order to convey the speech, Safra et al (2007) suggested that speaker should consider into the three points of rhetorical process. The first point is about the strategies that speaker use to produce persuasion. Then, the second point of the

study is about the style and language to be used. Then the third point is about how the speaker creates the arrangement of the argumentation in his speech.

Furthermore, the writer can see that this study focus on the second point which is related to the style or language to be used in the speech. Thus, rhetorical devices are the part of the language style that usually use in the speech. Rhetorical devices is the technique which author uses to convey the listeners using designed sentences in order to persuade and to get the purpose of the topic. Some linguists define the rhetorical devices as the art of persuading the listener.

In this case, Corbett (1965) stated that rhetorical devices are used to attain rhetorical goal. There are many rhetorical devices which are able to be analyzed, but in this present study, the researcher expects to provide the rhetorical devices illustrated by Jones and Peccei (2004). Even though, they provided only five rhetorical devices in their theory; those are metaphor, euphemism, the rule of three, parallelism and pronouns, but these devices can cover all the data. The aim of using this theory is going to investigate rhetorical device of Glenn Beck's speech under critical discourse analysis perspective and to see how rhetorical device constructed in Glenn Beck's speech.

However, instead of understanding the meaning of the word produced by the speaker, the writer needs to see the context of the speech. Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) is taken as the approach in this study because the writer expects to get a deep explanation on how the rhetorical devices constructed in the speech.

In the term of rhetorical analysis, the writer found some previous studies that have been done by some scholars related to this topic. For instance: Yuhanna (2010) who investigates the rhetorical characteristics in the speech of President Sukarno delivered at fifteen United Nations General Assembly, September 30th, 1960, New York. The result of this study is she found that Sukarno applied three classical appeals which contain logical appeal, emotional appeal, and ethical appeal. The second previous study is conducted by Aini (2012). She analyzed the rhetorical strategies used in the Father Benedict XVI's Speech. From this study, she found that Pop Benedict XVI dominantly employs rhetorical strategies of polarization, authority, norm expression, a few of empathy, actor description, consensus and disclaimer. Then, the next research is conducted by Zahra (2013) who analyzes the rhetorical devices of Barack Obama's speeches in United State Presidential Election 2012. From this study, she found that there are four intentions in understanding the hidden meaning of the word. First, to portray Obama positively, the device used such as hyperbole and litotes. Second is to contrast character, plans, and credibility, the device used scheme of balance and scheme of repetition. Third to show intimacy, unity, respect and power, the device used scheme of repetition, and the changing pronoun use.

Over all, there is still work to be done in investigating the language use that produced by the speaker in order to see how the speaker's word choice can be attracted a huge reaction from the audience. It is closest to the previous research above which concern on rhetorical device. In this present study, the writer focuses on Rhetorical devices which illustrated by Jones and Peicce (2004) using CDA

approach. The writer takes this theory as the major analysis because this theory is more concise, but it can cover the data. On the other hand, what makes this study different from other previous studies is the object that will be analyzed. Glenn Beck's speech in Conservative Political Action Conference (CPAC) 2016 is the major subject of this study.

By doing rhetorical analysis, the writer will be able to understand how to give the argumentation especially the speaker who has a power in society, such as Glenn Beck. The writer takes this speech as the subject because the writer want to know how his statements are powerful and also caused the reactions from the society, either the society agrees about his statement or not. It can be seen from the viewer that followed him which is about 75, 970 viewers, 1000 likes and 123 dislikes and also there are many comments come from the listener after listening Glenn's speech. These fundamental reasons become the basic motive, why this subject properly to be analyzed.

1.1.2 Research Question

Based on the background of study, the writer intends to formulate questions about the investigated problems from the speech as follows:

1. What kind of rhetorical devices are used by Glenn Beck in his speech in CPAC 2016?
2. How the microstructures of rhetorical devices are applied in Glenn Beck's speech?

1.1.3 Objective of Study

The study attempts to fulfill the following objectives:

1. To identify the rhetorical devices used by Glenn Beck in his speech in CPAC 2016
2. To explain the micro structure of rhetorical devices applied in Glenn Beck's speech

1.1.4 Significance of Study

The result of this study is expected to contribute theoretical and practical distribution for the development of linguistics field.

Theoretically, this study is expected to give deeper understanding on investigating rhetorical devices and to enlarge the theory because the researcher tries to develop the theory using the empirical data.

Practically, this study would be useful for anyone, either the orators or the students who want to be a good public speaker to be able to develop the way they deliver the speech by applying rhetorical devices which is illustrated by Jones and Peccei 2004, and also it is going to be contributed to the lecturers as the references in teaching Rhetorical speech in CDA approach and in teaching public speaking. Furthermore, this research can provide the important direction which can be followed up by the next researchers.

1.1.5 Scope and Limitation

Linguistically, rhetoric is divided into two fields, oral and writing communication. However, this study only focus on oral communication especially speech. Then, the limitation of this study is that the writer focuses on analyzing

Glenn Beck's speech in CPAC 2016 using the rhetorical devices illustrated by Jones and Peccei (2004) compare with CDA approach focusing on microstructure level of Van Dijk model. This theory is applied in this study because more simple and able to cover the data. The selection of the word is restricted. Only focus on the language use, which related to rhetorical devices, and create the reaction from the audience.

1.1.6 Definition of the key terms

The following key terms are the terminology to avoid misinterpreting to explain the concept of this study:

1. Rhetorical devices: is the language designed which is used by the speaker while doing the speech in order to persuade the listener. In this study, the researcher focus on Jones and Peccie theory (2004) about rhetorical devices that consist of metaphor, euphemism, the rule of three, parallelism, and pronoun.
2. Political speech: Glenn Beck statement in CPAC 2016 about the spirit of faith on American's principle about the freedom and individual liberty.
3. Critical Discourse Analysis: The tools of critical theory of language which sees the use of language between the connection of language, social power and social practice. Van Dijk concept of CDA will be applied in this study.

1.2 Research method

In this chapter, there are many points related to the research method. They are research design, data source, research instrument, data collection and data analysis.

1.2.1 Research Design

This study uses descriptive qualitative as the research design. It is descriptive because this research is going to describe what and how rhetorical devices exist in Glenn's speech. It is qualitative because basically aimed at describing the data in the form of utterances in text script. According to Hancock (2002) qualitative research is concerned with developing explanations of social phenomena in order to understand the people in the world. Therefore, the researcher expects to understand deeply, instead of analyzing the data.

The data are described in detail using Jones and Peccei theory in Glenn's speech compare with Van Dijk CDA approach with the result that can be identified by what and how rhetorical devices applied in his speech.

1.2.2 Research Instrument

The main instrument of this research is the human instrument that investigated, collected, and analyzed the data. According to Hancock (2002) the writer as the main instrument of the qualitative research method collects the data. Then, the purpose of this qualitative method research is to understand the internal reasons inside of the comprehensive understanding. However, the writer intends to describe and comprehend to stress the uniqueness in the process of this study.

1.2.3. Data Source

Concerning with the topic of analysis, the data in this research are 19 utterances of political speech, which delivered by Glenn Beck in CPAC 2016. It is used because the speech is potential data in which the rhetorical devices can be identified in this speech and the reaction from the audience potentially affected from the rhetorical device which produced by Glenn. In order to know the valid data, I obtain the script and the video of Glenn's speech to see how the body movement, the expression and the intonation either his intonation softly or loudly.

The data source of this research is Glenn Beck's speech as the television host and the conservative political commentator. The data of this research is in the forms of utterances which contained oral statement made by Glenn Beck in Conservative Political Action Conference (CPAC) 2016 inform of transcript. The script was taken from <https://www.glennbeck.com>. It is a well-known official website of Glenn Beck's program. The writer read the script, which opened with an application such as a notepad. Besides, the writer chose and printed out the data from the script. Then, the writer compared the script with the audio that the writer got from YouTube. This script was chosen because it was more valid than self-transcription. In addition, the validity of the data had been proved by checking it through watching the speech video.

1.2.4 Data Collection

Descriptive analysis is the way the writer uses in revealing the research problem that focuses on searching the intrinsic and extrinsic elements of the speaker that are gained in this political speech. Descriptive analysis is a technique of

analyzing the data by describing the data as they are, therefore, evoke clarity and understandable by the reader.

After the data had obtained from the data sources, the analyzing concepts are in the following steps:

First, the writer classified the main subject of the speech.

Second, the writer classified the utterance that related to rhetorical devices that divided into five types such as metaphor, euphemism, the rule of three, parallelism, and pronoun

Third, the writer discussed how the main subject applied this concept of rhetorical devices relates to CDA approach.

Forth, concluding the fact-findings dealing with the research problem.

1.2.5 Data Analysis

The writer use some steps in analyzing the data based on the research question. Here are the steps as follow:

After collecting the data from the speech, the data were analyzed. There were some activities in analyzing the data. Firstly, the contexts of the selected utterances in the speech that contained rhetorical devices in Glenn Beck's speech were explained. Secondly, the data were determined based on its types of rhetorical devices. Then, the data were classified into metaphor, euphemism, the rule of three, pronoun and parallelism. In addition, the researcher discussed how these devices are created the intended meaning of the speech. Then, the writer explained how discourse analysis criticizes the utterances that used by the

characters. It can be seen from the utterances that create a reaction from the audience. The last, conclusion was drawn.



CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE

This chapter presents some theories that guide the writer in understanding the topic and the data. Hence, this chapter discuss about the supporting theories and previous studies.

2.1 Theoretical Framework

This theoretical framework guides and supports the writer to do the process of answering the research problem in the previous chapter

2.1.1 Rhetoric

Nowadays, social interaction among people needs the skill how to attract with other people. It can be seen either for negotiation or persuading other people in any places. It became exist since the economic arises, the education progresses, the technology develop, and the politic grows. In politic area, this speaking skill becomes the important skill, because politicians try to communicate with other audience. They think, it is hard to find a good ways to interact with other people effectively in order to share the idea or send the message that can be understood by the audience. Therefore, rhetoric facilitates and helps the politician to have communication effectively with the audience through their speeches.

Then, what does rhetoric mean? There are a lot of definitions of rhetoric. Mills (2003) defines rhetoric as the study of strategies of effective oratory; the use of language written or spoken to inform or persuade people and also rhetoric

defines as the study of the persuasive effects of language. As the orator or the public speaker, the awareness of choosing the right strategies before persuading people is very important. Understanding rhetorical messages is essential to help us to become informed consumers, but it also helps evaluate the ethics of messages, how they affect us personally, and how they affect society.

In term of rhetorical practice, Aristotle illustrated the five canon of rhetorical process that should be prepared before delivering the speech, mills (2003: 7).

“It divided into five stage: “(1) invention, search for persuasive ways to present information and formulate arguments; (2) arrangement, organization of the part of a speech to ensure that all means of persuasion are present and properly disposed; (3) style, use of correct, appropriate, and striking language throughout the speech; (4) memory, use of mnemonics and practice; and (5) delivery, presenting the speech with effective gestures and vocal modulation.”

To determine as a good public speaker, the speaker should pay attention to one of the fifth canons above. Therefore, this present study focuses on the style of the language use through the speech.

As cited from Zahra (2012), Keraf (1991) stated that rhetoric is a technique language use. It has purpose to persuade action and mind. Therefore, people have to think, select, and use an effective diction to deliver his/ her speech. After looking at the definition of rhetoric above, I can point out that rhetoric is the way we control our selves in front of the audiences, and persuade or attract with them. Critically, rhetoric is not only how to speak fluency but it also controls our mind in delivering message to audience briefly, clearly, and impressively.

2.1.2 Rhetorical Device

According to D. Freesmith (2007), the rhetorical devices can be used to deconstruct a persuasive text in order to identify how it uses language to represent reality in a particular way. In this case, the selective ways of the word become the influential choices that represent reality. The combination of the words, the phrases and the sentences constitute our knowledge and our understanding of the world which make the language seen as very powerful in one communication.

Jones and Peccei (2004) introduced the rhetorical devices which consist of fifth devices that are used to explain a relationship between sense and force in delivering the speech. He classified the rhetorical devices into metaphor, euphemism, the rule of three, parallelism, and pronoun. The explanation and the example of each device will be discussed briefly below.

2.1.2.1 Metaphor

Basically, metaphor is a way of comparing two different concepts. Jones and Peccei (2004), explained that one of the challenges politicians face is that they often have to talk about abstract concepts in ways that make them seem more concrete, so that they can be more easily grasped, and to avoid boring their audience. In this situation, metaphor takes the important role in the way politician confronts with the audience. The politician needs to know how to use a particular medium for maximum effect. Therefore, metaphor often use in practical way to affect the mass.

There are many examples that metaphor usually applied in people communication, such as

“Margaret Thatcher on inflation in the 1970s in a speech to Confederation of British Industry, 19 April 1983, said: ‘That vast wealth producing engine of the West began to splutter, to hesitate and occasionally to backfire.’ Graham Stringer of the Manchester Airport Board on the planned construction of a second runway said: ‘The airport is already acknowledged as the *economic motor* of the region’ (*The Times*, 16 January 1997).”

From this term “*economic motor*” the speaker tried to illustrate the mobility of economic. This is the way metaphor applied in political discourse.

Other example comes from other politician, such the phrase *bully in the playground*. This example represented the complicated events in international relations which ties to personal negative experience. Charteris-Black (2011) stated that metaphorical meaning is determined by sorts of connotations aroused by the words in their normal literal use.

2.1.2.2 Euphemism

Euphemisms usually use to make something seem more positive and polite than it appears. Euphemisms are commonly used when talking about taboo subjects, such as death or sex. We might talk about *passing away* instead of *dying*, or *making love* rather than *sexual intercourse*. Political actors tend to avoid words or expressions that may have unpleasant associations in order not to give a negative impression to their audiences. However, we should not forget that political language¹ is “purpose-oriented”: it means that politicians use language to achieve agreement, maintain support, influence people’s thoughts and attract potential voters.

Fernandez (2014) explained that euphemism can be defined as the use of mild and polite-sounding language to soften the potential face affront both to the speaker (for self-presentational purposes) and to the hearers (out of concern for their sensitivities). In short, euphemism closely tied to the politeness that produced by the speaker in order to keep the feeling of the interlocutors according to the norms of social behaviors and the notion face of public self image.

2.1.2.3 The Rule of Three

The rule of three sounds particularly complete, satisfying and convincing. It is also known as the use of the ‘three-part statement’. The three of the most famous three-part statements from the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries are to be found in:

- The cry of the French Revolution: ‘Liberté, égalité, Fraternité’ (liberty, equality, brotherhood)
- *Ein volk, ein reich, ein fuhrer!* (One people, one empire, one leader!) Adolf Hitler
- *Friends, Romans, countrymen, lend me your ears*, Antony in Shakespeare’s Julius Caesar
- Abraham Lincoln’s *Gettysburg Address*: ‘that government of the people, by the people and for the people shall not perish from this earth’.

Those examples above belong to the three statement of the speech that has the purpose for strengthening the argumentation to invite the audience. This

device aims to underline how these statements are important parts and have the powerful contribution to the audience

2.1.2.4 Parallelism

Parallelism is a device which expresses several ideas in a series of similar structures. This can serve to emphasize that the ideas are equal in importance and can add a sense of symmetry and rhythm, which makes the speech more memorable.

For instance:

“And so *let freedom ring* from the prodigious hilltops of New Hampshire. *Let freedom ring* from the mighty mountains of New York. *Let freedom ring* from the heightening Alleghenies of Pennsylvania. *Let freedom ring* from the snow-capped Rockies of Colorado.” (Martin Luther King, Jr., 28 August 1963)

From the instance above, the word “*let freedom ring*” emphasizes the speaker points that this word is important to be noted. Such as the illustration from Charteris (2011), that the repetition communicates a sense of conviction of the way of thinking, and how in traditional political rhetoric a point is like ‘drummed’ home by repeating an up and down gesture of the hand with finger pointed.

2.1.2.5 Pronouns

Even the pronouns that political speakers use to refer to themselves or their audience can be a significant part of the message. Peccei (2004) stated that these pronouns can be used either to foreground or to obscure responsibility and agency. Using pronoun as the device or language use in producing the speech such as pronoun you, I, we and etc, will indicate that there is an interaction

between speaker and audience. In this case, the audience will include and feel about what the speaker said and the speaker also will invite the audience to be in his/her position by using pronouns.

2.1.3 Critical Discourse Analysis

In order to get deep understanding, The writer uses CDA which is introduced by Van Dijk as the approach of this study. Fairclough (1989) said that Critical discourse analysis is practically oriented form of discourse analysis aimed at addressing social problem. Critical is used in the special sense of aiming to show up connections which may be hidden from people such as the connections between language, power, and ideology. Another linguist such as Van Dijk also said that the analysis of CDA should concentrate upon the following linguistic markers: such as stress and intonation, word order, lexical style, coherence, local semantic moves such as disclaimers, topic choice, and speech acts, schematic organization, rhetorical figures and so on. However, critically, CDA deals with examining the ways in which discourse is connected to, reflects, and use to show the power.

Dealing with concentrations of linguistics according to Van Dijk, rhetoric turns to the part of the linguistics marker of CDA approaches. Young and Fritgerald (2006) explained that CDA use several different methods to help researchers 'dig' the information toward discourse to answer their questions. Therefore, the writer intends to use this approach in analyzing the rhetorical speech. Eryanto (2001) drawn The van Dijk's model of critical discourse analysis as follows:

Table 2. Teun A. Van Dijk's element of discourse structures

Discourse Structure	Unit Analysis	Element
Macro Structure	Thematic (What is the theme talking about?)	Topic
Super Structure	Schematic (How are fragments and arrangements of news is Schemed in whole text?)	Schema
	Semantics The meaning which is Emphasized in a news text.	Background, Detail, meaning, presupposition, and nominalization
Micro Structure	Syntactic (How is the sentence form and its structure chosen?)	Sentence form , coherence, and pronoun
	Stylistic (How is the word choice used in news text?)	Lexicon
	Rhetoric (How and in what way the stressing is used?)	Graphic, metaphor, and image

From the table above, it can be seen the scheme of CDA concept purposed by Van Dijk. Eryanto (2001) assumed that the model analysis of Teun A. Van Dijk is considered as more applicable because he presents a complete version of discourse analysis, so his theory can be applied practically and elaborately. Rosidi (2007) presented in his article that Van Dijk introduces three structural level analysis of discourse. *First* is macro structure. It is the higher structure as a general or global meaning in a particular text that refers and focus on topics of the text. *Second* is super structure. It concerns with how elements and structures of discourse are arranged in a full body of text. *Third* is Micro structure. It is concerned with the meanings of discourse by investigating and analyzing words, sentences, propositions, and phrases.

Specifically, in this research, I employ a micro structure level analysis which focuses on rhetoric about how and in what way the stressing is used in the speech. Analyzing rhetorical devices and then continue with analyzing micro level of critical discourse analysis may lead a wider explanation.

2.1.3.1 Microstructure

According to Van Dijk (1993) microstructure deals with the local meaning of the discourse, by observing the semantics, syntactic, stylistic and rhetoric aspects. This element helps the researcher to investigate how texts or utterances are constructed by smaller several elements of the sentence, sequence of paragraph and reasoning, concerning to the words, sentences, phrases and also expression. In this context, the speaker does not only attention to the way in making a good performance, but the speaker knows how to communicate and

produce discourse in the right choice of word. Using the words, sentences and other rhetoric feature is represents the way the speaker create the political strategy to communicate and influence human mind.

Su'udiyah (2010) stated that Van Dijk defined that the use of words, proposition, and certain rhetoric in media understood as the part of the writer or speaker's strategy. The using of certain words, sentences, and stylistic is not only viewed as the way of communication but also as a method of political communication to influence common premise, create the support, strengthen legitimate, and eliminate the opposition. The concept of microstructure that stated in Eriyanto (2001) is defined four aspects that are, semantic aspects, syntactic aspects, stylistics aspects, and rhetoric aspects. Yet, this research does not use all the aspects of a micro structure, but the researcher merely use the rhetoric aspect which focus on graphic and metaphor because analyzing all the micro structure aspect is too large to be analyzed. So, I make specification to be clearer and more elaborate the process of data analysis.

2.1.3.1.1 Graphic

This element appears when the speaker wants to emphasize something in his speech. Every speaker has their own way to show the thing that being emphasized in their speech. Eriyanto (2001) stated that the use of bold, italic, underline, capitalize in each word show that the utterances consider as the important message from the speaker. Instead of these signs, the use of graphic, picture, or table also support the significant meaning of the speaker's message. Some parts are being highlighted in order to inform to all audience about how important the message is. In this case, the speaker or the communicator wants the

audience put more intention to the part that belongs to the important information for them.

Eriyanto (2001) stated that in term of written discourse such as news or advertisement, the graphics element can consists of the use of italic, bold, underline in each word and also the use of picture and give color or any other effects that has been discussed above. While in form of speech, this expression may shape from the intonation that produced by the speaker which can affect the human interpretation and persuade them to attention more to which part that important most. Therefore, these elements give the cognitive effect to the audience in controlling the audience's intention and attract them intensively and show that the information from the speaker is important and interesting, so the audiences should focus to the topic which is delivered by the speaker.

2.1.3.1.2 Metaphor

In political discourse, the journalist, the politician and the government does not only convey the message through the text, but also they use such kind of metaphor and idiom as the ornament or flavor in their report or news to stimulate the issue. Yet, in this case, Eriyanto (2001) explained that the use of metaphor or idiom can be a main clue to understand the text. He shows that metaphor here is used by the journalist or the politician as a base thinking or the reason of justifying something in public society. They may use such kind of proverb, connotation, idiom, aphorism, old words, or any other expression that come from people belief which all of them are used to strengthen the main message from the speaker.

2.2 Previous Studies

To support this study concerning the field of rhetorical device and critical discourse analysis, there some earlier researchers related to this study. These all previous studies help the writer to understand more detail about rhetoric and fill the gap of the writers.

The previous studies which concerned on rhetoric, was done by Yuhanna (2010). She investigated the rhetorical characteristics in the speech of President Soekarno delivered at fifteenth United Nations General Assembly, September 30, 1960, New York. She found that Soekarno applies five elements: agent, scene, act, agency, and purpose. Sukarno also applies three classical appeals: logical appeal, emotional appeal, and ethical appeal.

Other previous study is Su'udiyah (2010). Her research is about micro structure as a discursive strategy on racism in "*hotel rwanda*". She analyzed micro level of critical discourse analysis on "*Hotel Rwanda*" movie focused on lexical style from the conversation of the main character. He concluded that the word selection has a certain meaning and purposely represents the Hutu's power and domination to Tutsi minority. They used noun, verb, and adjective which contain ideology the speakers intend to marginalize, dominate, and underestimate the lower status people or the minority.

Then, the next researcher is Aini (2012) who investigates the rhetorical strategies used in the Father Benedict XVI's Speech. She analyzed the speech using Van Dijk's CDA framework of discursive strategy of interaction (positive self-representation and negative other-representation). The finding reveals that

Pop Benedict XVI dominantly employs rhetorical strategies of polarization, authority, norm expression, and a few of empathy, actor description, consensus and disclaimer; more rhetorical strategies of euphemism and hyperbole mostly constructed in active voice pattern then enhance by certain lexical choices that lead to bear a forma distance with audience.

Another relevant research was accomplished by Zahra (2013) who analyzed the rhetorical devices of Barack Obama's speeches in Unites State Presidential Election 2012. She analyzed the rhetorical devices using Corbett theory and combining with CDA framework. The finding reveals that the hidden meaning behind those devices can divided into four intentions. First, to portray Obama positively, the device used such as hyperbole and litotes. Second is to contrast character, plans, and credibility, the device used scheme of balance and scheme of repetition. Third to show intimacy, unity, respect and power, the device used scheme of repetition, and the changing pronoun use.

Moreover, from these research findings, I find space for this research to continue the previous study by investigating the local meaning or micro structure of rhetorical device which is applied in utterances that produced by the speaker occurring in the speech which has a real interaction background between the speaker and the listener. In this study, the writer focuses her investigation on simplifying and covering the local meaning of rhetorical devices using microstructure of critical discourse analysis approach because they have not researched yet. Therefore, the writer is very interested in conducting this research.

CHAPTER III

FINDING AND DISCUSSION

In this chapter, the analysis of the data aims to answer the research questions which have been formulated in the previous chapter. It contains and presents the finding paired with the discussion of the study.

3.1 Research Findings

The whole data in this study are taken from the utterances used by Glenn who produce rhetorical device in his speech. 19 data were selected and further described and interpreted based on rhetorical device proposed by Jones and Peccei 2004 which is compared with the CDA model of microstructure analysis proposed by Teun A. van Dijk.

This research explores and analyzes such statements from the speech that presents the rhetorical devices that help the speaker to influence and create a huge reaction from the audience. The selection of response from the audience becomes the consideration to strengthen the analysis resource that made the writer interested to observe the potential data from the speech. To answer the first research question, the writer decided to categorize the data into five categories; Euphemism, Metaphor, Parallelism, The rule of three, Pronoun. The analysis is presented as the following.

3.1.1 Rhetorical Devices

3.1.1.1 EUPHEMISM

DATUM 1

In generating the extraordinary speech, Glenn has tried to use the rhetorical devices on his speech in CPAC 2016.

“Westeal the future from the young to allow for our own prosperity today (1.1). But we need cleaner air, right? We must provide free college for illegal immigrants! We have to pay for abortions for 16 year olds! We have to bail out Wall Street to protect Main Street, don’t we? We have to make sure everyone gets their fair share!!What a pack of liars we all are. And yet in the hallways of CPAC, you see smiles — determination, energy, hopes. The young are resilient.”

These utterances took place in the way Glenn opening the introduction of the speech. It implicitly consists of the rhetorical devices. This datum applies euphemism. He has to be careful when he speaks in order to avoid the unpleasant thing happened. Indeed, he use euphemism device. From the word **“We steal the future from the young to allow for our own prosperity today”** presents that Glenn tried to satire the audience by exploring the main problem that they face today. In this moment, Glenn tried to urge the audience to bring over the issue into the real condition of their nation. Therefore, he created the soft opening using euphemism to get pleasant intention and avoid controversial comment from the audience.

From the word in (1.1) Glenn prefer to use the word **“steal”** that has the meaning as obtaining something secretly or taking something without permission, rather than using the word **“break or seize”** that actually has the same meaning as taking something in a violent way. The word **“steal”** as a verb in this sentence uses the present tense which represents that this condition happens nowadays. Commonly, the word **“steal”** is used to convey that someone taking something

without permission, usually in form of things, goods, commodities, or any other things that people usually took without permission to its own. Yet, in this context the speaker use the word “**steal**” to something abstract such as the word “**future**”.

Implicitly, this utterance means that they break or bother the young’s life today only for the sake of their own business, then it will give the bad impact in the future. So then the young man does not know how to live better in the future. In the way the speaker criticized the audience, he applied the smoothest way by using euphemism device. In order to make the situation smooth, Glenn uses this kind of device in order to say indirect reminder about how the reality can endanger the young’s life. He also did not want to insult and blame the audience directly.

DATUM 2

Apart from the word choice, sentence construction significantly contributes to the politician’s intended euphemistic effect and face-saving intention. From the data below this utterance reflects the euphemistic expression that establishes the use of mild and polite-sounding language to soften the potential negative face to both the speaker and the audience.

“...Drawn to the magic of the ticket in his hand, to ***this thing that can free them from the doldrums of their day to day lives***”(2.1).

The data above, addresses an implicit euphemistic expression. From this statement, the researcher found the words “***the doldrums of their day to day lives***” belongs to euphemism. It is the phrase that has the purpose to minimize the bad condition that looks like. The politician avoids specifically referring to the real

problems that people easily get a depression. Significantly, the speaker here tries to soften the word depression by using the word “the doldrums” in order to justify the real condition in our daily life that make humankind feeling give up. In this context, the speaker prefers using the word “the doldrums” rather than saying “depression, stress, or exhausted”.

To correlate with the social condition, Glenn tries to invite the audience to turn out from the bad condition. He figured out how difficult the life is. Therefore, Glenn suggested having spirit of life. Rhetorically, the conception of “the doldrums” in this speech reflect from the speaker’s expression by showing a mad face with slow sound in order to give the significant attention to the audience. By using euphemistic device, the speaker use the linguistic markers of deference that lessen the impact of unpleasant subjects on the audience and thus contribute to the politician’s face needs to avoid unpleasant words to the audience. So then, the audience would find the thing that makes them aware on the barrier of life.

DATUM 3

Another rhetorical device that belongs to euphemism is reflected from the data below. In this case, Glenn tries to make condition smooth when he said about this statement. Here, Glenn tries to inform the audience what happened in social reality, that actually people in high level underestimate the society’s capability.

Let see in the data below.

“Those who stand opposed to these principals would dismiss natural law. They wish to live in a world where man isn’t man, because you are too imperfect for them. **They detest you(3.1)**. They fear you.”

In this case, the speaker better to say, “detest” rather than saying “disgust or hate”. In the reality, if people did not know who you are, people will underestimate and ignore you. Therefore, Glenn here wants to remind the audience about what people think if they do not know you so well. Then, implicitly, he asks the audience to see the inside of capability that everybody has. In order to delicate the utterances, Glenn uses euphemism as one of the way keep the audience’s feeling. To emphasis the message purpose of this utterance, Glenn added with the other device called pronoun. The pronoun “**they**” and “**you**” in this sentence, reflects that there is a connection between the people who oppose their principle with the audience in the forum that has their own principle. Therefore, actually this communication will against each other. Yet, Glenn prefer to use euphemism to avoid this kind of conflict happened.

The word “detest” here will give the more negative impact for the audience’s mind after adding the second supporting word such as “fear”. It closely creates a super reaction for the audience, because for those people who heard this statement will feel isolated. Therefore, the speaker tries to use euphemism term in order to avoid that bad impact for all the audience who watch his speech.

3.1.1.2 METAPHOR

DATUM 4

Another rhetorical device provided from the utterances below. In this context, the speaker tried to tell the story in order to give an interesting view by giving the moral value or illustration from the story related to the topic. From his

story, he tried to beautify and attract the audience by using metaphorical device, such as:

“Drawn to the **magic of the ticket** (4.1) in his hand, to this thing that can free them from the doldrums of their day to day lives”.

In the previous utterances, the speaker tries to grasp the audience's attention. The speaker uses metaphor in order to figure out how interesting the topic is. It talks about desire to get the ticket. In this datum, the metaphorical device from the phrase “the magic of the ticket” has the meaning that it does not mean that this ticket has the magic, but having the ticket people hope to see the secret or amazing event that can be happen in their life while having this kind of ticket. Metaphorically, the speaker implicitly described, that “the ticket” means the tool or the key for understanding the society to have a better and wealthy life. People usually compete to find something wonderful in their life.

The word “magic” indicates a special quality that something has that seems too wonderful to be real and the word “the ticket” describe the physical matter of the right in people's life. He points out that there will be something wonderful that may happen. So, the phrase above contains a signal to differentiate between people who has the ticket or people who has not. It intends to motivate the audience to reach their magic ticket or their wonderful chance to live in a great world. In this case, Glenn generalized his statement for all the people in the world and interpreted that many people are interested to get it.

DATUM 5

When Glenn told the audience about the story of Wonka, he carried an interesting idea using his utterances that occasionally having different principle is important.

It can see from Glenn utterances below:

“But Charlie’s principals shine through. He overcomes his greed. After all, he did break the rules. He walks back into the room, takes the candy from his pocket, and places it on the desk next to Wonka. Wonka says, “So **shines a good deed in a weary world. (5.1)**” He turns to Charlie and says, “Charlie, my boy . . . you’ve won!”

Datum (5.1) contains metaphorical utterances. The word “shines” in the bold sentence is written in present tense form. It means that it presents today. It is connected with the next metaphorical words. The metaphorical device that is found from this utterance is “**a weary world**”. In this context, the words “**a weary world**” means all of things including human society, environment, law, nature, family life and constitution are the composition which creates some complication problems, so then the world itself looks weird and full of conflicts. The word “weary” is an adjective means exhausted in strength usually used for describing someone’s feeling about what make her feel bored or tired. While “the world” itself, means the earthy state of human existence. In this case, what makes the world feel tired if there is no any problem that occurs in human societies? In this context, Glenn tried to interact with the audience by the means of producing interesting words.

Moreover, the word “shine” in the bold sentences represents to give a shining thing for the dark condition. Here, the dark condition refers to a weary world. Therefore, Glenn stated that even the society found many problems, they needs a good deed in order to shine and solve a wearied and complicated world.

DATUM 6

Apart from word choice, the datum below is still in the same speech. He talked about the power of the humankind that influenced by any other promise from other people around them. He attracted to tell this because he realizes that the audiences need more motivations.

“The world tells you that you are powerless (6.1), that you need government programs and rules and edicts. I tell you that you are the most powerful being ever created. When we say we are dedicated to the eternal principals of the Constitution that is what we mean: We recognize and embrace mankind as the powerful beings we are.”

The selected utterance above employs kind of rhetorical devices that gave the parable terms for the purpose of emphasis or heightened effect. That is metaphor device. It can see in this sentence such as **the world tells you that you are powerless**. It indicate that Glenn tries to convey the audience how other people think about them and run to drop them as far as they can. Besides, by stating it, it brings me to understand that Glenn persuades audience how he cares the society to come up and aware about the threat that come to fall them down.

He also support his metaphorical expression by giving the real statement or the contrast statement in the next sentence such as **“I tell you that you are the most powerful being ever created”** which indicates that he really want to inform that how much and strength he support the society. He really tries to flower his words in order to arise audience’s emotion.

From the utterances **“The world tells you that you are powerless”**, it sounds strange because “the world” cannot tell anything because it has no mouth to tell like a human. Yet, in this context, “the world” refers to people who pay

attention and keeps an eye upon American's activities including politics, economic, law or any other activities related to the notion. Therefore, he said that the world tell something about their reaction to the any problem that happened in America. Moreover, the word "powerless" doesn't mean that American's society has not any braveness to do something powerful, but from the researcher point of view, the word "powerless" here means that American's society did not do any benefit thing to against the problem in the society in order to avoid many conflicts.

To all of audience, Glenn extended his motivation by saying that metaphorical statement. It can be good technique because after this statement, the audience respected his speech and increased their enthusiasm in listening Glenn's speech. In this case, Glenn succeeded in doing rhetorical speech by applying one of rhetorical device called metaphor.

DATUM 7

The main context of the data below is that Glenn gives some illustrations relating to his opponent on other people opinion about American society. It takes the controversial conflict in internal American society related to the power of the notion. The data below are describing their debility.

"They can't have us believe we're individuals. Instead, we are the possessions of the state, to be used to create a better world. And because they believe we aren't capable of creating this world on our own, we must be forced to live as we are told so **the elites can create this world for us (7.1)**. And in the end, those who call themselves our saviors pull out guns and make us slaves. To them, Mao is right: you don't have power! To them, **power comes from the barrel of a gun (7.2)**."

The bold sentences show how metaphor is appeared in this speech. The word “*the elites*” refer to the higher level in the society or someone who has position in the government, so then they have the right to regulate and organize the condition of the society. Moreover, seeking this context, Glenn tries to invite the audience to realize that they have a power that comes from their self not from the barrel of the gun. Even though the government has their own rule in defending the country, citizen should have their own defend. This is what Glenn wants to build in saying this statement.

Rhetorically, “the barrel of the gun” does not mean that this country has a lot of gun that exist in any conditions. Yet, the barrel of the gun means that people usually depend on what the government decision in using gun for a war as a solution in any problems. Here is the main idea that controls him to attract audience by creating the metaphor in his speech.

Structurally, barrel is a noun means a drum and gun is a noun means a weapon that shoots bullets. Usually barrel is used to describe a container which contains the ink or lead, but in this context barrel means the great quantity of the gun that had by the government. By showing this statement, Glenn can affect the audience’s mind easily because Glenn is capable to give some images that make the audience understand well about the problem. More critically, by saying the data selected, it shows Glenn tries to gives the positive point of view that American people should not afraid by the government and rethinking that the unity of their selves is more important in showing the power of the notion.

DATUM 8

The selected data below talk about the ticket or the key that American should achieve to get a better life and proper life are shown from this data below.

“May you carry that spirit into the hallways of this hotel tonight and into the streets outside tomorrow. These are the principals that we must run home to. This is our **Golden Ticket (8.1)**. “

From this paragraph, researcher found that metaphor device clearly stated in this statement. From this context, Glenn tried to draw how the great life is. People usually find the great life by following the government’s rule. Yet, in this context, Glenn guides the people including the audience in CPAC 2016 to find their “golden ticket”.

In this case, “Golden ticket” does not mean the ticket that provided from the golden but the word golden here could be define as the brightness, luxurious, excited, goodness, expensive and worth. While the ticket itself does not mean a piece of paper that allows you to see a show, participate in an event, or etc, but the ticket here means the right or authority to get a better life. Therefore, Glenn tries to compare between those two words in order to convey one message that has a powerful meaning. “Golden ticket” here means the key or the right that many people usually find to have wonderful life.

Critically, this metaphorical device represented the strong rhetoric because the speaker raising the intonation while saying this statement. The response from the audience is also good, it seen from the applause that given by the audience after listening Glenn’s statement. It means that, the audience accepted the speaker argumentation relates to the spirit of faith for their principle.

3.1.1.3 PARALLELISM

DATUM 9

Another rhetorical device that is obtained from the speech is parallelism. In this case, parallelism is the rhetorical technique that emphasizing the message by repeating the sequence structure with the same words or sentences such as this data below:

“There is a scene in the movie where a crowd on the street discovers that Charlie has found the last of the Golden Tickets **SA mob forms around him, cheering him, tugging on him, patting him, jostling him, tugging at his clothes and hair, wanting to be close to him, or wanting to get his ticket!**(9.1) **They are drawn to him, drawn to it, drawn to the magic of the ticket** (9.2) in his hand , to this thing that can free them from the doldrums of their day to day lives. A man grabs Charlie and tells him to run . . . Run Straight Home, and Don’t Stop Until You Get There! He does run. Runs for home, but on the way he is stopped.”

The two surprise data in this speech are cases of parallelism. The speaker used this device in order to make the speech more memorable and interesting. The situation of the forum while Glenn delivered this story was enthusiasm and silent. All the audience centralized their mind on Glenn’s story. Glenn told this story to the audience because he wanted to present the social reflection that can learn from this story. Struggling to get the freedom and victory are the rights that every people can achieve, but the wrong way to imitate and reach it sometimes creates a conflict. It interpreted that there is a competition in human’s life.

From the utterances: “**A mob forms around him, cheering him, tugging on him, patting him, jostling him, tugging at his clothes and hair, wanting to be close to him, or wanting to get his ticket!**” this utterances emphasize on the

way people persistence to also get the ticket. In this context, the speaker tried to invite the audience that the real competitors in their country come from the society or the government itself. It shows that “**the mob**” here refer to the society that is considered as the main reason of stragling defend the ticket. This is the delineation of the society that Glenn drawn from his story in his speech.

The justification about the people persistence emphasized in the next utterance, “**They are drawn to him, drawn to it**”. The pronoun “**they**” again Glenn refers it into the society and the utterance “**drawn to**” indicate the human effort on getting something. These words create a negative and positive image in the public opinion. The endeavor of getting something done positively while they did it in the right way; on the contrary, people are able to do the wrong way to get what they want.

Moreover, Glenn was modifying his utterances by using strong stress means that Glenn’s utterances portrayed the annoyance of the human behavior. Structurally, in the datum 9.1 consist of present participle while in the datum 9.2 consist of past participle. The repetition of present and past participle in these utterances created a mutual condition that affects the human interaction. This parallelism is showing the sequence event that marked as the stress idea from the sentence.

DATUM 10

The data below took from Glenn’s speech. The same topic relates to the previous story. Again, Glenn uses parallelism that interprets his important point to the

audience. Showing this object curiously to known as the main important thing in what he is talking.

“He has his ticket, wants to rush home to his family and share the wonderful news! But he is stopped. Do you remember what stops him? Slugworth. See, in Rahl Dahl’s world, whenever you get a Golden Ticket, Slugworth shows up. Whenever you are given **the thing** you want, **the thing** that can give you freedom, **the thing** you have hoped and wished for, **the thing (10.1)** that represents magic . . . Slugworth is always right there. The businessman, with a wry smile and pockets full of cash.”

The characteristics of the bold words indicate that they refer to similar structure called parallelism. It is because there are similar words that repeated four times in the same word. Those parallelisms do not stand for style buy they have purpose. In this case, Glenn wants to produce a strong emotional effect. By using parallelism, it indicates that he want to emphasize the message that he wants to send to the audience. It can see from the way he uttered that utterances, he said it strongly and said by higher intonation.

Here, Glenn emphasized the word “thing” in this paragraph. “The thing” that stressed by Glenn is a noun means a matter of concern. It is still ambiguous because Glenn did not explain what the thing is. He wants to convey that American society needs the things such as spirit, principle, or skill to reach their goal of life. American society has this kind of challenge in order to motivate himself and other people including the audience and people who attend to watch the Glenn’s speech being enthusiasm in achieving their dream or the thing it. However, Glenn here tries to reach the audience enthusiasm by using this kind of parallel sentence structure.

DATUM 11

The data below are selected to convey the seriousness of giving the reason, why American society should dedicate to the constitution. From these utterances, Glenn tries to give the motivation to the all audiences in CPAC 2016 that they have to confidence with their own capability. Such as in the data below:

“We are dedicated to the Constitution and its principals because we are clear-minded. Because we are rational. Because we have courage enough to recognize the self-evident truth”(11.1)

The bold words selected above, use parallelism as the approach to strengthen in emphasizing the important message to the audience. From this statement, the similar structure of **“Because we are clear-minded. Because we are rational. Because we have courage enough to recognize the self-evident truth”** is interpreted that the speaker wants to convince and to emerge the self confident in every American’s people.

The word “because” in this context is conjunction that has the meaning as pointing out something for some reasons or facts. This word used to connect many ideas become one idea that support the main reason of the statement. Then, the words **“we are clear-minded. we are rational. we have courage enough to recognize the self-evident truth”** are require as the proof in order to convince the government’s mind. The word “we” is pronoun that refer to Glenn as the speaker itself and all of the participants who watched his speech in CPAC or the viewer who also watch from the YouTube or news.

DATUM 12

This data below is selected utterances that employ parallelism as the rhetorical device that used in order to create the intentional message from the speaker.

“The Constitution is remarkable and will continue to endure because it is factually correct. It recognizes that no man or woman has any inherent power over any other. **Rights are ours individually just like our own DNA. And because rights belong to us individually, the rights of five of us together can never outweigh the rights of one of us.**” (12.1)

From the data above, the researcher found that the characteristics of the bold words indicate that they refer to parallelism, because there are a certain words that exist three times in the same words. In this context, the speaker wants to arouse the audience attention to word that he emphasizes more. The word “right” is noun means something that a person should legally allowed to have, get or do.

In every single word that Glenn produced in this utterance, he received applause from the audience. It indicates that this word was strongly giving an attention point of view from the audience. Rhetorically, by rising the intonation and the stress in saying this word, Glenn has successfully offering a truly information to the audience. Besides, from the word “right”, it interprets that the speaker wants to bring the audience to realize that the right here is very important. Moreover, in order to give strengthen the word “right” in this context; the speaker produces the word “our” that refer to the audience and all the American society. In this case, Glenn asked all the participants to fight their right in the constitution to get freedom and proper life.

DATUM 13

The data below also talk about the Glenn's campaign of his effort to keep and fight the American's right. Here, Glenn more emphasizes that he needs people to fight together in making American's society being forward not backward and also everybody who listen his speech, hopefully they also get their own principle to struggle their goal of life.

“Let the party bosses and Super Pacs hear that they will only have your support as long as they take and uphold this oath with you. **Let the media** hear it from you in interviews and social media posts, in articles and books that you author. **Let the bartender and cab driver** hear it tonight. **Let your family** hear it tomorrow morning. We are all brothers and sisters, defenders of freedom.” (13.1)

The data above, shown that the speaker tries to spread aboard about his idea in CPAC. He gave the chance for all people who want to participate in the development of society, of course for those people who become a role play and who has an important position in a society such as party, media, bartender and cab driver, and also family.

In this case, rhetorically, the speaker gives the stress while saying these utterances. The active sentence interpreted that the utterance in (14.1) asked the audience to do something immediately. From the word **“let”** here, it can be known as an adverb that the meaning is to give opportunity to or fail to prevent. Glenn, as the speaker, tries to open up the whole chance for everyone who wants to fight their right. He used parallelism in order to give a clear emphasizing that he want to help the society and wants to remind all the people around the world that he wish that his strong statement can change all of the participant's mind.

Moreover, instead of giving a wider opportunity for all American people, here the researcher get the signal from Glenn's speech that he tried to draw the main element can influence and has the important role in the society. Party, media, bartender, cab driver and family are the political element that can build and construct the human's mind. Party takes the important role as the organization of people who have similar political beliefs and ideas who work to have the position in the government. Media is the popular agencies of mass communication that easily to construct the human's mind. While bartender and cab driver is usually become a good listener who can spread out the news quickly. Then, the family itself is the smallest organization that consists of relative family that the attitude builds from the family. Therefore, from his speech, Glenn wants to invite all the elements in the society to open their mind for getting the liberty in their own notion.

3.1.1.4 The Rule of Three

DATUM 14

The data selected below talk about how Glenn highlights the disposition of saying about the slaving part in the society. In this case, the legitimate of slavery is the crucial problem. Therefore, Glenn tries to tone down the intonation in saying this utterance.

“Why are we even allowing the conversation to be about \$40,000 in college debt when our children are born owing millions? We're all guilty. We're enslaving our children for our own comfort. **They are slaves to the unholy alliance between Big Government, Big Business and Big Banks (14.1)**. Slaves to each other. Slaves to the false prosperity we enjoy today. This is taxation without representation. I seem to recall that wars have been fought over that issue.”

From the datum above, the speaker tries to change the sentence using the smoothest one. The word “they” here refer to children that become a victim of social tax in America. There are three objects that should be noted by the audience, they are a group of people that has the high level in society that handle and has the authority in the society such as **“Big Government, Big Business and Big Banks.”**

Rhetorically, the speaker uses the high intonation and gives the stress while saying these utterances. It means that the speaker passionate in seeing this kind of case. Here, the speaker was talking about the unbalance of the taxation in American’s government. In order to see the rhetorical device that implicitly appeared in this statement, the researcher underline the words **“They are slaves to the unholy alliance between Big Government, Big Business and Big Banks”** that indicate as euphemism device. In this context, the speaker tries to give a strong admonition to the audience that actually they are in the threatened area. The word **“unholy”** is an adjective that the meaning is very unpleasant, while **“alliance”** is a noun that the meaning is unions between people, groups, countries that are agree to work together. Therefore, **“the unholy alliance”** means here describes as a group of people that are working together for a bad purpose. In addition, the speaker tends to use euphemism for his statement above rather than directly say “criminal”, “crook”, or any other appellations.

DATUM 15

The data below are employ one of the rhetorical device that called the rule of three. In this case, the rule of three uses for the speaker to show how these

statements important parts the powerful contribution to the audience. In this case, Glenn highlights three important statements from his speech.

“We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable Rights that among these are **Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness.**(15.1)”

From the data above, the researcher found that the rule of three in Glenn’s statement is produce very extraordinary response from the audience. It can see from the video that all of the audience were standing and giving applause after listening these three statements from Glenn’s speech. Rhetorically, giving the stress with the low voice create the more attention from the audience. It indicates that there is an implicit message that the speaker wants to deliver to the audience.

The word “**Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness**” is a noun that all of these words are the purpose for everybody’s life. People commonly need these three elements in their life. Therefore, the speaker intended to remind the audience that the real goal of life is consists of these three statements

DATUM 16

The next data is still from Glenn’s speech that generally talked about the important job that government should in protecting the country. In this case, the speaker tries to use the rule of three in order to point out only three points that government should complete.

“As we leave here today and move toward this election, let these words ring true for you. Let the Politicians who would seek your vote hear those words and understand that they are your servants, not you theirs. Demand that they uphold the Oath of Office they take above their oath to their party. That they reaffirm their singular vow: **To Preserve, Protect and Defend the Constitution against all enemies, foreign and domestic.** (16.1)

From selected data above, all the bold data become very significant role. From the words “**To Preserve, Protect and defend**” are the verbs that usually use to describe the duty for every government that should completed. Actually, these three verbs have the same purpose. It represents that the country need to protect from every problem that come from inside and outside the country. It can see from the words after these three statements such as “**against all enemies, foreign and domestic**”. This utterances support the three statements before, in order to impress the audience to protect the notion from these three dangerous objects.

3.1.1.5 Pronoun

DATUM 17

From this data below, the researcher tries to see the connection between the speaker and the listener. In this case, Glenn used some interactions with the audience to get better communication with all the audiences.

“Why do **I** tell **you** (17.1) this story? What is **our** Golden Ticket? What is the magical thing that has the chance to free **you** from the burden’s your parents and grandparents have left **you**? The past few days, **we** have heard some great ideas about how to advance conservative initiatives. Tonight, **I** (17.2) want to speak to **you** about ideas that will seem, perhaps, less practical, less . . . tactical. Perhaps **they** (17.3) will not do as much to increase our reach on Facebook or improve our email open rates.”

From the data above, the use of pronoun is employed in this speech. The speaker use the pronoun “**I, you, we, and they**”. In this case, the speaker use the pronoun “**you**” when he uttered “What is the magical thing that has the chance to free **you** from the burden’s your parents and grandparents have left **you**?”. The use

of pronoun “**You**” indicate that it refers to every single audience. It adds the powerful effect of seeming Glenn talk with each person individually. It can be good devices used by Glenn in order to control people which show people really have the same problem as Glenn as said his speech about the chance to free from the burden’s of their parents and grandparents that left them. Therefore, in Glenn’s speech, the use of pronoun you is a good device. By using pronoun “**you**”, the audience will feel that the speaker invite them to communicate intensively. It can see from the audience’s response, that view of them answers his question. From the video, the researcher heard that one of the audience answered by the word “yes” and “that is true” while Glenn asked them about the chance to free from the burden’s of their parents and grandparents that left them. From the response that given from the audience, it indicates that pronoun, here become the media to connect between the speaker and the listener.

Another, pronoun that exists in this utterance is pronoun “we”. In this context, the pronoun “we” refer to the audience, all American citizens, and the speaker itself. Here, Glenn wants to attract all American’s people that they have the power and the important in playing the rule in the society.

DATUM 18

The data below are delivered by Glenn explains about his opponent for the regulation of the government right now. There is a doubt for the government. The sentence which makes his statement is clearly opponent is “They will probably not result immediately”. From these utterances, the speaker tries to show his opinion toward the government recently.

“**They** (18.1) will probably not result immediately in convincing our courts to restore water-rights to our farmers, or result in the repeal of Obama care next year. But while **they** (18.2) may not have any immediate practical effect, **they** (18.3) are actually the entire reason we are here at all. “

Here, the use of pronoun plays the important role. The utterances emphasize the pronoun “they” can be a successful device because pronoun they shows a group of people to separates from us. In this context, the use of pronoun “they” is mainly to influence people that Glenn’s opponent and their supporter are in the wrong way. Here, Glenn wants to draw how the government’s effort is truly dissatisfy the society. It can see from the supporting sentence that uttered by Glenn such as “**They** will probably not result immediately in convincing our courts to restore water-rights to our farmers, or result in the repeal of Obama care next year. But while **they** may not have any immediate practical effect”. Therefore, Glenn here tries to remind the audience to be aware to social problem that occur in their society. This utterance gets the response from the audience, because they give the applause for the speaker. It means that they agree with Glenn’s statement.

DATUM 19

The data below are delivered by Glenn explains about obligation as the citizen in one notion. He stated that the regret of voting the party should not violated their right of freedom.

“**We**,(19.1) the self-proclaimed guardians of Libert, are here to protect ideas. Ideas that **we** (19.2) often take for granted. **We** (19.3) assume that **we**’re (19.4) covered just because **we**’re (19.5) voting for our Party, or at least voting against the other Party. When do **we**(19.6) start voting for the

candidate who represents our Principals, instead of voting against the other guy? **We're (19.7)** here this weekend at the Conservative Political Action Conference. Well, these are the ideas that we're here to conserve”

Here, the use of pronoun plays the important role. Intentionally, Glenn gives a high intonation in saying these utterances. It emphasizes the pronoun “we” as powerful force in winning the dependence every human right. It indicates that Glenn includes people and their belief as the significant role in winning as well as defending their principle. It also justified by the sentence “**We**, the self-proclaimed guardians of Liberty, are here to protect ideas. Ideas that **we** often take for granted”. There is an implicit message that Glenn wants to deliver from this speech. Once again, in this case, Glenn wants to highlight that people have the important role. Being American defender is not only base on the government but also people, the societies.

In addition, by saying pronoun “we”, it indicates, that Glenn strengthen that people who become a unity can change everything in the world. Even tough, another people especially who do not agree with what Glenn said is never mind. Hence, it brings Glenn to control the people’s mind that their voices are very important so that by giving them the motivation, that American will participate for America movement. Therefore, being the development country is not only base on the people. Because of it, Glenn says, “**We're** here this weekend at the Conservative Political Action Conference. Well, these are the ideas that we're here to conserve”. These utterances justify the analysis.

3.1.2 Microstructure

After classifying and analyzing the rhetorical devices, then the writer intends to see how this rhetorical device reflect the ideological perspective that affect the audience mind through the microstructure of Van Dijk model. This analysis answers the second research question that observes how the microstructure of rhetorical devices applied in Glenn speech. In this analysis, the writer divided the element of microstructure into two elements, graphic and metaphor.

3.1.2.1 Graphic

From the data, the writer found that each rhetorical devices show the element of microstructure called graphic element. In the previous chapter, it already discussed that this graphic of microstructure in oral speaking can show from the expression that from the intonation can highlight the important message that produced by the speaker. In this data, the writer found 13 data which show the rhetorical devices used the high intonation and 6 data used the low intonation. See the data code in the table in the appendix.

Based on the data, these data belong to microstructure of rhetorical devices that applied in Glenn's speech. The use of high intonation indicates that Glenn wants to inform the audience that he emphasized something from his speech. Raising the intonation and stressing the rhetorical devices reflect the intended message from the speaker. These expressions get the reaction from the audience. The audiences give their applause after listening to these utterances, but it is different while the speaker used the low intonation. By using the low intonation,

Glenn created the serious circumstance then the audience listened to his speech seriously.

However, these different data of graphic element of microstructure of rhetorical devices shows that there are the cognitive the cognitive effect that can control the audience's intention and show that the information from the speaker is important and interesting to listen.

3.1.2.2 Metaphor

From the data, the writer found that the speaker figure out the picture on the main important topic of Glenn's speech. In this case, the writer found that one of rhetorical devices successfully gives the picture that reflects to the main purpose of the speech by showing the metaphorical expression in the word "Golden Ticket". Glenn takes this word while he wanted to illustrate his speech's aim by sharing the story of Charlie and Chocolate Factory. In this story, Charlie was trying to get the golden ticket by means as getting the best opportunity to enter the factory. Then, Glenn wanted to give the additional information to the audience about the golden ticket in their real world.

The word "Golden Ticket" in the datum 8.1 in this speech symbolizes the victory, the freedom, the worth chance, lucky, and happiness. This metaphor invites and supports the audience to get a better life. This is the main point of Glenn's speech, to get a golden ticket in their life.

3.2 Discussion

In this section, the writer discuss the data analysis in order to understand more how the result stated. Referring to the data description and interpretation of

rhetorical device found in the data above comparing with Van Dijk's social cognition theory, this research found that the characters of the Glenn Beck's speech used all the rhetorical devices such as metaphor, euphemism, parallelism, the rule of three and pronoun as the strategy to indicate and show that in his utterances contain power, ideology and able to persuade the human's mind. Those devices are used and supported together because the use of rhetorical device by Peccei 2004 are connected with the context and covered all the data.

As theory stated, the use euphemism is one of the way Glenn shows the contrasting idea with the government by using polite words. Therefore, the audiences are still respect to his speech such as the word *We steal the future from the young, the doldrums of life and detest*. It also helps people to believe him. There are 3 data of euphemism in this speech. By using euphemism, the negative argumentation can affect the positive reaction from the audience. Instead of euphemism, the use of pronoun created the important role in delivering speech. The use of pronoun here such pronoun *I, You, We, They* helps Glenn to show his care, intimacy, unity, respect, and power. The use and changing pronoun is also important in order to persuade the audience to which one is the important part to be considered as their belief. There are 3 data of pronoun in this speech.

Other rhetorical devices also appear in the speech such as metaphor. He uses some words that belong to metaphor to make the audience think about the intended message of his speech. *Golden Ticket, the magic of the ticket, the weary world*, and any other metaphorical statement that stated in the previous section show that the speaker intends to give indirect important message to the audience.

It also occurs when the rule of three and parallelism applied in the speech. There are 5 data that included to metaphor. Then, the other is 3 data from the rule of three device and 5 data from parallelism device. The use of two rhetorical devices show how repetition control the emphasize message from the speaker.

Overall discussion, those devices are primary employed to attract people in improving the people's motivation to get better right in their notion. Thus, it also help the speaker, to persuade and get a closer communication with other audience in controlling people's mind to agree with what he was saying and what he was trying to fight in order to get the result from Conservative Political Action Conference such a freedom and liberty. By using Jones and Peccei (2004) theory, the writer found that this speech has the power in controlling the audience's mind to agree with those Glenn's statements. The micro structure of Van Dijk also helps the writer in order to understand how rhetorical device is rhetorically flower the way the speaker persuade the audience.

The analysis of microstructure shows that the use of different intonation has different reaction from the audience. Raising the intonation and giving the strong stress in each rhetorical device reflected the strong argumentation from the speaker. This way attracts the audience and creates the reaction from them.

Applause and comment are one of the reactions from the audience. It means that the audiences listen to his speech intentionally. Then, they give their response if they agree with Glenn's statement. It is also applied to the other way of speaker intonation such as low intonation. It created the serious and quite situation when the speaker uses low intonation. These two ways finally reflect that the speaker

can control the audience's mind and atmosphere around the conference, not only for the audience but also for anyone who listen to his speech.

Other microstructure that the writer found in Glenn's speech is metaphor. In this case, the writer found the main purpose or the main aim of Glenn's speech is represented from metaphor that applied in his speech. The writer found one phrase that underlined as the main purpose of Glenn speech; it comes from the phrase "Golden Ticket". The way the speaker illustrates what is the main purpose of his speech by showing the illustration of golden ticket that has very deep intended message for the society. It was not about the golden ticket but it was representing as the best chance to live better for the future. Here is the two element of microstructure analysis that support the rhetorical device used by Glenn Beck which receives many positive comments from the audience and other listener.

For above discussion, this rhetorical devices and the micro structure of Van Dijk are used in Glenn Beck's speech here, further drawn the reflection of social inequality that happened in America. It can be seen that the American's social problem brought the speaker to give his statement, his support, his comment and his argumentation to support and build the American's principle in facing this problem. The variation ways that are produced by Glenn from his speech and also the way the audience respect and give the response are truly captured that there is a social inequality that bothered their life. In conclusion, Glenn successfully controlled the audience's mind from his rhetorical device that used in his speech.

CHAPTER IV

CONCLUSION AND SUGGESTION

This chapter discusses the conclusion and suggestion. Conclusion draws after getting research finding. Then, suggestion leads further researchers who are interesting in doing similar research.

4.1 Conclusion

After conducting research and discussing the research problems about rhetorical devices, it concluded that Glenn applied five rhetorical devices purposed by Jones and Peccei 2004 such as metaphor, euphemism, the rule of three, parallelism and pronoun. There are two objectives of this research: To identify the rhetorical devices and to explain how microstructure of rhetorical devices applied in Glenn Beck's speech.

By the time, to answer the first object the researcher uses 5 rhetorical devices purposed by Jones and Peccei 2004 thought to find the answers. Those Five are;

The First, metaphor, it is an effort to minimize the wearied circumstance runs while delivering the speech. The speaker attracted the audience using the connotation word that can attract the audience to pay attention to his utterance. The audience might use their imagination in order to understand the speaker intended meaning. The researcher found 5 data of the application of metaphor.

The Second, euphemism, to some degree, a successful speaker attempt to make his/her audience secured and happy, not offended or hurt. In some cases, the

use of euphemism needed in order to avoid a conflict that potentially happened because saying the unpleasant thing. As the public figure, Glenn has to keep this kind of attitude to keep away from the commentary public. Therefore, in some ways, Glenn used euphemism to get a soften communication with the audience. There are 3 data that belong to euphemism.

The third, the rule of three, it occurs when the speaker wants to state the important statement. Usually, it fulfills the need of the situation according to the topic of the speech. In this case, Glenn wanted to give faith that the nation needs three important principles that should be kept in every human mind such as they should keep their life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness and also as a good citizen, people have to preserve, protect and defend the constitution from all enemies, foreign, and domestic. These example statements would exist if Glenn thinks that the three important statements are enough than a long statement. Therefore, the researcher only found 2 data if the rule of three in this political speech.

The fourth, parallelism, it contain of the parallel or the similar words that exist tightly. Glenn used this kind of device in order to bring the audience to feel the sense of enthusiasms in raising the main point of the speech idea by repeating the words. Indeed, existence precedes essence. Therefore, the audience would be easier to remember the essence of the speech. In this context, the researcher found 5 data relate to the parallelism.

The fifth, pronoun, to show the intimacy between the speaker and the audience, Glenn used pronoun to preserve the communication each other. There

are a lot of pronoun that used in this speech, but only 3 data that researcher took as the potential data which provided the audience's reaction. All in all,

In the other hand, the second objectives of this research are concerning with the microstructure of CDA which constructed by Van Dijk. The way the speaker utters the rhetorical devices is also affect the audience response. The use of rising the intonation and low intonation indicate the speaker emotional appeared while conveying the speech. It reflects from the audience's response by giving the applause and direct commentaries such as "woo..." or "it is right..." means that almost the audience were agree to the Glenn's statement. Besides, the intended meanings standing in those devices are various meanings. For example, it shows Glenn opponent positively. It constructs the audience's way of thinking about how to face the problem that appeared in the society.

Other microstructure is metaphor. Currently, the use of metaphor reflects the symbol of the human life. Glenn used this way to deliver his main aims implicitly. In this phase, the audiences have to think hard to look up the inside and the outside the context of every utterance that produced by the speaker either it happen today, yesterday or tomorrow. Most people might think that it is not something influential of their life, but actually, it implicitly affects the human awareness.

4.2. SUGGESTION

The rhetorical study gives us more reflection about the way of human communication in order to do not only persuade the audience to agree with us, but the intended meaning should be created creatively by the speaker. Therefore, for

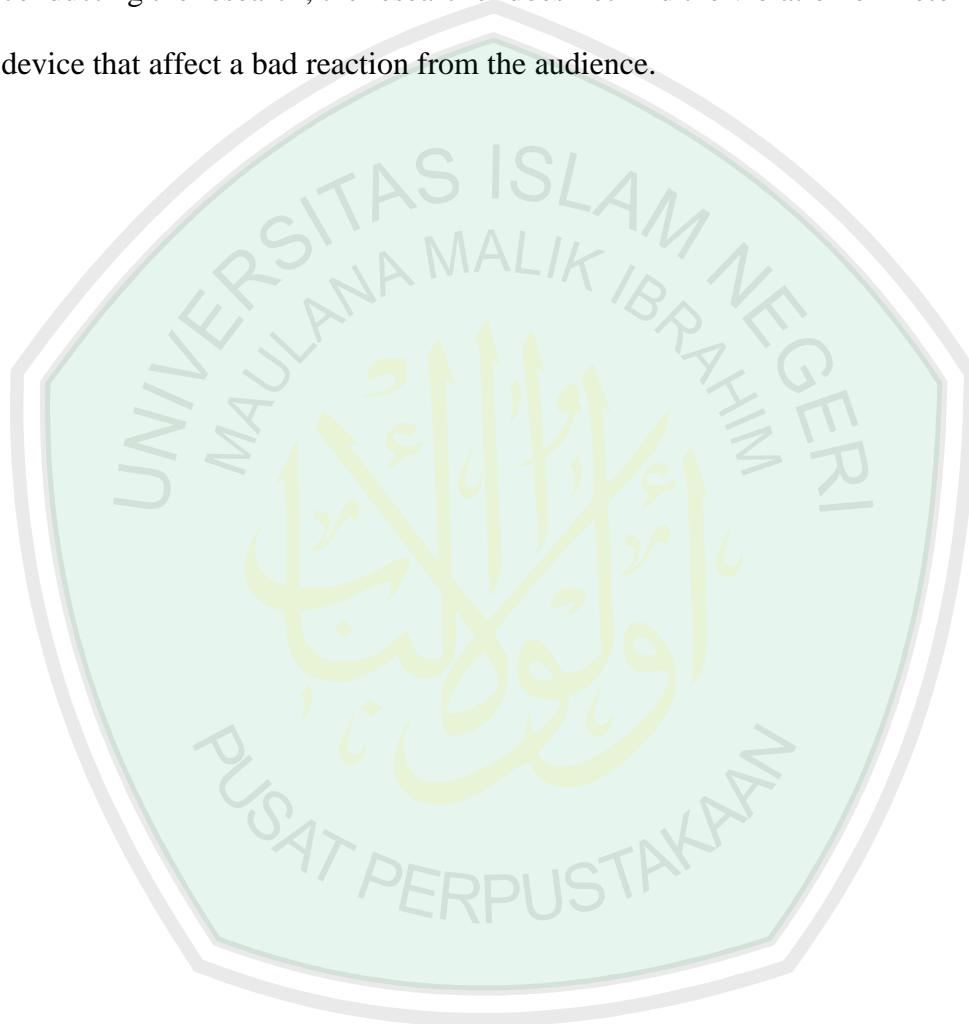
the next research we can see and observe to any point of view that potentially gives a good data to be analyzed

For the lecturers, it is recommended for them to use the references in teaching public speaking in using critical discourse analysis approach. They can pay more attention to the way how rhetorical devices constructed and relates to the society, or we can pay attention to the writing rhetorical devices strategy based on the speech types. This apparently deals with the rhetorical strategy to construct the word choice of rhetorical device that could affect people in their communication. Therefore, it will be advantageous for the references to construct such a guideline for teaching about the rhetorical devices in political speech.

For the students, it is recommended for them to use the references in learning and comprehending about the topic of rhetoric. They can apply how to use the rhetorical device that has been discussed in the previous chapter and practice it in their daily speaking practice. Furthermore, it is suggested that they should pay more attention towards their utterances, especially their utterances to the people who have a power in their relation or learn to be a person who has power, someday.

For the following researchers, it would be better to conduct another research on the application and the violation of rhetorical device with another speech term, or compare two different types of speech such as education or economic speech. It is because during conducting the research, the analyses are drawn from only the context of political speech. It is expected that examining the

debate or comparing two speech which got the bad and the good commentary from the viewer. Thus, it could be rich if other researchers who intends to do the research and wants to conduct a research using both speeches. It is because during conducting the research, the researcher does not find the violation of rhetorical device that affect a bad reaction from the audience.



BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Aini, L (2012) . *Rhetorical Strategies used in the father Benedict XVI's speech*. Unpublished Thesis: The State Islamic University Maulana Malik Ibrahim Malang
- Charteris, Jonathan -Black (2011). *Politicians and Rhetoric: The Persuasive Power of Metaphor*, 2nd ed. University of the West of England, UK
PALGRAVE MACMILLAN
- Caroll, B (2010). *Backpacks vs. Briefcases: Steps toward Rhetorical Analysis: Writing Spaces: Readings on Writing, Volume 1: Parlor Press*
- Corbett, P. J.E (1965). *Classical Rhetoric for Modern Student*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Eriyanto.2001. *Analisis Wacana: Pengantar Analisis teks Wacana*, Yogyakarta: LKis Yogyakarta.
- Fernández, e. C (2014)*Euphemism and political discourse in the British regional press.Brno Studies in English*. Volume 40, No. 1, 2014. ISSN 0524-6881
DOI: xxxxBSE2014xxxxxx
- Freemith (2007). adapted from Potter, J 1996 *Representing reality: Discourse, rhetoric and social construction*, London: Sage
- Ghafur, Abd (2013).*An Introduction to Theory and Method of Analysis*. Surabaya: Pena Salsabila
- Griffin, EM (2003). *A First Look at Communication Theory*. New York: Mc GrawHill
- Hancock, B. (1998). *Trent Focus for Research and Development in Primary HealthCare: An Introduction to Qualitative Research: Trent Focus*.
- Keraf, G. 1991. *Diksidan Gaya Bahasa*. Jakarta: PT GramediaPustakaUtama
- Mills (2003) *The Role of Rhetorical Theory in: Military Intelligence Analysis A Soldier's Guide to Rhetorical Theory*. Alabama: Air University Press
- Rosidi. S(2007). *Analisis Wacana Kritis sebagai Ragam Paradigma Kajian Wacana*. Working Paper. Malang: Universitas Islam Negeri (UIN) Malang.
- Safra et al (2007). *The Works of Aristotle*. United Stated: Encyclopedia Britannica Inc

- Su'udiyah, Alfiz R (2010) *A micro structure as a discursive strategy on racism in "hotel rwanda"*. Unpublished Thesis: The State Islamic University Maulana Malik Ibrahim Malang
- Teun A. van Dijk. 1993. *Principles of Critical Discourse Analysis. Discourse and Society*. Vol. 4
- Tindale, Christopher W. (2004). *Rhetorical Argumentation: Principles of Theory and Practice*. Thousand Oaks, Calif.: Sage.
- Thomas et al, (2004). *Language Society and Power an Introduction*. London: Routledge
- Wodak, R and Meyer, M (2001) *Method of Critical Discourse Analysis*. London. Thousand Oaks: SAGE Publications Inc.
- Yuhanna, (2010). *The rhetorical characteristics in the speech of President Soekarno delivered at fifteenth United Nations General Assembly, September 30, 1960*, New York. Unpublished Thesis: The State Islamic University Maulana Malik Ibrahim Malang
- Zahra, F (2013). *Rhetorical devices of Obama's speeches in united stated presidential election 2012*. Unpublished Thesis: The State Islamic University Maulana Malik Ibrahim Malang

Appendix 1

TABLE: 1

Utterance	Rhetorical devices					microstructure	
	Euphemism	Metaphor	The rule of three	Parallelism	Pronoun	High	Low
We steal (1.1) the future from the young to allow for our own prosperity today	✓						✓
Drawn to the magic of the ticket in his hand, to <i>this thing that can free them from the doldrums of their day to day lives</i> ”(2.1).	✓						✓
They detest you (3.1)	✓					✓	
“Drawn to the magic of the ticket (4.1) in his hand, to this thing that can free them from the doldrums of their day to day lives”.	✓					✓	
So shines a good deed in a weary world. (5.1) ”		✓				✓	
“ The world tells you that you are powerless (6.1),		✓				✓	
the elites can create this world for us (7.1).		✓					✓
Golden Ticket (8.1).		✓				✓	
A mob forms around him, cheering him, tugging on				✓		✓	

<p>him, patting him, jostling him, tugging at his clothes and hair, wanting to be close to him, or wanting to get his ticket!(9.1) They are drawn to him, drawn to it, drawn to the magic of the ticket (9.2)</p>							
<p>Whenever you are given the thing you want, the thing that can give you freedom, the thing you have hoped and wished for, the thing (10.1)</p>			✓		✓		
<p>We are dedicated to the Constitution and its principals because we are clear-minded. Because we are rational. Because we have courage enough to recognize the self-evident truth”(11.1)</p>			✓		✓		
<p>Rights are ours individually just like our own DNA. And because rights belong to us individually, the rights of five of us together can never</p>			✓		✓		

<p>outweigh the rights of one of us.” (12.1)</p>							
<p>“Let the party bosses and Super Pacs hear that they will only have your support as long as they take and uphold this oath with you. Let the media hear it from you in interviews and social media posts, in articles and books that you author. Let the bartender and cab driver hear it tonight. Let your family hear it tomorrow morning. We are all brothers and sisters, defenders of freedom.” (13.1)</p>				✓			✓
<p>They are slaves to the unholy alliance between Big Government, Big Business and Big Banks</p>			✓			✓	

<p>(14.1) We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable Rights that among these are Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness.(15.1)”</p>			✓			✓	
<p>That they reaffirm their singular vow: To Preserve, Protect and Defend the Constitution against all enemies, foreign and domestic. (16.1)</p>			✓				✓
<p>“Why do I tell you (17.1) this story? What is our Golden Ticket? What is the magical thing that has the chance to free you from the burden’s</p>					✓	✓	

<p>your parents and grandparents have left you? The past few days, we have heard some great ideas about how to advance conservative initiatives. Tonight, I (17.2) want to speak to you about ideas that will seem, perhaps, less practical, less . . . tactical. Perhaps they (17.3) will not do as much to increase our reach on Facebook or improve our email open rates.”</p>							
<p>“They (18.1) will probably not result immediately in convincing our courts to restore water-rights to our farmers, or result in the repeal of Obama care next year.</p>					✓	✓	

<p>But while they (18.2) may not have any immediate practical effect, they (18.3) are actually the entire reason we are here at all. “</p>							
<p>“We,(19.1) the self-proclaimed guardians of Libert, are here to protect ideas. Ideas that we (19.2) often take for granted. We (19.3) assume that we’re (19.4) covered just because we’re (19.5) voting for our Party, or at least voting against the other Party. When do we (19.6) start voting for the candidate who represents our Principals, instead of voting against the other guy? We’re (19.7) here this weekend at the Conservative Political Action Conference. Well, these are the ideas that we’re here to conserve”</p>				✓	✓		

APPENDIX 2

Glenn's Closing Remarks at CPAC 2016

By The Glenn Beck Program Updated 03/05/2016 | 4:38 PM EDT

Glenn's speech at CPAC is receiving rave reviews! Thank you for watching and for the kind comments. Below is a sampling of what people are saying.

WATCH: Full the [@glennbeck](#) speech at [#CPAC](#) <https://t.co/Da6U8BvRFN>

— CPAC (@CPAC) [March 5, 2016](#)

Comments From Viewers:

“Absolutely. Amazing. Best speech I have ever heard. Glenn, I hope you can write this speech out, and sell it. My compassion for you grows daily, as does my love for freedom, liberty, and those who are imprisoned, killed, and murdered to protect this liberty.”

“Just WOW! I am literally blown away. This is the most Brilliant, Inspiring and Factual speech I have ever heard. How can anyone not agree with every word. Our CONSTITUTION, it IS what America is about. When we lose those principles, we have lost our country and our souls. Whether you like Glenn or not, every American needs to hear this”

“Phenomenal speech! I dare say it was one of the most succinct, passionate, and timely speeches on the necessity of the Constitution and returning to those principles. Perhaps you are our Thomas Paine, delivering “Common Sense” in a time when the Republic desperately needs it. Let it be said that the principles you spoke on transcend party and politician and speak to our individual liberty. Let us return to those principles. Let us look inward and realize they are true. Then, let us turn outward and elect those that emulate those principles.”

“Loved this speech! Shared it to my personal page. Very inspiring and honest! I think everyone, no matter who you will be voting for, should watch this. This wasn't just a speech for an election or for Americans. It is a speech for humans everywhere! I've got a golden ticket!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!! ”

“Just finished listening to the speech, I loved it! Now let's take our golden ticket and get our country back on track. Thank you Glenn Beck.”

“Glenn, all I can say is WOW! By far your best speech ever; you are a wise and gracious leader. Let's hope this speech unifies conservatives to unite and reclaim the moral high ground, and educates the next generation aspire for greatness..”

“Your messages were spot on, Glenn. This election IS all about saving The Constitution and Bill of Rights. I pray your speech is heard around the world.”

“...when you finished one of the most inspirational speeches I have ever heard I wished they had given you a hand held mic. To drop on the stage as you walked away... Like a boss. Not to sound too much like a millennial (I was born in '80 so I ride the fence) but that speech last night was bad @\$\$. That is all.

“Wonderful speech. The constitution has never before been explained more clearly. Thank you GLENN BECK. We needed to hear these words”

“Glenn, I am a fellow Texan and have been listening/watching you for years. Your CPAC 2016 speech was the best speech of your lifetime thus far! It was masterful, inspirational, and electrifying, and a glorious reminder of our founding fathers' blueprint for a free and exceptional America. I was moved to tears. This is the “golden ticket” we are to “conserve” as Conservatives! May God fearing, Liberty lovers continue to wake up and stand up for our PRINCIPLES! Keep fighting the good fight, Glenn. You are making a huge difference!”

“Just now watching your closing statements, Glenn... This speech was ABSOLUTELY PHENOMENAL! So well done. I hope as many people as possible will watch this and share it.”

“Most inspired, uplifting speech on the Federalist Papers original idea for the U.S. Constitution, and the road map back to our greatness as a people, and nation, in recent or distant memory.”

“Absolutely inspiring.....countries have poet laureates.....the conservatives have a brilliant story teller laureate.....You should be at the top of the list at every college for commencement speaker.....God be with you in all that you do.”

“A speech that should be examined carefully and taught in our elementary schools, secondary schools and colleges throughout our nation as Government 101. Everyone should understand the principles taught in this speech.”

“Fantastic speech and delivery, Glenn. Every single American needs to hear it...and those not Americans too!”

“Excellent speech. By the time it was over I have hope for our nation. It is we the people and our time is now”

Transcript of Glenn's CPAC Speech

You are coming into adulthood at a time when the amount of debt created by Central Banks and Socialist programs around the world exceeds the value of all

combined human wealth and assets. We owe the bankers more in debt than the combined value of every dollar, ounce of gold, every home and car, every factory and every farm. In the US, our combined debt and unfunded socialist mandates now exceeds seven times total GDP.

We steal the future from the young to allow for our own prosperity today. But we need cleaner air, right? We must provide free college for illegal immigrants! We have to pay for abortions for 16 year olds! We have to bail out Wall Street to protect Main Street, don't we? We have to make sure everyone gets their fair share!! What a pack of liars we all are. And yet in the hallways of CPAC, you see smiles — determination, energy, hope. The young are resilient.

It reminds me of a boy we've all read about. He, too, was born into a world where he was burdened by the mistakes and laziness of his parents — Charlie Bucket. Yes, Roald Dahl's Charlie Bucket, from "Charlie and the Chocolate Factory". Charlie was born into a world of hopelessness. Naturally bright and hard-working, he provides for a family wholly dependent on him for their food and shelter. A family who has left to him the burden of providing for their survival, a burden that is his birthright, his simply because he is capable. But somehow Charlie is still bright and cheerful. Somehow he still has hope.

When Wonka announces that there are Golden Tickets, the world goes into a frenzy. A chance to escape from the dreary 12-hour work days, struggling to get by. Free passes into the candy-filled world behind his gates. Wonka is saying, "There is still magic in the world, Charlie." Charlie can't afford to buy the chocolate bars, but is perceptive enough to find a coin dropped in the gutter. He buys a bar. He opens it and discovers one of the magical tickets inside. I've got a Golden Ticket!

There is a scene in the movie where a crowd on the street discovers that Charlie has found the last of the Golden Tickets. A mob forms around him, cheering him, tugging on him, patting him, jostling him, tugging at his clothes and hair, wanting to be close to him, or wanting to get his ticket! They are drawn to him, drawn to it. Drawn to the magic of the ticket in his hand, to this thing that can free them from the doldrums of their day to day lives. A man grabs Charlie and tells him to run . . . Run Straight Home, and Don't Stop Until You Get There! He does run. Runs for home, but on the way he is stopped.

He has his ticket, wants to rush home to his family and share the wonderful news! But he is stopped. Do you remember what stops him? Slugworth. See, in Rahl Dahl's world, whenever you get a Golden Ticket, Slugworth shows up. Whenever you are given the thing you want, the thing that can give you freedom, the thing you have hoped and wished for, the thing that represents magic . . . Slugworth is always right there. The businessman, with a wry smile and pockets full of cash.

He is there to tempt Charlie, offering to buy the boy's virtue . . . a chance to double-up his good fortune and exploit the opportunity fate has given him. All Charlie has to do is steal a little piece of candy from Wonka's factory. Just a single piece of candy, and he'll be free of the burden the world has left him. Charlie meets Wonka and tours the factory. Along the way, he gives into his temptation and pockets an Everlasting Gobstopper. As you'll recall, he and his grandpa also break the rules. At the end of his tour, after having seen his fellow tourists picked off by their own greediness, Wonka throws him out for having broken those rules. "You lose! You get nothing!" His Grandpa, in anger, says to him, "If Slugworth wants his Gobstopper, he's going to get it!"

But Charlie's principals shine through. He overcomes his greed. After all, he did break the rules. He walks back into the room, takes the candy from his pocket, and places it on the desk next to Wonka. Wonka says, "So shines a good deed in a weary world." He turns to Charlie and says, "Charlie, my boy . . . you've won!"

Why do I tell you this story? What is our Golden Ticket? What is the magical thing that has the chance to free you from the burden's your parents and grandparents have left you? The past few days, we have heard some great ideas about how to advance conservative initiatives. Tonight, I want to speak to you about ideas that will seem, perhaps, less practical, less . . . tactical. Perhaps they will not do as much to increase our reach on Facebook or improve our email open rates.

They will probably not result immediately in convincing our courts to restore water-rights to our farmers, or result in the repeal of Obamacare next year. But while they may not have any immediate practical effect, they are actually the entire reason we are here at all. We, the self-proclaimed guardians of Libert, are here to protect ideas. Ideas that we often take for granted. We assume that we're covered just because we're voting for our Party, or at least voting against the other Party. When do we start voting for the candidate who represents our Principals, instead of voting against the other guy? We're here this weekend at the Conservative Political Action Conference. Well, these are the ideas that we're here to conserve:

We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness. The right of the people to keep and bear arms

shall not be infringed. Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof. The right of the people to be secure in their persons, houses, papers and effects against unreasonable searches and seizures shall not be violated. The enumeration in the Constitution, of certain rights, shall not be construed to deny or disparage others retained by the people.

Do any of these sound familiar? Do you think they would sound familiar in most homes in America? In the halls of the White House? In the hallways of government-funded schools? How about our churches? Would they sound familiar around your own kitchen table? Two hundred and forty years ago, our Forefathers pledged to each other and to the people that they would defend those principals with Their Lives, Their Fortunes and Their Sacred Honors. The Sons and Daughters of Liberty bled together to throw off the chains of a Dictator in order to “secure the blessings of Liberty for themselves and their posterity . . .” Do you feel it? Personal Liberty. Individual Rights. Privacy. Religious Freedom.

What is it that unites us as conservatives? What defines our cause? Ask a Fox News or CNN pundit about the core of the conservative movement. They might say something like “Smaller Government”. Fine, but Smaller Government is not a cause, it is an effect. It is the result of dedication to the original principals and an understanding of the rights endowed to us by our Creator, by Nature’s God. Not just for Republicans or Democrats, not just for Independents, but for the entire species of man. The men who founded our nation understood those principals. That we possess free agency. A capacity to choose our own morality, our own faith. We are capable of working with others in voluntary cooperation for the common good. We are also capable of competing with others for resources and achievement. We are individuals. Each of us is a whole entity, distinct from the rest. They knew that our rights are part of us. That without those rights, we cease to be whole. We cease to be human beings. That is why they did not found their new nation as a

They chose instead not to subvert their nature by giving some men power over the lives of others, but rather to allow each man to live as an individual. They recognized that each of us should be allowed to pursue happiness in our own way, according to the verdict of their own mind. The American Revolution was not a war against England. It was a war against the idea that some men have the right to control the lives of others. *That* was revolutionary. For the first time in world history, a government was created with a single justification for existing: The recognition and protection of each citizen’s rights. Rights that were inherent to them as individuals. Not granted to them by the government, but simply automatic. “That to secure these rights, Governments are instituted among men”. That is the reason our government exists: to protect the rights of man. The Founders don’t cite any other reason in the Declaration. The Declaration doesn’t say “To ensure there is a chicken in every pot.” It doesn’t say “To create safe spaces on college campuses where nobody can say anything mean.” It doesn’t say “To ensure everyone gets free tuition, to secure deals for oil fields in the Middle East.” It doesn’t say, “To bail out big banks and Wall Street cronies who pay us the biggest speaking fees.”
I don’t recall seeing that in there.

Progressives in both Parties believe that governments should do more than simply protect our liberties. They are baffled by our love and dedication to the

Constitution. To them it is an inconvenience, maybe something that worked when America was a frontier nation, but it doesn't offer functional solutions to a modern, industrial society. We have Facebook now, and airplanes, inner city blight, and radical Islamists trying to build nuclear bombs.

So many people believe the world is so complex that 200-year-old documents can't have relevance anymore. They believe that governments should also eliminate poverty, should plant trees, should create jobs. It should control our resources to ensure nobody gets more than their fair share. They find our allegiance to the Constitution and the Founding Fathers puzzling.

Tonight, we'll dispel their confusion once and for all. And I want each of you to personally think for a minute and rediscover what it means to be conservative. We are dedicated to the Constitution and its principals not because we cling to our Bibles and our guns. We are dedicated to the Constitution and its principals because we are clear-minded. Because we are rational. Because we have courage enough to recognize the self-evident truth: That mankind, by his nature, has an identity. We are endowed by our creator with inherent, unalienable rights. They are ours simply because we exist. If you don't understand why the Constitution matters, then you're the one who's confused. You don't understand the nature of man. How can you look at yourself in the mirror and not see who you are? You are a sentient being. You're born with free agency. You're capable of choosing right from wrong, morality from immorality.

The world tells you that you are powerless, that you need government programs and rules and edicts. I tell you that you are the most powerful being ever created. When we say we are dedicated to the eternal principals of the Constitution, that is what we mean: We recognize and embrace mankind as the powerful beings we are. Man is who he is. A is A. The Constitution is remarkable and will continue to endure because it is factually correct. It recognizes that no man or woman has any inherent power over any other. Rights are ours individually just like our own DNA. And because rights belong to us individually, the rights of five of us together can never outweigh the rights of one of us.

Those who stand opposed to these principals would dismiss natural law. They wish to live in a world where man isn't man, because you are too imperfect for them. They detest you. They fear you. They believe you are too corrupt, too stupid and too selfish to be allowed to make your own decisions. They are terrified of the real world, because it is not in their control. They wish for a world where we don't have unique talents that may allow us to achieve something others do not. In their world, man's nature should be subverted, transformed . . . bent to their will, always for reasons they claim are for 'the common good.'

They can't have us believe we're individuals. Instead, we are the possessions of the state, to be used to create a better world. And because they believe we aren't capable of creating this world on our own, we must be forced to live as we are

told so the elites can create this world for us. And in the end, those who call themselves our saviors pull out guns and make us slaves. To them, Mao is right: you don't have power! To them, power comes from the barrel of a gun.

What is the most precious commodity on earth? Measured in terms of dollars, Gold is the highest valued commodity. Oil, perhaps, or water some say. Others have argued that media airtime is the more valuable a digital society, or a million likes on Facebook. But they are all wrong.

The most valuable commodity on planet earth is man. That is what Progressives and Liberals, Republicans and Democrats, egomaniacal businessmen and socialist senators, man is what they wish to control. There is no more valuable commodity in existence than the productive energies, the labor of mankind. The men and women who live in fear of a world they can't control seek one thing: power over us. They want, they need to dictate our behavior. To use us as resources to enrich those in power, and to make the world feel safer for the elites. Progressives can never be satisfied. Their fear and shame make them want to have power over every man, woman and child forever.

Democracy. They didn't elect to have a king. They didn't choose a path of forced cooperation like socialism or communism, and they didn't place power in the hands of the wealthy or the elite.

The expense of maintaining that power is enormous. That is why we have staggering multi-generational debt, the unfunded mandates of a welfare state that assure every American is a slave. It is vital that you understand this. If you and your spouse have a child this year they are born owing a debt of \$1,006,208 dollars, their "fair share." Lincoln and the Republican party abolished slavery over 150 years ago. But make no mistake, today every child born in American is born a slave, burdened as indentured servants the instant they draw their first breath. And the Republican party, the party of Lincoln, has helped forge every link in every chain.

Why are we even allowing the conversation to be about \$40,000 in college debt when our children are born owing millions? We're all guilty. We're enslaving our children for our own comfort. They are slaves to the unholy alliance between Big Government, Big Business and Big Banks. Slaves to each other. Slaves to the false prosperity we enjoy today. This is taxation without representation. I seem to recall that wars have been fought over that issue.

From the dawn of man until 1780, the advance of human progress was almost imperceptible. Key measures like life expectancy, household income, total wealth, starvation rates, infant mortality rates. For tens of thousands of years, improvements were so small, they could only be measured over centuries. But from 1790 onward, human progress began to accelerate at an exponential rate.

The Industrial Revolution was born here, and America became the technology and production engine of the world. Why? What happened here in America?

It was The Constitution. Our principals. Equal justice. Our Golden Ticket. From the day the Constitution was ratified, America has been rising like a rocket, carrying the rest of humanity with us. Individual Liberty, and a government prevented by law from interfering. That is what made American Great. And that is the only thing that can “Make America Great Again.”

Let’s compare that experience to the alternative. Mankind has spent over a century experimenting with the live A / B test of Liberty vs. Tyranny. What are the results? What was the leading cause of unnatural death during the 20th Century? It wasn’t cancer. It wasn’t car accidents. It wasn’t drugs and alcohol, or terrorism. It wasn’t gang violence in the inner cities. The greatest murderer over the last century was governments. Socialist, communist, fascist and theist governments. During the last century, totalitarian governments murdered over 120 Million of their own citizens. And that doesn’t include the countless millions who died of disease and malnutrition, suffering on government health care plans, and on government food programs — always in the name of “progress.” all for the greater good.

While the American people were delivering the cure for polio, nuclear fission, refrigeration, televisions, the internet and lunar rockets, the iPhone, and encryption. Progressivism and socialism were delivering death camps, forced starvation, gas chambers, forced abortions and genocide. If the goal really is to Make America Great Again, we don’t need more government deals or programs. We need the government to do the one thing it’s allowed to do in the Constitution. To get out of our way and let loose the productivity and ingenuity of the American people.

Our Founders recognized that fact over 200 years ago. They pledged their lives to one another, vowing to fight and die to protect each other’s rights against a government that sought to control them. As conservatives, it is our duty to bear that responsibility for this generation and the next. Our time is now. It falls to us, to follow our God-given principals.

I am so honored to be among you at this conference. Our movement isn’t about Parties, it’s about each other. Does either party discuss or claim these principals as their own? Who is even talking about it outside this conference? Have they demonstrated a willingness to actually defend our liberty? The Parties don’t matter, our core principals matter. It’s about what we stand for, not who we stand against. We cannot lose our movement, your movement, to a hostile takeover by a charming Slugworth bearing pockets full of cash. No candidate in this race reignited the interest in Conservatism and brought new people to the party. You did that. The Tea Party generated that interest and began defending Liberty years ago.

Most Republicans believe being a Conservative means you're unpopular, that you will lose at the ballot box. I say BULL. Because of your efforts, right now there are more Republicans in office at the state and local level than there have been at any time since 1920. Don't tell me conservative principals can't work. Don't tell me conservative principals can't win. This movement belongs to you. You are the wave that is turning Blue into Red all over the country. Loyalty oaths should never be made to parties. That's a step toward Fascism. This is far beyond Republican or Democrat, Liberal or Conservative, Tea Party or Evangelical or atheist. You don't owe loyalty or an oath to any party that fails to defend these principals. And it definitely isn't an oath to the Government. No, our loyalty and our dedication are owed to the Original Principals, to our God, and to each other. That is what our country is. That is what we fight and die for. This is the core of it. Our nature as beings on this earth and our survival as a nation. It comes down to what we owe ourselves, our children and each other. Look around the room. Really look at the people sitting around you. Our principals are found in each other. Our principals are found in the oath of the declaration it is time to restate them to one another clearly:

We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable Rights. That among these are Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness. That to secure these rights, Governments are instituted among Men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed, That whenever any Form of Government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the Right of the People to alter or to abolish it, and to institute new Government, laying its foundation on such principles and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their Safety and Happiness. ...It is their right, it is their duty, to throw off such Government, and to provide new Guards for their future security. And for the support of this Declaration, with a firm reliance on the protection of divine Providence, we mutually pledge to each other our Lives, our Fortunes and our sacred Honor.

As we leave here today and move toward this election, let these words ring true for you. Let the Politicians who would seek your vote hear those words and understand that they are your servants, not you theirs. Demand that they uphold the Oath of Office they take above their oath to their party. That they reaffirm their singular vow: To Preserve, Protect and Defend the Constitution against all enemies, foreign and domestic. Let the party bosses and Super Pacs hear that they will only have your support as long as they take and uphold this oath with you. Let the media hear it from you in interviews and social media posts, in articles and books that you author. Let the bartender and cab driver hear it tonight. Let your family hear it tomorrow morning. We are all brothers and sisters, defenders of freedom.

I have great confidence in American because our cause, the cause of freedom and individual liberty, is a righteous cause. Like our rights, it was endowed to us by

our Creator. Those who fight against it are battling nature itself, and they will lose. We need only raise our voices, honor our pledge to one another and refuse forever to surrender our way of life.

May you carry that spirit into the hallways of this hotel tonight and into the streets outside tomorrow. These are the principals that we must run home to. This is our Golden Ticket. Let's have faith in our principals, rediscover them. Have faith in them and in the God who granted them to you. Let it be said of us, "So shines a good deed in a weary world." So that when we are judged, when it comes our turn to face our Creator and tell him of our deeds, he can turn on his throne and smile at us and say, "You've Won! You've won!"

