

**EUPHEMISM USED IN WORLD VIEW SECTION OF  
NEWSWEEK MAGAZINE**

**THESIS**

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**FACULTY OF HUMANITIES AND CULTURE**

**THE STATE ISLAMIC UNIVERSITY OF MALANG**

**JUNE, 2008**

**EUPHEMISM USED IN WORLD VIEW SECTION OF  
NEWSWEEK MAGAZINE**

**THESIS**

Presented to:  
The State Islamic University of Malang  
In partial fulfillment of the requirement for the degree of Sarjana Sastra (S.S.)

By:  
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**ENGLISH LETTERS AND LANGUAGE DEPARTMENT**

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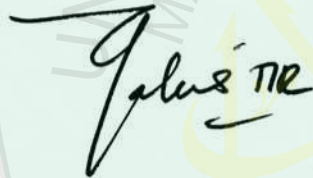
**THE STATE ISLAMIC UNIVERSITY OF MALANG**

**JUNE, 2008**

## APPROVAL SHEET

This is to certify that sarjana's thesis of Euphemism Used in *World View* Section of Newsweek Magazine by Fadli Prayogi (03320098) has been approved by the advisor for further approval by the board of examiners.

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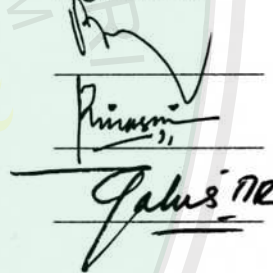
## LEGALIZATION SHEET

This is to certify that Sarjana's thesis of Fadli Prayogi entitled Euphemism Used in *World View* Section of Newsweek Magazine has been approved by the board of examiners as the requirements for the degree of Sarjana in English Letters and Language Department, Faculty of Humanities and Culture at the State Islamic University of Malang.

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# DEDICATION

THIS THESIS IS DEDICATED TO:

My Father Pinarman Abdulah and My  
Mother Mulianawati  
Who always give me their irreplaceable  
endless love and pray  
The greatest inspiration in my way of  
life

I always hope that I can make you  
happy in this world  
and hereafter.

*I Love You So Much*

My Brothers, Taufiq, Olan and Aris  
Who always support me to finish  
writing this Thesis

I prove that " I Can"

Thanks a bunch for everything

I love you all



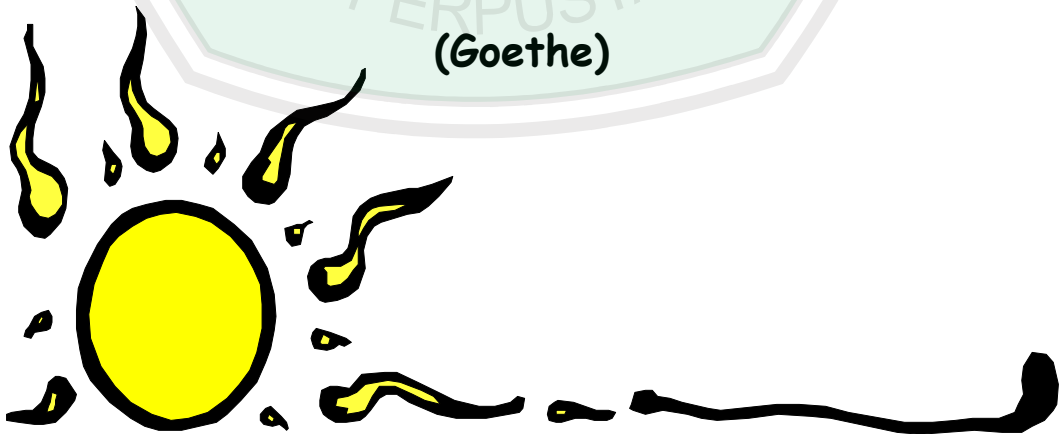
# MOTTO

To get profit without risk,  
Experience without danger,  
And reward without work,  
Is an impossible as  
it is to live without being born

(A.P. Gouthey)

Only begin and then the mind grows heated,  
Only begin and the task will be completed.

(Goethe)



This is to certify that the Sarjana's thesis of Euphemism Used in *World View* Section of Newsweek Magazine by Fadli Prayogi has been approved to fulfill the requirements for Degree of Sarjana in English Letters and Language Department, Humanities and Culture Faculty at the State Islamic University of Malang. I apologize for the mistakes though intentionally or unintentionally written in this thesis.

I, hereby declare that this thesis is truly an original work of mine.

Malang, 26 June 2008

Fadli Prayogi



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*Bismillahirrohmanirrohim*

All praise is due to Allah SWT, the Lord of the world, the Master and the Creator of everything in the universe, the destroyer of all oppressors and the hope of the oppressed, who always blessed me so that I can finish writing this thesis. Peace be upon to our prophet Muhammad SAW who had guided us from the darkness to the lightness with Islam as the religion which makes us understand right and wrong things.

This thesis, entitled “Euphemism Used in *World View* Section of Newsweek Magazine” is intended to fulfill the requirements for achieving the Degree of Sarjana in Faculty of Humanities and Culture of the State Islamic University of Malang. Finishing this thesis is not a simple thing at all and I have spent my great deal of time and really give me a valuable experience. I realize that this thesis report would not have been completed without any contributions, motivations, and supports from many people.

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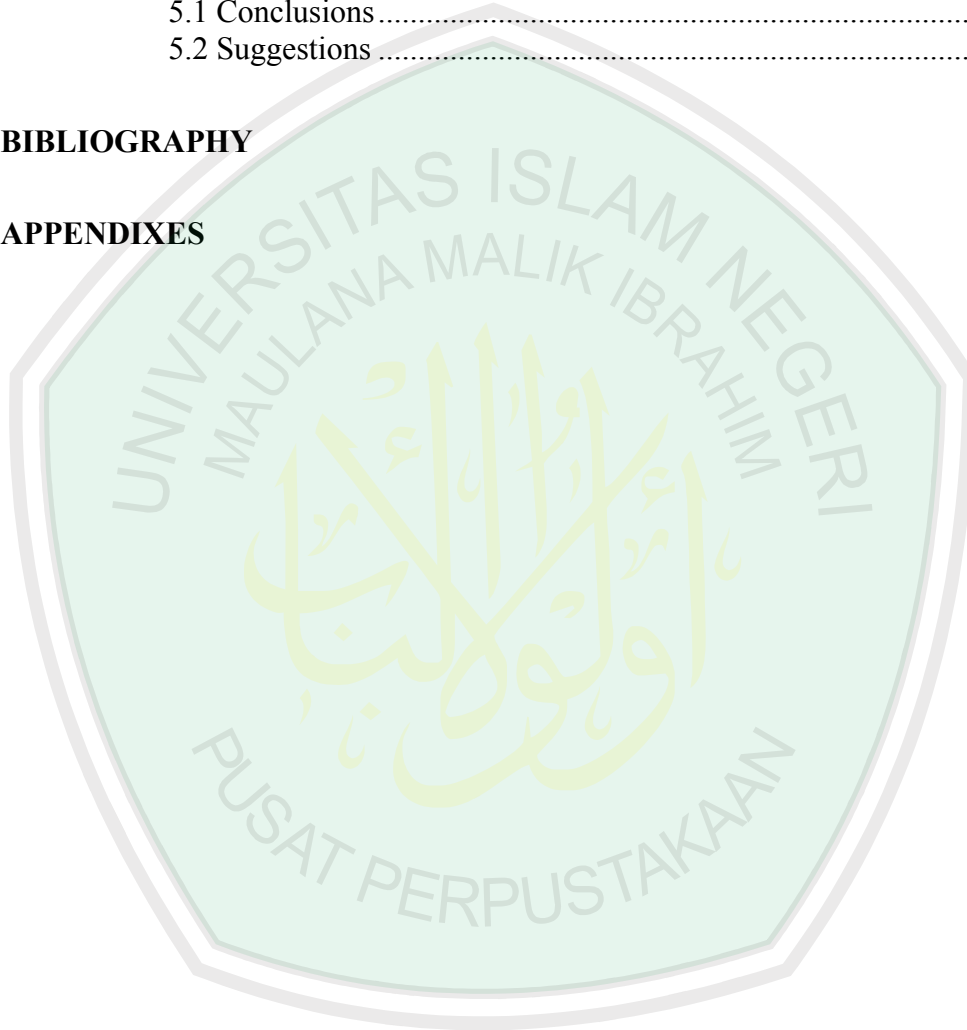
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## ABSTRACT

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Key Words : euphemism, language

Language is a system of oral or written expression and communication of ideas and emotions or the process, the style and the vocabulary of such system. Talking about language cannot be separated from its primarily function as a means of communication for the people and their society. In daily life, language is unseparable because language is the main instrument of communication. Language is the mirror of human reality. Human being uses language to express feelings, respond phenomena, and share an idea. Due to this fact, we realize that language has a big deal in understanding the message of communication.

This study is focused on analyzing euphemism in one section of Newsweek magazine namely *World View* section. Euphemism is a study on sociolinguistics concerned with polite meaning that is inferred from an utterance of sentence.

The researcher used descriptive qualitative research. The data are in the form of utterances or words from the *World View* section of Newsweek magazine published on 1st, 8th, 22nd and 29th of January 2007. In the data analysis, the researcher used some processes of analysis they are: (1) categorizing the data which are euphemism types, style and function. (2) analyzing the data then interpreting the data, and (3) the last process is making conclusion from the analysis.

The result of the study shows that in *World View* section, published on 1st, 8th, 22nd and 29th of January 2007, there are sixteen phrases related to euphemism, and from those phrases the researcher finds seven types of euphemism, they are: idiom, litotes, metaphor, hyperbole, technical jargon, metonym and acronym and abbreviation. Meanwhile, related to the style of euphemism, the researcher can classify them into formal, frozen and casual euphemism, and based on the function of euphemism, the researcher finds five functions, those are to inform, evaluate, moralize, convince and curse.

Based on those findings, the researcher suggests to the next researcher to make more wonderful and complete analysis on the same field because every literary work, especially written text has its own uniqueness.

## **CHAPTER I INTRODUCTION**

This chapter discusses about background of study, problems of the study, objectives of the study, significance of the study, scope and limitation, and definition of the key terms.

### **1.1 Background of the Study**

According to the philosophy expressed in the myths and religions of many people, language is the source of human life and power (Victoria fromkin, Robert rodman, Nina hyams 2003:3). Language is a system of oral or written expression and communication of ideas and emotions or the process, the style and the vocabulary of such system. Talking about language cannot be separated from its primarily function as a means of communication for the people and their society.

Language and society have close relationship, whatever people do when they are together-whether they play, fight, make love, or make auto mobiles- they talk. Language is what the members of particular society speak (Wardhaugh-1986:1). Mainly, language besides as a tool for communication with others, it is also as a tool for establishing and maintaining relationship with other people.

Language is one of the main defining features of the human species and as such has been of interest to and studied by thinkers for at least several millennia.

Therefore, there was a study about language which was called linguistics. This study deals with one of the important branches of linguistics that is sociolinguistics which studies about language used by people in society.



Sociolinguistics as the frame works deals with the language in use and how language users interpret what other language users intend to convey messages. It has an essential role in the study of language. Hudson (1980: 4-5) states that sociolinguistic is the study of language in relation to society. In sociolinguistics we study society in order to find out as much as we can about what kind of thing language is (Wardhaugh 1986:13).

In relation to the study of language used in society, this present study concerns with one study in sociolinguistics, that is Euphemism. It is studied in sociolinguistics because it studies about polite language used and express in society (Wardhaugh, 1986). In social communication, euphemism is the important style of language to create harmonious interaction, euphemism is the instrument of keeping the relationship in good harmony between reader and writer or speaker and listener (Allan and Burridge 1991:7). The euphemism word and expression allow us to talk about unpleasant things and neutralize the unpleasantness. Euphemism is endemic in our society, meaning that it is used widely. The glorification of the common place and the elevation of the trivial (Wardhaugh, 1986:231) in the society, euphemism usually happens not only in the oral communication but also in the written text.

This present study takes the written text as the object of the study. The reason is that the written text is the media to express our desire, objective, opinion, and other ideas. Recoeur as quoted by Sobur (2001: 53) says that text is spoken language which is implemented into written form. We can also say that, actually we write in order to give some information or make communication with

other people. There are many kinds of written texts such as: letter, book story, novel, newspaper, magazines, diary et cetera.

In this research, the researcher chooses magazine as the object of the research. Magazine is one of the ways to communicate in the form of written text which uses visual aspect. It serves us many pages using pictorial symbols and images, and also gives us the information focused on one thing and it is published periodically. The writer is interested in magazine because it is a part of mass media which has an essential role in the modern life, it is a part of pop culture, because pop culture including those pertaining to cooking, clothing, consumption, mass media and the many facets of entertainment such as sports and literature. Magazine gives information, inspiration and entertains our life, by using magazine we can obtain much information, news, and current news, and common events in local, national and even international domain. In Indonesia there are many publications, in this sense magazines, circulate in all of the country, both written in English or bahasa Indonesia, such as: Time, Tempo, Newsweek, Hello, et cetera.

In this research the researcher chooses Newsweek Magazine as the subject of analysis. Newsweek is one of English magazines published in America which also has been circulating in Indonesia. The reasons the researcher chooses this magazine because it uses good language besides it holds more prestigious National Magazine Awards, given by the American Society of Magazine Editors (ASME) than any other magazines (<http://www.newsweek.com/id/42663>). Newsweek offers comprehensive coverage of world events with a global network

of correspondents, reporters and editors covering national and international affairs, business, science and technology, society and the arts and entertainment and it bravely use euphemism. The object of the study is the *World View* section. The researcher chooses this section because in this column it can be found more information about hot issues in the world and consists of many type of euphemisms.

Actually, there are previous researchers who had already conducted the same field of research that is the use of euphemism. Ermayani (2003) studied the euphemism used in the headline of Kompas newspaper. Sari (2004) studied the euphemism used in the headline of the Jakarta Post newspaper. Muttaqin (2004) focused euphemism in the holy Qur'an. But the researcher has different subject about euphemism analysis that is analyzing euphemism in magazine, namely *Newsweek* magazine.

## **1.2 Problems of the Study**

Concerning the reasons mentioned in the background of study, the proposed problems are as follows:

1. What types of Euphemism are used in *World View* section of *Newsweek* magazine?
2. What styles of Euphemism are used in *World View* section of *Newsweek* magazine?
3. How are the functions of Euphemism used in *World View* section of *Newsweek* magazine?

### **1.3 Objectives of the Study**

This research is aimed at answering the problems of the study above. Specifically, this research is intended to find out the types and styles of the Euphemism used in *World View* section of Newsweek magazine and the functions of euphemism used in *World View* section of Newsweek magazine.

### **1.4 Significance of the Study**

The results of this study are generally expected to be able to make valuable contribution both theoretically and practically. Theoretically, this study is to contribute as determination theory of sociolinguistic especially on Euphemism framework. Practically, the results of the research are expected to give valuable contribution to: first, the next researchers who are interested in conducting further research in this area; second, the students of English Letters and Language Department who will broaden and deepen their understanding in sociolinguistic focused on Euphemism; and third, the readers who want to know the Euphemism used in *Word View* section of Newsweek magazine.

### **1.5 Scope and Limitation**

Since there are many aspects that may influence the development of the language in Newsweek magazine, the researcher emphasizes on Euphemisms which are used in *World View* section of Newsweek magazine.

The research is limited on Newsweek magazine in the month of January 2007, date 1st, 8th, 22nd and 29th of January 2007 because it contained about the

invasion of America to Iraq. The researcher wants to know what kinds of euphemism which are used in this article and how they are used.

Meanwhile, in this research, the limitations are the weaknesses of this analysis. The analysis of the researcher in this research is not completely right or true because it is just the prediction of the researcher and it can be different from the journalist's purpose.

### **1.6 Definition of the Key Terms**

To avoid misunderstanding about the meaning of some terms used in this thesis, the researcher gives the definitions below:

#### **a. Euphemism**

Euphemism refers to the use of a pleasant mild word for something unpleasant.

#### **b. World View**

*World View* is a section on Newsweek magazine which consist of hot issue and international information.

#### **c. Newsweek magazine**

Newsweek magazine is one of the name of magazines published on 251 West 57th Street, New York, N.Y. 10019.

## CHAPTER II

### REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE

This chapter reviews the concept of euphemism, type of euphemism, styles of euphemism, function of euphemism, interrelation between euphemism and other figures of speech, language-use in journalism, euphemism used in journalism, context, co-text, text, and previous study.

#### 2.1 Concept of Euphemism

Here, the researcher discusses about the euphemism. The origin of the word euphemism is from the Greek word *euphemo* which means good speech (Gupta. Shruti Chandra. 2007. *Euphemism and Dysphemism*. <http://literaryzone.com/?p=141>). Allan and Burridge, (1991) state that Euphemisms are words or phrases substituted for other words thought to be offensive to avoid the loss of face, either one's own face or, that of the audience, or of third party.

In the English society, people usually use many phrases of euphemism, for example the word “*to pass on*” or “*to pass away*” are used to substitute the word “*to die*” etc. To conclude, the use of euphemism is an attempt to manipulate the emotional responses and or substitute expression to avoid the possible loss face and the substitute expression which may be taboo, have negative connotation, and direct naming or some other reasons that are considered negative.



## 2.2 Type of Euphemism

Euphemism in general term can be classified on the basis of its uses. Allan and Buridge (1991: 14) propose thirteen types of euphemisms, the first type refers to metaphor, which indicates something different from the literal meanings. For example, *she is an old bag* means “she is unattractive, old women”, when it’s used in the right context. In this context, metaphor is not a device of poetic imagination but it is used an ordinary language. Metaphor is pervasive in everyday life, not just in language but also in thought and action (Lackoff, 1980).

The second is the idiom, an expression functioning as a single unit which meaning cannot be worked out from its separate part. Idioms are euphemistic when they deal with unpleasant things. Some examples of Indonesian metaphorical idioms are: *Lengser ke prabon* (Step down), *Arjuna* (Play boy), *Politik jalan buntu* (Dead lock), *Jaksa mata hijau* (Bribery). In English or in American euphemisms are for example: *put one's foot in one's mouth* (verbally blunder), *shake a leg* (hurry), *pull someone's leg* (deceive teasingly, make fun of, victimize), *chew the fat* (talk), *shoot the breeze* (talk), *kick the bucket* (die), *roll in the hay* (fornicate). Many although not all idioms are used as euphemism for things we feel uncomfortable speaking of directly (Chaika, 1982:200)

The third type refers to circumlocution saying in many words that may say in a few words for example, *rest room* means toilet, *categorical inaccuracy* refer to lie.

The fourth type refers to acronym and abbreviation. Acronym is proper word created from the initial letter or two of the words in a phrase pronounced

like other words, such as SNAFU meaning Situation Normal, All Fouled Up. By contrast, abbreviations do not form proper words, and so they are pronounced as strings of letters, for example, S.O.B (son of a bitch), example in Indonesian language such as: KKN (Korupsi, Kolusi dan Nepotisme), Pemilu (pemilihan umum)

The fifth is the general for specific, such as a part of whole such as spend a penny for go to lavatory.

The sixth refers to hyperbole that uses exaggerated statements made for effect and not intended to be taken literally (e.g. *waves as high as Everest*). In addition, hyperbole (over statement) is also found in euphemism like *flight to the glory* meaning "death", *villa in a premier location by the bay* referring to "a dilapidated mansion".

The seventh refers to litotes (understatement) which is used in negative form to express the contrary (e.g. *it was not an easy matter* meaning it was very difficult) in addition there is another kind of euphemistic understatement like *sleep* for "die".

The eighth type of euphemism is technical jargon, instead of common terms and some technical jargon are either borrowed from another language or constructed one from English, such as *money laundering, impeachment, coalition, identities, instructs, lips service, etcetera* and the use of colloquial style is used as euphemism instead of formal terms, example in Indonesia such as *potensi pariwisata di Malang masih belum di berdayakan atau tuna daya* (colloquial style). In addition, they are mostly derived from Latin or Ancient Greek such as

*diabetes*. Allan and Burridge (1991) further states that languages seem to have some euphemism based on borrowed words or morphs. For example Indonesian technical jargon: *tuna netra*, *tuna susila*, *tuna rungu*, *tuna kuasa*. The morph "tuna" is borrowed from sansekerta. In American English, *diabetes* meaning "to go a lot" is borrowed from Greek.

The ninth type refers to a denial, a statement or a preposition used by someone trying to disguise the true meaning. Couldhard (1985: 169) states that there are twelve categories of denial: first is a denial of background of information; that is, denials is used when the writer assumes that the reader entertains mistaken ideas from previous background knowledge. Second is denial of the text processed information, that is issued when the writer assumed that the reader could derive a wrong idea from the text. There are two kind Denials of the text processed information: (1) denials used to prevent an erroneous inference from the text to come, for example in Indonesia such as: Gus Dur said "*tidak terlibat KKN tiga orang menteri dalam cabinet saya*" and KKN is similar to *menggelapkan uang* meaning "taking graft" or "*mengambil uang untuk keperluan pribadi*" (Badudu in Rusman 2000: 21); (2) denials used to correct an idea already processed in the text; Third is denial unfulfilled expectation that is a denial used when the writer wants to express an unfulfilled expectation on which he or she makes the reader to participant. Fourth is denial contrast that is a denial used to compare or contrast two or more items; Fifth is denial modality, for example "the *Bali gate may not be so dangerous*". Sixth is denial apology, for example: *Please apologize to my policy for bombing Saddam*, Clinton said. Seventh is

denial please as refusal; eighth is denial comment as refusal, take the example from President Richard M. Nixon. Who shortly before resigning as President of the United States said at a press conference "I am not a crook" instead saying "I am not an honest man". Ninth is thanks as denial. Tenth is denial Condition as refusal, for example: *Please, settle Bali gate scandal, if you want the fresh fund from IMF*, Albright said. Eleventh is denial alternative as refusal. *Al Gore can be a president of the USA, as long he is a green state*, Clinton said, example in Indonesia such as *Megawati masih bisa menjadi alat pemersatu sungguhpun tidak menjadi ketua umum PDI-P*. Twelve is denial correction. Clinton said *I don't make love with Lewinsky*. Denial and refusal can be both neutral and euphemistic. For example, A: would you vote for my party? B: No, I will not (neutral), sorry, I would not be next time would be OK (euphemistic). The second answer is milder. Therefore, the second answer will be euphemistic refusal.

The tenth type of euphemism is euphemistic dysphemism, which shows the locution in euphemistic but the illocution on dysphemism. And also dysphemistic euphemism, which is showing the locution in dysphemism while the illocution in euphemism.

The eleventh type is metonymy, which refers to the naming only a part, such as the inventor of the owner since the meaning is closely related and example in Indonesia such as: Marriott refers to hotel JW Marriot.

The twelve type is synecdoche. By synecdoche means general to specific and specific to general. For example in Indonesia *pembalut wanita* refers to the women's specific area.

The thirteenth type of euphemism is associative engineering, which shows the changing semantic or meaning of the words or phrase. Meaning can be classified into denotative and connotative meanings. Hayakawa (1990:54) proposes that there are two kinds of connotations, namely informative and effective connotations. In additions, meanings can be categorized into literal and figurative meanings or denotative and connotative (affective, emotive and evaluative) meanings (Keraf in Rusman, 2000:23). Leech (1974:10) explains that there are six types of associative meanings. They are (1) connotative meanings referring to the meaning of what is referred to (for example, *people's democracy* to refer to *fascist or communist*), (2) stylist meanings referring to the meaning of what is communicated in a social condition (for example, *your/her Majesty, your/his Highness, your Lordship, Madam, Chairman* to refer to the style of a polite greeting), (3) affective meanings referring to the meaning of what is reflected in the feeling and attitude such as *anda seperti Arjuna* (playboy) for the speaker or writer in Indonesia to express his feeling toward the reader or hearer the symbol *Arjuna* in having more than one wives. By symbolism is meant the art of thinking in images (Cirlot in Rusman, 2000:23), (4) reflected meaning referring to the meaning of what is associated with the thing, example in Indonesia such as *burung* for *penis*, (5) collocative meaning referring to the meaning which associates with other words, such as *pretty girl, handsome boy*, (6) conceptual meaning referring to the definition or denotative meaning, for instance: *apartheid* meaning separate hood. One word or expression may have more than one image or meaning such as *exceptional child* meaning *abnormal child* and *procrastinate*

meaning to *put things off* and *leave* (Palmer, 1981, Parera, 1990, Salomon, 1966 in Rusman, 2000: 23). In contrast, two expressions may have the same image (Kempson in Rusman, 2000:23). Other political euphemistic examples are *apartheid*, *emergent nation or developing countries*, *emerging countries*.

In summary, the euphemisms can be categorized into thirteen types that can be used for all kinds of euphemism. More specially, this study focuses on political and military euphemism. To a greater extent, it's a good solution to choose the categories of euphemism proposed by Allan and Burrige (1991: 14). In addition, those categories are more detailed and complete.

### **2.3 Styles of Euphemism**

The style of euphemism can be classified on the basis of its uses. Joss in fishman (1972: 44) identifies five styles of euphemism. They are consultative style, formal style, casual style, intimate style, and frozen style. He further states that there are no fixed boundaries between each on the different style. Style very according to who we are and whom we are communicating with. However, it is necessary to clarify the five types of styles in general.

The first style is frozen style, which indicates a level of language considered very formal. For example, *the messenger of Allah (peace be upon him) said: Allah will say on resurrection: {where are those who love one another my glory? today I shall give them shade under my shade, the day when there is no shade but my shade}* related by Al-Buchory. Thus the frozen language is commonly used in the constitution. Another example is where the speaker is



inferior to hearer-or-named, he will use unreciprocated differential from such as *your/her Majesty, your/his Highness, your Lordship, Mr. President, Madam, Chairman* all of which are frozen or formal style. These titles do not include names, but identify roles or social position. Thus, some extend, they impersonalized.

Second style is formal style, that is an expression functioning as a single unit and whose meaning cannot be worked out from it is separate part. For example many idioms are in the formal style. Those idioms that are in Indonesian are *lengser ke prabon (step down), mata hijau (graft), politik dagang sapi (bargaining)*.

The third style is consultative style, indicating a level of language in a formal situation. For instance, the expression: "*I hope your instruction sir.*" then, categorical inaccuracy and *kesalahan teknis* for "mistakes".

The fourth style is intimate style, for example: in naming *Gus Sholah*. Wiranto addressed his vice president candidate by using the intimate style.

The last is casual style indicating a level of language in an informal situation. For example: Bush's arrogance has *turned people off* the idea of democracy.

## **2.4 Function of Euphemism**

The text functions of euphemisms are classified according to the way in which they contribute to the content of the text. The text under consideration, four functions are seen, according to whether the expression primarily informs

(conveys new information), evaluates (convey writer's opinion or attitude), modalizes (conveys writer's attitude toward the truth value of his/her utterance or writing), or organizes and functions as a discourse signal. To these functions may be added a fifth, the political euphemism that shows a reader's reaction to something in the extra linguistic situation, namely apology, denial convince, curse, request, criticism, question, promise and order (moon in rusman,2000: 45)

The following are example in Indonesia: 1) to convince: e.g *Darah dan nyawaku pertaruhkan untuk mempertahankan negara ini*, 2) to criticize: e.g. *Unamet sebagai makcomblang PBB dan Australia*, 3) to accuse: e.g. *Menurut Teten: Ghalib menerima fee dari Prajogo dan The Nin King*. 4) to order: e.g. *sudilah kiranya bapak menerima uang "terima kasih" meaning "uang suap"*. 5) to question: e.g *apakah Andi M Ghalib menerima pungli dari Prayogo?* 6) to reject/refuse, deny: e.g *saya tidak menggunakan dana sumbangan untuk gulat itu, said Ghalib*. 7) to curse: e.g *pengeboman NATO atas Kosovo itu adalah tindakan tidak bermoral*. 8) to promise: e.g. A. *there is a new democratic party in this general election?*, B: *I am sorry. I have another sectarian, next time will be ok*. 9) to apologize: e. g. A. *would you go to see the film with me this afternoon?* B. *I am sorry, next time I will be ready*.

## **2.5 Interrelation between Euphemism and Other Figures of Speech**

Many euphemisms are figurative language. Euphemism intersects and interrelates with the other figures of speech. There are some characteristics for judging the intersection between euphemism and the other figures of speech. First,

euphemisms are used to avoid being offence. The euphemisms often cover up unpleasant things. Then, euphemism is not restricted to the lexicon. There are grammatical ways of toning something down without actually changing the content of the message. Take the two sentences *tono has been known to take a campaign contribution (a bribe) now and then* and *tono is known to have taken a campaign contribution (a bribe) now and then*. The first sentence is milder.

Unlike euphemism, metaphor refers to a word or an expression that uses comparison, association and relationship, and therefore, metaphor deal with both unpleasant thing, example in Indonesia such as "*buaya darat* or *mata keranjang*" and pleasant one, such as *Arjuna*. Both metaphor and euphemism interact with each other. Consequently, the metaphor covering up something unpleasant is called euphemism. Furthermore Troyka as quoted by Rusman (2000: 25) states that a metaphor is a comparison between the dissimilar things without using like and as. Again, Wahab (1986) states that the term metaphor is defined as a linguistic expression which signifies a concept beyond its literal meaning. For example, *He is a lion in the fight*. *Lion* is compared with the warrior and the bravery and violence. The metaphors, such as *Arjuna* (play boy), *pagar makan tanaman*, are commonly called euphemisms. Furthermore, the metaphors which deal with something, distasteful or unpleasant, are called euphemism. For example, President B.J. Habibie said, *saya bukan boneka presiden Soeharto. Saya tidak dibawah bayangan pak Harto* are considered metaphors. In this context, the words such as *boneka* and *di bawah bayangan* are called political euphemisms, when they are in context of politics.

To conclude, metaphors are larger in the scope of connotation than euphemisms, and metaphor deal with both unpleasant and pleasant things, while euphemisms deal only with unpleasant things. Yet, both are closely related with the connotative meaning. Both euphemisms and metaphors interact and intersect each other.

Furthermore, aside from metaphor, there are some other figures of speech that are necessary to elucidate. The form of hyperbole is commonly used in political euphemism for instance, *Golkar baru, paradigma baru, dan flatform baru, jika saya jadi presiden , negara ini tidak akan ada hutang lagi* are determined as a king of euphemistic hyperbole and hyperbole is also commonly used in political campaign and advertisement (May and Nisbet ,1985 in Rusman, 2000:25). This kind of exaggeration can be regarded as one of categories of political euphemism. Political euphemism can sometimes be achieved by two reasons: first, positive words are emphasized, and second, associative engineering as a deceptive promise is designed to conceal the harsh fact, fog up communication and magnify the positive aspect of the promise (Marguche in Rusman, 2000: 26)

The following figure is litotes. Litotes is also called by understatement, which is frequently a kind of euphemism when it's used to weaken the meaning. For example, *"kurang pangan for "nutritionally deficient", not exactly thin for "fat", not completely truthful for "lied", not unlike cheating for "cheating"* is considering as political euphemism, for some reasons, first, it is used in the context of politics of the government of a state, second, it is a kind of deception

for gaining the positive attitude from the public opinion, third, it is used to cover up or conceal the harsh fact.

## **2.6 Language-use in Journalism**

Language and journalism are two elements that cannot be separated in delivering the message and information to society. They are independent of each other, journalism has its own typical aspect that makes it different from other written material and other forms of journalism. Anwar in Yani (2002: 28) states that the aspects primarily deal with techniques presenting messages and information's. In the form of printed material, the only way to present news and information is written symbols (letter), which are often, supplemented with additional photography without sounds or motion picture. Accordingly, the language use in printed journalism becomes one of the crucial certain rules and codes of ethics that a journalist or any writer in newspaper should comply with. The rules are because printed-journalism, and then the message should be based upon fact and be objective. What matters in the discussion is how to use the use of idiom reveals intended message and certain information more precisely and clearly.

Olsen as quoted by Yani (2000: 29) states that there are four basic principles as textual rhetoric is, they are:

a) *Processibility principle.*

It makes reader easy to understand the message of the writers. There are three kinds of things (a) how can we divide the message to become a small unit?

(b) how is the measure of subordination and the important of every unit, and (c) how to use the sequence of every message.

*b) Clarity principle*

The subject is textual, so it is easy to understand. This principle supports the textual language to avoid ambiguity. If there are no ambiguity sentences in the text, it will make the reader easier to understand what was written in the news.

*c) Economic principle*

The economical principal purpose is the text in short and simple without destroying and reducing the message. Short and simple text with complete message can save time and energy to understand it, as limited text by section of newspaper and journalism. Though is reconstructed, the aim is neither text nor violet this principle. To reduce the text to become simple and short, in journalism there are many rules to reduction syntax constituent with reduction, ellipsis and pro-nomination.

*d) Iconicity principle*

This principle is also called expressively principles. It suggests to the text to reconstruct suitable with the message aspect. In journalism, message has causality character. In fact, various type of article magazine, and its type has it own rules and style of writing although there is general principle of writing that establishes the basic of any journalistic writing. The style of writing in news-report is different from editorial features or essay. Moreover, idiomatic expression usually plays in the process of sending information and transferring message in all type. Furthermore Syahrir in Yani (2002: 31) argues that there is certain rule and code



of ethic that journalist or any writer of magazine should comply with the rules are basic on the fact that in electronic journalism, the message should be basic upon fact and are objectives. What matter in the discussion is the extend, to which principle of language use affects the choice of word expression, and whether the use of idiom reveals intended message and certain information becomes clearer and more precisely.

In addition to up-to date news covered, well contains organized and aesthetic lay out, the language use, with includes the style of news writing of choice of word, and is considered important. Do to the transient of message, anonymous and heterogeneous audience. As well as limited speech, the expression news should be concise, simple, eloquence, define, and appealing as well. The simplicity and "word economy" of expression should refer to existing grammatical rules, and the choice of word should keep a breast with the development of the society (Anwar in Yani, 2000: 32).

Hemingway in Yani (2000:32) proposes seven bases for journalistic writing report as the following:

- 1) To use short sentences rather than long sentences. Long sentences will possibly lead to complicated sentence that hamper the reader to understand message immediately
- 2) To use popular, lucid expression instead of scientific term. So that the news covered will be "communicative".
- 3) To use simple and definite expression. Audience is heterogeneous in the level of education, interest, intellectuality, and the degree of understanding and

cultural values. Thus, journalistic report should refer to average class or level by means of simple and definite expression.

- 4) To avoid using too many compound word. Expressing idea in long and intricate sentence may easily lead to woolly or ambiguous sentence.
- 5) To use active sentence pattern in place of the passive one. Catchy and a live writing can mostly be achieved by using active pattern, though in some cases the passive forms may have strong impression.
- 6) To use concise and strong expression. Journalistic writing entails brief and effective usage of expression. The principle of "word economy" is necessary needed.
- 7) To use "positive" word instead of the "negative" ones. The positive word such as refuse or defy, meaning "do not obey or openly disobey", are more acceptable and appropriate in journalistic.

Semi as quoted by Yani (2002: 33) accounts the journalism and the principle of language use in particular. Journalistic reports like any other form of writing have an introduction that is considered significant to attract audience attention. The introductions consist of title (head line) and lead, its serve and the subject, abstract, and summary together. Title and lead are revised to allow the reader to immediately know the message and to interest them as much as possible to read the coverage.

Both the title and the lead have their own principle of usage. Anwar in Yani (2002: 34) suggests that the title should be concise and in the form of active sentence pattern. It is supposed to have a verb to make it "alive" and properly

summarize the coverage. He then adds that a title should: (1) summarize the subject of coverage briefly and the definitely, (2) focus on the fact of coverage, (3) contain “verb”, (4) be concise, dynamic and in the form of active sentence pattern.

Intro or lead is designed to summarize the coverage, to give further the tail as well as to elicit essential fact in coverage. Assegaf in Yani (2002: 34) proposes three kinds of lead: (1) exclamation, (2) quotation and (3) contrast. The basic elements which should be included in the lead are briefly noun as “5w+1h” (what, where, when, who, why+how). Thus, a good lead should be easy-to-digest, brief, concise, and use simple sentence pattern. At present, the “5w+1h” principle is thought as being too long and therefore it is made brief only crucial elements are included.

“Recently, since reader are in hurry and, besides has wide diversity of interest, the headline or the title must tell them whether they should read further or skip it” (Steigleman, 1950: 375). Writing a title on a newspaper or a magazine is difficult job for the writer. They should choose the appropriate word to represent its news. It also must convey maximum information with the minimum language symbols. The title should construct language that the reader can easily understand. River as quoted by Yani (2002:35) states that “writing a title is both easier and harder than writing a headline. First it is easier because a title need not summarize. Second, white space around a title is usually attractive, so an editor can write a short title without capturing the lead of an article exactly”.

Semy as quoted by Yani (2002: 37), therefore, states that there are six elements of a good journalistic report, it should be; (a) clear, (b) brief, (c) direct, (d) objective, (e) simple, (f) various. A “clear” report is communicative report that enables audience to have a secure grace of the message. It is “brief” in the sense that news report contains only the crucial information the reader want to knows. “Direct” writing refers to a straight-to-the-point report with equivocal or colorful expression. The use of connotative and euphemism term should be neither scientific nor literary.

A news report should also be “objective” in the sense that it reveals only the fact, not imagination or personal opinion. A ‘simple “ report important facts or event in a simple way that is easy to be followed. “Various” patterns of writing are considered an important means of giving coverage “vitality”. A various report can be achieved by using short and long sentences, varying term of expression and adopting both cliché and popular expression (Assegaf in Yani, 2002: 38)

## **2.7 Euphemism Used in Journalism**

The use of euphemism is an attempt to manipulate the emotional responses and or substitute expression to avoid the possible loss face and the substitute expression may taboo, negative connotation, direct naming or some other reasons that are considered negative, euphemism is the instrument of keeping the relationship in good harmony between reader and writer or speaker and listener. (Allan and Burr ridge 1991: 7)

In journalism, the used of euphemism usually happens when it touches some matter about religious, excretory, sexual, profanity, death and job titles. People are usually easily offended when they hear or read something touching their heart, for example *black skin, red skin* etc. It is classified as racism, and makes some one who has black or red skin be angry. One base for journalistic writing report is to use "positive" word instead of the "negative" ones. The positive word such as refusing or defying, meaning "do not obey or openly disobey", are more acceptable and appropriate in journalistic.

## **2.8 Context**

Every people should consider that the meaning of a word is simply projected into the token that carries it or we can say that the meaning is not made by language alone. In speech, it is accompanied by gesture, postural, phonemic, situational, and paralinguistic information. It is important to note that the concept, which gives word its meaning, is only joined to the word in mind of the person who understands it. The spoken or written word is in itself, just a symbol that must have a concept attached to it by the person who hears or reads the words. So, it means, which a word has, totally subject dependent, both from the stand point of the people who speak or write a word, and from that of the person who hears or reads it.

The meaning of the text depends very much on the context and discourse, which carries it, since all of them are bound tight together. Cook in Sobur as quoted by Syaifullah, (2002: 16) says that the text is all of the linguistic form, not

only the printed words, but also of the communicative expression, such as: speech, music, picture, and et cetera, while context includes all of the situation from out of the text which influence the language use, such as: language- user and situation where the language is used or produced. In addition, discourse consists of text and context all together. Furthermore Cook (2002: 16) asserts that the concern of discourse analysis is describing text and context all together in the process of communication.

There are four kinds of context in communication or in the; language use, those are physical context, epistemic context, linguistic context and social context. Physical context refers to the place where the conversations happens, the object presented in communication and the action of language users in communications. Epistemic context is the background of knowledge shared by both speaker and hearer. In addition, linguistic context consists of utterance previous to the utterance under consideration in communication. The last one is social context, which means the social relationship and the setting of the speaker and the hearer (Sobur in Syaifulloh, 2002:16).

Understanding the context of situations is particularly essential for a journalist in writing their news. Understanding the context will help the journalist to be avoided from the bias prejudice in presenting their news to the readers, for readers usually encode and decode the information differently. They will interpret and understand the information based on their behavior, their knowledge experience and their intellectual capacity. So, by understanding the context of situation, the writer will make their readers be easier to understand their intended

message. Brown and Yule (1903: 37) say that the context of situation is best used as suitable semantic construct to apply to language events. In addition, Firth in Ariani as quoted by Saifullah (2002: 17) says that language is only meaningful in its context of situation. He asserts that the descriptive process must begin with the collections of a set of contextually defined as the (mental represented) structure of those properties of the social situation that are relevant for the production or comprehension of discourse. It consists of such categories as the overall definition of the situation, setting (time, place), on going action (including discourse and discourse genres), participant in various communicative, social or institutional rules as well as their mental representation, goal knowledge, opinion, attitudes and ideologies.

## **2.9 Co-Text**

In understanding euphemism, the co-text plays an important role. Context is meant, the term that denotes the linguistic context of a given expression (the text that surrounds it). Allan and Burridge (1991: 273) state that utterances link up with their co-text by including devices to mark topic continuity, like pronouns and anaphoric expression. As a result, co-text is an appropriate device in interpreting euphemism. Allan and Burridge (1991:4) state that the understanding a text, more specifically euphemism, the clause around the euphemism is needed to understand euphemism properly.



## 2.10 Text

Text can be said as the representative of discourse. The word text is simply a convenient term to label the units of written language that we deal with every day from notices to newspaper articles, album or CD slaves note, textbooks, or even cookery recipes. Besides, there is also spoken text, but when we analyze them we will be looking at them in a written form. Recour in Sobur as quoted by Syaiffuloh (2002: 14) says that the text is spoken language implemented into written form, furthermore, Haliday and Hasan in Ariani as quoted (2002: 14) say that the text can be in the form of spoken or written, prose or verse, dialogue or monologue, it may be anything from a single proverb to a whole play, from a momentary cry to help all day discussion on a committee.

Language users employ text to convey their message to other people, since it is a set of sign which is transmitted from the sender to the receiver through the specific codes, those codes are interpreted by the receiver to arrive at the speaker's or writer's intended message. Besides, text refers to verbal record of communicative act (Brown and Yule, 1983: 6).

In the linguistic theory what is meant by the text is not more than groups of letters, words and sentences which use conventional sign system which can reveal its intended message (Sobur in Syaifullah, 2002: 14). In addition, sentences are always hung together and interconnected in a text. It means that sentences display some kind of mutual dependence, they do not occur in random. Besides, a text must be coherent as well as cohesive- that the concept and relationship expressed should be relevant to each other-thus enabling us to make plausible

inference about the underlying meaning, since the meaning of text is conveyed not by single sentences but by more complex exchange in which participants believe and expectation, the knowledge they share about each other and about the word and the situation in which they interact, play a crucial part.

A text consists of structured sequence of linguistic expressions or constitutive rules. It means that a text should provide a list of constitutive rules by which a text is brought into being and is read as a text. A text should consider the cohesion (how do clauses hold together?), coherence (how do the propositions hold together?), intentionality (why did the speaker/write produce this?), acceptability (how does the reader take it), informativity (how does it tell us), relevance (what is text for?) and intellectuality (what other texts does this one resemble?). So, a text is structured sequence of linguistic expression forming a unitary whole (Edmundson in Sayfullloh, 2002: 15).

### **2.11 Previous Study**

These previous studies are related to the topic. The first research was "*Political Euphemism Used in News Media*" written by Rusman (2002). He studied the associative meaning in Indonesian and American English vocabulary. He focused on pragmatic lexical perspective and discussed the uses of and meanings of euphemism in term as denial, refusal. And et cetera.

Abidin (2003) also conducted the research related to euphemism. He wrote "*Euphemism Expression Used in Kompas during World Cup 2002*". He studied about the types, the style and the functions of euphemistic expression used in

Kompas. In order to find out the types, the style and the functions, a content analysis is adopted. Besides a discourse analysis that is also used in the process of finding the subjects. He found four types of euphemism, three kind of styles and seven functions of euphemism from the text under the title “World Cup 2002”.

The third research was “*a study on euphemism used in the headline of Kompas newspaper*” written by Ermayani (2003). She studied about the type and function of euphemism used in the head line of Kompas newspaper. She found nine types of euphemism used in the headline of Kompas newspaper and also four function of euphemism used in the head line of Kompas newspaper on Augustus 2002.

Studying the previous studies above, the researcher would like to discuss about different subject with the researcher above, the researcher analyze euphemism used in the *worldview* section of Newsweek magazine, the researcher focuses on military euphemism, especially in Iraq war. Those previous studies have relationship with this topic. So the researcher uses them as the source of his study.

## CHAPTER III RESEARCH METHOD

This chapter presents and discusses about research method which includes research design, data source, research instrument, data collection, and data analysis.

### 3.1 Research Design

The qualitative method is used to conduct this research because the aim of this research is to describe and explain the euphemism, which is used in *World View* section of Newsweek magazine.

This method is chosen because it is intended to describe the data which consist of euphemism in this magazine, as stated by Rahardjo (2002) that descriptive method is intended to describe the situation or the area of interest factually and accurately. It means that the data of this research are truly taken from the utterances in *World View* section of Newsweek magazine. In addition, the description of qualitative method is natural-based since the researcher himself interacts with the object of the research.

### 3.2 Data Source

The data source in this research is Newsweek magazine. Newsweek magazine is one of the name of magazines published on 251 West 57th Street, New York, N.Y. 10019, the segment, which is discussed in this research is in

*World View* section of Newsweek magazine published on 1st, 8th, 22nd and 29th of January 2007, the researcher took it because it is focused on Iraq's war and the language that is used in the articles consists of many euphemisms.

### **3.3 Research Instrument**

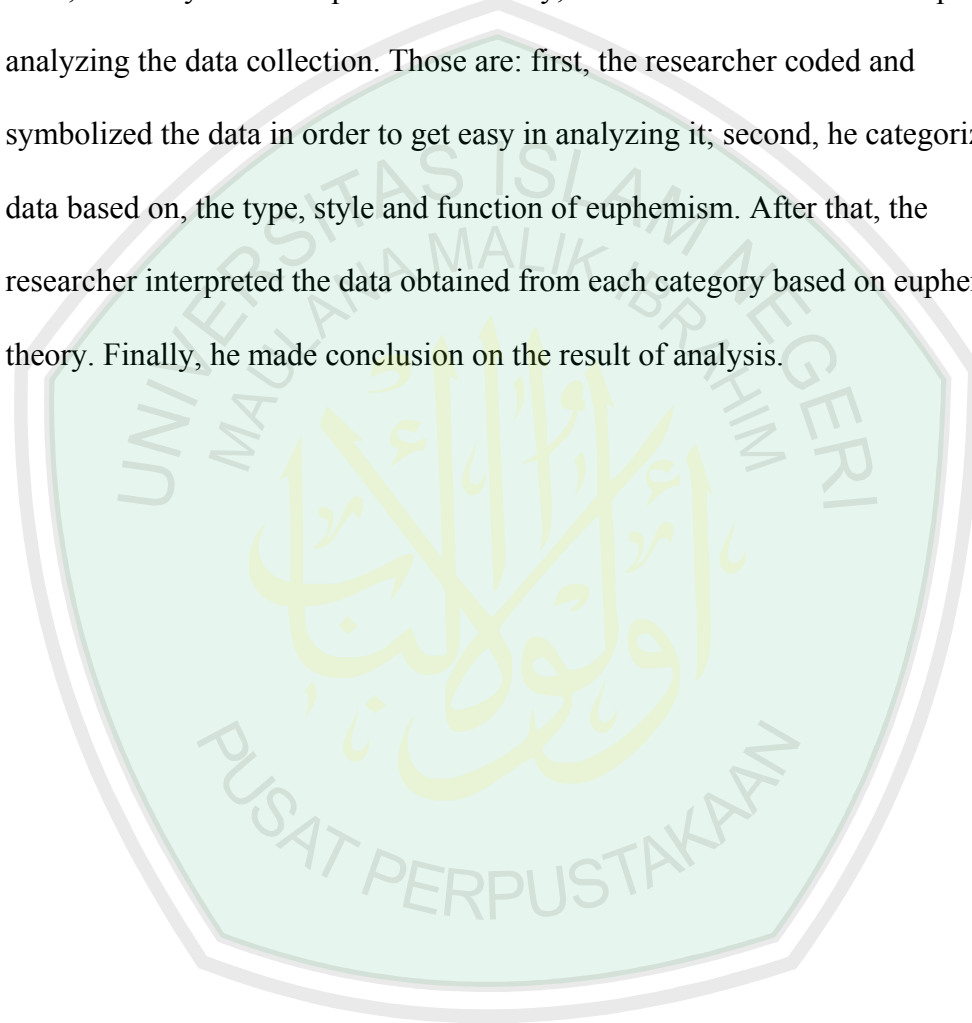
In this research, the researcher is the key instrument of the research because it is impossible to analyze the data directly without any interpretation from him, besides that, the researcher needs other instruments, such as: reading the Newsweek magazine.

### **3.4 Data Collection**

The data of this study were taken from written words in *World View* section of Newsweek magazine. To collect the data, the researcher did the following steps: Firstly, finding the object of the study that related to euphemism, and then deciding Newsweek magazine as the subject of the study; next the researcher read the magazine and found section which consisted of many euphemism, namely *World View*, the last he read and tried to understand the section and decided the section which published on 1st, 8th, 22nd and 29th of January 2007 as the data because those related to the problems of the study and objectives of the study.

### 3.5 Data Analysis

The researcher analyzed the euphemism used in *World View* section of Newsweek magazine by using the theory of fundamental bases of euphemism. Next, to clarify the description of the study, the researcher used some steps in analyzing the data collection. Those are: first, the researcher coded and symbolized the data in order to get easy in analyzing it; second, he categorized the data based on, the type, style and function of euphemism. After that, the researcher interpreted the data obtained from each category based on euphemism theory. Finally, he made conclusion on the result of analysis.



## CHAPTER IV

### FINDING AND DISCUSSION

This chapter discusses about the finding and the discussion of the study, the presentation of the data is taken from *World View* section of Newsweek magazine published on 1st, 8th, 22nd and 29th of January 2007. The data are described based on the theory of euphemism by Kate Allan and Burridge. The analysis of the data is based on the thirteen types of euphemisms, they are: metaphor, idiom, circumlocution, acronym and abbreviation, general for specific, hyperbole, litotes (understatement), technical jargon, denial, euphemistic dysphemism, dysphemistic euphemism, metonymy, synecdoche and associative engineering. And the analysis is also based on the style of euphemism, there are five styles of euphemism. They are consultative style, formal style, casual style, intimate style, and frozen style, and for the function there are to informs (conveys new information), to evaluates (convey writer's opinion or attitude), to modalizes (conveys writer's attitude to ward the truth value of his/her utterance or writing), apology, denial convince, curse, request, criticism, question, promise and order.



## 4.1 Finding

Based on the data analysis on the *World View* section of Newsweek magazines which were published in January 2007, the researcher finds 4 *World View* section date 1st, 8th, 22nd and 29th that are focused on Iraq war and twelve phrases that are related to euphemism. The findings are presented as the following:

### Data 1

Newsweek 1 January 2007, *World View* section, paragraph 6

Amid the chaos, the groups that can provide security tend to be the most thuggish and extreme in their political views and wherever there are mixed populations-throughout Iraq's cities-argue some campaign of *ethnic cleansing* has produced hundreds of thousands of international refugees. Almost 2 million Iraqis 8 percent of the population have fled the country entirely.

The phrase "*ethnic cleansing*" is indicated as euphemistic expression. It is classified as an metaphor euphemism, which indicates something different from the literal meanings. The phrase "*ethnic cleansing*" is used to euphemist the taboo word "*genocide*" (deliberate and systematic destruction of an ethnic, racial, religious or national group). People consider that the word "*genocide*" is something taboo in English society so they usually use soft language to express it. Further in the text above the phrase "*ethnic cleansing*" shows us about something happened to Iraq people, they are killed and their national institution was destroyed because of American invasion.

In relation with the style of euphemism, the phrase "*ethnic cleansing*" is classified as a formal style because the meaning cannot be worked out from its

separate part. The words *ethnic* means involving a nation, race or tribe that has a common cultural tradition and the words *cleansing* means to make something clean or free of dirt. So *ethnic cleansing* means the practice of cleaning (killing) or driving out of an area of the people of one race or religion by those of another.

Based on the function of euphemism, the phrase "*ethnic cleansing*" in the text above is to modalizes (conveys writer's attitude to ward the truth value of his/her utterance or writing), because by phrase "*ethnic cleansing*" the writer want to make the reader not angry and remember the tragedy about holocaust (the mass killing of Jews by the Nazis before and during world war II) and many tragedy in the world.

## **Data 2**

Newsweek 8 January 2007, *World View* section, paragraph 3

This was not inevitable. Most Iraqis were happy to see Sadam *out of power*.

According to the theory of euphemism, the phrase "*out of power*" is indicated as euphemistic expression. It is classified as idiomatic euphemism, the same as the data 1 above. Idiomatic euphemism is an expression functioning as a single unit whose meaning can be worked out from its separate part. The phrase "*out of power*" is usually used to euphemist the condition when president or king is abdicated from their state or kingdom. Further in the text above, the phrase "*out of power*" shows us that Sadam Husain as president of Iraq was abdicated when America was invaded his state, Iraq.

In relation to the style of euphemism, the phrase “*out of power*” is classified as a formal style because the meaning cannot be worked out from its separate part. The meaning word ‘*out*’ is away from the inside of a place, and the meaning of ‘*power*’ is the ability or the opportunity to do something or to act. So the phrase *out of power* means people or group are unable or not in a position to do something or to do an act. In the text above, Saddam Husain as president of Iraq was abdicated. So he cannot do something as a duty of a president.

Based on the function of euphemism, the phrase “*out of power*” in the text “Most Iraqis were happy to see Saddam “*out of power*” is to inform (conveys new information). Here, the writer wants to inform that Saddam Husain was abdicated and the people of Iraq were happy because of that, because in Saddam regime, he was very cruel (the writer opinion).

### Data 3

Newsweek 22 January 2007, *World View* section, paragraph 3

The phone call to fire him came from the office of Prime Minister Nuri al Maliki, a Shiite. Lt. Col. Steven Duke, commander of a U.S. advisory team working with the Iraqis, and a 20-year *army veteran*, describes Hamzah as “a true patriot (who would go after the *bad guys* on either side.” Hamza was replaced by the Shiite.

In the text above there are two euphemism expressions, they are *army veteran*, and *bad guys*. The phrase “*army veteran*” is indicated as euphemistic expression. It is classified as an idiomatic euphemism. Idiomatic euphemism is an expression functioning as a single unit whose meaning can be worked out from its separate part. The phrase “*army veteran*” is usually used to euphemize someone who retires from the military or the person with long experience (senior, old).

Further in the text above, the phrase "*army veteran*" is someone who has many or long experiences in Iraq war (old soldier).

Based on the style of euphemism, the phrase "*army veteran*" is classified as a formal style because the meaning cannot be worked out from its separate part. The word '*army*' means a military force that is organized and equipped for fighting on land. And '*veteran*' means is a person with a lot of experiences, especially as soldier. So *army veteran* means someone with a lot of experiences in military force.

In relation to the function of euphemism, the phase "*army veteran*" in the text "Advisory team working with the Iraqis, and a 20-year *army veteran*," describes Hamzah "is to informs (conveys new information). The writer wants to inform that someone who describes or gives information about Hamzah is someone who has many or long experiences in Iraq war (old soldier).

Second is '*bad guys*'. It is indicated as an euphemistic expression. It is classified as idiomatic euphemism. Idiomatic euphemism is an expression functioning as a single unit whose meaning can be worked out from its separate part. The phrase "*bad guys*" is used to euphemist the enemy, consisting of armed resistance regardless of political affiliation or economic persuasion; also known as "hostiles" (hoss-tyles) or FOE. Further in the text above, the phrase "*bad guys*" shows us that Hamzah is armed resistance the Iraq state.

In relation to the style of euphemism, the phrase "*bad guys*" is classified as a casual style because it indicates a level of language in an informal situation. The phrase "*bad guys*" in the text above is used in the informal situation. It is used by

someone who gives an evaluation to Hamzah as a soldier of Iraq that has armed resistance the Iraq state.

Based on the function of euphemism, the phrase "*bad guys*" is to evaluate (convey opinion or attitude). The use of the phrase "*bad guys*" in text above shows the opinion of someone about Hamzah. It is just what they think about Hamzah and it is not all true.

#### **Data 4**

Newsweek 22 January 2007, *World View* section, paragraph 4

Mark Brandy confirms reports that the Mahdi army has been continuing to systematically take over Sunni neighborhoods, killing, terrorizing and forcing people out of their homes. "*they're slowly moving across the river*," he told hasting, from predominantly Shiite eastern Baghdad into the predominantly Sunni west.

Based on the theory of euphemism, the phrase "*they're slowly moving across the river*" is indicated as an metaphor euphemism, which indicates something different from the literal meanings. The word '*slowly*' in the text above has different meaning from the move with slow. The word *slowly* in the text above means be carefully. Further in the text above, the phrase "*they're slowly moving across the river*" shows us that the Sunni people out from their homes across the river with carefully from predominantly Shiite eastern Baghdad into the predominantly Sunni west.

In relation to the style of euphemism, the phrase "*they're slowly moving across the river*" is classified as a casual style because it indicates a level of language in an informal situation. The phrase "*they're slowly moving across the*

*river*" in the text above the writer used the phrase in the informal situation. He used the phrase to describe the process of moving Sunni people from predominantly Shiite eastern Baghdad into the predominantly Sunni west was very carefully.

Based on the function of euphemism, the phrase "*they're slowly moving across the river*" is to inform (conveys new information). The writer wants to inform that Mahdi army forcing Sunni people out of their homes and they must flee across the Tigris River from predominantly Shiite eastern Baghdad into the predominantly Sunni west.

#### **Data 5**

Newsweek 22 January 2007, *World View* section, paragraph 6

Why would they do so as they gain the upper *hand militarily*?

The phrase "*hand militarily*" is indicated as an euphemistic expression. It is classified as metaphor euphemism, which indicates something different from the literal meanings. The word '*hand*' in the text above has different meaning from the part of human body. The word '*hand*' in the text above means in control. The phrase "*hand militarily*" is used to euphemist condition under military control. Further in the text above, the phrase "*hand militarily*" shows us that the Iraq condition is under American military control.

In relation to the style of euphemism, the phrase "*hand militarily*" is also classified as a formal style because the meaning cannot be worked out from its separate part. The word *hand* in the text above means in control and the word

*militarily* means soldier or an army. So the phrase "*hand militarily*" means in the military control.

Based on the function of euphemism, the phrase "*hand militarily*" in the text above is to question, Why would they do so as they gain the upper *hand militarily*? The writer gives question to the reader why must American military handle the stability of the Iraq

#### **Data 6**

Newsweek 22 January 2007, *World View* section, paragraph 6

Why? In the words of one senior U.S. official-under instructions to stay anonymous-because Shiite political leaders understand they no longer have "*unquestioning American support* ....especially from Capitol Hill-

The phrase "*unquestioning American support*" is indicated as an euphemistic expression, because it is classified as an metaphor euphemism, which indicates something different from the literal meanings. The phrase "*unquestioning American support*" is used to euphemist the full American support. Further in the text above, the phrase "*unquestioning American support*" shows us that American state supports in Shiite political leader.

Based on the style of euphemism, the phrase "*unquestioning American support*" is also classified as casual style because it indicates a level of language in an informal situation. The writer in the text above writes in the informal situation. He just shows the analysis about the American endorsement to Iraq government in Shiite political control.



In relation to the function of euphemism, the phrase “unquestioning *American support*” is to evaluate (convey opinion or attitude). In the text above one senior U.S. just gives him opinion about the American people support to Shiite, in fact not all American people agree with the Shiite government in Iraq.

### **Data 7**

Newsweek 22 January 2007, *World View* section, paragraph 6

Today its strategy in Iraq rest on the *fruits of that assertiveness*

The phrase "*fruits of that assertiveness*" is indicated as an euphemistic expression. It is classified as an idiomatic euphemism. Idiomatic euphemism is an expression functioning as a single unit whose meaning can be worked out from its separate part. The phrase "*fruits of that assertiveness*" is used to euphemist something which is not working very well. Further in the text above, the phrase "*fruits of that assertiveness*" shows us that the strategy of America in Iraq when they do invasion is not working very well.

Based on the style of euphemism, the phrase "*fruits of that assertiveness*" is also classified as a casual style because it indicates a level of language in an informal situation. The writer in the text above uses the phrase in an informal situation because he writes based on him opinion and in fact that his article is read by many people in the world, not only in America but also in other country.

In relation to the function of euphemism, the phrase “*fruits of that assertiveness*” is to evaluate (convey writer's opinion or attitude), “Today its strategy in Iraq rest on the *fruits of that assertiveness*” it is just the writer opinion

based on his analysis, it may be different from the reader or someone who knows the real condition in there.

## Data 8

Newsweek 29 January 2007, *World View* section, paragraph 1

Last summer, for example, as missiles, car bombs and **IEDs** exploded across Lebanon, Gaza and Iraq, Condoleezza Rice described the violence as the '**birth pangs**' of a new democratic middle east.

In the text above there are two euphemism expressions, they are "**IEDs**" and '**birth pangs**'. The acronym "**IEDs**" is indicated as an euphemistic expression. It is classified as an euphemism acronym and abbreviation. Acronym is a proper word created from the initial letter or two of the words in a phrase pronounced like other words. Abbreviation does not from proper word. So they are pronounced as strings of letters, the acronym "**IEDs**" is used to euphemist the phrase "*Improvised Explosive Device*", (the category for any low-yield or alternatively detonated devices that incorporate pyrotechnics or munitions, which are intended to destroy, incapacitate, harass or distract; the TRIGGER for such devices include garage-door openers, remote-controlled toys, and cell phones) "**IEDs**" are the primary weapon used by insurgents because their lethality is effective, simple, cheap, abundant, and difficult to detect or disarm. Further in the text above, the acronym "**IEDs**" shows us the kinds of bombs exploded across Lebanon, Gaza and Iraq.

Based on the style of euphemism, the acronym "**IEDs**" is classified as a formal style because the meaning cannot be worked out from its separate part,

“IEDs” or *Improvised Explosive Device* usually used in formal situation (military). The use of “IEDs” is usually in war condition or when the terrorist attacks some place.

In relation to the function of euphemism, the acronym “IEDs” is to inform (to convey new information), the writer wants to inform that IEDs is one kind of bombs which explodes in Iraq.

Second is the phrase *'birth pangs'* which is indicated as an euphemistic expression, because the phrase “*birth pangs*” is an euphemism phrase. It is classified as an idiomatic euphemism. Idiomatic euphemism is an expression functioning as a single unit whose meaning can be worked out from its separate part. The phrase “*birth pangs*” is used to euphemist the percentage of violence. Further in the text above, the words *'birth pangs'* show us something happening to Iraq people. They are dead because of the bombs and the violence there.

Based on the style of euphemism, the phrase *'birth pangs'* is also classified as a casual style because it indicates a level of language in an informal situation, informal situation because Condoleezza rice as the ministry of defense of United State of America give her opinion not in the formal situation, it say based on his opinion.

In relation to the function of euphemism, the phrase *'birth pangs'* is to curse. Because Condoleezza rice sees that the violence in Iraq was very crude and intolerance again.

## Data 9

Newsweek 29 January 2007, *World View* section, paragraph 3

Some part of the explanation lies in the *global antipathy* to the *U.S President*.

In the text above there are two euphemism expressions, they are *global antipathy* and *U.S*. The phrase “*global antipathy*” is indicated as an euphemistic expression. It is classified as an euphemism technical jargon. The word “*antipathy*” is borrowed from Greek *antipatheia* from *antipathes* meaning opposed in feeling. In the text above, the word “*antipathy*” means a feeling of strong dislike. The phrase “*global antipathy*” in the text above is used to show feeling dislike of the whole people of the world because of Bush is decision.

Based on the style of euphemism, the phrase “*global antipathy*” is also classified as a formal style because the meaning cannot be worked out from its separate part. The word *global* means covering or affecting the whole world. And the word *antipathy* means a feeling of strong dislike. So the phrase “*global antipathy*” means feeling dislike the whole of the world

In relation to the function of euphemism, the phrase “*global antipathy*” is to inform. Here, the writer wants to show or to informs that many people in the world do not agree with Bush’s decision in Iraq.

Second is the phrase “*U.S President*” is indicated as an euphemistic expression. It is classified as an euphemism metonym which refers to the naming only a part. Though in the text above did not write which one the U.S. president means above, the reader knows that U.S. president in the text above means George Walker Bush.

Based on the style of euphemism, the phrase “*U.S President*” is also classified as the frozen style, which indicates a level of language considered very formal. The word *president* commonly used in the constitution, the writer uses unreciprocated differential from

In relation to the function of euphemism, the phrase “*U.S President*” is to modalize or (to convey writer's attitude toward the truth value of his/her utterance or writing), because the writer knows that George Walker Bush is more inferior than him.

**Data 10**

Newsweek 29 January 2007, *World View* section, paragraph 3

“*We have all been hurt* by the association with the bush administration,” Saad Edin Ibrahim, the Egyptian activist, told me last month.

Based on the theory of euphemism the phrase “*we have all been hurt*” is indicated as an euphemism expression. It is classified as an euphemism hyperbole that uses exaggerated statements made for effect and not intended to be taken literary. The phrase “*We have all been hurt*” is different from the lateral meaning. The word *hurt* in the text above means we are upset and offended, “*We have all been hurt*” shows that all Egyptian people is hurt by the Bush administration (hyperbole)

Based on the style of euphemism, the phrase “*we have all been hurt*” is also classified as a casual style because it indicates a level of language in an informal situation. It is used by Saad Edin Ibrahim to make Bush’s government

know that many people in Egypt are upset with George Walker Bush administration.

In relation to the function of euphemism, the words “*we have all been hurt*” is to inform. In the text above, the Saad Edin Ibrahim as the Egyptian activist, wants to convince the reader that Egyptian people was upset because of Bush’s administration.

#### **Data 11**

Newsweek 29 January 2007, *World View* section, paragraph 3

Bush's arrogance has ***turned people off*** the idea of democracy, says Larry diamond, co editor of the journal of democracy

The phrase "*turned people off*" is indicated as an euphemistic expression. It is classified as an idiomatic euphemism. Idiomatic euphemism is an expression functioning as a single unit whose meaning can be worked out from its separate part. The phrase "*turned people off*" is used to euphemist people who can do any thing. Further in the text above, the phrase "*turned people off*" shows us that people can do anything against Bush's arrogance.

Based on the style of euphemism, the phrase "*turned people off*" is also classified as a casual style because it indicates a level of language in an informal situation. The phrase ‘*turn of*’ is usually used when someone wants to off some electric machine. For example turn of the lamp, television, car, et cetera. But in the text above the writer uses it in an informal situation. He writes to show that Bush makes people do what they want.

In relation to the function of euphemism, the words “*turned people off*” is to evaluate (convey writer's opinion or attitude). The writer thinks that Bush’s arrogances make people follow all what Bush wants and they can reject/refuse it.

## Data 12

Newsweek 29 January 2007, *World View* section, paragraph 4

We need to face up to the fact that in many developing countries democracy is ***not working very well***.

Based on the theory of euphemism, the phrase “*not working very well*” is indicated as an euphemistic expression. It is classified as an euphemism litotes (understatement). Litotes (understatement) is used in a negative form to express the contrary. The phrase “*not working very well*” is used to euphemist the word failure or being unsuccessful. Further in the text above, the phrase “*not working very well*” shows us the fact that in many developing countries, democracy is fail or unsuccessful.

Based on the style of euphemism, the phrase “*not working very well*” is also classified as a casual style because it indicates a level of language in an informal situation. It is used by the writer to show his analysis about democracy in many developing country, which is unsuccessful, for example in Iraq, Indonesia or other developing countries.

In relation to the function of euphemism, the words “*not working very well*” is to inform. In the text above, the writer shows his analysis that many of



developing countries are unsuccessful in democracy or still have something trouble with the state or the people to practice about democracy in their country.

### **Data 13**

Newsweek 29 January 2007, *World View* section, paragraph 5

From Iraq to the Palestine territories to Nigeria to Haiti, ***this is the cancer that is eating away*** at the lives of people across the globe.

Based on the theory of euphemism the phrase “*this is the cancer that is eating away*” is indicated as an euphemism expression. It is classified as an euphemism hyperbole that uses exaggerated statements made for effect and not intended to be taken literary. The word *cancer* is used to show that the problem in Iraq and in Haiti was very dangerous and painful like debilitating disease.

Based on the style of euphemism, the phrase “*this is the cancer that is eating away*” is also classified as a casual style because it indicates a level of language in an informal situation. It is used by the writer to show his analysis about government in Iraq and Nigeria that cannot make their society safe and prosperous.

In relation to the function of euphemism, the words “*this is the cancer that is eating away*” is to evaluate. In the text above, the writer shows his analysis that Iraq and Nigeria government make their people suffer and miserable.

## 4.2 Discussion

After obtaining the data and analyzing them based on the euphemism theory, the next part is the discussion of the whole data to answer the problem proposed in Chapter I.

In accordance with the theory, the information obtained from the data shows that euphemism used in *World View* section of Newsweek magazine published on 1st, 8th, 22nd and 29th of January 2007, are included in sixteen euphemism expressions and they can be divided into seven types, namely: idiom, litotes, metaphor, hyperbole, technical jargon, metonym and acronym and abbreviation. Euphemism idiom is dominant because it is usually used to substitute expression which may be taboo, have negative connotation, direct naming or some other reasons that are considered negative. In the analysis above there are six euphemism idiom, they are: *out of power*, *army veteran*, *bad guy*, *fruits of that assertiveness*, *birth pangs*, and *turn off*. The second is litotes or understatement. It is used in a negative form to express the contrary, for examples, *not working very well*. The third euphemism expression is metaphor, which indicates something different from the literal meanings, such as *ethnic cleansing*, *hand militarily*, *slowly moving across the river*, *unquestioning support*. The fourth euphemism expression is hyperbole that uses exaggerated statements made for effect and not intended to be taken literary, for examples, *we have all been hurt* and *this is the cancer that is eating away*. The fifth euphemism expression is technical jargon that is based on borrowed words or morphs, for example, *global antipathy*. The sixth euphemism expression is metonym which refers to the

naming only a part, for example *U.S. President*. The last euphemism expression is acronym and abbreviation. Acronym is proper word created from the initial letter or two of the words in a phrase pronounced like other words and abbreviations do not from proper words. Therefore they are pronounced as strings of letters, for example IEDs (*Improvised Explosive Device*).

The style of euphemism above can be classified into formal, casual and frozen style euphemism. For example: *ethnic cleansing, out of power, army veteran, IEDs, hand military*, can be categorized as a formal style because the meaning cannot be worked out from its separate part. Meanwhile, the example of casual euphemism style are *bad guys, slowly moving across the river, unquestioning support, fruits of that assertiveness, birth pangs, we have all been hurt, this is the cancer that is eating away, not working very well and turn off*. They are classified as casual style because they indicate a level of language in an informal situation. The last is frozen style, which indicates a level of language considered very formal, for example, *U.S. President*.

The function of euphemism above can be classified into five, they are to: inform, evaluate, modalize, convince and curse. There are five euphemism expression functions of to inform. They convey new information to the reader. They are: *out of power, hand military, IEDs, global antipathy, not working very well, this is the cancer that is eating away* and *army veteran*. Second is to evaluate or to convey writer's opinion or attitude, for example *bad guys, slowly moving across the river, unquestioning support, fruits of that assertiveness* and *turn off*. The third euphemism function is to modalize or to convey writer's attitude toward the truth

value of his/her utterance or writing, for examples: the words *ethnic cleansing* and *U.S President*. The fourth euphemism function is to convince, for example *we have all been hurt*, and the last is to curse such as *birth pangs*.



## CHAPTER V

### CONCLUSION AND SUGGESTIONS

After analyzing the research findings and the discussion in the preceding chapter, conclusion and some suggestions are given. The conclusion is drawn based on the formulated research question, while suggestion is intended to give information to the next researchers who are interested in doing further researches in this area.

#### 5.1 Conclusion

In line with the previous chapter, the conclusion of this research can be formulated based on the proposed research question. The euphemisms can be categorized into twelve but in *Worlds View* section of Newsweek magazine published on 1st, 8th, 22nd and 29th of January 2007, the researcher finds sixteen euphemism expressions. They can be divided into seven types, namely: idiom, litotes, metaphor, hyperbole, technical jargon, metonym and acronym and abbreviation. The first type is Euphemism idiom. Idiom is an expression functioning as a single unit whose meaning cannot be worked out from its separate part, in the analysis above, there are six euphemism idioms, they are: *out of power*, *army veteran*, *bad guys*, *fruits of that assertiveness*, *birth pangs*, and *turn off*.

The second is litotes or understatement. It is used in a negative form to express the contrary, for examples, *not working very well*. The third type is euphemism expression is metaphor, which indicates something different from the literal meanings, such as *ethnic cleansing, hand militarily, slowly moving across the river, unquestioning support*. The fourth euphemism expression is hyperbole that uses exaggerated statements made for effect and not intended to be taken literary, for examples, *we have all been hurt* and *this is the cancer that is eating away*, the fifth euphemism expression is technical jargon that is based on borrowed words or morphs, for example, *global antipathy*.

The sixth euphemism expression is metonym which refers to the naming only a part, for example *U.S. President* and the last euphemism expression is acronym and abbreviation, acronym are proper word created from the initial letter or two of the words in a phrase pronounced like other words and abbreviations do not from proper words, so they are pronounced as strings of letters, for example IEDs (*Improvised Explosive Device*).

The style of euphemism above can be classified into formal, casual and frozen style euphemism. For example: *ethnic cleansing, out of power, army veteran, IEDs, hand military*, can be categorized as formal style because the meaning can not be worked out from its separate part. Meanwhile, the example of casual euphemism style are *bad guys, slowly moving across the river, unquestioning support, fruits of that assertiveness, birth pangs, we have all been hurt, this is the cancer that is eating away, not working very well and turn off*. They are classified as casual style because they indicate a level of language in an

informal situation. And the last is frozen style, which indicates a level of language considered very formal, for example, *U.S. President*.

The function of euphemism above can be classified into: to inform, to evaluate, to modalize, to convince and to curse. There are five euphemism expression functions to inform (It was conveys new information to the reader), they are: *out of power, hand military, IEDs, global antipathy, not working very well, this is the cancer that is eating away* and *army veteran*. The second function is to evaluate (convey writer's opinion or attitude) example *bad guys, slowly moving across the river, unquestioning support, fruits of that assertiveness* and *turn off*. The third function is to modalize (conveys writer's attitude to ward the truth value of his/her utterance or writing) examples: the words *ethnic cleansing* and *U.S President*. The fourth function is to convince example *we have all been hurt*, and the last is to curse like *birth pangs*.

Finally, the conclusion of this research is that the use of euphemism is to make the harmonious interaction between the writer and the reader. The writer wants the reader to understand but not to make them angry or offended, and in this section (*World View* section of Newsweek magazine), the writer usually used euphemism to euphemist something like, mass killing, failure, interrelated with military and opinion of someone.



## 5.2 Suggestions

In accordance with the findings of this research described previously, there are several points that could be recommended for the writers of articles, the readers of articles and the students and the teachers of English department. For the writers, in creating a text or an article, they should consider the word and utterance that will be presented in the written text in order that the inference being conveyed is easily understood by the readers. It is also recommended to the readers to know the context in order that they can arrive at the intended messages by the writer. Furthermore, for the students, to determine the types, style and function of euphemism, they should have good comprehension on the context and contents of the written text by reading the whole texts. It will be able to help them to avoid having wrong interpretation. Meanwhile, for the teachers, in order that their students can easily comprehend the euphemism theory, it is also suggested that they should take examples of euphemism from other researches.

In addition, it is also recommended for the next researchers who are interested in doing further researches in this area to use these finding as a starting point in conducting the research. Using the same theory of Allan and Burridge, the next researchers are suggested to use different data sources. In this case, the data can be taken from magazine which can be formal or informal written text or in daily conversation. The researchers should consider how a language is used to influences the euphemism.

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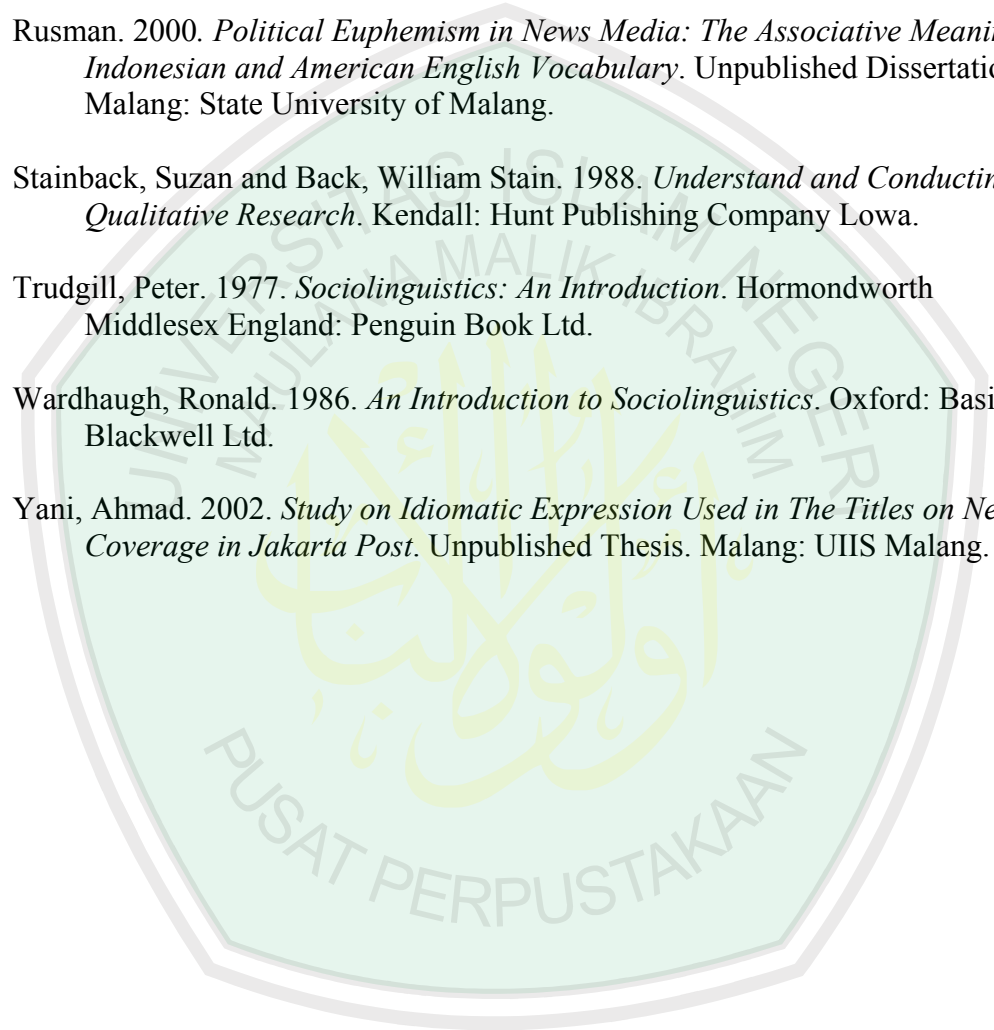
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# APPENDIXES

## APPENDIXES

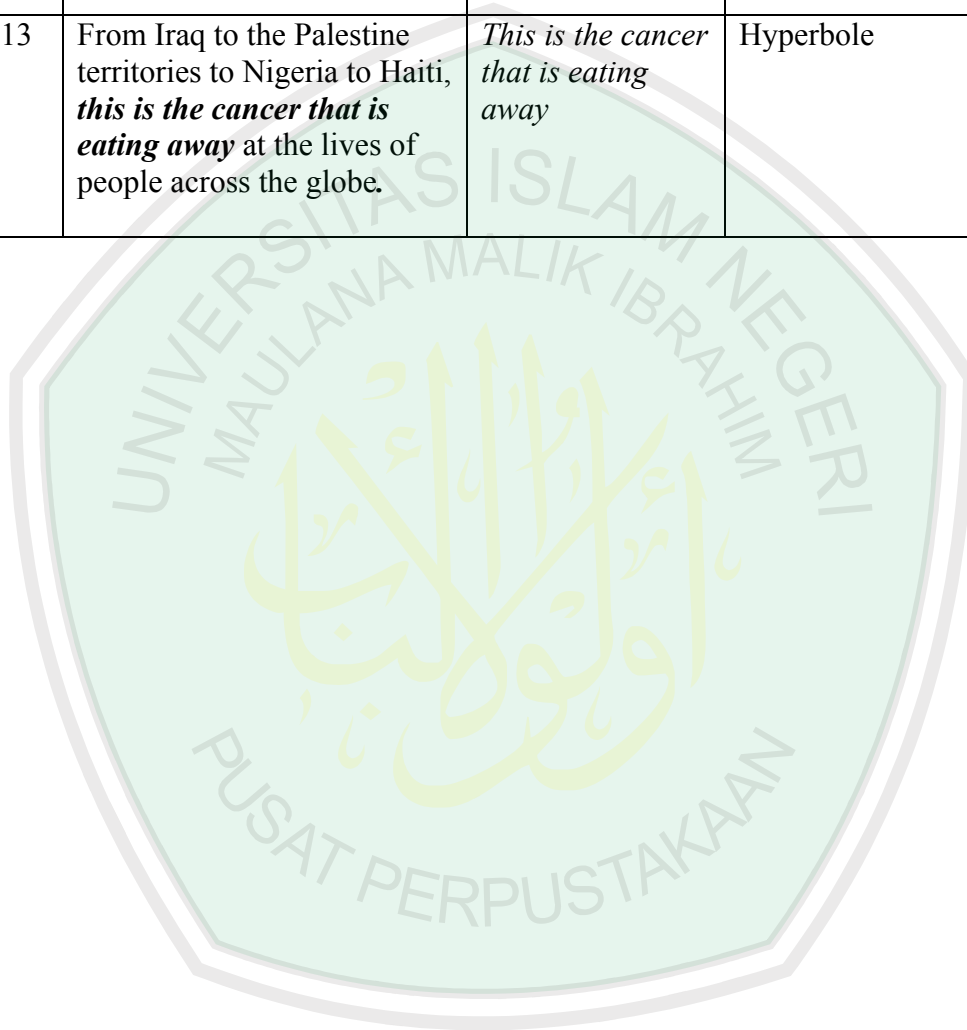
### APPENDIXES

**Table 1: KINDS OF EUPHEMISM**

NO	SENTENCE	PHRASE	TYPE	STYLE
1	Amid the chaos, the groups that can provide security tend to be the most thuggish and extreme in their political views and wherever there are mixed populations- throughout Iraq's cities- argue some campaign of <b>ethnic cleansing</b> has produced hundreds of thousands of international refugees. Almost 2 million Iraqis 8 percent of the population have fled the country entirely.	<i>ethnic cleansing</i>	Metaphor euphemism	Formal style
2	This was not inevitable. Most Iraqis were happy to see Saddam <b>out of power</b>	<i>Out of power</i>	Idiomatic euphemism	Formal style
3	The phone call to fire him came from the office of Prime Minister Nuri al Maliki, a shitte. Lt. Col. Steven Duke, commander of a U.S. advisory team working with the Iraqis, and a 20-year <b>army veteran</b> , describes Hamzah as "a true patriot (who) would go after the <b>bad guys</b> on either side." Hamza was replaced by the shitte.	<i>Army veteran</i>	Idiomatic euphemism	Formal style
		<i>Bad guys</i>	Idiomatic euphemism	Casual style
4	Mark Brandy confirms reports that the Mahdi army has been continuing to systematically take over Sunni neighborhoods, killing, terrorizing and forcing people out of their homes. " <b>they're slowly moving across the river</b> ," he told hasting, from	<i>They're slowly moving across the river</i>	Metaphor euphemism	Casual style

	predominantly Shiite eastern Baghdad into the predominantly Sunni west.			
5	Why would they do so as they gain the upper <b>hand militarily</b> ?	<i>Hand militarily?</i>	Metaphor euphemism	Formal style
6	Why? In the words of one senior U.S. official-under instructions to stay anonymous-because Shiite political leaders understand they no longer have " <b>unquestioning American support</b> ... especially from Capitol Hill	<i>Unquestioning American support</i>	Metaphor euphemism	Casual style
7	Today its strategy in Iraq rest on the <b>fruits of that assertiveness</b>	<i>Fruits of that assertiveness</i>	Idiomatic euphemism	Casual style
8	Last summer, for example, as missiles, car bombs and <b>IEDs</b> exploded across Lebanon, Gaza and Iraq, Condoleezza rice described the violence as the ' <b>birth pangs</b> ' of a new democratic middle east.	<i>IEDs</i>  <i>Birth pangs</i>	Acronym and Abbreviation  Idiomatic euphemism	Formal style  Casual style
9	Some part of the explanation lies in the <b>global antipathy</b> to the <b>U.S President</b> .	<i>Global antipathy</i>  <i>U.S President.</i>	Technical jargon  Frozen style	Formal style  formal style
10	" <b>We have all been hurt</b> by the association with the bush administration," Saad Edin Ibrahim, the Egyptian activist, told me last month.	<i>We have all been hurt</i>	Hyperbole	Casual style
11	Bush's arrogance has <b>turned people off</b> the idea of democracy, says Larry diamond, co editor of the	<i>Turned people off</i>	Idiomatic euphemism	Casual style

	journal of democracy			
12	We need to face up to the fact that in many developing countries democracy is <b>not working very well</b> .	<i>Not working very well.</i>	Litotes	Casual style
13	From Iraq to the Palestine territories to Nigeria to Haiti, <b>this is the cancer that is eating away</b> at the lives of people across the globe.	<i>This is the cancer that is eating away</i>	Hyperbole	Casual style





**Table 2: THE FUNCTION OF EUPHEMISM**

No	SENTENCE	PHRASE	FUNCTION
1	Amid the chaos, the groups that can provide security tend to be the most thuggish and extreme in their political views and wherever there are mixed populations-throughout Iraq's cities-argue some campaign of <b>ethnic cleansing</b> has produced hundreds of thousands of international refugees. Almost 2 million Iraqis 8 percent of the population have fled the country entirely.	<i>Ethnic cleansing</i>	To modalizes
2	This was not inevitable. Most Iraqis were happy to see Saddam <b>out of power</b>	<i>Out of power</i>	To informs
3	The phone call to fire him came from the office of Prime Minister Nuri al Maliki, a shitte. Lt. Col. Steven Duke, commander of a U.S. advisory team working with the Iraqis, and a 20-year <b>army veteran</b> , describes Hamzah as "a true patriot (who) would go after the <b>bad guys</b> on either side." Hamza was replaced by the shitte.	<i>Army veteran</i>  <i>Bad guys</i>	To informs  To evaluates
4	Mark Brandy confirms reports that the Mahdi army has been continuing to systematically take over Sunni neighborhoods, killing, terrorizing and forcing people out of their homes. " <b>they're slowly moving across the river</b> ," he told hasting, from predominantly Shiite eastern Baghdad into the predominantly Sunni west.	<i>They're slowly moving across the river</i>	To evaluates
5	Why would they do so as they gain the upper <b>hand militarily</b> ?	<i>Hand militarily?</i>	To question
6	Why? In the words of one senior U.S. official-under instructions to	<i>Unquestioning American support</i>	To evaluates

	stay anonymous-because Shiite political leaders understand they no longer have " <b>unquestioning American support</b> ....especially from Capitol Hill		
7	Today its strategy in Iraq rest on the <b>fruits of that assertiveness</b>	<i>Fruits of that assertiveness</i>	To evaluates
8	Last summer, for example, as missiles, car bombs and <b>IEDs</b> exploded across Lebanon, Gaza and Iraq, Condoleezza rice described the violence as the ' <b>birth pangs</b> ' of a new democratic middle east.	<i>IEDs</i>  <i>Birth pangs</i>	To informs  To curse
9	Some part of the explanation lies in the <b>global antipathy</b> to the <b>U.S President</b> .	<i>Global antipathy</i> <i>U.S President.</i>	To inform To modalize
10	" <b>We have all been hurt</b> by the association with the bush administration," Saad Edin Ibrahim, the Egyptian activist, told me last month.	<i>We have all been hurt</i>	To convince
11	Bush's arrogance has <b>turned people off</b> the idea of democracy, says Larry diamond, co editor of the journal of democracy	<i>Turned people off</i>	To evaluate
12	We need to face up to the fact that in many developing countries democracy is <b>not working very well</b> .	<i>Not working very well.</i>	To inform
13	From Iraq to the Palestine territories to Nigeria to Haiti, <b>this is the cancer that is eating away</b> at the lives of people across the globe.	<i>This is the cancer that is eating away</i>	To evaluate



# The Limits of Democracy

BY FAREED ZAKARIA

**N**O PRESIDENT HAS ATTACHED HIS NAME MORE COMPLETELY to the promotion of democracy than George W. Bush. He speaks of it with genuine passion and devoted virtually his entire second Inaugural to the subject. His administration talks constantly about its "freedom agenda" and interprets global events largely in such terms. Last summer, for example, as missiles, car bombs and IEDs

exploded across Lebanon, Gaza and Iraq, Condoleezza Rice described the violence as the "birth pangs" of a new, democratic Middle East. So it is striking to read this year's annual survey of "freedom in the world," released last week by Freedom House, a nonprofit that is engaged in promoting democracy around the globe. The report points out that 2006 was a bad year for liberty, under attack from creeping authoritarianism in Venezuela and Russia, a coup in Thailand, massive corruption in Africa and a host of more subtle reversals.

"The percentage of countries designated as free has failed to increase for nearly a decade and suggests that these trends may be contributing to a developing freedom stagnation," writes Freedom House director of research

Arch Puddington in an essay released with the rankings. Puddington also calls attention to the "pushback" against democracy. Regimes across the world are closing down nongovernmental organizations, newspapers and other groups that advocate for human rights. And, I would add, what is most striking is that these efforts are not being met with enormous criticism. Democracy proponents are on the defensive in many places.

What explains this paradox—of freedom's retreat, even with a U.S. administration vociferous in promoting democracy? Some part of the explanation lies in the global antipathy to the U.S. president. "We have all been hurt by the association with the Bush administration," Saad Eddin Ibrahim, the Egyptian activist, told me last month. "Bush's arrogance has turned people off the idea of democracy," says Larry Diamond, co-editor of the *Journal of Democracy*.

But he goes on: "There's a lot more to it than that. We need to face up to the fact that in many developing countries democracy is not working very well." Diamond points to several countries where elections have been followed by governmental paralysis, corruption and ethnic warfare. The poster child for this decline has to be Nigeria, a country often lauded for its democracy. In fact, the place is in free fall—an oil-rich country with per capita GDP down to \$390 (from \$1,000 20 years ago), a ranking below Bangladesh on the United Nations Human Development Index, and with a third of the country having placed itself under Sharia. The new Freedom House survey rates Haiti higher now because it held elec-



years only to be undermined by violence. In fact, Iraq has seen its politics and institutions fall apart since the American invasion: its state was dismantled, its economy disrupted, its social order overturned and its civic institutions and community corroded by sectarianism. Its three communities were never brought together to hammer out a basic deal on how they could live together. The only things that did take place in Iraq were elections (and the writing of a Constitution that is widely ignored). Those elections had wondrous aspects, but they also divided the country into three communities and hardened these splits. To describe the last four years as a period of political progress requires a

**THE ELECTIONS IN IRAQ HAD WONDROUS ASPECTS, BUT THEY ALSO DIVIDED THE COUNTRY INTO THREE COMMUNITIES AND HARDENED THE SPLITS.**

tions last year. But does anyone believe that those polls will change the essential reality in Haiti—that it is a failed state?

The basic problem confronting the developing world today is not an absence of democracy but an absence of governance. From Iraq to the Palestinian Territories to Nigeria to Haiti, this is the cancer that is eating away at the lives of people across the globe, plunging countries into chaos, putting citizens' lives and livelihoods at risk. It is what American foreign policy should be focused on. But the president's freedom agenda sees the entire complex process of political and economic development through one simple lens, which produces bad analysis and bad outcomes.

Consider Iraq. The administration has constantly argued that Iraq has witnessed amazing political progress over the last four

strange definition of political development.

The administration now rewards democracies with aid. But why not have a more meaningful measure? Why not reward countries when they protect human rights, reduce corruption and increase the quality of governance? "Our aid should be conditional on absolute standards," says Diamond. "The European Union has forced change on countries that want to join it by demanding real progress on tough issues."

An administration that thinks of itself as tough has been almost romantic in its views of the world. There is good and evil out there. But there is also competence and incompetence, and that makes a crucial difference around the globe—in fact, even in the United States.

Write the author at [comments@fareedzakaria.com](mailto:comments@fareedzakaria.com).



# We Might 'Win,' But Still Lose

BY FAREED ZAKARIA

**E**VERYONE SEEMS QUITE CERTAIN THAT GEORGE W. BUSH'S new plan for Iraq is bound to fail. But I'm not so sure. At a military level, the strategy could well produce some successes. American forces have won every battle they have fought in Iraq. Having more troops and a new mission to secure whole neighborhoods is a good idea—better four years late than never. But the crucial question is, will

military progress lead to political progress? That logic, at the heart of the president's new strategy, strikes me as highly dubious.

Administration officials have pointed to last week's fighting against Sunni insurgents in and around Baghdad's Haifa Street as a textbook example of the new strategy. Iraqi forces took the lead, American troops backed them up and the government did not put up any obstacles. The Wall Street Journal's Daniel Henninger concluded that the battle "looked like a successful test of unified [American-Iraqi] effort."

But did it? NEWSWEEK's Michael Hastings, embedded with an American advisory team that took part in the fighting, reports that no more than 24 hours after the battle began on Jan. 6, the brigade's Sunni commander, Gen. Razzak Hamza, was relieved of his command. The

phone call to fire him came directly from the office of Prime Minister Nuri al-Maliki, a Shiite. Lt. Col. Steven Duke, commander of a U.S. advisory team working with the Iraqis, and a 20-year Army veteran, describes Hamza as "a true patriot [who] would go after the bad guys on either side." Hamza was replaced by a Shiite.

Joint operations against Shiite militias are far less likely, and not only because of political interference from the top. Groups like Moqtada al-Sadr's Mahdi Army don't generally start fire fights with the Americans or attack Iraqi forces. Their goals are different, quieter. Another U.S. adviser, Maj. Mark Brady, confirms reports that the Mahdi Army has been continuing to systematically take over Sunni neighborhoods, killing, terrorizing and forcing people out of their homes. "They're slowly moving across the river," he told Hastings, from predominantly Shiite eastern Baghdad into the

predominantly Sunni west. If the 20,000 additional American troops being sent to the Iraqi capital focus primarily on Sunni insurgents, there's a chance the Shiite militias might get bolder. Colonel Duke puts it bluntly: "[The Mahdi Army] is sitting on the 50-yard line eating popcorn, watching us do their work for them."

So what will happen if Bush's new plan "succeeds" militarily over the next six months? Sunnis will become more insecure as their militias are dismantled. Shiite militias will lower their profile on the streets and remain as they are now, ensconced within the Iraqi Army and police. That will surely make Sunnis less likely to support the new Iraq. Shiite political leaders, on the other hand, will be emboldened. They re-



Bush's blank-check policy for the Iraqi government has proved totally counterproductive. The one action that might be forcing the Iraqi leadership to make some compromises has been the threat that Congress would force a withdrawal of American support. One month ago, the White House was criticizing Congress as being borderline treasonous for suggesting such a thing. Today its strategy in Iraq rests on the fruit of that assertiveness.

Over the past three and a half years, the dominant flaw in the Bush administration's handling of Iraq is that it has, both intentionally and inadvertently, driven the country's several communities apart. Every seemingly neutral action—holding elections, firing Baathists from the bureaucracy, build-

**DUKE SAYS THE MAHDI ARMY IS 'SITTING ON THE 50-YARD LINE, EATING POPCORN, WATCHING US DO THEIR WORK FOR THEM'**

ing up an Iraqi military and police force—has had seismic sectarian consequences. The great danger of Bush's new strategy, then, isn't that it won't work but that it will—and thereby push the country one step further along the road to all-out civil war. Only a sustained strategy of pressure on the Maliki government—unlike anything Bush has been willing to do yet—has any chance of averting this outcome.

Otherwise, American interests and ideals will both be in jeopardy. Al Qaeda in Iraq—the one true national-security threat we face from that country—will gain Sunni support. In addition, as American officers like Duke and Brady have noted, our ideals will be tarnished. The U.S. Army will be actively aiding and assisting in the largest program of ethnic cleansing since Bosnia. Is that the model Bush wanted for the Middle East?

Administration officials claim that this time things are different. The Maliki government, and the Shiite leadership more generally, understand that they must crack down on militias and compromise with the Sunnis. Why? In the words of one senior U.S. official—under instructions to stay anonymous—because Shiite political leaders understand they no longer have "unquestioning American support..., especially from Capitol Hill." This suggests that the administration finally understands that

ing up an Iraqi military and police force—has had seismic sectarian consequences. The great danger of Bush's new strategy, then, isn't that it won't work but that it will—and thereby push the country one step further along the road to all-out civil war. Only a sustained strategy of pressure on the Maliki government—unlike anything Bush has been willing to do yet—has any chance of averting this outcome.



# Vengeance of The Victors

BY FAREED ZAKARIA

**T**HE SAGA OF SADDAM'S END—HIS CAPTURE, TRIAL AND EXECUTION—is a sad metaphor for America's occupation of Iraq. What might have gone right went so wrong. It is worth remembering that Saddam Hussein was not your run-of-the-mill dictator. He created one of the most brutal, corrupt and violent regimes in modern history, something akin to Stalin's Soviet Union, Mao's China or Kim Jong Il's North Korea. Whatever the strategic wisdom for the United States, deposing him began as something unquestionably good for Iraq.

But soon the Bush administration dismissed the idea of trying Saddam under international law, or in a court with any broader legitimacy. This is the administration, after all, that could see little advantage to a United Nations mandate for its own invasion and occupation. It put Saddam's fate in the hands of the new Iraqi government, dominated by Shiite and Kurdish politicians who had been victims of his reign. As a result, Saddam's trial, which should have been the judgment of civilized society against a tyrant, is now seen by Iraq's Sunnis and much of the Arab world as a farce, reflecting only the victors' vengeance.

This was not inevitable. Most Iraqis were happy to see Saddam cut of power. In the months after the American invasion, support for the Coalition Provisional Authority topped 70 percent. This was so even among Iraq's Sunni Arabs. In the first months of the insurgency, only 14 percent of them approved of attacks on U.S. troops. (That number today is 70 percent.) The rebellious area in those early months was not (Sunnis) Fallujah but (Shiite) Najaf.

But during those crucial first months, Washington disbanded the Iraqi Army, fired 50,000 bureaucrats and shut down the government-owned enterprises that employed most Iraqis. In effect, the United States dismantled the Iraqi state, leaving a

deep security vacuum, administrative chaos and soaring unemployment. That state was dominated by Iraq's Sunni elites, who read this not as just a regime change but a revolution in which they had become the new underclass. For them, the new Iraq looked like a new dictatorship.

Why Washington made such profound moves with such little forethought remains one of the many puzzles of the Bush administration's foreign policy. Some of the decision making was motivated by ideology: Baathism equaled fascism, so every school teacher who joined the Baath Party to get a job was seen as a closet Nazi; state-owned enterprises were bad, the new Iraq needed a



more insecure and willing to support the insurgency.

Iraq's Sunnis are not the good guys in this story. They have mostly behaved like self-defeating thugs. The minority of Sunnis who support Al Qaeda have been truly barbarous. The point, however, is not their vices but our stupidity. We summarily deposed not just Saddam Hussein but a centuries-old ruling elite and then were stunned that they reacted poorly. In contrast, on coming into power in South Africa, Nelson Mandela did not fire a single white bureaucrat or soldier—and not because he thought that they had been kind to his people. He correctly saw the strategy as

**IN THE FIRST MONTHS OF THE INSURGENCY, ONLY 14 PERCENT OF IRAQ'S SUNNIS APPROVED OF ATTACKS ON U.S. FORCES. NOW 70 PERCENT DO.**

flat tax, etc. Some of it was influenced by Shiite exiles who wanted to take total control of the new Iraq. Some of it simply reflected the bizarre combination of ignorance and naivete that has marked the policies of Bush's "tough guys."

The administration has never fully understood the sectarian nature of its policies, which were less "nation building" than they were "nation busting" in their effects. It kept insisting that it was building a national army and police force when it was blatantly obvious (even to columnists) that the forces were overwhelmingly Shiite and Kurdish, mostly drawn from militias with stronger loyalties to political parties than to the state. The answer to these fundamentally political objections was technocratic: more training. But a stronger Shiite Army made—makes—the Sunni populace

the way to prevent an Afrikaner rebellion.

It has now become fashionable among Washington neoconservatives to blame the Iraqis for everything that has happened to their country. "We have given the Iraqis a republic and they do not appear able to keep it," laments Charles Krauthammer. Others invoke anthropologists to explain the terrible dysfunctions of Iraqi culture. There may be some truth to all these claims—Iraq is a tough place—but the Bush administration is not quite so blameless. It thoughtlessly engineered a political and social revolution as intense as the French or Iranian one and then seemed surprised that Iraq could not digest it happily, peacefully and quickly. We did not give them a republic. We gave them a civil war.

See video from Zakaria's 'Foreign Exchange' at [xtra.newsweek.com](http://xtra.newsweek.com)

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# Losing the War, as Well as the Battle

BY FAREED ZAKARIA

IT'S RELATIVELY EASY THESE DAYS TO POINT OUT ALL THE WAYS in which George W. Bush has been ill-informed, misguided and wrong about Iraq. And in case you run out of examples, the president provides fresh ones continually. But on one central issue, Bush has been right. He has argued from the start that a modern, liberal democratic Iraq would be an example, an inspiration and a spur for progress in the Middle East. The trouble is, the Iraq of today is having precisely the opposite effect. If Bush wants to save his freedom agenda, he needs to decouple it from Iraq.

For all his intellectual shortcomings, Bush recognized that the roots of Islamic terrorism lie in the dysfunctions of the Arab world. Over the last 40 years, as the rest of the globe progressed economically and politically, the Arabs moved backward. Decades of tyranny and stagnation—mostly under the auspices of secular, Westernized regimes like those in Egypt and Syria—have produced an opposition that is extreme, religiously oriented and, in some cases, violent. Its ideology is now global, and it has small bands of recruits from London to Jakarta. But at its heart it is an Arab phenomenon, born in the failures of that region. And it is likely only to be cured by a more open and liberal Arab culture that has made its peace with modernity. Look for example at two non-Arab countries, Malaysia and Turkey, whose people are conservative and religious Muslims. Both places are also reasonably successful economies, open societies and functioning democracies. As a result, they don't produce swarms of suicide bombers.

Iraq after Saddam presented a unique opportunity to steer history on a new course. But instead the Bush administration drove it into a ditch. As a result, the effort to create an Iraqi model for the Middle East has failed. No matter what happens over the next year or two, the country has developed into more of a warning about the dangers of democracy than a symbol of its promise. When people around the world—and, most important, in the region—look at Iraq, they see chaos, religious extremism and violence. Donald Rumsfeld frequently says, as he

did again in his last appearance at the Pentagon, that if you were to "fly over" Iraq as he does, you would see that the violence is greatly exaggerated. In fact, were Rumsfeld to have dared to brave the roads of Iraq—as reporters do every day—he would have discovered that the reverse is true.

The Iraq Study Group report—which Rumsfeld boasts he has not really read—points out that "there is significant under-reporting of the violence in Iraq ... A murder of an Iraqi is not necessarily counted as an attack. If we cannot determine the source of a sectarian attack, that assault does not make it into the database. A roadside bomb or a rocket or mortar attack that doesn't hurt U.S. personnel doesn't count.



most thuggish and extreme in their political views. And wherever there are mixed populations—throughout Iraq's cities—a gruesome campaign of ethnic cleansing has produced hundreds of thousands of internal refugees. Almost 2 million Iraqis—8 percent of the population—have fled the country entirely.

In the wake of this "model," not a single Arab regime feels any pressure to reform. They say to their people, "Do you want a democracy like they have in Iraq?" (The refrain echoes beyond the region. Vladimir Putin made the same point in Russia, to justify his own usurpations of power.) Look around. The Saudi royals are stronger than ever. Egypt's Hosni Mubarak has

**IRAQ PRESENTED A UNIQUE OPPORTUNITY TO STEER HISTORY ON A NEW COURSE. BUT INSTEAD THE BUSH ADMINISTRATION DROVE IT INTO A DITCH.**

For example, on one day in July 2006 there were 93 attacks or significant acts of violence reported. Yet a careful review of the reports for that single day brought to light 1,100 acts of violence."

Now look at the "safe" areas. The south of the country, which the administration claims is stable, is run by fanatical religious parties, militias and street gangs, most of whom impose Iranian-style restrictions on people's rights and liberties. For minorities (like Christians) and for women, the new Iraq has been one of persecution and punishment. In many Sunni areas in the center of the country, a Taliban-style puritanism is being enforced. Amid the chaos, the groups that can provide security tend to be the

jailed his opponents. The Syrian regime once troubled, is more confident. Iran is ascendant. And the United States has become radioactive. Were America to come out in favor of clean water, we would find people opposed in the Arab world today.

George W. Bush needs to understand that he now has to choose between Iraq and his broader Middle East project. Only by realizing that Iraq has gone awry and reducing America's involvement there can he credibly push a different, more incremental reform in other countries. If instead, he insists on digging deeper in Iraq, America's war will drown out all else. For the sake of his own freedom agenda, President Bush must move beyond Iraq.

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#### JADWAL BIMBINGAN SKRIPSI

NO	TANGGAL	MATERI	TTD
1	16 September 2007	PENGAJUAN PROPOSAL	Galuh '17/09
2	17 September 2007	ACC PROPOSAL	Galuh '17/09
3	12 Oktober 2007	SEMINAR PROPOSAL	Galuh '17/10
4	28 Oktober 2007	KONSULTASI BAB I	Galuh '17/10
5	06 November 2007	ACC BAB I	Galuh '17/11
6	19 Januari 2008	KONSULTASI BAB II	Galuh '17/01
7	29 Februari 2008	KONSULTASI BAB III	Galuh '17/02
8	25 Mei 2008	KONSULTASI BAB IV DAN V	Galuh '17/05
9	20 Juni 2008	ACC KESELURUHAN BAB	Galuh '17/06

Malang, 28 Juni 2008

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