

**AN EXPLORATORY STUDY ON THE IMPACT OF LANGUAGE STYLE  
USED BY HILLARY CLINTON'S POLITICAL SPEECHES  
TO THE CRITICAL MASS'**

**THESIS**

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***MOTTO***

***KEEP ON TRYING AND PRAYING, THEN  
TAWAKAL ILALLOH***



## **DEDICATION**

***I dedicate my thesis to:***

***My beloved father and mother, Winoto and Mardiyati for their endless love and  
pray***

***My cutie Abong (Adik Bongsor) Yogi D. Lestari, I'am proud to have you.***

***You're smaller but bigger, hehehe***

***All my dearly love family, especially my grand father and grand mother,  
Mugiono and Surmah thank you very much for your greatest love which never  
ever last for me***

***My sincerely advisor Sakban Rosidi, M.Si, A million thanks I appreciate for all  
your nice and pleasant suggestions to never stop learning and exploring the  
sciences***

***All my sweetest friends, specially PKLI Balai Bahasa Surabaya; Tuah (u're my  
truly, really indeed friend ☺), Teteh (te2h tayank, tayank te2h..), Gleny(Glen,  
give us the cutie de2k ya..), Ti Ulin (mutual understanding is important), Alafah  
(just rilex fah..), Limeh (limeh lucu..), Wahib (calm and feminine), Mbak Didin  
(ustadzah..). Aaq Adhen (My special one ☺), A ariel (My kind brother..), Akhi  
Basit (Aacitna tuah..), Bapak (Crazy :-p), A ijal (sleep & eat well..), Captain  
(keep a promise..), Poter (I call him papa..), Ericks Secara (Rikz SeMangaT..  
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## ABSTRACT

Setiawati, Agung. 2008. *An Exploratory Study on the Impact of Language Styles Used by Hillary Clinton's Political Speeches to the Critical Mass*.

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Key words: Exploratory Study, Language Style, Hillary Clinton, Speech, Critical Mass'.

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Human uses language to express their ideas and thoughts to communicate with others. Due to they articulate their intention, they use the style which emerge as the variances of the language. Everyone produces difference style to convey his or her purposes which entail the listeners to provide the responses. They, therefore, convince the listeners with the most favourable style in order to they understand and trust their thoughts. It is very fascinating to investigate the language style that is used by Hilary Clinton as the presidential nomination from Democratic Party in the United States in her political speeches to the critical mass' responses. How is the impact between the language style and the critical mass responses on the styles of Hillary Clinton's political speeches? What language styles that are used by Hillary Clinton in her political speeches? What kind of critical mass' responses that emerge as the reactions to Hillary Clinton's political speeches? How is the relation between language style used by Hillary Clinton's political speeches and the critical mass responses?

Theoretically, the writer uses the language style and the socio-psychological approach to answer the problems. The language style induces to recognize the types of the style that is used by Hillary Clinton's political speeches either formal or informal style while socio-psychological approach converses the relationship between the speaker's language and listeners' responses. Methodologically, the writer asserts descriptive qualitative study as research design, the data are collected by skimming and scanning, and analyzed by intensive reading and inter-textual reading process.

The finding shows that Hillary Clinton uses formal and informal style with it's variances in it. Those are colloquial and slang style. The most frequently style that is found in Hillary Clinton's political speeches is informal style with colloquial as the dominant than slang style. Due to Hillary uses informal style in her political speeches, it influences the critical mass to give informal responses. They declare tree kinds of responses. Those are cognitive, affective and behavioural responses. Actually, there is no direct relationship between the styles and the responses. The messages of the statement are usually believed as more influential than the style's impact. But, as a linguistic researcher, the writer consider that the statement is too simplified, since the messages can be facilitated or constrained by the language style.

# CHAPTER I

## INTRODUCTION

This chapter presents background of the study, problem statements, objective of the study, originality and significance of the study, scope and limitation of the study and clarification definition of key terms.

### 1.1 Background of the study

Due to the fact that language can be found in all human societies, language is frequently defined as a social institution. As defined by Wardhaugh, language is a system of arbitrary vocal symbol used for human communication<sup>1</sup>. Everyone produces his or her own utterance. The variance of the utterance appears because everyone has his or her own style to interact with other people.

There are two kinds of language based on its form, spoken and written language. Spoken language is the utterance in the form of sounds. The written one is, however, considered as the extension of the spoken language. The actual phenomena of language can be observed as conversation, story telling, speech, discussion and so forth. Written language is the utterance in the written form which is commonly in term of magazines, news papers, journals, etc. It can be inferred that language is a means to communicate with other human, primarily through oral and written communication.

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<sup>1</sup> Ronald Wardhaugh. 1986. *Introduction to Linguistics*. New York: Kingsport Press. p. 3

The phenomenon of language is also stated in Al-Qur'an. There are many languages in human world. The variance of languages as stated in Ar-Ruum verse 22 is believed by Moslems as one of the evidences of the God's greatness:

إِنَّ وَالْوَنِيكُمُ الْأَسْنَتِكُمْ وَأَخْتَلَفُ وَالْأَرْضِ السَّمَوَاتِ خَلْقُ آيَاتِهِ وَمِنْ

لِّلْعَلِّمِينَ لَا يَتَذَكَّرُ فِي

And of His signs are the creation of the Heavens and the Earth, and the difference of your languages and colors. Lo! Herein indeed are portents for men of knowledge. (Verse: 22)<sup>2</sup>.

Dealing with the variance of languages, it implies the individual's style of the language that is used. In expressing an idea in the form of spoken or written language, people have and use their own style. Jordan claims that everyone has style, just as everyone has a shadow<sup>3</sup>.

Schuster characterizes that style in language is the manner of expressing whatever is expressed<sup>4</sup>. In general, style has been widely used in every aspect of life. There are styles in dresses, styles in automobiles, styles in football player. Certainly, there are styles in speech and writing.

It is interesting to investigate how the speaker or writer uses his or her own style in conveying his or her intentional writing or speaking to the people. In writing, the writer puts the utterance in the form of written language only. On the

<sup>2</sup> *Qur'an, Karim*. Translated by Abdallah Yousouf Ali corrected and refised by Amira Zrein Matraji. 1999. Beirut: Dar el-Fikr.

<sup>3</sup> John Jordan. 1965. *Using Rhetoric*. New York: Harper & Row.

<sup>4</sup> Edgar Schuster. 1965. *Grammar Usage and Style*. New York: McGraw-Hill, Inc.

other hand, in speaking, the speaker delivers his or her message in order to be heard and known what the speaker wants directly. Therefore, the writer is more interested to investigate the language style that is used by the speaker.

One of the purpose of the speaker speaks is to inform and transmit the message to the listener. The process of transmitting the message is called by communication. Laswell in Mulyana defines that to draw the definition of communication we must answer the questions: *Who says, What, in Which Channel, to Whom, with What effect?*<sup>5</sup> In short, we can infer that there are five elements include in conducting communication. Those are the source, the message, the medium, the receiver and the effect.

The first is source. It is an individual or a group which have intention to be conveyed. In another name is called by the sender, communicator or the speaker. In this study, the writer investigates one of American Senators, Hillary Clinton's speeches. She is one of American president candidates of Democrat party in the general election 2008. Hillary was selected as senator from New York in 2000. She is the first New Yorker ever to serve on the Senate Armed Services Committee, working to see that America's military has the necessary resources to protect our national security. Hillary's father, Hugh Rodham, was the son of a factory worker from Scranton, Pennsylvania. He trained sailors in the Navy during World War II and then returned to Illinois to start a small business selling draperies. Hillary's mother, Dorothy, the daughter of a firefighter, had a tough childhood. . Hillary started her political life as a Republican, like her father. Then continued her advocacy for children and families and had been a national leader

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<sup>5</sup> Deddy Mulyana. 2005. *Communication Science: an Introduction*. Bandung: PT Remaja Rosda Karya. p.243

on homeland security and national security issues<sup>6</sup>. From the brief explanation of Hillary's biography, we know that she had involved in politic since 2000 up to now. On the view of political study, when we talk about politics, it will discuss the political participation. It functions is to determine the role and the position of the members. Lester classifies tree general types or roles in term of active-inactive dimension.

One group participates only passively in the political process. They do not engage in any of the political acts. The second group is minimally involved in some or all of the first five activites; seeking information, voting, discussing, proselyting, and displaying preference. A third, and quite small, group not only participates in the above activities but also is drawn into the political fray; they attend meetings, campaign, become active in a party, solicit money, run for and hold public and party office<sup>7</sup>.

Those tree political participation roles are called "apathetics", "spectators", and "gladiators". Further, Hillary includes into gladiator's political participation.

The second element is message. Message is a piece of information that is encoded by the speaker or writer as addresser into a linguistic form<sup>8</sup>. It covers the feelings, ideas, and intention, certainly, concern with Hillary Clinton's language style in her political speeches.

The next element is medium. It is often used synonymously with channel<sup>9</sup>. The speaker transmits his or her idea through the media. It also refers to the way of providing the message whether directly (face to face) or indirectly (mass media and electronic media; magazine, newspaper, television, radio, etc.).

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<sup>6</sup> Hillary's biography taken from Hillary's website [www.hillaryclinton.com](http://www.hillaryclinton.com).

<sup>7</sup> Lester Milbrath. 1965. *Political Participation*. Chicago: Rand Mc.Nally College Publishing Company. p.20.

<sup>8</sup> Katie Wales. 2001. *A Dictionary of Stylistics: Second Edition*. London: Pearson Education. p. 247

<sup>9</sup> Katie Wales. *A Dictionary of Stylistic*. p. 246

The fourth is receiver. It is the person who receives the message. Another name is called by communicate, decoder, audience and listener. In this study, the writer takes the critical mass as the listener who gives their responses in Hillary Clinton political speeches. Critical mass is a group of people in society who play their role to criticize the phenomena that happen in society. Those who watch, listen and comment the issues happen are called critical mass<sup>10</sup>.

The last is effect. Effect is the listener consequences of the speaker's message. It can be positive or negative responses.

In relation to this study, Islam teaches that to notice someone speaks is not in term of who speaks, but look at what is spoken. We do not impress the person who is speaking, whether he or she is poor or rich person, but look what is being spoken, it means the content of the speaker intention. Islam determines, therefore, that there is no differentiation among others. All the human beings are equal and has the same position in God views. What make different is *Taqwa*.

In addition, studying language style is as the implementation of Islamic doctrines that convinces us those words is much more important than the speakers. The writer assumes that the study of language style is as one of implementing what Islam teaches to their people. So, the writer chooses four Hillary Clinton speeches as follows: *Economy: Solutions for The American Economy. Iraq: Hillary's Remarks at the George Washington University, Hillary's Remarks on Super Tuesday and Health Care: Global Summit on AIDS and the Church*. Those speeches are the representation of Hillary Clinton's political speeches which writer chooses as the data that are analyzed.

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<sup>10</sup> Sakban Rosidi. 2008. *Research on Linguistics: Lecture Notes*. Malang: The State Islamic University Of Malang (UIN Malang).



As aforementioned explanation with its significance, the writer explores both the style Used by Hillary Clinton's Political Speeches and the Impact of Language the styles to the Critical Mass Responses.

## **1.2 Problem Statements**

This study in general focuses on how is the impact between the language style and the critical mass responses on the styles of Hillary Clinton's political speeches which can be specified into the following:

- a. What language styles are used by Hillary Clinton in her political speeches?
- b. What kind of critical mass' responses emerges as the reactions to Hillary Clinton's political speeches?
- c. What is the relation between language style used by Hillary Clinton's political speeches and the critical mass responses?

## **1.3 Objective of the Study**

This study is aimed to produce descriptive knowledge of: (1) the variations of language styles used by Hillary Clinton in her political speeches, (2) the kind of critical mass' responses emerges as the reactions to Hillary Clinton's political speeches, and (3) the relation between language style used by Hillary Clinton's political speeches and the critical mass'.

## **1.4 Significance of the Study**

There are some researchers who have investigated some phenomena concerning with the language style. For example, Agus Khosyul Umam analyzed



*English Language Style Used by the Members of Pondok Pesantren Darul Abidin Pare Kediri* in 2007. And Ainur Rasyidah investigated *The Speech Styles Used by Multilingual Speakers in Pesantren Mahasiswa IAIN Sunan Ampel Surabaya* in 2007. Both studies investigated in term of speech, whereas this study is investigating the text and it's relation with responses which occurred in Hillary Clinton political speeches.

The significance of this study is expected to be able to contribute academically to enrich our knowledge concerning with language style in speeches and practically it is very useful to recognize the style of the languages in Hillary Clinton's political speeches and it's relation with the responses. In addition, it will develop normatively the Islamic study dealing with the political participation.

### **1.5 Scope and Limitation of the Study**

This study focuses on Hillary Clinton's political speeches. The writer will not use all the speeches of Hillary Clinton, she uses four of Hillary Clinton's political speeches with one in each theme of Hillary Clinton's speeches.

The listeners that provide the reply are called by the critical mass. The writer takes the responses given from the date after Hillary delivers the speeches until the day before conducting the Democrat nominee.

### **1.6 Clarification Definition of the key Terms**

1. *Exploratory study* is the study which aims is to produce an exploratory knowledge

2. *Language Style* is the variation in language use whether in literary or non-literary work.
3. *Hillary Clinton* is one of the presidential candidates' from Democratic Party in America
4. *Speech* is a systematic means of communicating by the use of sounds
5. *Critical Mass* is a group of people in society who play their role to criticize the phenomena by watching, listening and giving comment that happen in society.



## CHAPTER II

### REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE

This chapter presents and discusses the review of related literature which consists of the language style in accordance with the function and the types of language style, also socio-psychological approach which include the critical mass responses.

#### 2.1 The Language Style

Gleason states that style is the patterning of choices made within the options presented by the conversations of the language and the literary form<sup>11</sup>. A similar opinion comes from Chaika, she argues that style refers to the selection of linguistic forms to convey social or artistic effects<sup>12</sup>. Another opinion is from Crystal and Davy, they divide the definition of style into four definitions:

Style may be refer to some or all of the language habits of one person as when we talk about of Shakespeare's style (or styles), or the style of James Joyce, or when we discuss questions of disputed authorship.

Style may be refer to some or all of the language habits shared by a group of people at one time, or over period of time, as when we talk about the style of the Augustan poets, the style of Old English 'heroic poetry', the style in which civil service forms are written, or styles of public speaking.

Style is given a more restricted meaning when it is used in a evaluative sense, referring to the effectiveness of a mode of expression. Implicitly style is defined as saying the right thing in the most effective way or as good manner. Style refers to literary language. Style has long been associated primarily or exclusively with literature, as characteristic of good, effective, or beautiful writing, for example, and the focus of the literary critic's attention alone<sup>13</sup>

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<sup>11</sup> Gleason. 1953. *An Introduction to Descriptive Linguistics*. New York; Holt, Rinehart and Winston.

<sup>12</sup> Elaine Chaika. 1982. *Language Social Mirror*. Rowley, Massachusetts : Newbury House Publishers, Inc.

<sup>13</sup> David Crystal and Derek Davy. 1965. *Investigating English Style*. London: Longman Group Limited.

In those four definitions, we can see that every definition expresses one idea, so it can be concluded that style according to Crystal and Davy is all of the language habits of one person or a group of people in the most effective way of saying which are different from others at one time.

A further definition comes from Hicks. He argues that style is different from grammar. It has no precise rules and it is not concerned so much with the mechanics of language. There are four principal attributes to make a style effectively. Those are suitability, simplicity, precision and poise<sup>14</sup>. Suitability is the appropriateness in writing story in using the subject, mood, and pace of the event describes and the need of the reader. Also present the facts and arguments to understand the story easily. Simplicity is get to the point or straightforwardness. Precision is used to know exactly what the words mean. The Last is poise. It is the core of the style. The sentence should be pleasure to read because they are balance and rhythmical.

Katie Wales quotes that study about style has several different stylistic approaches, either linguistics or literary criticism. As the style's implication is that the use of different style in different situation will produce the same or different activity. Thus, style can be seen as variation in language use, whether literary or non-literary<sup>15</sup>. To differentiate in the use of literary and linguistic is that in literary, it tends to focus on literary texts. While linguistic, the tools are drawn from linguistics.

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<sup>14</sup> Wynford Hicks. 2007. *English for Journalist; third edition*. London & New York: Routledge Taylor & Francis Group. p. 89.

<sup>15</sup> Kati Wales. *Dictionary of Stylistic*. p.370-372.

In conclusion, the definition of style is a branch of modern linguistics devoted to the detailed analysis of literary style, or of the linguistic choices made by speakers and writers in literary or non-literary contexts.

## 2.1.1 Types and Function of Language Style

### 2.1.1.1 Types of Language Style

McCrimmon classifies language style into three general types<sup>16</sup>:

(1) **Formal Style.** The characteristics of formal style are: - sentence: relative long, complex in structure, extensive use of parallel and periodic structure, and no fragments; - diction: extensive vocabulary, learned words, often abstract, avoidance of contractions and clipped words; - tone: impersonal, dignified, few references to reader; - distance: considerable. (2) **Informal Style.** The characteristics of informal style are: - Sentence: medium length (twenty to thirty words), chiefly standard sentences, frequent parallel some periodic sentences, fragment rare but occasional; - Diction: ranges from learned to colloquial, but mostly popular from abstract to concrete, occasional contractions and clipped words and some slang; - Tone: ranges from personal to impersonal, usually addresses the reader as you; - Distance: moderate. (3) **Colloquial Style.** The characteristics of colloquial style are: - Sentence: short, simple structure mainly Subject-verb-Object order, few inversions and frequent use of fragments; - Diction: simple, mostly popular and colloquial, some slang; - Tone: quite personal, often intimate, a writer gives the impression of talking directly to readers; - Distance: small.

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<sup>16</sup> James McCrimmon. 1963. *Writing with Purpose (3-ed)*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company.

Krisner and Mandell divide language style into four levels<sup>17</sup>: They are: (1) **Slang Style**. Slang is very informal language that includes new and sometimes not polite words and meanings, and is often used among particular groups of people and is usually not used in serious speech or writing. It is an expression like “screw up” or “ripped off” which are often used in speech. (2) **Colloquial Style**. It is similar to slang, when used in writing it gives the impression of speech. It is not as radical as slang, and it is more relaxed and conversational than formal style. It uses constructions and shortened forms of words (ad for advertisement, sub for submarine). It is suitable for ordinary, informal or familiar conversation. (3) **Informal Style**. It is often used in writing tests, informal essays; reports can also be written this way. However, research papers are usually more formal. Informal style is halfway between colloquial and formal styles. Informal style is usually not following official or established rules and methods. (4) **Formal style**. It is used at special occasions that call for dignity and seriousness. It does not use constructions and it strives for absolute grammatical accuracy. The used of formal style is based on or done according to correct or accepted rules.

Further, Klammer dkk states that stylistic changes that account for the variety in everyone’s speech. Most of the writing and speech encounters casual and formal style. Casual style is characterized by conversation that treats the listener as an insider who shares much knowledge with the speaker. Ellipsis-parts of sentences can be omitted-, slang and informal vocabulary may use in this style. For instance; *What’s up?*, *Wanna lift?*, *etc.* Even formal style occurs in speech intended for public occasions. It employs careful pronunciation and intonation,

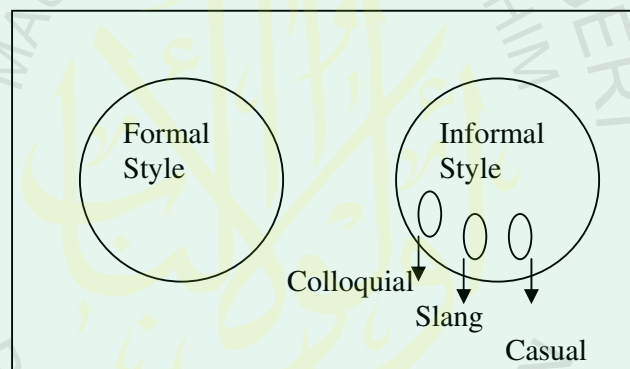
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<sup>17</sup> Kirsner and Mandel. 1978. *Basic College Writing*. New York: N.W. Norton.

reflecting the goal of informing the audiences. When we speak of formal writing, we mean writing that will be read by people unknown to the author. Business correspondence, research papers, and official documents<sup>18</sup>.

Based on the explanation above, it can be concluded that language style is classified into two types. Formal and Informal style. The typical of formal style is showing the complete thought with grammatical accuracy while the informal style is more enjoyable. The variances of informal styles are colloquial, slang and casual style.

The types of language style can be illustrated as follows:



### 2.1.1.2 The Function of Language Style

Chaika states that language style functions to convey social or artistic effects<sup>19</sup>. Wales in the second edition of her *Dictionary of Stylistics* defines that principally stylistic describing the formal features of texts and the functional

<sup>18</sup> Klammer, Thomas, dkk. 2006. *Analyzing English Grammar 5<sup>th</sup> edition*. New York: Pearson Longman. p. 28-30.

<sup>19</sup> Elaine Chaika. 1982. *Language Social Mirror*. Rowley, Massachusetts : Newbury House Publishers, Inc.

significance of these features in relation to the interpretation of the text<sup>20</sup>. Further, the stylisticians convince that in order to the interpretation is achieved, automatically there is the relation between the text or the speaker and the context, it means the receiver.

## **2.2 The Social-psychological Approach**

One of the approaches that can be used to discuss the relationship between the speaker's language and listeners' responses is socio-psychological approach. The concern of this approach is to know how the speaker influences the listener in term of thinking, feeling, and acting. Even, changing the listeners' behavior.

The changing attitude is as a caused of communication effect. Harold Lasswell in Jan Renkema offers four factors which are crucial in the effect of communication<sup>21</sup>. The first is the source (who?). Who's speaking in the speech communication deals with the credibility or trustworthiness of the listeners. The consequence of the listeners will semerge the sympathy/ antipathy, like/ dislike. The second is the message (what?). The message of the speaker's argument should be chosen in the right style to avoid unexpected responses. The effect of the message of speakers done can be negative or positive effect. The next is in term of channel (in which channel?). In this case, will happen whether the listeners convince the message based on their own thought easily or not. The last is the audience (to whom?). In addition, Laswell in Mulyana adds one further communication aspect. It is the effect (what effect?). Effect means the reply or the react from the listeners to the speaker from what the speaker intents.

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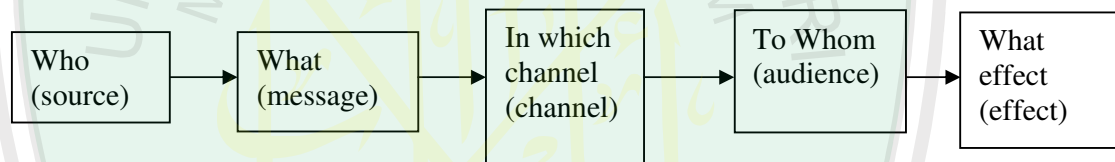
<sup>20</sup> Kati Wales. *Dictionary of Stylistic*. p.372.

<sup>21</sup> Jan Renkema. 2004. *Introduction to Discourse Studies*. Amsterdam/ Philadelphia: Publishing Company.



The audience has rules in receiving the message. It should be recognized for several aspects. First the background knowledge of the audience, the involving of the audience with the topic, the ability and the motivation of the audience, the ability of thought, the sex (female or male), old or young, etc. recognizing from those factors, at last, it will be known the difference effects of each audience to receive the same message from the speaker.

In short, the communication effect can be identify in term of source (who), the message (what), the channel (in which channel), the audience (to whom) and the effect (what effect). The communication process based on Laswell's explanation, can be drawn as the figure bellow.



### 2.2.1 Types of Response

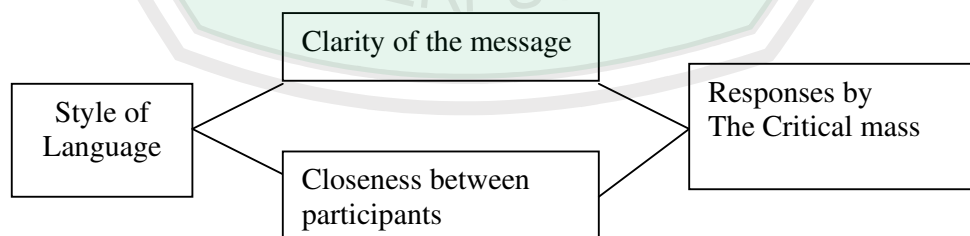
The study about socio-psychology is related with the study about attitude. It is the evaluations of persons, places and things. Generally, attitude considers to have tree components; cognition, affect, and behavior.

The affective (emotional) component consists of the kinds of feelings that a particular stimulus arouses. The attitude changing can be strong. Like other emotional reactions, these feelings are strongly influenced by direct or vicarious classical conditioning. Direct classical conditioning of attitude is straightforward. In contrast, vicarious classical conditioning undoubtedly plays a major role in transmitting parents' attitudes to their children. The cognitive components consist

of a set of beliefs about the stimulus. We acquire most beliefs about a particular stimulus quite directly: we hear or read a fact or opinion or other people reinforce statements in which we express a particular attitude. The behavioral components consist of a tendency to act in a particular way<sup>22</sup>.

It is predicted that as most of oral speech, the most frequently style that Hillary Clinton chooses in her political speeches is the informal style. The problem is, however, there are variances in the informal style. The well-known variance in Informal style is colloquial, slang and casual. Considering the socio-cultural and educational background of Hillary Clinton, it is also predicted that Hillary Clinton will prefer to use colloquial, and not the slang one.

Theoretically there is no direct relationship between the style and the critical mass responses. The style is, however, related directly to the clarity of the messages, and the closeness between the speaker and the listener. The clarity of the messages and the closeness between participants of communication then relate to the responses of the critical mass. Such relationships can be illustrated as follows:



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<sup>22</sup> Neil, R dkk. 2007. *Psychology: the Science of Behavior*. Boston: Printed in the United States of America. p. 483-485.

### 2.3 Recent Studies

There are several researchers who have studied about the language style. For example, Agus Khosyiul Umam analyzed *English Language Styles Used by the Members of Pondok Pesantren Darul Abidin Pare, Kediri* in 2007. He analyzed the language style can be found on the communication of the Members of *Pondok Pesantren Darul Abidin Pare, Kediri* are formal, informal and colloquial style. Formal style as the most frequently used. As well Ainur Rosyidah investigated *The Speech Styles Used by Multilingual Speakers in Pesantren Mahasiswa IAIN Sunan Ampel Surabaya* in 2007. She found speech style characteristics in speakers in Pesantren mahasiswa IAIN Sunan Ampel Surabaya. Those are in lexical, word formation, word formation and grammar style.

## CHAPTER III

### RESEARCH METHOD

This chapter provides a detailed description of research design, data and data sources, data collecting, and data analysis processes as follows:

#### 3.1 Research Design

Most of linguistic studies are conducted through qualitative design. It is including into descriptive study. The purpose of descriptive study is to describe existing conditions. It includes correlations, surveys, case studies, direct observation, cross-cultural studies, and growth studies<sup>23</sup>. Related with the study which is focus on exploratory study, and it includes into the kinds of case study, then the study is called descriptive study.

The writer uses descriptive qualitative research in this study. The data are analyzed descriptively based on the theoretical concept in the previous explanation. Those are language style and socio psychological approach.

#### 3.2 Data and Data Source

The data sources of this study are text of Hillary Clinton's political speeches and the critical mass responses. The Hillary Clinton's political speeches are taken from Hillary Clinton's website ( [www.hillaryclinton.com](http://www.hillaryclinton.com)) while the critical mass responses are searched from youtube.com information. The titles of the speeches are: *Economy: Solutions for The American Economy*. *Iraq: Hillary's*

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<sup>23</sup> Sakban Rosidi. *Guide to Research Design and Methods*.

*Remarks at the George Washington University, Hillary's Remarks on Super Tuesday and Health Care: Global Summit on AIDS and the Church.*

The writer analyzes the sentences of Hillary Clinton's political speeches which are included into the kind of language style, and also the critical mass responses based on each Hillary's political speeches. Afterwards, the writer classifies which one of those types is frequently used.

### **3.3 Reading Process**

The writer collects the data by reading the text of Hillary Clinton's political speeches. The writer uses skimming and scanning in reading process. Skimming is reading process by taking the needed information only. It is still in general process while scanning is reading in detail to get the information through the paragraph.

In In qualitative research, the researcher becomes the main instrument to collect and analyze the data. Bogdan states that researchers need an instrument flexible enough to capture the complexity of human experience. Only human instrument is capable of this task<sup>24</sup>.

### **3.4 Data Analysis and Interpretation**

Data analysis means a search for patterns in data-recurrent behavior, objects, or a body of knowledge<sup>25</sup>. In data analysis involves examining, sorting,

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<sup>24</sup> Robert Bogdan. 1998. *Qualitative Research for Education: an Introduction to Theory and Method (3<sup>rd</sup> ed)*. United States: Nancy Forsyth. p. 76.

<sup>25</sup> Sakban Rosidi. *Analysis of Qualitative Data*. p.426

categorizing, evaluating, comparing, synthesizing, and contemplating the coded data as well as reviewing the raw and recorded data<sup>26</sup>.

The data is analyzed by identifying the sentences found in Hillary Clinton's political speeches, the critical mass responses as well. The data analysis is used intensive reading and inter-textual reading process. As summarized by Barry in Rosidi that Technique of intensive reading is familiar with the technique of SQ3R (*Survey, Question, Read, Recall, and Review*)<sup>27</sup>. *Survey* seems like the skimming process, read the opening and the closing sentence to get the information. *Question* to what we are reading and getting the answer from our own question. *Read* the whole page and highlight the key points that we need. Then *Recall* means remembering what we have read without opening the book. Last is *Review* is reconsider what we have read in the following days without opening the book again. While inter-textual reading process is reading another text to interpret the text which has similar object.

The writer analysis the study on title an exploratory study on the impact of language style in several steps. Firstly, the data are sorted, then categorized based on the types of language style and the critical mass responses, and classified the findings. The result of analysis covers the representation of the findings. Finally, the writer discusses the findings.

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<sup>26</sup> Sakban Rosidi. *Analysis of Qualitative Data*. p.426

<sup>27</sup> Sakban Rosidi. *Intensive Reading as A Technique of Linguistic Data analysis*.

## **CHAPTER IV**

### **FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION**

This chapter discusses the findings of the study that covers the types of language style and the critical mass responses.

#### **4.1 Research Finding**

The findings are divided into data description and result of analysis. In data description, the writer classifies the language style that Hillary Clinton used in her political speeches and the response of critical mass. Whereas in the result of analysis the writer categorizes the language style that Hillary Clinton used in her political speeches and the response of critical mass, then assert the impact of language style used by Hillary Clinton's political speeches to the critical mass responses.

##### **4.1.1 Data Description**

###### **4.1.1.1 Types of Language Style**

###### **1. Formal style**

The 1<sup>st</sup> data:

1. I want to thank Frank Holleman who was out speaking here with you before, and Lottie Gibson. State Representative Fletcher Smith, who I'm proud to

have supporting me and I want to thank the conference center here and Kay Cornelison, who is the director and all of you who have come.

2. We have several of them here today, led by Hershel Gober, the former Secretary of Veteran Affairs; Hank Naughton, an Iraq veteran and a state representative from Massachusetts; Pat Lewis, another veteran; Reverend Tim Brown, another supporter. I'm very honored to have the support of so many of our veterans.
3. But now, finally, the President may acknowledge what the American people have known for years: that the economy is not working for middle class and working families. And I welcome the president to this conversation. Because it's a conversation that Americans have been having and that I've been having with so many people every day for years.
4. Now, our economic problems are admittedly complex. But there is one thing we know for sure: the problem with our economy is not the American people. Instead, the problem is, in part, the bankrupt ideas that have governed us for the last seven years.
5. The factory worker and the CEO, the farmer or the small business owner, the scientist in the lab, or the teacher in the classroom, everybody who gets up every day and gets their job done, supports their families that is the strength of the American economy.
6. It's time for a President who believes that leading an economic comeback is a fulltime, hands-on job. Who renews our commitment to a strong and prosperous middle class and brings business, labor and government together to restore America's competitiveness in a fast changing world.
7. Otherwise, here is what I fear. Most of us, as I look around this room, with the exception of the students who are crowded into the foyer and spilling out the door, we have been the beneficiaries of the sacrifices that came from previous generations- from parents and grandparents, from people who fought the wars, and built big businesses, and did the labor, who created the extraordinary success of that America is. We have to keep faith with all that came before us.
8. We know that the loss of a home is devastating and so many families across our country are facing that. But it's not only those who are actually losing



their homes I worry about. Because of this mortgage crisis, every home owner is losing value in our homes.

9. That's why my plan to fix the economy starts by doing everything possible to ensure that we don't lose any more homes and that we stabilize the economy when it comes to the mortgage crisis.
10. The Democratic leadership in the House and Senate along with the White House appear to be nearing a deal and I am heartened to hear that they are planning to extend assistance to the tens of millions of working Americans who need it the most.
11. I think it was Winston Churchill who said that, the difference between a politician and a statesman is that the politician thinks about the next election, while the statesman thinks about the next generation.
12. The tragic bridge collapse in Minnesota this past summer, a recent levee break in Nevada, and what happened with the levees in New Orleans are painful reminders that our infrastructure is in dangerous disrepair.
13. For the past seven years, the oil companies, the predatory student loan companies, the insurance companies, the drug companies have had a president who stands up for them.
14. Right now, some of the people I represent in New York City, Wall Street investment managers, making \$50 million a year pay just 15% on their earnings while a teacher making \$50,000 pays 25%.
15. I want to strengthen community colleges, invest \$500 million to support innovative, on-the-job training and apprenticeship programs for those who don't go to college.
16. I want to ask you how many of you know someone here in South Carolina who is uninsured? How many of you know somebody who may have insurance but it just doesn't pay for what the doctor or the hospital says you need?
17. Year after year, the President has increased spending at more than double the rate of the previous administration and handed tax cut after tax cut to multi-millionaires, oil companies and other interest groups.

18. Think about President Franklin Roosevelt. Faced with a Depression, grave threats to America's freedom, he responded with bold solutions. Yes, they were sometimes controversial, but we rose from economic chaos and despair and at the time he died we were months away from winning a World War.
19. You know, "we can't solve the energy crisis without wrecking our economy; we cannot provide affordable quality healthcare without wrecking our healthcare system; we can't have an economy anymore that creates a rising standard of living for everybody willing to work hard."
20. We are the oldest democracy in the world for a reason. Because whenever times are tough, whenever the challenges are big and the stakes are huge. We always respond.

The 2<sup>nd</sup> data:

1. I want to thank Secretary West for his years of service, not only as Secretary of the Army, but also to the Veteran's Administration, to our men and women in uniform, to our country.
2. There was supposed to be some kind of a greeting ceremony at the airport, but instead we just ran with our heads down to get into the vehicles to get to our base. But it was a moment of great pride for me to visit our troops, not only in our main base as Tuzla, but also at two outposts where they were serving in so many capacities to deactivate and remove landmines, to hunt and seek out those who had not complied with the Dayton Accords and put down their arms, and to build relationships with the people that might lead to a peace for them and their children.
3. I want to thank President Steven Knapp for once again being the host. I'm getting credit for coming to GW, I come so often, and I'm thrilled to have that added to my academic career. And I want to thank the faculty, the staff, and the students at this great university.
4. So for every American soldier who has made the ultimate sacrifice for this mission, we should imagine carved in stone "they gave their life for the greatest gift one can give to a fellow human being, the gift of freedom." And to our veterans and all those serving in Iraq today

5. From the decision to rush to war without allowing the weapons inspectors to finish their work or waiting for diplomacy to run its course. To the failure to send enough troops and provide proper equipment for them. To the denial of the existence of a rising insurgency and the failure to adjust the military strategy. To the continued support for a government unwilling to make the necessary political compromises.
6. The American people don't have to guess whether I'm ready to lead or whether I understand the realities on the ground in Iraq or whether I'd be too dependent on advisers to help me determine the right way forward.
7. I've introduced legislation ensuring that Congress would be briefed on those plans and that's also why I'm working to block President Bush's effort to keep this war going after he leaves office.
8. I believe what matters in this campaign is not just the promises we've made to end the war; what matters is what we've actually done when it came time to match words with action. Because more than anything else, what we've done is an indication of what we'll do.
9. Today I'd like to talk about how I will do that, how as president, I will bring our troops home, work to bring stability in the region, and replace military force with a new diplomatic initiative to engage countries around the world in helping to secure Iraq's future.
10. As president, one of my first official actions will be to convene the Joint Chiefs of Staff, my Secretary of Defense and my National Security Council and direct them to draw up a clear, viable plan to start bringing our troops home within the first 60 days of my taking office.
11. I will also implement a proposal that I, Representative Murtha, and others have been calling for, requiring that before any brigade is deployed, the Secretary of Defense must certify to Congress that it is fully combat ready.
12. Many are living in desperate conditions creating not just a humanitarian crisis but one affecting regional stability that poses direct threats to our security here at home which we must address immediately.
13. As president I would immediately direct the Inspector General for Iraq to appoint a special council to investigate and make recommendations directly to

me for how to ensure Iraqi oil revenues and U.S. taxpayer dollars on a declining trend are used to rebuild Iraq.

14. One of my very first international meetings as president would be with our treaty allies and our friends in the region including the Gulf States, Jordan, Egypt, and our European allies
15. These men and women have made extraordinary sacrifices serving the country they love, and I'm always struck by how no matter the extent and severity of their suffering, no matter how grave their own injuries, they always say the same thing to me, "promise that you'll take care of my buddies."

The 3<sup>rd</sup> data:

1. People of all ages and of all colors, all faiths and all walks of life. People on the day shift, the night shift, the late shift with the crying baby. Moms and dads who want a better world for our children. Young people who deserve a world of opportunity. All those who aren't in the headlines, but have always written America's story.
2. The man who asked me what to do after training the person who will take his job in another country, the veterans who come home only to find they don't have the healthcare, the compensation, and the services they need.
3. I also want to congratulate Senator Obama for his victories tonight.
4. And I look forward to continuing our campaign and our debate about how to lead this country better off in the next generation, because that is the work of my life - that is why I started my career fighting for abused and neglected children, children who have drawn the short straw in life, because this nation gave me every opportunity and we can do the same for every child.
5. So today we say with one voice, "Give us the child who wants to learn, give us the people in need of work, give us the veterans who need our care. We say give us the economy to rebuild and this war to end, give us this nation to heal, this world to lead, this moment to seize."

The 4<sup>th</sup> data:

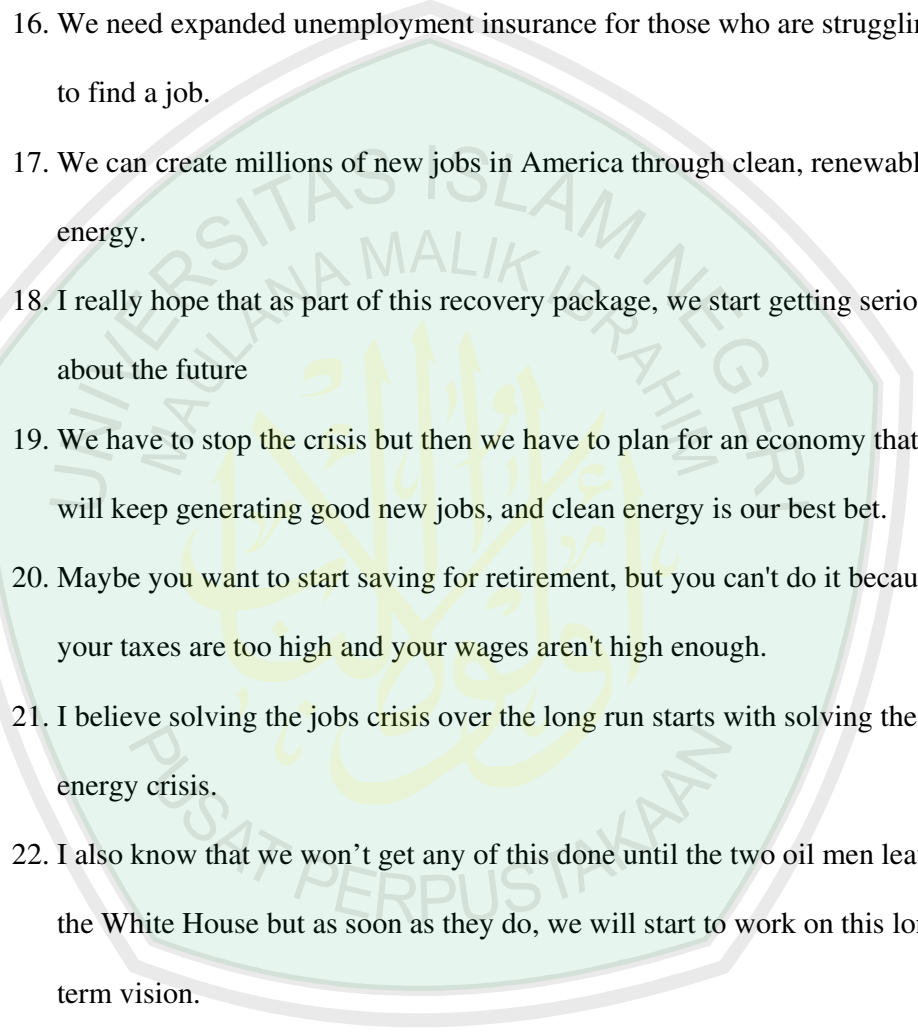
1. I am so honored and personally delighted to be here, and I want to thank Rick and Kay Warren for bringing us together this week around World AIDS Day.
2. And I want to thank their tremendous staff and the volunteers and everyone who helped make this happen.
3. We should take heart that the United Nations recently revised its estimate of the number of people infected with HIV downward from 40 million to 33 million. But please don't take any comfort.
4. I thought of my own daughter and of all the girls her age who speak with such excitement about their futures, and about how cruel an injustice it was that this child would never know hers.
5. There are many churches and faith based groups here in our country and increasingly in other parts of the world who are understanding the urgency of this mission.
6. I believe we should do much more to encourage voluntary testing, but in order to do that it must be accompanied by counseling and there has to be a public education and outreach effort to undermine and diminish the stigma
7. In 1995, I went to Beijing on behalf of our country for the United Nation's Fourth World Conference on Women. I said what most of us believe here in America, that women's rights are human rights, but it was considered a radical statement.

## 2. Informal style

The 1<sup>st</sup> data:

1. I am so happy to be back here at Furman. I was at Furman with Dick and Chucky Riley back in 2003 for a speech and a question and answer program there, and I had such a wonderful time.

2. Some of it was us off to a late start, but there were other things we had to deal with, and some of it was delays in air travel, but I appreciate your patience and your willingness to be here.
3. He is such a unique public servant and a wonderful, great man.
4. We didn't hear from him as more than two million foreclosure notices went out 11,000 properties right here in South Carolina are in some stage of foreclosure.
5. We have seen our growing, thriving economy that created 22.7 million jobs in the 1990s pushed to the brink of recession.
6. The American people are actually the solution to our economic problems.
7. And it's time we finally had a president who worked as hard for you as you work for America every single day.
8. True unity can only be achieved by finding real solutions for the American people, and then delivering them. Without real solutions, division and disappointment, not unity, will be the result.
9. will bring the voices of the American people back to the White House. I will ask all of us to be involved in solving our problems.
10. I don't think any of us want to be part of the first generation of Americans to leave our country worse off than when we found it.
11. That would be such a breach with what American history has meant to all of us. So the time for waiting is over and the time for talk is over.
12. If I were President right now, I would work with the Congress to jumpstart the economy by immediately addressing the housing crisis, creating new jobs, and getting money back into the pockets of the American people.
13. I have visited with so many people in their homes and I know what our homes mean to us.

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14. I introduced legislation to crack down on abusive lending practices and give states the resources to help at-risk families avoid losing their homes.
15. If the bank is about to foreclose on your home, you should have some breathing room to restructure your mortgage.
16. We need expanded unemployment insurance for those who are struggling to find a job.
17. We can create millions of new jobs in America through clean, renewable energy.
18. I really hope that as part of this recovery package, we start getting serious about the future
19. We have to stop the crisis but then we have to plan for an economy that will keep generating good new jobs, and clean energy is our best bet.
20. Maybe you want to start saving for retirement, but you can't do it because your taxes are too high and your wages aren't high enough.
21. I believe solving the jobs crisis over the long run starts with solving the energy crisis.
22. I also know that we won't get any of this done until the two oil men leave the White House but as soon as they do, we will start to work on this long-term vision.
23. Every billion dollars that we spend fixing crumbling infrastructure creates 48,000 new jobs.
24. We need to end this Administration's war on science and restore America to its rightful place.



25. We became so successful after World War II because business and science worked hand in hand with government.

26. Our great universities like Furman were on the cutting edge of discoveries that we translated into better outcomes for people. But creating jobs is just the beginning.

27. We need to empower our workers and ensure that our tax system is fair.

28. I intend to be a president who stands up for you every single day about how we make America work better for you.

29. We need to reform the Alternative Minimum Tax to ensure it doesn't hit middle class families with higher tax rates.

30. We need to give people the tools and support they need to succeed in today is complex economy.

31. I also want to increase the size of Pell Grants, something that former Secretary Riley mentioned.

32. We have two problems we have the problem of the uninsured and the problem of the underinsured.

33. My plan also bans insurance company discrimination, so you will never be denied coverage because of pre-existing conditions or risk factors that you might have.

34. Finally, we have to help more Americans save for a secure retirement.

35. When I'm President, I want to provide every single American with an easy, automatic opportunity to save for the future through "American Retirement Accounts."



36. These accounts will take the best of the 401k plans and make them available to every working family. And we'll give families up to \$1,000 in tax cuts to help them save.
37. And how has he paid for all of this spending? By borrowing money from foreign countries like China.
38. When people ask me, why is it hard to get tough on China and enforce our trade agreements, I tell them: because they're our bankers.
39. We owe them. How can we truly enforce the trade laws against a country like China, when our economy depends on China's massive loans to us? Think about it this way, we borrow money from China to buy oil from the Saudis.
40. And I'm going to end that strategy if I have the good fortune of becoming your president.
41. That's why I've worked throughout this campaign to show exactly how I would pay for every initiative that I have just mentioned.
42. You know, today, some people around the world and even some here at home are basically saying, "Well, we can't go back to the kind of economy we had before."
43. Well, every election is about the future but I do think there are lessons we need to learn from the past
44. When I say we need a new approach to healthcare that provides quality, affordable healthcare for every American

45. I'm going to ask you to take better care of your health and the health of your children. Because we can have the best health care system in the world but we've got to be healthier.

46. Well, we've tried nearly everything else over the last seven years, and I think we've learned our lesson.

47. So now what we need to do is face the future realistically, courageously, confidently, and optimistically.

48. I need you to vote not just for me but for yourselves, your family, and your future.

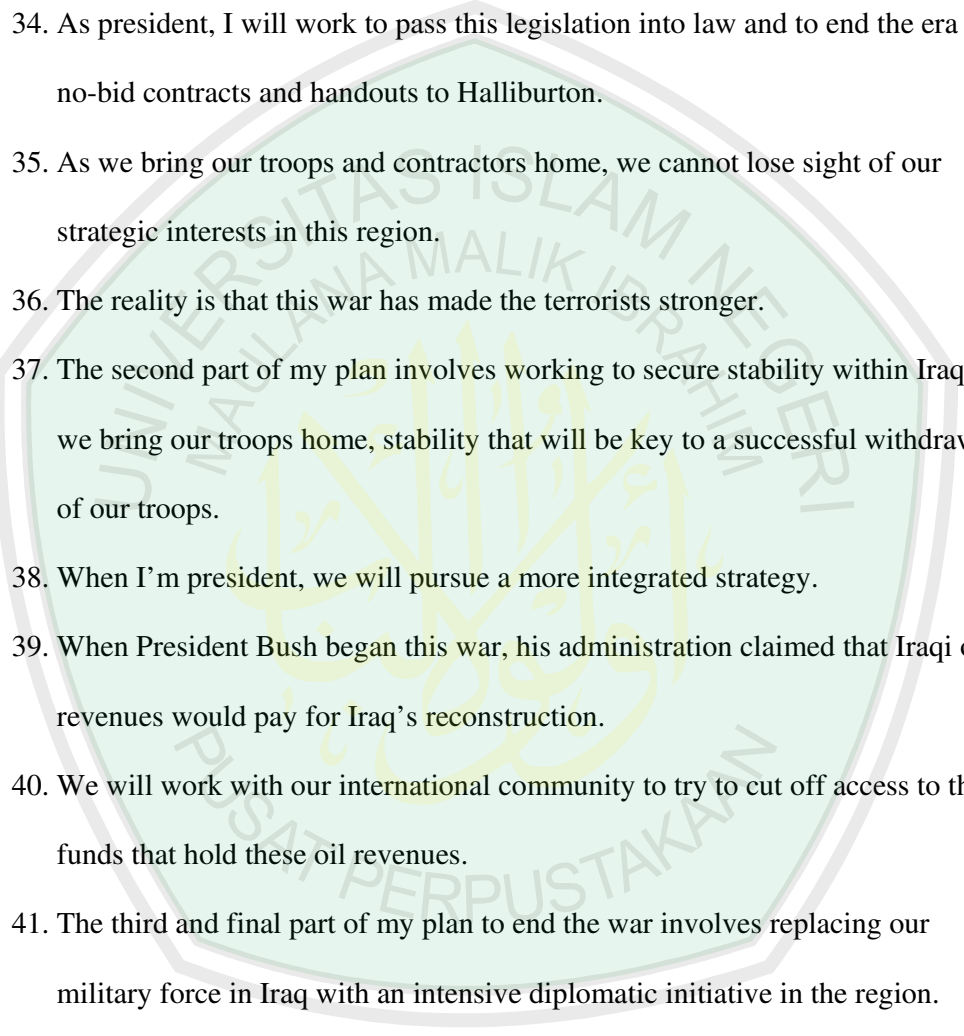
49. I am ready to lead on day one, and if you give me that opportunity, we will restore pride and progress in our country together.

The 2<sup>nd</sup> data:

1. It has been five years this week since our president took us to war in Iraq.
2. In that time, our brave men and women in uniform have done everything we ask of them and more.
3. They were asked to remove Saddam Hussein from power and bring him to justice and they did.
4. They were asked to give the Iraqi government the space and time for political reconciliation, and they did.
5. The mistakes in Iraq are not the responsibility of our men and women in uniform but of their Commander-in-Chief
6. Fortunately, ten months from now we will have a new president, and a new opportunity to change course in Iraq.

7. I will start by facing the conditions on the ground in Iraq as they are, not as we hope or wish them to be.
8. So by the middle of this summer when the additional surge forces have been sent home, we'll be right back at square one with 130,000 or more troops on the ground in Iraq.
9. The lives of our brave men and women are at stake.
10. Only one of our army brigades is certified by the army to be ready.
11. Our ability to win the war in Afghanistan is at stake.
12. Finally, our leadership in the world and our ability to front global challenges, present and future, is at stake.
13. Despite the evidence, President Bush is determined to continue his failed policy in Iraq until he leaves office.
14. And Senator McCain will gladly accept the torch and stay the course, keeping troops in Iraq for up to 100 years if necessary.
15. They both want to keep us tied to another country's civil war, a war we cannot win.
16. We can have hundreds of thousands of troops on the ground for 100 years, but that will not change the fact that there is no military solution to the situation in Iraq.
17. Senator McCain and president bush claim withdrawal is defeat.
18. Defeat is keeping troops in Iraq for 100 years.
19. Defeat is draining our resources and diverting attention from our key interests.
20. The only way to spur the Iraqis to take responsibility for their own future and to ensure that we don't bear that responsibility indefinitely

21. It looks like it would drive Senator McCain's foreign policy as well, but it will not drive mine.
22. My foreign policy will be driven by what is in America's national security interests.
23. So it is time to end this war as quickly and responsibly as possible.
24. That has been my mission in the Senate, and it will be my mission starting on day one as president of the United States.
25. That's why I've started laying the ground work for a swift and responsible withdrawal beginning in early 2009 by demanding that the Pentagon start planning for it now.
26. I have concrete, detailed plans to end this war, and I have not waived in my commitment to follow through on them.
27. Another choice is Senator Obama who has promised to bring combat troops out in 16 months, but according to his foreign policy adviser, you can't count on him to do that.
28. In uncertain times, we cannot afford uncertain leadership.
29. Here is what you can count on me to do: provide the leadership to end this war quickly and responsibly.
30. The most important part of my plan is the first step, to bring our troops home and send the strongest possible message to the Iraqis that they must take responsibly for their own future.
31. In addition to removing American troops from Iraq, I will also work to remove armed private military contractors who are conducting combat-oriented and security functions in Iraq.

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32. When I am president I will ask the Joint Chiefs for their help in reducing reliance on armed private military contractors.
33. I'm proposing legislation to ensure that all new spending in 2009 is done through competitive contracting processes.
34. As president, I will work to pass this legislation into law and to end the era of no-bid contracts and handouts to Halliburton.
35. As we bring our troops and contractors home, we cannot lose sight of our strategic interests in this region.
36. The reality is that this war has made the terrorists stronger.
37. The second part of my plan involves working to secure stability within Iraq as we bring our troops home, stability that will be key to a successful withdrawal of our troops.
38. When I'm president, we will pursue a more integrated strategy.
39. When President Bush began this war, his administration claimed that Iraqi oil revenues would pay for Iraq's reconstruction.
40. We will work with our international community to try to cut off access to the funds that hold these oil revenues.
41. The third and final part of my plan to end the war involves replacing our military force in Iraq with an intensive diplomatic initiative in the region.
42. The mission of this group will be to develop and implement a strategy to create a stable Iraq.

The 3<sup>rd</sup> data:

1. Tonight, in record numbers, you voted not just to make history - but to remake America.
2. We just talked to some of our folks there and people have died in both states, and our thoughts and prayers go out to them in this moment of their need.
3. It's about the people who have shared their problems with me, looking for solutions.
4. It's about the unions and businesses who are training people for green collar jobs
5. It's about the auto companies and auto workers who want higher gas mileage cars so we can compete with the rest of the world.
6. It's about our contractors and construction workers who want to get to work to rebuild America from the bridges in Minnesota to the levies in New Orleans.
7. We know what we need is someone ready on day one to solve our problems and restore our opportunities.
8. Now we know the Republicans won't give up the White House without a fight, well let me be clear, I won't let anyone swift boat this country's future.
9. I see an America where we don't just provide health care for some people, or most people, but for every single man, woman and child in this country - no one left out.
10. I see an America respected around the world again, that reaches out to our allies and confronts our shared challenges - from global terrorism to global warming to global epidemics.
11. And I want to thank the most important people in my life, first Bill and Chelsea, for their incredible love.

The 4<sup>th</sup> data:

1. It's another example of the way in which this church is not measured by numbers.
2. HIV infection rates are rising among gay men again and among African Americans and Latinos.
3. The disease takes a disproportionate toll on the poor and communities of color.
4. And it is an outrage that HIV/AIDS is the leading cause of death for black women between the ages of 25 and 34 in the United States of America.
5. Don't let anyone tell you that the time for alarm has passed.
6. She had been sold into prostitution at the age of eight by her family for a satellite television.
7. It's a problem of our common humanity, and we are called to respond, with love, with mercy, and with urgency.
8. As President, I will wage the fight against AIDS with the passionate commitment it demands.
9. We are putting a different face on our country; we are reaching out in a common search for answers.
10. We know how to stop the spread of the virus from mother to child but we don't have the resources and the system behind delivering the drugs that are necessary.
11. In some places, AIDS can be even more destructive than war.
12. We can do this if we are committed together.

13. Education not only reduces poverty and improves health, it's a key form of prevention.
14. Every day we don't act, we deny more children the childhoods they deserve.
15. We deny what is at the heart of human dignity: the power to learn, to discover, to grow, to reach one's God-given potential
16. It's important we continue to work to empower women to take responsibility for themselves and their futures with initiatives on everything from maternal health to micro-credit and entrepreneurship.

### 3. Colloquial style

The 1<sup>st</sup> data:

1. I am so sorry to be late
2. The way we bring our country together is by acting on our values.
3. We want the American Dream to be within everyone's reach.
4. Well I'm sorry to disagree.
5. We need to target it to those who are most in need.
6. We need relief from skyrocketing energy bills.
7. We've got to start thinking about the next generation.
8. All of our challenges are all together now.
9. No one who works full time should live in poverty
10. They act as though the 1990s was ancient Rome.
11. It worked well in the 1990s.
12. I know we can do this together.

The 2<sup>nd</sup> data:



1. I remember landing under sniper fire.
2. Well, let's be clear, withdrawal is not defeat
3. I strongly agree.
4. One choice in this election is Senator McCain.
5. Now, Senator Obama and I have a substantive disagreement here.
6. It's time we did our part and paid our fair share.

The 3<sup>rd</sup> data::

1. Thank you so much.
2. They suffered horrible tornados tonight.
3. Tonight thought is your - tonight is America's night.

The 4<sup>th</sup> data:

1. It's about your lives, your families, your futures.
2. I am so lucky to have the most extraordinary staff, volunteers, and supporters...
3. I know we're ready.
4. We can't slow.

#### 4. Slang style

The 1<sup>st</sup> data:

1. asking us to be bigger than ourselves, *summoning up* to greatness
2. That is a *dead-end* strategy for America

The 2<sup>nd</sup> data:

1. I believe when brave men and women *sign up* to serve our country, we *sign up* to serve them too.

The 3<sup>rd</sup> data:

-

The 4<sup>th</sup> data:

1. the fight against AIDS must be done *hand-in-hand*

#### 4.1.1.2 The Critical Mass' Responses

There are tree kinds of responses that the critical mass uses as the effect of Hillary Clinton's political speeches. Those are cognitive, affective and behavioral effects. All the responses from critical masses show the cognitive responses.

Those are identified from each critical mass responses who have understood about who Hillary is and what she proposes for the American in the future is. These are the examples of cognitive effect deals with the language style used by Hillary's political speeches;

Just can't trust Barack anymore. He comes across so sincere only to lie to us on a daily basis. I just don't know who he is and what his agenda really is for America.

I feel I know who Hillary Clinton is and can trust her to work hard and fight for what is best for America<sup>28</sup>

So you can trust a lady that will say anthing to get yoor vote. An actor who lies,can't remember anything, does Tonya Harding tactics,fakes crying to voters,QUEEN of smear campain,runs on her husbands past record,no experience at all? She's fake. So vote for a man that seems truthful(BARACK).

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<sup>28</sup> Hillary Clinton (January 24, 2008). *Economy: Solutions for the American Economy*. Furman. Quoted by Jeffry.

FYI:GOV.RENDELL SUPPOTED FARRAHAN IN 97. LOOK IT UP!<sup>29</sup>

Sen. Hillary Clinton, her public service, political experience and tenacity tell us not only "Yes we can" but also "How we can." As such, we endorse Clinton for the Democratic Party's nomination for president<sup>30</sup>.

Hi,I also feel fasinating if a woman can lead the world (I felt so for Margaret Thatcher), but at the critical moment there is another guy available who is more competent and bettr suits the job which acquires enormous effort and ability to bring people together to get things done. Hillary failed in doing this in the past,which is decided by her own divisive character. I'm sorry this is true if you ask the mojority of american<sup>31</sup>. (sic!)

how can she smile during this. god i fuckin hate her<sup>32</sup>. (sic!)

Another error in judgment Hillary, gee how many errors in judgment can you have in one primary election and not drop out of the race. I bet if this was Senator Barack Obama he would not have the slightest chance in hell for the presidency if he had so many blunders<sup>33</sup>.

The critical mass responses imply that they have familiar with Hillary Rodham Clinton, one of American president candidates from Democrat. The mass media information gives the more understanding to critical mass about Hillary's issues. It helps the critical mass to identify who Hillary is.

The next response is notifying in affective response. The sense in affective is deeper than cognitive response. So, each critical mass gives different

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<sup>29</sup> *Economy: Solutions for the American Economy*. Quoted by Vel.

<sup>30</sup> Hillary Clinton (March 17, 2008). *Iraq: Hillary's Remarks at the George Washington University*. Quoted by Marlene.

<sup>31</sup> *Iraq: Hillary's Remarks at the George Washington University*. Quoted by Liza

<sup>32</sup> Hillary Clinton (February 5, 2008) *Hillary's Remarks on Super Tuesday*. Quoted by Jonah

<sup>33</sup> Hillary Clinton (November 29, 2007) *Health Care: Global Summit on AIDS and the Church*.

Quoted by Moblou.

affective response. These are the critical mass affective responses based on each language style used by Hillary's political speeches.

Hillary is right for our country and particularly we the working class. We need her to fix our economic woes. She is right for America I thank the rest of the Americans who support Hillary. She will be a great President who will also restore our standing. Former Sec. of State Madeline Albright words in Ohio identified how badly our country needs a strong President who will put our needs first. With a decisive wins PA and most of the primaries to come. Thank you and God Bless America<sup>34</sup>.

She is the ONLY candidate of both parties who actually understands the economy. In fact, she understands and knows just about anything I've heard of that plagues that country. Maybe it's time this country elected someone on their smarts and plethora of knowledge rather than smoke. Do we ever learn from past mistakes? That inexperienced, charismatic guy who promised unity and change in '00 didn't work out too well. Let's vote different<sup>35</sup>.

Don't insult our country by saying only a Clinton can clean up after a Bush. Why would only a Clinton be qualified for the job? Hillary insults Obama, insults Democrats, and insults our country! OBAMA '08!!!<sup>36</sup>

Those affective responses are the representation of all Hillary's responses in the way of her language style when she delivers in economical issues. The first two statements above demonstrate great expectation and support from the critical mass that Hillary masters in delivering American economic crisis. Only a small number of critical mass who disbelief that Hillary is able to lead American economic. The second Hillary's political speech is telling about Iraq. These are the affective responses;

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<sup>34</sup> *Economy: Solutions for the American Economy*. Quoted by Ruth.

<sup>35</sup> *Economy: Solutions for the American Economy*. Quoted by Josha.

<sup>36</sup> *Economy: Solutions for the American Economy*. Quoted by Nicklas.

walking disaster, talking disaster, master of disaster she is<sup>37</sup>.

Hillary lacks Obama's wisdom. Wisdom can be defined as "living from the future in the present." That is, having awareness that the choices we make today will have consequences tomorrow. Obama saw the implications of this regarding our entry into Iraq, and Hillary didn't. Wisdom is a rare quality, but a very desirable quality in any leader<sup>38</sup>

Lying piece of shit!!!!<sup>39</sup>

Almost the critical mass does not trust anymore, even they mock

Hillary when she talks about Iraq. Most of them recommend Obama as appropriate candidate for American president. The next speech is talking about Hillary's remarks on Super Tuesday and Health Care. These are the affective responses from critical mass;

OH NO!! what were you expecting? that she gives all her fortune to compensate bush's mistakes? well if there are deficit so obviously she should (and she must) increase the taxes<sup>40</sup>

you're head?!!! you're mad... hillary is obviously not as "AUTHENTIC" as her husband still she's a brain! she really knows what she's doing, and most of all she has a plan for america!!<sup>41</sup>

HILLLLLLAAAARRYY!:) <sup>42</sup>

what do u expect from someone who can stay with infidelity for her own hidden agenda. so disgusted with those deceit and lies. make me want to puke just by listening to her voice. wake up fools<sup>43</sup>.

Barack is a classy guy. he's the truth; a man of character. The characteristics exhibited by Hi-liar-y are those of a narcissistic

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<sup>37</sup> *Iraq: Hillary's Remarks at the George Washington University.* Quoted by Rann

<sup>38</sup> *Iraq: Hillary's Remarks at the George Washington University.* Quoted by Michael

<sup>39</sup> *Iraq: Hillary's Remarks at the George Washington University.* Quoted by Chigan

<sup>40</sup> *Hillary's Remarks on Super Tuesday.* Quoted by Lesz

<sup>41</sup> *Hillary's Remarks on Super Tuesday.* Quoted by Cathellin

<sup>42</sup> *Hillary's Remarks on Super Tuesday.* Quoted by Ruthz

<sup>43</sup> *Health Care: Global Summit on AIDS and the Church.* Quoted by Rozann

sociopath. Hillary said the Presidency is her birth right. She feels entitled, lies constantly, and accuses people of doing the things that she does. She presents herself as religious. Her actions are demonic. Hillary cares only for herself and being able to control people who will promote her sick agenda. SNIPER FIRE? NAFTA? I DIDN'T INHALE?<sup>44</sup>

The critical mass give not quite different an affective responses when she talks about remarks on Super Tuesday and Health Care. They think that there is no significance expectation from Hillary's contribution to make American's living better than the past.

The last response is behavioral effect. Behavior means someone's attitude or manner. So, in this response, the critical mass shows the consequences by giving an action. It could be accepting or rejecting *what* the speaker means. The behavioral responses of the critical mass concerning with the language style used by Hillary's political speeches are;

Hillary's goti»¿ my Oregon vote!<sup>45</sup> (sic!)

Why Robert Reich no longer supports Hillary:  
We have three terrible traditions that we've developed in American campaigns. One is outright meanness and negativity. The second is taking out of context something your opponent said, maybe inartfully, and blowing it up into something your opponent doesn't possibly believe and doesn't possibly represent. And third is a kind of tradition of distraction. And these three aspects of the old politics I've seen growing in Hillary's campaign<sup>46</sup>.

As the critical mass' consequences of the language style used by Hillary in her political speeches which is concerning with economical issues is that they vote for Hillary. How about other behavioral responses when she speaks

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<sup>44</sup> *Health Care: Global Summit on AIDS and the Church*. Qouted by Fruued

<sup>45</sup> *Economy: Solutions for the American Economy* Quoted by Traslaverdad.

<sup>46</sup> *Economy: Solutions for the American Economy*. Quoted by Luke.

in another theme? It will be the same or different? Here are other behavioral responses based on each language style in her political speeches;

This video is why Hillary Clinton won't be the democratic nominee for president. Her vote for war fucked her with the liberal base. Obama will be the nominee<sup>47</sup>.

Anyone»¿ who votes for Hillary is a fuking retard<sup>48</sup>. (sic!)

It is alarming and disgusting how quickly she moves to self glorification just a second after her brief mention of the deadly tornado victims in this speech. She will never be as genuine and heart felt and AUTHENTIC as Obama. Just listen to his speech that same night and compare. My fiancé and I are voting with our heart AND our head for OBAMA<sup>49</sup> (sic!)

Did She Win I Hope She Did Love You Hilary I Vote For You Bye.... Love Morgan»¿<sup>50</sup> (sic!)

clinton is a fake pckage after 24 years clintons and bushs we should vote OBAMA CAUSE WE CAN<sup>51</sup> (sic!)

The only people voting for Hillary Clinton are women!  
They don't care that Hillary has run a "piss poor" campaign, that has been desperate, disorganized, and at times even bankrupt!  
They still want Hillary to run the country & the economy, despite her incredibly poor management skills because she is a woman!  
These same "women"/Hillary supporters were mad at CHEATING Bill Clinton, but now support Hillary Clinton - an even BIGGER LIAR THAN HER HUSBAND!  
White Males for Obama '08!<sup>52</sup>

excuse me....i am 100% female and i am all for barack obama!!!!.....not all women are stupid :)<sup>53</sup>

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<sup>47</sup> *Iraq: Hillary's Remarks at the George Washington University.* Quoted by Simonn

<sup>48</sup> *Iraq: Hillary's Remarks at the George Washington University.* Quoted by Ronals

<sup>49</sup> *Hillary's Remarks on Super Tuesday.* Quoted by Chris

<sup>50</sup> *Hillary's Remarks on Super Tuesday.* Quoted by Vea

<sup>51</sup> *Hillary's Remarks on Super Tuesday.* Quoted by Retta

<sup>52</sup> *Health Care: Global Summit on AIDS and the Church.* Quoted by Jeann

<sup>53</sup> *Health Care: Global Summit on AIDS and the Church.* Quoted by Rophlg



From those critical mass remarks, it can be identified that they are rejecting Hillary's thought. They refused Hillary's remarks on Iraq, Super Tuesday and Health Care statement. From the affective responses, we already known that the critical mass do not support Hillary anymore, as the consequences they are not give their voice for Hillary, and they decided to vote for Obama.

#### **4.2 Result of Analysis**

The result of analysis is presented based on the research finding and data description which discuss about the types of language style used by Hillary Clinton in her political speeches derived from four speeches which have been mentioned above and the critical mass responses. To make it easier to understand, the result of analysis is categorized the types of language style and the critical mass responses the in the form of table.



#### 4.2.1 Types of Language Style

Speeches	Formal	Informal	Colloquial	Slang
Economic Solutions for the American Economy	20	49	12	2
Iraq: Hillary's Remarks at The George Washington University	15	42	6	1
Hillary's Remarks on Super Tuesday	5	11	3	-
Health Care: Global Summit on AIDS and the Church	7	16	4	1

#### 4.2.2 The Critical Mass'

Speeches	Cognitive	Affective		Behavioral	
	resp	positive	Negative	accept	Reject
Economic Solutions for the American Economy	2	2	1	2	0
Iraq: Hillary's Remarks at The George Washington University	2	0	3	0	2
Hillary's Remarks on Super Tuesday	1	1	2	1	2
Health Care: Global Summit on AIDS and the Church	1	0	2	0	2

### 4.3 Discussion

From the data description and result of analysis, it is clear that Hillary uses four kinds of language style. Those are formal, informal, colloquial and slang style. When she is delivering her political speeches, she uses informal style very frequently than other's style. It is proven from the prediction that as the most frequently style that Hillary chooses in her political speeches is the informal style. As the variances of informal style is colloquial and slang. Between those two variances, she prefers to use colloquial than slang style.

Due to the fact that Hillary Clinton uses informal style as the most dominant style in her political speeches, it indicates the critical mass to give such an informal responses.

There are three responses which critical mass implies in Hillary's political speeches. Those are cognitive, affective and behavioral responses. All of the critical masses responses are covered into cognitive responses. The purpose of cognitive responses is to inform the mass that the critical masses have understood and familiar with the person *who* is speaking, and *what* the message from the speaker is. The speaker here is Hillary Clinton and the message is the text of Hillary Clinton political speeches. From these responses, we can identify those who like and dislike Hillary Clinton.

The second is affective response. In this response, the critical masses incorporate their feelings and emotions to take the decision. When she speaks economic issues, majorities of critical masses give good responses, and just few of

them who give poor as to the speech responses. They believe that Hillary is able to bring and solve for America economic crisis. That is the reason why they support Hillary. As their consequences, they vote for Hillary. This consequence is as the behavioral effect in accordance with their support and positive responses. Besides, when she delivers about an Iraq issues, most of them give poor as to the speech responses. They do not trust that Hillary does not support an Iraq's war. It means they regard that Hillary says war for Iraq. Therefore, just several of them vote for Hillary. Moreover, they recommend Barack Obama as the nominee.

It has the same result, when Hillary conveys her speaking about Super Tuesday and Health Care. A large number of critical masses give poor as to the speech responses. Nearly every one speculates that Hillary is liar. Therefore, they have many considerations to vote for Hillary. Furthermore, they choose Barack Obama.

The style of Hillary in her political speeches is intended to enrich listeners' understanding on the message. By conveying her political speeches, it stimulates the listeners, mainly the critical mass to give the responses of the message. At last, the style that Hillary Clinton uses and the implication of critical mass responses will impact the critical mass whether they will vote for Hillary or not as the nominee from Democrat party.

## **CHAPTER V**

### **CONCLUSION AND SUGGESTIONS**

This chapter consists of conclusion and suggestions which are related to the research findings.

#### **5.1 Conclusion**

In all of Hillary Clinton's political speeches, the most frequently style she uses is informal style. Informal style seems more enjoyable and pleasant to be delivered than formal style. Usually, this style is dominant in her oral speeches. Variances of informal styles are also found. They are colloquial and slang style. In relation to all of sub-styles Hillary Clinton prefers to use colloquial than slang style. The informal style abridges the listeners' understanding on the messages. Therefore, she uses formal style is not as many as informal style. The indication of the message from Hillary invites the critical mass to give the responses. The responses are conveyed by the critical mass.

There are tree kinds of responses. Those are cognitive, affective and behavioral responses. The responses are provided based on the language style of Hillary's political speeches.

The table below shows the detail relation between the language style of Hillary's political speeches and the critical mass responses.

Hillary's political speeches	The critical mass responses		
	Cognitive	Affective	Behavioral
Economy: Solutions for the American Economy	Like	Support	Vote
Iraq: Hillary's Remarks at The George Washington University	Dislike	Hate	Do not vote
Hillary's Remarks on Super Tuesday	Dislike	Hate	Do not vote
Health Care: Global Summit on AIDS and the Church	Dislike	Hate	Do not vote

As the result of the study shows that the most frequently uses of Hillary's political speeches is informal style, and she uses formal style rarely. Even though the situation is formal, she uses informal style as the most. It shows that *who* is speaking is not influence the style of the speaker. However, Hillary is the senator, she uses informal style consistently.

The informal style that Hillary Clinton uses in all of her political speeches generates the critical mass to give informal responses. It means that the way they quote the responses are based on their feelings. They demonstrate their ideas and

thoughts freely. They estimate whether they like or dislike, support or hate and last decision is vote or not for Hillary.

Analyzing the impact of language style to the audiences' responses is not easy, because the relationship between the styles and the responses usually is not direct one. The messages of the statement is usually believed as more influential than the style's impact. But, as a linguistic researcher, I consider that the statement is too simplified, since the messages can be facilitated or constrained by the language style. That is why, the clever speaker will choose any style that can highlight his or her messages. Hillary has tried, but the other candidate seems better than her.

## **5.2 Suggestion**

After conducting this research, the writer recognizes that there are still many weaknesses of this study because study about language style needs deep attention. According to the writer, study about language style is interesting, therefore, the writer suggests to the next researcher to investigate language style more deeply and intensively. For the next researcher can find the same discussion with different issues.

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# **APPENDIXES**

## **ECONOMY: Solutions for the American Economy**

January 24, 2008

Thank you! Thank you all so much! Thank you. You know, I am so happy to be back here at Furman. I was at Furman with Dick and Chucky Riley back in 2003 for a speech and a question and answer program there, and I had such a wonderful time. It's great to be here again; I've been at one of the extension buildings of the university in this campaign, but to be back and talking about the economic challenges facing our country is a great honor.

I am so sorry to be late. I apologize for that. Some of it was us off to a late start, but there were other things we had to deal with, and some of it was delays in air travel, but I appreciate your patience and your willingness to be here. I apologize for everybody stuck outside; we have a long, long line of people who can't get in. I'm not sure that everybody thought a speech about the economy would draw such a big crowd. So, I apologize to all of you as well.

And of course, I want to thank Dick Riley for his years of service to the state of South Carolina and to our country. He is such a unique public servant and a wonderful, great man.

And I want to thank Frank Holleman who was out speaking here with you before, and Lottie Gibson. State Representative Fletcher Smith, who I'm proud to have supporting me. I want to thank the conference center here and Kay Cornelison, who is the director and all of you who have come.

I particularly want to thank a group of veterans who are traveling throughout the state on my behalf. We have them all over the state. We have several of them here today, led by Hershel Gober, the former Secretary of Veteran Affairs; Hank Naughton, an Iraq veteran and a state representative from Massachusetts; Pat Lewis, another veteran; Reverend Tim Brown, another supporter. I'm very honored to have the support of so many of our veterans.

We have a lot of work to do on that front, and if you want to know the details talk to Hershel and the veterans who are here, because they can give you chapter and verse about what we need to do to keep faith with our veterans. But I want to turn to the economy.

You know, in just a few days, on Monday night, President Bush will give his final State of the Union Address.

It's enough to make you want to burst out in song. Don't worry, I'll spare you. You don't have to listen to me sing.

After seven years of inattention, neglect and denial, this Monday night, President Bush may well actually discuss the serious economic problems we face. And it's about time.

You know, we didn't hear from him when the typical family incomes dropped \$1,000 over the past seven years -- \$2,600 for African American families. As health care premiums nearly doubled, gas prices more than doubled, and college costs here in South Carolina rose 124% since 2000, the fastest increase in America.

We didn't hear from him as more than two million foreclosure notices went out -- 11,000 properties right here in South Carolina are in some stage of foreclosure. That's 11,000 families that are facing the potential loss of the American dream.

We didn't hear from him as unemployment reached a two year high last month, with South Carolina having the third highest unemployment rate in America, or as

nearly five million Americans fell back into poverty — 33,000 in South Carolina alone.

But now, finally, the President may acknowledge what the American people have known for years: that the economy is not working for middle class and working families. And I welcome the president to this conversation. Because it's a conversation that Americans have been having and that I've been having with so many people every day for years. I've listened to the voices of so many Americans as I've traveled the country. The voices of people who work hard all day — then sometimes additionally on the night shift — but it's still not enough. People who whisper to me about the mortgages they can't afford and the homes they're losing, about medical bills that wiped them and their savings out. About tuition costs that have cut short the hopes they had about sending a child to college. Many people are simply overwhelmed by the economic conditions they confront every day.

I've heard from plenty of people who also tell me, "I'm OK right now, but what about next year — or even next month? The way things are going with people losing jobs and homes, what if my family is next?"

This is a time of uncertainty and growing anxiety. We didn't wind up here by accident. As President Kennedy once observed, "Economic policy can result from government inaction as well as governmental action." We're here in part because the President failed to listen to the voices of people who are hurting, failed to get involved in the actual work of running the government, and failed to act. Instead, he has stayed at a comfortable cruising altitude, well above the realities of people's lives, delegating responsibilities to his advisers, hoping the buck would stop somewhere else — anywhere else.

In just seven years, this Administration has taken us from record surpluses into a large and growing deficit, from a projected \$5.6 trillion surplus to a \$9 trillion debt. We have seen our growing, thriving economy that created 22.7 million jobs in the 1990s pushed to the brink of recession.

And we're seeing the ripple effects around the world. This week, many countries saw their largest one-day stock market declines since September 11, 2001.

In this new century, the stakes have never been higher. The challenges have never been bigger or more urgent. But the opportunities are also there, if we get about the business of seizing them.

Now, our economic problems are admittedly complex. But there is one thing we know for sure: the problem with our economy is not the American people. Instead, the problem is, in part, the bankrupt ideas that have governed us for the last seven years. They have rewarded the very few at the expense of the many.

The American people are actually the solution to our economic problems. Americans are the hardest working people in the world — our productivity goes up every year. That means we work harder and harder and produce more. People are innovators, they are entrepreneurs, they take risks, they start small businesses. They are constantly thinking about the future. The factory worker and the CEO, the farmer or the small business owner, the scientist in the lab, or the teacher in the classroom, everybody who gets up every day and gets their job done, supports their families — that is the strength of the American economy.

And it's time we finally had a president who worked as hard for you as you work for America every single day.

Because, in the end, it is all about people. It is all about the woman in Columbia who grabbed my hand and said that her child was sick and the insurance company wouldn't pay for the treatment that was necessary. It's all about the man in Florence some months ago who came up to me some months ago and said, "I just keep working harder and harder and I feel like I'm falling further and further backwards. But I have a small business; I depend on transporting my goods, and the cost of energy just keeps going up." It's about the real lives of real people right here in South Carolina.

The presidency matters more now than ever. We need a president who will run the government and manage the economy. American people don't hire a President to talk about our problems but to solve them, to set a vision for the future, and then to roll up our sleeves and get about fulfilling it.

It's time for a President who believes that leading an economic comeback is a fulltime, hands-on job. Who renews our commitment to a strong and prosperous middle class and brings business, labor and government together to restore America's competitiveness in a fast changing world. A president who has a vision for a twenty-first century economy based on shared prosperity. Where we measure our success not by the wealth at the very top but by how broadly wealth is shared.

You know, with all due respect to a lot of my friends on the other side of the aisle, I do not believe it is rich people who made America great. I believe it is the hard working people of America who made our country great.

We want to get back to rewarding hard work. We want the American Dream to be within everyone's reach. We want to make investments in one another that allow us, particularly our children, to live up to our God-given potential.

These are not just economic issues, these are moral issues about our common purpose as a nation. Whether people can provide for their families, whether they can share in the blessings of this great country — that speaks to who we are as a people and what we value.

The way we bring our country together is by acting on our values. True unity can only be achieved by finding real solutions for the American people, and then delivering them. Without real solutions, division and disappointment, not unity, will be the result. We've been there before. President Bush promised to be a uniter, not a divider. And we know how well that turned out.

Because unity comes from taking on the tough challenges, asking us to be bigger than ourselves, summoning up to greatness, again. And that is what I intend to do as President, on day one. I will bring the voices of the American people back to

the White House. I will ask all of us to be involved in solving our problems. Otherwise, here is what I fear. Most of us, as I look around this room, with the exception of the students who are crowded into the foyer and spilling out the door, we have been the beneficiaries of the sacrifices that came from previous generations- from parents and grandparents, from people who fought the wars, and built big businesses, and did the labor, who created the extraordinary success of that America is. We have to keep faith with all that came before us. I don't think any of us want to be part of the first generation of Americans to leave our country worse off than when we found it. That would be such a breach with what American history has meant to all of us. So the time for waiting is over and the time for talk is over. Too many families are paying the price of inaction, right here and right now " so I think we need to begin acting, and we can't wait until January 20, 2009.

We need both an immediate, short-term plan to jumpstart the economy " and a long-term economic vision with strategies to keep the economy going well into the future. So let's start with the short-term. If I were President right now, I would work with the Congress to jumpstart the economy by immediately addressing the housing crisis, creating new jobs, and getting money back into the pockets of the American people.

We know that the loss of a home is devastating and so many families across our country are facing that. But it's not only those who are actually losing their homes I worry about. Because of this mortgage crisis, every home owner is losing value in our homes. The American people have lost more than \$1.3 trillion worth of value in our homes in the last year " that's nearly half the size of the entire United States government budget. And African American families are especially hard hit " subprime loans are five times more common in predominantly African American neighborhoods than predominantly white ones. But this is not just an economic crisis, it is truly an American dream crisis.

Your home isn't just your only greatest source of wealth " it's your greatest source of security. It's what anchors us to our neighborhoods and communities.



It's where we raise our kids, celebrate birthdays and holidays, and make memories together. I have visited with so many people in their homes and I know what our homes mean to us. I know the feel of refuge and security I feel when I walk into my own home. I know what it's like to sit in homes where families haven't had the money to buy all the furniture they need but they're so proud to show off their new home.

And nearly a year ago, I called for immediate action to address this mounting mortgage crisis. Less than two weeks after that, the Bush administration told Congress that what I was calling for wasn't necessary- that the problem was contained. Several months later, the President assured us that there would be a soft landing for the housing market. But now we know better. So all of last year, I proposed policies to help families keep their homes. I wrote to the regulators urging them to take their heads out of the sand and do something for the millions of families at risk of foreclosure. I introduced legislation to crack down on abusive lending practices and give states the resources to help at-risk families avoid losing their homes.

The result? A plan from President Bush that lets banks off the hook and leaves homeowners to fend for themselves. In the words of one expert, the President's plan was "the bank lobby's dream." This Administration has delivered a foreclosure notice on the American Dream.

The President's plans to fix our economy would do next to nothing about the foreclosure crisis. And they said that my insistence on stopping foreclosures just doesn't make sense. Well I'm sorry to disagree. The housing crisis is contributing to rising unemployment. Construction jobs are disappearing and I see a few hard-hats here in the audience. South Carolina alone lost 2,800 construction jobs in 2007. It's erasing families' wealth, jeopardizing consumer spending, which constitutes two-thirds of our economy. It's caused \$100 billion in losses to banks, making them less likely to offer credit to businesses and families that need it.



That's why my plan to fix the economy starts by doing everything possible to ensure that we don't lose any more homes and that we stabilize the economy when it comes to the mortgage crisis.

I want to start with a 90-day moratorium on foreclosures. If the bank is about to foreclose on your home, you should have some breathing room to restructure your mortgage. I'm calling for freezing the monthly rate on adjustable rate mortgages for at least five years or until the mortgages have been converted into loans that families can afford. If you have an adjustable mortgage that's about to skyrocket, you'll have the chance to pay it off with affordable payments.

People say well isn't this rewarding people who maybe got in over their heads? Well to some extent it is trying to stop what is happening that will affect all of us. If we don't help these families work out their mortgages now we will have more empty homes because the housing market is so low right now, nobody is buying. Then we'll have deteriorating neighborhoods, then we'll have decreasing tax revenues for cities and towns- it becomes a vicious cycle.

That's why I also would also create a \$30 billion fund to help hard-hit communities and distressed homeowners weather the foreclosure crisis. We need to be sure to shore up our communities so that they don't begin to also deteriorate in the face of a loss in the home market. I also would include direct tax rebates to working and middle class families. We need to target it to those who are most in need.

The Democratic leadership in the House and Senate along with the White House appear to be nearing a deal and I am heartened to hear that they are planning to extend assistance to the tens of millions of working Americans who need it the most. That's what I have been calling for and that's what I think we have to do. But I also want to target the needs of working families that are really facing tough choices. We need relief from skyrocketing energy bills. We need expanded unemployment insurance for those who are struggling to find a job.

But I want to think about the future, that's why I would take immediate steps to spur "green collar" job growth: High-wage, renewable energy jobs that are good for our environment and cannot be outsourced.

I would do this immediately through a crash weatherization program that would put people to work, helping to insulate homes, and give green collar job training initiatives to help prepare people.

I would also implement my Green Building Fund to rebuild and renovate schools and other public buildings to help make them more energy efficient. We can create millions of new jobs in America through clean, renewable energy. I know we can do it because I've seen what other countries have done.

Germany decided a few years ago to make a big bet on solar power. They creating tax incentives, they created training programs to take construction workers and others to know how to install solar panels. They have created several hundred thousand new jobs in three short years. They have a smaller economy than ours. If we got serious about this, I know we could do the same. I really hope that as part of this recovery package, we start getting serious about the future. We have to stop the crisis but then we have to plan for an economy that will keep generating good new jobs, and clean energy is our best bet.

But jumpstarting the economy in the short-term is just the beginning. We need a long-term vision to build a strong, prosperous economy for the next generation. I think it was Winston Churchill who said that, the difference between a politician and a statesman is that the politician thinks about the next election, while the statesman thinks about the next generation. We've got to start thinking about the next generation. We can't do this piecemeal; we've got to start helping people more.

Maybe you want to start saving for retirement, but you can't do it because your taxes are too high and your wages aren't high enough. Maybe you want to go back to school, but your health care premiums are too high so you can't afford tuition.

We live in a complex, interconnected, global economy. All of our challenges are all together now. We can't just put band-aids on one and expect to solve our problems. What we have to do is have a plan to create good jobs and restore fairness to the economy. We need to renew the promise of America that if you work hard, you can get ahead. We need to return to fiscal responsibility, so that Washington once again lives within a budget, just like you and your family has to do.

I believe solving the jobs crisis over the long run starts with solving the energy crisis. That's why I will create a \$50 billion Strategic Energy Fund to jumpstart investments in clean energy technologies. We will create a green revolution with investments in biofuels, wind, solar, geothermal, all of the clean energy and energy efficiency changes we need to make. And as we create these new job possibilities for the next generation we will pay for it by eliminating the tax subsidies for the big oil companies and require them to pay into the Strategic Energy Fund, or invest in alternative energy themselves. They have made record profits in recent years. Now it's time they did their fair share.

I also know that we won't get any of this done until the two oil men leave the White House but as soon as they do, we will start to work on this long-term vision.

We also help create jobs by modernizing and rebuilding our crumbling infrastructure. The tragic bridge collapse in Minnesota this past summer, a recent levee break in Nevada, and what happened with the levees in New Orleans are painful reminders that our infrastructure is in dangerous disrepair.

Every billion dollars that we spend fixing crumbling infrastructure creates 48,000 new jobs. I have a Rebuild America Plan to invest \$10 billion over ten years in an "Emergency Repair Fund." We need to modernize our ports, our rail systems, our airports, our public transit systems, our bridges, our tunnels, our roads. We need to expand access to broadband across America, particularly to rural areas.

We need to end this Administration's war on science and restore America to its rightful place. As the innovation nation, I will increase investments in basic and applied research at the National Science Foundation, the National Institutes of Health and our other government agencies and universities. We became so successful after World War II because business and science worked hand in hand with government. Our great universities like Furman were on the cutting edge of discoveries that we translated into better outcomes for people. But creating jobs is just the beginning.

We need to empower our workers and ensure that our tax system is fair. That's the second piece of a long-term plan.

For the past seven years, the oil companies, the predatory student loan companies, the insurance companies, the drug companies have had a president who stands up for them. I intend to be a president who stands up for you every single day about how we make America work better for you.

During the 1950s and 60s which many of us look back at with great appreciation because the economy worked so well, for so long, for so many, we had a much higher percentage of our workforce unionized. Now it is much lower. We need to make sure people can organize and bargain for good wages and safe working conditions.

We need to be sure that we restore fairness to the economy by restoring fairness to the tax code. Right now, some of the people I represent in New York City, Wall Street investment managers, making \$50 million a year pay just 15% on their earnings while a teacher making \$50,000 pays 25%. I don't think that's right and I've been calling to raise the taxes on those people at the top.

As corporate profits have skyrocketed, the percentage of taxes paid by corporations has fallen. We have richly rewarded people and I am all in favor of incentivizing people to do well. That is part of what America stands for. But it isn't right that the wealthy and the well-connected have gotten so many more benefits than the middle class and working people have.

We need to extend middle class tax cuts, including the child tax credit, marriage penalty relief. We need to reform the Alternative Minimum Tax to ensure it doesn't hit middle class families with higher tax rates. It was never supposed to do that. We need to expand the Earned Income Tax Credit and raise the minimum wage to ensure that work pays for all Americans. No one who works full time should live in poverty. If you're working full time you shouldn't be in poverty.

We need to give people the tools and support they need to succeed in today is complex economy. That starts with recommitting ourselves to making college affordable for our young people. That's especially important here in South Carolina, the average student debt upon graduation is \$20,000. So you start in a big hole before you ever go to work on the first day. And you know what's happened which is really troubling to me America's higher education system which was the envy of the world, we had an open system, the highest percentage of young people who went to get degrees, but now from Japan to South Korea to Canada and Ireland, other countries are educating their young people at a higher rate than here in America. The reason for that is the cost has exploded. It is more expensive today than it was thirty years ago to send a child to college.

That's why I've outlined a comprehensive plan to open the doors of college to young people. It includes a new \$3,500 college tax credit that will cover more than 50% of the typical cost of public colleges and universities or the full cost of tuition and fees for community colleges.

I also want to increase the size of Pell Grants, something that former Secretary Riley mentioned. I want to strengthen community colleges, invest \$500 million to support innovative, on-the-job training and apprenticeship programs for those who don't go to college.

We also have to ensure that every American has quality, affordable health care. Here in South Carolina alone, 672,000 people are uninsured. I want to ask you how many of you know someone here in South Carolina who is uninsured? How many of you know somebody who may have insurance but it just doesn't pay for what the doctor or the hospital says you need?

We have two problems we have the problem of the uninsured and the problem of the underinsured. My American Health Choices Plan would insure every single person for what they need.

It's simple: If you have insurance you like, you keep it. There is no disruption. If you have a good policy through your business or through a union or through a municipality, nothing changes. But if you don't have insurance or you don't like the insurance you have you can choose from the same menu of private plans available to members of Congress. And we will provide tax credits to help you afford it.

My plan also bans insurance company discrimination, so you will never be denied coverage because of pre-existing conditions or risk factors that you might have. And we don't require small business to do anything but it does provide tax credits to help small businesses if they choose to afford to buy health care for their employees.

Finally, we have to help more Americans save for a secure retirement. Right now, fewer than half of all Americans have any retirement savings account at all. When I'm President, I want to provide every single American with an easy, automatic opportunity to save for the future through "American Retirement Accounts." These accounts will take the best of the 401k plans and make them available to every working family. And we'll give families up to \$1,000 in tax cuts to help them save.

And finally we've got to return to fiscal responsibility.

Year after year, the President has increased spending at more than double the rate of the previous administration and handed tax cut after tax cut to multi-millionaires, oil companies and other interest groups. And how has he paid for all of this spending? By borrowing money from foreign countries like China. When people ask me, why is it hard to get tough on China and enforce our trade agreements, I tell them: because they're our bankers. We owe them. How can we truly enforce the trade laws against a country like China, when our economy



depends on China's massive loans to us? Think about it this way, we borrow money from China to buy oil from the Saudis. That is a dead-end strategy for America. And I'm going to end that strategy if I have the good fortune of becoming your president.

Because I want America to regain control of its destiny by moving back toward a balanced budget and a surplus. That's why I've worked throughout this campaign to show exactly how I would pay for every initiative that I have just mentioned. Not just how I'll run my campaign, but run our country as well.

You know, today, some people around the world and even some here at home are basically saying, "Well, we can't go back to the kind of economy we had before." They act as though the 1990s was ancient Rome. It worked well in the 1990s. The average American family had a \$7,000 gain in income in the 1990s.

Well, every election is about the future but I do think there are lessons we need to learn from the past. Because right now, we are on the wrong track. We are undermining our security at home and around the world. We are undermining the American dream here at home.

You know, great presidents have always understood the greatness of the American people. Think about President Franklin Roosevelt. Faced with a Depression, grave threats to America's freedom, he responded with bold solutions. Yes, they were sometimes controversial, but we rose from economic chaos and despair and at the time he died we were months away from winning a World War. He didn't paint a rosy scenario. He didn't ignore the tough challenges. He urged us to confront them. "We have a great many problems ahead of us," he said. "And we must approach them with realism and courage." He believed we could tackle our greatest challenges, and I believe exactly the same. We have to overcome the fear and fatalism that President Bush has used to divide us and set us against one another.

When I sometimes hear the President or the Vice President, I don't hear America talking. You know, "we can't solve the energy crisis without wrecking our

economy; we cannot provide affordable quality healthcare without wrecking our healthcare system; we can't have an economy anymore that creates a rising standard of living for everybody willing to work hard."

Since when did America become the can't-do country? That is not the America we know and love. We are going to face the future with our optimism, with our faith, our belief that we can overcome any challenge. I am optimistic. I know we are facing some tough, tough issues. I think about it every day.

I'm asking the people of South Carolina to take a chance on me, just like I asked the people of New York to take a chance on me back in 2000. I came and said, "If you will give me a chance, I will work my heart out for you. You will have someone who gets up every day, thinking about you. I am not a show horse, I'm a work horse; and I will go to work for you."

But I'm not going to do it alone. I can't do it alone. We all have to be in this together. You know, when I talk about a clean, green renewable energy future, I'm going to ask all for you to be more energy efficient, to think about what it means when you keep the lights on, when you drive more than maybe you need to, making three trips to the mall instead of one sensible one. I want you to think about every time you fill up the gas tank, or leave those lights on, you're sending money to oil companies and oil producing countries that don't always have our best interests at heart.

When I say we need a new approach to healthcare that provides quality, affordable healthcare for every American, I'm going to ask you to take better care of your health and the health of your children. Because we can have the best health care system in the world but we've got to be healthier. We've need a system of wellness, not one that just intervenes with sickness. We've got to be once again the American people that are on the front lines of change and progress together.

We are the oldest democracy in the world for a reason. Because whenever times are tough, whenever the challenges are big and the stakes are huge. We always respond.



Now, Winston Churchill also said that the American people finally get around to doing the right thing after trying nearly everything else. Well, we've tried nearly everything else over the last seven years, and I think we've learned our lesson. So now what we need to do is face the future realistically, courageously, confidently, and optimistically.

I know we can do this together. I need your help in the primary on Saturday. I need you to vote not just for me but for yourselves, your family, and your future. I am ready to lead on day one, and if you give me that opportunity, we will restore pride and progress in our country together.

Thank you all very, very much.



## **IRAQ: Hillary's Remarks at The George Washington University**

March 17, 2008

Good morning. I want to thank Secretary West for his years of service, not only as Secretary of the Army, but also to the Veteran's Administration, to our men and women in uniform, to our country. I certainly do remember that trip to Bosnia, and as Togo said, there was a saying around the White House that if a place was too small, too poor, or too dangerous, the president couldn't go, so send the First Lady. That's where we went.

I remember landing under sniper fire. There was supposed to be some kind of a greeting ceremony at the airport, but instead we just ran with our heads down to get into the vehicles to get to our base. But it was a moment of great pride for me to visit our troops, not only in our main base as Tuzla, but also at two outposts where they were serving in so many capacities to deactivate and remove landmines, to hunt and seek out those who had not complied with the Dayton Accords and put down their arms, and to build relationships with the people that might lead to a peace for them and their children.

So it's a great honor being introduced by Secretary West. I also want to thank rear Admiral David Stone who commanded the fleet off of Kosovo and was an instrumental part of our successful efforts there. And Brigadier General Pat Foote and Major General George Buskirk who are representing the more than 30 generals and admirals who have endorsed me and who provide great assistance

and counsel to me and to my staff. I want to thank President Steven Knapp for once again being the host. I'm getting credit for coming to GW, I come so often, and I'm thrilled to have that added to my academic career. And I want to thank the faculty, the staff, and the students at this great university.

I started my morning meeting with the Taoiseach, Bertie Ahern, to talk about the peace process in Northern Ireland, and it was a stark reminder of how long the road is toward peace, but how necessary it must be that we travel it. And we travel it with like-minded friends and allies and those willing to take risks for peace around the world. It has been five years this week since our president took us to war in Iraq. In that time, our brave men and women in uniform have done everything we ask of them and more. They were asked to remove Saddam Hussein from power and bring him to justice and they did. They were asked to give the Iraqi people the opportunity for free and fair elections and they did. They were asked to give the Iraqi government the space and time for political reconciliation, and they did. So for every American soldier who has made the ultimate sacrifice for this mission, we should imagine carved in stone "they gave their life for the greatest gift one can give to a fellow human being, the gift of freedom." And to our veterans and all those serving in Iraq today, I want to send a strong and clear message - your extraordinary devotion to our country and to your service makes us proud and profoundly grateful every single day.

The mistakes in Iraq are not the responsibility of our men and women in uniform but of their Commander-in-Chief. From the decision to rush to war without allowing the weapons inspectors to finish their work or waiting for diplomacy to run its course. To the failure to send enough troops and provide proper equipment for them. To the denial of the existence of a rising insurgency and the failure to adjust the military strategy. To the continued support for a government unwilling to make the necessary political compromises. The command decisions were rooted in politics and ideology, heedless of sound strategy and common sense.

Fortunately, ten months from now we will have a new president, and a new opportunity to change course in Iraq. Therefore, the critical question is how can

we end this war responsibly and restore America's leadership in the world? It won't be easy. There is no magic wand to wave. Bringing our troops home safely will take a president who is ready to be Commander-in-Chief on day one, a president who knows our military and has earned their respect. Bringing lasting stability to the region will take a president with the strength and determination, the knowledge and confidence to bring our troops home; to rebuild our military readiness, to care for our veterans, and to redouble our efforts against al-Qaeda. If you give me the chance, I will be that president.

I will start by facing the conditions on the ground in Iraq as they are, not as we hope or wish them to be. President Bush points to the reduction in violence in Iraq last year and claims the surge is working. Now, I applaud any decrease in violence. That is always good news. But the point of the surge was to give the Iraqis the time and space for political reconciliation. Yet today, the Iraqi government has failed to provide basic services for its citizens. They have yet to pass legislation ensuring the equitable distribution of oil revenues, yet even to pass a law setting the date of provincial elections. Corruption and dysfunction is rampant, and last week General Petraeus himself conceded that no one, in either the U.S. government or the Iraqi government, feels that there has been sufficient progress by any means in the area of national reconciliation.

So by the middle of this summer when the additional surge forces have been sent home, we'll be right back at square one with 130,000 or more troops on the ground in Iraq. That President Bush seems to want to keep as many troops there after the surge as before and says that doing otherwise would endanger our progress is a clear admission that the surge has not accomplished its goals. Meanwhile, as we continue to police Iraq's civil war, the threats to our national security, our economy, and our standing in the world continue to mount.

The lives of our brave men and women are at stake. Nearly 4,000 of them have, by now, made that ultimate sacrifice. Tens of thousands more have suffered wounds both visible and invisible to their bodies, their minds, and their hearts. Their families have sacrificed, too, in empty places at the dinner table, in the

struggle to raise children alone, in the wrenching reversal of parents burying children. The strength of our military is at stake. Only one of our army brigades is certified by the army to be ready. Our armed forces are stretched to near the breaking point with many of our troops on their second, third, or fourth tours of duty. Our economic security is at stake. Taking into consideration the long-term costs of replacing equipment and providing medical care for troops and survivors' benefits for their families, the war in Iraq could ultimately cost well over \$1 trillion. That is enough to provide health care for all 47 million uninsured Americans and quality pre-kindergarten for every American child, solve the housing crisis once and for all, make college affordable for every American student, and provide tax relief to tens of millions of middle class families.

Our ability to win the war in Afghanistan is at stake. When I first visited Afghanistan in 2003, I was greeted by a soldier who said, "Welcome to the forgotten front line in the war on terror." Since then, the Taliban and al Qaeda have continued to gain new footholds throughout the country, and as a result, the overall terrorist threat, as our own intelligence community has noted, is growing.

Finally, our leadership in the world and our ability to front global challenges, present and future, is at stake. From extremism in Pakistan, to nuclear ambitions in Iran and North Korea, to troubling antidemocratic trends in Russia and Latin America, to the threat of global epidemics and global warming and to the rise of China. The more the world regards us with suspicion rather than admiration, the more difficult it is to confront these challenges. Despite the evidence, President Bush is determined to continue his failed policy in Iraq until he leaves office. And Senator McCain will gladly accept the torch and stay the course, keeping troops in Iraq for up to 100 years if necessary.

They both want to keep us tied to another country's civil war, a war we cannot win. That in a nutshell is the Bush/McCain Iraq policy. Don't learn from your mistakes, repeat them. Well, here is the inescapable reality. We can have hundreds of thousands of troops on the ground for 100 years, but that will not change the fact that there is no military solution to the situation in Iraq.

And don't just take it from me. At his confirmation hearing, Admiral Mullen, chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, said that without national political reconciliation, no amount of troops in no amount of time will make much of a difference. We simply cannot give the Iraqi government an endless blank check. Each passing month we stay in Iraq gives the Iraqi government more time to avoid the hard decisions on how to split the oil money and how to share political power. Senator McCain and president bush claim withdrawal is defeat. Well, let's be clear, withdrawal is not defeat. Defeat is keeping troops in Iraq for 100 years.

We simply cannot give the Iraqi government an endless blank check. Each passing month we stay in Iraq gives the Iraqi government more time to avoid the hard decisions on how to split the oil money and how to share political power.

Senator McCain and President Bush claim withdrawal is defeat. Well, let's be clear, withdrawal is not defeat. Defeat is keeping troops in Iraq for 100 years. Defeat is straining our alliances and losing our standing in the world. Defeat is draining our resources and diverting attention from our key interests.

Now, withdrawal is not risk-free, but the risks of staying in Iraq are certain. And a well-planned withdrawal is the one and only path to a political solution. The only way to spur the Iraqis to take responsibility for their own future and to ensure that we don't bear that responsibility indefinitely. The only way to spur other countries to do their part to help secure stability in the region. The commitment to staying in Iraq has driven President Bush's foreign policy. It looks like it would drive Senator McCain's foreign policy as well, but it will not drive mine. My foreign policy will be driven by what is in America's national security interests.

So it is time to end this war as quickly and responsibly as possible. That has been my mission in the Senate, and it will be my mission starting on day one as president of the United States.

For the past five years, I have served on the Senate Armed Services Committee. I have been to Iraq and Afghanistan three times. I have met with our soldiers and

military leaders. I have met with Iraqi, local, regional, and national elected and other influential officials. Here at home I've attended countless meetings and committee hearings where I have challenged high-ranking Pentagon officials and military leaders investigating the situation in Iraq, probing the facts presented, and demanding real answers to tough questions. And I am honored that more than 30 of America's most esteemed former admirals and generals, including two former chairmen of the Joint Chiefs of Staff and five retired officers of the four-star rank have endorsed my candidacy.

The American people don't have to guess whether I'm ready to lead or whether I understand the realities on the ground in Iraq or whether I'd be too dependent on advisers to help me determine the right way forward. I've been working day-in and day-out in the Senate to provide leadership to end this war. That's why I cosponsored legislation with Senator Robert Byrd to reauthorize the war, legislation that would actually end the president's authority to fight it.

That's why I've started laying the ground work for a swift and responsible withdrawal beginning in early 2009 by demanding that the Pentagon start planning for it now. I've introduced legislation ensuring that Congress would be briefed on those plans and that's also why I'm working to block President Bush's effort to keep this war going after he leaves office. I've introduced legislation banning him from unilaterally negotiating a long-term security commitment to Iraq, including the possibility of permanent bases.

I believe what matters in this campaign is not just the promises we've made to end the war; what matters is what we've actually done when it came time to match words with action. Because more than anything else, what we've done is an indication of what we'll do.

Now, my Democratic opponent talks a great deal about a speech he gave in 2002, and I commend him for making that speech. Speaking out for what you believe is a solemn, patriotic duty. He is asking us to judge him by his words, and words can be powerful, but only if the speaker translates them into action and solutions. Senator Obama holds up his original opposition to the war on the campaign trail,



but he didn't start working aggressively to end the war until he started running for president. So when he had a chance to act on his speech, he chose silence instead. And out campaigning Senator Obama tells voters that as president he'd withdraw combat brigades from Iraq within 16 months, but one of his top foreign policy advisers told a different story. She told a British television reporter, and I quote, "he will, of course, not rely on some plan that he's crafted as a presidential candidate or as a U.S. Senator." Senator Obama has said often that words matter. I strongly agree. But giving speeches alone won't end the war and making campaign promises you might not keep certainly won't end it. In the end the true test is not the speeches a president delivers, it's whether the president delivers on the speeches.

I have concrete, detailed plans to end this war, and I have not waived in my commitment to follow through on them. One choice in this election is Senator McCain. He's willing to keep this war going for 100 years. You can count on him to do that. Another choice is Senator Obama who has promised to bring combat troops out in 16 months, but according to his foreign policy adviser, you can't count on him to do that. In uncertain times, we cannot afford uncertain leadership.

Here is what you can count on me to do: provide the leadership to end this war quickly and responsibly. Today I'd like to talk about how I will do that, how as president, I will bring our troops home, work to bring stability in the region, and replace military force with a new diplomatic initiative to engage countries around the world in helping to secure Iraq's future.

The most important part of my plan is the first step, to bring our troops home and send the strongest possible message to the Iraqis that they must take responsibility for their own future. No more talk of permanent occupation, no more policing a civil war, no more doing for the Iraqis what they need to be doing for themselves. As president, one of my first official actions will be to convene the Joint Chiefs of Staff, my Secretary of Defense and my National Security Council and direct them to draw up a clear, viable plan to start bringing our troops home within the first 60 days of my taking office. A plan based on my consultation with the military to



remove one to two brigades a month, a plan that reduces the risks of attack as they depart.

As we bring our troops home, I will ensure we are fully prepared to take care of them and their families once they have returned. I will direct the Department of Defense and the Department of Veteran's Affairs to prepare a comprehensive plan to provide the highest quality of health care, disability benefits, and social services for every single service member including every member of the National Guard and Reserve as well as their families, and I will make sure this plan is promptly implemented.

In the Senate I'm proud to have reached across the aisle to provide access to TRICARE for all members of the National Guard and reserve, even when they're not deployed. and to have passed my heroes at home act to help family members care for those who traumatic brain injury, the signature injury of this war because I believe when brave men and women sign up to serve our country, we sign up to serve them too.

That is why I will also immediately adopt Representative John Murtha's urgent proposal to reduce the strain on our troops by reducing the permissible length of overseas deployments. Going forward, we will ensure that our troops spend as much time at home as they have spent deployed. So every month they spend in the field, they will be guaranteed one month here at home.

I will also implement a proposal that I, Representative Murtha, and others have been calling for, requiring that before any brigade is deployed, the Secretary of Defense must certify to Congress that it is fully combat ready. Sending brigades that do not meet this standard puts our soldiers in danger and our mission in Iraq or elsewhere at risk.

In addition to removing American troops from Iraq, I will also work to remove armed private military contractors who are conducting combat-oriented and security functions in Iraq. For five years their behavior and lack of supervision and accountability have often eroded our credibility, endangered U.S. and Iraqi lives

and undermined our mission. Now, Senator Obama and I have a substantive disagreement here. He won't rule out continuing to use armed private military contractors in Iraq to do jobs that historically have been done by the U.S. military or government personnel. When I am president I will ask the Joint Chiefs for their help in reducing reliance on armed private military contractors. With the goal of ultimately implementing a ban on such contractors.

I've already cosponsored the Stop Security Outsourcing Act requiring that security services for personnel at any U.S. diplomatic or consular mission be provided only by federal government personnel.

It's also a time we put an end, once and for all, to the no-bid contracts that squander taxpayer money while lining the pockets of the president's cronies. Between 2000 and 2006, spending on no-bid contracts more than doubled, representing half of all federal procurement spending. Today companies like Halliburton are enjoying record profits thanks to a 700% increase in taxpayer funds awarded to them. But a recent congressional report identified 187 contracts valued at \$1.1 trillion where federal auditors found massive overcharges, wasteful spending and poor oversight. I'm proposing legislation to ensure that all new spending in 2009 is done through competitive contracting processes. The heads of each agency would have to certify to Congress under a sworn affidavit that their contracting awards processes are open and competitive. As president, I will work to pass this legislation into law and to end the era of no-bid contracts and handouts to Halliburton.

It's an interesting comparison. We've had a lot of talk in this town and elsewhere about earmarks, and I am one of those who believe we need more transparency and disclosure in the earmark process. But no-bid contracts are ten times more costly than earmarks, and when I introduce my legislation to eliminate no-bid contracts, I could not get, at least as of this moment, Senator McCain's support for that.

As we bring our troops and contractors home, we cannot lose sight of our strategic interests in this region. The reality is that this war has made the terrorists stronger.

Well, they may not have been in Iraq before the war, they are there now, and we cannot allow Iraq to become a breeding ground and safe haven for terrorists who seek to attack us and our friends and allies. So let me be clear - under my plan, withdrawing from Iraq will not mean retreating from fighting terrorism in Iraq. That's why I will order small, elite strike forces to engage in targeted operations against al Qaeda in Iraq. This will protect Iraqi citizens, our allies, and our families right here at home.

The second part of my plan involves working to secure stability within Iraq as we bring our troops home, stability that will be key to a successful withdrawal of our troops. I believe it's really quite simple, greater political and economic stability means safer conditions for our departing troops and a smoother disengagement from our military's actions across Iraq. Right now no one doubts that the Iraqi government is failing its citizens. Government officials refuse to take the steps need to order to advance a solution, improve the economy, quell sectarian violence and better the lives of ordinary Iraqis. These failings are, in part, the fault of the Iraqis and in part due to the Bush administration's failure to match military efforts with political ones.

For example, the U.S. has created an armed local security forces, such as the Awakening in Anbar and the "Concerned Local Citizens," but they fail to hold the Iraqi government to its agreement to integrate these local militias and volunteers into provincial police forces or the national army. Violence has fallen in the short run, but in the long run sectarian divisions among Iraqis may only deepen.

When I'm president, we will pursue a more integrated strategy. We'll empower local leaders and use U.S. and international influence to press the Iraqis to reach political reconciliation, and I will call on the United Nations to strengthen its role in promoting this reconciliation. Not having been a party to the mistakes of the path five years, the U.N., which has already provided valuable technical assistance in Iraq, is far more likely to be viewed as a neutral, honest broker than the United States, especially when it acts on behalf of a broad coalition of concerned states and the international community. The new United Nations Secretary General, Ban

Ki-moon, has indicated he is willing to play a key role in assisting the Iraqis. I will also work with China and Russia to ensure that the U.N. envoy in Iraq has the necessary authority by obtaining the Security Council's explicit endorsement of a strengthened U.N. mandate to promote reconciliation. I will also call upon the U.N. to help oversee the resettlement of the millions of refugees who have fled Iraq or have been displaced internally. Many are living in desperate conditions creating not just a humanitarian crisis but one affecting regional stability that poses direct threats to our security here at home which we must address immediately.

While we focus our efforts on improving conditions so Iraqis don't have to flee in the first place, we have to recognize our moral obligation to help those we have put at risk in Iraq, the interpreters, soldiers who have assisted our troops. We will work with governments in both the Middle East and the west, including of course the United States, to find places for asylum seekers, and we will work with the U.N. to develop a plan to help them return, if possible, to Iraq once the country has stabilized.

I would further seek to stabilize Iraq by insisting that the country's oil revenues, instead of U.S. taxpayer dollars, increasingly be used to fund Iraq's reconstruction. When President Bush began this war, his administration claimed that Iraqi oil revenues would pay for Iraq's reconstruction. Well, the Iraqi government has now earned tens of billions of dollars from oil. Some estimates indicate that revenues this year will top \$55 billion. Yet since the beginning of the war, the U.S. has allocated roughly the same amount of money as Iraq for reconstruction, \$47 billion from us versus \$50 billion from them. And now it is even clearer that the Iraqi government is not spending its oil money on reconstruction. There are reports that Iraq spent less than a quarter of oil funds set aside for reconstruction in 2006, and the U.S. Comptroller General testified that as of November 2007 the capital expenditure rate for the central ministries in Iraq was only 7%. Oil profits are showing up in foreign banks even as Iraqi citizens lack basic services.

As president I would immediately direct the Inspector General for Iraq to appoint a special council to investigate and make recommendations directly to me for how to ensure Iraqi oil revenues and U.S. taxpayer dollars on a declining trend are used to rebuild Iraq. It is unacceptable that these oil revenues go unused or worse end up in private accounts while citizens lack electricity and clean drinking water. We will support Iraq's efforts to rebuild their country, but we will not permit our money or theirs to be thrown away.

I will work to crack down on the black market for oil in Iraq. According to recent news reports, insurgent groups are profiteering from a substantial black market in oil. The money they make is going in part to pay for IEDs, car bombs, and other tools of terror. The Iraqi government simply has not done its part to crack down on this corruption. The equation here is simple, if we cut off or disrupt these illegal sources of funding, we can deny the insurgents the money they need to maintain their campaigns of violence. So I will order a joint nationwide U.S./Iraqi crackdown on black marketers and oil smugglers. We'll beef up protection for oil lines to prevent illegal tapping and attacks. We will cut off illegal networks, identify where the stolen oil and other goods are going, who is stealing them, and capture those responsible. We will work with our international community to try to cut off access to the funds that hold these oil revenues. And we will maintain the crackdown success by sending a strong signal to the Iraqi government, show results in rooting out corruption or lose your aid.

The third and final part of my plan to end the war involves replacing our military force in Iraq with an intensive diplomatic initiative in the region. Over the past four years, we've learned the hard way about the need for a truly multilateral approach in Iraq, one built on sound strategy and long-range planning, not ideology and wishful thinking. The president's go it alone strategy has diminished our position in the region and around the world, and that diminished position, in turn, has made it increasingly difficult for us to bring about a political solution. Our friends and allies in the region have an especially large stake in building a stable Iraq, but until now in part because of the Bush administration's

mismanagement of the war, they have lacked leadership and gotten a free pass. That must end.

Ten months from now we will have a new opportunity to reach out and engage our allies. One of my very first international meetings as president would be with our treaty allies and our friends in the region including the Gulf States, Jordan, Egypt, and our European allies. Over the course of my career I have known and worked with many of these leaders already, and I will send them a very clear message - what happens in Iraq affects all of our interests, and it is all of our responsibility. It's time we did our part and paid our fair share. I will then convene a regional stabilization group composed of these key allies, other global parties, the states bordering Iraq. The mission of this group will be to develop and implement a strategy to create a stable Iraq. I would include in this regional stabilization group Iran and Syria. We must convince all countries in the region and beyond to refrain from getting involved in the Iraqi civil war, to hold themselves and others to their past pledges to provide funding in Iraq, and to support the central role for the United Nations.

These will be critical first steps toward establishing a new American approach in the world, one that draws on the strength of our alliances and the power of our diplomacy, and uses the greatest military force on earth as a last, not a first, resort. Achieving all of this will not be easy. But we don't have any choice. When I look at the road ahead, I think about the men and women in uniform whom I've had the profound honor of meeting and serving. Our troops serving not only in Iraq and Afghanistan, but across the globe. Our veterans recovering in V.A. hospitals and rehabilitation centers here at home, many with serious and life-altering injuries. The countless veterans who are not given the support and services they need to reenter civilian life. These men and women have made extraordinary sacrifices serving the country they love, and I'm always struck by how no matter the extent and severity of their suffering, no matter how grave their own injuries, they always say the same thing to me, "promise that you'll take care of my buddies. They're still over there. Promise you'll keep them safe." I have looked these men



and women in the eye, and I have made that promise, and I intend to honor it by ending this war as responsibly and quickly as possible.

Thank you all very, very much.

## **HEALTH CARE: Global Summit on AIDS and the Church**

November 29, 2007

Well I am so honored and personally delighted to be here, and I want to thank Rick and Kay Warren for bringing us together this week around World AIDS Day. And I want to thank their tremendous staff and the volunteers and everyone who helped make this happen. I'm grateful for the opportunity to share our commitment about dealing with the global scourge of HIV/AIDS.

I also want to recognize two first ladies: the first lady of Zambia and the first lady of Rwanda. I am delighted that they are here representing their countries and their people.

And first, [applause] let me first say how relieved Bill and I were to hear that Saddleback was spared from the recent wildfires - and how impressed and moved we were to hear about the love and support that you gave those who were not so fortunate.

It's another example of the way in which this church is not measured by numbers. Yes, the numbers are big, they're certainly impressive. But it's measured by your impact. It's measured by the meaning that you give to lives here within this complex and so far beyond its boundaries. And the commitment that you demonstrate both to our faith in God and to doing His work here on earth is exemplary and that is one of the many reasons that I wanted to be here today.

You know, Rick has helped so many people with his lessons for a 40-day spiritual journey. But he knows those 40 days are just the beginning. My own faith journey is approaching a half a century, and I know how far I still have to go.

But I have been blessed in my life, both starting in my family and in the church of my childhood, to be guided every step of the way. A mother, who taught Sunday school and made sure that my brothers and I were there the minute the church doors opened. A father, who knelt by the side of his bed every night of his life to say his prayers. A minister of our youth fellowship, who took it as part of his mission to show the group of white, suburban, middle class kids that there was a bigger world outside. And a prayer group that formed for me shortly after I came to the White House - a group of extraordinary women, both Democrats and Republicans, whose love and support sustained me.

I've often been asked if I'm a praying person and I have always responded that I was fortunate enough to be raised to understand that the power and purpose of prayer, but, had I not been, probably one week in the White House would have turned me into one. [Laughter] It's wonderful to know that the sustaining power of prayer is there for so many of us.

One of my favorite passages in Scripture is that famous line in James that faith without works is dead. But I have concluded that works without faith is just too hard. It cannot be sustained over one's life or over the generations. And it's important for us to recognize how here, in what you're doing, faith and work come together. You understand that. Or as Rick might say: creed and deed! And what extraordinary important work your faith supports - fighting against spiritual emptiness, corrupt leadership, poverty, illiteracy, and diseases like AIDS around the world.

Twenty-five years ago, when men - mostly young gay men - began dying from a disease that had no name, we could not have, and certainly did not, talk about it in church. It would not have been proper. It would not have been polite. It would have been discomforting for so many of us.



But the disease itself was not polite, and ignoring it did not make it go away. It only made the problem worse, because the disease fed on ignorance and fear and, let's be honest, on prejudice. We are taught to heal the sick. To love them as our own. But twenty-five years ago, too many died alone, ashamed to tell their families what had made them ill.

In the Gospel, we learn that one-third of Christ's ministry was healing the sick. And if you read those moments, when Jesus is presented with someone who is ill, it becomes abundantly clear that Christ had a choice. He could have been too busy. He could have thought you know this is not the message of the day. I don't need to do this; I've already done it in Capernaum so I don't need to do it again. But he made the choice. He never asked why someone was sick. He just healed and ministered those in need.

That is what Saddleback has chosen too. Other churches, nonprofits, and governments have also chosen to heal, to help, to redeem. For many of us the Golden Rule calls on us to act.

And so we've come a long way. Not only can we talk about AIDS in church, but churches are leading the way. Thanks to leaders like Rick and Kay, Christians have embraced the sickest among us, and have fought the disease itself. We've had breakthroughs in treatment that allow those with this disease to live much longer, and we are hoping for breakthroughs in vaccines and other cures. But let us not grow complacent or too comfortable. Let us not feel that because we're here at this conference or as a member of Saddleback or some other church represented today that we are doing our part, because we have such a long way to go.

Here in America, we still have an AIDS epidemic. HIV infection rates are rising among gay men again and among African Americans and Latinos. The disease takes a disproportionate toll on the poor and communities of color. And it is an outrage that HIV/AIDS is the leading cause of death for black women between the ages of 25 and 34 in the United States of America.

Around the world, AIDS remains a plague of Biblical proportions. In too many places, ignorance about AIDS prevails and the stigma remains strong. And where ignorance and prejudice live, the disease thrives.

When I walked through the World Vision village, I was told the story of Kambo - a young Kenyan boy who lost first his father and his mother to what is called the "big disease." And for years his grandmother had told him he did not have it. But after the death of his mother, he began to sicken, finally was tested and found out he was positive. Even before the positive results came in, the boys he played soccer with began to shun him. It became increasingly uncomfortable to go to school. So the stigma is one of the real evils that has to be combated if we are to take on HIV/AIDS around the world.

We should take heart that the United Nations recently revised its estimate of the number of people infected with HIV downward from 40 million to 33 million. But please don't take any comfort. There are still 6,800 people infected and 5,700 who die from AIDS every day. AIDS is still the number one cause of death in Africa, where 90 percent of the HIV positive children in the world live.

Don't let anyone tell you that the time for alarm has passed. We can't slow. We can't rest. And we can't quit.

I've seen the tragedy of AIDS firsthand. From a dear friend, who told me in the early 1980s - much I must confess to my surprise in those days - that he was gay. He had the unnamed disease, and he died shortly after. To the twelve year-old girl that I met in Northern Thailand at a shelter for former prostitutes.

She had been sold into prostitution at the age of eight by her family for a satellite television. She was put to work in Bangkok's brothels. She contracted AIDS and was turned out and returned home to a family that would not take her in. She did find refuge in the shelter.

When I met her she was in a wheelchair, so weak she didn't have the strength to talk.

As I knelt down beside her, I could see the skin stretched tightly across her cheekbones. I thought of my own daughter and of all the girls her age who speak with such excitement about their futures, and about how cruel an injustice it was that this child would never know hers.

A week after I returned to America, people running the shelter contacted me to tell me she had died. To this day, I think of that gentle face and those warm eyes and what might have been done to spare her the fate she met.

She may have died on the other side of the world, but AIDS is not just an African problem, it's not just an Asian problem, and it's not just an American problem. And it's certainly not someone else's problem. It's a problem of our common humanity, and we are called to respond, with love, with mercy, and with urgency.

As President, I will wage the fight against AIDS with the passionate commitment it demands. I will ask for \$50 billion over five years to combat HIV/AIDS, [applause] and I will ask for more money to tackle tuberculosis and malaria around the world as well.

I will build on the funding levels in PEPFAR and on the leadership that the President and Mrs. Bush have shown, to demonstrate that the fight against HIV/AIDS, TB, and malaria is an American commitment that exemplifies what we can do if we seek bipartisan solutions to nonpartisan problems. If we start acting not as Republicans and Democrats but as Americans again.

This is also a great opportunity for partnership. There are many churches and faith based groups here in our country and increasingly in other parts of the world who are understanding the urgency of this mission. There are many foundations and not for profit organizations like the Gates Foundation or my husband's work for the Clinton Foundation. They are supplementing what we are doing through the government, and they are doing what the government cannot do. And it is that partnership that is uniquely American.

When I was privileged to represent our country around the world, traveling to more than 82 countries, I was often struck by how so much of the rest of the world did not understand the voluntary sector in America. As Rick was saying, the private, the public, the parish - there was no sense that individuals would volunteer their time, give up their money to help meet a common need. But we are setting forth that example, as well, in the work that is now occurring.

By doing this, which is the right thing to do, we are also helping to improve America's standing in the world. We are putting a different face on our country; we are reaching out in a common search for answers. And we will be able not only to build on that work, to save lives, to prevent the spread of this disease, but also to create a broader platform for the values and ideals that we hold dear.

In order to accomplish my goals as president I have laid out a very comprehensive HIV/AIDS agenda. First, my administration will invest in treatments and capacity building by improving health systems across Africa and doubling the number of people receiving anti-retroviral treatment with U.S. funding in five years. Everyone who is HIV positive must have access to these drugs.

I want particularly to target mother-to-child transmission. We know how to stop the spread of the virus from mother to child but we don't have the resources and the system behind delivering the drugs that are necessary. I believe we should do much more to encourage voluntary testing, but in order to do that it must be accompanied by counseling and there has to be a public education and outreach effort to undermine and diminish the stigma. Some countries are beginning to do this and we should encourage them.

Secondly, I'll invest heavily in prevention, teaching young men and women how to be responsible; how best to protect themselves. I visited Uganda ten years ago to highlight their A-B-C program, and it produced results. Abstinence, be faithful, use condoms if necessary. And this has to be a message that we do much more to communicate effectively throughout areas that are particularly vulnerable.

Third, I'll continue to invest in research to develop an effective vaccine and eventually a cure. There will be setbacks, as we have recently seen, but that doesn't mean we can afford to quit.

And finally, I'll restart the battle against AIDS here in America.

But I know that neither money nor government alone will solve this problem. Corinthians tells us that the body is made up of many parts, and "though all its parts are many, they form one body." Well we need, as though we were one body, to use every resource at our hands, our disposal.

Because as Kay and Rick have advocated, the fight against AIDS must be done hand-in-hand, building relationships with churches around the world and here at home. Because if we fail to engage churches in combating AIDS, we will fail to conquer AIDS.

As you have shown, there are six things churches can do: Care for those who are infected and their families. Encourage testing, even become testing centers. Unleash volunteers. Reduce the stigma by showing it's not a sin to be sick. Champion healthy behavior. And be treatment coaches for those taking medication.

I would add that churches also must tend to the spiritual side of this crisis. Because AIDS is not just a medical emergency.

Who will comfort the orphan dying alone after losing both parents to AIDS? Who will heal the emptiness that leads thousands of girls to be trafficked for a satellite television or a few dollars into prostitution and modern-day slavery each year? Who will provide stability and hope in communities devastated by AIDS? Who will welcome the drug addict using dirty needles or the gay teenager seeking safety and guidance?

Just as in my own life I need both faith and work to be whole - healing the world will take both faith and work as well.

We are compelled to address AIDS because it's the right thing to do. But we can also acknowledge it's smart, as well. AIDS is turning back the clock on the development that we have seen in Africa and elsewhere. It is destabilizing countries and undermining economies. In some places, AIDS can be even more destructive than war. It is watering the weeds of volatility and despair, and we should be planting seeds of hope and progress.

And nothing will help America more to win hearts and minds around the world more than showing America's true heart on problems like AIDS, tuberculosis, and malaria. In fact, we know our values are the source of our greatest strength.

As the PEACE Plan has recognized so clearly, however, we can't address AIDS in isolation. AIDS is deeply intertwined with so many other crises, and if we are serious about beating this disease, we have to address them as well.

To end AIDS, we need to end malaria in Africa. Malaria is overwhelming the health infrastructures in the developing world, accounting for 40 percent of health spending in many countries - money we need to fight AIDS.

Malaria is a challenge to our conscience in its own right. It is appalling that more than a million people die every year from a bug bite. And nearly all of them are children. A child in Africa dies from malaria every 30 seconds.

We made a decision to eradicate malaria in North America and in Europe. And we can do the same in Africa and Asia. So I'll set a goal of ending all deaths from malaria in Africa by the end of my second term. We can do this if we are committed together.

We also need to aggressively confront tuberculosis - a disease that takes the lives of so many AIDS victims before they should go. A disease that is mutating to become drug-resistant. That endangers all of us. It may start in Africa or in a prison in Russia or in some other far away place, but it endangers all of us because in a world without boundaries, people and viruses move freely.



To end AIDS, we also need to educate all the world's children. Education not only reduces poverty and improves health, it's a key form of prevention. It is what you might call a "social vaccine" against the spread of HIV/AIDS.

But today, 72 million young children - most of them girls - will not set foot in a school, and hundreds of millions will not go beyond primary school. In fact, there are more young children out of school in Africa, than there are children in school in America.

Every day we don't act, we deny more children the childhoods they deserve. We deny future mothers the ability to read a story to their children or a warning on a medicine label. We deny what is at the heart of human dignity: the power to learn, to discover, to grow, to reach one's God-given potential. So as President, I'll work to pass and then sign my bipartisan Education for All Act to help provide a quality, basic education for every single child around the world.

And finally, to end AIDS, we need to stand up for women's rights. AIDS takes a particularly harsh toll on women and girls - about 60 percent of people living with AIDS in sub-Saharan Africa are women. They are young girls who are taken in marriage or in rape. They are women who are abused and mistreated; who have no say in their own lives, who work from sun up to sun down; who never believed they have any way to speak up or be heard. Their societies and their country don't recognize their rights to health care or education. They don't participate in the economy in a formal way, although their work keeps people alive and thriving.

I remember once driving through Africa on a bus with a group of distinguished experts and in field after field and marketplace after marketplace we saw women working, women working hard, carrying firewood, carrying water, selling their products in the villages. And the economist said, "Well, it's too bad that all of their work doesn't matter in the formal economy." And I said, well, if they stopped all of their work, the formal economy would collapse. And it is time we pay tribute and respect to the hard work of such women.

And it is long past time that we do everything we can to stand up for the proposition that women's rights are human rights. As I saw so starkly at that shelter in Thailand, girls denied their human rights are girls at risk of AIDS. And even in our own country today, women are now the face of AIDS.

In 1995, I went to Beijing on behalf of our country for the United Nations Fourth World Conference on Women. I said what most of us believe here in America, that women's rights are human rights, but it was considered a radical statement.

I remember being on the Voice of America shortly after I came back. It was a call in radio show that was beamed throughout the world and a caller from Iran called and he asked me "Well, what did I mean by saying that women's rights were human rights?" And I said, I want you to stop for a minute, maybe close your eyes and think about all the rights you have as a man. The right to work, the right to pursue an education, the right to start a business, the right to be active in your country's affairs. Those are the rights I'm talking about. The rights that are the real core of who we are as human beings.

It's important we continue to work to empower women to take responsibility for themselves and their futures with initiatives on everything from maternal health to micro-credit and entrepreneurship. I'll continue the work I started as First Lady and now as a Senator to end the buying and selling of girls and women into modern-day slavery.

Now, I know this won't be easy. But I also know the power of America at our best, and I know the power of faith and of people of faith, when we heed Isaiah's call to lift up our voices like trumpets.

The faith community lifted up its voice against slavery and helped lead America to end that evil. The faith community lifted its voice against discrimination here in America and against apartheid in South Africa and helped end both. The faith community lifted its voice for debt relief for the world's poorest countries, and gave many countries a fresh start in the jubilee year.



Today the faith community is speaking out against genocide in Darfur. Taking on global warming and we can see from this room the awesome power to address the AIDS pandemic. Together I believe, we can write the next chapter in this history. It is a proud and grace-filled history.

Thank you, thank you to Saddleback. Thanks to all of you for the work you are doing and for living your faith in such a visible way. And I appreciate the opportunity to add my voice to yours. Thank you all very much and God speed.



## **Hillary's Remarks on Super Tuesday**

February 5, 2008

Thank you so much.

Tonight, we are hearing the voices of people across America.

People of all ages and of all colors, all faiths and all walks of life. People on the day shift, the night shift, the late shift with the crying baby. Moms and dads who want a better world for our children. Young people who deserve a world of opportunity. All those who aren't in the headlines, but have always written America's story.

After seven years of a President who listens only to the special interests, you're ready for a President who brings your voice, your values, and your dreams to your White House.

Tonight, in record numbers, you voted not just to make history - but to remake America. People in American Samoa, Arkansas, Massachusetts, New Jersey, Oklahoma, Tennessee... and the great state of New York.

On just one really serious note, we want to keep the people of Arkansas and Tennessee in our prayers. They suffered horrible tornados tonight. We just talked to some of our folks there and people have died in both states, and our thoughts and prayers go out to them in this moment of their need.

Tonight thought is your - tonight is America's night.

It's not over yet, because polls are still open in California for a few more minutes.

I hope all of you will join our campaign at <http://www.hillaryclinton.com> because you know - you know that politics isn't a game. It's not about who's up or who's down. It's about your lives, your families, your futures.

It's about the people who have shared their problems with me, looking for solutions. The mother whose insurance company wouldn't pay for her child's treatment. The couple so determined to send their daughter to college, they're willing to mortgage their home with a sub-prime second mortgage. The man who asked me what to do after training the person who will take his job in another country, the veterans who come home only to find they don't have the healthcare, the compensation, and the services they need.

It's also about the people who want to seize America's opportunity. It's about the unions and businesses who are training people for green collar jobs. It's about the auto companies and auto workers who want higher gas mileage cars so we can compete with the rest of the world. It's about our scientist and researchers who want to be able to do stem cell research right here in the United States of America.

It's about our contractors and construction workers who want to get to work to rebuild America from the bridges in Minnesota to the levies in New Orleans.

For seven years, we have seen President Bush's answer. They don't know what's at stake in this election, but we do. We know what we need is someone ready on day one to solve our problems and restore our opportunities. Because when the bright lights are off and the cameras are gone, who can you count on to listen to you, to stand up for you, to deliver solutions for you?

Well, the Republicans want eight more years of the same. They see tax cuts for the wealthy - and they say, why not some more? They see nine trillion dollars in debt - and say, why not trillions more? They see five years in Iraq - and they say, why not a hundred more?

Well, they've got until January 20, 2009 - and not one day more.

Now we know the Republicans won't give up the White House without a fight, well let me be clear, I won't let anyone swift boat this country's future. Together we're going to take back America because I see an America where our economy works for everyone, not just those at the top, where prosperity is shared and we create good jobs that stay right here in America.

I see an America where we stand up to the oil companies and the oil producing countries, where we launch a clean energy revolution and finally confront the climate crisis.

I see an America where we don't just provide health care for some people, or most people, but for every single man, woman and child in this country - no one left out.

I see an America where when a young man or woman signs up to serve our country, we sign up to serve them too.

An America with a 21st century GI bill of rights to help veterans go to college, buy a home or start their own businesses.

I see an America respected around the world again, that reaches out to our allies and confronts our shared challenges - from global terrorism to global warming to global epidemics.

That's the America I see - that's the America we will build together.

I am so lucky to have the most extraordinary staff, volunteers, and supporters...

And I am so grateful for all those long hours and late nights that you've been putting in.

And I want to thank the most important people in my life, first Bill and Chelsea, for their incredible love.

They have done so much day in and day out and I want to thank all my friends and family, particularly my mother, who was born before women could vote, and is watching her daughter on this stage tonight.

I also want to congratulate Senator Obama for his victories tonight. And I look forward to continuing our campaign and our debate about how to lead this country better off in the next generation, because that is the work of my life - that is why I started my career fighting for abused and neglected children, children who have drawn the short straw in life, because this nation gave me every opportunity and we can do the same for every child.

We must continue to be a nation that strives always to give each of our children a better future, a nation of optimists who believe our best days are yet to come, a nation of idealists holding fast to our deepest values, that we are all created equal, that we all deserve to fulfill our God-given potential, that we are destined for progress together.

It is the ideal inscribed on the base of the Statue of Liberty in this great city, that has overlooked our harbors through wars and depressions and the dark days of September 11, the words we all know that give voice to America's embrace: "Give me your tired, your poor, your huddled masses, yearning to breathe free" - a constant reminder that here in America, we face our challenges and we embrace all of our people.

So today we say with one voice, "Give us the child who wants to learn, give us the people in need of work, give us the veterans who need our care. We say give us the economy to rebuild and this war to end, give us this nation to heal, this world to lead, this moment to seize."

I know we're ready.

Thank you all and God bless you.



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Hillary Clinton's Political Speeches to the Critical Mass'  
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No.	Date	Matter	Signature
1	16 March 2008	Consult the title	
2	20 March 2008	Revise proposal	
3	27 March 2008	ACC for proposal seminar	
4	5 June 2008	Consult chapter 1, 2, 3, 4, and 5	
5	12 June 2008	Revise chapter 4 and 5	
6	18 June 2008	Revise chapter 5	
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