

**IDEOLOGY IN JOE BIDEN’S SPEECH: UNGA 2022:
“UKRAINE WAR WAS CHOSEN BY ONE MAN”**

THESIS

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FACULTY OF HUMANITIES
UNIVERSITAS ISLAM NEGERI MAULANA MALIK IBRAHIM
MALANG
2023**

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THESIS

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MALANG
2023**

STATEMENT OF AUTHORSHIP

I state that the thesis entitled **“Ideology in Joe Biden’s Speech: UNGA 2022: Ukraine War was Chosen by One Man”** is my original work. I do not include any materials previously written or published by another person, except those cited as references and written in the references. Hereby, if there is any objection or claim, I am the only person who is responsible for that.

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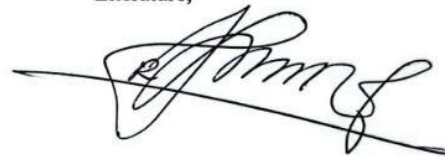
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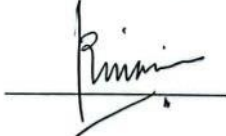


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MOTTO

“In our lives, we face numerous choices. Sometimes we are happy with our choices. Sometimes we regret our decision. But whatever choice you make, I’ll give you a round of applause. Great job on making a decision! Life doesn’t always go the way you want it to. But ultimately it will unfold the way you believe. Accept the beautiful times that approach you just as they are without suspicion.”

- Lee Haechan from NCT -

فَاصْبِرْ إِنَّ وَعْدَ اللَّهِ حَقٌّ وَاسْتَغْفِرْ لِذَنْبِكَ وَسَبِّحْ بِحَمْدِ رَبِّكَ بِالْعَشِيِّ وَالْإِبْكَارِ

So be patient, for indeed God's promise is true, and ask forgiveness for your sins and pray while praising your Lord in the evening and in the morning.

Q.S. Al-Mu'min : 55

DEDICATION

This thesis is dedicated to my parents, Mr. Usman Adi, and Mrs. Ida Mahmudah, who have loved me no matter what and always pushed me to do my best. This work is also dedicated to my dearly adored brother, Rizaldi Saputra, who has been by my side throughout my life and has been the driving force behind my joy. I am incredibly grateful for all the love, support, and prayers that you have offered.

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This thesis has been made possible by the insightful comments, suggestions, and criticisms of several individuals with a wealth of experience and motivation, without whom I would not have been able to complete it. On this occasion, I would like to express my most heartfelt gratitude and appreciation to the following individuals for their assistance, guidance, and insight:

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ABSTRACT

Carrera, Gita Rahma (2023). *Ideology in Joe Biden's Speech: UNGA 2022: "Ukraine War was Chosen by One Man"*. Undergraduate Thesis. Department of English Literature, Faculty of Humanities, Maulana Malik Ibrahim State Islamic University of Malang. Advisor: Prof. Dr. H. Mudjia Rahardjo, M. Si.

Keywords: *Ideology, Critical Discourse Analysis, Speech*

Speech sometimes has a strong influence on its audience. In the speech, the speaker gives opinions related to the topic being presented. Opinions or statements expressed by speakers can contain ideology. This ideology is seen from the structure of the discourse owned by the speaker. This study aims to find the ideology used by Joe Biden when delivering his speech at the UN General Assembly in 2022. The study used data from one of the videos on YouTube titled "President Biden: Ukraine War 'Chosen by One Man'". The researcher used descriptive-qualitative method in analyzing data. The researcher used transcriptions from the video as a tool for analysis. Based on the existing research questions, the researcher analyzed discourse structure (macrostructure, super/meso structure, and microstructure) and ideology through van Dijk's theory. The results of this study show that the discourse structure of speakers leads to an ideology. After the researcher analyzed through the ideological scheme of van Dijk's theory, it was found that Joe Biden's speech at the UN General Assembly in 2022 contained democracy. This ideology can be seen from the frequency with which Biden repeated the word "democracy" as well as several statements that point to the concept of democracy. In addition to ideology schemes, the researcher also determined ideology by looking at the characteristics that lead to an ideology. The researcher suggests to future researchers to examine in-depth related to social cognition and social context in van Dijk's theory. The researcher also suggests future researchers to use different and latest objects.

ABSTRAK

Carrera, Gita Rahma (2023). *Ideologi dalam Pidato Joe Biden: Majelis Umum PBB 2022: "Perang Ukraina Dipilih Oleh Satu Orang"*. Skripsi. Program Studi Sastra Inggris. Fakultas Humaniora. Universitas Islam Negeri Maulana Malik Ibrahim Malang. Dosen Pembimbing: Prof. Dr. H. Mudjia Rahardjo, M.Si.

Kata Kunci: Ideologi, Analisis Wacana Kritis, Pidato

Pidato terkadang memiliki pengaruh yang kuat pada pendengarnya. Di dalam pidato, penutur memberikan opini-opini terkait topik yang sedang dibawakan. Opini atau pernyataan yang disampaikan penutur dapat mengandung ideologi. Ideologi tersebut dilihat dari struktur wacana yang dimiliki penutur. Penelitian ini bertujuan untuk mencari ideologi yang digunakan oleh Joe Biden ketika menyampaikan pidatonya di Majelis Umum PBB tahun 2022. Penelitian ini menggunakan data dari salah satu video di YouTube yang berjudul "Presiden Biden: Perang Ukraina 'Dipilih Oleh Satu Orang'". Peneliti menggunakan metode deskriptif-kualitatif dalam menganalisis data. Peneliti menggunakan transkripsi dari video tersebut sebagai alat untuk menganalisis. Berdasarkan rumusan masalah yang ada, peneliti menganalisis struktur wacana (struktur makro, struktur super/ meso, dan struktur mikro) dan ideologi melalui teori van Dijk. Hasil dari penelitian ini menunjukkan bahwa struktur wacana yang dimiliki penutur mengarah kepada suatu ideologi. Setelah peneliti menganalisis melalui skema ideologi dari teori van Dijk, maka ditemukan bahwa pidato Joe Biden dalam Majelis Umum PBB tahun 2022 mengandung demokrasi. Ideologi tersebut dapat dilihat dari frekuensi Biden mengulangi kata "demokrasi" serta beberapa pernyataan yang mengarah kepada konsep demokrasi. Selain analisis skema ideologi, peneliti juga menentukan ideologi dengan melihat karakteristik-karakteristik yang mengarah kepada suatu ideologi. Peneliti menyarankan kepada peneliti-peneliti selanjutnya untuk meneliti mendalam terkait kognisi sosial dan konteks sosial dalam teori van Dijk. Peneliti juga menyarankan peneliti-peneliti selanjutnya untuk menggunakan objek yang berbeda dan terbaru.

مستخلص البحث

كاريرا، غيتارحمة. (2023) الأيديولوجيا في خطاب جو بايدن: الجمعية العام PBB 2022: "حرب أوكرانيا اختارها رجل واحد". أطروحة. قسم الأدب الإنجليزي. كلية العلوم الإنسانية. الجامعة مولانا مالك إبراهيم الإسلامية الحكومية مالانج. المشرف: أ.د. مودجيا راجو، الماجستير

الكلمات الرئيسية: الأيديولوجيا، تحليل الخطاب النقدي، الخطاب

أحياناً، يكون الخطاب تأثير قوي على المستمعين. وفي الخطاب، يقدم الخاطب آراء تتعلق بالموضوع المعروض. يمكن أن تحتوي الآراء أو القول التي ينقلها الخاطب على أيديولوجية. ورؤية الأيديولوجية من خلال هيكل الخطاب الذي يمتلكه الخاطب. تهدف هذه في عام 2022. يستخدم PBB الدراسة إلى العثور على الأيديولوجية التي استخدمها جو بايدن عند إلقاء خطابه في الجمعية العامة "الرئيس بايدن: حرب أوكرانيا 'اختارها رجل واحد'". استخدم يوتيوب بعنوان هذا البحث بيانات من مقطع فيديو على موقع الباحث المنهج الوصفي النوعي في تحليل البيانات. ويستخدم الباحث نسخ الفيديو كأداة للتحليل. بناءً على صياغة المشكلة الحالية، قام الباحث بتحليل بنية الخطاب (البنية الكلية، البنية الفائقة/المتوسطة، والبنية الدقيقة) والأيديولوجيا من خلال نظرية فان ديك. تشير نتائج هذه الدراسة إلى أن بنية الخطاب التي يمتلكها الخاطب تؤدي إلى أيديولوجية. بعد تحليل الباحث من خلال المخطط الأيديولوجي 2022 احتوى على الديمقراطية. ورؤية هذه الأيديولوجية من PBB لنظرية فان ديك، وجد أن خطاب جو بايدن في الجمعية العامة لبايدن والعديد من التصريحات التي تشير إلى مفهوم الديمقراطية. بالإضافة إلى تحليل المخططات "ديمقراطية" خلال تكرار الكلمة الأيديولوجية، يحدد الباحث أيضاً الأيديولوجية من خلال النظر في الخصائص التي تؤدي إلى أيديولوجية. يقترح الباحث أن يقوم الباحثون الآخرون بإجراء بحث متعمق حول الإدراك الاجتماعية والسياق الاجتماعية في نظرية فان ديك. يقترح الباحث أيضاً على الباحثين في المستقبل استخدام كائنات مختلفة وأحدث

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

This chapter contains the background of the study, research question, the significance of the study, scope and limitation, and the definitions of key terms.

A. Background of the Study

Speech is one of the media to convey people's minds. One of the examples is the perspective and opinions that people have. According to Martika, D et al. (2022), the meaning of speech is producing a language or discourse which can be interpreted by listeners. Speech can be used to inform, persuade, and entertain. The speech can be divided into some types, depending on its intention. Political speech is an example of one type of speech. Political speech contains public, state, or government problems. Political speech aims to provide information or give invitations related to related topics. Opinions, assumptions, or statements issued by politicians can be influenced by ideology. It can also influence political speech.

Political speech may also have a strong impact on listeners. The content of political speech is usually based on opinions, assumptions, or facts. The analysis of political speech through the Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) approach attracts linguists to examine the ideology behind it. Political speech can be analyzed linguistically to find the ideology behind through social and political context contained in the speech through text analysis.

One of the linguistics theories that is suitable for analyzing a speech to find the ideology is by applying Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) proposed by van Dijk. Van Dijk's theory defines the relationship between discourse and society. This theory will also analyze the discourse structure to find out the ideology, power, and domination contained. Therefore, van Dijk's theory can be applied in this study because this study used an object that contains a social and political context.

This study examined the ideology behind the speech by Joe Biden. There are two reasons why the data of this study is attractive. From the linguistics side, this study examined the ideology behind the speech that also indirectly contains power and dominance. While socially, this study is expected to be one of the sources to learn more about the ideology in society. Those reasons make the data in this study unique because it can be analyzed linguistically and find the social phenomena in society.

Some previous studies have similarities with this study in finding the ideology behind the speech. Renaldo (2021) with the research findings showed that Joe Biden's ideology in his inaugural speech related to several issues, such as climate change, democracy, racism, healthcare, and immigrants. Aldosari (2020) with the research finding showed that Nelson Mandela's speech contained the ideology toward racial discrimination, such as his political stance, rebellious spirit, and revolutionary leadership. Latuperissa et.al (2019) with the research findings showed that there are three ideologies behind Soekarno's speech: unity, revolution, and imperialism. Hidayah (2018) with the research findings showed that three

speeches by Martin Luther King concluded that his ideology was socialism. Rahmi et al. (2019) with the research finding showed that Donald Trump has a fascist ideology.

Lafta et al. (2020) with the research findings showed that Donald Trump's ideology relates to the economy of America, the economy of Iran, and business with China. Maghfiroh and Triyono (2020) with the research findings showed that Nadiem Makarim expressed his ideology about a system of beliefs and a system of actions in his speech. Ali and Jassim (2022) with the research findings showed that Ilhan Omar expressed her ideology about hijab, peace, and religiosity in her speech on the Islamophobia issue. Fenyi and Sapaty (2021) with the research findings showed that President John Dramani Mahama expressed his ideology in difficulties in the economy, the relation of power, urgency, human values, and his positive impression. Hasanah et al. (2019) with the research findings showed that Kim Namjoon (RM's) expressed his ideology toward a comparison of his past and present life to respond to what BTS, ARMY (BTS's fan club), and teens around the world have to do to overcome the problem that they were facing up.

There are also some previous studies that are different in their idea and findings, but still in the speech analysis area of Critical Discourse Analysis. Widiastuti (2020) did research on Mohamad Nasir's speech and found that Mohammad Nasir's speech used social power in the educational field to attract all parties in the educational field. Rovino (2019) researched Hillary Clinton's concession speech and found that the lexical choice that Hillary Clinton used in her speech suits male orators in politics. Arasy (2020) researched Lizzie Velasquez's

motivational speech and found that discursive strategies could convey the power to persuade the audience. Qaiwer (2020) researched Donald Trump's speech and found that Trump used negative connotations in representing Muslims. Amaireh (2022) researched Queen Rania's English Speeches and found that Queen Rania tended to talk about women's issues in her speech to make the audience support women.

Oda and Morisn (2021) researched Iraqi Prime Ministers' inauguration and found that Prime Minister, Adil Abdul Mahdi, used the relational process by using the pronoun "we" and "our" in his speech to attract people to support his policies. Jannatussholihah and Triyono (2020) researched Indonesian presidential speeches and found that Joko Widodo used some linguistic modal verbs to show his power. Olusola (2020) researched emergency speech declared by Olusegun Obasanjo in 2004 and found that in Olusegun Obasanjo's speech, there are three functions (to justify, to castigate, and to delegitimize) by using nouns, verbs, adverbs, adjectives, collocations, and assertions. Putri (2018) researched Rabindranath Tagore's speech 'Crisis in Civilization' and found that Rabindranath Tagore gives suggestions to keep the original value of life, be active in "civilization" action, and avoid greediness for facing the future life. Rubbani and Awan (2021) researched the political speech of Prime Minister of Pakistan (PMOP) Imran Khan delivered on 27th of September 2019 and found that Imran Khan has great humanity that can be seen that he tries to control the injustice between Indians, Non-Muslim, and Muslims to avoid bad conditions in social life.

This study completed the previous studies above by providing new insight into how ideology can contain in speech. The difference in topic on object is a unique value in this study. It also filled the gap between previous studies and this study. This study used a different topic, focusing more on the topic of "war", which is not in the previous studies listed.

B. Research Question

Following the background of the study, the researcher proposed two research questions:

1. What are the discourse structures contained in Joe Biden's speech "UNGA 2022: Ukraine War Was Chosen by One Man"?
2. What is the ideology behind Joe Biden's speech "UNGA 2022: Ukraine War Was Chosen by One Man"?

C. Significance of the Study

Practically, the researcher hopes this study gives knowledge to the readers about how to understand and analyze the hidden ideology behind the speech. Also, for other researchers, this study contributed to being one of the sources of future research with the same or related topics as this study.

D. Scope and Limitation

This study focused on finding out the ideology behind Joe Biden's speech by applying van Dijk's theory of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA). This study limited the text analysis in Joe Biden's speech "UNGA 2022: Ukraine War Was

Chosen by One Man”. The text is taken from the transcription of the speech that is available on the official website of The White House.

E. Definitions of Key Terms

Here are some key terms used as a guideline to make it easier to understand this study:

1. Discourse structure is the arrangement of the parts or elements of language or discourse in political speech.
2. Ideology is ideas or beliefs about society, politics, and religion shared by a politician/individual that is applied in a forum.
3. Political speech is a speech related to the state, government, social issues, and addressed by politicians in a forum.
4. Joe Biden is the 46th President of the United States. Joe Biden is also a member of the United Nations General Assembly (UNGA).
5. United Nations General Assembly (UNGA) is a forum that discusses international issues, such as political, economic, humanitarian, social, and legal matters and makes resolutions and recommendations within its competence.

CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE

This chapter explains about discourse analysis, critical discourse analysis, Teun A. van Dijk's model of critical discourse analysis, Teun A. van Dijk's textual analysis framework, and ideology.

A. Discourse Analysis

Discourse analysis is one of the disciplines in linguistics that discusses and analyzes discourse. According to Kamalu and Osisanwo (2015), discourse itself means communication that is presented orally or in writing (text). Discourse analysis explores the relationship between texts and reality. The analysis can be descriptive or critical at the micro, meso, and macro levels.

According to Harris in Kamalu and Osisanwo (2015), discourse analysis is a method for analyzing connected speech or writing. Harris also stated that discourse analysis could be approached by two problems, continuing descriptive linguistics and the connection between behavior and language. Descriptive linguistics explores the form and function of the language, such as phonology, morphology, syntax, lexicon, semantics, and pragmatics. Discourse analysis also examines the connection between behavior and language. The behavior in question is a social situation. The relationship between language and social situation is discussed in discourse analysis along with the form of language analysis.

Brown and Yule defined discourse analysis as the analysis of what language is used for (Maynard, 2017). Gee (1999) stated that discourse analysis is the analysis of spoken or written language to find the social and cultural perspectives, also the identity. Darma (2014) mentioned that in linguistics, discourse analysis is centered on grammatical; in sociology, it is centered on the social context and the use of language itself; in social psychology, it is centered on the structure of conversation; and in political science, it is centered on the use of language and its relationship to power. It can conclude that discourse analysis examines the relationship between language and the context behind it.

In sum, discourse analysis discusses the analysis of spoken or written discourse. If in the context of speech analysis, discourse analysis means analyzing the purpose of speakers using these languages. Besides that, the reason speakers choose certain languages in expressing opinions or ideologies also becomes part of discourse analysis.

B. Critical Discourse Analysis

According to van Dijk in Salma (2018), Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) is a type of discourse analysis that analyzes text and talks from the side of the social and political context. Some of the aspects analyzed are power, dominance, and inequality.

According to Fairclough (1995), Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) goes through three stages: text, discourse practice, and sociocultural practice. The Critical Discourse Analysis by Wodak is called Discourse Historical Approach (DHA). In Wodak's Discourse Historical Model, there are three dimensions to

analysis: text, discursive strategies, and linguistics mean.

According to van Leeuwen in Darma (2014), critical discourse analysis must review social actors and social action, time, distance, conditions, style of presentation, location, construction objectives, and visual representation in the process of its analysis. In van Leeuwen's critical discourse analysis model, the analysis is based on the social actors. There are two models: exclusion and inclusion.

Critical Discourse Analysis by Fowler uses a model of analysis of the arrangement of words and sentences that will later be seen as the ideology that appears (Darma, 2014). The wording and sentences used by the news writer will indirectly contain the ideology of the news writer. News writers arrange a series of words and sentences based on a certain ideology.

Furthermore, this study used van Dijk's theory which analyzes the ideology behind Joe Biden's speech. This study is a critical discourse analysis because the researcher conducted discourse analysis and added a critical element, namely ideology. Van Dijk's critical discourse analysis theory is described in a later sub-chapter.

C. Teun A. Van Dijk Model of Critical Discourse Analysis

There are three dimensions in Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) proposed by van Dijk: text analysis, social cognition, and social context. The text dimension, this dimension examines the text structure of sentence forms, word choices, metaphors used, and others. The social cognition dimension, this dimension examines how individual cognition produces discourse. In the dimension of the

social context, this dimension examines the social context that develops in society.

The critical discourse analysis model by van Dijk is also called “social cognition”. In addition to analyzing its linguistic elements, critical discourse analysis also analyzes how a text is produced, and why the speaker or author conveys their message using certain word choices. Besides, other factors encourage or influence the speaker or author in expressing an opinion. According to Darma (2014), social cognition usually arises due to the mental awareness of the author or speaker

The social context dimension means how language users understand the social situation (van Dijk, 2009). The social context here will show how social power is obtained. According to van Dijk in Eriyanto (2004), there are two important points, namely power and access (Yana, 2015). In the social context, the analysis is based on social values.

In this study, the researcher only used textual analysis because discourse analysis is a method for analyzing connected speech or writing. Also, ideologies are reproduced and expressed by discourse. The textual analysis is needed to understand the ways ideologies used by individual or social groups.

D. Teun A. Van Dijk Textual Analysis Framework

In van Dijk's theory, there are three dimensions in analyzing. There are text dimensions, social cognition, and social context. In the text dimension, there are three stages: macrostructure, superstructure/mesostructure, and microstructure. The macrostructure level aims to seek global meaning and themes from discourse. Mesostructure/superstructure aims to analyze the framework of the text

(introduction, content, and conclusion). Microstructure aims to analyze word choice, grammar (syntactic features), word meaning and metaphors (semantic features), and others.

Discourse Structure	Things to Observe	Unit of Analysis
Macrostructure	THEMATIC (What is being said?) Element: Topic/Theme	Text
Superstructure	SCHEMATIC (How are opinions structured and strung together?) Element: Scheme	Text
Microstructure	SEMANTICS (What does the opinion to be expressed mean?) Elements: Background, Details, Illustration, Meaning, Presupposition, Reasoning	Paragraph
Microstructure	SYNTAX (How is the opinion expressed?) Elements: Coherence, Nominalization, Abstraction, Sentence Form, Pronouns	Sentences, Prepositions
Microstructure	LEXICON (What word choice to use?) Elements: keywords, word selection	Words

Microstructure	<p style="text-align: center;">RHETORICAL</p> <p style="text-align: center;">(In what way are opinions expressed?) Elements: Style, Interaction, Expression, Metaphor, Visual Image</p>	Sentences, Prepositions
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Table 1 The Textual Analysis Framework
Source: Eriyanto (2000) as cited in Rahardjo (2002)

E. Ideology

Van Dijk (2006) defined ideology as systems of ideas that socio-cognitively represent of social groups. According to van Dijk, Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) analyzes the structure of the text and the structure of the discourse (meanings, opinions, and ideologies). Thompson defined ideology as a symbolic form used by people in power to maintain a relationship of domination (Balkin, 1998). According to Darma (2014), ideology is depicted in a person's daily life. Darma also classifies ideology into two parts, namely attitude ideology and knowledge ideology. The ideology of attitudes is the ideology that influences a person in action, while the ideology of knowledge is the ideology that is influenced by groups and has an impact on knowledge.

In discourse analysis, text or speech is not only analyzed in terms of linguistic aspects but also how the ideology behind it (Rahardjo, 2002). How a person speaks or chooses words will be influenced by the ideology that person has. The selection of words can also be to achieve certain goals in a political context. According to Demivoric (1992), ideology achieves real materiality in linguistic signs (in Titscher et.al, 2009).

1. **Ideology Behind Discourse**

Text or conversation is a form of ideological practice. As Rahmat (1996) stated that ideology shapes and are shaped by language (Rahardjo, 2021). Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) concentrates its analysis on language analysis. Where languages can have different contexts according to their use. For example, in a social or political context.

The use of language is based on its use or context, for example in a political speech. The use of language used in political speech can reflect an ideology. The choice of words or sentences by the speaker can reflect what ideology the speaker adheres to, as well as what ideology is spread to the audience. In addition to reflecting ideology, the use of language in a socio-political context can also reflect a power possessed by the speaker. As Hikam stated that the analysis of discourse aims to find out the hidden intention or meaning of a statement (Rahardjo, 2002).

Discourse analysis not only focuses on how the speaker uses sentences, and the benefits of what the speaker says, but also focuses on the complex message structure conveyed by the speaker (Rahardjo, 2002). If the linguistic analysis is only up to textual analysis, Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) analyzes the context and process of production and consumption of a text. The production process of a text is seen from the selection of words and sentences, the use of stylistics, or the use of certain terms. Text consumption is in the form of influence felt by the audience directly or indirectly or for certain other purposes. The ideology that is usually contained in text and talk is also a representation of an idea that a person has and can also influence them in making statements.

2. The Structure of Ideology

The analysis of ideology may produce some ideologies, such as liberalism, socialism, pacifism, or many others, but a further description about their 'contents' and their internal organization is needed (van Dijk, 2013). To make a further description of ideology, van Dijk has formed several categories called ideology schema. Ideology schema is a form of social function that represents the goals and interests of social groups, also the analysis of ideological discourse. Ideology schema organizes the beliefs of an ideology.

According to van Dijk (2013), the ideology schema can be seen in the following fundamental categories:

- a. Identity: Who are we? Who belongs to us? Who is a member and who can join?
- b. Activities: What do we (have to) do? What is our role in society?
- c. Goals: What is the goal of our activities?
- d. Norms and values: What are the norms of our activities? What is good or bad for us?
- e. Group relations: Who are our friends and our enemies?
- f. Resources: What material or symbolic resources form the basis of our (lack of) power and our position in society?

3. Types and Characteristics of Ideologies

According to Darma (2014), there are two classifications of ideology: ideology as the political foothold of the State and ideology as a concept, idea, struggle, and resistance.

a. Ideology as the political foothold of the State

Ideology is used as a reference for understanding groups, nations, and states.

- Nationalism

Smith (2013) stated that nationalism refers to three usages: language and symbolism, a sociopolitical movement, and the ideology of the nation. Nationalism is understood as the understanding or awareness possessed by a nation.

According to Gellner in Harrison and Boyd (2003), nationalists feel anger towards the violation of principle and have satisfaction feeling towards its fulfillment. According to Harrison & Boyd (2003), nationalism has the following characteristics: this ideology upholds loyalty to the nations in terms of political or social matters. People who adhere to this ideology will consider the state to be the same as human beings, that is, they both have sovereign rights. In nationalism, the state is the most important form of political organization for a people. Nationalism offers freedom, wealth, and power.

- Liberalism

In Latin, the term “liberalism” comes from the word “liber” which means free or freedom (Mises, 2005). Liberalism is a notion that prioritizes individual freedom. In liberalism, the rights of individuals who are human rights to express their opinions are highly valued.

In this ideology, individual freedom is above all else or at the highest level. The state recognizes individual rights. A state is a tool for achieving individual

goals. According to Siswanto in Parinduri et.al (2022), there are five characteristics of liberalism ideology: a democratic form of government is best, society has complete intellectual freedom, the arrangement made by the government are only limited, one's power is defined as a bad thing in life, and individual happiness is the main goal.

- Capitalism

Capitalism is an ideology related to the economy. According to Darma (2014), in ideology capitalism, the social system is based on human rights (individual rights and property rights). In the economic process, profits will be obtained by individuals.

According to Jahan and Mahmud (2015), capitalism has some pillars: private property, self-interest, competition, a market mechanism, freedom to choose, and a limited role of government. Private property means that people can own assets, such as land, stocks, and bonds. Self-interest means that people do anything for their own good. They do not care about the pressure caused by social politics. Competition means that companies are free to enter and exit the market to achieve social well-being. A market mechanism means seeking the highest reward in goods, services, or wages in buying and selling activities. Freedom to choose means that people have the right to seek their well-being both in the field of consumption and production. For example, if someone feels that the salary they get is less, they can find a job with a higher salary. Lastly, the limited role of government means governments take great care of the privacy and rights of their citizens to avoid any chaos.

- Socialism

This socialism arose because of the existence of capitalism. In capitalism, the social level is determined by individual rights. This leads to the presence of distinctions in certain aspects. Socialism is an understanding to demand differences in social levels that arise (Darma, 2014). In socialism, the right of equality for each individual is desirable. This right of equality aims to achieve the welfare of a common society.

In contrast to capitalism, socialism adheres to the notion of common ownership, because private property rights are considered selfish attitudes. According to Wikandaru and Cahyo (2016), there are several main views of socialism, including: socialism entrusts the production process in organizations by the state to avoid inequality, reduce poverty, and create economic justice. Furthermore, socialism considers all people to be in the same position, there are no differences in social class or class in society. Fierce competition in the ideology of socialism was replaced by planning. Socialism has the main values of equality, cooperation, and compassion. This aims to realize the life of people who care about each other.

- Fascism and Nazism

The ideology of fascism and Nazism emerged after the end of World War I in 1918 (Darma, 2014). This ideology was used as the basis for reviving the prosperity of the State. As Hayes (1973) postulated, Fascism and Nazism have several basic concepts, namely the application of superior racial understanding, understanding that a State needs a charismatic leader to re-build the State, a state

with these two ideologies applies the concept of a totalitarian state where power is unlimited both in the private and public sphere, the role of the military is very important for the state, nationalism based on power politics, and socialism aimed at promoting the prosperity of the country's economy (Darma, 2014).

According to Gindler (2021), fascists and Nazis consider themselves as peacemakers. Some of the characteristics of fascism include: an authoritarian system with charismatic's leadership, economic and social control: everything is controlled by the States, a cult of violence and militarism, and radical nationalism. Compared to fascism, Nazism is more extreme in its regulations and practices. According to Britannica, Nazism rejected the existence of rationalism, liberalism, democracy, the rule of law, human rights, and all movements of international cooperation and peace. Nazism also prioritized violence and exacerbated inequality between social classes.

- Democracy

As Lindell and Scott (1999) postulated, the word "democracy" comes from the word "demokratia" which means rules are made by people (G.A.I, 2015). It means that citizens have equal rights in decision-making. It aims to achieve popular sovereignty and freedom of expression. This democracy is essential to making national decisions.

This democratic ideology adheres to the principle of supreme power being in the hands of the people. There is a phrase that is related to this ideology. This phrase of President Abraham Lincoln, democracy is government "of the people, by the people, and for the people." According to Diamond in G.A.I (2015), there

are four key elements of democracy: a system for choosing and replacing the government through free and fair elections, active participation of the people, as citizens, in politics and civic life, protection of the human rights of all citizens, and a rule of law in which the laws and procedures apply equally to all citizens.

b. Ideology as a concept, idea, struggle, and resistance

- Hegemony

According to Lull (1995), hegemony is a superiority and power that belongs to a particular group. It means that a group feels it has power or dominates other groups. The dominant groups will influence others with ideologies or understandings derived from the dominant group. Starting from moral, political, and cultural values will spread in society and be considered as common and natural.

Hegemony is a dominant form of power of the upper ruling class. Society unconsciously follows the pattern of the dominant ruler. According to Gramsci, in the social system there is a relationship of class and social power that numbers economic relations and is related to political power (Suryani, 2015).

- Feminism

Feminism is an understanding that women must have equal rights with men. This ideology is important in society. Popov (2018) stated that this ideology influences the international world. With this ideology, women's rights are increasingly valued.

Feminism is seen as an ideology related to women (Popov, 2018). As an ideology, feminism plays a role in critiquing the patriarchal system that gives

rise to a role gap between women and men in society. Feminism was instrumental in fighting for the woman's rights.

- Gender

Darma (2014) stated that gender ideology is how the rules or stereotypes between women (feminism) and men (masculine) in society. To understand this ideology, it is necessary to have a deep understanding of what gender and sex differences are. This is because of this fundamental understanding that causes misunderstandings or inequalities between genders.

Gender ideology discusses the inequality that occurs in works, tasks, inequality division of work, tasks, and life goals (Stefani & Prati, 2020). Gender ideology helps provide an idea of what is "appropriate" gender behaviors and rules that can affect attitudes, choices, and values.

- Ecologism

Ecologism is an ideology that deals with economics, politics, and the environment. Ecologism is a reaction to the imbalance between industrial growth and the limitations of nature. In the end, natural resources are used inexhaustibly only for human purposes (Wissenburg, 1998).

This ideological ecologism is more centered on maintaining ecosystems that play an important role in human life. According to Tasmanian Historical Studies, these things will also be associated with political, social and economic systems. This ideology fights for a balance between humans and ecosystems that need each other and influence each other. This is because there are actions that damage the ecosystem such as exploitation, abuse, and contaminating the ecosystem that

can bring a negative impact on the ecosystem, such as floods, global warming, hunger, and others so that it affects human life.

4. Ideology and Society

According to van Dijk (1998), ideologies are social, agreed by all traditional approaches. Based on van Dijk's theory in the socio-cognitive approach, there is also a social dimension. Ideology, which means that shared social beliefs can change social situations (social interests of groups and the relation between groups and social structures). In the social dimensions, it will emphasize why the social actors and groups develop and use ideologies in the first place, also how the ideologies are reproduced in society. In this social framework, there are some points that must be investigated. Aside from the expression of ideology in discursive interaction, also there are some aspects, such as what kinds of groups, group relations, institutional and organizational dimensions, and the role of culture in the development of ideology.

The ideology brings positive and negative effects on social functions. Examples of the negative effects such as giving rise to a sense of dominance, power, abuse of power, social inequality, hiding a certain purpose, and others. While building a sense of solidarity, fighting for rights, reducing social inequality, and others are examples of positive effects. Aside from the positive and negative social functions, ideologies maintain concerns like resources and privileges. Ideologies also help groups and the members manage their goals, social practices, and daily life.

The social aspects of ideology can be seen in society through macro and micro levels (van Dijk, 2012). Micro level discussed about social actors, social situations, social interactions, and social practices in daily life. The macro level describes about groups, institutions, organizations, states, societies, and relationships. Social groups can be defined in terms of membership criteria, typical activities, specific goals, norms, group relations, and resources (van Dijk, 2012). Social groups certainly have an identity and self-schemata that have a close relationship with ideology. School and mass media is a very influential institutional medium. The text and talk production to the public is influenced and shaped by the ideological institution.

F. Joseph Robinette Biden, Jr.

Joseph Robinette Biden, Jr. or Joe Biden, was born on November 20, 1942, in Scranton, Pennsylvania. Joe Biden is the 46th president of the United States. He also became the 47th vice president from 2009 until 2017 under President Barack Obama. In 1986, Joe Biden received a bachelor's degree from the University of Delaware. He also received a law degree from Syracuse University in New York in 1968. Then, after graduating, Joe Biden became an attorney in Delaware. From 1970-1972, he served on the New Castle County Council.

At the age of 29, in 1972, Joe Biden was elected to the U.S. Senate and he became the fifth youngest senator in history. Joe Biden also was an adjunct professor (1991-2008) at the Wilmington, Delaware, branch of the Widener University School of Law. As a senator, Joe Biden focused on foreign relations, criminal justice, and drug policy. As vice president, Joe Biden played an active role

in the administration, serving as an influential adviser to Obama. He helped avert several budget crises and played a key role in shaping U.S. policy in Iraq. Obama and Joe Biden left office in 2017. In April 2019, Biden announced his candidacy for the 2020 presidential election. Joe Biden was sworn in as the 46th president of the United States on January 20, 2021. Some of the efforts Joe Biden has made as president include fighting the pandemic, rebuilding the economy, dealing with racial strife, and combating climate change.

When Joe Biden was interviewed with ABC's Good Morning America in April 2021, he stated that he was always labeled as one of the most liberal members of the United States Congress. Also, in other interviews with Kitty Kelley of the Washingtonian, he said, "When it comes to civil rights and civil liberties, I'm a liberal, but that's it. I'm really quite conservative on most other issues". In his political career, Joe Biden's position as center-left. Center-left means the mediator between far-left and liberal democrats. This kind of position is a compromising ideological position living in post-second world war Europe. People in that position were reluctant to get closer to fascism and were lazy to be part of the Soviet-style communist revolutionary movement.

G. Russia-Ukraine War History

It has been a year since Russia invaded Ukraine. On February 24, 2022, President Putin declared that he wanted to demilitarize and denazify Ukraine (Kirby, 2023). President Putin also wrote an essay entitled "Russians and Ukrainians were one people". He also denied that Ukraine is its own statehood. According to what former NATO Ambassador Ivo Daalder said to CBS News,

Putin fears that Ukraine's independence will threaten his government and Russian citizens who see that prosperity will oppose his autocratic rule.

Russia had previously invaded eastern Ukraine in 2014 (Reals & Sundby, 2022). At the time, President Putin stated that the attack was only a form of defense of ethnic Russians living in the East Donbas region. On the other hand, Putin also claims the part of Ukraine that is the Crimean Peninsula for Russia. According to Retired General H.R. McMaster, a former national security adviser, in an interview conducted on CBS Morning, President Putin is obsessed with returning Russia to national greatness.

This war extinguished Ukraine's right to exist as a state and as a people. Also, many negative impacts have arisen because of this war. Losses and shortages occur in various aspects such as the economy, food crisis, energy limitations, world inflation, and several other global problems. Some other examples, as described in the Chatham House website, there are seven ways Russia's war on Ukraine has changed the world. Chatham House website explained about the shifts in geopolitical alliances, security, energy, and supply chains.

Here are the seven ways Russia's war on Ukraine has changed the world, according to Chatham House website: Realignment – shifting alliances, security – redrawing the lines, nuclear weapons – risks return, energy and food – fuelling the crisis, Russia the pariah state, a new Ukraine – new hopes, and international law – ripping up the rulebook.

There are another effects that occur because of Russia-Ukraine War. According to CNBC Indonesia News, for Indonesia, the impact of this war can

help the country's economy with high commodity prices. These domestic commodities, such as coal, petroleum, gas and nickel. This is because usually the energy of European countries' power plants is filled by Russia. However, since the war, they have had to find other alternatives, and Indonesia has become one of them.

According to the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace website, this war could be an opportunity for non-state international groups to act autonomously on the international stage (Kavanagh, 2022). Those with limited influence and power can expand it through their contributions. Then, from the Russia-Ukraine war can be drawn a lesson that the strength of a country cannot be measured by military strength. Each country must work together to create peace so that things do not happen that trigger conflict.

CHAPTER III

RESEARCH METHOD

This chapter contains the research design, data source, research instrument, data collection, data analysis, and triangulation.

A. Research Design

This study used the descriptive qualitative model in analyzing the speech. According to Creswell (2012), the descriptive method aims to explain and describe the analysis results in more detail. The text study/ text analysis or content analysis is the qualitative approach for this study. This method is suitable for this study because it leads the researcher to describe and explain the analysis results (Rahardjo, 2018). Text study is a qualitative research method that focuses on analyzing data in the form of text in terms of structure, content, or meaning (Rahardjo, 2018). This study used the text from the transcription of Joe Biden's speech taken from the YouTube video.

B. Data and Data Sources

From the transcription of Joe Biden's speech at UNGA 2022, the researcher used the few statements that correspond to textual analysis and ideological analysis as data in this study. The researcher took the data from the Sky News YouTube channel with the video entitled "*President Biden: Ukraine war was 'chosen by one man'*". President Joe Biden gave a speech at UNGA 2022 on September 21st, 2022.

C. Research Instrument

The research instrument is the researcher herself. The researcher used a laptop, smartphone, books, internet sources (journals, e-books, thesis, website), and a notebook as supporting tools. The researcher watched the video on the SkyNews YouTube channel. Then, the researcher found the transcription on the official website of The White House.

D. Data Collection

The researcher did several steps to collect the data. First, the researcher searched and read several sources from the internet about Critical Discourse Analysis through journals, books, or theses. Second, after finding a topic the researcher is interested in, the researcher looked for explanations about the topic through journals, theses, books, and other sources. Third, the researcher searched for an object that is suitable to the topic on YouTube with the keyword “speech” and found a speech made by Joe Biden about a few months ago (September 21st 2022). Fourth, the researcher watched Joe Biden’s speech at UNGA 2022 on YouTube. Fifth, the researcher searched the transcription of the speech on the internet. Sixth, the researcher found the transcription in the official website of The White House. Seventh, the researcher compared and checked the transcription and the video. Finally, based on van Dijk’s theory, the researcher identified several sentences that belong to macrostructure (actors, events, and groups), superstructure/mesostructure (introduction, content, and closing), microstructure (semantic analysis: background, details, illustration, meaning, presupposition); (syntax analysis: coherence, nominalization, abstraction, sentence form,

pronouns); (lexicon analysis: keywords and word selection); and (rhetorical analysis: style, interaction, expression, metaphor, and visual image), and ideological analysis (the structure of ideology, characteristics, and types of ideology).

E. Data Analysis

After the researcher collected the data, the researcher used several steps to analyze the data. From the transcription, the researcher categorized the statement into some part of analysis based on van Dijk's theory. First, the researcher determined several sentences that belong to the macrostructure to three parts of analysis: actors, events, and groups. Second, the researcher determined several sentences that are included in the superstructure/mesostructure to three parts of analysis: introduction, content, closing. Third, the researcher also determined several sentences included in the microstructure to the four parts of analysis: semantic analysis (background, details, illustration, meaning, presupposition), syntax analysis (coherence, nominalization, abstraction, sentence form, pronouns), lexicon analysis (keywords and word selection), and rhetorical analysis (style, interaction, expression, metaphor, and visual image). Fourth, the researcher analyzed the ideology by dividing it into two parts of analysis: the structure of ideology (ideology schema) and characteristics and types of ideology. Finally, after completing the analysis, the researcher drew conclusion and suggestion.

F. Triangulation

In the process of research, an examination of credibility is required. According to Lincoln and Guba in Rahardjo (2007), there are four criteria in the validity check: credibility, transferability, dependability, and confirmability. To increase credibility, a triangulation process is needed. Triangulation is the process of looking at symptoms from different angles and testing findings using various sources of information and various techniques (Rahardjo, 2007). Triangulation also aims to increase the understanding and knowledge of researchers, not to seek the truth (Bachri, 2010). According to Rahardjo (2007), there are four kinds of triangulation: examination techniques using data sources, methods, inter-researcher, and theories. Putra (2013) added another category which is the triangulation of time.

In this study, the researcher used some triangulations such as triangulation of data sources and time. Triangulation of data sources is carried out to provide researchers with a view of related phenomena through various data sources (Rahardjo, 2010). In this study, the researcher compared some data sources such as from Sky News website, Sky News instagram account and Sky News YouTube channel. In the Sky News website and Sky News Instagram account, the video related to the Joe Biden's speech about the Ukraine war was not fully shown. Only short videos are shown on Sky News website (news.sky.com) and Sky News Instagram account (@skynews). Meanwhile, on the Sky News YouTube channel, videos related to Joe Biden's speech about Ukraine war especially at UNGA 2022 are displayed in full so that the researcher chose the Sky News YouTube channel

as a source of data collection in the form of transcriptions from Joe Biden's speech at UNGA 2022. The researcher used transcription from the official website of The White House. So the existing data is valid because what is in the video and the transcription are the same.

Triangulation of time is carried out by collecting data at different times (Hayati, 2012). The data is from a YouTube video of Joe Biden's speech at UNGA 2022 issued in September 2022. The researcher looked at the same topic in 2021 and the issues discussed by Joe Biden are interconnected. Therefore, the researcher used the YouTube channel Sky News because it contains Joe Biden's speech at UNGA in 2021 and 2022, so the researcher can compare it.

CHAPTER IV

FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

In this chapter, the researcher presents the finding and discussion. The finding and discussion will answer the research questions about the discourse structures and ideology behind Joe Biden's speech at UNGA 2022. The researcher analyzes the discourse structures, which contain macrostructure, mesostructure/superstructure, and microstructure, with van Dijk's theory of textual analysis. According to Sinambela in Fauzi (2022), the elements of macrostructure are actors, events, and groups. The analysis of mesostructure/superstructure covers three elements: introduction, content, and closing. The microstructure covers semantics, syntax, lexicon, and rhetorical analysis.

The next analysis is the ideological analysis. It aims to answer the second research question about the ideology behind Joe Biden's speech at UNGA 2022. The researcher analyzes which types of ideology are contained in Joe Biden's speech at UNGA 2022. The researcher also analyzed the structure of the ideologies using the fundamental categories of ideology schema by van Dijk.

A. Findings

This section presents about the macrostructure, mesostructure/superstructure, and microstructure. Also, the ideological analysis will be presented in this section.

1. Discourse Structures

A. Macrostructure

Macrostructure aims to seek the global meaning that can be observed from the topic or theme raised by a text. According to Sinambela in Fauzi (2022), the thematic elements are divided into three elements: actors, events, and groups.

a. Actors

The actor element indicates who the actors are in an event. A mentioned actor can have an important role or power. Here are some findings:

Datum 1:

“My fellow leaders, in the last year, our world has experienced great upheaval.”

“Permanent member of the United Nations Security Council invaded its neighbor.”

“Russia has shamelessly violated the core tenets of the United Nations Charter.”

“Again, just today, *President Putin* has made overt nuclear threats against Europe.”

From the findings above, President Joe Biden mentioned some actors: fellow leaders, permanent member of the United Nations Security Council, Russia, and President Putin. Joe Biden referred “my fellow leaders” to leaders from various countries who participated in the UNGA 2022 at that time. There are five permanent members of the United Nations Security Council: China, France, the Russian Federation, the United Kingdom, and the United States. In that speech, Joe Biden meant that Russia invaded its neighbor, Ukraine. Next, Joe Biden also mentioned that Russia has also violated the core tenants of the United Nations Charter. In the last findings, Joe Biden mentioned President Putin, who is the president of Russia has made overt nuclear threats against Europe.

Joe Biden also mentioned other actors in his speech. Here are some findings:

Datum 2:

“My fellow leaders, in the last year, *our* world has experienced great upheaval.”

“Let *us* speak plainly.”

“And now *we* see attacks on schools, railway stations, hospitals,..”

“Whoever *you* are, wherever *you* live, whatever *you* believe that should not make your blood run cold.”

“That’s why *141 nations* in the general assembly came together,..”

“*Our* allies and partners around the world have stepped up as well.”

“And today, *more than 40 countries* represented in here have contributed billions of their own money,..”

“*The United States* is also working closely with our allies and partners to impose costs on Russia,..”

“*I* reject the use of violence and war to conquer Nations or expand borders through bloodshed,..”

The word "our, us, we, you" referred to Joe Biden and the UNGA 2022 participants. Joe Biden reaffirmed this by explaining through the words "141 nations in the general assembly" and "more than 40 countries represented in here". Joe Biden reiterated that among the many countries already mentioned, the United States itself is also taking several steps to help Ukraine. Joe Biden also mentioned himself with the word "I".

b. Events

In this section, the analysis is based on the events that support the discourse theme. Here are some findings:

Datum 3:

“Permanent member of the United Nations Security Council *invaded* its neighbor.”

“Now, Russia's calling. *Calling up more soldiers* to join the fight, ...”

“Putin claims *he had to act* because Russia was threatened.”

“This war is about *extinguishing* Ukraine's right to exist as a state, ...”

“Russia in the meantime is pumping out lies *trying to pin the blame* for the crisis,…”

“Mr Secretary General, establishing a mechanism to export grain from Black Sea ports in Ukraine that Russia *had blocked* for months.”

Some findings above explain the discourse theme about the Ukraine war was chosen by one man. Some statements explaining what Russia has done to Ukraine, such as the words "invaded", "calling up more soldiers", "he had to act", "extinguishing", "trying to pin the blame", and "had blocked". Some findings above illustrate that Russia attacked Ukraine brutally and "the one man", who is President Putin, always felt Russia was threatened, even though no one threatened Russia.

c. Groups

This section shows any group mentioned by Joe Biden in his speech and supports the discourse theme. Here are some findings:

Datum 4:

“That's why *141 nations in the general assembly* came together, …”

“*The United States* has marshaled massive levels of security assistance, …”

“Our *allies and partners around the world* have stepped up as well.”

“**The United States** is also working closely with *our allies and partners* to impose costs on Russia to deter tax against NATO territory.”

“We're working with *the G7* unlike-minded countries,…”

“Members of *the U.N Security Council*, including the United States should consistently uphold and defend the U.N Charter and refrain, …”

“All free of charge, no strings attached and we're working closely with *the G20* in other countries in the United States, …”

“*With partners and the Americas Africa Europe and the Middle East and Indo-pacific*, we're working to build a new economic ecosystem, …”

Based on the findings above, Joe Biden mentioned some groups related to the discourse theme. Joe Biden explained that some allies groups and United States partners, such as the G7 and G20, will help Ukraine fight Russia and meet Ukraine's perceived shortcomings, such as in terms of economy, food, military, and others. In addition to explaining about the assistance that will be given to Ukraine, Joe Biden also mentioned some of the work of several groups he has said. Some of the groups mentioned by Joe Biden also have an important role and great influence in the international sphere.

B. Mesostructure / Superstructure

This section examined how the structure of the text scheme and how opinions are structured and strung together. The analysis is divided into three parts: introduction, content, and closing.

a. Introduction

In the introduction of the speech, Joe Biden explained about the beginning of the Russia invasion towards Ukraine. Here are some findings that illustrate Joe Biden's opinion regarding the Russia-Ukraine war:

Datum 5:

“Growing crisis in food insecurity, record heat, floods, droughts, COVID-19, and *a brutal needless war*.”

“A war chosen by one man to be *very blunt*.”

“Russia has *shamelessly violated* the core tenets of the United Nations Charter.”

“This world *should see these Outrageous Acts* for what they are.”

“But no one threatened Russia. And *no one other than Russia sought conflict*.”

“This war is about *extinguishing Ukraine's right* to exist as a state, plain and simple, and Ukraine's right to exist as a people.”

“Whoever you are, wherever you live, whatever you believe *that should not make your blood run cold.*”

b. Content

In this section, the researcher examines about the content of Joe Biden's speech. The researcher found that the content contains several kinds of sub-topics. The researcher divided the findings into nine parts.

a) Health and economic assistance for Ukraine

Datum 6:

“The United States has marshaled massive *levels of security assistance* and *humanitarian Aid* and *direct economic* support for Ukraine.”

“And today more than 40 countries represented in here *have contributed billions of their own money and equipment* to help Ukraine defend itself.”

“The United States is also working closely with our allies and partners *to impose costs on Russia* to deter tax against NATO territory.”

“We will *stand the solidarity* against Russia's aggression.”

b) U.N. Charter

Datum 7:

“But as we meet, today, the UN Char *the U.N Charter is very basis of a stable and just rule-based order is under attack*, by those who wish to tear it down, were distorted for their own political advantage.”

“And the United Nations Charter *was not only signed by democracies of the world*. It was negotiated among citizens, dozens of Nations, with vastly different histories and ideologies, unite it and their commitment to work for peace.”

“As President Truman said in 1945, *the U.N Charter and I quote is proof that Nations like men can State their differences, can face them, and then can find common ground* on which to stand end of quote.”

“Today, 193 of you 193 member states have willingly embraced his principles and *standing up for those principles for the U.N Charter* is the job of every responsible member state.”

c) Achievement of United States

Datum 8:

“As I said last year, *the United States is opening an era of Relentless diplomacy to address the challenges that matter most to people's lives, ...*”

“From the day I came to office, *we've led with bold climate agenda, we rejoined the Paris agreement, convened the major climate summits, help deliver critical agreements on the cop 26.*”

“*We helped get two-thirds of the world GDP on track, to limit warming to 1.5 degrees Celsius, and now I've signed a historic piece of legislation here in the United States that includes the biggest most important climate commitment we have ever made in the history of our country.*”

“Our investments will also *help reduce the cost of developing Clean Energy Technologies worldwide*, not just in the United States, this is a global game changer and none too soon we don't have much time.”

d) Prepare Plan

Datum 9:

“The key part of that will be our prepare plan, which will help half a billion people, especially vulnerable countries, *adopt to the impacts of climate change and build resilience.*”

“On global health *we've delivered more than 620 million doses of covid-19 vaccine to 116 countries* around the world with more available to help meet country's needs.”

“All free of charge, no strings attached and we're working closely with the G20 in other countries in the United States, *help lead the change* to establish a groundbreaking new fund for pandemic prevention preparedness and response at the World Bank.”

“At the same time, *we've continued to advance the ball*, on enduring Global health challenges.”

“Later today, *I'll host the seventh replenishment conference* for the global fund to fight AIDS, tuberculosis, and malaria.”

“With bipartisan support in our Congress, *I have pledged to contribute up to six billion dollars to that effort, ...*”

e) Food aid for Ukraine

Datum 10:

“We're also *taking down the food crisis head on*, with as many as 193 million people around the world, experience acute, acute food insecurity, a jump of 40 million in a year.”

“Today I'm announcing another 2.9 billion dollars and U.S support for life-saving humanitarian and *food security assistance* for this year alone.”

“I'm grateful for the work here at the U.N including your leadership, Mr Secretary General, establishing a mechanism *to export grain from Black Sea ports in Ukraine* that Russia had blocked for months.”

“We believe strongly and *the need to feed the world*, that's why the United States is the world's largest supporter of the world food program, with more than 40 percent of its budget.”

“We're leading support the *leading support of the UNICEF efforts to feed children around the world* ,...”

“In June, the G7 announced more than 4.5 billion dollars to *strengthen food security around the world*, through USAIDs feed the future initiative.”

“The United States is scaling up innovative ways to *get drought and heat resistant seeds* into the hands of farmers who need them.”

“And we're calling on all countries to refrain from *banning food exports or hoarding grain*, while so many people are suffering, ...”

f) Preparations to face challenges in 21st century

Datum 11:

“As we look to the future, we're working with our partners *to update and create rules of the road for new challenges* we face in the 21st century.”

“*We launched the trade and Technology Council* with the European Union to ensure that key Technologies, ...”

“With our partner countries and through the U.N we're *supporting and strengthening the Norms of responsibility*, ...

With partners and the Americas Africa Europe and the Middle East and indo-pacific, we're working *to build a new economic ecosystem*, ...”

“That's why the United States is championed, a global minimum tax and *we will work to see it implemented so major corporations pay their fair share* everywhere, everywhere.”

“That's why the United States together with fellow G7 Partners *launched a*

partnership for Global infrastructure and investment we intend to collectively mobilize, 600 billion dollars, an investment through this partnership, by 2027.”

“*Dozens of projects are already underway*, industrial scale, vaccine manufacturing in Senegal, transformative solar projects in Angola.”

g) Handling related to Climate Change

Datum 12:

“The United States will work with every nation including our competitors, *to solve Global problems like climate change.*”

“Climate diplomacy is not a favor to the United States or any other Nation and walking away, *hurts the entire world.*”

h) Diplomacy

Datum 13:

“We seek to *uphold peace and stability across the Taiwan Straits*, we remain committed to our One China policy, which has helped prevent Conflict for four decades.”

“*We support an African union-led peace process to end the fight in Ethiopia*, restore security for all its people.”

“In Venezuela, where years of political oppression have driven more than six million people from that country, *we urge the Venezuelan-led dialogue and return to free and fair elections.*”

“*We continue to stand with our neighbor in Haiti* as it faces political fuel gang violence, an enormous human crisis.”

“*We'll continue to back the U.N mediated truce in Yemen* which has delivered precious months of peace the people that have suffered years of war.”

“And *we will continue to advocate for lasting negotiating peace*, between the Jewish and Democratic state of Israel and the Palestinian people.”

“*The United States is committed to Israel's security, full stop. And a negotiated two-state solution*, remains in our view the best way to ensure Israel's security and prosperity for the future and give the Palestinians the state, which to which they are entitled.”

“Let me also urge Every Nation *to recommit to strengthening* the nuclear non-proliferation regime through diplomacy.”

“I continue to believe that *diplomacy is the best way* to achieve this outcome.”

i) Human Rights

Datum 14:

“We cannot *let the world now slide backwards* nor can we turn the blind eye to the erosion of Human Rights.”

“Perhaps, singular among this body's achievements *stands the universal Declaration of Human Rights*, which is the standard by which our forebears challenge us to measure ourselves.”

“They made clear in 1948 *human rights are the basis* for all that we seek to achieve.”

“And today we stand with the brave citizens and the brave women of Iran, who right now are *demonstrating to secure their basic rights*.”

“But here's what I know, the future will be won, by those countries that unleash the full potential of their populations, *where women and girls can exercise equal rights* including basic Reproductive Rights and contribute fully to building a stronger economies and more resilient societies, *where religious and ethnic minorities can live their lives, without harassment* and contribute to the fabric of their communities where the LGBTQ plus Community individuals *live and love freely without being targeted with violence*, where *citizens can question and criticize their leaders without fear of reprisal*.”

“The United States *will always promote human rights* and the values enshrined in the U.N Charter in our own country and around the world.”

c. Closing

In this section, Joe Biden made a conclusion that included all the words, opinions, and sub-topics in his speech. The closing statement also contains motivation and an invitation to jointly face various existing problems, including the Russia-Ukraine war. Here are some findings related to the closing statement:

Datum 15:

“*Let me end* with this.”

“This institution Guided by the U.N Charter and the universal Declaration of Human Rights is *at its core an act of dauntless hope*.”

“*Think about how divided the people of the world must have felt* with the fresh grief of millions dead the genocidal horrors of the Holocaust exposed.”

“My fellow leaders, the challenge we face today are great indeed, but *our capacity is greater, our commitment must be greater still.*”

“So *let's Stand Together*, to again declare the unmistakable resolve, that nations of the world are united still and *we stand for the values of the U.N Charter,...*”

“*We're not passive witnesses* to history.”

“*We are the authors* of History.”

“*We can do* this.”

“*We have to do it*, for ourselves and for our future, for humankind.”

C. Microstructure

Microstructure aims to analyze word choice, grammar, word meaning, metaphors, and others. This section will be divided into some parts of analysis: semantics (what does the opinion to be expressed mean), syntax (how is the opinion expressed), lexicon (what word choice to use), and rhetorical (in what way are opinions expressed). The semantic analysis covers the background, details, illustration, meaning, presupposition, and reasoning. The syntax analysis covers coherence, nominalization, abstraction, sentence forms, and pronouns. The lexicon analysis covers keywords and word selection. Then the rhetorical analysis covers style, interaction, expression, metaphor, and visual image.

a. Semantic analysis

- Background

The background is where the speaker can bring or direct the topic in the speech. A background will cause the topic to appear which covers the beginning to the end of the speech. Here are the findings:

Datum 16:

“My fellow leaders, in the last year our world *has experienced great upheaval.*”

“Growing crisis in food insecurity, record heat, floods, and droughts, COVID-19,

inflation and *a brutal needless war*. Permanent member of the United Nations Security Council *invaded its neighbor*.”

Based on the finding above, the background of the speech is a great upheaval, which is a brutal needless war. Joe Biden initially stated that Russia had invaded its neighbour, Ukraine. Biden briefly explained the gist of Russia's attack on Ukraine at the start of the speech. Joe Biden brought this topic up during the speech. He also connected this topic with other great upheavals such as food crises, record heat, floods, droughts, COVID-19, etc.

- Details

In the speech, various details must be considered. These details will complement or support the topic of the speech delivered by the speaker. Details can be examples, narratives, statistics, testimony, definitions, facts, etc. Details serve to provide information, clarify, prove, or explain the main idea. Here are some findings related in Joe Biden’s speech:

Datum 17:

“That's why **141** nations in the general assembly came together and not to unequivocally condemn Russia's war against Ukraine.”

“And today more than **40** countries represented in here have contributed billions of their own money and equipment to help Ukraine defend itself.”

“Today, **193 of you**, 193 member states have willingly embraced his principles and standing up for those principles for the U.N Charter is the job of every responsible member state.”

“So as I announced last year to meet our Global responsibility, my Administration is working with our Congress to deliver **more than 11 billion dollars** a year to International climate finance to help lower income countries, implement their climate goals and ensure adjust energy transition.”

“On global health we've delivered **more than 620 million** doses of covid-19 vaccine to 116 countries around the world with more available to help meet country's needs.”

Some findings above show that in his speech, Joe Biden added details in the form of numbers/amounts to strengthen his statement. The details he said were also based on existing data. Joe Biden mentioned the amount of detail in his statement so that the audience can know clearly and avoid unclear information. It also shows the transparency of information between related parties.

Datum 18:

“In the past even *more horrifying evidence* of Russia's atrocity and war crimes. Mass Graves uncovered in ism. Bodies, according to those who escalated those bodies, showing signs of torture. This war is about extinguishing Ukraine's right to exist as a state, plain and simple, and Ukraine's right to exist as a people.”

To support the main statement, Joe Biden cited several forms of evidence of Russian atrocities. Biden mentioned several facts that are the impact of Russia's past atrocities. Some of these facts are also related to the Russia-Ukraine conflict which was the topic of his speech.

Datum 19:

“The key part of that will be our *prepare plan*, which will help half a billion people, especially vulnerable countries, adopt to the impacts of climate change and build resilience. And we will lead with our diplomacy to strive for *peaceful resolution* of conflict.”

Some of the findings above show the main statement about the prepare plan and the effort to strive for a peaceful resolution. After the main statement, Joe Biden explained some of the efforts made to fulfill the prepare plan and a peaceful resolution. Several things were carried out to achieve the prepare plan, such as delivering more than 620 million doses of COVID-19 vaccine to 116

countries; creating global funds to fight AIDS, tuberculosis, and malaria; Overcoming Food Crisis and Climate Change Impact, etc. Then to support a peaceful resolution of conflict, Joe Biden mentioned several efforts such as upholding peace and stability with China, Africa, Venezuela, Haiti, Yemen, Israel-Palestine, and others.

- Illustration

The illustration visually interprets pictures, posters, magazines, films, etc. In this study, the researcher used a YouTube video with a thumbnail as a cover. The data was from Sky News YouTube channel with a video entitled "President Biden: Ukraine war was 'chosen by one man' ". In the thumbnail, it was depicted that Joe Biden gave a speech related to the topic.

- Meaning

Meaning is a message contained in text, sentences, or symbols. A message can be seen directly or indirectly. According to Fauzi (2022), meaning can also be in the form of how the speaker explains important information that is beneficial for him to hide information that is detrimental to him.

Datum 20:

“Because if Nations can pursue their Imperial Ambitions without consequences, *then we put at risk*, everything is very institution stands for, everything.”

Based on the finding above, Joe Biden's words "we put at risk" means that the United States did not hesitate to choose sovereignty and stood with Ukraine because the goal is to end the war. In a later statement, Biden also mentioned

that the members of the United States have also vowed to fight Russia's aggression steadfastly.

Datum 21:

“Whoever you are, wherever you live, whatever you believe that should not that should make your *blood run cold*.”

In the statement above, Joe Biden urged everyone not to be afraid to stand up for Ukraine. Biden mentioned in his next statement that 141 nations in the general assembly would unite for Russia's war against Ukraine.

Datum 22:

“We cannot let the world now *slide backwards* nor can we turn the *blind eye* to the erosion of Human Rights.”

The words "slide backwards" and "blind eye" lead to the United States' efforts to protect human rights. Some phenomena such as Xinjiang problem about ethnic minorities, the repression of women in Burma, also Iranian women struggling with their rights. Biden reiterated that the United States stands with them to fight to get their human rights back. He also invited everyone to unite and stand together to create an advancement of all humankind.

- Presupposition

The presupposition is an estimate or prejudice. The presupposition is the assumption of the speaker that leads to truth or untruth that appears in a speech. According to Chaer in Astuti (2016), presupposition is the knowledge possessed by speakers and interlocutors behind a speech act. Here are some examples of presupposition in Joe Biden's speech:

Datum 23:

“Putin's own words make his true purpose unmistakable, just before he invaded, Putin asserted and I quote Ukraine was created by Russia and never had quote real statehood.”

As in the example above, Joe Biden said that Putin clearly determined his goals. The statement is supported by the fact that Putin never considered Ukraine as a real statehood but as a Russian-made state. In a later statement, Biden said that Russia's atrocities could be seen in the impact of many taxes, torture, murder, and brutal wars that wiped out Ukraine's rights as a state and the rights of Ukrainians as human beings.

Datum 24:

“Russia in the meantime is *pumping out lies trying to pin the blame for the crisis*, the food crisis on the sanctions imposed by many in the world for the aggression against Ukraine.”

Based on the finding above, Joe Biden said that Russia does not want to admit that Russia has caused the food crisis in Ukraine. In a later statement, Biden clarified that nothing was limiting the food supply. The Russian war itself caused the food crisis. Russia blocked access to grain exports for several months.

b. Syntax analysis

- Coherence

Coherent is where one statement and the next statement correspond and connect. This coherence is very important because the audience can clearly understand what is conveyed by the speaker and captures the essence of the speech delivered by the speaker.

Datum 25:

“As we look to the future, we're working with our partners to *update and create rules* of the road for new challenges we face in the 21st century.”

After saying the statement above, Joe Biden explained more about some of the things that are done to meet the goal (update and create rules). Biden mentioned several achievements, such as launching the trade and technology council with the European Union; building a new economic system, dealing with people who use cyber-attacks to threaten international peace and security; protecting everyone from coercion and domination; conducting high standards projects for Global infrastructure; etc. It means that one statement and the next statement were connected.

- Nominalization

According to Fowler in Bilig (2008), nominalization is using noun phrases and passive voice to show an ideology. Nominalization turns verbs into nouns. It also shows actions and events as nouns, not verbs. Doing nominalization can be useful to directly know about what is being talked about or the essence of a sentence/text.

Datum 26:

“The Kremlin is organizing a sham referendum to try to annex parts of Ukraine and extremely significant *violation* of the U.N Charter.”

Some findings above show that the nominalization of "violation" is from the verb "violate".

- Abstraction

Abstraction is a general idea/word to create words that are not specific or detailed. This abstraction can make the listener or reader confused because there is no detail in it. Here are some findings:

Datum 27:

“No matter *what else we may disagree on*, that is the common ground upon which we must stand if you're still committed to a strong foundation for the good of every nation around the world, then the United States wants to work with you.”

From the finding above, the words "what else we may disagree on" remained unclear. The audience or reader didn't know what issues might not be mutually agreed upon.

- Sentence form

Datum 28:

“My fellow leaders, in the last year our world *has experienced* great upheaval.”

“Russia *has shamelessly violated* the core tenets of the United Nations Charter.”

Some findings above show the present perfect tense which means the problem related to past events still continues into the present. The great upheaval and Russia’s violation of the United Nations Charter are still ongoing.

Datum 29:

“In fact, we *warned* it was coming and with many of you we worked to try to avert it.”

“As I *said* last year, the United States is opening an era of relentless diplomacy to address the challenges that matter most to people's lives.”

The words "warned" and "said" show the past tense which means the past event. In accordance with the statement above, the United States has warned

people about the problem in the past. Also, Joe Biden has said diplomacy is needed to face the challenges.

Datum 30:

“Now, Russia's *calling*. Calling up more soldiers to join the fight and the Kremlin is organizing a sham referendum to try to annex parts of Ukraine and extremely significant violation of the U.N Charter.”

“Today I'm *announcing* another 2.9 billion dollars and U.S support for life-saving humanitarian and food security assistance for this year alone.”

The words "calling" and "announcing" show the present tense. It means that the event happened at this moment, as well as at the time the speech was taking place.

Datum 31:

“We *will stand* in solidarity with Ukraine. We *will stand* the solidarity against Russia's aggression.”

“The United States *will work* with every nation including our competitors, to solve Global problems like climate change.”

The words "will stand" and "will work" show the future tense. It means that an effort or action will be taken in the future in dealing with existing problems.

- Pronouns

Datum 32:

“Putin's own words make *his* true purpose unmistakable, just before he invaded Putin asserted and I quote Ukraine was created by Russia and never had quote real statehood.”

“*Our* allies and partners around the world have stepped up as well.”

“*I* continue to believe that diplomacy is the best way to achieve this outcome.”

Some statements below contained pronouns “his, our, I”. The pronoun “his” refers to President Putin. The pronoun “our” refers to the United States. The pronoun “I” refers to Joe Biden.

c. Lexicon analysis

The lexicon analysis is based on keywords and word choice. The keyword related to the topic is Russia and Ukraine. In his speech at UNGA 2022, Biden tends to use some words, such as the United States, the pronoun “we” and “our”, also active words rather than passive words. Here are some findings:

Datum 33:

“*We* stood with Ukraine.”

“*We* will stand in solidarity with Ukraine.”

“*Our* department of energy estimates that this new law will reduce U.S emissions by one gigaton a year, by 2030.”

“*Our* investments will also help reduce the cost of developing Clean Energy Technologies worldwide, not just in the United States, this is a global game changer and none too soon we don't have much time.”

“We're *working* with our partners in ASEAN and the Pacific Islands to support a vision for a critical indo-pacific region, ...”

“We *support* an African union-led peace process to end the fight in Ethiopia, restore security for all its people.”

d. Rhetorical analysis

- Style

According to Joos in Hamdany & Damanhuri (2017), speech style is divided into five styles. There are frozen, formal, consultative, casual, and intimate. In his speech at UNGA 2022, Biden used a frozen style. The frozen style is used for formal ceremonies, official government events, and international meetings. If the speaker used this style, the wording is planned in advance also the speaker has high-skill communication and is educated. This style also tends to be monolog with large audiences. Here are some examples:

Datum 34:

“My fellow leaders, in the last year our world has experienced great upheaval.”

“My fellow leaders, the challenge we face today are great indeed, but our capacity is greater, our commitment must be greater still.”

- Metaphor

Datum 35:

“Whoever you are, wherever you live, whatever you believe that should not that should make your *blood run cold*.”

Based on the finding above, Biden used the metaphor “blood run cold”. It means when people feel scared, very frightened, and freeze because of shock.

- Expression and Interaction

The researcher notices Joe Biden's expression after watching the video. Joe Biden had a confident expression at the time of delivering his speech. He mastered the material of the speech very well. He also evenly pays attention

to the audience. Although it was a formal speech, Joe Biden delivered it calmly. There is only monologue or one-sided interaction in Joe Biden's speech at UNGA 2022.

- Visual image

Unlike illustrations that only describe something in general, visual images depict things in detail and more specifically (Winkelmen, 2020). In the thumbnail / cover of the video, it was depicted that Joe Biden gave a speech related to the topic with the background of where the United Nations General Assembly (UNGA) 2022 was held. He also wore formal clothes because it was a formal speech. He stood facing the mic and delivered a speech on behalf of the parties concerned. Also, from the video, it can be seen that there is a pin in the form of a USA flag. There are other details, such as the Sky News YouTube channel logo, the time when the speech took place, where the speech took place, and a brief explanation of Joe Biden's statements.

2. Ideological Analysis

In this section, the researcher analyzes the ideology by finding the structure of the ideology and the type of ideology. The structure of ideology is analyzed with van Dijk's theory of ideology schema. According to van Dijk (2013), ideology schema is a form of social function that represents the goals and interests of social group, also the analysis of ideological

discourse. There are five fundamental categories of ideology schema. The analysis is based on the data.

- a) Identity: Who are we? Who belongs to us? Who is a member and who can join?

Here are the explanation about the first category, which is identity. Joe Biden is the 46th president of the United States of America. Based on the Joe Biden's speech at UNGA 2022, Joe Biden is a member of the United Nations General Assembly. The UNGA has 193 members with the addition of the Holy See Palestine, and European Union as observer states since 1974.

- b) Activities: What do we (have to) do? What is our role in society?

The role of the UNGA in society is to overcome the problems arising from the world's great upheaval. These problems include food crises, record heat, floods, droughts, COVID-19, and brutal needless war.

- c) Goals: What is the goal of our activities?

The goal of the UNGA activities is to build a better world and get the advancement of all humankind.

- d) Norms and values: What are the norms of our activities? What is good or bad for us?

The good things for the UNGA good cooperation between society, members, and partners of the UNGA in maintaining and improving the peace and comfort of the world.

e) Group relations: Who are our friends and our enemies?

The UNGA's friends are the members and all of people that can help create world prosperity. Based on the data, the enemies of the UNGA are countries that destroy other countries and trigger conflicts that cause suffering to the attacked countries.

f) Resources: What material or symbolic resources form the basis of our (lack of) power and our position in society?

The UNGA plays a central role as the forum for multilateral discussion of international issues. The UNGA is also set the standard of international law. Some criticism towards UNGA, such as the UNGA should focus on increasing the power of the Security Council, making the process for appointing UN executives more transparent, and improving the quality of debate.

The next analysis is the type of ideology. In his speech at UNGA 2022, Biden's ideology is democracy. The analysis is based on the democracy characteristics by Larry Diamond. Larry Diamond divided the characteristics into four key elements. There are a system for choosing and replacing the government through free and fair elections; active participation of the people, as citizens, in politics and civic life;

protection of the human rights of all citizens; and a rule of law in which the laws and procedures apply equally to all citizens. The ideology is also supported by Abraham Lincoln's phrase about democracy is government "of the people, by the people, and for the people".

In delivering his speech, Joe Biden applied this ideology of democracy. It can be seen that Joe Biden adheres to the principles and rules of the United Nations General Assembly which reflect some characteristics of this ideology of democracy. As Biden affirmed in discussing Human Rights, together with the United Nations General Assembly provide efforts to reduce international conflicts, and overcome world problems such as food crises, record heat, floods, droughts, COVID-19, inflation, a brutal needless war to protect the security and prosperity of all citizens.

B. Discussion

The United Nations General Assembly (UNGA) 2022 was held on September 21st, 2022 in New York. At that time, Joe Biden delivered a speech entitled President Biden: Ukraine war was 'chosen by one man'. In his speech, Joe Biden explained about some of the great upheavals, such as food crises, record heat, floods, droughts, COVID-19, inflation, a brutal needless war (Russia's aggression). He explained the various problems facing the world and some of the efforts and achievements that arise because of these problems. Joe Biden also reiterated his disagreement with Russia's

invasion towards Ukraine. He repeatedly mentioned the name "Putin" as a figure of "one man". It is because Putin considers Russia a threat, even though no one threatens Russia.

The researcher analyzed the ideology used by Joe Biden in his speech. In this study, the researcher analyzed the discourse structures and ideology. The researcher found some findings to answer the research questions. Explanation of discourse structures answers the first research question. There are macrostructures, superstructures/ mesostructures, and microstructures. Then the second research question has also been answered with an explanation of the ideology used by Joe Biden in his speech.

Macrostructure aims to seek the global meaning that can be observed from the topic or theme raised by a text. There are three elements in macrostructure analysis: actors, events, and groups. Examples of actors based on the findings are fellow leaders, permanent member of the United Nations Security Council, Russia, and President Putin. Biden described these actors as people who had important roles and the dominant power in his speech. This is because some events related to these actors are large and important events.

Still within the scope of macrostructures, the second element is events. As mentioned in the findings, there are several events, such as Russia invading Ukraine, Russia blocking Ukraine's food sources, Russia calling up more soldiers to attack Ukraine, and others. These events are important events related to the topic of Joe Biden's speech at UNGA 2022. The last

element is groups. There are some groups mentioned by Biden when he delivered his speech. Some groups, such as 141 nations in the general assembly, G-7, G-20, some allies also partners, and others. The G-7 is the intergovernmental forum that discusses political and economic matters consisting of Canada, France, Germany, Italy, Japan, the United Kingdom, and the United States, as well as the European Union. While the G-20 is the intergovernmental forum that discusses global issues. The G-20 consists of Argentina, Australia, Brazil, Canada, China, France, Germany, India, Indonesia, Italy, Japan, The Republic of Korea, Mexico, Russia, Saudi Arabia, South Africa, Turkey, the United Kingdom, the United States, and the European Union.

Superstructure/mesostructure aims to analyze how opinions are structured and strung together. In this structure, there are three parts of analysis: introduction, content, and closing. Biden introduced the topic by explaining that the Russia-Ukraine war is one of the world's problems that must be faced. Then in the contents of the speech, he gave a detailed explanation of various world problems that are being faced, such as food insecurity, record heat, floods, droughts, COVID-19, and brutal needless war. To close his speech, he invited everyone to unite together to fight for peace and comfort in life.

Microstructure aims to analyze word choice, grammar, word meaning, metaphors, and others. Microstructure contains semantic, syntax, lexicon, and rhetorical analysis. Based on the finding, each of semantic, syntax,

lexicon, and rhetorical analysis still has several elements that must be analyzed. In semantic analysis, there is background, details, illustration, meaning, and presupposition. There are coherence, nominalization, abstraction, sentence form, and pronouns in syntax analysis. Keywords and word choices in lexicon analysis. Also style, metaphor, expression, and interaction in rhetorical analysis.

The ideology is analyzed through van Dijk's ideology schema and defined the type of ideology based on its characteristics. Based on the finding, it turns out that the ideology used by Joe Biden at UNGA 2022 is democracy. In November 2022, in one of his speeches, Biden stated that he stood up for democracy. In the speech, Biden said, "democracy is simply that fundamental". He also clearly asserted, "This is not about me, it's about all of us". Then he continued his statement about democracy, he said that we can define who we are, what we believe, and why we do what we do. At the end of the speech, Biden reiterated that people have the power, power to make choices and decisions.

Following the concept of democracy according to Abraham Lincoln, democracy is government "of the people, by the people, and for the people". Continuing the explanation of the finding above, the number of statements used in Biden's speech related to "democracy" can support the researcher's analysis results. In Joe Biden's speech at UNGA 2022, he mentioned the words "democracy" directly seventh times. The researcher also found several other words or sentences related to the concept of democracy.

Here are the findings where Joe Biden said the word "democracy" seven times in his speech at the 2022 UNGA. Now it's no secret that the contest between *democracy* and autocracy the United States and I as president, Champion a vision for our world as grounded in The Valleys of *democracy*; The United States is determined to defend and strengthen *democracy*, at home and around the world, because I believe *democracy* remains Humanity's greatest instrument to address the challenges of our time; We're working with the G7 unlike-minded countries to prove *democracies* can deliver for their citizens but also deliver for the rest of the world as well; And the United Nations Charter was not only signed by *democracies* of the world; And yet today in 2022 fundamental freedoms are at risk in every part of our world, from the violations of in Xinjiang detailed recent reports by the office of U.S reports detailing by the U.S High Commissioner, to the horrible abuses against pro-*democracy* actress and ethnic minorities by the military regime in Burma, to the increased repression of women and girls, by the Taliban in Afghanistan.

Here are some other examples related to the word "democracy". Democracy and human rights have strong ties. Based on Article 21 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR), "Everyone has the right to take part in the government of his country, directly or through freely chosen representatives. Everyone has the right of equal access to public service in his country." There are several examples of Joe Biden's statements related to human rights. The first example is "This war is about

extinguishing Ukraine's right to exist as a state, plain and simple, and Ukraine's right to exist as a people" The second example is "Let me end with this. This institution Guided by the U.N Charter and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights is at its core an act of dauntless hope". The third example is "The United States will always promote human rights and the values enshrined in the U.N Charter in our own country and around the world". The fourth example is "We cannot let the world now slide backward nor can we turn the Blind Eye to the erosion of Human Rights".

Another word related to democracy is "equality". Equality is a person's right to freedom of thought and expression. As explained in UDHR, Article 19, "Everyone has the right to freedom of opinion and expression; this right includes freedom to hold opinions without interference and to seek, receive and impart information and ideas through any media and regardless of frontiers". Here are some examples of Biden's statements talking about "equality". The first example is "And today we stand with the brave citizens and the brave women of Iran, who right now are demonstrating to secure their basic rights, but here's what I know, the future will be won, by those countries that unleash the full potential of their populations, where women and girls can exercise equal rights including basic Reproductive Rights and contribute fully to building stronger economies and more resilient societies, where religious and ethnic minorities can live their lives, without harassment and contribute to the fabric of their communities where the LGBTQ plus Community individuals live and love freely without being

targeted with violence, where citizens can question and criticize their leaders without fear of reprisal”. The next example is “Enduring peace committee among Nations equal rights for every member of the Human family, cooperation for the advancement of all humankind”.

Talking about the relationship between previous studies and this research, the researcher used previous studies as references for analyzing ideology in this study. Some previous studies, such as (Renaldo, 2021); (Aldosari, 2020); (Latuperissa et al., 2019); (Hidayah, 2018); (Rahmi et al., 2019); (Laftta et al., 2020); (Maghfiroh & Triyono, 2020); (Ali & Jassim, 2022), (Fenyi & Sapaty, 2021); and (Hasanah et al., 2019). The researcher used several previous studies as a reference because some of them have the same goal as this study: looking for ideology in speech. Some also use the same method as this study, which is descriptive qualitative.

There are limitations in the findings, namely reasoning. According to Peter A. Angeles in his *Dictionary of Philosophy*, the reasoning is the application of logic that a person has to find a solution to a problem or to plan an action (Walton, 1990). In the process, knowledge and background are needed as a source of emerging logic. From this understanding, the researcher understands that Joe Biden's reasoning in his speech may be influenced by his background, knowledge, and ideology. The reason why this "reasoning" is a limitation is because the researcher cannot know Joe Biden's knowledge and thoughts directly that affect his ideology.

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSION AND SUGGESTION

This chapter contains conclusions and suggestions. The researcher concludes the results of the analysis contained in the finding and discussion. Some of the aspects concluded include the discourse structure and the results of the analysis, also the ideology behind the speech, and the results of the analysis. In the suggestion section, the researcher wrote suggestions for future research and the reader.

A. Conclusion

This study aims to find the ideology behind Joe Biden's speech at UNGA 2022. To achieve this goal, the researcher finds ideology by analyzing discourse structure and ideology. Discourse structure consists of three analyses: macrostructure, superstructure/ mesostructure, and microstructure. There are three elements in macrostructure analysis: actors, events, and groups. Examples of actors based on the findings are fellow leaders, permanent members of the United Nations Security Council, Russia, and President Putin. There are several events, such as Russia invading Ukraine, Russia blocking Ukraine's food sources, Russia calling up more soldiers to attack Ukraine, and others. These events are important events related to the topic of Joe Biden's speech at UNGA 2022. The last element is groups. There are some groups mentioned by Biden when he delivered his speech. Some groups, such as 141 nations in the general assembly, G-7, G-20, some allies also partners, and others.

In the superstructure/ mesostructure, there are three parts of analysis: introduction, content, and closing. Biden introduced the topic by explaining that the Russia-Ukraine war is one of the world's problems that must be faced. Then in the contents of the speech, he gave a detailed explanation of various world problems that are being faced, such as food insecurity, record heat, floods, droughts, COVID-19, and brutal needless war. To close his speech, he invited everyone to unite together to fight for peace and comfort in life.

In the microstructure, there are four parts of analysis: semantic analysis, syntax analysis: lexicon analysis, and rhetorical analysis. In the semantic analysis, the researcher found several statements by Joe Biden that explained the background of the Russia-Ukraine war, the details of the events, some words with hidden meanings, and the presuppositions that Biden used. In syntax analysis, the researcher found that some of Joe Biden's statements relate to each other, some abstract statements, sentence form, nominalization, and pronouns in his speech. In lexicon analysis, the researcher found that Joe Biden often says certain words, for example, Russia, Ukraine, we, and us. From rhetorical analysis, the researcher also knew what style, expression, and interaction Joe Biden used when delivering speech, and the use of metaphor in some of his statements.

After analyzing the ideology with van Dijk's theory ideology scheme and identifying its type, the researcher found that the ideology behind Joe Biden's speech at UNGA 2022 is democracy. It can be seen from some statements that refer to democracy.

B. Suggestion

After conducting this study on the ideology behind Joe Biden's speech at UNGA 2022, the researcher has some advice for future researchers and readers. To the future researcher, the researcher suggests using the latest objects and different ways of analysis or from different theories if the future researchers want to do the same research. What is meant by the latest object is another speech with a different character or problem. The future researcher can also add the social cognition and social context in the analysis. Other theories such as Fairclough's theory, van Leeuwen's theory, Ruth Wodak's theory, and other theories can be used as analytical approaches. This study also can be used as a source with related topics for readers.

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CURRICULUM VITAE



Gita Rahma Carrera was born in Blitar on December 22nd, 2000. The author was born from the couple Usman Adi and Ida Mahmudah. She is the first child of two siblings, namely Rizaldi Saputra. MAN 2 BLITAR was her last education before entering the university. During school, she participated in Social Science Study Club. She graduated from the school and in 2019 she continued her education in the English Literature Department of UIN Maulana Malik Ibrahim Malang and graduated in 2023. During her study at the university, she became a member of KOPMA "Padang Bulan" UIN Malang. She was active as a committee in the KOPMA event in 2020. She was also an intern at Bee Happy Translation Services in 2022. It was beneficial to her in acquiring new perspectives, new relationships, and teamwork experiences, as well as in terms of building the framework of her thinking and communication skills, also how to handle the problem.

APPENDIX

Table of Discourse Structures

A. Macrostructures:

Macrostructure (Actors)

Macrostructure (Events)

Macrostructure (Groups)

NO	Data	Transcript	Discourse Structure		
			Macrostructure		
			Actors	Events	Groups
1.	Datum 1	<p><i>My fellow leaders</i>, in the last year, our world has experienced great upheaval.</p> <p><i>Permanent member of the United Nations Security Council</i> invaded its neighbor.</p> <p><i>Russia</i>_has shamelessly violated the core tenets of the United Nations Charter.</p> <p>Again, just today, <i>President Putin</i>_has made overt nuclear threats against Europe.</p>	√		

2.	Datum 2	<p>My fellow leaders, in the last year, <i>our</i> world has experienced great upheaval.</p> <p>Let <i>us</i> speak plainly.</p> <p>And now <i>we</i> see attacks on schools, railway stations, hospitals,...</p> <p>Whoever <i>you</i> are, wherever <i>you</i> live, whatever <i>you</i> believe that should not make your blood run cold.</p> <p>That's why <i>141 nations</i> in the general assembly came together,...</p> <p><i>Our</i> allies and partners around the world have stepped up as well.</p> <p>And today, <i>more than 40 countries</i> represented in here have contributed billions of their own money,...</p> <p><i>The United States</i> is also working closely with our allies and partners to impose costs on Russia,...</p> <p><i>I</i> reject the use of violence and war to conquer Nations or expand borders through bloodshed,...</p>	√		
3.	Datum 3	<p>Permanent member of the United Nations Security Council <i>invaded</i> its neighbor.</p>		√	

		<p>Now, Russia's calling. <i>Calling up more soldiers</i> to join the fight, ...</p> <p>Putin claims <i>he had to act</i> because Russia was threatened.</p> <p>This war is about <i>extinguishing</i> Ukraine's right to exist as a state, ...</p> <p>Russia in the meantime is pumping out lies <i>trying to pin the blame</i> for the crisis,...</p> <p>Mr Secretary General, establishing a mechanism to export grain from Black Sea ports in Ukraine that Russia <i>had blocked</i> for months.</p>			
4.	Datum 4	<p>That's why <i>141 nations in the general assembly</i> came together, ...</p> <p><i>The United States</i> has marshaled massive levels of security assistance, ...</p> <p>Our <i>allies and partners around the world</i> have stepped up as well.</p> <p>The United States is also working closely with <i>our allies and partners</i> to impose costs on Russia to deter tax against NATO territory.</p> <p>We're working with <i>the G7</i> unlike-</p>			√

		<p>minded countries,...</p> <p>Members of <i>the U.N Security Council</i>, including the United States should consistently uphold and defend the U.N Charter and refrain, ...</p> <p>All free of charge, no strings attached and we're working closely with <i>the G20</i> in other countries in the United States, ...</p> <p><i>With partners and the Americas Africa Europe and the Middle East and Indo-pacific</i>, we're working to build a new economic ecosystem, ...</p>			
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B. Superstructure/Mesostructure:

Introduction – Int.

Content – Cnt.

Closing – Cls.

NO	Data	Transcript	Discourse Structure		
			Superstructure/Mesostructure		
			Int.	Cnt.	Cls.
5.	Datum 5	<p>Growing crisis in food insecurity, record heat, floods, droughts, COVID-19, and <i>a brutal needless war</i>.</p> <p>A war chosen by one man to be <i>very blunt</i>.</p> <p>Russia has <i>shamelessly violated</i> the core tenants of the United Nations Charter.</p> <p>This world <i>should see these Outrageous Acts</i> for what they are.</p> <p>But no one threatened Russia. And <i>no one other than Russia sought conflict</i>.</p> <p>This war is about <i>extinguishing Ukraine's right</i> to exist as a state,</p>	√		

		<p>plain and simple, and Ukraine's right to exist as a people.</p> <p>Whoever you are, wherever you live, whatever you believe <i>that should not make your blood run cold.</i></p>			
6.	Datum 6	<p>The United States has marshaled massive <i>levels of security assistance</i> and <i>humanitarian Aid</i> and <i>direct economic</i> support for Ukraine.</p> <p>And today more than 40 countries represented in here <i>have contributed billions of their own money and equipment</i> to help Ukraine defend itself.</p> <p>The United States is also working closely with our allies and partners <i>to impose costs on Russia</i> to deter tax against NATO territory.</p> <p>We will <i>stand the solidarity</i> against Russia's aggression.</p>		√	
7.	Datum 7	<p>But as we meet, today, the UN Char <i>the U.N Charter is very</i></p>		√	

	<p><i>basis of a stable and just rule-based order is under attack</i>, by those who wish to tear it down, were distorted for their own political advantage.</p> <p>And the United Nations Charter <i>was not only signed by democracies of the world</i>. It was negotiated among citizens, dozens of Nations, with vastly different histories and ideologies, unite it and their commitment to work for peace.</p> <p>As President Truman said in 1945, <i>the U.N Charter and I quote is proof that Nations like men can State their differences, can face them, and then can find common ground</i> on which to stand end of quote.</p> <p>Today, 193 of you 193 member states have willingly embraced his principles and <i>standing up for those principles for the U.N Charter</i> is the job of every</p>			
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		responsible member state.			
8.	Datum 8	<p>As I said last year, <i>the United States is opening an era of Relentless diplomacy to address the challenges that matter most to people's lives, ...</i></p> <p>From the day I came to office, <i>we've led with bold climate agenda, we rejoined the Paris agreement, convened the major climate summits, help deliver critical agreements on the cop 26. We helped get two-thirds of the world GDP on track</i>, to limit warming to 1.5 degrees Celsius, and now <i>I've signed a historic piece of legislation here</i> in the United States that includes the biggest most important climate commitment we have ever made in the history of our country.</p> <p>Our investments will also <i>help reduce the cost of developing Clean Energy Technologies worldwide</i>, not just in the United</p>		√	

		States, this is a global game changer and none too soon we don't have much time.			
9.	Datum 9	<p>The key part of that will be our prepare plan, which will help half a billion people, especially vulnerable countries, <i>adopt to the impacts of climate change and build resilience.</i></p> <p>On global health <i>we've delivered more than 620 million doses of covid-19 vaccine to 116 countries</i> around the world with more available to help meet country's needs.</p> <p>All free of charge, no strings attached and we're working closely with the G20 in other countries in the United States, <i>help lead the change</i> to establish a groundbreaking new fund for pandemic prevention preparedness and response at the World Bank.</p> <p>At the same time, <i>we've continued</i></p>		√	

		<p><i>to advance the ball</i>, on enduring Global health challenges.</p> <p>Later today, <i>I'll host the seventh replenishment conference</i> for the global fund to fight AIDS, tuberculosis, and malaria.</p> <p>With bipartisan support in our Congress, <i>I have pledged to contribute up to six billion dollars to that effort, ...</i></p>			
10.	Datum 10	<p>We're also <i>taking down the food crisis head on</i>, with as many as 193 million people around the world, experience acute, acute food insecurity, a jump of 40 million in a year.</p> <p>Today I'm announcing another 2.9 billion dollars and U.S support for life-saving humanitarian and <i>food security assistance</i> for this year alone.</p> <p>I'm grateful for the work here at the U.N including your leadership, Mr Secretary General, establishing a mechanism <i>to</i></p>		√	

	<p><i>export grain from Black Sea ports in Ukraine</i> that Russia had blocked for months.</p> <p>We believe strongly and <i>the need to feed the world</i>, that's why the United States is the world's largest supporter of the world food program, with more than 40 percent of its budget.</p> <p>We're leading support the <i>leading support of the UNICEF efforts to feed children around the world</i> ,...</p> <p>In June, the G7 announced more than 4.5 billion dollars to <i>strengthen food security around the world</i>, through USAIDs feed the future initiative.</p> <p>The United States is scaling up innovative ways to <i>get drought and heat resistant seeds</i> into the hands of farmers who need them.</p> <p>And we're calling on all countries to refrain from <i>banning food exports or hoarding grain</i>, while</p>			
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		so many people are suffering, ...			
11.	Datum 11	<p>As we look to the future, we're working with our partners <i>to update and create rules of the road for new challenges</i> we face in the 21st century.</p> <p><i>We launched the trade and Technology Council</i> with the European Union to ensure that key Technologies, ...</p> <p>With our partner countries and through the U.N we're <i>supporting and strengthening the Norms of responsibility, ...</i></p> <p>With partners and the Americas Africa Europe and the Middle East and indo-pacific, we're working <i>to build a new economic ecosystem,</i></p> <p>That's why the United States is championed, a global minimum tax and <i>we will work to see it implemented so major corporations pay their fair share</i> everywhere, everywhere.</p> <p>That's why the United States</p>		√	

		<p>together with fellow G7 Partners <i>launched a partnership for Global infrastructure and investment</i> we intend to collectively mobilize, 600 billion dollars, an investment through this partnership, by 2027.</p> <p><i>Dozens of projects are already underway</i>, industrial scale, vaccine manufacturing in Senegal, transformative solar projects in Angola.</p>			
12.	Datum 12	<p>The United States will work with every nation including our competitors, <i>to solve Global problems like climate change.</i></p> <p>Climate diplomacy is not a favor to the United States or any other Nation and walking away, <i>hurts the entire world.</i></p>		√	
13.	Datum 13	<p>We seek to <i>uphold peace and stability across the Taiwan Straits</i>, we rang committed to our One China policy, which has helped</p>		√	

	<p>prevent Conflict for four decades.</p> <p><i>We support an African union-led peace process to end the fight in Ethiopia,</i> restore security for all its people.</p> <p>In Venezuela, where years of political oppression have driven more than six million people from that country, <i>we urge the Venezuelan-led dialogue and return to free and fair elections.</i></p> <p><i>We continue to stand with our neighbor in Haiti</i> as it faces political fuel gang violence, an enormous human crisis.</p> <p><i>We'll continue to back the U.N mediated truce in Yemen</i> which has delivered precious months of peace the people that have suffered years of war.</p> <p>And <i>we will continue to advocate for lasting negotiating peace,</i> between the Jewish and Democratic state of Israel and the Palestinian people.</p>			
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		<p><i>The United States is committed to Israel's security, full stop. And a negotiated two-state solution, remains in our view the best way to ensure Israel's security and prosperity for the future and give the Palestinians the state, which to which they are entitled.</i></p> <p>Let me also urge Every Nation <i>to recommit to strengthening</i> the nuclear non-proliferation regime through diplomacy.</p> <p>I continue to believe that <i>diplomacy is the best way</i> to achieve this outcome.</p>			
14.	Datum 14	<p>We cannot <i>let the world now slide backwards</i> nor can we turn the blind eye to the erosion of Human Rights.</p> <p>Perhaps, singular among this body's achievements stands the universal Declaration of Human Rights, which is the standard by which our forebears challenge us to measure ourselves.</p>		√	

	<p>They made clear in 1948 <i>human rights are the basis</i> for all that we seek to achieve.</p> <p>And today we stand with the brave citizens and the brave women of Iran, who right now are <i>demonstrating to secure their basic rights</i>.</p> <p>But here's what I know, the future will be won, by those countries that unleash the full potential of their populations, <i>where women and girls can exercise equal rights</i> including basic Reproductive Rights and contribute fully to building a stronger economies and more resilient societies, <i>where religious and ethnic minorities can live their lives, without harassment</i> and contribute to the fabric of their communities where the LGBTQ plus Community individuals <i>live and love freely without being targeted with violence</i>, where</p>			
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		<p><i>citizens can question and criticize their leaders without fear of reprisal.</i></p> <p>The United States <i>will always promote human rights</i> and the values enshrined in the U.N Charter in our own country and around the world.</p>			
15.	Datum 15	<p><i>Let me end</i> with this.</p> <p>This institution Guided by the U.N Charter and the universal Declaration of Human Rights is <i>at its core an act of dauntless hope.</i></p> <p><i>Think about how divided the people of the world must have felt</i></p> <p>with the fresh</p> <p>grief of millions dead the genocidal horrors of the Holocaust exposed.</p> <p>My fellow leaders, the challenge we face today are great indeed, but <i>our capacity is greater, our commitment must be greater still.</i></p> <p>So <i>let's Stand Together</i>, to again</p>			√

		<p>declare the unmistakable resolve, that nations of the world are united still and <i>we stand for the values of the U.N Charter</i>,...</p> <p><i>We're not passive witnesses</i> to history.</p> <p><i>We are the authors</i> of History.</p> <p><i>We can do</i> this.</p> <p><i>We have to do it</i>, for ourselves and for our future, for humankind.</p>			
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C. Microstructure

Semantics – Smc

Syntax – Stx.

Lexicon – Lxc.

Rhetorical – Rht.

NO	Data	Transcript	Discourse Structure			
			Microstructure			
			Smc.	Stx.	Lxc.	Rht.
16.	Datum 16	<p>My fellow leaders, in the last year our world <i>has experienced great upheaval</i>. Growing crisis in food insecurity, record heat, floods, and droughts, COVID-19, inflation and <i>a brutal needless war</i>. Permanent member of the United Nations Security Council <i>invaded</i></p>	√			

		<i>its neighbor.</i>				
17.	Datum 17	<p>That's why 141 nations in the general assembly came together and not to unequivocally condemn Russia's war against Ukraine.</p> <p>And today more than 40 countries represented in here have contributed billions of their own money and equipment to help Ukraine defend itself.</p> <p>Today, 193 of you, 193 member states have willingly embraced his principles and standing up for those principles for the U.N Charter is the job of every responsible member state.</p> <p>So as I announced last year to meet our Global responsibility, my Administration is working with our Congress to deliver more than 11 billion dollars a year to International climate finance to help lower income countries, implement their climate goals and ensure adjust energy transition.</p> <p>On global health we've delivered more than 620 million doses of covid-19 vaccine to 116 countries around the world with more available to help meet country's needs.</p>	√			
18.	Datum 18	<p>In the past even more horrifying evidence of Russia's atrocity and war crimes. Mass Graves uncovered in ism. Bodies, according to those who escalated those bodies, showing signs of torture. This war is about extinguishing Ukraine's right to exist as a</p>	√			

		state, plain and simple, and Ukraine's right to exist as a people.				
19.	Datum 19	The key part of that will be our <i>prepare plan</i> , which will help half a billion people, especially vulnerable countries, adopt to the impacts of climate change and build resilience. And we will lead with our diplomacy to strive for <i>peaceful resolution</i> of conflict.	√			
20.	Datum 20	Because if Nations can pursue their Imperial Ambitions without consequences, <i>then we put at risk</i> , everything is very institution stands for, everything.	√			
21.	Datum 21	Whoever you are, wherever you live, whatever you believe that should not that should make your <i>blood run cold</i> .	√			
22.	Datum 22	We cannot let the world now <i>slide backwards</i> nor can we turn the <i>blind eye</i> to the erosion of Human Rights.	√			
23.	Datum 23	<i>Putin's own words make his true purpose unmistakable</i> , just before he invaded, Putin asserted and I quote Ukraine was created by Russia and never had quote real statehood.	√			
24.	Datum 24	Russia in the meantime is <i>pumping out lies trying to pin the blame for the crisis</i> , the food	√			

		crisis on the sanctions imposed by many in the world for the aggression against Ukraine.				
25.	Datum 25	As we look to the future, we're working with our partners to <i>update and create rules</i> of the road for new challenges we face in the 21st century.		√		
26.	Datum 26	The Kremlin is organizing a sham referendum to try to annex parts of Ukraine and extremely significant <i>violation</i> of the U.N Charter.		√		
27.	Datum 27	No matter <i>what else we may disagree on</i> , that is the common ground upon which we must stand if you're still committed to a strong foundation for the good of every nation around the world, then the United States wants to work with you.		√		
28.	Datum 28	My fellow leaders, in the last year our world <i>has experienced</i> great upheaval. Russia <i>has shamelessly violated</i> the core tenets of the United Nations Charter.		√		
29.	Datum 29	In fact, we <i>warned</i> it was coming and with many of you we worked to try to avert it. As I <i>said</i> last year, the United States is opening an era of relentless diplomacy to address the challenges that matter most to people's lives.		√		

30.	Datum 30	<p>Now, Russia's <i>calling</i>. Calling up more soldiers to join the fight and the Kremlin is organizing a sham referendum to try to annex parts of Ukraine and extremely significant violation of the U.N Charter.</p> <p>Today I'm <i>announcing</i> another 2.9 billion dollars and U.S support for life-saving humanitarian and food security assistance for this year alone.</p>		√		
31.	Datum 31	<p>We <i>will stand</i> in solidarity with Ukraine. We <i>will stand</i> the solidarity against Russia's aggression.</p> <p>The United States <i>will work</i> with every nation including our competitors, to solve Global problems like climate change.</p>		√		
32.	Datum 32	<p>Putin's own words make <i>his</i> true purpose unmistakable, just before he invaded Putin asserted and I quote Ukraine was created by Russia and never had quote real statehood.</p> <p><i>Our</i> allies and partners around the world have stepped up as well.</p> <p><i>I</i> continue to believe that diplomacy is the best way to achieve this outcome.</p>		√		
33.	Datum 33	<p><i>We</i> stood with Ukraine</p> <p><i>We</i> will stand in solidarity with Ukraine.</p>			√	

		<p>Our department of energy estimates that this new law will reduce U.S emissions by one gigaton a year, by 2030.</p> <p>Our investments will also help reduce the cost of developing Clean Energy Technologies worldwide, not just in the United States, this is a global game changer and none too soon we don't have much time.</p> <p>We're working with our partners in ASEAN and the Pacific Islands to support a vision for a critical indo-pacific region, ...</p> <p>We support an African union-led peace process to end the fight in Ethiopia, restore security for all its people.</p>				
34.	Datum 34	<p>My fellow leaders, in the last year our world has experienced great upheaval.</p> <p>My fellow leaders, the challenge we face today are great indeed, but our capacity is greater, our commitment must be greater still.</p>				√
35.	Datum 35	<p>Whoever you are, wherever you live, whatever you believe that should not that should make your blood run cold.</p>				√

TRANSCRIPTION

Transcript Joe Biden's Speech "UNGA 2022: Ukraine War Was Chosen by One Man"

Video: <https://youtu.be/9-9wewvyG4M>

Transcription:

<https://www.whitehouse.gov/briefing-room/speeches-remarks/2022/09/21/remarks-by-president-biden-before-the-77th-session-of-the-united-nations-general-assembly/>

Remarks by Joe Biden at UNGA 2022

September 21 2022

New York

28:58 minutes

My fellow leaders, in the last year our world has experienced great upheaval. Growing crisis in food insecurity, record heat, floods, and droughts, COVID-19, inflation and a brutal needless war. A war chosen by one man to be very blunt. Let us speak plainly. Permanent member of the United Nations Security Council invaded its neighbor. Tempted to erase a sovereign state from the map. Russia has shamelessly violated the core tenets of the United Nations Charter.

No more important than the clear prohibition against countries taking the territory of their neighbor by force. Again, just today President Putin has made overt nuclear threats against Europe a reckless disregard for the responsibilities of the non-proliferation regime. Now, Russia's calling. Calling up more soldiers to join the fight and the Kremlin is organizing a sham referendum to try to annex parts of Ukraine and extremely significant violation of the U.N Charter.

This world should see these Outrageous Acts for what they are. Putin claims he had to act because Russia was threatened. But no one threatened Russia. And no one other than Russia sought conflict. In fact, we warned it was coming and with many of you we worked to try to avert it. Putin's own words make his true purpose unmistakable, just before he invaded Putin asserted and I quote Ukraine was created by Russia and never had quote real statehood. And now we see attacks on schools, Railway stations, hospitals.

On centers of Ukrainian history and culture. In the past even more horrifying evidence of Russia's atrocity and war crimes. Mass Graves uncovered in Izyum. Bodies, according to those that excavated those bodies, showing signs of torture. This war is about extinguishing Ukraine's right to exist as a state, plain and simple, and Ukraine's right to exist as a people. Whoever you are, wherever you live, whatever you believe that should not that should make your blood run cold. That's why 141 nations

in the general assembly came together to unequivocally condemn Russia's war against Ukraine.

The United States has marshaled massive levels of security assistance and humanitarian Aid and direct economic support for Ukraine. More than 25 billion dollars to date. Our allies and partners around the world have stepped up as well. And today more than 40 countries represented in here have contributed billions of their own money and equipment to help Ukraine defend itself. The United States is also working closely with our allies and partners to impose costs on Russia to deter attacks against NATO territory. To hold Russia accountable for the atrocities and war crimes. Because if Nations can pursue their Imperial Ambitions without consequences, then we put at risk everything is very institution stands for, everything. Every Victory won on the battlefield belongs to the courageous Ukrainian soldiers, but this past year the world was tested as well. And we did not hesitate, we chose Liberty, we chose sovereignty, we chose principles to which every party to the United Nations Charter is beholding.

We stood with Ukraine. Like you, the United States wants this war to end. On just terms, on terms we all signed up for, that you cannot seize a nation's territory by force. That the only country standing in the way of that is Russia. So, we, each of us in this body who is determined to uphold the principles and beliefs, we pledge to defend as members of the United Nations, must be clear firm and unwavering in our resolved.

Ukraine has the same rights that belong to every Sovereign Nation. We will stand in solidarity with Ukraine. We will stand the solidarity against Russia's aggression. Period. Now it's no secret that in the contest between democracy and autocracy the United States and I as president, Champion a vision for our world that is grounded in The Values of democracy. The United States is determined to defend and strengthen democracy, at home and around the world, because I believe democracy remains Humanity's greatest instrument to address the challenges of our time. We're working with the G7 and like-minded countries to prove democracies can deliver for their citizens but also deliver for the rest of the world as well.

But as we meet, today, the UN Char the U.N Charter's very basis of a stable and just rule-based order is under attack, by those who wish to tear it down, or distort it for their own political advantage. And the United Nations Charter was not only signed by democracies of the world. It was negotiated among citizens of dozens of Nations, with vastly different histories and ideologies, united in their commitment to work for peace.

As President Truman said in 1945, the U.N Charter, and I quote, is "proof that Nations like men, can State their differences, can face them, and then can find common

ground on which to stand.” End of quote. That common ground was so straightforward, so basic. Today, 193 of you, 193 member states, have willingly embraced its principles and standing up for those principles for the U.N Charter is the job of every responsible member state. I reject the use of violence and War to conquer Nations or expand borders through bloodshed. To stand against global politics of fear and coercion, to defend the sovereign rights of smaller Nations as equal to those of larger ones, to embrace basic principles like freedom of navigation, respect for international law and arms control.

No matter what else we may disagree on, that is the common ground upon which we must stand if you're still committed to a strong foundation for the good of every nation around the world, then the United States wants to work with you. I also believe the time has come for this institution to become more inclusive, so that it can better respond to the needs of today's world. Members of the U.N Security Council, including the United States should consistently uphold and defend the U.N Charter and refrain, refrain from the use of the veto except in rare, extraordinary situations, to ensure the council remains credible and effective. That is also why the United States supports increasing the number of both permanent and non-permanent representatives of the council. This includes permanent seats for those Nations we've long supported and permanent seats for countries in Africa, Latin America and the Caribbean. The United States is committed to this vital work. In every region we pursued new constructive ways to work with partners to advance shared interests from elevating the quad and the Indo-pacific to signing the Los Angeles Declaration of migration and protection at the summit of the Americas, to joining, a historic meeting of nine Arab leaders to work toward a more peaceful, integrated Middle East, to hosting the U.S Africa leader Summit in this December.

As I said last year, the United States is opening an era of Relentless diplomacy to address the challenges that matter most to people's lives, all people's lives, tackling climate crisis, as the previous speaker, speaker spoke to, strengthening Global Health security, feeding the world, feeding the world. We made that priority. And one year later, we're keeping that promise. From the day I came to office, we've led with a bold climate agenda, we rejoined the Paris agreement, convened the major climate summits, helped deliver critical agreements on the COP26. And we helped get two-thirds of the world GDP on track, to limit warming to 1.5 degrees Celsius, and now I've signed a historic piece of legislation here in the United States that includes the biggest most important climate commitment we have ever made in the history of our country. 369 billion dollars toward climate change. That includes tens of billions in new investments in offshore wind and solar, doubling down on zero emission vehicles, increasing

Energy Efficiency, supporting clean Manufacturing. Our department of energy estimates that this new law will reduce U.S emissions by one gigaton a year, by 2030. While unleashing a new era of clean energy-powered economic growth. Our investments will also help reduce the cost of developing Clean Energy Technologies worldwide, not just in the United States, this is a global game changer and none too soon. We don't have much time.

We all know we're already living in a climate crisis, no one seems to doubt it after this past year. We meet, we meet, much of past, as we meet much of Pakistan is still underwater, it needs help. Meanwhile, the Horn of Africa faces unprecedented drought. Families are facing impossible choices, choosing which child to feed and wondering whether they'll survive. This is the human cost of climate change. And it's growing, not lessening. So as I announced last year, to meet our global responsibility, my administration is working with our congress to deliver more than 11 billion dollars a year to International climate finance to help lower income countries, implement their climate goals and ensure a just energy transition.

The key part of that will be our prepare plan, which will help half a billion people, and especially vulnerable countries, adapt to the impacts of climate change and build resilience. This need is enormous. So let this be the moment, we find within ourselves, the will to turn back the tide of climate demastation, the devastation, and unlock a resilient, sustainable, clean energy economy to preserve our planet. On global health, we've delivered more than 620 million doses of covid-19 vaccine to 116 countries around the world with more available to help meet countries' needs. All free of charge, no strings attached. And we're working closely with the G20 in other countries. And the United States, helped lead the change to establish a groundbreaking new fund for pandemic prevention, preparedness, and response at the World Bank. At the same time, we've continued to advance the ball on enduring Global health challenges.

Later today, I'll host the Seventh Replenishment Conference for the Global Fund to Fight AIDS, Tuberculosis, and Malaria. With bipartisan support in our Congress, I have pledged to contribute up to six billion dollars to that effort. So I look forward to welcoming a historic round of pledges at the conference resulting in one of the largest global health fundraisers ever held in all of history. We're also taking on the food crisis head on. With as many as 193 million people around the world. Experiencing acute, acute food insecurity, a jump of 40 million in a year.

Today I'm announcing another 2.9 billion dollars in U.S support for life-saving humanitarian and food security assistance for this year alone. Russia in the meantime,

is pumping out lies, trying to pin the blame for the crisis, the food crisis onto sanctions imposed by many in the world for the aggression against Ukraine. So let me be perfectly clear about something. Our sanctions explicitly allow, explicitly allow Russia the ability to export food and fertilizer. No limitation. It's Russia's war that is worsening food insecurity and only Russia can end it. I'm grateful for the work here at the U.N, including your leadership, Mr Secretary General, establishing a mechanism to export grain from Black Sea ports in Ukraine that Russia had blocked for months, and we need to make sure it's extended. We believe strongly in the need to feed the world, that's why the United States is the world's largest supporter of the world food programme, with more than 40 percent of its budget.

We're leading support the leading support of the UNICEF efforts to feed children around the world and take on a larger challenge of food insecurity in the United States introduced a call to action, a road map eliminating Global Food insecurity to eliminating Global Food insecurity, that more than 100 Nation member states have already supported. In June, the G7 announced more than 4.5 billion dollars to strengthen food security around the world, through USAIDs feed the future initiative.

The United States is scaling up innovative ways to get drought and heat resistant seeds into the hands of farmers who need them. While Distributing fertilizer and improving fertilizer efficiency that farmers can grow more while using less. And we're calling on all countries to refrain from Banning food exports or hoarding grain, while so many people are suffering, because in every country in the world no matter what else divides us, if parents cannot feed their children, nothing, nothing else matters, if parents cannot feed their children.

As we look to the future, we're working with our partners to update and create rules of the road for new challenges we face in the 21st century. We launched the trade and Technology Council with the European Union to ensure that key Technologies, key Technologies are developed and governed in the way that benefits everyone. With our partner countries and through the U.N., we're supporting and strengthening the norms of responsibility, responsible state behavior in cyberspace and working to hold accountable those who use cyber attacks to threaten international peace and security.

With partners in the Americas, Africa, Europe, and the Middle East and the Indo-pacific, we're working to build a new economic ecosystem, while where every nation, every nation gets a fair shot and economic growth is resilient sustainable and shared. That's why the United States has championed a global minimum tax. And we will work to see it implemented so major corporations pay their fair share everywhere, everywhere. It's also been the idea behind the Indo-Pacific Economic Framework, which the United States launched this year with 13 other Indo-Pacific economies.

We're working with our partners in ASEAN and the Pacific Islands to support a vision for a critical Indo-Pacific region, that is free and open, connected and prosperous, secure and resilient. Together with partners around the world, we're working this secure resilient supply chains to protect everyone from coercion or domination and ensure that no country can use energy as a weapon. And as Russia's War rolls - riles the global economy, we're also calling on major global creditors, including the non-Paris club countries, to transparently negotiate debt forgiveness for lower income countries to forestall broader economic and political crises around the world. Instead of infrastructure project that generate huge and large debt without delivering on the promised advantages, let's meet the enormous infrastructure needs around the world, with transparent investments, high standard projects that protect the rights of workers and the environment, keyed to the needs of the communities they serve, not to the contributor. That's why the United States, together with fellow G7 partners launched a Partnership for Global Infrastructure and Investment. We intend to collectively mobilize 600 billion dollars in investment through this partnership, by 2027.

Dozens of projects are already underway: industrial scale vaccine manufacturing in Senegal, transformative solar projects in Angola, first of its kind small modular nuclear power plant Romania. These are investments that are going to deliver returns not just for those countries but for everyone.

The United States will work with every nation, including our competitors, to solve global problems like climate change. Climate diplomacy is not a favor to the United States or any other Nation and walking away, hurts the entire world. Let me be direct about the competition between the United States and China. As we manage shifting geopolitical trends, the United States will conduct itself as a reasonable leader. We do not seek conflict, we do not seek a Cold War. We do not ask any Nation to choose between the United States or any other partner. But the United States will be unabashed in promoting our vision of a free, open, secure and prosperous world and what we have to offer communities of Nations: investments that are designed not to foster dependency but to alleviate burdens and help Nations become self-sufficient; partnerships not to create political obligation, but because we know our own success, each of our successes increased when other nations succeed as well. When individuals have the chance to live in dignity and develop their talents, everyone benefits. Critical to that is living up to the highest goals of this institution: increasing peace and security for everyone, everywhere.

The United States will not waver in our unrelenting determination to counter and thwart the continuing terrorist threats to our world. And we will lead with our

diplomacy to strive for peaceful resolution of conflict. We seek to uphold peace and stability across the Taiwan Straits. We remain committed to our One China policy, which has helped prevent conflict for four decades. And we continue to oppose unilateral changes in the status quo by either side.

We support an African Union-led peace process to end the fight in Ethiopia and restore security for all its people. In Venezuela, where years of the political oppression have driven more than six million people from that country, we urge a Venezuelan-led dialogue and return to free and fair elections. We continue to stand with our neighbor in Haiti as it faces political fueled gang violence and an enormous human crisis. And we call on the world to do the same. We have more to do.

We'll continue to back the U.N mediated truce in Yemen, which has delivered precious months of peace to people that have suffered years of war. And we will continue to advocate for lasting negotiating peace, between the Jewish and Democratic state of Israel and the Palestinian people. The United States is committed to Israel's security, full stop. And a negotiated two-state solution remains, in our view, the best way to ensure Israel's security and prosperity for the future and give the Palestinians the state, which to which they are entitled. Both sides fully respect or equal rights of their citizens. Both people enjoying equal measure of freedom and dignity.

Let me also urge every nation to recommit to strengthening the nuclear non-proliferation regime through diplomacy. No matter what else is happening in the world, the United States is ready to pursue critical arms control measures. A nuclear war cannot be won and must never be fought. The five permanent members of the Security Council just reaffirmed that commitment in January, but today, we're seeing disturbing trends. Russia shunned the Non-Proliferation ideals embraced by every other nation at the 10th NPT Review Conference.

And again, today, as I said, they're making irresponsible nuclear threats to use nuclear weapons. China is conducting an unprecedented, concerning nuclear buildup without any transparency. Despite our efforts to begin serious and sustained diplomacy, the Democratic People's Republic of Korea continues to blatantly violate U.N sanctions. And while the United States is prepared for a mutual return to the Joint Comprehensive Plan of Action If Iran steps up to its obligations, the United States is clear. We will not allow Iran to acquire a nuclear weapon.

I continue to believe that diplomacy is the best way to achieve this outcome. The non-proliferation regime is one of the greatest successes of this institution. We cannot let the world now slide backwards nor can we turn the blind eye to the erosion of human rights. Perhaps, singular among this body's achievements stands the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, which is the standard by which our forebears

challenged us to measure ourselves. They made clear in 1948: Human Rights are the basis for all that we seek to achieve. And yet today, in 2022, fundamental freedoms are at risk in every part of our world, from the violations of - in Xinjiang detailed in recent reports by the office of U.N. - U.S reports detailing by the U.S [U.N.] High Commissioner, to the horrible abuses against pro-democracy activists and ethnic minorities by the military regime in Burma, to the increased repression of women and girls by the Taliban in Afghanistan.

And today, we stand with the brave citizens and the brave women of Iran, who right now are demonstrating to secure their basic rights. But here's what I know, the future will be won by those countries that unleash the full potential of their populations, where women and girls can exercise equal rights, including basic reproductive rights and contribute fully to building a stronger economies and more resilient societies, where religious and ethnic minorities can live their lives, without harassment and contribute to the fabric of their communities, where the LGBTQ+ community individuals live and love freely without being targeted with violence, where citizens can question and criticize their leaders without fear of reprisal. The United States will always promote human rights and the values enshrined in the U.N Charter in our own country and around the world.

Let me end with this. This institution, guided by the U.N Charter and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, is at its core an act of dauntless hope. Let me say that again. It's an act of dauntless hope. Think about the vision of those first delegates who undertook a seemingly impossible task while the world was still smoldering. Think about how divided the people of the world must have felt with the fresh grief of millions dead, the genocidal horrors of the Holocaust exposed. They had every right to believe only the worst of humanity. Instead, they reached for what was best in all of us, and they strove to build something better: enduring peace; comity among nations; equal rights for every member of the human family; cooperation for the advancement of all humankind.

My fellow leaders, the challenge we face today are great indeed, but our capacity is greater. Our commitment must be greater still. So let's stand together to again declare the unmistakable resolve that nations of the world are united still and we stand for the values of the U.N Charter, that we still believe by working together we can bend the arc of history toward a freer a more just world for all our children, although none of us have fully achieved it. We're not passive witnesses to history. We are the authors of history. We can do this. We have to do it, for ourselves and for our future, for humankind. Thank you for tolerance, for listening to me. I appreciate it very much. God bless you all.