# POWER RELATION ON DONALD TRUMP'S
# POLITICAL CAMPAIGN 2015

**THESIS**

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**MAULANA MALIK IBRAHIM STATE ISLAMIC UNIVERSITY OF MALANG**

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# POLITICAL CAMPAIGN 2015
# THESIS

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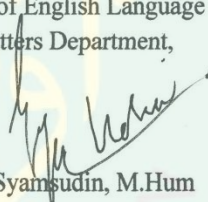
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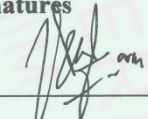Dr. Hj. Istiadah, M.A
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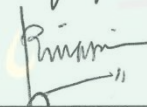
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# CERTIFICATE OF THESIS AUTHORSHIP

Hereby, I certify that the thesis I wrote to fulfill the requirement for the Degree of Sarjana Sastra (S.S) entitled "Power Relation on Donald Trump's Political Campaign 2015"is truly my original work. It does not incorporate any materials previously written or published by other persons, except those indicated in quotation and bibliography. Due to this fact, I am the only person responsible for the thesis if there is any objection or claim from others.

Malang, June 27th, 2016

Arif Angga Putra

# MOTTO

إِنَّ اللَّهَ لا يُغَيِّرُ مَا بِقَوْمٍ حَتَّى يُغَيِّرُوا مَا بِأَنْفُسِهِمْ

*"Indeed, Allah will not change the condition of a people until they change*

*what is in themselves" (Ar-Ra'd:17)*

# DEDICATION

I proudly dedicate this thesis to

My father, Suhaini

My mother, Susiyati

My sister, Nafisah Anggi Putri

# ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

# ABSTRACT

This research aims at investigating the power relation reflected by Donald Trump in his political campaign held in New York on June 16, 2015. Power relation becomes major point to be analyzed because it is one of the power sources to discursively influence people's ideology. Political discourse generally implements the use of power as elite speakers to control and to construct people. Through the power relation, politicians easily control and influence people's mind into their own interest due to his position as powerful speaker.

This research is descriptive research because it describes the discursive strategy of power relation used in Donald Trump's political campaign. This research is also categorized as qualitative research because the data are in the forms of words and utterances. This research uses van Dijk CDA's theory (1993) to analyze the utterances which indicate discursive strategy of power relation as the strategy to influence people's mind through the discourse structure of text.

The result of this study shows that the Donald Trump reflects his power relation toward people by using the discursive strategy of discourse structures that generally aims to discursively delegitimize other people, races and also politicians through victimizing, underestimating even discriminating others in making him more powerful than them. The power relation is principally portrayed by Donald Trump to make the audiences ideologically influenced and controlled through his discourse structures of the campaign speech involves topic, schema and structural units which manifest the power toward others.

It is suggested for further researchers to conduct the research by investigating power relation which is reflected in different area such as in media, educational and legal discourses. Besides, it is suggested for further researcher to use the other CDA's theories such as Scollon and Scollon's theory (2001) which focuses on mediated discourse and Wodak's theory (1996) which concerns on discourse sociolinguistics that will enrich the data analysis of CDA's theory to uncover various social issues reflected in social practices such as gender discrimination and racism.

# ABSTRAK

**Putra, Arif Angga**. 2016. *Hubungan Kekuasaan dalam Kampanye Politik Donald Trump 2015*. Skripsi. Jurusan Bahasa dan Sastra Inggris. Fakultas Humaniora. Universitas Islam Negeri Maulana Malik Ibrahim, Malang. Pembimbing: Dr. Meinarni Susilowati.

**Keywords**: *Hubungan Kekuasaan, Kampanye Politik, Strategi Diskursif, Struktur Wacana*

Penelitian ini bertujuan untuk menginvestigasi hubungan kekuasaan yang digunakan oleh Donald Trump dalam kampanye politik yang diselenggarakan pada 16 Juni 2015 di New York. Hubungan kekuasaan menjadi poin penting untuk diteliti karena keberadaannya merupakan salah satu sumber kekuatan untuk memengaruhi ideologi orang lain. Wacana dalam ranah politik umumnya menggunakan hubungan kekuasaan untuk membangun sebuah ideologi. Melalui hubungan kekuasaan, para politisi dapat mengendalikan dan memengaruhi pandangan masyakat untuk mengikuti keinginan mereka.

Penelitian ini merupakan penelitian deskriptif karena menggambarkan strategi diskursif dalam hubungan kekuasaan yang digunakan oleh Donald Trump pada kampanye politiknya. Penelitian ini juga merupakan penelitian kualitatif karena data dalam penelitian ini berbentuk kata atau ujaran. Penelitian ini menggunakan teori analisa wacana kritis van Dijk (1993) untuk meneliti ujaran yang mengindikasikan adanya hubungan kekuasaan sebagai suatu cara diskursif untuk memengaruhi pandangan masyarakat akan sebuah hal.

Hasil dari penelitian ini menunjukkan bahwa Donald Trump menggunakan hubungan kekuasaan terhadap orang lain melalui strategi diskursif yang bertujuan untuk melemahkan orang lain, ras lain, dan politisi lain dengan cara mengorbankan, merendahkan, bahkan mendiskriminasikan mereka. Hubungan kekukasaan secara khusus digunakan oleh Donald Trump untuk membuat para pendengar secara ideologi terpengaruh dengan ideologinya melalui struktur wacana teks meliputi topik, skema, dan unit struktur teks.

Selanjutnya, disarankan bagi peneliti selanjutnya untuk meneliti hubungan kekuasaan yang teraplikasikan di beberapa ranah pembicaraan selain politik seperti ranah media, pendidikan, dan hukum. Selain itu juga disarankan bagi peneliti untuk menganalisa ujaran menggunakan beberapa teori lain seperti teori Scollon and Scollon (2001) dan teori Wodak (1996) agar dapat mengembangkan analisa data dalam teori CDA untuk meneliti macam isu sosial yang ada di masyarakat seperti diskrimasi gender dan rasisme.

# مستخلص البحث

فوترا, عارف أنغا. ٢٠١٦م. *علاقة بسلطة الحكومة عند الحملة السياسية دونالد ترامب العام ٢٠١٥*. البحث الجامعي. قسم اللغة الإنجليزية وآدابها, كلية علوم الإنسانية. جامعة مولانا مالك إبراهيم الإسلامية الحكومية مالانج. المشرف: الدكتورة ميناري سوسيلو واتي.

**الكلمات** المفتاحية: *علاقة بسلطة الحكومة, الحملة السياسية, الإستراتيجيات الخطابية, بنية الخطابية*

هدف هذا البحث هو للتحقيق علاقة السلطة الحكومة المستخدمة من دونالد ترامب في الحملة السياسية يونيو ١٦ ٢٠١٥م، في نيويورك. يجيد علاقة بسلطة الحكومة نقطة مهمة للبحث لأن وجودهم مصدر بسلطة الحكومة للتأثير اراء الناس الآخرين. بشكل عام في مجال الخطاب السياسي استخدام بسلطة الحكومة لبناء على اراء المجتمع. ومن الناحية الاخر، يمكن للسياسيين يستطيع للتحكم والتأثير على آراء المجتمع على اتباع رغباتهم.

هذا البحث من النوع البحث الوصفي لأنه توضح الاستراتيجيات الخطابية بعلاقات السلطة الحكومة التي يستخدامها في الحملة السياسية من دونالد ترامب .وكذلك من النوع البحث الكيفي لأن البيانات في هذا البحث تتكون من الكلمة أو تعبير. يستخدم هذا البحث بانظرية تحليل الخطاب النقدي فان دايك (١٩٩٣) للتحقيق الخطاب التي يدل إلى علاقة بسلطة الحكومة كوسيلة الخطابية للتأثير اراء المجتمع.

وأما نتائج هذا البحث هي يستخدم دونالد ترامب في علاقة السلطة الحكمة للتأثير اراء الناس الآخرين باستخدام الاستراتيجيات الخطابية التي تهدف إلى بتقويض الآخرين، والأعراق، والسياسيين من خلال التضحية، متواضع، حتى التمييز ضدهم. بشكل عام يستخدم علاقة السلطة الحكومة بدونالد ترامب أن يجعل تأثر الرأي المستمع من هيكال الخطاب التي تشمل من الموضوعات، مخطط، وهيكل النصوص.

و بعد ذلك اقتراحات للبحث الاخرين الذين يريدون إجراء البحث هو أن يستخدام تحليل الخطاب النقدي إلى دراسة العلاقة بين السلطة غير السياسية منها الوسائل التعلمية، والتعليم، والقانون. وتحليل باستخدام بعض نظريات أخرى منها نظرية سكولون(٢٠٠١) ونظرية ووداك (١٩٩٦) حتى يستطيع لتطوير واكتشافاة جديدة لنظرية تحليل الخطاب النقدي و لتحليل المسائل في مجال المجتمع مثل تمييز الجنسية و العرقية.

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# CHAPTER I

# INTRODUCTION

This chapter presents background of the study, research question, research objective, research significance, research scope and limitation, definition of the key terms and research method which are used to conduct this research.

## 1.1 Research Background

This research investigates power relation used by Donald Trump in his political campaign. Traditionally power is defined as control of one group to another. According to Focault (1996), power is ideologically represented through the language in discourse. It controls and monitors the mind of people through ideological construction in the form of text and talk. It is usually organized and institutionalized in which the dominant groups express their ideology to others.

Power relation then exists as the relationship between people in social interaction to express their ideology which controls and influences others to act and to behave as a belief of ideological construction. Ideology is the fundamental beliefs of a group and its member (van Dijk, 2007). Ideology has become the movement in social relation to reveal the belief. It is generally produced and organized by the dominant people or groups which have powerful position to influence others through their language use. As Habermas (1984) states that language is defined as a medium

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of domination and social force. Power is connected to ideology which requires people to particular convention. Through the power relation, people generally makes others express the image of their group in positive terms and other group in negative terms as the discursive strategies which presents the power relation of certain group to another. The existence of power relation in society then leads CDA to analyze the phenomena through the language discourse used in social practices.

CDA specifically aims to investigate how power relations are constructed through the language use (Fairclough and Wodak, 1997). It exposes how power relations are exercised and negotiated in discourse text and talk such as in the news and politics. Power is represented and applied through discourse. CDA becomes a medium in understanding power which controls and influences people. Van Dijk (2001: 352) asserts that 'critical discourse analysis (CDA) is type of discourse analytical research that primarily studies the way social power abuse, dominance, and inequality are enacted, reproduced, and resisted by text and talk in the social and political context'. CDA analyzes crtitically the connection between discourse and social relation regarding to the existence of power among group of people.

Moreover, CDA systematically explores the relationships of interconnection between discursive practices of events and text. It becomes the way to analyze how such practices, events and texts are ideologically established by relations of power. According to Van Dijk (1993: 249) CDA becomes 'the approach to discourse

analysis which attempts to uncover the relationship between discourse, ideology, and power'. Besides, CDA can identify how the relationship between discourse and society becomes the factor of power and hegemony (Fairclough, 1993). CDA led people to see the connection between language and society as Fairclough (1989) concludes that CDA is the process to investigate linguistic elements in relation between language, power and ideology which are hidden from people in society.

The existence of power relation as the social control may be restricted discursively by institutional power resources. The powerful source is mostly found in public discourses such as media, politic and education etc (Van Dijk: 1993). Accordingly, inside the political campaign speech there may be utterances which indicate the relation of power through ideological construction to people. Thus, it is important to observe the political campaign speech as the discursive source of power.

There are some reasons why I take political campaign speech as the source of this research. First, political campaign speech possibly indicates power relation as Van Dijk (1995) states political actors as dominant institution "elite" has power and legitimacy toward others. Second, the utterance of political campaign may persuade others by discursively delegitimizing people as the way they convince others through ideological construction. Last, the political actors mainly speak in various topics such as economy, military, society and culture which may deliver the existence of power relation through the utterances for convincing the argument in each topic. Hence, I

use CDA to analyze the political campaign speech as the discursive strategy used by political speaker which indicates power relation.

Donald Trump is the politician which proposes as one of presidential candidates of United States from Republic party. As the presidential candidate, he announced the campaign to run for the presidential election in 2016 competing with several other candidates. He delivered very early the first Campaign speech announcement in June 16, 2015, at Trump Tower, New York. Here, he is mono speaker where he speaks toward the passive listener, the audiences.

In giving speech, Donald Trump often shows his power to influence people even to underestimate other candidates. His position of elite speaker is generally used by him to delegitimize other races such as Mexican, Arabian etc. The power relation may be portrayed in Donald Trump's speech since every presidential candidate will do several strategies to make people get engaged for the speech. To make people more convinced and influenced on his utterances, Donald Trump used some strategies called as discursive strategy which aims at controlling and influencing people's mind.

There are also some important reasons why Donald Trump is selected to be analyzed as the subject of the research. First, Donald Trump has strong statements which generally seem to be controversial. Second, the accessibility of his speech can be easily reached by people around the world due to his position as presidential candidate of super power nation. Last, his language style tends to dominate others

when he stated *the rapist* for the Mexican as the victim whom he blamed for the crimes and problems happen in US. It indicates that the language used by Donald Trump in his political campaign speech principally aims at dominating others.

Furthermore, to analyze the utterance in the text, CDA have several models which are proposed by some critical linguists. The most prevalent ideas of CDA are proposed by Wodak (1996), Scollon and Scollon (2001), and van Dijk (1993). This research uses the socio-cognitive model proposed by van Dijk (1989) as the theory because it interfaces the phenomena between language use and the power production in social practices. van Dijk's CDA also has broad scope about linguistic elements, discourse and structure which are related to the topic of this research.

The discourse structure of text becomes the medium of analyzing text using CDA socio-cognitive model. van Dijk (1998) stated that there are three elements of text as the medium of analyzing the utterances. First, macrostructure analysis which concentrates on global meaning of text which is represented through the themes and topics. Second, superstructure analysis which gives the sense of meaning through the systematic schema of the text. Third, microstructure analysis which focuses on the relations between semantic, syntactic, lexicon and rhetoric which construct the meaning of the text. Therefore, it significantly gives the coherence of text which provides understanding to apprehend the relationship between the text in discourse and the power relation applied in social practice.

Some previous researches have been conducted using CDA's theories. First, Kusuma (2012) analyzed discursive strategies used in the debate by Toni Blair and Christoper Hitchens. The finding shows that the strategies used by the speakers have some discursive varieties to be used in the area of euphemization and derogation. The most effective strategy used by them in the debate is lexicalization strategy which aims to get audience's interest. Second, Aisyah (2013) investigated the movie to know the utterance which indicates racial stereotyping. The finding shows that the speakers in that movie use discursive strategy of racial stereotyping implicitly in which the microstructure level of word positions as one of important units beside sentence to deliver the purpose of speakers. Third, Ali (2012) who analyzed the speech of Shaikh Hamza Yusuf concluded that the speaker expressed his ideological standpoint through the speech. The speaker used some types of micro structure level analysis proposed by van Dijk involves word, phrase and sentence to support his ideology. Last, Komaruddin (2014) investigated the speech by Hillary Diane Rodham Clinton using CDA focusing on meaning level. The finding shows that in Hillary's speech, there is the hidden ideology of liberal feminism.

Based on those previous studies, I propose the research on Van Dijk's socio-cognitive model of CDA. This research is different from those previous studies above because it analyzes more specifically power relation as the discursive strategy by Donald Trump to ideologically influence and to control public.

**1.2 Research Question**

Based on the research background above, the research problem can be formulated as: "How is the power relation reflected in Donald Trump's political campaign 2015?"

**1.3 Research Objective**

The main objective of this research is to investigate the power relation reflected in Donald Trump's political campaign 2015.

**1.4 Research Significance**

Based on the topic, this research is urgent to do with theoretical and practical contributions especially to the interdisciplinary area of CDA to understand the discursive strategies of power relation applied in political campaign based on CDA theory introduced by van Dijk (1993).

Theoretically, this research is expected to give academic contribution particularly in developing theoretical framework of van Dijk's CDA socio-cognitive model (1993) that consists of macrostructure analysis, superstructure analysis and microstructure analysis to identify power relation used in political campaigns.

Practically, this research can give empirical data especially in analyzing the speech related to the political courses. Moreover, this research can provide valuable

knowledge to the students of English Language and Letters Department, especially

for the linguistics' students to understand the linguistic features used by the

politicians as elite speaker which indicates power relation. Hence, they can apply this

result of research as one of sources to analyze the similar study on CDA, especially

related to the power relation in different discourses beside politics such as

educational, media and legal discourse.

**1.5 Research Scope and Limitation**

This research focuses on discursive strategies in political campaign which

indicate power relation using socio-cognitive model of CDA proposed by van Dijk

(1993) because it serves deep understanding and analysis in analyzing the utterances

which indicate power relation using the discursive strategy of discourse structures.

Moreover, this research limits the data only for the political campaign speech hold in

New York on June 16, 2015. In fact, there are several campaigns by Donald Trump

but I take only one campaign as it is newest data and also it provides the richness and

completeness of data.

**1.6 Definition of the Key Terms**

The definition of the key terms is used to specify the definition of some points in this research, I provide the key terms as follows:

1. Power relation is defined as the the legitimacy of Donald Trump as elite speaker to control and to infuence the audience.

2. Political campaign speech is the speech delivered by Donald Trump which aims to attain certain political goal and generally to persuade people for selecting him as the next president in US.

3. Discursive strategy is Donald Trump's strategies to ideologically control and to influence the audience's mind reflected on discourse structure of the speech as the instrument.

4. Discourse structure analysis is an analysis of talk and text of Donald Trump's speech using socio-cognitive theory of CDA by van Dijk (1993) which consists of topic, schema and structural unit includes word, phrase and sentence.

**1.7 Research Method**

This research method explains the research methodology for the present study. It elucidates the methodology to achieve the research objectives. It consists of some points as follows:

1.7.1 Research Design

This research is categorized as descriptive research in which it describes the discursive strategies which indicate power relation found in political campaign speech by Donald Trump.

This research is also classified as qualitative research because it has some qualitative points, first, the aim of this research is to understand how discursive strategies of CDA used by Donald Trump which indicates power relation. Second, the data in this research are soft data in the forms of words or utterances.

This research uses CDA approach because it is the effective approach for analyzing the linguistic phenomena related to the power relation in social practice. It covers the strategy of portraying the power relation through discursively influencing and controlling others.

1.7.2 Research Instrument

The main instrument of this research is I myself as human instrument who collected and analyzed the data. I was the only instrument who obtained, collected, and analyzed the data because there was no other instruments who can do this or involved, except myself.

1.7.3 Data Source

The data were taken from a political campaign script of Donald Trump entitled "Our Country Needs a Truly Great Leader" hold on June 16, 2015 at Trump tower, New York. The script was downloaded from the website blogs.wsj.com/washwire/2015/06/16 because it serves the complete sequences of utterances in the speech. Meanwhile, the video was obtained from https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=0XXcPl4T55I as it is a trusted source due to publisher of the address as "YouHotNews" is news page which provides the complete campaign speech of Donald Trump hold in New York.

1.7.4 Data Collection and Analysis

The data of this research are collected and analyzed using the following steps. First, obtaining the video and the script from trusted website as explained in data source. Second, watching the video several times to match between the script and the utterances in the video in order to get the validity of the data. Third, selecting the

utterances which indicate the power relation using the types of discursive strategies of CDA van Dijk's theory (1993). In this step, I categorized the utterances by giving the bold style and code. I gave a code for every strategy to make the reference for selected data. The name of coding are created as follows; National self-glorification (NS), Generalization (G), Disclaimer (D), Evidentiality (E), Metaphor (M), Counterfactual (C), Presupposition (PR), Victimization (V), Polarization (PO), Hyperbole (H), Number Game (NG) and Repetition (R). Fourth, describing the context of selected utterances by explaining the way of Donald Trump spoke to the audience during the speech. Fifth, analyzing the use of power relation from selected or coded data based on the discursive strategy of discourse structures, for instance the phrase "*dumping ground"* is coded as (V) for the victimization strategy. Donald Trump used the strategy to portray his power relation as the elite speaker by making the claim border for negative image of action to other out-group presentations that becomes ideologically victimized. By doing that, I can understand the existence of power relation used by Donald Trump. Sixth, discussing the findings in discussion. Last, drawing the conclusion to describe the result of this research.

## CHAPTER II

## REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE

This chapter presents the theories related to this study. It discusses the theories about critical discourse analysis, Teun A. van Dijk model of CDA, discursive strategy, power relation, political campaign and previous studies.

### 2.1 Critical Discourse Analysis

Discourse generally refers to anything beyond the sentence involves the meaning and the context of utterance. Jaworski and Coupland (1999) stated that discourse can be defined as three major definitions. First, discourse is anything beyond sentence. Second, discourse is about language use. Third, discourse is a broader range of language use in social practice that includes non-linguistic and non-particular units of language.

Discourse analysis emerges as the studies on the analysis of language used by people in communicating with others. As the definition given by Trappes (2004) discourse analysis studies on the language use and its circumstances involves participants, situations, purposes, outcomes in which those are associated. Moreover, Brown and Yule state in his book (1985) that discourse analysis relies on the analysis of language in use which functions to serve human affair for analyzing the word through discourse.

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Discourse analysis has been divided into three paradigms, positivist discourse analysis, interpretive discourse analysis, and critical discourse analysis (Van Dijk, 1993). First, positivist discourse analysis which believes that language is related to human experiences which are represented through language. The meaning can be understood directly by observing the product of language without concerning on the speaker. It can be received as it has the component of realistic experiences involves reason and structure of expression. Second, Interpretive discourse analysis concerns that language is never separable from the human as the subject. This approach considers that the meaning of language must be understood by the forms or products and the speaker or subject. Language meaning cannot be received when it stands alone in that it does not convey any meaning. Third, critical discourse analysis (CDA) which studies the discourse as the language use in communication which produces the power toward others. It focuses on the language use which indicates the dominance through controlling others' mind and belief.

CDA studies more specific on the discursive unit of language. It particularly considers the area of institutional, political, gender and media discourses which bring struggle and conflict (Wodak, 2001). As the developmental study of discourse analysis, CDA concerns on social practices which involves the issue of power, discrimination, racism etc. Fairclough (1995) defines CDA as

'discourse analysis which aims to systematically explore often opaque relationships of causality and determination between (a) discursive practices, events and texts, and (b) wider social and cultural structures, relations, and processes; to investigate how such practices, events and texts arise out of and are ideologically shaped by relations of power and struggles over power; and to explore how the opacity of these relationships between discourse and society is itself a factor securing power and hegemony' (132-133).

The existence of CDA becomes important in order to investigate social issue through the language use which opens broader relation between the discourse and language phenomena. Hence, CDA provides critical social analysis to the language studies and also contributes a study on the relations between discourse and other social elements include power relations, ideologies, institutions, identities, and so forth (Fairclough, 1997). CDA also contributes obvious structural relationships of power, dominance, discrimination and control as put in language in which it investigates specifically on social inequality as it is expressed, constituted and legitimized by language use (Wodak and Meyer, 2001).

Furthermore, CDA also concerns on the relationship between language and society in social practices. Scollon and Scollon (2001) stated that CDA focuses on analyzing the discourse to address social change in using language. Fairclough (1995) added that CDA aims to investigate how discourses are emerged and formed by power relation and to discover how the relationship between discourse and society construct power and hegemony among society. Therefore, CDA becomes important way to reveal the use of power relation used by elite speaker in social discourse and practices.

## 2.2 Teun A. van Dijk's CDA

CDA contributes the theories and methods to analyze discourse and social practice. van Dijk (1993) as one of the pioneer of CDA earlier focuses on linguistics and discourse analysis. Then he relates the use of language in discourse with the social practices.

There are three approaches to understand the ideological analysis based on van Dijk's theory (1995) that consists of social analysis, cognitive analysis, and discourse analysis. The difference between Van Dijk's approach and other CDA's approaches is on the model of his approach which applies the cognitive analysis as the system of mental representations and processes of group members that are ideologically represented through social power relation which influence and control the act of others in actions and interactions. Van Dijk (2004) introduced socio-cognitive model of discourse structures as the approach in structural aspects of linguistic includes the text and its meaning which aims at analyzing the discourse connected to social practices through communication and interaction among people. It contains macrostructure, superstructure and microstructure level. Macrostructure analysis focuses on general meaning of text that is examined on theme. Superstructure analysis examines the structure and elements which is constructed in the text. Microstructure analysis concerns with the meanings of discourse by analyzing the aspect of structural texts.

Moreover, van Dijk (2001) affirms that language use, discourse, verbal interaction, and communication belong to the micro-level of the social order. Power, dominance, and inequality between social groups are typically terms that belong to a macro-level of analysis. Hence, the analysis of both is needed to open the broad analysis in the relationship between language use and the power relation in political discourse.

2.2.1 Macrostructure

Macrostructure is defined as branch of van Dijk's CDA which focuses on global meaning or theme of the discourse. It is also called thematic style of discourse structure analysis which concentrates on the analysis of the topic of the text. According to van Dijk (2001), macrostructure studies deeply on the area of power, dominance and inequality between social groups in social practices.

2.2.2 Superstructure

Texts are constructed through the sequence of ideas. Superstructure level analysis concentrates on the analysis on how the units of text are constructed in a schema as the sequence of texts which convey the sense of discourse. It investigates the text through the systematic units of schema involves opening, content and closing. Superstructure analysis is sometimes called schematic style of discourse structure which aims at organizing the parts of text into systematic arrangement.

### 2.2.3 Microstructure

The analysis of microstructure-level focuses on the meaning aspects of text which is constructed from the small units consist of sentence, phrase, word and rhetorical expressions which produce the meaning. This level of analysis contains the aspects of semantic, stylistic, syntactic, rhetoric in which it builds the basic unit of text. Van Dijk (2001) affirms that microstructure level specifically concerns on language use, discourse, verbal interaction and communication of social practice.

## 2.3 Discursive Strategy

Discursive strategy is the cognitive strategy which is used to construct and control other's mind and belief through ideological construction. According to van Dijk (2001), the ideological concept of people can be constructed by the discursive structures as the medium to control mind and belief. It influences and controls people's mind through the discourse structure of the text.

Discursive strategy can be categorized as positive and negative self-presentation. Positive self-presentation as the strategy which shows the speakers in positive attributes as "us". Negative self-presentation as the strategy used by the speakers to describe the out group's negative position as "them". Sometimes some strategies are referred to both positive and negative. The both strategies are simply represented as follows (van Dijk, 1998):

a) National self-glorification

The strategy which shows positive self-presentation in the field of political course to make a good image of nation. Positive-self presentations are generally represented through the various form of national self-glorification in which it shows the good image of country and its principle, for example "US is one of nations which has the great armies in this world", which means that the speaker tries to show positive-self presentations of his nation by stating the first rank position of his army in the word.

b) Generalization

It is used to generalize the social actor representation especially for the negative-self presentation. This strategy aims to express other group' social attitudes or ideologies by making the claims for certain action especially for the bad image, for example "they are terrorist". It shows the negative image of out-group presentation which is generalized as terrorist.

c) Disclaimer

This strategy is used to reject the speaker's first statement by stating contradictive arguments in the second statement using particular term "but". It generally shows ideology through portraying positive self-presentation and negative other-presentation, for example "he seems good at making promises but there is no proof" that shows his statement is believable. The first sentence of speaker is rebutted by the second sentence which shows the contradictive action.

d) Evidentiality

This strategy is used by the speaker through giving the evidence for emphasizing his arguments. The speakers may provide information through empirical data, for example "he has a lot of problems since he has arrested many times due to his crimes". It shows the argument on how many problems of his crimes, by stating the evidence that he was arrested many times.

e) Metaphor

It is kind of rhetoric strategy in which the speaker uses the literal sentence to show or to refer to another thing which has the similarity in purpose but not in the direct meaning of sentence, for example "the time is money, which shows the parable of time refers to money".

f) Counterfactual

It is the strategy used by the speaker to express the argument by stating the assumption in the future. It is applied by using the word "if" as the medium of giving argument, for instance "this would not happen if I have returned back immediately". It shows the future action that will be happened, if the speaker does not do the action.

g) Presupposition

This strategy is used to presuppose the truth whether it is true or not. It is used by speaker to give assumption without giving the evidence. It can be seen from the context of utterances, for instance "he is bad on managing the office administration". The context shows that actually he just presupposes him for

bad image of action. Thus, it shows that the speakers just give the assumption on what it can be decided as true or false.

h) Polarization

This strategy is used by the speaker to differ positive self-presentation of good image as "us" and negative other-presentation of bad figure as "them", for example "they bring the crime to this city. They are stupid. They are foolish. As intellectuals, we cannot receive them anymore coming to this city". In one side, the speaker wants to show the negative image of out-group presentation of action by stating as the stupid and foolish people. In other side, the speaker intends to show his positive image of in-group presentation by stating as the intellectuals.

i) Victimization

This strategy is used to show the negative images of out-group presentation of nations which is closely related to polarization to make people focus on their bad characteristic, for instance "the politicians are just talking too much without any action". It shows that the speaker tries to show the negative image of nations by stating the politicians who are only talking without doing anything.

j) Hyperbole

This strategy is used to convince the argument by exaggerating the utterance in order to influence the people's ideology. It is kind of rhetorical strategy which aims to emphasize the statement using hyperbolic terms, for example "I

got a million of problems". It shows that the speaker wants to show that he

has many problems by exaggerating the number of problem into million.

k)  Number game

This strategy is used by the speaker to convince and emphasize the argument

to people using the number and statistic, for example "seventy five people

have been killed for the earthquake last night". It emphasizes the argument for

the victim of earthquake by giving the number of people who have been

killed.

l)  Repetition

This strategy is used by the speaker emphasize the argument also to make the

audience focuses on the content of utterance by giving the similar word,

phrase or sentence repetitively, for example "they only bring problems to this

country. They only bring crimes. They only bring miseries". It shows the

similar sentence which is repetitively mentioned to convince his argument on

the problems they have, and also to make the hearers focus on the content of

similar sentence.

## 2.4 Power Relation

Power relation has become the major point of CDA. It is portrayed through

the discursive strategy of discourse structure to influence people's ideology. CDA

focuses on how the discourse (re)produces social domination as the power abuse of

one group who will discursively dominate others (van Dijk, 1993). The politician

generally implements their position of elite to speak and to control using his power relation. He can deliver any other aspect of social phenomena which involves inequalities, racism, discrimination, and hegemony among society.

Power is linked with the ideology which is constructed in society. Ideologies indirectly influence the personal cognition of group members in their act of comprehension of discourse among other actions and interactions to control how people act, speak and write also how they understand the social practices (van Dijk, 1995). Power is the main instrument of dominant group to discursively and ideologically control others. According to van Dijk (2001) Power is the control of others represented as control of access and discourse, control of context, text and talk, and control of mind (van Dijk, 2001).

2.4.1 Control of Access and Discourse

The discourse control is important for implementing power in social practice. The first base way of power control is to access the public discourse and communication (van Dijk, 1996). People who have more powerful position can easily control the discourse of people in lower position. For instance, the teachers control the educational discourse, journalists control the media discourse and politicians control the political discourse (van Dijk, 2001). They can control the others through their powerful position to make people less powerful for the certain discourse. Hence,

the political speaker will have more power relation to speak and to influence the audiences through their speeches.

## 2.4.2 Control of Context, Text and Talk

The control of context becomes significant aspect to control people because it covers the condition, speaker, setting, ideology and so forth. The speaker controls the context through the determination and decision during the speech that can be portrayed by controlling the communicative situation, event, participant, time and places (Diamond, 1996). For instance, the political speaker such as Donald Trump can control the communicative situation during the speech by controlling the time he speaks. He is the only one who can access to time duration of the speech. He can stop it fast if he thinks his speech is enough without any controls by others. Hence, by controlling the context, he freely delivers and expresses the utterances for his aims of the speech.

Moreover, the powerful speakers may control people through their text and talk. It is generally used by powerful speaker to access people using the structure of the discourse which includes the theme, schema and structural meaning of the text and talk. For instance, the political speaker decides what topic will be spoken to audience. The sequence of speech will be made in the systematic arrangement. Also, the speaker will construct the good structural words includes word, phrase and sentence to make people convinced on what he speaks during the speech.

2.4.3 Control of Mind

Mind control is the way of speaker to ideologically influence and to control people. This control may led the power and dominance due to it shows the power relation toward people who have no alternative choice (van Dijk, 1997), for instance the limitation of giving a vote for immigrant people in certain country. Here, the politicians are powerful speakers who control the less powerful recipients as immigrants to give a vote. Hence, the mind control will make people ideologically constructed by the speakers who have more power.

Furthermore, powerful speaker will control and influence people' mindset in their own interests through the ideological construction which is called discursive strategy (van Dijk, 1997). The most important part of discursive strategy is controlling people' mind through the discourse structure of text and talk which involves the theme, schematic arrangement, and the lexical and syntactic meaning of the speech. The speaker uses the strategy of discursive to maintain his power and control the less powerful people to follow his aims or purposes.

**2.5 Political Campaign**

Politics emerges as the way people talk about the government and the country. It is the medium in struggling for power that aims to get certain political, economic and social ideas into practice. Politics traditionally is concerned with power which

has purpose to make decisions, to control resources, to control other people's behaviour and often to control their values (Bayram, 2010).

In political speech, campaign is one of speech which basically aims to persuade people to do something. Campaign is the series of activities that aims to gain certain goal. According to Jacobson (2004) Campaign aims to influence the personal mind of people by persuading them to vote or not to vote for particular candidate. Accordingly, campaign speech in politics defined as the way of a speaker as political candidate tries to get people's attention and to influence them to give the choice. The political campaign speaker may have purposes in his speech to influence people to make a choice on what the political speaker intends.

Through campaign, the politicians as the presidential candidates can show his position as elite speaker to construct the ideology and produce the power relation toward others. As Brady, Johnston & Sides (2006) state that 'campaign can affect what voters know, whether they will vote, whom they will vote for, and why they will vote for that person. Ultimately campaign can affect who wins the election' (18).

The existence of power leads the politicians make people influenced by using the discursive strategy to ideologically persuade others through the negative or positive strategy. The political speaker has power as elite to decide and to use what strategy will be used to compete with other candidates. Every speaker has his own decision to use strategy in persuading people whether it is positive or negative.

However, According to Fowler & Ridout (2013) that the more effective way to attack the opponents is by using negative strategy than positive strategy in which it will downgrade their position become powerless in people's image. Hence, the political speaker is the one who has massive power to choose the strategy which is used in attracting and influencing people through the campaign.

**2.6 Previous Studies**

There are a number of relevant studies who use CDA as the theory of investigation. First, Kusuma (2012) analyzed discursive strategies used in the debate by Toni Blair and Christoper Hitchens. The finding shows that the discursive strategies used by the speaker have some varieties connected to the use of euphemization and derogation applied in the debate. She concluded that the most effective strategy used by the speakers is lexicalization strategy which uses the lexical structure to attract the hearers for the argumentation.

Second, Aisyah (2013) investigated the movie using CDA's theory by van Dijk to know the utterances which indicate racial stereotyping. The finding shows that the speakers in that movie use the discursive strategy to express the utterances which represent the existence of racial stereotyping using the micro-level of structure. Then, superstructure and macrostructure level of analysis positions as the way on how the speakers describe the topic and the arrangement of the utterances which aims to discriminate and stereotype other races.

Third, Ali (2012) analyzed the speech of Shaikh Hamza Yusuf using the theory of critical discourse analysis. He concluded that the speaker expressed the ideological construction during the speech. The speaker uses some types of micro structure level analysis proposed by van Dijk involves word, phrase and sentence to support his ideology. The strategies are used by the speaker to legitimize the position of in-group' ideology presentation, in contrary, to delegitimize the attitude of out-group's ideological point. However, the aims of speech basically are not only seen by general meaning but also the semantic relation between the words, phrase and sentence to construct the meaning.

Last, Komaruddin (2014) investigated the speech by Hillary Diane Rodham Clinton about woman using CDA focusing on meaning level. The finding shows that there is the hidden ideology of liberal feminism in Hillary's speech. The speaker shows his ideological point by getting the attention from audiences in which she expresses the positive-self presentation for US and the negative-self presentation for Middle-East. He concluded she used the ideological construction to influence the audience through convincing the importance of liberal even radical feminism. Formal structure is used to control the speech. And local meaning is used to represent the ideology which focus on words and prepositions used by the speaker in her speech.

In this research, I use the socio-cognitive theory of CDA proposed by van Dijk (1993) to investigate the discursive strategy of power relation on Donald Trump's political campaign through the discourse structure of the text. The difference

between this research and those previous researches is from the way I analyze the

utterance using the widespread of discursive strategy of discourse structure analysis

of van Dijk's CDA theory (1993) which consists of macrostructure or theme,

superstructure or scheme and microstructure or structural units of text as the

instrument of Donald Trump to portray the power relation. Moreover, this research

uses campaign speech as a type of political speeches that has not been yet

investigated before. Thus, it provides the empirical data of the utterances used in

political campaign that indicates power relation toward others by using van Dijk's

CDA which focus on discursive strategy of discourse structures to investigate in

detail the power relation reflected in the campaign speech.

# CHAPTER III

# FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

This chapter presents the findings and discussion. The first is the finding which covers the presentation of the data and analysis based on CDA's theory of discursive strategy on power relation. The second is the result of analysis which is discussed in discussion.

## 3.1 Findings

The subject of this research are the utterances in Donald Trump's political campaign speech. The data finding totally contains 24 sets from Donald Trump's utterances in his campaign speech hold in June 16, 2015, at New York. The form of coding data is provided as the data 1, data 2, data 3 and so forth. Each data provides the context of speech when the speaker delivered the utterances. The analysis of the selected data is done after providing the utterance which indicates power relation through the types of discursive strategies. Every strategy is provided in the forms of codes as; National self-glorification (NS), Generalization (G), Disclaimer (D), Evidentiality (E), Metaphor (M), Counterfactual (C), Presupposition (PR), Victimization (V), Polarization (PO), Hyperbole (H), Number Game (NG) and Repetition (R). The data details are below:

### 3.1.1 Data 1

At first, Donald Trump gave a greeting to audiences who had come to Trump Tower attending his campaign speech. The cheering were yelled by the audiences when Donald gave a nice greeting. Donald was surprised seeing a lot of people. The place looked so crowd as the audience fulfilled all empty spaces in the building. The indication of power relation in his speech is firstly found as follows;

> *So nice, thank you very much. That's really nice. Thank you. It's great to be at Trump Tower. It's great to be in a wonderful city, New York. And it's an honor to have everybody here. This is beyond anybody's expectations. There's been no crowd like this.*
>
> *And, I can tell, some of the candidates, they went in. They didn't know the air-conditioner didn't work.* **They sweated like dogs** *(M). They didn't know the room was too big, because they didn't have anybody there. How are they going to beat ISIS? I don't think it's gonna happen.*

Donald Trump directly said on what is going to be such a metaphoric expression to refer to other candidates. It is the strategy to discursively manifest his power relation by convincing the audiences' mind for what actions of other candidates cannot be run at all. The statements covers the sentences (M) which are strictly heard by people.  He disparaged others by giving a sarcasm to them as the dogs which are only able to sweat on the situations happened. Even he added that they did not know whether or not the simple action like knowing the air-conditioner can work.

**3.1.2 Data 2**

Donald Trump showed the weakness of the country in this data by stating

some points below which shows that the politicians cannot run the government and

administration especially the trade deal with other countries such as China, Japan and

Mexico. Then he tried to make solution for that problem.

> *Our country is in serious trouble. We don't have victories anymore.* ***We used to have victories*** *(D1),* ***but we don't have them*** *(D2). When was the last time anybody saw us beating, let's say, China in a trade deal? They kill us.* ***I beat China all the time. All the time*** *(R). When did we beat Japan at anything? They send their cars over by the millions, and what do we do? When was the last time you saw a Chevrolet in Tokyo? It doesn't exist, folks. They beat us all the time.*

In the first sentence *"Our country is in serious trouble"* Donald Trump

showed the US faces the difficult problems. He then used the disclaimer strategy to

show the counterfactual expression in order to make his statement stronger. The

strategy was actually used to control people's concept through his power relation to

deliver ideology in an argument that actually US doesn't have victories because some

of the trade deals have been dominated by other countries. Donald Trump at first (D1)

said that US generally had victories in the surface view. However, in the second

sentence (D2), he contradicted the existence of victories by stating that US actually

did not have victories, for instance the trade sectors in US which were beaten by

several countries such as China, Japan even Mexico because the world trade

economic deal were mostly taken by those countries.

He looked very sure at delivering statement that he defeated China "***all the time***". Even it was repeated. Indeed, it is actually a strategy used by him to victimize the government for what they cannot do in China trade deal. Donald Trump emphasized the sentence *"I beat China all the time"* as the contrary sentence *"**They kill us**"* which indicated that he showed his power where he can do which the other politicians cannot do in competing the trade deals with other countries. The audience gave applause to him. He convinced the audiences by stating the question on the last time US can beat China in trade deal. But then he stated that China has beaten US trade. It means that he actually wanted to deliver ideology by giving the contradictive statement which aimed to make the politicians in government become less powerful. The phrase (R) can be probably indicated as the power relation of Donald Trump who often had beaten China for many times in the trade deals.

### 3.1.3 Data 3

Donald Trump tried to give explanation on the problems happen now in US government related to economic problems with other countries. He used some strategies to convince his arguments on what politicians do was nothing.

> *When do we beat Mexico at the border. They're laughing at us, **at our stupidity** (V). And now they are beating us economically. **They are not our friend,** (D1) **believe me. But they're killing us economically** (D2). The U.S. has become a **dumping ground** (H) for everybody else's problems.*

Donald Trump tried to give the negative image for the stupidity of government by stating the phrase (V). He used the strategy of victimization to

ideologically make people saw that the government cannot manage the trade deal with Mexico. Donald Trump showed his power relation that he can freely state the negative image of the country. In addition, the contrast utterance delivered by Donald Trump showed the disclaimer strategy that aims to contradict the first statement (D1) which shows that Mexicans were not US' friend. Then, he contradicted by the second statement (D2) that they were not his friend because they attacked the US economic by bringing a lot of problems to the country. It builds the ideology that he wanted to emphasize the argument through his power by discursively influencing people's mind for what he argued is absolutely right.

Donald Trump then convinced his statements by stating the command sentence *"believe me".* Thus, he assumed that the US is just the place where other countries can beat many times as the phrase (H) that refers to the land of other's problem. Donald Trump used the strategy of hyperbole to emphasize his argument by exaggerating the place of problems as *"dumping ground"*.

**3.1.4 Data 4**

The audiences extended applauses for what Donald Trump had stated on the situation of US administration. Donald Trump showed that the other countries involved China, Japan and Mexico who had beaten economic trade were better than US country as the reference below *"these"*. In addition, many problems appeared explained by him as the following:

*Thank you. It's true, and these are the best and the finest.* **When Mexico sends its people, they're not sending their best. They're not sending you. They're not sending you. They're sending people that have lots of problems** (R1) **and they're bringing those problems with us. They're bringing drugs. They're bringing crime** (R2). *They're* ***rapists*** (G). *And some, I assume, are good people.*

In this paragraph, he emphasized his argument by stating the word repetition (R1 & R2). At first, he said that Mexico just sent people which had a lot of problems by repeating the word (R1). Actually, he used the negative positive verb at first ***"not sending"*** to show that Mexico did not send the best people. Then in the second sentence, he convinced his statement by using positive verb ***"sending"*** to show that Mexico just sent their people with a lot of problems. He repeated those word to make his arguments become more convincing to the hearers.

Furthermore, he used other repetitive word (R2) which shows that Donald Trump wanted to underline the contents on what he said (R1&R2). It is a kind of discursive strategies of repetition that aims to ideologically show that Mexico mostly just brought many problems to his country such as the case of drugs and crimes. He used the power relation to blame on Mexicans for the bad action in his country. All the statements in his argument were generalized and covered as the term ***"the rapist"***.

The next selected data (G) is called the strategy of generalization which was used by Donald Trump to generalize people in negative image in out-group presentation. It is analyzed through the discourse structure to force the audience's perspective that saw the Mexican as the rapist. The word ***"the rapist"*** significantly

contains the offensive meaning referring to out-group image of action. The speaker may have purpose to express their anger or to position some groups in bad perspective. It (G) portrayed the use of power relation where Donald Trump as the presidential candidate of US had power to say where the immigrants like Mexicans only brought the problems to his country. He is the one who decided the topic for showing the weakness of Mexicans. Therefore, Donald Trump basically applied his power relation as elite speaker through stereotyping other races in negative views to make him more powerful than Mexicans as out-group presentation.

**3.1.5 Data 5**

Donald Trump explained more detail on how those countries can defeat US administration economically. He emphasized the content of his utterances by giving assumption for the problem sources where the problems firstly appeared.

> *But I speak to border guards and they tell us what we're getting. And it only makes common sense. It only makes common sense. They're sending us not the right people. **It's coming from more than Mexico. It's coming from all over South and Latin America** (R) **and it's coming probably — probably — from the Middle East** (PR). But we don't know. Because we have no protection and we have no competence, we don't know what's happening. And it's got to stop and it's got to stop fast.*

This data shows the repetitive sentence (R) as the way of Donald Trump emphasized his statement by giving the assumptions for the causes which brought a lot of problems. In one hand, he stated Mexico as the country which had full responsibility for the bad situation of US economics. He portrayed his power relation

by discursively presupposing the bad action that is actually not necessarily right. In other hand, Donald added the presuppositions (P) for the other countries such as South and Latin America even the Middle East where they may influence the low economic power in US, even tough, there is no exact evidence which was given by Donald Trump for what he spoke.

**3.1.6 Data 6**

Donald Trump stated his opinion for the President Barrack Obama where he blamed the President for the one who had responsibilities for economic problems happened in US. He then described the reasons why he called him the big liar as *"Obamacare"*

> *We have a disaster called the big lie: **Obamacare. Obamacare** (V). Yesterday, it came out that costs are going for people up 29, 39, 49, and even 55 percent, and deductibles are through the roof. You have to be hit by a tractor, literally, a tractor, to use it, because the deductibles are so high, it's virtually useless. It's virtually useless. It is a disaster. **And remember the $5 billion Web site? $5 billion we spent on a Web site, and to this day it doesn't work** (E) (NG). A $5 billion Web site. I have so many Web sites, I have them all over the place. I hire people, they do a Web site. It costs me $3. $5 billion Web site.*

Donald Trump wanted to delegitimize the politicians which may refer to the President by discursively blaming him for the chaos in US (V), especially for the administration. He applied his power to underestimate the other politician through the word (V). He used it to ideologically show that Donald Trump have more skill than Obama in managing the US administration system.

Donald Trump also used the strategy of number game to emphasize his arguments on Obama's actions where the president had spent "**$5 billion"** on Web site that did not work. He presupposed that Obama was a disaster for United States because he had lied to all US people. Moreover, Donald Trump provided the evidences in a number as the power of his statements (E) to delegitimize President Obama toward audiences' view by ideologically influencing them where he had more many websites than Country had that basically did not work. Hence, it (NG) may contain the purpose that he wanted to show his power relation as the person who is definitely better than the President where he can hire people by providing the jobs through Web site.

**3.1.7 Data 7**

The audiences were so enthusiasm supporting Donald Trump become President in order to manage the systems of US job administration. Donald Trump tried to give assumption by victimizing the other politicians for the image of negative action.

> *Well, you need somebody, **because politicians are all talk, no action** (V). Nothing's gonna get done. **They will not bring us — believe me** (PR) — to the promised land. They will not.*

The statement (V) was used as the strategy to victimize the other presidential candidates by positioning them in negative perspective as the politicians who spoke a lot without any actions. It was actually the strategy used by Donald Trump to

discursively construct people's mind through his power relation for the ideological

concept that there was no politician which can do any actions in administration like

Donald Trump did. In addition, Donald Trump also gave an assumption for the word

(P) which represented that the politicians just gave promises to people with no

evidences. He strengthened his assumption by giving the imperative sentence

*"believe me"* which may indicate the power of elite speaker to have people feel

convinced on what Donald Trump said.

### 3.1.8 Data 8

When Donald Trump conveyed the utterances, the audiences cheered that

looked that they agreed with his statement. Donald Trump tried to give some

examples for his arguments.

> *So I've watched the politicians. I've dealt with them all my life. If you can't make a good deal with a politician, then there's something wrong with you. You're certainly not very good. And that's what we have representing us.* **They will never make America great again** *(PR1).* **They don't even have a chance** *(PR2). They're controlled fully — they're controlled fully by the lobbyists, by the donors, and by the special interests, fully.*

Donald Trump argued that those politicians cannot have the skill to make a

good decision. It (PR1) was used by him to manifest his power relation by

discursively influencing people's ideology that the politicians were not skillful to be a

leader. He was sure on what he said is actually right, because he just gave an

assumption to audiences. Donald Trump tried to build ideological construction to

people that the politicians who cannot create a deal with other politicians were not

able to be US leader. Thus, he emphasized his arguments by stating the certain

statement (PR2) where those kind of politicians does not have skill to manage US

government. They will never be able to create US country becomes great again since

they were just controlled by other politicians.

**3.1.9 Data 9**

The audiences heard very quiet when Donald Trump said that America had

potential people for the good job. He was proud of US people by giving some

presuppositions where the American people can get the good job in the future.

> *It can happen. **Our country has tremendous potential** (NS). We have tremendous people. We have people that aren't working. **We have people that have no incentive to work** (D1). **But they're going to have incentive to work** (D2), because the greatest social program is a job. **And they'll be proud, and they'll love it, and they'll make much more than they would've ever made, and they'll be — they'll** (R) be doing so well, and we're going to be thriving as a country, thriving. It can happen.*

Donald Trump used the strategy of national self-glorification to show the

positive self-presentation of his nation. He ideologically showed the positive image of

his nation as the country which had tremendous people. The statement (NS) was used

by him through his power to make the claim boarder for the ideology that US

generally have a skillful to work in particular jobs.

Donald Trump then gave an argument as the contradictive statement of what

he stated before by giving the argumentative statement (D1). He stated that even US

people were tremendous people but they were incentive to work. However, he

afterwards contradicted the first statement (D1) by stating the second argument (D2) which showed that Donald were sure that they will have spirit to work later although they at that time did not have. Those strategies were used by Donald Trump to build the ideological construction that US people will have much spirit to work. He reflected his power by giving the contradictive sentences for his arguments to make people more convinced for what he stated. By doing that, he can get trusty from people to select him as the next US president.

Furthermore, in the next sentences (R), Donald Trump repeated the statement through stating the future time to make a presupposition of what he spoke that may happen in the future. As a powerful speaker, Donald Trump easily provided the assumption to construct people's ideology as the action for people to solve the job problem. He presupposed that the job was important aspect for US. Therefore, he tried to discursively influence people through his power relation by giving the ideological concept that a lot of jobs will be the solution to solve the problems for the bad economic administration in US.

**3.1.10 Data 10**

After describing his future plan to the audiences, he then compared with other politicians' works for the bad economic situations. He blamed other countries for the recent condition of US administration. He wanted to build the concept for only him who can back the condition. Here the finding;

*I will be the greatest jobs president* (H1) *that God ever created* (H2). *I tell you that.* **I'll bring back our jobs from China, from Mexico, from Japan, from so many places. I'll bring back our jobs, and I'll bring back our money** (R).

Donald Trump wanted to show his power relation to other politician through arguments (H1&H2) that he definitely will provide the jobs for people due to his wealthy. He exaggerated his utterances by using hyperbolic sentences (H1). He discursively controlled the mind of audiences through the rhetoric strategy where he was the only person who can offer more many jobs for US people. He tried to influence the audience by giving the emphasis in sentence (H2). It (H1 & H2) was used to discursively control people's ideology that if he is selected to be President, the more many jobs will exist in US.

Moreover, he also used the strategy of repetition in the sentence (R) as the medium of portraying his power relation through giving some promises for the future good economic condition in US. He emphasized the arguments for answering the solution of trade deal in the first opening speech by stating the sentences (R). The sentence (R) was used as the systematic arrangement of the utterance in the speech to make his statements more ideologically emphasized in people's mind.

**3.1.11 Data 11**

Donald Trump wanted to show the evidences of the bad economic situation in US. He blamed to the politicians for the bad economics happened who were responsibility in managing the US job administration.

*Right now, think of this: **We owe China $1.3 trillion** (NG). **We owe Japan more than that. So they come in, they take our jobs, they take our money, and then they loan us back the money, and we pay them in interest, and then the dollar goes up so their deal's even better. How stupid are our leaders? How stupid are these politicians to allow this to happen? How stupid are they?*** (V).

Donald Trump portrayed his power relation using the strategy of number game to emphasize his statement (NG). He used his powerful position as politician to give the argument by providing a number of money as the evidence. He stated the sentence (NG) which represented US debt by providing the evidence through the number of specific money. He tried to discursively influence the audiences through his power relation that the economic conditions in US are in serious problem. Thus, he blamed for the bad actions on other countries that the problem sources for the bad economic situation in US were derived from other countries.

Moreover, Donald Trump also used the strategy of victimization to ideologically influence people's ideology through his power relation as the powerful speaker that the other politicians were less skillful than him in managing the administration. The repetitive words *"stupid"* indicated that he wanted to emphasize his argument by arguing on how the stupid the politicians who cannot solve the economic problems with other countries such as Japan, China even Mexico. Donald Trump showed the power relation using the repetitive sentence (R) which generally aimed at positioning the leaders and the politicians in the bad image of action. Hence,

he can ideologically influence people that the recent leaders were not able to lead the country.

**3.1.12 Data 12**

Donald Trump described himself as the person who definitely deserved to be US leader for improving the economic situation. He underestimated the skill of other politicians to lead America for good administration. The audiences together cheered for the statements delivered which talked about his planning to organize the tax regulation for any transactions coming from other countries.

> *Now, **here's what is going to happen. If it's not me in the position** (C), it's one of these politicians that we're running against, you know, the 400 people that we're (inaudible). And here's what's going to happen. They're not so stupid. They know it's not a good thing, and they may even be upset by it.*

Donald trump used the strategy of counterfactual to show his power relation among other politicians through the sentence (C) to make the parable for the action which was actually going to happen if he did not do it. Actually he tried to discursively establish ideological perspective that the bad economic situations happened because the politicians cannot manage the administration well. In contrary, he used the word *"if"* to make people more emphasized on his arguments that only him who can create the good economic administration.

Moreover, by stating the statement (C), he wanted to affirm that the economic situation will not be worse if he stood on that position to solve the problems immediately. He applied counterfactual tactic to ideologically make people think and imagine how if the situation was managed by Donald Trump. It may get worse than before as his argument (C). Thus, this strategy will discursively influence people's mind for that only him who can fill the position as the leader who will make the country better.

### 3.1.13 Data 13

The utterances below exposed the personal description of Donald Trump in which he wanted to show his ideological power of action in line with his wealthy. He believed that the most important factor of country was about job.

> *I'm using my own money. I'm not using the lobbyists. I'm not **using donors** (R). I don't care. I'm really rich. And by the way, I'm not even saying that in a — that's the kind of mindset, **that's the kind of thinking you need for this country** (PR).*

Donald Trump tried to convince his argument by ideologically showing his power as politician that he can solve economic problems in US because of his competence and wealthy. He used the emphasis through similar sentences (R) to portray his power relation by discursively influencing people's ideology that he guaranteed for making better economic condition in US by lobbying the trade deal with other countries.

Moreover, Donald Trump used the strategy of presupposition (PR) to maintain his power. He tried to ideologically show that he was better than other politicians who had a lot of problems in managing administration. He established the ideological concept by stating (PR) that the key to find the solution for the problems existing was through money. The strategy was used by him to emphasize his argument using his power as elite speaker to give the belief to people and to discursively influence people's mind for the ideology that his country needed to become great again.

**3.1.14 Data 14**

Donald Trump tried to show the problems happened in US administration by giving examples in order to make his statements ideologically more convinced to people.

> *We got $18 trillion in debt* (NG). *We got nothing but problems* (D). *We got a military that needs equipment all over the place. We got nuclear weapons that are obsolete* (R).

Donald Trump used the strategy of number game to strengthen his arguments by showing the number of money owed by the country. He manifested his power to discursively influence people's mind that the number of debts were the causes of economic happened in US. Donald Trump wanted to ideologically show that his country was in the bad conditions. In addition, he afterwards stated the contradictive statement (D) as the strategy to emphasize his arguments. He discursively stated (D)

for that the US government only got the problems without any advantages because of the bad economic administration.

Moreover, Donald Trump wanted to give some descriptions of problems through stating the arguments using repetitive sentence (R). He tried to ideologically build the ideological construction that many problems in US were basically under responsibility of the politicians. Thus, He ideologically controlled mind of people that the US administration were facing a lot of problems. He showed his power by arguing that the politicians were the ones who were blamed for the problems existed. Hence, through the strategy, Donald Trump discursively influenced others for the perspective where the source of problems was because of the politicians' bad competence to manage the US administration.

**3.1.15 Data 15**

Donald Trump proposed himself as a good candidate to become the next president by describing his capability in leading the US government. Even though it was an assumption but he was sure that he can solve the problem especially the economic problems using his wealthy.

> *We've got nothing.* ***We've got Social Security that's going to be destroyed if somebody like me doesn't bring money into the country*** *(C). All these other people want to cut the hell out of it. I'm not going to cut it at all; I'm going to bring money in, and we're going to save it.*

As the continuous statements of previous data (Data 14), Donald Trump used the counterfactual strategy to convince his statements (C). Donald Trump used the strategy through his power of elite speaker to ideologically show that there would be the bad condition happen if he did not do anything. He discursively influenced people's ideology that the solution for the problems happened was him. He tried to control people's belief by giving the argument for that if he was selected as President, the social security would be better than politicians do due to he provides the solution through his wealthy. It ideologically manifested the power relation that Donald Trump wanted to show that he had a lot of money for making country become rich. He showed to the audiences that his wealthy will solve every US economic problems. He discursively influenced people that he was the only one who can solve the problem existed in US.

**3.1.16 Data 16**

Donald Trump wanted to show his strength among two other candidates mentioned, Bush and Rubio. He tried to make other candidates more powerless through victimizing them by giving questions about Iraq problems. Donald Trump was hesitant to them on how they will lead this country whereas they cannot answer the simple question. He tried to delegitimize them by showing their weakness on answering that question. Here the data finding,

*And I'm the one that made all of the right predictions about Iraq*
(PR). *You know, all of these politicians that I'm running against now — it's so nice to say I'm running as opposed to if I run, if I run. I'm running.*

*But all of these politicians that I'm running against now, they're trying to disassociate. I mean, you looked at Bush, it took him five days to answer the question on Iraq. He couldn't answer the question. He didn't know. I said, "Is he intelligent?"*(V) *Then I looked at Rubio. He was unable to answer the question, is Iraq a good thing or bad thing? He didn't know. He couldn't answer the question.*

*How are these people gonna lead us? How are we gonna — how are we gonna go back and make it great again? We can't. They don't have a clue. They can't lead us. They can't. They can't even answer simple questions* (R). *It was terrible.*

In these paragraphs above, Donald Trump at first portrayed his power relation to audiences by constructing the ideological concept for which he was the only one of political candidates who can provide the right solution for what happened at that time related to Iraq deals. He used the strategy of presupposition in the sentence (PR) to deliver the ideology that he was better than other politicians because he was the only one who had the good and right predictions to answer the problems related to Iraq deals.

Moreover, Donald Trump strengthened his statements by comparing his predictions with two other politicians, Bush and Rubio. He convinced the audiences by stating that they cannot have a clue for the simple question. He used the polarization strategy which positioned himself in positive image of in-group presentation as the person who can offer the solution for Iraq deals. In contrary, he described the other politicians in negative image of out-group presentation as the

persons who cannot answer for the solution of the problem. He tried to discursively construct people's mind by showing his power relation among other politicians that they all both would not be able to lead the country because they basically didn't have the ability to provide the solutions for the problems happened in US administration especially the trade deals. He ideologically affirmed that he was a better candidate who will offer the solutions for the problems existed in US administration.

**3.1.17 Data 17**

Donald Trump gave the explanation for the problems existed related to economic crisis in US. He compared the leadership of other countries with US leaders to victimize them through the negative image presentation.

> *But Saudi Arabia is in big, big trouble. Now, thanks to fracking **and** other things, the oil is all over the place. And I used to say it, there are **ships** at sea, and this was during the worst crisis, that were loaded up with oil**, and** the cartel kept the price up, because, again, **they were smarter than our leaders. They were smarter than our leaders** (V).*

Donald Trump used the strategy of victimization to discursively influence people's mind through his power relation as the political speaker that the US administration at that time were worse than other countries like Saudi Arabia. He wanted to show that the existence of many problems connected to the economic deals came from the bad administration which was managed by the recent leaders. He ideologically positioned the leaders as the victim of many problems happened in US.

He tried to build the ideological concept to people that US leaders basically cannot manage the administration as others did. He discursively portrayed the concept on people' mind that he was the only the candidate of leader who can be smarter than other leaders from different country.

### 3.1.18 Data 18

Donald Trump gave the description of his personality to maintain his power through the positive image of his action. It generally showed his power relation by showing his capability as the politician.

> *I said, "I don't know." I said, **"I think that number one, I am a nice person. I give a lot of money away to charities and other things. I think I'm actually a very nice person."** (PR1)*

> ***Number two, I'm a private company, so nobody knows what I'm worth** (PR2). And the one thing is that when you run, you have to announce and certify to all sorts of governmental authorities your net worth.*

Donald Trump ideologically presupposed himself as a nice person. He used the strategy of presupposition to discursively create a positive image to audience that he would be a good American leader. He built the ideological concept using his power as elite speaker through stating the utterance (PR1) that he was a sort of nice person who gave people the jobs and works. The sentences (PR1) were used by him

as the instrument to discursively influence people that he can make American became

prosperous due to his wealthy to solve the problems.

Moreover, Donald Trump again showed his power relation by stating the

sentence (PR2). He ideologically presupposed that he was the worth person who

principally deserved to be a leader. He exposed his skill to emphasize his arguments

that he was the one who can organize and manage the administration well by creating

the good link toward other countries. In addition, Donald Trump intended that people

did not need to be worry to put their belief on him. He showed the ideology that he

would be able to organize US government because he had many links to make the

jobs networks for all people.

**3.1.19 Data 19**

Donald Trump wanted to make people believe on him for leading the country

by giving the example on the action that he has provided many jobs to US people.

> *I've employed — **I've employed tens of thousands of people** (NG)*
> *over my lifetime. **That means medical. That means education. That means***
> ***everything** (R).*

Donald Trump used his power relation as elite person to discursively

influence people's mind that he can provide many jobs to US people.  He offered the

evidence to strongly deliver his argument that he has employed many people. He

ideologically built the concept that he will provide a lot of jobs for people where it

will be larger than the politicians did. He convinced the hearer that he would provide

many jobs. In addition, he used the repetitive sentences to emphasize his arguments that the existence of jobs will led the other sectors well as he mentioned *"medical, education and everything"*. The repetitive sentences (R) manifested his power as the one who can provide the jobs as the solution of economic situation.

### 3.1.20 Data 20

Donald Trump showed the bad action of other politicians as negative out-group presentation to make people convinced for his utterances. He victimized and humiliated others to ease his strategy persuading people. He repeated the sentence to emphasize the purpose of his utterances.

> *We have losers. We have losers* (G). *We have people that don't have it. We have people that are morally corrupt. We have people that are selling this country down the drain* (R).

Donald Trump used the strategy of generalization to delegitimize the position of politicians as the victim of negative action. He generalized the politicians as *"losers"* for the ones who individually have sold the country's interest. He used his power relation as the powerful speaker who can decide the content of utterances to ideologically influence and to stereotype the other politicians by stating the offensive word *"losers"*. Donald Trump also used the repetitive sentence (R) to make him more powerful than the other politicians by ideologically influencing the audiences' mind through stating negative image of the politicians which they cannot manage the

country at all. He covered the bad actions of out-group presentation in the word

***"losers".***

**3.1.21 Data 21**

Donald Trump talked about the promises to rebuild the great America. He gave some promises to audiences for the better US future. He believed in his ability to manage the better administration than previous leaders. In addition, Donald Trump wanted to show that he can back the greatness of America from the economic crisis caused by some countries in trade economic deals.

> *So, just to sum up, I would do various things very quickly. **I would repeal and replace the big lie, Obamacare. I would build a great wall, and nobody builds walls better than me, believe me, and I'll build them very inexpensively, I will build a great, great wall on our southern border And I will have Mexico pay for that wall*** (R).

Donald Trump used the repetitive sentences (R) to manifest his power relation by stating some promises to make America great again. He used the strategy to ideologically emphasize the statement that he will do anything to make the American became better. He discursively manifested his power through stating *"nobody builds walls better than me"* to make him more powerful than president Obama. The sentence *"I will have Mexico pay for that wall"* became the answer on what he spoke in the first speech where he blamed Mexican for the many problems and crimes existed in US. Donald Trump ideologically stated that Mexicans were banned to come in US since he will build great wall in the southern border.

### 3.1.22 Data 22

Donald Trump described the two other candidates through positioning them in out-group presentation for the negative image of actions. He tried to delegitimize the candidates to make him more powerful as the presidential candidates.

> *Now, it's very interesting. Today I heard it. Through stupidity, in a very, very hard core prison, interestingly named Clinton, two **vicious murderers** (G), two vicious people escaped, and nobody knows where they are.*
>
> *Common Core should — it is a disaster. Bush is totally in favor of Common Core. I don't see how he can possibly get the nomination. **He's weak on immigration** (V). **He's in favor of Common Core. How the hell can you vote for this guy?** (PR) You just can't do it.*

Donald Trump firstly showed his power relation to Clinton by making claim border for the negative action. He used the term (G) as the strategy to manifest his power by discursively influencing people's ideology that the other presidential candidates, Clinton and his husband, were the ones who cannot lead the country. Donald Trump delegitimized them for the bad action aimed to control people's mind that he was better than them in leading US country in the future.

Moreover, Donald Trump used his power relation as an elite speaker to victimize others by stating the utterance (V) which made them became more powerless as the victim of negative action. Donald Trump also used the strategy of presupposition (PR) to discursively make the claim border in negative perspective that the other presidential candidate, Jeb Bush, did not deserve to be a US leader due

to his weakness of managing the administration. The offensive expression **"*what the*** **hell"** was also used by Donald Trump to disparage and to underestimate Bush. He used his power relation as political speaker who freely decided the utterance to make Bush powerless as the one who was not skillful in managing the sector of immigration. It was the way for Donald Trump to make Bush less powerful in people's perspective through discursively influencing people that he did not deserve to be a leader in US.

**3.1.23 Data 23**

Donald Trump gave the comparison between his plan and other candidates to make him more powerful in people's perspective. He showed that only him who can do the action for leading the country, especially, for the infrastructure.

> *We have to end — education has to be local. Rebuild the country's infrastructure. Nobody can do that like me. Believe me. It will be done on time, on budget, way below cost, way below what anyone ever thought.* ***I look at the roads being built all over the country, and I say I can build those things for one-third. What they do is unbelievable, how bad*** (PO).

Donald Trump used the polarization strategy to compare between his action and the other candidates' action. He used the strategy as the way to reflect his power by ideologically giving the comparison (PO) that he was better than other politicians. The comparison was described by positioning him as the in-group presentation for the positive image of action. Donald Trump here was represented as **"*us*"** who had more powerful position to build the infrastructure better than other candidates. In contrary,

the other candidates were positioned as out-group presentation for the negative image of action. The other candidates were discursively represented as *"they"* who had less power where they cannot do more than Donald did in building the infrastructure. Therefore, Donald Trump tried to discursively delegitimize the other candidates using his power relation through discursively influencing people's ideology that they were not more skillful than him to lead US country.

### 3.1. Data 24

Donald Trump in the end of his speech delivered the statements to give strong emphasis on his arguments to make America become great again.

> *Sadly, the American dream is dead* (V)(H)(D1). *But if I get elected president I will bring it back bigger and better and stronger than ever before, and we will make America great again* (D2).

Donald Trump tried to emphasize his arguments in rebuilding America through discursively exaggerating and victimizing the image of nation. He ideologically showed that the dream of American was dead. He stated that US country had no chance to rebuild again because the dream was destroyed. The power relation applied by him as the politician who had powerful position to discursively influence and control people's ideology that America will not be great as before.

However, Donald Trump afterwards contradicted his first statement (D1) by giving the second statement (D2). He used the strategy of polarization to convince his first statement (D1). He principally influenced the audiences' ideology by giving the

statement that the America dream can be rebuilt only by him due to he will make America bigger, better, and stronger than before as stated in (D2). Through the second statement, Donald Trump convinced his arguments by giving the promise that he will make American dream back to his nation as his promise to all US people.

**3.2 Discussions**

The findings above show that the discursive strategies of power relation were used by Donald Trump to delegitimize other people, to victimize the other politicians, and to discriminate other races which principally aimed to manifest the ideological construction that he was more powerful than others. Donald Trump as the elite speaker wanted to show his power to make other candidates became powerless through describing them for the bad action. He tried to downgrade the other politicians' image by positioning them in negative out-group presentation as the victim for certain problem. He manifested his power by discursively influencing people's mind through the discourse structures of the speech.

Donald Trump used the positive strategy and negative strategy of self-presentation. He generally used the negative self-presentation to make others became more powerless by building the bad image to people through ideological construction. Besides, he sometimes used the positive self-presentation to emphasize people's belief by delivering the good presupposition for future action and the promise to US country. Moreover, it was found that the victimization strategy was the most negative

strategy used by Donald Trump to downgrade others' positions as the victim of bad action happened in certain time. Presupposition strategy then became the most strategy of positive self-presentation used by Donald Trump to show the positive image of action. He constructed the ideological perspective by describing his personal competence to people as he can do what other politicians cannot do.

The discourse structures as the instrument of power relation in Donald Trump's speech are categorized into three discourse structures (van Dijk, 1998). The macrostructure of discourse as the thematic units of speech were produced by Donald Trump to present the topic of the speech which talked about the economic problems in US administration. It showed the weakness of other politicians who cannot manage the US economic administration well.

The power relation which was portrayed through discourse superstructure as the schematic arrangement organizing the topics was conveyed by Donald Trump in some arrangements. First, Donald Trump opened the speech by stating the theme which talked about the economic problems as stated in data 2. He opened the beginning of the speech by showing the trade deal problems among other countries consist of China and Japan even Mexico. Second, Donald Trump delivered systematically the substance of the speech by showing many points for economic problems involve assumptions and facts which were presented in the middle of speech. Third, Donald Trump closed the speech by giving the promises for better economic condition in US.

Power relation of discourse microstructure as the structural units of the speech were manifested in some categories. First, the word structures which were mostly produced by Donald Trump to delegitimize even to underestimate others, for instance the word *"Obamacare"* in data 6 which showed that Donald Trump described the President as the big liar called as Obamacare. That means it was used by Donald Trump to delegitimize the power relation of President by discursively delivering the word *"Obamacare"* to the audiences. Second, the phrase structures were often produced by Donald Trump to emphasize his statement, for instance the phrase *"Dumping ground"* in data 3 which aimed to discursively convince his argument for the reader that US at that time became a place for other countries' problems. Third, the sentence structures were generally used by Donald Trump to manifest his power toward others by stating the arguments, assumptions and evidences, for instance the sentence *"I will be the greatest jobs president that God ever created"* which showed that Donald Trump wanted to portray his power as elite person who can provide many jobs for US people. He built the ideological construction that he was the only one who can provide many jobs. Through that ideology, he discursively influenced the audiences' mind for the many jobs he can offer for them. Fourth, the rhetoric expressions were often used by Donald Trump to convince his arguments, for instance the utterance *"the American dream is dead"* in data 24 which showed that Donald Trump wanted to emphasize the argument that the dream of American was dead. He discursively portrayed the ideological mindset to the audiences that the American dream could not be rebuilt again. Therefore, the discourse structures cannot

be separated in one category because they support each other in organizing the utterances and its meanings to discursively manifest the power relation through the ideological construction in people's mind.

Furthermore, Donald Trump sometimes used his power relation to underestimate even to discriminate others by stating the offensive statements which were not morally acceptable, for instance he stated that the Mexican people only bring the problem to his country as he called them as the word "*the rapist*" in data 4. The word "*rapist*" was presented to refer to the Mexicans as the blame for the problems in US. Donald Trump generalized the Mexicans as the out-group presentation viewed in negative image of action in order to build the ideological concept that the Mexicans were the rapists who deserved to be blamed for many problems and crimes existed in US. In addition, Donald Trump used his power of elite speaker who can freely decide the discourse structure of the text to presuppose the statement that was not necessarily right. He conveyed the assumption which made him more powerful by victimizing other people, for instance when he described the politicians as the ones who could not manage administration, through stating the sentence in the data 7 "*politicians are all talk, no action*".

The discourse structure theoretically cannot be separated from the discursive strategy as the way people influence and control the other's mind through ideological construction. According to van Dijk (2001) discursive strategy is the concept of ideological construction to control people's mind and belief. The elite speakers as the

ones who have power to speak will select the discourse structures to become his medium to discursively influence others' mind and belief. Therefore, if the researcher wants to reveal the use of ideological construction, it should be analyzed by using discursive strategy through discourse structures of text.

This research provides more complete analysis on the way the speaker, Donald Trump, influences and controls people's ideology to manifest and to portray the power relation through the discursive strategy of the three discourse structures include microstructure, superstructure and microstructure as stated above. In conclusion, the power relation was reflected by Donald Trump by using the discursive strategy of discourse structure as the strategy to discursively influence the audiences' ideology during the speech. The use of power relation was generally used by him to delegitimize people and politicians even the races such as Mexican and Arab as the negative out-group presentation. He used the strategy of discursive to ideologically control people's mindset through the discourse structure of the text in his speech.

# CHAPTER IV

# CONCLUSION AND SUGGESTION

This chapter presents the conclusion and suggestion of the study. It concludes the data findings in previous chapter to answer the research problem. It also provides suggestion for the reader, principally the next researcher who want to conduct the similar research or to continue this study.

## 4.1 Conclusion

From the data analysis, power relation is effectively analyzed using Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) theory because it uncovers the way how Donald Trump as political speaker portrays his power relation to people who are less powerful. Through his position as powerful speaker, Donald Trump discursively influences and controls people as the hearer to follow his ideological construction.

Donald Trump uses the discursive strategy as the way he reflects the power relation using the instrument, the discourse structures in the speech which include topic meaning, schema and structural units of text. Discursive strategy of power control becomes significant way of Donald Trump to portray his power relation by making people convinced for what he speaks through the discourse structure of speech. Thus, the discourse structures are used by Donald Trump to discursively express his ideologies towards others. First, the topic of speech which influences

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people on what they sees and views from the speech. Second, the sequences of utterances which create the systematic arrangement of utterance produced in the speech for the beginning, substance and conclusion to organize the topic. Third, structural discourse involves word, phrase, and sentence also rhetorical expression which establish the ideological mindset for his position of powerful speaker. Therefore, the use of power relation in Donald Trump's speech principally is to make others involves people, politicians and other races become more powerless trough delegitimizing, underestimating, and even stereotyping them in the negative perspective of out-group presentation.

## 4.2 Suggestion

From the conclusion, the result of this research is useful to discuss because it gives more understanding to people who are interested in linguistic field. This research hopefully gives more valuable information and advantages for the linguistic area particularly, in the area of critical discourse analysis (CDA).

It is suggested for the next researchers who conduct the similar research on CDA to investigate the language phenomena related to power relation portrayed in

(a) Media discourse such as news and advertisement which may bring the indication of power relation reflected by the journalist when he says or writes for the news to influence the readers or hearers.

(b) Educational or scholarly discourse such as class meeting and seminar which probably indicate the power relation manifested by teacher or professor to control the students.

(c) Legal discourse such as law press and court session which possibly produce the power relation portrayed by the judges to influence the audiences.

Those types of discourse may manifest the power relation to people which sometimes indicates the dominance, discrimination, stereotyping called as power hegemony. It is useful to be conducted as it will develop theory of CDA especially the analysis of power relation.

Moreover, it is also suggested for further researcher to conduct the research using other newest theories of CDA such as Scollon and Scollon's theory (2001) because it analyzes the utterances through mediated discourse analysis as the analysis of the action which is represented through the text. It concerns more on the linguistic ethnography used by some people in social practices. Also the next researcher can use Wodak's theory (1996) which focuses on CDA discourse sociolinguistics as the analysis to uncover the variety of social issues in social practices such as racism and sexism through the use of discourse. Hence, it hopefully can provide and broaden the new analysis of CDA's theory for the future.

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# APPENDIX

**1. Table of data in Donald Trump's campaign speech**

| NO | DATA | NS | G | D | E | M | C | PR | V | PO | H | NG | R |
|----|------|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|
| 1 | Data 1 | | | | | √ | | | | | | | |
| 2 | Data 2 | | | √ | | | | | | | | | √ |
| 3 | Data 3 | | | √ | | | | | √ | | √ | | |
| 4 | Data 4 | | √ | | | | | | | | | | √ |
| 5 | Data 5 | | | | | | | √ | | | | | √ |
| 6 | Data 6 | | | | √ | | | | √ | | | √ | |
| 7 | Data 7 | | | | | | | √ | √ | | | | |
| 8 | Data 8 | | | | | | | √ | | | | | |
| 9 | Data 9 | √ | | √ | | | | | | | | | √ |
| 10 | Data 10 | | | | | | | | | | √ | | √ |
| 11 | Data 11 | | | | | | | | √ | | | √ | |
| 12 | Data 12 | | | | | | √ | | | | | | |
| 13 | Data 13 | | | | | | | √ | | | | | √ |
| 14 | Data 14 | | | √ | | | | | | | | √ | √ |
| 15 | Data 15 | | | | | | √ | | | | | | |
| 16 | Data 16 | | | | | | | √ | √ | | | | √ |
| 17 | Data 17 | | | | | | | | √ | | | | |
| 18 | Data 18 | | | | | | | √ | | | | | |
| 19 | Data 19 | | | | | | | | | | | √ | √ |
| 20 | Data 20 | | √ | | | | | | | | | | √ |
| 21 | Data 21 | | | | | | | | | | | | √ |
| 22 | Data 22 | | √ | | | | | √ | √ | | | | |
| 23 | Data 23 | | | | | | | | | √ | | | |
| 24 | Data 24 | | | √ | | | | | √ | | √ | | |
| Total | | 1 | 3 | 5 | 1 | 1 | 2 | 7 | 8 | 1 | 3 | 4 | 11 |

# TABLE OF DATA

| NO | DATA | UTTERANCES | NS | G | D | E | M | C | PR | V | PO | H | NG | R |
|----|------|------------|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|
| 1 | Data 1 | And, I can tell, some of the candidates, they went in. They didn't know the air-conditioner didn't work. **They sweated like dogs (M).** They didn't know the room was too big, because they didn't have anybody there. How are they going to beat ISIS? I don't think it's gonna happen. | | | | | √ | | | | | | | |
| 2 | Data 2 | Our country is in serious trouble. We don't have victories anymore. **We used to have victories (D1), but we don't have them (D2).** When was the last time anybody saw us beating, let's say, China in a trade deal? They kill us. **I beat China all the time. All the time (R).** When did we beat Japan at anything? They send their cars over by the millions, and what do we do? When was the last time you saw a Chevrolet in Tokyo? It doesn't exist, folks. They beat us all the time. | | | √ | | | | | | | | | √ |
| 3 | Data 3 | When do we beat Mexico at the border. They're laughing at us, **at our stupidity (V).** And now they are beating us | | | √ | | | | | √ | | √ | | |

| | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | economically. **They are not our friend, (D1) believe me. But they're killing us economically (D2).** The U.S. has become a **dumping ground (H)** for everybody else's problems. | | √ | | | | | | | | | | |
| 4 | Data 4 | Thank you. It's true, and these are the best and the finest. **When Mexico sends its people, they're not sending their best. They're not sending you. They're not sending you. They're sending people that have lots of problems (R1), and they're bringing those problems with us. They're bringing drugs. They're bringing crime (R2).** They're **rapists (G).** And some, I assume, are good people. | | √ | | | | | | | | | | √ |
| 5 | Data 5 | But I speak to border guards and they tell us what we're getting. And it only makes common sense. It only makes common sense. They're sending us not the right people. **It's coming from more than Mexico. It's coming from all over South and Latin America (R) and it's coming probably — probably — from the Middle East (PR).** But we don't know. Because we have no protection and we have no competence, we don't know what's happening. And it's got to stop and it's got | | | | | | | √ | | | | | √ |

| No | Data | Text | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|----|------|------|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | to stop fast. | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 6 | Data 6 | We have a disaster called the big lie: **Obamacare. Obamacare (V).** Yesterday, it came out that costs are going for people up 29, 39, 49, and even 55 percent, and deductibles are through the roof. You have to be hit by a tractor, literally, a tractor, to use it, because the deductibles are so high, it's virtually useless. It's virtually useless. It is a disaster. **And remember the $5 billion Web site? $5 billion we spent on a Web site, and to this day it doesn't work (E) (NG).** A $5 billion Web site. I have so many Web sites, I have them all over the place. I hire people, they do a Web site. It costs me $3. $5 billion Web site. | | | √ | | | | | √ | | | | √ | | | |
| 7 | Data 7 | Well, you need somebody, **because politicians are all talk, no action (V).** Nothing's gonna get done. **They will not bring us — believe me (PR) —** to the promised land. They will not. | | | | | | | √ | √ | | | | | | | |
| 8 | Data 8 | So I've watched the politicians. I've dealt with them all my life. If you can't make a good deal with a politician, then there's something wrong with you. You're certainly not very good. And that's what we | | | | | | | √ | √ | | | | | | | |

| No | Data | Text | | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | have representing us. **They will never make America great again (PR1). They don't even have a chance (PR2).** They're controlled fully — they're controlled fully by the lobbyists, by the donors, and by the special interests, fully. | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 9 | Data 9 | It can happen. **Our country has tremendous potential (NS).** We have tremendous people**.** We have people that aren't working. **We have people that have no incentive to work (D1). But they're going to have incentive to work (D2)**, because the greatest social program is a job. **And they'll be proud, and they'll love it, and they'll make much more than they would've ever made, and they'll be — they'll (R)** be doing so well, and we're going to be thriving as a country, thriving. It can happen. | √ | | √ | | | | | | | | √ |
| 10 | Data 10 | **I will be the greatest jobs president (H1) that God ever created (H2).** I tell you that. **I'll bring back our jobs from China, from Mexico, from Japan, from so many places. I'll bring back our jobs, and I'll bring back our money (R).** | | | | | | | | | | √ | | √ |

| No | Data | Text | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|----|------|------|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 11 | Data 11 | Right now, think of this: **We owe China \$1.3 trillion (NG). We owe Japan more than that. So they come in, they take our jobs, they take our money, and then they loan us back the money, and we pay them in interest, and then the dollar goes up so their deal's even better. How stupid are our leaders? How stupid are these politicians to allow this to happen? How stupid are they? (V).** | | | | | | | √ | | | √ | | |
| 12 | Data 12 | Now, **here's what is going to happen. If it's not me in the position (C)**, it's one of these politicians that we're running against, you know, the 400 people that we're (inaudible). And here's what's going to happen. They're not so stupid. They know it's not a good thing, and they may even be upset by it. | | | | | | √ | | | | | | |
| 13 | Data 13 | **I'm using my own money. I'm not using the lobbyists. I'm not using donors (R)**. I don't care. I'm really rich. And by the way, I'm not even saying that in a — that's the kind of mindset, **that's the kind of thinking you need for this country (PR).** | | | | | | √ | | | | | √ |

| No | Data | Text | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 14 | Data 14 | **We got $18 trillion in debt (NG). We got nothing but problems (D). We got a military that needs equipment all over the place. We got nuclear weapons that are obsolete (R).** | | √ | | | | | | | | | | | | √ | √ |
| 15 | Data 15 | We've got nothing. **We've got Social Security that's going to be destroyed if somebody like me doesn't bring money into the country (C).** All these other people want to cut the hell out of it. I'm not going to cut it at all; I'm going to bring money in, and we're going to save it. | | | | | | √ | | | | | | | | | |
| 16 | Data 16 | **And I'm the one that made all of the right predictions about Iraq (PR).** You know, all of these politicians that I'm running against now — it's so nice to say I'm running as opposed to if I run, if I run. I'm running.<br><br>But all of these politicians that I'm running against now, they're trying to disassociate. I mean, you looked at Bush, it took him five days to answer the question on Iraq. He couldn't answer the question. He didn't know. I said, **"Is he intelligent?"(V)** Then I looked at Rubio. | | | | | | √ | √ | | | | | | √ |

| | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | He was unable to answer the question, is Iraq a good thing or bad thing? He didn't know. He couldn't answer the question.<br><br>How are these people gonna lead us? How are we gonna — how are we gonna go back and make it great again? We can't. They don't have a clue. **They can't lead us. They can't. They can't even answer simple questions (R).** It was terrible. | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 17 | Data 17 | But Saudi Arabia is in big, big trouble. Now, thanks to fracking and other things, the oil is all over the place. And I used to say it, there are ships at sea, and this was during the worst crisis, that were loaded up with oil, and the cartel kept the price up, because, again, **they were smarter than our leaders. They were smarter than our leaders (V).** | | | | | | √ | | | | | | |
| 18 | Data 18 | I said, "I don't know." I said, **"I think that number one, I am a nice person. I give a lot of money away to charities and other things. I think I'm actually a very nice person." (PR1)**<br><br>**Number two, I'm a private company, so nobody knows what I'm** | | | | | | √ | | | | | | |

| No | Data | Utterance | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | worth **(PR2)**. And the one thing is that when you run, you have to announce and certify to all sorts of governmental authorities your net worth. | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 19 | Data 19 | I've employed — **I've employed tens of thousands of people (NG)** over my lifetime. **That means medical. That means education. That means everything (R).** | | | | | | | | | | | √ | √ |
| 20 | Data 20 | **We have losers. We have losers (G). We have people that don't have it. We have people that are morally corrupt. We have people that are selling this country down the drain (R).** | √ | | | | | | | | | | | √ |
| 21 | Data 21 | So, just to sum up, I would do various things very quickly. **I would repeal and replace the big lie, Obamacare. I would build a great wall, and nobody builds walls better than me, believe me, and I'll build them very inexpensively, I will build a great, great wall on our southern border And I will have Mexico pay for that wall (R).** | | | | | | | | | | | | √ |

| No | | Data | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 22 | Data 22 | Now, it's very interesting. Today I heard it. Through stupidity, in a very, very hard core prison, interestingly named Clinton, two **vicious murderers (G),** two vicious people escaped, and nobody knows where they are.<br><br>Common Core should — it is a disaster. Bush is totally in favor of Common Core. I don't see how he can possibly get the nomination. **He's weak on immigration (V).  He's in favor of Common Core. How the hell can you vote for this guy? (PR)** You just can't do it. | √ | | | | | | √ | √ | | | | |
| 23 | Data 23 | We have to end — education has to be local. Rebuild the country's infrastructure. Nobody can do that like me. Believe me. It will be done on time, on budget, way below cost, way below what anyone ever thought. I look at the roads being built all over the country, and **I say I can build those things for one-third. What they do is unbelievable, how bad (PO).** | | | | | | | | √ | | | | |

| No | Data | Utterance | NS | G | D | E | M | C | PR | V | PO | H | NG | R |
|----|------|-----------|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|
| 24 | Data 24 | **Sadly, the American dream is dead (V)(H)(D1). But if I get elected president I will bring it back bigger and better and stronger than ever before, and we will make America great again (D2).** | | | √ | | | | | √ | | √ | | |
| Total | | | 1 | 3 | 5 | 1 | 1 | 2 | 7 | 8 | 1 | 3 | 4 | 11 |

**Notes:**

1. NS = National self-glorification
2. G = Generalization
3. D = Disclaimer
4. E = Evidentiality
5. M = Metaphor
6. C = Counterfactual
7. PR = Presupposition
8. V = Victimization
9. PO = Polarization
10. H = Hyperbole
11. NG = Number Game
12. R = Repetition

**2. Script of Donald Trump's campaign speech**

Donald Trump on Tuesday announced he was running for president in 2016, a move that threatens to upend the already crowded Republican primary field. In his speech, Mr. Trump offered a blistering critique of the Obama administration and of politicians in general. He promised to "build a great, great wall" on the Mexican border, and present a tougher negotiating position with China. Here is the full transcript, as provided by Federal News Service (www.fednews.com).

\* \* \*

TRUMP: Wow. Whoa. That is some group of people. Thousands.

So nice, thank you very much. That's really nice. Thank you. It's great to be at Trump Tower. It's great to be in a wonderful city, New York. And it's an honor to have everybody here. This is beyond anybody's expectations. There's been no crowd like this.

And, I can tell, some of the candidates, they went in. They didn't know the air-conditioner didn't work. They sweated like dogs.

(LAUGHTER)

They didn't know the room was too big, because they didn't have anybody there. How are they going to beat ISIS? I don't think it's gonna happen.

(APPLAUSE)

Our country is in serious trouble. We don't have victories anymore. We used to have victories, but we don't have them. When was the last time anybody saw us beating, let's say, China in a trade deal? They kill us. I beat China all the time. All the time.

(APPLAUSE)

AUDIENCE MEMBER: We want Trump. We want Trump.

TRUMP: When did we beat Japan at anything? They send their cars over by the millions, and what do we do? When was the last time you saw a Chevrolet in Tokyo? It doesn't exist, folks. They beat us all the time.

When do we beat Mexico at the border? They're laughing at us, at our stupidity. And now they are beating us economically. They are not our friend, believe me. But they're killing us economically.

The U.S. has become a dumping ground for everybody else's problems.

(APPLAUSE)

Thank you. It's true, and these are the best and the finest. When Mexico sends its people, they're not sending their best. They're not sending you. They're not sending you. They're sending people that have lots of problems, and they're bringing those problems with us. They're bringing drugs. They're bringing crime. They're rapists. And some, I assume, are good people.

But I speak to border guards and they tell us what we're getting. And it only makes common sense. It only makes common sense. They're sending us not the right people.

It's coming from more than Mexico. It's coming from all over South and Latin America, and it's coming probably — probably — from the Middle East. But we don't know. Because we have no protection and we have no competence, we don't know what's happening. And it's got to stop and it's got to stop fast.(APPLAUSE)

TRUMP: Islamic terrorism is eating up large portions of the Middle East. They've become rich. I'm in competition with them.

They just built a hotel in Syria. Can you believe this? They built a hotel. When I have to build a hotel, I pay interest. They don't have to pay interest, because they took the oil that, when we left Iraq, I said we should've taken.

So now ISIS has the oil, and what they don't have, Iran has. And in 19 — and I will tell you this, and I said it very strongly, years ago, I said — and I love the military, and I want to have the strongest military that we've ever had, and we need it more now than ever. But I said, "Don't hit Iraq," because you're going to totally destabilize the Middle East. Iran is going to take over the Middle East, Iran and somebody else will get the oil, and it turned out that Iran is now taking over Iraq. Think of it. Iran is taking over Iraq, and they're taking it over big league.

We spent $2 trillion in Iraq, $2 trillion. We lost thousands of lives, thousands in Iraq. We have wounded soldiers, who I love, I love — they're great — all over the place, thousands and thousands of wounded soldiers.

And we have nothing. We can't even go there. We have nothing. And every time we give Iraq equipment, the first time a bullet goes off in the air, they leave it.

Last week, I read 2,300 Humvees — these are big vehicles — were left behind for the enemy. 2,000? You would say maybe two, maybe four? 2,300 sophisticated vehicles, they ran, and the enemy took them.

AUDIENCE MEMBER: We need Trump now.

TRUMP: You're right.

(APPLAUSE)

AUDIENCE MEMBER: We need Trump now.

TRUMP: Last quarter, it was just announced our gross domestic product — a sign of strength, right? But not for us. It was below zero. Whoever heard of this? It's never below zero.

Our labor participation rate was the worst since 1978. But think of it, GDP below zero, horrible labor participation rate.

And our real unemployment is anywhere from 18 to 20 percent. Don't believe the 5.6. Don't believe it.

That's right. A lot of people up there can't get jobs. They can't get jobs, because there are no jobs, because China has our jobs and Mexico has our jobs. They all have jobs.

But the real number, the real number is anywhere from 18 to 19 and maybe even 21 percent, and nobody talks about it, because it's a statistic that's full of nonsense.

AUDIENCE MEMBER: We want Trump now.

TRUMP: Our enemies are getting stronger and stronger by the way, and we as a country are getting weaker. Even our nuclear arsenal doesn't work.

It came out recently they have equipment that is 30 years old. They don't know if it worked. And I thought it was horrible when it was broadcast on television, because boy, does that send signals to Putin and all of the other people that look at us and they say, "That is a group of people, and that is a nation that truly has no clue. They don't know what they're doing. They don't know what they're doing."

AUDIENCE MEMBER: We need Trump now.

(APPLAUSE)

TRUMP: We have a disaster called the big lie: Obamacare. Obamacare.

Yesterday, it came out that costs are going for people up 29, 39, 49, and even 55 percent, and deductibles are through the roof. You have to be hit by a tractor, literally, a tractor, to use it, because the deductibles are so high, it's virtually useless. It's virtually useless. It is a disaster.TRUMP: And remember the $5 billion Web site? $5 billion we spent on a Web site, and to this day it doesn't work. A $5 billion Web site.

I have so many Web sites, I have them all over the place. I hire people, they do a Web site. It costs me $3. $5 billion Web site.

(APPLAUSE)

AUDIENCE: We want Trump. We want Trump. We want Trump. We want Trump.

TRUMP: Well, you need somebody, because politicians are all talk, no action. Nothing's gonna get done. They will not bring us — believe me — to the promised land. They will not.

As an example, I've been on the circuit making speeches, and I hear my fellow Republicans. And they're wonderful people. I like them. They all want me to support them. They don't know how to bring it about. They come up to my office. I'm meeting with three of them in the next week. And they don't know — "Are you running? Are you not running? Could we have your support? What do we do? How do we do it?"

I like them. And I hear their speeches. And they don't talk jobs and they don't talk China. When was the last time you heard China is killing us? They're devaluing their currency to a level that you wouldn't believe. It makes it impossible for our companies to compete, impossible. They're killing us.

But you don't hear that from anybody else. You don't hear it from anybody else. And I watch the speeches.

AUDIENCE MEMBER: No more free (inaudible).

TRUMP: Thank you.

I watch the speeches of these people, and they say the sun will rise, the moon will set, all sorts of wonderful things will happen. And people are saying, "What's going on? I just want a job. Just get me a job. I don't need the rhetoric. I want a job."

And that's what's happening. And it's going to get worse, because remember, Obamacare really kicks in in '16, 2016. Obama is going to be out playing golf. He might be on one of my courses. I would invite him, I actually would say. I have the best courses in the world, so I'd say, you what, if he wants to — I have one right next to the White House, right on the Potomac. If he'd like to play, that's fine.

(APPLAUSE)

In fact, I'd love him to leave early and play, that would be a very good thing.

(LAUGHTER)

But Obamacare kicks in in 2016. Really big league. It is going to be amazingly destructive. Doctors are quitting. I have a friend who's a doctor, and he said to me the other day, "Donald, I never saw anything like it. I have more accountants than I have nurses. It's a disaster. My patients are beside themselves. They had a plan that was good. They have no plan now."

We have to repeal Obamacare, and it can be — and — and it can be replaced with something much better for everybody. Let it be for everybody. But much better and much less expensive for people and for the government. And we can do it.

(APPLAUSE)

AUDIENCE: Trump. Trump. Trump. Trump. Trump. Trump.

TRUMP: So I've watched the politicians. I've dealt with them all my life. If you can't make a good deal with a politician, then there's something wrong with you. You're certainly not very good. And that's what we have= representing us. They will never make America great again. They don't even have a chance. They're controlled fully — they're controlled fully by the lobbyists, by the donors, and by the special interests, fully.

Yes, they control them. Hey, I have lobbyists. I have to tell you. I have lobbyists that can produce anything for me. They're great. But you know what? it won't happen. It won't happen. Because we have to stop doing things for some people, but for this country, it's destroying our country. We have to stop, and it has to stop now.

AUDIENCE: It needs Trump.

TRUMP: Now, our country needs — our country needs a truly great leader, and we need a truly great leader now. We need a leader that wrote "The Art of the Deal."

AUDIENCE MEMBER: Yes.

TRUMP: We need a leader that can bring back our jobs, can bring back our manufacturing, can bring back our military, can take care of our vets. Our vets have been abandoned.

(APPLAUSE)

And we also need a cheerleader.

You know, when President Obama was elected, I said, "Well, the one thing, I think he'll do well. I think he'll be a great cheerleader for the country. I think he'd be a great spirit."

He was vibrant. He was young. I really thought that he would be a great cheerleader.

AUDIENCE MEMBER: But not a leader.

TRUMP: He's not a leader. That's true. You're right about that.

But he wasn't a cheerleader. He's actually a negative force. He's been a negative force. He wasn't a cheerleader; he was the opposite.

We need somebody that can take the brand of the United States and make it great again. It's not great again.

(APPLAUSE)

We need — we need somebody — we need somebody that literally will take this country and make it great again. We can do that.

(APPLAUSE)

And, I will tell you, I love my life. I have a wonderful family. They're saying, "Dad, you're going to do something that's going to be so tough."

You know, all of my life, I've heard that a truly successful person, a really, really successful person and even modestly successful cannot run for public office. Just

can't happen. And yet that's the kind of mindset that you need to make this country great again.

So ladies and gentlemen…

(APPLAUSE)

I am officially running…

(APPLAUSE)

… for president of the United States, and we are going to make our country great again.

(APPLAUSE)

It can happen. Our country has tremendous potential. We have tremendous people.

We have people that aren't working. We have people that have no incentive to work. But they're going to have incentive to work, because the greatest social program is a job. And they'll be proud, and they'll love it, and they'll make much more than they would've ever made, and they'll be — they'll be doing so well, and we're going to be thriving as a country, thriving. It can happen.

(APPLAUSE)

I will be the greatest jobs president that God ever created. I tell you that.

(APPLAUSE)

I'll bring back our jobs from China, from Mexico, from Japan, from so many places. I'll bring back our jobs, and I'll bring back our money.

Right now, think of this: We owe China $1.3 trillion. We owe Japan more than that. So they come in, they take our jobs, they take our money, and then they loan us back the money, and we pay them in interest, and then the dollar goes up so their deal's even better.

How stupid are our leaders? How stupid are these politicians to allow this to happen? How stupid are they?

(APPLAUSE)

I'm going to tell you — thank you. I'm going to tell you a couple of stories about trade, because I'm totally against the trade bill for a number of reasons.

Number one, the people negotiating don't have a clue. Our president doesn't have a clue. He's a bad negotiator.

He's the one that did Bergdahl. We get Bergdahl, they get five killer terrorists that everybody wanted over there.

We get Bergdahl. We get a traitor. We get a no-good traitor, and they get the five people that they wanted for years, and those people are now back on the battlefield trying to kill us. That's the negotiator we have.

Take a look at the deal he's making with Iran. He makes that deal, Israel maybe won't exist very long. It's a disaster, and we have to protect Israel. But…

AUDIENCE MEMBER: Yes, we do. Yes, we do.(APPLAUSE)

TRUMP: So we need people — I'm a free trader. But the problem with free trade is you need really talented people to negotiate for you. If you don't have talented people, if you don't have great leadership, if you don't have people that know

business, not just a political hack that got the job because he made a contribution to a campaign, which is the way all jobs, just about, are gotten, free trade terrible.

Free trade can be wonderful if you have smart people, but we have people that are stupid. We have people that aren't smart. And we have people that are controlled by special interests. And it's just not going to work.

So, here's a couple of stories happened recently. A friend of mine is a great manufacturer. And, you know, China comes over and they dump all their stuff, and I buy it. I buy it, because, frankly, I have an obligation to buy it, because they devalue their currency so brilliantly, they just did it recently, and nobody thought they could do it again.

But with all our problems with Russia, with all our problems with everything — everything, they got away with it again. And it's impossible for our people here to compete.

So I want to tell you this story. A friend of mine who's a great manufacturer, calls me up a few weeks ago. He's very upset. I said, "What's your problem?"

He said, "You know, I make great product."

And I said, "I know. I know that because I buy the product."

He said, "I can't get it into China. They won't accept it. I sent a boat over and they actually sent it back. They talked about environmental, they talked about all sorts of crap that had nothing to do with it."

I said, "Oh, wait a minute, that's terrible. Does anyone know this?"

He said, "Yeah, they do it all the time with other people."

I said, "They send it back?"

"Yeah. So I finally got it over there and they charged me a big tariff. They're not supposed to be doing that. I told them."

Now, they do charge you tariff on trucks, when we send trucks and other things over there.

Ask Boeing. They wanted Boeing's secrets. They wanted their patents and all their secrets before they agreed to buy planes from Boeing.

Hey, I'm not saying they're stupid. I like China. I sell apartments for — I just sold an apartment for $15 million to somebody from China. Am I supposed to dislike them? I own a big chunk of the Bank of America Building at 1290 Avenue of the Americas that I got from China in a war. Very valuable.

I love China. The biggest bank in the world is from China. You know where their United States headquarters is located? In this building, in Trump Tower. I love China. People say, "Oh, you don't like China?"

No, I love them. But their leaders are much smarter than our leaders, and we can't sustain ourself with that. There's too much — it's like — it's like take the New England Patriots and Tom Brady and have them play your high school football team. That's the difference between China's leaders and our leaders.

They are ripping us. We are rebuilding China. We're rebuilding many countries. China, you go there now, roads, bridges, schools, you never saw anything like it. They have bridges that make the George Washington Bridge look like small potatoes. And they're all over the place.

We have all the cards, but we don't know how to use them. We don't even know that we have the cards, because our leaders don't understand the game. We could turn off that spigot by charging them tax until they behave properly.

Now they're going militarily. They're building a military island in the middle of the South China sea. A military island. Now, our country could never do that because we'd have to get environmental clearance, and the environmentalist wouldn't let our country — we would never build in an ocean. They built it in about one year, this massive military port.

They're building up their military to a point that is very scary. You have a problem with ISIS. You have a bigger problem with China.

And, in my opinion, the new China, believe it or not, in terms of trade, is Mexico.

So this man tells me about the manufacturing. I say, "That's a terrible story. I hate to hear it."

But I have another one, Ford.

So Mexico takes a company, a car company that was going to build in Tennessee, rips it out. Everybody thought the deal was dead. Reported it in the Wall Street Journal recently. Everybody thought it was a done deal. It's going in and that's going to be it, going into Tennessee. Great state, great people.TRUMP: All of a sudden, at the last moment, this big car manufacturer, foreign, announces they're not going to Tennessee. They're gonna spend their $1 billion in Mexico instead. Not good.

Now, Ford announces a few weeks ago that Ford is going to build a $2.5 billion car and truck and parts manufacturing plant in Mexico. $2.5 billion, it's going to be one of the largest in the world. Ford. Good company.

So I announced that I'm running for president. I would…

(APPLAUSE)

… one of the early things I would do, probably before I even got in — and I wouldn't even use — you know, I have — I know the smartest negotiators in the world. I know the good ones. I know the bad ones. I know the overrated ones.

You get a lot of them that are overrated. They're not good. They think they are. They get good stories, because the newspapers get buffaloed (ph). But they're not good.

But I know the negotiators in the world, and I put them one for each country. Believe me, folks. We will do very, very well, very, very well.

But I wouldn't even waste my time with this one. I would call up the head of Ford, who I know. If I was president, I'd say, "Congratulations. I understand that you're building a nice $2.5 billion car factory in Mexico and that you're going to take your cars and sell them to the United States zero tax, just flow them across the border."

And you say to yourself, "How does that help us," right? "How does that help us? Where is that good"? It's not.

So I would say, "Congratulations. That's the good news. Let me give you the bad news. Every car and every truck and every part manufactured in this plant that comes across the border, we're going to charge you a 35-percent tax, and that tax is going to be paid simultaneously with the transaction, and that's it.

Now, here's what is going to happen. If it's not me in the position, it's one of these politicians that we're running against, you know, the 400 people that we're (inaudible). And here's what's going to happen. They're not so stupid. They know it's not a good thing, and they may even be upset by it. But then they're going to get a

call from the donors or probably from the lobbyist for Ford and say, "You can't do that to Ford, because Ford takes care of me and I take care of you, and you can't do that to Ford."

And guess what? No problem. They're going to build in Mexico. They're going to take away thousands of jobs. It's very bad for us.

So under President Trump, here's what would happen:

(APPLAUSE)

The head of Ford will call me back, I would say within an hour after I told them the bad news. But it could be he'd want to be cool, and he'll wait until the next day. You know, they want to be a little cool.

And he'll say, "Please, please, please." He'll beg for a little while, and I'll say, "No interest." Then he'll call all sorts of political people, and I'll say, "Sorry, fellas. No interest," because I don't need anybody's money. It's nice. I don't need anybody's money.

I'm using my own money. I'm not using the lobbyists. I'm not using donors. I don't care. I'm really rich. I (inaudible).

(APPLAUSE)

And by the way, I'm not even saying that in a — that's the kind of mindset, that's the kind of thinking you need for this country.

AUDIENCE MEMBER: Absolutely.

TRUMP: So — because we got to make the country rich.

It sounds crass. Somebody said, "Oh, that's crass." It's not crass.

We got $18 trillion in debt. We got nothing but problems.

We got a military that needs equipment all over the place. We got nuclear weapons that are obsolete.

We've got nothing. We've got Social Security that's going to be destroyed if somebody like me doesn't bring money into the country. All these other people want to cut the hell out of it. I'm not going to cut it at all; I'm going to bring money in, and we're going to save it.

(APPLAUSE)

But here's what's going to happen:

After I'm called by 30 friends of mine who contributed to different campaigns, after I'm called by all of the special interests and by the — the donors and by the lobbyists — and they have zero chance at convincing me, zero — I'll get a call the next day from the head of Ford. He'll say. "Please reconsider," I'll say no.

He'll say, "Mr. President, we've decided to move the plant back to the United States, and we're not going to build it in Mexico." That's it. They have no choice. They have no choice.

There are hundreds of things like that. I'll give you another example.TRUMP: Saudi Arabia, they make $1 billion a day. $1 billion a day. I love the Saudis. Many are in this building. They make a billion dollars a day. Whenever they have problems, we send over the ships. We say "we're gonna protect." What are we doing? They've got nothing but money.

If the right person asked them, they'd pay a fortune. They wouldn't be there except for us.

And believe me, you look at the border with Yemen. You remember Obama a year ago, Yemen was a great victory. Two weeks later, the place was blown up. Everybody got out — and they kept our equipment.

They always keep our equipment. We ought to send used equipment, right? They always keep our equipment. We ought to send some real junk, because, frankly, it would be — we ought to send our surplus. We're always losing this gorgeous brand-new stuff.

But look at that border with Saudi Arabia. Do you really think that these people are interested in Yemen? Saudi Arabia without us is gone. They;re gone.

And I'm the one that made all of the right predictions about Iraq. You know, all of these politicians that I'm running against now — it's so nice to say I'm running as opposed to if I run, if I run. I'm running.

(APPLAUSE)

But all of these politicians that I'm running against now, they're trying to disassociate. I mean, you looked at Bush, it took him five days to answer the question on Iraq. He couldn't answer the question. He didn't know. I said, "Is he intelligent?"

Then I looked at Rubio. He was unable to answer the question, is Iraq a good thing or bad thing? He didn't know. He couldn't answer the question.

How are these people gonna lead us? How are we gonna — how are we gonna go back and make it great again? We can't. They don't have a clue. They can't lead us. They can't. They can't even answer simple questions. It was terrible.

But Saudi Arabia is in big, big trouble. Now, thanks to fracking and other things, the oil is all over the place. And I used to say it, there are ships at sea, and this was during the worst crisis, that were loaded up with oil, and the cartel kept the price up, because, again, they were smarter than our leaders. They were smarter than our leaders.

There is so much wealth out there that can make our country so rich again, and therefore make it great again. Because we need money. We're dying. We're dying. We need money. We have to do it. And we need the right people.

So Ford will come back. They'll all come back. And I will say this, this is going to be an election, in my opinion, that's based on competence.

AUDIENCE MEMBER: Yes.

TRUMP: Somebody said — thank you, darlin'.

(APPLAUSE)

Somebody said to me the other day, a reporter, a very nice reporter, "But, Mr. Trump, you're not a nice person."

AUDIENCE MEMBER: We don't need nice.

TRUMP: That's true. But actually I am. I think I am a nice person. People that know me, like me. Does my family like me? I think so, right. Look at my family. I'm proud of my family.

(APPLAUSE)

By the way, speaking of my family, Melania, Barron, Kai, Donnie, Don, Vanessa, Tiffany, Evanka did a great job. Did she do a great job?

(APPLAUSE)

Great. Jared (ph), Laura and Eric, I'm very proud of my family. They're a great family.

(APPLAUSE)

So the reporter said to me the other day, "But, Mr. Trump, you're not a nice person. How can you get people to vote for you?"

I said, "I don't know." I said, "I think that number one, I am a nice person. I give a lot of money away to charities and other things. I think I'm actually a very nice person."

But, I said, "This is going to be an election that's based on competence, because people are tired of these nice people. And they're tired of being ripped off by everybody in the world. And they're tired of spending more money on education than any nation in the world per capita, than any nation in the world, and we are 26th in the world, 25 countries are better than us in education. And some of them are like third world countries. But we're becoming a third word country, because of our infrastructure, our airports, our roads, everything. So one of the things I did, and I said, you know what I'll do. I'll do it. Because a lot of people said, "He'll never run. Number one, he won't want to give up his lifestyle."

TRUMP: They're right about that, but I'm doing it.

Number two, I'm a private company, so nobody knows what I'm worth. And the one thing is that when you run, you have to announce and certify to all sorts of governmental authorities your net worth.

So I said, "That's OK." I'm proud of my net worth. I've done an amazing job.

I started off — thank you — I started off in a small office with my father in Brooklyn and Queens, and my father said — and I love my father. I learned so much. He was a great negotiator. I learned so much just sitting at his feet playing with blocks listening to him negotiate with subcontractors. But I learned a lot.

But he used to say, "Donald, don't go into Manhattan. That's the big leagues. We don't know anything about that. Don't do it."

I said, "I gotta go into Manhattan. I gotta build those big buildings. I gotta do it, Dad. I've gotta do it."

And after four or five years in Brooklyn, I ventured into Manhattan and did a lot of great deals — the Grand Hyatt Hotel. I was responsible for the convention center on the west side. I did a lot of great deals, and I did them early and young. And now I'm building all over the world, and I love what I'm doing.

But they all said, a lot of the pundits on television, "Well, Donald will never run, and one of the main reasons is he's private and he's probably not as successful as everybody thinks."

So I said to myself, you know, nobody's ever going to know unless I run, because I'm really proud of my success. I really am.

(APPLAUSE)

I've employed — I've employed tens of thousands of people over my lifetime. That means medical. That means education. That means everything.

So a large accounting firm and my accountants have been working for months, because it's big and complex, and they've put together a statement, a financial statement, just a summary. But everything will be filed eventually with the

government, and we don't extensions or anything. We'll be filing it right on time. We don't need anything.

(APPLAUSE)

And it was even reported incorrectly yesterday, because they said, "He had assets of $9 billion." So I said (ph), "No, that's the wrong number. That's the wrong number. Not assets."

So they put together this. And before I say it, I have to say this. I made it the old-fashioned way. It's real estate. You know, it's real estate.

It's labor, and it's unions good and some bad and lots of people that aren't in unions, and it's all over the place and building all over the world.

And I have assets — big accounting firm, one of the most highly respected — 9 billion 240 million dollars.

AUDIENCE MEMBER: Yeah.

TRUMP: And I have liabilities of about $500 million (ph). That's long-term debt, very low interest rates.

In fact, one of the big banks came to me and said, "Donald, you don't have enough borrowings. Could we loan you $4 billion"? I said, "I don't need it. I don't want it. And I've been there. I don't want it."

But in two seconds, they give me whatever I wanted. So I have a total net worth, and now with the increase, it'll be well-over $10 billion. But here, a total net worth of — net worth, not assets, not — a net worth, after all debt, after all expenses, the greatest assets — Trump Tower, 1290 Avenue of the Americas, Bank of America building in

San Francisco, 40 Wall Street, sometimes referred to as the Trump building right opposite the New York — many other places all over the world.

So the total is $8,737,540,00.

Now I'm not doing that…

(APPLAUSE)

I'm not doing that to brag, because you know what? I don't have to brag. I don't have to, believe it or not.

I'm doing that to say that that's the kind of thinking our country needs. We need that thinking. We have the opposite thinking.

We have losers. We have losers. We have people that don't have it. We have people that are morally corrupt. We have people that are selling this country down the drain.

So I put together this statement, and the only reason I'm telling you about it today is because we really do have to get going, because if we have another three or four years — you know, we're at $8 trillion now. We're soon going to be at $20 trillion.TRUMP: According to the economists — who I'm not big believers in, but, nevertheless, this is what they're saying — that $24 trillion — we're very close — that's the point of no return. $24 trillion. We will be there soon. That's when we become Greece. That's when we become a country that's unsalvageable. And we're gonna be there very soon. We're gonna be there very soon.

AUDIENCE MEMBER: Make America strong.

TRUMP: So, just to sum up, I would do various things very quickly. I would repeal and replace the big lie, Obamacare.

AUDIENCE MEMBER: Yeah.

(APPLAUSE)

I would build a great wall, and nobody builds walls better than me, believe me, and I'll build them very inexpensively, I will build a great, great wall on our southern border. And I will have Mexico pay for that wall.

AUDIENCE MEMBER: Yes.

TRUMP: Mark my words.

(APPLAUSE)

Nobody would be tougher on ISIS than Donald Trump. Nobody.

(APPLAUSE)

I will find — within our military, I will find the General Patton or I will find General MacArthur, I will find the right guy. I will find the guy that's going to take that military and make it really work. Nobody, nobody will be pushing us around.

AUDIENCE MEMBER: Yes.

(APPLAUSE)

TRUMP: I will stop Iran from getting nuclear weapons. And we won't be using a man like Secretary Kerry that has absolutely no concept of negotiation, who's making a horrible and laughable deal, who's just being tapped along as they make weapons right now, and then goes into a bicycle race at 72 years old, and falls and breaks his leg. I won't be doing that. And I promise I will never be in a bicycle race. That I can tell you.

(APPLAUSE)

I will immediately terminate President Obama's illegal executive order on immigration, immediately.

(APPLAUSE)

Fully support and back up the Second Amendment.

(APPLAUSE)

Now, it's very interesting. Today I heard it. Through stupidity, in a very, very hard core prison, interestingly named Clinton, two vicious murderers, two vicious people escaped, and nobody knows where they are. And a woman was on television this morning, and she said, "You know, Mr. Trump," and she was telling other people, and I actually called her, and she said, "You know, Mr. Trump, I always was against guns. I didn't want guns. And now since this happened" — it's up in the prison area — "my husband and I are finally in agreement, because he wanted the guns. We now have a gun on every table. We're ready to start shooting."

I said, "Very interesting."

So protect the Second Amendment.

(APPLAUSE)

End — end Common Core. Common Core should — it is a disaster. Bush is totally in favor of Common Core. I don't see how he can possibly get the nomination. He's weak on immigration. He's in favor of Common Core. How the hell can you vote for this guy? You just can't do it. We have to end — education has to be local.

Rebuild the country's infrastructure.

AUDIENCE MEMBER: Yeah.

TRUMP: Nobody can do that like me. Believe me. It will be done on time, on budget, way below cost, way below what anyone ever thought.

I look at the roads being built all over the country, and I say I can build those things for one-third. What they do is unbelievable, how bad.

You know, we're building on Pennsylvania Avenue, the Old Post Office, we're converting it into one of the world's great hotels. It's gonna be the best hotel in Washington, D.C. We got it from the General Services Administration in Washington. The Obama administration. We got it. It was the most highly sought after — or one of them, but I think the most highly sought after project in the history of General Services. We got it. People were shocked, Trump got it.

Well, I got it for two reasons. Number one, we're really good. Number two, we had a really good plan. And I'll add in the third, we had a great financial statement. Because the General Services, who are terrific people, by the way, and talented people, they wanted to do a great job. And they wanted to make sure it got built.

TRUMP: So we have to rebuild our infrastructure, our bridges, our roadways, our airports. You come into La Guardia Airport, it's like we're in a third world country. You look at the patches and the 40-year-old floor. They throw down asphalt, and they throw.

You look at these airports, we are like a third world country. And I come in from China and I come in from Qatar and I come in from different places, and they have the most incredible airports in the world. You come to back to this country and you have LAX, disaster. You have all of these disastrous airports. We have to rebuild our infrastructure.

Save Medicare, Medicaid and Social Security without cuts. Have to do it.

(APPLAUSE)

Get rid of the fraud. Get rid of the waste and abuse, but save it. People have been paying it for years. And now many of these candidates want to cut it. You save it by making the United States, by making us rich again, by taking back all of the money that's being lost.

Renegotiate our foreign trade deals.

AUDIENCE MEMBER: Yes.

(APPLAUSE)

TRUMP: Reduce our $18 trillion in debt, because, believe me, we're in a bubble. We have artificially low interest rates. We have a stock market that, frankly, has been good to me, but I still hate to see what's happening. We have a stock market that is so bloated.

Be careful of a bubble because what you've seen in the past might be small potatoes compared to what happens. So be very, very careful.

And strengthen our military and take care of our vets. So, so important.

AUDIENCE MEMBER: Yes.

(APPLAUSE)

TRUMP: Sadly, the American dream is dead.

AUDIENCE MEMBER: Bring it back.

TRUMP: But if I get elected president I will bring it back bigger and better and stronger than ever before, and we will make America great again.

Thank you. Thank you very much.

(APPLAUSE)

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