

**MICRO TEXTUAL ANALYSIS ON FIRST PRESIDENTIAL SPEECHES
IN U.S. PRESIDENT'S INAUGURAL ADDRESS**

THESIS

By:

M Nizar Zulhamisyah

NIM 14320135



**DEPARTMENT OF ENGLISH LITERATURE
FACULTY OF HUMANITIES
UNIVERSITAS ISLAM NEGERI MAULANA MALIK IBRAHIM MALANG
2018**

**MICRO TEXTUAL ANALYSIS ON FIRST PRESIDENTIAL SPEECHES
IN U.S. PRESIDENT'S INAUGURAL ADDRESS**

THESIS

Presented to:

Universitas Islam Negeri Maulana Malik Ibrahim Malang
in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of *Sarjana Sastra (S.S.)*

By:

M Nizar Zulhamisyah

NIM 14320135

Advisor:

Agwin Degaf, M.A.

NIP 198805232015031004



**DEPARTMENT OF ENGLISH LITERATURE
FACULTY OF HUMANITIES
UNIVERSITAS ISLAM NEGERI MAULANA MALIK IBRAHIM MALANG
2018**

STATEMENT OF AUTHORITY

I state that the thesis entitled "*Micro Textual Analysis on First Presidential Speeches in U.S. President's Inaugural Address*" is my original work. It does not incorporate any materials previously written or published by other people, except those indicated in the quotations and references. Due to this fact, I am the only person responsible for this thesis if there are objections or claims from others.

Malang, June 27, 2018

The researcher

A handwritten signature in black ink is written over a 10,000 Rupiah Indonesian banknote. The banknote is partially visible, showing the number '10000' and the text 'REPUBLIK INDONESIA' and 'BANK INDONESIA'. The signature is written in a cursive style.

M Nizar Zulhamsyah

NIM. 14320135

APPROVAL SHEET

This is to certify that M Nizar Zulhamsyah's thesis entitled "Micro Textual Analysis on First Presidential Speeches in U.S. President's Inaugural Address" has been approved by the advisor for further approval by the board of examiners as one of the requirements for degree Sarjana Sastra (S.S) in English Letters Department.

Malang, June 27, 2018

Approved by

Acknowledge by

Supervisor

Head of English Letters Department



Agwin Degaf, M.A.

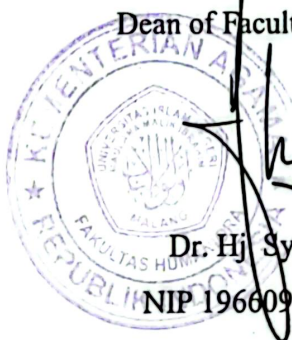
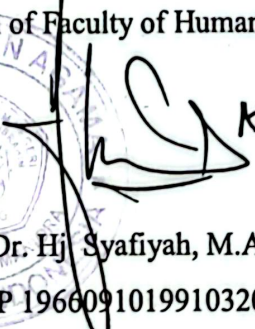
NIP 198805232015031004



Rina Sari, M.Pd

NIP 197506102006042002

Dean of Faculty of Humanities,



Dr. Hj. Syafiyah, M.A.

NIP 196609101991032002

LEGIMITATION SHEET

This is to certify that M Nizar Zulhamsyah's thesis entitled "**Micro Textual Analysis on First Presidential Speeches in U.S. President's Inaugural Address**" has been approved by the Board of Examiners as one of the requirements for the degree of Sarjana Sastra (S.S.) in Universitas Islam Negeri Maulana Malik Ibrahim Malang.

Malang, October 27, 2022

The Board of Examiners

Signatures

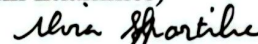
1 Dr. H. Langgeng Budianto, M.Pd.
NIP. 197110142003121001

(Chair)



2 Mira Shartika, M.A.
NIDT 19790308201802012177

(Main Examiner)



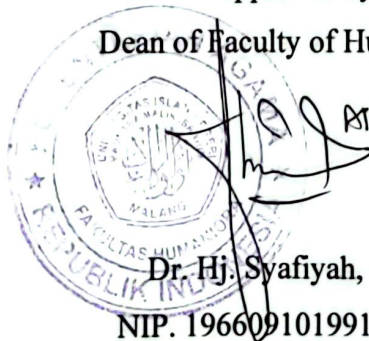
3 Agwin Degaf, M.A.
NIP. 198805232015031004

(Advisor)



Approved by

Dean of Faculty of Humanities



Dr. Hj. Syafiyah, M.A.

NIP. 196609101991032002

MOTTO

Who dares, wins.

(Lt Col Sir Archibald David Stirling, British Special Air Service)

DEDICATION

I dedicated this thesis to:

My parents, my sisters, my grandparents, my uncles and aunts, and my friends for
great supports and unconditional loves.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

Bismillahirrohmanirrohim,

All praises belong to Allah SWT, who has given the mercy and the blessing so the author is completely able to finish this thesis. *Shalawat* and *Salam* always be expected to our Prophet Muhammad SAW who has brought Islam as *Rahmatan Lil 'Alamin*.

Alhamdulillah *robbil 'alamin*, the author is finally able to finish this thesis entitled "Micro Textual Analysis on First Presidential Speeches in U.S. President's Inaugural Address" as the requirement for the degree of Sarjana Sastra in English Letters Department, Faculty of Humanities at Universitas Islam Negeri Maulana Malik Ibrahim Malang.

Personally, the author notices that there are some people who giving support in process of finishing this thesis. I would like to give a greatest appreciation to Rector of the university, Dean of Humanities, Head of English Letters, my guardian, my supervisor, and all lecturers and staffs from faculty for their greatest services. And also, an unmeasured thanks to my beloved parents and sisters, who always give me supports, prays, affections, attentions, loves, as well as their super efforts in encouraging me to study at this university. Then, to my lovely grandparents, uncles and aunts for the loves, supports, and inspirations. And to my brothers and sisters from the university for an unforgettable experiences, love, and cooperation. And also, to all my families in YONARHANUD 2/2 KOSTRAD and PURNA PASKIBRAKA INDONESIA who have become brothers and sisters who endlessly giving meaningful supports they can.

Malang, June 26, 2018

A handwritten signature in black ink, consisting of stylized, overlapping loops and strokes, positioned above a horizontal line.

M Nizar Zulhamisyah

ABSTRACT

Zulhamsyah, M N. 2018. *Micro Textual Analysis on First Presidential Speeches in U.S. President's Inaugural Address*. Undergraduate Thesis. Department of English Literature. Faculty of Humanities. Universitas Islam Negeri Maulana Malik Ibrahim Malang.

Advisor : Agwin Degaf, M.A.

Keywords : Discourse Analysis, Micro Textual Structure, First Presidential Speech.

First speech by inaugurated U.S. President always be considered as the face of presidency which implies how and where the new president will lead his nation for next four years. The speech also allows the president to unite his nation that is previously separated by different votes within the election, and significantly shows the world where the nation's course is now heading. Hence, the speech should be full of what the president tries to accomplish with his nation and consequently it should also cover ways of how he will run his government.

First presidential speeches performed by Barack Obama and Donald Trump in the U.S. President's Inaugural Address are the objects of this study which studies about micro textual analysis on the speeches. This study is intended to explain how the speakers' idea (the discourse's ideology) is presented by discussing micro textual structure on speech from both presidents in the inauguration.

The result of this study is expected to disclose how both presidents built their own ideology by understanding what kind of micro textual structures are. From the results, the researcher hopes that this study; theoretically will develop the usage of micro textual structure on disclosing one's ideology, and practically will improve the way people perceive one's speech because it always has an idea which is rather delicate to understand.

ABSTRAK

Zulhamsyah, M N. 2018. **Analisis Mikro Tekstual pada Pidato Kepresidenan Pertama dalam Pelantikan Presiden AS**. Skripsi. Jurusan Sastra Inggris. Fakultas Humaniora. Universitas Islam Negeri Maulana Malik Ibrahim Malang.

Dosen Pembimbing : Agwin Degaf, M.A.

Kata kunci : Analisis Wacana, Struktur Teks Mikro, Pidato Presiden Pertama.

Pidato pertama dari presiden terlanik Amerika Serikat selalu dianggap sebagai wajah kepresidenan yang menyiratkan bagaimana dan di mana presiden baru akan memimpin negaranya selama empat tahun ke depan. Pidato ini juga memungkinkan presiden untuk menyatukan bangsanya yang sebelumnya dipisahkan oleh perbedaan suara semasa pemilu, dan secara signifikan menunjukkan dunia ke mana arah bangsa di masa depan. Oleh karena itu, pidato tersebut harus penuh dengan apa yang presiden coba capai dengan bangsanya dan juga harus mencakup cara-cara bagaimana dia akan menjalankan pemerintahannya.

Pidato-pidato kepresidenan pertama yang dilakukan oleh Barack Obama dan Donald Trump dalam Pelantikan Presiden AS adalah objek dari penelitian ini yang mempelajari tentang analisis mikro tekstual pada pidato-pidato tersebut. Penelitian ini dimaksudkan untuk menjelaskan bagaimana ide penutur (ideologi wacana) disajikan dengan membahas struktur teks mikro pada pidato dari kedua presiden saat pelantikan.

Hasil dari penelitian ini diharapkan dapat mengungkapkan bagaimana kedua presiden membangun ideologinya sendiri dengan memahami struktur mikro tekstual yang ditemukan. Dari hasil tersebut, penulis berharap bahwa penelitian ini; secara teoritis akan mengembangkan penggunaan struktur teks mikro pada pengungkapan ideologi penutur, dan secara praktis akan meningkatkan pemahaman sebuah ucapan karena dibalikny selalu ada makna yang tersembunyi.

مستخلص البحث

تحليل نصي دقيق للخطابات الرئاسية الأولى في خطاب تنصيب رئيس. Zulhamsyah, M N. 2018. Universitas. الولايات المتحدة. أطروحة. قسم الحروف الانجليزية. كلية العلوم الإنسانية Islam Negeri Agwin Degaf, M.A. مولانا مالك إبراهيم مالانج. المشرف. الكلمات المفتاحية: تحليل الخطاب ، البنية النصية الدقيقة ، الخطاب الرئاسي الأول

يُنظر دائمًا إلى الخطاب الأول لرئيس الولايات المتحدة الذي تم تنصيبه على أنه وجه للرئاسة مما يشير إلى كيف وأين سيقود الرئيس الجديد أمته خلال السنوات الأربع القادمة. يسمح الخطاب أيضًا للرئيس بتوحيد أمته التي كانت مفصولة سابقًا بأصوات مختلفة داخل الانتخابات ، ويظهر بشكل كبير للعالم إلى أين يتجه مسار الأمة الآن. ومن ثم ، يجب أن يكون الخطاب مليئًا بما يحاول الرئيس تحقيقه مع أمته ، وبالتالي يجب أن يشمل أيضًا كيفية إدارة حكومته

الخطابات الرئاسية الأولى التي أداها باراك أوباما ودونالد ترامب في الخطاب الافتتاحي للرئيس الأمريكي هي أهداف هذه الدراسة التي تدرس التحليل النصي الجزئي للخطابات. تهدف هذه الدراسة إلى شرح كيفية تقديم فكرة المتحدثين (أيديولوجية الخطاب (من خلال مناقشة البنية النصية الدقيقة على خطاب كلا الرئيسين في حفل التنصيب

من المتوقع أن تكشف نتيجة هذه الدراسة كيف بنى كلا الرئيسين أيديولوجيتهما الخاصة من خلال فهم نوع الهياكل النصية الدقيقة. من النتائج ، يأمل المؤلف أن هذه الدراسة ؛ من الناحية النظرية ، سوف يطور استخدام البنية النصية الدقيقة في الكشف عن أيديولوجية الفرد ، وسيحسن عمليًا الطريقة التي ينظر بها الناس إلى كلام المرء لأنه دائمًا ما يكون لديه فكرة حساسة إلى حد ما لفهمها

TABLE OF CONTENTS

STATEMENT OF AUTHORITY	i
APPROVAL SHEET	ii
THESIS LEGITIMATION SHEET	iii
MOTTO	iv
DEDICATION	v
ACKNOWLEDGEMENT	vi
ABSTRACT	vii
TABLE OF CONTENTS	x
CHAPTER I: Introduction	1
1.1. Background of the Study	1
1.2. Statement of the Problem	7
1.3. Objective of the Study	7
1.4. Scope and Limitation	8
1.5. Significance of the Study	8
1.6. Definition of Key Terms	9
1.7. Research Method	9
1.7.1. Research Design	10
1.7.2. Data Sources	11
1.7.3. Research Instrument	11
1.7.4. Data Collection	11
1.7.5. Data Analysis	12
CHAPTER II: Review of Related Literature	13
2.1. Theoretical Discussion	13
2.1.1. Discourse Analysis	14
2.1.2. Ideology	16
2.1.3. Textual Analysis	17
2.1.4. Micro Textual Analysis	23
2.2. Previous Studies	31

CHAPTER III: Findings and Discussion	35
3.1. Findings	35
3.1.1. Stylistic Element	36
3.1.2. Syntactic Element	42
3.1.3. Semantic Element	47
3.2. Discussions	64
CHAPTER IV: Conclusion and Suggestion	81
4.1. Conclusions	81
4.2. Suggestions	82
REFERENCES	84
APPENDICES	

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

In this chapter, the researcher presents fundamental things which construct the basis of this study, which cover background of the study, problems of the study, objectives of the study, limitation of the study, significance of the study, definition of key terms, and research method which explains how this study is conducted. The researcher hopes that those things could cover basic understanding about why this study is worth to conduct.

1.1 Background of the Study

This study discusses the micro textual structure in first presidential speeches which brings the discourse's ideology presented from each president. The first presidential speeches studied in this study are specific speeches did by two latest presidents of the United States which are called Inaugural Address because the speeches were spoken on the inauguration event. The inaugural address used in this study consists of first presidential speech of President Barrack Obama and first presidential speech of President Donald Trump. Regularly, the address is considered as the most solemn setting for first remark made by the president, which are delivered during an occasion of power changing from administration to the new president.

The inaugural address often consists of essential things, for example president's dreams as a leader of the nation along with his visions, missions

and strategies to achieve the dreams which are unique and different from one president to the others. This situation makes every inaugural event of U.S. President considered as a key thing to project what the president wants and how he wants his people and other nations see him as he takes the lead. Therefore, this study discusses micro textual structure presented in the inaugural addresses of the two latest U.S. presidents on how they constructed their own ideology on each first presidential speech.

The first presidential speech did by a newly inaugurated president also plays a significant role on his own image as the leader of the nation whom people voted most. This event is a ceremony to mark the commencement of a new four-year term of the U.S. President which consist of sub-events, and mainly noted for its speech event or further called first presidential speech that become every president's front cover of his upcoming presidency. As the front cover, the speech content mostly filled with hope and reassurance for a better national environment.

In this study, the chosen objects are uniquely different; the object is first presidential speech delivered by Barack Obama in 2009, and Donald Trump in 2017. The most notable difference from the speeches is both presidents are coming from different party, as we know that in American politics setting there are two major parties; democrat and republic. The other difference is on the national situation which is very contrasting each other. This difference is intentional because the researcher wants to reveal and

understand how both presidents present his own ideology in their first presidential speech.

In order to deliver such performance, the inaugurated president must have some rhetorical skills which help him to persuade people who vote him and who did vote the other candidate. That is essential move because he needs to make the people trust him and his government, thus cooperating with any program he runs. On its practice, the rhetorical skill itself generally presented in form of text that mostly used to tell something without saying it. In short, the text plays its roles on every discourse as an act of implying something by telling something else.

Talking about how to deal with that kind of subject, the researcher uses part of Van Dijk's model of discourse which has three dimensions; text, social cognition, and social context. The main thing about his model of discourse is elaborating all three dimensions into one single analysis (Eriyanto, 2009, p. 224). On textual dimension, it is about how text's structure and discourse strategies used to imply or even emphasize certain theme. The text is analyzed linguistically or often called textual analysis which the results are dependent on its vocabulary usage, semantic choice, structure choice and even its coherence and cohesivity which concern about how relation between words and phrases construct another meaning.

The brief concept of Van Dijk's model of discourse explained above helps the researcher to distinguish contents of the speeches. First, an idea which relates to specific representation that the speaker/writer wants to

present on its text, which generally holds specific ideological value. Essentially, this type of analysis is planned to understand how something is presented on text which could also hold specific ideological value. Second, the relation, which relates to an analysis on how is the construction of relation from the speaker/writer with the reader/hearer. For example, the relation is informal or formal, open or closed, etc. Third, identity, which related to specific construction from the writer to the reader and how the identity is presented.

Specifically, in this study the researcher only uses the textual analysis on micro dimension or simply called micro textual analysis, because in that dimension there are lots of discourse strategies shaping the way speaker delivers his ideas to audiences. With such framework of analysis, the researcher believes that it is the best way to understand each chosen president speech especially on how its ideology presented. Furthermore, for rich and detailed analysis, the researcher needs to limit this study on micro textual analysis and focus the text analysis on each strategy founded on the both speeches.

On the other part, discourse's ideology is chosen as the subject of this study, because it is believed to hold 'the illustration' on how the speaker's thought constructed on his speech. It means that the ideology presented will have its basis from the speech itself. According to a notion brought by Fairclough (1989, p. 3) ideology is closely linked to language because it is public, shared, and mutually consumed where people mostly will build their

own assumption. Moreover, there are such textual strategies that maintain ideological perspective which directs the reader to certain believe of construction of a truth. Therefore, with the existence of such strategies especially on the speech, this study tries to signifies the ideology construction on each speech.

This study uses method of discourse analysis with an aim of finding the ideology presented of last two U.S. president in their first presidential speech on inaugural address. According to a notion explained by Rahardjo (2004, p. 5) the development of discourse analysis cannot be separated from the intentionality of language. Therefore, it is clear that every language spoken has its own purpose and should be full of meaning. Moreover, Fairclough and Wodak (1997, p. 25) explained that critical discourse analysis perceives a discourse as a construction form of social practice that rich of relations between discourse phenomena and situation, institution, and social structure it formed.

In addition, discourse practice could illustrate an effect of ideology which commonly producing and reproducing imbalance power relation between upper-class and lower-class society, man and woman, majority and minority trough social position it exemplified (Eriyanto, 2009, p. 7). For example, through discourse, a situation of racism or sexism could be presented as a common thing that is normal as it is the reality. Discourse analysis observes language as important factor on building and leading public opinion to the specific way. Therefore, discourse analysis is commonly often

used to reveal unseen motives from a text, especially the one that presented on public.

Moreover, this study is constructed based on some previous studies discussing similar things which is explained with more details on section 2.2 at page 30. Those previous studies give essential things which contribute on writing this thesis, such as various examples on how to analyze certain discourse. In this study, the researcher uses five previous studies providing resource on; how to analyze ideology through framing model; how to get an idea of racism by diving into each word, clause, sentence and paragraph; how to decide which theories and methods are best to get meaningful analysis; how to understand which side the text's writer stands for from their article by observing its vocabulary using textual analysis; and how to read-through the value in political discourse which has deep context in diverse culture using discourse strategies on syntactic, semantic and pragmatic level. With those in mind, the researcher uses textual analysis on discourse strategies within object's stylistic, syntactic and semantic elements to disclose the ideology from each object of this study

From above explanation, the researcher believe that this study is noteworthy to be conducted because knowing how the ideology presented is interesting particularly using micro textual analysis which mainly used on media text analysis. This study is intentionally done only on level of micro textual analysis from three dimensions of analysis proposed by Teun A. van Dijk (using stylistic, syntactic and semantic elements) because the researcher

goal and intention are to clearly explain and compare from discourse strategies founded on how the two ‘different’ presidents show his cover of four years of leadership. The exploration on this study derives from the unique ideological difference of study object which, again, very contrast towards each other. In addition, this study also presents how the differences between Barack Obama and Donald Trump’s ideology presented using stylistic, syntactic and semantic elements on their own first presidential speech. Hence, both object of study will absolutely have dissimilar implication, but the pattern of it might similar even though what is implied are mostly different.

1.2 Statement of the Problem

The statement of problem in this study is:

1. How are ideologies constructed using stylistic, syntactic and semantic elements on speech by the two U.S. Presidents in their own inaugural addresses?

1.3 Objective of the Study

The objective of this study is:

1. To understand how ideologies are constructed using stylistic, syntactic and semantic elements on speech by the two U.S. Presidents in their own inaugural addresses.

1.4 Scope and Limitation

The researcher studies the ideology represented using stylistic, syntactic and semantic elements on first presidential speech in inaugural addresses of both President Barack Obama in 2009 and President Donald Trump in 2017. In order to study the ideologies using stylistic, syntactic and semantic elements, the researcher uses micro textual analysis which proposed by Teun A. van Dijk as part of his three dimensions of discourse. This study concerned about how the two U.S. President construct their ideology on their own speech and how the differences on micro textual level. That limitation helps the researcher to keep focused on finding ideological construction which mostly lies behind the text itself specifically on its discourse strategies.

1.5 Significance of the Study

This study is significance to be conducted because it has theoretical benefit and practical benefit. The theoretical benefit of this study is to enrich knowledge about ideology representation, especially when it is related with discourse analysis revealing ‘the thoughts’ from each of two last U.S. Presidents in their own inaugural address by using only micro textual analysis on stylistic, syntactic and semantic elements. The practical benefit of this study is to understand the ideologies from each of last two U.S. Presidents as a basic reference on understanding daily discourse presented on real-life context when every text has different ideology construction lies behind, thus

make readers or media consumers more aware on what is presented in front of themselves.

1.6 Definitions and Key Terms

In order to reduce and negate misunderstanding in this study, the researcher defines some terms as follows:

1. Textual/Discourse strategy defined as a way to see how a text is written and affect readers impression using some linguistic features, for example; word choice or vocabulary, structure choice and also how each word or phrase has different meaning if they are specifically connected or used with each other.
2. The first presidential speech is a speech spoken by inaugurated president of the United States of America as a first formal occasion to deliver its thought as the leader of the nation. In this study, there will be two different speeches, the first one from former president Barack Obama and the second one from current president Donald Trump.
3. The ideology is set of intentions or purposes implied from a text using textual strategy such as stylistic, syntactic and semantic elements. It holds 'the thoughts' which emanated from the writer/speaker's missions in order to accomplish what he wants.

1.7 Research Method

In this sub chapter, there will be some sections which will explain specific things – as its title – about the method used in this study which covers

about research design, data sources, research instrument, data collection and data analysis.

1.7.1 Research Design

This study is qualitative study in form of discourse analysis on the discourse's ideology using stylistic, syntactic and semantic elements, and the object of the study is two inaugural addresses from the two U.S. President. In other words, this study is discovering the lingual data technically with micro textual analysis method. According to Miles and Huberman (1994, p. 2) this kind of study attempting to collect and analyze the data in form of words in form of non-numerical data. Bogdan and Biklen (1998, p. 4) stated that qualitative approach is a study procedure that produce descriptive data from person or behavior observed. This study also makes an effort to analyze phenomena of both textual on how the two U.S. Presidents construct their own ideology using stylistic, syntactic and semantic elements in first presidential speech on inaugural address, which its results is described using words or sentences supporting discourse rational. The perspective used in this study on processing the data is mainly used discourse analysis in Van Dijk style. The perspective is considered as appropriate because it sees a text as key factor on constructing and leading public opinion or impression as the discourse analysis itself is supposed to reveal unseen motives from text, especially the discourse's ideology on first presidential speech.

1.7.2 Data Sources

The data source of this study is the online videos on YouTube. The first video is published by channel ABC News titled “Donald Trump’s first presidential address to Congress” on February 28th, 2017. The second video is published by channel The Obama White House titled “The President Addresses Joint Session of Congress: 2/21/09” on February 21st, 2009. Those data source which in form on digital video was chosen in order to preserve a sense of novelty on each speech from both presidents. After that, the digital video will be altered into textual form using audio transcription method by listening and watching the video while the researcher transcribes the audio.

1.7.3 Research Instrument

Instrument of this study is the researcher himself who do all necessary things in order to make a decent-complete-reasonable thesis.

1.7.4 Data Collection

The data of this study is collected methodologically in form of lingual data which consist of words, phrases, and sentences founded on transcription of the digital video. Descriptive, factual, and natural information collected from the textual form of digital video is the primary data which later be analyzed and discussed in Chapter III: Findings and Discussions.

1.7.5 Data Analysis

As the data are in form of lingual data consist of words, phrases, and sentences, the micro textual analysis of the data in this study is done in two phases. The first phase is analyzing the data by describing its semantic, syntactic and stylistic element to reveal how the ideas of the speeches presented to the readers and how the possible effect from each element/discursive strategy founded. Next, the second phase is analyzing the data by describing the differences between semantic, syntactic and stylistic element between two presidents to reveal how different is the two presidents describe what they said and how the possible effects might be occurred or affect hearer's impressions. After that, there is a collective discussion concerning the ideology representation of each president to sum up how is the ideology of two presidents on first presidential speech in inaugural address.

CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE

This chapter covers the definition and elaboration of theories which are going to be used to analyze the first presidential speeches in inaugural address from each president. In this chapter, there is an ideology definition which is related and appropriate to improve the understandability of this study. Then, the discourse analysis theory used in this study which collectively gathered from some linguist's notions are also presented below. At the end of this chapter, there is a sub chapter discussing the previous studies which also related to this study.

2.1 Theoretical Discussion

In this section, the researcher explains implemented theories to complete this study in form of general yet specific and also clear concept. The four main concepts are; Discourse Analysis, Ideology, Textual Analysis and Micro Textual Analysis. The concept is written from wide-ranging into exact notion related to this study in order to give readers clear presupposition about what the concept means and how it used on this study.

2.1.1 Discourse Analysis

Terminologically, "discourse" is introduced and used by linguists as a translation of "text". Furthermore, the phrase "text analysis" was translated into "discourse analysis", a discipline that seeks to examine the use of real language (Raharjo, 2004, p. XV). Discourse analysis emerges as a reaction to pure linguistics that is considered not to reveal the essence of language flawlessly (Darma, 2009, p. 15), so that discourse analysts try to provide an alternative in understanding the essence of language outside the linguistic structures.

The development of discourse analysis in linguistics, according to Raharjo (2004, p. 5), cannot be separated from the nature of the intensity of language. Each phrase has its own (intention) purpose; it is full of intent. Kridalaksana (2001, p. 24) says that the phrase is used by speakers of language because of the agreement about the meaning/ its meaning. In addition to have semantic aspects (meaning), a phrase can also have a broad impact on audiences. Thus, discourse analysis is not just an approach but a set of multidisciplinary approaches that can be used to explore many different domains, from micro language structure, meaning in the text, until its effect the public (Jorgensen & Phillips, 2007, p. 2).

Furthermore, discourse analysis develops not only in the study of language in the text alone, but more than that in other aspects which summarize a text, such as ideological background, author's interest, discourse tendency built, alignment of dominant power, discursive strategy

used to persuade, up to the effect that the reader might feel (van Dijk, 1997, p. 3). It is the viewpoint that gives birth to a "new paradigm" in the study of discourse, the Critical Discourse Analysis (often abbreviated as CDA).

CDA itself is an approach that seeks to describe or explain a text (social reality) belonging to a person or dominant group that tends to have a particular purpose to obtain what is desired (Darma, 2009, p. 49). Although CDA makes language an object of study, the language analyzed differs from that of the language in the conventional linguistic sense. Language in CDA is analyzed not as a linguistic phenomenon but is related to the context, i.e. the purpose of use, including the exercise of power (Eriyanto, 2009, p. 7).

Fairclough & Wodak (1997, p. 25) explain that CDA sees discourse as a form of social practice considered down with dialectical relationships between certain discursive events with the situations, institutions, and social structures that shape them. Discourse practice can display an ideological effect: it can produce and reproduce unequal power relationships-for example between the upper and lower classes, male and female, majority and minority-through the social position shown (Eriyanto, 2009, p. 7). Through discourse, racist and sexist circumstances, for example, can be presented as a fairness that is indeed the case. CDA sees language as an important factor in shaping and leading public opinion in that direction.

2.1.2 Ideology

A set of ideas that an economic or political system is based on. A set of beliefs, especially one held by a particular group, that influences the way people behave (University of Oxford, 2010). While in language, ideologies are conceptualizations about languages, speakers, and discursive practices. Like other kinds of ideologies, language ideologies are saturated with political and moral interests and are shaped in a cultural setting. To study language ideologies, then, is to explore the relationship of language, culture, and politics. It is essential to examine how people interpret language's role in a social and cultural world, and how their interpretations are socially positioned.

Those interpretations include the ways people consider of language itself, as well as what they understand by the particular languages and ways of speaking that are within their purview. Language ideologies are inherently plural: because they are positioned, there is always another position—another perspective from which the world of discursive practice is differently viewed. Their positioning makes language ideologies always partial, in that they can never encompass all possible views—but also partial in that they are at play in the sphere of interested human social action (Irvine, 2012).

2.1.3 Textual Analysis

Text analysis concentrates on the formal features (such as vocabulary, grammar, syntax and sentence coherence) from which discourses and genres are realized linguistically (Jorgensen & Phillips, 2007, p. 69). The relationship between texts and social practice is mediated by discursive practice. Hence it is only through discursive practice – whereby people use language to produce and consume texts – that texts shape and are shaped by social practice. At the same time, the text (the formal linguistic features) influences both the production and the consumption process. Those discourses and genres which are articulated together to produce a text, and which its receivers draw on in interpretation, have a particular linguistic structure that shapes both the production and consumption of the text.

Van Dijk sees a text consisting of several structures in which each part supports each other. He divides it into three levels. First, the micro structure. This structure is the general meaning of a text that can be observed by looking at themes/topics put forward in a news. Second, superstructure, this structure is part of the discourse that is directly related to the framework of a text and how parts of the text are composed completely. Third, the micro structure, this structure is part of the meaning of a discourse that can be observed from a small part of a text word, sentence, proposition, clause, and paraphrase.

According to Van Dijk, the three structures are mutually supportive and strengthening. For example, a theme or topic must be supported by an arrangement or text framework that must also be supported by the selection of sentences and words used. For example, in the text that discusses suicide bombing cases with the theme of the effort to disintegrate inter-religious harmony. With that theme, of course, the text will use the appropriate schematic arrangement, for example by providing facts arranged to support the theme. Furthermore, the text is also likely to cover or even omit other facts that are debilitating or denying the theme of the text itself and will only emphasize the discussion according to the theme. At a smaller level, we will find the use of words, clauses, phrases or even sentences that show and strengthen the message that suicide bombings are merely an effort to disintegrate inter-religious harmony.

As an illustration, Van Dijk discourse model can be described as a pyramid. In the Van Dijk discourse model, a discourse will be mutually supportive or coherent to one another (Littlejohn, 1992, pp. 93-94). The global meaning of a text is supported by the propositions, sentences, and words used. Themes at the general level are supported by the determination of specific structures, sentences and words. With this also, the researcher will be helped to make a text analysis by observing how the text is composed from smaller elements. Such a structure also provides a map of how to study a text. Not only understands the content of the text, but also the elements that make up text, words, sentences, and paragraphs. In addition, the

researcher can also see how the author of the text reveals the event into a particular language choice and how it is expressed through a certain rhetoric.

The use of certain words, sentences, structures, rhetoric in the text is understood by Van Dijk as part of the author's strategy. The use of certain words, sentences, styles is not seen simply as a way of communicating but is seen as communicating politics – a way of influencing public views, creating support, strengthening legitimacy, and getting rid of opponents. Discourse structures are an effective way of looking at the process of rhetoric and persuasion that is executed when a person conveys a message. Certain words may be chosen to reinforce choices or attitudes, form political awareness, and so on.

After this paragraph, table 2.1 shows what kind of elements that Van Dijk (1998, pp. 17-94) proposed in his model of discourse analysis. Then, each element will be briefly explained with basic example to simply acknowledge of the elements itself. Then, one of elements which is called 'graphic' will not be used in this study because the data sources are in form of speech which will be turned into transcription and as we know that transcription is pure textual object which do not have 'graphic' element. Why is that true? Discourse element 'graphic' concerned about the usage of text formatting which functioned as a marker for specific word or sentence that the writer wants it to be emphasized or simply noticeable by readers. Then, because transcription is pure textual object which do not have such

different formatting – because it is literally written speech – the inclusion of graphic element in this study is not possible.

Table 2.1 *Van Dijk's Model of Discourse's Elements*

Discourse Structure	Observed Things	Elements
Macro structure	Thematic	Topic
Superstructure	Schematic	Schema
Micro structure	Semantic	Background, Detail, Presupposition, Nominalization.
	Syntactic	Sentence's form, Coherence, Vocabulary.
	Stylistics	Lexicon
	Rhetoric	Graphics, Metaphors, Expressions.

2.1.3.1 Macro Structure

The macro structure is about thematic elements showing an overview of the text or often called the core, summary, or main idea of the text. The main idea describes what the author wants to express in his text and certainly shows the dominant, central, or most important concept of the text (van Dijk, 1997, p. 5). In general, we can look at an article or essay and conclude that the text tells the adventure of A to city B or about the C event during the year D.

In his analysis, the topic in a text can only be inferred after we have thoroughly read the text. For example, a topic of course illustrates what ideas are put forward or the core idea of a journalist when viewing or viewing an event. The idea is based on the view that journalists cover an event and view a problem based on a particular thought. This cognition or thought can be clearly seen from the topic raised in the news. Because the topic is considered as a journalist's cognition, it is not surprising that all the elements in the news refer to and support the topic in the news.

2.1.3.2 Superstructure

A discourse must have a scheme or plot from the introduction to the end, thus the superstructure concerns about general composition of the discourse. Generally, it called plot/scheme/structure, which shows how the parts in the text are arranged and sorted so as to form a unity of meaning. The daily conversation discourses, for example, have a greeting-introductory-content-closing scheme. Scientific discourse as in the text generally also has a schematic arrangement shown such as abstraction, background, problems, goals, hypotheses, content and conclusions. Similarly, other texts such as news or speech texts also have their own schematic arrangement.

According to van Dijk (1997, p. 7), the importance of schematic is the author's strategy to support a particular topic to be conveyed by arranging parts in a particular order. Schematic emphasize on what comes

first, and what is hidden through the strategy used. This concealing effort is done by placing the information at the end in order to impress less prominently. For example, during a demonstration clash there were two parties who made contact, there was a background of each side, there was also how it happened from each side, as well as the circumstances of each side. The most important is the process of preparing this discourse not merely because of the style of the author's language, but because it wants to cause certain impression to the readers.

2.1.3.3 Micro Structure

As its name, this structure deals only with small/micro elements in a text which is specifically arranged according to its function in the text. In micro structure, the use of certain words, sentences, propositions, rhetoric by the authors are identified as a part of the author's own strategy (van Dijk, 1997, p. 9). They are not merely seen as communicative or accidental ways of communicating, but are viewed as communicating politics – a way to influence public opinion, create support, strengthen legitimacy, and get rid of opponents or opponents. Thus, in this section, we will see how each element of textual structure generate the influence on public opinion implicitly or explicitly.

2.1.4 Micro Textual Analysis

At first, this section may seem vague because just above it we have sub section about micro structure which similarly discussing same level of analysis, but the researcher needs to separate this section because of a reason. The difference is, in this section the elements are focused on practical perspective rather than theoretical as previous section, which means the elements will be used to directly analyzing each part from the speech discourse because each of it has functions.

From the ways of how it works by detailed analysis using strategies on each element, it is possible to generate a clue on how the discourse works and provide reasons for particular explanation (Jorgensen & Phillips, 2007, p. 83). The elements itself will be arranged from simple to complex level just like language structure, i.e., word, clause, phrase, sentence, paragraph. Below is table 2.2 containing elements of micro textual analysis which will be used as main tool to analyze the speeches.

Table 2.2 *Elements of Micro Textual Analysis*

Stylistic	Lexicalization Euphemism Dysphemism
Syntactic	Active-Passive Nominalization
Semantic	Actor Description Authority Burden

	Consensus Empathy Evidentiality Example/Illustration Humanitarianism Number Game National Self-Glorification
--	--

2.1.4.1 Stylistic

At this level, it is all about how the style of language performed as a tool for every discourse maker to modify its readers' impression about the things written. For this study, the researcher will use lexicalization which generally has two strategies or functions; to alleviate or to aggravate meanings (van Dijk, 2000, p. 95).

2.1.4.1.1 Lexicalization

Lexicalization is a textual strategy in the form of word selection of various possible words. In accordance with the notion, the lexicon is a language component that contains all the information about the meaning and usage of the word in the language. Richardson (2007, p. 47) argues that the analysis of certain words used by the writer is an early stage in analyzing text or discourse. The choice of words used by the writer, is not mere coincidence, but also shows how the meaning of text to reality.

2.1.4.1.1.1 Euphemism

According to Oxford Dictionary (2010) euphemism is an indirect saying that often used by people when referring to something unpleasant or embarrassing in order to make it more acceptable. In other words, this strategy can be used by writer to reword something unfriendly and make it friendly.

2.1.4.1.1.2 Dysphemism

Based on the same source as the previous, dysphemism is the antonym of euphemism. Basically, if euphemism exist to make something bad looks good, the dysphemism exists to make something good looks bad. In reality, the writer often uses this strategy to make something bad even worst, of course by using more negative word to illustrate the thing.

2.1.4.2 Syntactic

On this level, everything is getting more complex. Syntactic as its name dealing with textual strategies which used on sentence and how its effect on readers' mind. In discourse analysis, it is believed that every kind of sentence form/structure used by writer is not merely coincidence or just the style of the writer, because each strategy using sentence form has its specific function in adjusting the text's meaning (van Dijk, 2000, p. 99). Generally, most writer used active-passive, nominalization, and

abstraction in order to shift readers' focus, hide or omit something and haze some information on text.

2.1.4.2.1 Active-Passive

Active sentences and passive sentences in critical paradigm of discourse analysis are seen not only as a matter of grammar, nor are they considered as writer's unconsciousness when writing the text. For critical discourse analysts, sentence form determines the meaning generated by the sentence. In the active sentence, the emphasis is on the subject or actor of an activity, whereas in the passive sentence, the emphasis is on the target of an actor or action. Through the passive sentence, the offender cannot be present in the text, in other words the offender can be naturally omitted from the text (van Leeuwen, 1996, pp. 38-42).

2.1.4.2.2 Nominalization

Nominalization is one of the discourse strategies that are often used to eliminate certain groups or social actors. As the name implies, this strategy deals with turning verbs into nouns in various ways according to syntactic rules. Nominalization can eliminate the actor/subject by making changes to the structure of the active sentence (van Dijk, 2000, p. 99). In an active sentence, there will always be a subject and need a verb that shows what is done to the object in the sentence. This strategy basically requires no subject because by using

nominalization the author can change the meaningful verbs of action into meaningful nouns of event.

2.1.4.3 Semantic

The most complex element of micro textual analysis is on semantic level. At this stage, the discussed thing is getting wider rather than the previous one. Semantic element consists of some strategies which served as writer tools to play and create meaning of text by presenting different impression on same fact(s) (van Dijk, 2000, p. 93). This element reveals not just intended meaning by writer, but also the writers' partiality (bias) toward particular thing on the text. Generally, semantic consist of some strategies which will be discussed briefly below.

2.1.4.3.1 Actor Description

Actor description deals with person or subject illustration covering his/her title, group, family, role in society, rank, or situation happening on that subject (van Dijk, 2000, p. 214). In other word, actor description is strategy of information giving related to specific subject. In critical discourse analysis, actor description is a feature which shows writer's view. It is possible because his strategy enables writer/speaker to alter the illustration of certain subject whether it will positive or negative as the writer intended.

2.1.4.3.2 Authority

Most speakers or writer sometimes mention or include authorities on their argument(s) to support the idea presented. In general, this strategy complies with any addition of from any parties which has authority or power on particular field which can be considered as relevant to support or even make valid-looking argument (van Dijk, 2000, p. 215).

2.1.4.3.3 Burden

The idea of this strategy is how to make an argument which characterizes various principles that sufficient to accept the argument's conclusion (van Dijk, 2000, p. 215). As its name, the principles are always related to give burden on certain party/side/subject to make it look that they are the one who bring reason of problem. The reason is various – it can be economical, political, or even social – depending on the argument proposed.

2.1.4.3.4 Consensus

This strategy is considered as political one where writer or speaker use certain issues in order to make claim or wish that all parties/sides – that oppose each other – have agreed and will work together on dealing with the issues. Commonly, in national speeches, this strategy used mostly on argument by using issues – as background – which threaten national or even international interest (van Dijk, 2000, p.

216). Thus, it makes an impression that conflicting sides/parties should work together, and the argument behind the issue presented by writer/speaker will seem unifying, and the readers/audiences would believe it or consider it as true.

2.1.4.3.5 Empathy

In discourse analysis, expression of empathy generally is a part of strategic move to achieve specific impression with the audiences. Using this strategy, writer/speaker might be able to manage sympathy from readers/audiences and demonstrate care, attention, and broad understanding from the writer/speaker, thus the specific impression will be achieved (van Dijk, 2000, pp. 216-217).

2.1.4.3.6 Evidentiality

Every argument or idea or even claim will be more reasonable when it goes together with proofs or evidences for additional information. This strategy might be similar with Authority because some evidence might be directly quoted from figures or institutions that have power and credibility to provide such valid and trustable information. Moreover, source of the evidence itself will affect what the argument brings, if it is from victim of certain case the argument will impress something that create empathy or sympathy (van Dijk, 2000, p. 217).

2.1.4.3.7 Example/Illustration

One of the most effective strategies in giving argument is to provide concrete examples, which typically in form of story illustrating general idea of specific circumstance (van Dijk, 2000, p. 218). This strategy might look similar with evidentiality or authority in way of giving truth or trusted information, but with concrete example, writer/speaker is able to present a memorable and easy-to-understand story. This makes text or speech more dynamic when the provided information is well presented with this strategy.

2.1.4.3.8 Humanitarianism

This strategy works by limiting or managing readers/audience impression toward certain issue with presenting values which cannot be violated because of humanity reasons. The way this strategy expressed on discourse is vary, one of them is by establishing what we called norms which manipulate what we can and cannot do (van Dijk, 2000, p. 219). Next one, writer/speaker can explicitly give arguments which remind the readers/audience about human rights, empathy, morality, etc., thus make all of it as reasons to support the argument's idea.

2.1.4.3.9 Number Game

According to Van Dijk (2004), number game is one of solution to present a situation through data which showed in order to add some

validity or objectivity in related information. This strategy might be similar with abstraction in syntactic element, but it contrasts on how the writer manipulate sentence related with information which shows quantity of certain thing.

2.1.4.3.10 National Self-Glorification

National Self-glorification is a discursive strategy to deliver a positive representation by revealing a self-power or self-superiority from specific individual or group (van Dijk, 2000, p. 220). Through this strategy, readers will catch an impression which mostly positive about figures or parties discussed.

2.2 Previous Studies

Suryana (2008) wrote a thesis entitled “*Ideologi pemberitaan surat kabar Republika dan Kompas dalam kasus penerbitan majalah playboy Indonesia*”. This study finds the ideology on selected newspaper by using Pan & Kosicki’s framing model. In this study, the writer focused on how the newspaper implement its ideology in framing related issue. This study provides sufficient example on how ideology can be analyzed through analysis of framing model.

Van Dijk (2000) with *The reality of racism* in Zurstiege G. (eds) *Festschrift für die wirklichkeit*. This study mostly applied discursive strategies which is more about practical description rather than theoretical.

He studied about European politicians who spoke about immigration debates. What he did was simply go through the text, clause by clause, sentence by sentence or paragraph by paragraph, and try to categorize any relevant functions such units have within the speech itself. He studied the categorization of recognizable moves and strategies, e.g., those of derogation (negative other-presentation), ingroup favoritism (positive self-presentation), the use of specific metaphors, lexicalizations, hyperbolas, which he also analyzed in earlier work on racism and discourse.

Van Dijk (2000) with *On the analysis of parliamentary debates on immigration* in In M. Reisigl, & R. Wodak, *The semiotics of racism*. This study is considered as similar to the above study mentioned. Even though it is similar, this study still worth to be previous study because its significance. The difference is; this study uses numbers of theory and different method usage to create suitable framework of analysis. This study also has different focus; it is focused on how the available theories and methods are contested to find suitable tool for analysis.

Degaf (2017) with *Kasus Ahok dalam perspektif ilmu linguistik*. This previous study raises the theme related to the widespread news about the blasphemy case carried out by Basuki Tjahaja Purnama (Ahok) in his speech in the Kepulauan Seribu several months ago. In simple terms, the author wants to explore Ahok's sentence/speech which is considered to have hurt the hearts of Muslims. Ahok's utterances that are considered blasphemous is viewed using linguistic glasses, namely in terms of syntax, semantics, and

pragmatics. Syntactically, what is seen in this previous study is the construction of passive-active sentences in one of the speeches that are considered as a form of blasphemy by the audience. Then, the grammatical point of view is strengthened by analysis of meaning, which is related to the emotive meaning that can be generated by a word. This emotive meaning then sparked public anger over Ahok's words. The next analysis is related to who speaks and what or by van Dijk (2004) referred to as US vs THEM. Regarding the labeling of who is considered "us" and who is considered "them" this also brings its own consequences for the utterances uttered by Ahok. In addition, an analysis related to the context of an utterance is also included in this previous study. A comprehensive language analysis related to the Ahok case is expected to provide alternative answers regarding whether Ahok's speech in the thousand islands is a form of blasphemy or not. Thus, analysis of the text alone is considered insufficient, so that the role of context and factors outside the text become very important in this case.

Degaf (2017) with *Pemberitaan Rohingya pada portal berita Republika: Kajian analisis wacana kritis*. This previous study aims to describe how Republika describes the massacre of Rohingya in Rakhine State (also known as Arakan, or Rohang in Rohingya), Myanmar by using van Dijk's Critical Discourse Analysis approach. The Rohingya ethnicity is a Muslim ethnic minority and of course the massacre of this ethnic has caused criticism from various parts of the world, especially Indonesia, where the majority of the population is Muslim. According to van Dijk (2004), there are

two main discursive strategies in reporting on an individual/group in the media, and these strategies are related to who is considered as "US" and who is considered as "THEM". The labeling of us vs them is realized through several discourse strategies, including: authoritative argumentation strategy, passive sentence use strategy, and number game strategy. Some of these discourse strategies are used by the media - in this case Republika - to give positive (positive self-presentation) and negative (negative other presentations) labels to individuals/groups that are reported.

From all previous studies, the gap of my study is located on how I reveal my subject's ideology using textual analysis on subject's speech using discourse strategies from stylistic, syntactic, and semantic element as sets of tools in analyzing the object.

CHAPTER III

FINDINGS AND DISCUSSIONS

As its name, this chapter covers findings and discussions from data analysis of chosen object for this study. As we know from previous chapter, the data analysis is divided into two phases – first one is about analyzing textual structure from both data, and the second one is about comparing the result. In the first phase, the analysis is displayed as the micro textual analysis's elements arranged – stylistic first, the followed by syntactic and last is semantic. This arrangement is chosen because the researcher simply follow the way of the textual structure from the simplest to the complex one in describing data. It means that, in order to understand and objectively write an analysis of semantic elements, the researcher needs to understand first about its syntactic elements, and understanding the elements requires all stylistic elements to be understood first, thus it is logical that the data analysis is arranged in such way.

3.1 Findings

In this section, the object of this study is analyzed according to the elements of micro textual analysis which have been explained on previous chapter. The analysis explains stylistic elements, following with syntactic elements and ended with semantic elements, and the explanation covers both speeches from Barack Obama and Donald Trump.

3.1.1 Stylistic Element

This element contains lexicalization or lexical choice which deals with words selection on texts or discourses. In stylistic element, there are two strategies which commonly founded in any texts/discourse, the strategies are euphemism and dysphemism.

3.1.1.1 Euphemism

In political discourse such as presidential speech, each use of word or lexicon needs extra attention because each word has its specific meaning and most importantly it also has specific sense towards audience (Richardson, 2007, p. 47). Moreover, the use of each lexicon is certainly as a function of context features by expressing the underlying concept and belief of the speaker which can be articulated in various ways depending on the speaker's position, role, goals, perspective, or opinion (van Dijk, 2000, p. 95).

At this level of analysis, euphemism is used several times on Trump's speeches. He uses this strategy to alter sense of spoken topic which seems negative in a way that the topic brings unpleasant things, thus the sense will be more acceptable. This is important for audience to see him as positive as possible because he spoke as a new leader of nation who brings various plans which need all his people to cooperate in order to make happen his plans.

Euphemism in Trump's speech used on some topics about crime, and global security. Those topics are considered as unpleasant things because these bring sense of not kind, friendly, or polite for common people. On the topic of crime, he addresses about how two local officers killed in action and Trump used word 'slain' on the address (see table 3.1). This choice of word is considered having more neutral sense rather than similar word such as killed, murdered, assassinated, massacred, eliminated, slaughtered, or even exterminated. With this, Trump effectively achieves more polite sense from the audience.

Table 3.1

Euphemism	<i>Their husbands – Deputy Sheriff Danny Oliver and Detective Michael Davis – were slain in the line of duty in California (Trump, 2017).</i>
Without	<i>Their husbands – Deputy Sheriff Danny Oliver and Detective Michael Davis – were murdered in the line of duty in California.</i>

Second use of this strategy is on topic of global security. Trump gave statement about his expectation on his allies in NATO, his support on them, and the most interesting is how he will give the support (see table 3.2). In order to give clear understanding, let's talk about basic principle in politic. In political discourse, we often knew that everything is not free, every give is followed by take. That idea is similar in the statement which

Trump is supporting his allies and in order to make that possible, he also asks his allies to pay the price.

Table 3.2

Euphemism	<i>But our partners must meet their financial obligations</i> (Trump, 2017).
Without	<i>But our partners must meet their debt.</i>

In his statement, he uses words ‘financial obligation’ to illustrate the idea, and it is considered as more acceptable word rather than debt, bill or money. Thus, with this kind of move, Trump is successfully bringing positive sense on such unpleasant thing about payment toward the audience and their view on him will be also more positive.

On Obama’s speech, he used this strategy when giving statement about terrorism (see table 3.3). He told about how U.S. will work with her allies to defeat Al-Qaeda in Afghanistan, that statement then followed with his argument which told about his promise to not allow any terrorist to plot American people on homeland half a world away.

Table 3.3

Euphemism	<i>Because I will not allow terrorists to plot against the American people from safe havens half a world away</i> (Obama, 2009).
------------------	--

Without	<i>Because I will not allow terrorists to plot against the American people from our homeland half a world away.</i>
---------	--

He used word ‘safe heavens’ to illustrate the U.S. soil or homeland, and the researcher considered it as euphemism. Word ‘safe heaven’ used to give his audience sense that U.S. homeland is harmless and peaceful. If Obama used word ‘homeland’ the audience could not feel what was he intended. Obama intentionally used this euphemism because he knows the argument was about unpleasant topic which always related with violence, criminal, terror, etc. This move also intended to give the audience clearer thought about terrorism in Afghanistan cause something like hell and as U.S. President he will not allow fire from the hell spreading on his safe heaven, and with this move he also alleviate his positive appearance on the audience.

3.1.1.2 Dysphemism

This strategy in Trump’s speech recognized when he addresses topics about drug, city layout, and health care. Topic about drug delivered as he gives statement about promise to stop grave situation of drugs spreading across nation (see table 3.4).

Table 3.4

Dysphemism	<i>Our terrible drug epidemic will slow down and ultimately, stop (Trump, 2017).</i>
Without	<i>Our terrible drug widespread will slow down and ultimately, stop.</i>

He uses word ‘epidemic’ to illustrate the situation and it is considered as dysphemism because the use of word creating more negative sense or more unpleasant. This is frankly used by Trump in order to make the audience understand how bad the situation is by creating that kind of sense. The use of word will certainly different if he used other such as widespread, extensive, broad or wide-ranging, because these words will not give the audience strong sense about the grave situation of drugs.

Moving on next example of this strategy on topic about healthcare named Obamacare which illustrated by Trump as a failed one because of some reasons. On previous statement, he addresses that Obamacare is collapsing because way it works is longer suitable in many places. He uses phrase ‘imploding Obamacare disaster’ to make the audience think and realize that what happened is truly important thing and need to be fixed soon (see table 3.5). With that phrase, he deliberately uses word ‘disaster’ rather than other words such as failure, mess, misfortune, or shambles, this move considered as dysphemism because word used has more unpleasant sense and this sense is functioned as a tool to get his previous statement more plausible which certainly brings idea that need to be agreed by all parties.

Table 3.5

Dysphemism	<i>So, I am calling on all Democrats and Republicans in the Congress to work with us to save Americans from this imploding Obamacare disaster (Trump, 2017).</i>
Without	<i>So, I am calling on all Democrats and Republicans in the Congress to work with us to save Americans from this imploding Obamacare misfortune.</i>

On Obama's speech, this strategy founded when he gave statement about his understanding on certain case that considered as unpleasant one because past administration policy was subjected as mistaken move which make both parties and American taxpayers angry.

When he addressed such thing (see table 3.6), Obama used word 'infuriated', according to Oxford Dictionary (2010) that word means "to make somebody extremely angry". That word is considered as dysphemism because it has synonym of enrage, madden, incense and annoy which according to Oxford Dictionary (2010) all of those except 'annoy' means "to make somebody very angry" and annoy means "to make somebody slightly angry".

Table 3.6

Dysphemism	<i>I understand that when the last administration asked this Congress to provide assistance for struggling banks, Democrats and Republicans alike were infuriated by the mismanagement and results that followed (Obama, 2009).</i>
Without	<i>I understand that when the last administration asked this Congress to provide assistance for struggling banks, Democrats and Republicans alike were annoyed by the mismanagement and results that followed.</i>

Based on explanation on previous paragraph, the researcher believes Obama used dysphemism to make his audience understand how immoral was the impact of the policy. If Obama used another word, the audience will not have same understanding about the policy as he wanted. He intentionally used that word to make the audience impressed that the policy was extremely unacceptable by all American whether Democrats or Republicans.

3.1.2 Syntactic Element

As explained before in previous chapter, this element contains two strategies which – as its title – is mainly about sentence modification. The strategies are Active-Passive and Nominalization.

3.1.2.1 Active-Passive

The sentence structure whether it is active or passive will have different sense on every reader/audience. In speech discourse, these two structures used intentionally by speaker to get the sense which very dependent on some factors as the euphemism. Active sentence commonly used to spotlight the actor/doer of certain situation while passive sentence highlights the object/victim and sometimes the passive one can omit any presence of the actor (van Leeuwen, 1996, pp. 38-42).

On Trump's speech, he used frequently active sentence on his address. This is logical because in speech discourse especially presidential speech, contents of the speech need to be clearly delivered and of course the active sentence can work that out, but the researcher believe that this kind of move also used deliberately by Trump to make himself and his government stand out on each and every problem of previous government. Therefore, with such move, it is possible to create impression among audience that Trump and his government will help out and solve problems for them.

Even though Trump's speech commonly uses active sentence, there is also passive sentence which is also used consciously as the active one to give specific sense for audience. As previously stated, passive sentence in this example might be intended to highlights a situation rather than actors behind the situation. Trump addresses situation about violence which cost thousands of U.S. citizen life and murder rate on that year (see

table 3.7). With passive sentence, he wants the audience to be focused on the presented situation and make them think about it. This is important because this move is used as one of reasons for his plan on fighting crime and violence, thus make it easier for society to accept the plan.

Table 3.7

Passive	<i>In Chicago, more than 4,000 people were shot last year alone – and the murder rate so far this year has been even higher (Trump, 2017).</i>
Active	<i>In Chicago, criminals shot more than 4,000 people last year alone – and the murder rate so far this year has been even higher.</i>

On Obama's speech, use of passive sentence is commonly intended to give illustration. This strategy founded when he gave statement about American economy might be weakened and their confidence also shaken. On delivering such statement, he used word 'weakened' instead of 'weaken' which need subject (see table 3.8).

Table 3.8

Passive	<i>But while our economy may be weakened and our confidence shaken; though we are living through difficult and uncertain times... (Obama, 2009)</i>
Active	<i>But while government and businessman weaken our economy and our confidence shaken; though we are living through difficult and uncertain times...</i>

This move is intentionally used because Obama knows that American itself who let their economy weakened as his previous statements. With this move, the audience will only focus and think about situation of economic recession instead of think that their government and themselves who caused the recession. Such thought on the audience is important because Obama needs his people to believe that there is hope to get better situation. If in his address he stated who caused U.S. economic weaken, his audience will focus on blaming them, rather than accept it as shared situation.

3.1.2.2 Nominalization

Similar with previous strategy in a way of modifying sentence's structure, nominalization works by using nominal sentence instead of verbal one. This kind of strategy enables writer/speaker to make different sense depending on situation which created by the sense. In speech discourse, nominalization used in a comparable way as using passive sentence, because when a sentence's verb is nominalized, it is possible to omit subject and sense of the sentence will shift from action-oriented into event-oriented (van Dijk, 2000, p. 99).

On Trump's speech, he used this strategy to make the audience focus on event by transforming verb into noun of event and omit any subject. He addresses that there are threats, vandalism, and shooting which

recently occurred on his nation instead of giving statement that might include who is the actor behind those crime and violence (see table 3.9).

Table 3.9

Nominal	<i>Recent threats targeting Jewish Community Centers and vandalism of Jewish cemeteries, as well as last week's shooting in Kansas City ... (Trump, 2017).</i>
Verbal	<i>Recently, dozens of criminal spreads number of threats targeting Jewish Community Centers and vandalizing Jewish cemeteries, as well as last week couples of criminal shots nearly whole class of high school students in Kansas City....</i>

With this move, the audience will only focus on those events, they will probably think those are very bad events rather than who are behind it or how the criminals did it. This sense is believed to function as reason or background to make preceding argument supported and become more plausible, because Trump needs the audience to believe that current situation needed to be fixed very soon.

On Obama's speech, the researcher did not find any nominalization strategy. This might possible because Obama commonly used active verbal sentence and numbers of nominalized verb on some sentences. Even on the sentence with nominalized verb, its meaning will not drastically different from verbal one. Nominalization of verb on Obama's speech used to give photograph of action on the audience rather than omit or hide the subject.

3.1.3 Semantic Element

In this element, the analysis mainly discusses on strategies which focused on meaning making. As explained on previous chapter, semantic element consists of several strategies which work by changing, shifting, or varying meaning on text or discourse to give different sense towards readers/audience (van Dijk, 2000, p. 93).

3.1.3.1 Actor Description

There are various ways to use this strategy because it depends on needs which different in every discourse on people or action. The needs itself make possible to describe the people/actor with several types of description such as member, family, role, position, attributes, etc. (van Dijk, 2000, p. 214). Those description is important for writer/speaker to create specific sense on readers/audience because the description will shape image of the actor who presented on the discourse.

In speech discourse as Trump's speech, he used actor description to shape what will audience think about presented actor. He did that by limiting and focusing on what is necessary to make audience think and feel a sense which Trump desired. The Actor presented is Abraham Lincoln, Trump described him as first republican president rather than other descriptions which Lincoln have (see table 3.10). With this kind of move, Trump deliberately wants the audience to think that the presented actor is

republican which same as himself. This desired thought or sense later functioned as supporting reason to strengthen and amplify previous illustration which related with Trump's plan.

Table 3.10

The first Republican President, Abraham Lincoln, warned that the "abandonment of the protective policy by the American Government [will] produce want and ruin among our people" (Trump, 2017).

On Obama's speech, this strategy founded when he gave statement which mentions U.S. Vice President. This strategy used intentionally to give additional information on the audience, thus they will think about the vice president more than just second in command (see table 3.11).

Table 3.11

*That is why I have asked Vice President Biden to lead a tough, unprecedented oversight effort - **because nobody messes with Joe** (Obama, 2009).*

He used phrase "because nobody messes with Joe" to give the audience illustration that if the vice president handles the task given, he will certainly accomplish it because no one dares to play with him. This move is important for Obama because he need the audience to sure that his preceding arguments about skepticism can be countered and increase the

Americans' confidence that they can make come back in this economic recession.

3.1.3.2 Authority

This strategy used by quoting or presenting authorities on discourse to create stronger sense of argument or claim (van Dijk, 2000, p. 215). In speech discourse the use of this strategy is commonly to enhance speaker's argument to make audience more assured of certain idea presented. In other words, authority can also be used as a reason, example, or illustration.

On Trump's speech, he uses this strategy mainly to make his audience sure about what is he promised. First, he stated about his direction on Department of Justice to reduce violent crime by forming a task force, and he also promised that he will make Department of Homeland Security and Justice along with other departments to dismantle criminal cartels across nation (see table 3.12). With such move, the audience will more assured and thus believe on what he said. Moreover, the sense of believe in audience is important for Trump make sure his plans will be supported and ultimately achieved.

Table 3.12

<p><i>To protect our citizens, I have directed the Department of Justice to form a Task Force on Reducing Violent Crime. I have further ordered the Departments of Homeland Security and Justice, along with the</i></p>
--

Department of State and the Director of National Intelligence, to coordinate an aggressive strategy to dismantle the criminal cartels that have spread across our Nation (Trump, 2017).

On Obama's speech, this strategy founded when he gave statement about his promise and what he had done as one of his plans to fix the economic recession. He mentioned some authorities, such as his cabinet, mayors, governors, and even himself to make sure that his audience will believe the plan and willing to cooperate for it (see table 3.13). Without this strategy, the audience might not believe on what he said, and as a U.S. President, it is his job to invite all American to work together to make better country.

Table 3.13

*I have told each **member of my Cabinet** as well as **mayors** and **governors** across the country that they will be held accountable by **me** and the American people for every dollar they spend (Obama, 2009).*

3.1.3.3 Burden

In speech discourse, claims or arguments against past or even current state/situation is constructed on numbers of standard which represent principles which used as reasons to admit the conclusion (van Dijk, Reality of racism, 2000, p. 215).

On Trump's speech, he used this strategy to create principle on audience's mind about past mistake will not affect the course of future (see table 3.14). With this principle, he intentionally blames previous personal/groups who responsible of the mistake happened and create chance for Trump to get in the situation and do one of his jobs as president to fix the mistake, thus make the audience think in similar way and believe that.

Table 3.14

<p><i>I will not allow the mistakes of recent decades past to define the course of our future</i> (Trump, 2017).</p>

On Obama's speech, this strategy founded when he gave idea about self-mistake made by American which caused the economic recession. He used this strategy to remind his audience that the recession is a mistake of ourselves (see table 3.15). Moreover, he also put information that the mistake is caused by both government and its people.

Table 3.15

*Now, if we're honest with ourselves, we'll admit that for too long, **we have not always met these responsibilities - as a government or as a people** (Obama, 2009).*

With such strategy, he wanted to give the audience sense of regretful whether they work in government or live as common citizen. In addition, Obama used this move in order to support both previous and preceding arguments which required his audience to understand that if America wants to get better, they should do it themselves and start it on their own mind.

3.1.3.4 Consensus

Speech discourse about political strategy as commonly founded in presidential speech often used issues of national or even international importance to support speaker's arguments by making it more plausible if it connected with the issues (van Dijk, 2000, p. 216).

On Trump's speech, this strategy founded when he used national issue about American people deserving something good by making hope that everything broken can be fixed, every problem can be solved, and every hurting family can find healing, which used to invite Democrat's people to join forces and go together to accomplish the hope given (see table 3.16). With this kind of address, Trump was creating a sense which the audience will think and believe that the losing party Democrat should

work with governing party Republic because what is planned looks very promising and good for American people.

Table 3.16

*Our citizens deserve this, and so much more -- so why not join forces to finally get it done? On this and so many other things, **Democrats and Republicans should get together and unite** for the good of our country, and for the good of the American people (Trump, 2017).*

On Obama's speech, this strategy founded on his statement about an idea to make both parties Democrat and Republic to work together and bring some plans to help solving the economic recession. He also mentioned the audience on chamber which consisted of government's officers and even himself to join together working on the recession.

In the example below (see table 3.17), this strategy uses national economic issue to make it plausible. With this consensus, he wanted to make his audience believe that the plans he had and dreams he hold by presenting his argument that opposing parties need to work together. If he did not use this strategy, it is impossible for him to get the audience assurance and those plans and dreams will never be achieved.

Table 3.17

*Given these realities, everyone in this chamber - **Democrats and Republicans - will have to sacrifice** some worthy priorities for which there are no dollars. **And that includes me** (Obama, 2009).*

3.1.3.5 Empathy

In political discourse, the writer/speaker shows sympathy or empathy in many ways toward certain side or party depending in their political or ideological perception. Empathy sometimes used strategically to balance readers/audience impression by creating sense of caring which will make the readers/audience felt that they were noticed, and after that, any truth or fact delivered later on which considered as unpleasant information for them will have more reasonable sense, thus balancing impression of the readers/audience (van Dijk, 2000, pp. 216-217).

On Trump's speech, he used this strategy to give more genuine empathy on group of families of law enforcement. He stated that every police and sheriff is member of community, they are friends and neighbors, and they are also member of family on their own which every time duty calls, their life is at risk (see table 3.18). With this, audiences are asked to open heart and mind to show some sympathy and willing to cooperate with them. This impression is quite important because Trump previously asked the audience to cooperate and trust people on law enforcement and together making safer and peaceful society.

Table 3.18

<p><i>Police and sheriffs are members of our community. They are friends and neighbors, they are mothers and fathers, sons and daughters - and they leave behind loved ones every day who worry whether or not they'll come home safe and sound</i> (Trump, 2017).</p>
--

On Obama's speech, he commonly used this strategy as personal approach to touch audience's heart and make them understand deeply from inside. In example presented below (see table 3.19), he used empathy when he addressed an idea about how America sees his men and women in uniform who have served and delivered for the Nation.

Table 3.19

*To each and every one of them, and to the families who bear the quiet burden of their absence, Americans are united in sending one message: **we honor your service, we are inspired by your sacrifice, and you have our unyielding support** (Obama, 2009).*

This strategy is important because Obama needs his audience and his people who listen to believe that each and every of those men and women are always honored and cared by Nation. With this, the audience will believe that Obama also cared for those people and will not forget them as most of his speech is about economic, healthcare, and education.

3.1.3.6 Evidentiality

Every information containing proof or evidence is always important to give more logical sense on certain argument or claim (van Dijk, 2000, p. 217). On speech discourse, speaker sometimes refer or give the information authority figures, institutions, or using numbers of form of evidentiality.

On Trump's speech (see table 3.20), this strategy is crucial especially on argument about increasing national security to protect each American from terrorism which sometimes considered as biased argument. In order to make it more convincing and logical, he needs to give some proof to make his audience belief that treat from terrorism is real.

Table 3.20

<p><i>According to data provided by the Department of Justice, the vast majority of individuals convicted for terrorism-related offenses since 9/11 came here from outside of our country (Trump, 2017).</i></p>

Trump claims that data from Department of Justice shows majority of terrorist came from outside. With this proof, the audience will believe or at least consider that terrorism is came from outside, thus previous argument about increasing national security by limiting how person could enter the nation need to be done.

On Obama's speech, this strategy used on many of his arguments to make it sound more valid and trustable. In the example below (see table 3.21), he used evidentiality to give his audience view of how terrible is American education has. Obama presented facts which make the audience think and consider that education system should be fixed too. Without those proof, the audience will just don't understand why even Obama

planned to work on better education system, thus he needs to show the audience that it is bad and need a reform too.

Table 3.21

*And yet, just over half of our citizens have that level of education. We have one of the **highest high school dropout rates of any industrialized nation**. And half of the students who begin college **never finish** (Obama, 2009).*

3.1.3.7 Example/Illustration

In speech discourse, power of an argument is coming from how clear examples, illustration, or logic given by speaker. It not just about proof or truth or how those presented memorably or imaginable, but more about how compelling the presented information are. Moreover, clear illustration also makes speech more energetic when it based on personal experience from speaker (van Dijk, 2000, p. 218).

On Trump's speech, he gives example/illustration about how unfair international sales on American companies and workers (see table 3.22). He told his audience about his meeting with one of companies which has mistreated for long time while do business by paying high rate of tax, and they even get used to it. With this narrative, Trump wants his audience to understand how terrible the situation is, because it is important to give support on his previous plan about restarting the engine of American economy so they can also accomplish their goals. The presented narrative

will easily give the audience picture of current economic situation of America and also make them to believe that Trump's plan is must to do.

Table 3.22

At our meeting, I asked them, how are you doing, how is business? They said that it's good. I asked them further how they are doing with other countries, mainly international sales. They told me -- without even complaining because they have been mistreated for so long that they have become used to it -- that it is very hard to do business with other countries because they tax our goods at such a high rate (Trump, 2017).

On Obama's speech, he used a lot of examples on delivering his arguments (see table 3.23). Similar with empathy, this strategy also used by him to give his audience more plausible sense of arguments. In the example below, Obama used this strategy when addressing idea about where American can found or built their answer to fix and get up from the economic recession.

Table 3.23

The answers to our problems don't lie beyond our reach. They exist in our laboratories and universities; in our fields and our factories; in the imaginations of our entrepreneurs and the pride of the hardest-working people on Earth (Obama, 2009).

With such move, the audience would believe that the recession can be handled. The way Obama told the audience also give them indistinct view about his idea. This is important to give such view because Obama needs his people's will by believing that the answer is there and it is existing, thus he can drive the Nation into a better situation.

3.1.3.8 Humanitarianism

This strategy used by presenting principles and critiques which defend human rights. In speech discourse, the speaker uses this strategy to gain supports for presented argument from all audience (van Dijk, 2000, p. 219).

On Trump's speech (see table 3.24), he used principle about American spirit to find friends, partners, harmony, stability, and peace. This address is intentional to make his audience understand that his plan is to strengthen alliance and make peace, and make his previous argument (about keeping America safe the Nation should provide needed tools to prevent war and if it happens to fight and win) supported.

Table 3.24

<p><i>America is willing to find new friends, and to forge new partnerships, where shared interests align. We want harmony and stability, not war and conflict. We want peace, wherever peace can be found. America is friends today with former enemies (Trump, 2017).</i></p>

On Obama's speech (see table 3.25), the use of this strategy might be similar with empathy in a way that he showed his care and proposed a norm-like idea based on it. In the example below, he used humanitarianism to create the idea based on human rights about parents should not pass any burden to their children.

Table 3.25

*There is, of course, another responsibility we have to our children.
And that is the responsibility to ensure that we do not pass on to them
a debt they cannot pay (Obama, 2009).*

He used this move to make his audience think the norm-like idea like that is plausible and Obama might make the audience to believe in that. This is important because such strategy is used to give support on both previous and preceding arguments and make them stronger. Thus, the plans presented are certainly will get support from people of United States of America.

3.1.3.9 Number Game

There are many arguments design to increase trustworthiness by using strategy that highlights objectivity, such as number or statistics. This strategy might work similar with authority and evidentiality in way giving trusted information, but with number game, discourse maker can also alter

readers impression on certain proof depending on ideological and political believes (van Dijk, 2000, p. 222).

On Trump’s speech, he used this strategy to give his audience proof about rising charge of Obamacare premiums. He used phrase “double and triple digit” instead of giving exact value of the rising charge (see table 3.26).

Table 3.26

*Obamacare premiums nationwide have increased by **double and triple digits** (Trump, 2017).*

With such move, he wants the audience to easily understand and quickly catch the illustration given, because we all know that increasing in digit number means that it rises ten and hundred times more expensive, thus the audience will certainly think and believe that the healthcare price is ridiculous and need to be replaced as Trump’s argument previously on the speech.

On Obama’s speech, this strategy founded on some arguments and claims which mostly become example or proof to support the arguments or claims. In the example below (see table 3.27), he used number game to give illustration about how terrible the premium of healthcare which runs in the Nation. He used phrase “four times faster than wages” to make his audience easy to understand and catch instantly the meaning of it.

Table 3.27

*In the last eight years, premiums have grown **four times faster than wages**. And in each of these years, **one million more Americans** have lost their health insurance (Obama, 2009).*

Moreover, he also used phrase “one million more Americans” to give illustration about how much U.S. citizens who lost their insurance. With this move, Obama wants the audience to think and understand quickly that the healthcare is broken and need to be reformed. This is important because, as usual, he need all of his audience to support him and his plans and there are no better ways than making the audience believe him.

3.1.3.10 National Self-Glorification

This strategy is also known as positive self-representation. In political discourse, this strategy commonly shows superiority and anything related to it when addressing about speaker’s side/party/nation (van Dijk, 2000, p. 220).

In the example below (see table 3.28), this strategy makes or increases some confidence on audience because both speaker and audience are in same nation even not in same side/party. Trump gives statement which marks his presidency as new chapter of America encompassing on national capabilities and proud. This strategy is important, especially in early part speech, because audience will know that what the whole speech

about is all based on idea to make America great again. With this move, Trump's effectively drive the audience sense toward expectations, hopes and dreams of better America.

Table 3.28

*What we are witnessing today is the Renewal of the American Spirit. Our allies will find that **America is once again ready to lead**. All the nations of the world – friend or foe – will find that **America is strong, America is proud, and America is free** (Trump, 2017).*

On Obama's speech, this strategy used in national level which means that he used National Self-Glorification to make America looks greater than any other nations. In the example below (see table 3.29), he used this strategy to give representation about how vigilant America on overcoming extremism.

Table 3.29

*To overcome extremism, we must also be vigilant in upholding the values our troops defend - because **there is no force in the world more powerful than the example of America** (Obama, 2009).*

He said that there is no force more powerful than America on his statement on the speech. With such move, Obama wanted to rise up the U.S. people's pride and believe of themselves and to remind that America is strong. This is important because with such sense, the audience will have

less doubts about one of Obama's plans to overcome the extremism and even give some supports to make it achieved.

3.2 Discussion

In this section, the researcher presents collective argument which answers the statement of problem of this study. Findings from Trump's and Obama's speech are collectively explained as information to formulate how they presented ideology on first presidential speech. After each of that, there is a data summary about general comparison highlighting how both presidents presenting their ideology, a quick explanation about the data summary, an interpretation of the results, and some comparisons with previous studies.

Here, the researcher presents general comparison on each element. First, stylistics elements comparison. Trump used most of the strategy as tool for him to assure his audience about what he will do on his presidency. From lexical choice on stylistic element, he used euphemism and dysphemism to strengthen his argument and make the audience get the sense he tried to give. This is important because using such strategy Trump will easily get attention from the audience and also in same time, the audience will get the point of his argument.

On the other side, we might notice that Obama speech is about giving past example and future illustration. From stylistic element, we know that lexical choice strategy euphemism and dysphemism is normally used as a move to make his arguments, claims, and ideas stronger. Similar with Trump,

Obama also used this strategy to ease his audience to be able to rapidly understand and get the sense which Obama deliberately intended.

Table 3.30 *Stylistics elements comparison*

	Trump	Obama
Euphemism	To alter specific sense towards audience about certain topic, positioning his ideas on “the right side” (3 occurrences).	Similar as Trump (6 occurrences).
Dysphemism	To alter specific sense towards audience about certain topic, augmenting the negative-sense on referenced subjects (3 occurrences).	Similar as Trump (5 occurrences).

Next, sentence structure and nominalization on syntactic element. In both of strategies, Trump’s intentionally used those uncommon form of sentence – especially in speech political discourse which commonly uses active and verbal sentence – in order to shift his audience attention and again make them get his point of argument easily. Easier the audience understand Trump’s idea, than easier for him to accomplish his plans.

Meanwhile, Obama used most of sentences on his speech with active verbal or active nominal. It is quite rare to find the passive and there is no nominal sentence which can be categorized into one of discourse strategy of nominalization. This all make sense because what Obama said need to be

clear in a way of subject and object existence, while in other side, Trump's speech used both of the strategy, even though it just a few sentences.

Table 3.31 *Syntactic elements comparison*

	Trump	Obama
Active-Passive	To create focus around the event by omitting its causes (1 occurrences).	Similar as Trump (1 occurrences).
Nominalization	Similar as Active-Passive (1 occurrences).	(0 occurrence).

Next, about strategies on semantic element. All of the strategies are used intentionally as Trump's intention and interest. In general, the use of strategies here is deliberately for making connection between arguments, thus create supports which is plausible and easy to understand. Because to make clear idea about his plan for presidency, he needs to deliver his idea as coherent and cohesive as possible. On the other side, Obama mostly used similar strategy as Trump in order to support and strengthen the related arguments, claims, or ideas.

In actor description there is a slight difference from both presidents on its practice. Trump used it to give the audiences sense of republicans by quoting previous presidents' advice and label them as republicans. On Obama speech, this strategy used to give more personal touch about the presented actor capabilities and also support the previous argument by make it more promising. Thus, rather than giving sense of democrats as Trump did, Obama

simply give sense of assurance that the presented actor is more than capable to achieve their goals.

Table 3.32 *Semantic elements comparison – Actor Description*

	Trump	Obama
Actor Description	To tell the story and achievements of mentioned person (6 occurrences).	To show the ability and vision of mentioned person (2 occurrences).

In authority, Trump and Obama use this strategy in quite different manner. They both mention some national department for the same purpose, but how those mentions used to shape their idea is unlike. Trump use it alongside his actions to support his previous argument and make the audience believe that his moves will be achieved. While Obama use it as one of his arguments – about responsibility of economic policy taken – to create sense of inclusivity among audience and direct their idea that together, with Obama, they will deem those authorities responsible for the action.

Table 3.33 *Semantic elements comparison – Authority*

	Trump	Obama
Authority	To create confidence by involving his decisions (4 occurrences).	To create sense of inclusivity (4 occurrences).

In burden strategy, Trump and Obama have different way of utilizing it. Trump creates the idea that past mistakes are not allowed to affect his

future plan. This indirectly creates barrier between him and the mistakes, making the audience think that his plan will not create same fault as previous leaders. Obama approach is more on self-encouragement by asking the audience to know what they are lacking. This creates idea that people alongside its leader have done mistakes in the past and it is up to them how to deal with it to have a better future.

Table 3.34 *Semantic elements comparison – Burden*

	Trump	Obama
Burden	To separate his government and the cause of the mistake (4 occurrences).	To share responsibilities of the mistake (7 occurrences).

In consensus strategy, Trump and Obama have similar way of using it, they both planned to bring together both parties for greater common causes. However, there is a minor difference, Trump highlighting the political parties to work together as a nation for the greater cause, while Obama add himself to the equation or simply put himself as the example or initiator to start working together. This – along with Obama’s request to “sacrifice” – creates an idea that Obama is willing to take measures, be the example, and put himself on the line.

Table 3.35 *Semantic elements comparison – Consensus*

	Trump	Obama
--	-------	-------

Consensus	To unite entities, more focus on the diverse entities (6 occurrences).	To unite entities, put himself as the example (3 occurrences).
-----------	--	--

In empathy strategy, Trump and Obama use it as a tool to show their compassion towards subjects thus balancing the subsequent statement delivered. Trump creates empathy in the audience, making them likely to agree with the idea of the statement. Obama adds personal gratitude and place himself as a person who felt the tragedy. This helps him creating an idea that he put his people first, thus amplifying his charm as a president who cares his people.

Table 3.36 *Semantic elements comparison – Empathy*

	Trump	Obama
<i>Empathy</i>	To surface compassion among audience, making them eager to cooperate (7 occurrences).	To strengthen his appeal as a president who prioritize his people (7 occurrences).

In evidentiality strategy, Trump and Obama used evidences in similar means. They both mention some data or facts from valid sources to gain trust from the audience. This helps to gain logical sense which is important to create certainty among audience.

Table 3.37 *Semantic elements comparison – Evidentiality*

	Trump	Obama
<i>Evidentiality</i>	To add logical sense of his idea (3 occurrences).	Similar as Trump (4 occurrences).

In example/illustration strategy, both presidents gave clear example on each argument. They present fact or logical reasoning of how certain event unfold if measures were taken. They also add some personal touch by positioning themselves as the person who related on certain situation. In general, there is no significant difference on how they use this strategy.

Table 3.38 *Semantic elements comparison – Example/illustration*

	Trump	Obama
<i>Example/illustration</i>	To support the logical sense of his idea (13 occurrences).	Similar as Trump (16 occurrences).

In humanitarianism strategy, Trump and Obama have a minor difference on its application, making their approach divergent. Trump shows his idea more on the future of general people or what he can do to improve it, while Obama tells his idea using narrative infused with real person stories and approach this as if he was a close relative or family of the person. This difference might be trivial but it clearly shows how each president perceive humanity.

Table 3.39 *Semantic elements comparison – Humanitarianism*

	Trump	Obama
<i>Humanitarianism</i>	Used in generalized manner. (3 occurrences).	Used in personal manner (4 occurrences).

In number game strategy, Trump and Obama used this in the same way as authority or evidentiality. Moreover, they also use this to alter the audience focus towards desired facts. This is expected since the purpose of the strategy is to fortify integrity of the idea by highlighting their own objective.

Table 3.40 *Semantic elements comparison – Number Game*

	Trump	Obama
<i>Number Game</i>	To support credibility of his idea (4 occurrences).	Similar as Trump (7 occurrences).

In national self-glorification, Trump and Obama present dominance when addressing about their nation. The way they use this is also similar, both presidents claim the nation have superior ability on both economic and military power and great force progress and prosperity.

Table 3.40 *Semantic elements comparison – National self-glorification*

	Trump	Obama
<i>National self-glorification</i>	To foster positive and optimistic sense on his idea (5 occurrences).	Similar as Trump (6 occurrences).

At this point, we can see some general comparisons on how Trump and Obama used these strategies on their first presidential speech. From 14 strategies analyzed, 6 of them used differently, and those variances are mainly caused by distinct focus of each president had.

Table 3.41 *Occurrences of Micro Textual Analysis*

		Trump	Obama	Is similar?
Stylistic	Euphemism	3	6	Yes
	Dysphemism	3	5	Yes
Syntactic	Active-Passive	1	1	Yes
	Nominalization	1	-	Yes
Semantic	Actor Description	6	2	No
	Authority	4	4	No
	Burden	4	7	No
	Consensus	6	3	No
	Empathy	7	7	No
	Evidentiality	3	4	Yes
	Example/Illustration	13	16	Yes
	Humanitarianism	3	4	No
	Number Game	4	7	Yes
	National Self-Glorification	5	6	Yes

From the table above, semantic element is most used on both speeches, followed by stylistic element, and syntactic element. In the semantic element itself, example/illustration is most used on both speeches, evidentiality and humanitarianism least used on Trump speech, and actor description least used on Obama speech.

The main point in this section is why Trump and Obama used those strategies in different way. Statistically, the number of occurrences on table 3.41 might not significant, but from there we can gain some insights. For example, the most used strategy can tell the general style of how both presidents construct their own speech. Then we can look the strategies which have quite large occurrence gap, such as euphemism, dysphemism, actor description, and consensus. Last, we can look at the strategies which used in different way, such as actor description, authority, burden, consensus, empathy, and humanitarianism.

First, the most used strategy could be the main factor on deciding the style of both speeches, example/illustration is used quite often to fill supporting argument. This gives the speech itself good reasoning to make its ideas easily accepted or directly constructed on the audience mind. Knowing this, both Trump and Obama use example/illustration in expected way as its function on most discourse. Therefore, both presidents have done similar approach on using that strategy in their speeches.

Next, let's take a look at strategies which have huge occurrence gap. The difference in number might be few, but on percentage scale it is quite significant. First, euphemism and dysphemism contribute nearly half the difference, with Trump using half less than Obama on his speech. This generally tells that Trump speech constructed its idea using more neutral word choices, while Obama speech guide its idea using more flavored vocabularies. This also indirectly shows both presidents preference on delivering their

ideas, Trump believe that unbiased statement is best for idea which paired together with facts, and Obama confidence that figurative statement can better explain its idea to the audience.

Actor description and consensus also have quite significant occurrence gap, contributing more than half the difference, with Obama using half less than Trump on his speech. The occurrence difference here is not meaningful enough since the only difference is on the usage count. Deeper explanation on the approach of those strategy is more important, since we are discussing on what is the difference between ideas constructed by both presidents.

The main difference here is on the semantic strategy, especially on actor description, authority, burden, consensus, empathy, and humanitarianism. Actor description in big picture, shows their distinct focus of explaining characters, Trump like to reference and explain who is the person, what they have achieved, and how they related with his idea, while Obama prefer to tell their ability, distinct personal character, and their vision that relate with his idea. With this, we know that Trump inclined to use formal description while Obama like to use personal description.

On authority, Trump use this to bring confidence of his action by mentioning authorities in conjunction with his policy, while Obama use this to foster the sense of inclusivity by pairing authorities, people, and himself with shared responsibility. This difference illustrates that both presidents have their distinct priority on using this strategy, Trump focus on connecting

authorities to related policy, and Obama focus on involving responsibilities to as much people/authorities as possible.

On burden, Trump indirectly separate his government with the past one that caused the mistakes, creating idea that his government will not repeat the same mistakes, while Obama explain the mistakes as shared responsibilities, making both government and people have equal contribution on success/failures. This difference displays dissimilar urgency carried by both presidents.

On consensus, the difference is on how both presidents put himself on the equation and what they highlight. Trump like to place himself as a person who instruct the consensus while highlighting contrasting entities. Then, Obama like to place himself as a person who inside the consensus while highlighting himself as the example between contrasting entities to unite and work together.

On empathy, the difference is quite similar to consensus in terms of positioning. Trump put himself as a leader using formal speech to display his sympathy, while Obama put himself as a close relative using personal approach to tell his sympathy. This shows the distinct position both presidents choose when creating specific impression towards the audience.

On Humanitarianism, we have similar difference as empathy in terms of the value presented by both presidents. Trump brings humanity concern in general by mentioning certain ethnics or groups, while Obama tell his concern in personal level by mentioning one person case at a time. This shows that

Trump give more value on humanity in large scale while Obama give it more on personal level.

Based on explanation above, we can argue that each micro textual elements used as strategies to form ideas on speech have variable implications towards its ideology. Those implications drawn from three findings of both speeches; a) most used element, to understand common structure of how the ideas presented, b) elements which have significant gap on its usage, to understand general preference of strategies deployed to present the ideas, and c) elements which have different textual application, to understand characteristics of the presented ideas.

As we look closer on those implications on above section, we can also see that stylistic, syntactic, and semantic elements have equally variable results towards ideology presented on both speeches. In stylistic, we found that strategies available are used in same manner by both presidents, even though the occurrences are significantly different. In this way, we find that Trump ideology on delivering statement is constructed on less figurative language than Obama.

In syntactic, we have another story of both speeches using available strategies in similar approach. This is expected since speech discourse are generally written to encourage the audience, thus active voice is the main preference. Here, both presidents' ideologies are constructed as a hands-on illustration about certain national situation, while having slight passive structure or nominalization just to direct the audience's focus on the event.

In semantic, we see a lot of variation here, from strategies used in similar or different manner and the significant occurrence gap on some strategies. Based on the findings, the later one didn't have meaningful implication because it only based on how often they used, thus the researcher prefer to explain more on the first one. With this, we know that Trump ideology constructed on formal and action-oriented statement with preference on separating himself from past mistakes, placing himself as a commander of the action, and highlighting broader level entities. On the other side, Obama ideology constructed on personal statement with preference on promoting shared responsibilities, placing himself as an example while embracing others to do the action, and highlighting individual level entities.

Moreover, we may have noticed that both presidents indirectly used strategy of lexicalization to give self-positive representation. This means that both presidents whether consciously or not make their audience to make difference or polarization between us and them. This was a human nature in communication which prone to give self-positive presentation and negative-other presentation (van Dijk, 2000, p. 94). Even though as we discussed before that most of lexicalization strategy used to give bolder sense on certain issue, it still can be said that intentionally or not both presidents were likely to give positive sense on 'us' and negative sense on 'them'.

This thesis uses five previous studies as a reference to gain some insight about how to see the ideology constructed in particular discourse. The first previous study inspired the researcher on how to qualitatively imply the

ideology from text using certain framing model. The second previous study give the researcher clear demonstration about how to analyze textual element and find its implication. The third one is similar but it adds a more diverse and broad analysis by contesting the available methods to find suitable tools for analysis, thus helping the researcher to decide the scope of this thesis. The fourth and fifth previous studies further enrich the practical example of textual analysis, both helps the researcher understanding the mechanics of textual elements which can be used to filter applied strategies to construct the text ideology.

In the first previous study, a thesis written by Suryana in 2008, we can see how the ideologies implemented in newspaper are analyzed using Pan & Kosicki's framing model. This model used to reveal the reality behind mass media discourse using a frame which relies on textual dimension. Her analysis has inspired the researcher of this theses to use other model of discourse analysis, which is focused on textual dimension including applied strategies to present an ideology. From her results, the framing model generates unified theme of organized ideas which linked to textual elements used on certain discourse, while in this thesis, the presented ideology can be seen at stylistic, syntactic, and semantic level.

In second previous study, a study conducted by van Dijk on 2000, the comparison is more on the focus of analysis. That previous study can be considered having similar scope with this thesis, the objective is different. He focuses on categorizing recognizable moves/strategies such as negative other-

presentation and positive self-presentation in single speech, while this thesis explains such strategies (along with other textual elements) and see the similarities as well as the differences in two speeches.

In third previous study, a study conducted also by van Dijk on the same year, the comparison is more on the main objective. Even if this study carries much similarities on what and how textual elements used, the goal is unlike. It aimed to make reasoned selection of analytical categories of for the study of parliamentary debates, while this thesis aimed to understand how ideologies are constructed on stylistic, syntactic, and semantic element.

The fourth and fifth previous study – two studies conducted by Degaf on 2017 – is mainly referenced by the researcher of this thesis to select the practical method of analysis and understand the mechanics of each textual element used in form of strategies recognized on the speeches. In general, those previous studies and this thesis share similarities on micro structure derived from van Dijk's model of discourse's elements. From result's point of view, both the studies and thesis are able to gain some implications, which can be connected with its respective objectives.

In short, this thesis further prove that textual strategies observed in stylistic, syntactic, and semantic element on micro structure level are reliable to understand the interpretation derived from recognizable textual moves used in the objects of this thesis. Based on the variable findings explained on sections above, analyzing textual strategies is good enough to consistently

discover the discourse's ideology from the speeches performed by Trump and Obama, which implies their own unique characteristics.

CHAPTER IV

CONCLUSION AND SUGGESTION

In this chapter, the researcher presents conclusion of the study and place some suggestion. The conclusion is mainly about how the findings affect this study and the suggestion provides some ideas which may help similar studies in future.

4.1. Conclusions

The strategies from three elements – stylistic, syntactic, and semantic – analyzed in this study demonstrate something about ideology presented on first presidential speech to congress in United States. The findings show how often and common ideology-based arguments, claims, and ideas about each presidency impact on political speech discourse. For example, the use of strategies from semantic element which mainly hold all properties of the political speech discourse.

From brief analysis of various strategies and the example presented, we might have some insight about how the role of political speech discourse, especially its moves founded in the presidential speeches. From both speeches, we know that nearly of all strategies used to give the audience something to believe on what is said. These moves are important because contextually in first U.S. presidential speeches, the newly inaugurated president must present about how his presidency will be, therefore it is natural

if most of the moves are designed to support each other and connect each statement presented.

From the discussions, the researcher concluded that the ideology presented from Trump and Obama on their speech is unlike and have distinct characteristics. On stylistic elements, Trump inclined to utilize less figurative language than Obama. On syntactic elements, both presidents' deliver the speech for illustrative purpose to describe certain national situation and inspire the audience to be on the same side, while having minor passive structure or nominalization just to direct the audience's focus on the situation.

Finally, on semantic elements, Trump statements are formal and action-oriented with preference on keeping himself away from past mistakes, presenting himself as a commander of the action, and highlighting broader level entities. On the other hand, Obama statements are personal with preference on promoting shared responsibilities on the past mistakes, introducing himself as an example while inviting others to follow the same action, and highlighting individual level entities.

4.2. Suggestions

In respect with larger theory of discourse analysis or perhaps the critical one, this study has demonstrated that in general, micro textual analysis which use strategies from stylistic, syntactic, and semantic element may come up with numbers of properties. The properties itself are originated from the first presidential speech which cannot be considered as standard features in

meaning analysis (van Dijk, 2000, p. 224). This is possible because this study only sees the speeches on micro level, which there are two other levels which can be used in meaning analysis.

Even some moves and strategies are considered as not standard, the researcher believe those moves and strategies may have a decent or even powerful role in the political speech discourses which we can see that from how the discourse moves and strategies were used in the object of this study. Thus, the researcher suggests that future study on discourse analysis should utilize more than one theoretical framework as comparison or secondary tool, if the study intended to give higher standard on meaning analysis.

REFERENCES

- Bodgan, R. C., & Biklen, S. K. (1998). *Qualitative research in education* (4th ed.). New York: Allyn & Bacon.
- Darma, Y. A. (2009). *Analisis wacana kritis*. Bandung: Yrama Widya.
- Degaf, A. (2017, May 16). Kasus Ahok dalam perspektif ilmu linguistik. *Seminar Nasional Bahasa dan Sastra (Senabastra) IX*. Retrieved from <http://repository.uin-malang.ac.id/1940/>
- Degaf, A. (2017, October 24-25). Pemberitaan Rohingya pada portal berita Republika: Kajian analisis wacana kritis. *Seminar Nasional Linguistik "Isu-isu Mutakhir Linguistik"*. Retrieved from <http://repository.uin-malang.ac.id/2254/>
- Eriyanto. (2009). *Analisis wacana: Pengantar analisis teks media*. Yogyakarta: LKiS.
- Fairclough, N. (1989). *Language and power*. England: Longman.
- Fairclough, N., & Ruth, W. (1997). Critical discourse analysis. In T. A. van Dijk, *Discourse as social interaction* (pp. 258-281). London: Sage Publication (CA).
- Irvine, J. T. (2012, January 12). Language ideology - anthropology - Oxford bibliographies. Retrieved from Oxford Bibliographies: <http://www.oxfordbibliographies.com/view/document/obo-9780199766567/obo-9780199766567-0012.xml>
- Jorgensen, M. W., & Phillips, L. J. (2007). *Discourse analysis as theory and method*. London: Sage Publication.
- Kridalaksana, H. (2001). *Kamus linguistik*. Jakarta: PT Gramedia.
- Littlejohn, S. P. (1992). *Theories of human communication*. Belmont, California: Wadsworth Publishing Company.
- Miles, B., Mathew, & Huberman, A. W. (1994). *Qualitative data analysis: a sourcebook of new methods*. California: Sage.
- Obama, B. H. (2009, February 21). The President Addresses Joint Session of Congress: 2/21/09. (B. H. Obama, Performer) United States Capitol, Washington, D.C., United States of America. Retrieved from <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Y65ZgehoCDQ>

- Raharjo, M. (2004). Wacana kebahasaan: Dari filsafat hingga sosial politik. Malang: Cendekia Paramulya.
- Richardson, J. E. (2007). Analyzing newspaper: An approach from critical discourse analysis. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Trump, D. J. (2017, February 28). Donald Trump's first presidential address to Congress. (D. J. Trump, Performer) United States Capitol, Washington, D.C., United States of America. Retrieved from <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=JOSaIvkDO6g>
- University of Oxford. (2010). Oxford advanced learner's dictionary 8th edition CD-ROM. (8). Oxford, New York, United States: Oxford University Press.
- van Dijk, T. A. (1997). The study of discourse. In T. A. van Dijk, *Discourse as structure and process discourse studies: A multidisciplinary introduction* (Vol. 1). London: Sage Publication.
- van Dijk, T. A. (1998). News as discourse. New Jersey: Lawrence Erlbaum Ass.
- van Dijk, T. A. (2000). On the analysis of parliamentary debates on immigration. In M. Reisigl, & R. Wodak, *The semiotics of racism* (pp. 85-103). Vienna: Passagen Verlag.
- van Dijk, T. A. (2000). Reality of racism. In Zurstiege, *Festschrift für die wirklichkeit* (pp. 211-225). VS Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften.
- van Dijk, T. A. (2004). From text grammar to critical discourse analysis. *Working Paper. II*. Barcelona: Universitat Pompeu Fabra.
- van Leeuwen, T. (1996). The representation of social actors. In C. R. Caldas-Coulthard, & M. Coulthard, *Text and practices: Readings in critical discourse analysis* (pp. 32-69). London: Routledge.

APPENDICES

Speech from Donald J. Trump

Mr. Speaker, Mr. Vice President, Members of Congress, the First Lady of the United States, and Citizens of America:

Tonight, as we mark the conclusion of our celebration of Black History Month, we are reminded of our Nation's path toward civil rights and the work that still remains. Recent threats targeting Jewish Community Centers and vandalism of Jewish cemeteries, as well as last week's shooting in Kansas City, remind us that while we may be a Nation divided on policies, we are a country that stands united in condemning hate and evil in all its forms.

Each American generation passes the torch of truth, liberty and justice -- in an unbroken chain all the way down to the present.

That torch is now in our hands. And we will use it to light up the world. I am here tonight to deliver a message of unity and strength, and it is a message deeply delivered from my heart.

A new chapter of American Greatness is now beginning.

A new national pride is sweeping across our Nation.

And a new surge of optimism is placing impossible dreams firmly within our grasp.

What we are witnessing today is the Renewal of the American Spirit.

Our allies will find that America is once again ready to lead.

All the nations of the world -- friend or foe -- will find that America is strong, America is proud, and America is free.

In 9 years, the United States will celebrate the 250th anniversary of our founding -- 250 years since the day we declared our Independence.

It will be one of the great milestones in the history of the world.

But what will America look like as we reach our 250th year? What kind of country will we leave for our children?

I will not allow the mistakes of recent decades past to define the course of our future.

For too long, we've watched our middle class shrink as we've exported our jobs and wealth to foreign countries.

We've financed and built one global project after another, but ignored the fates of our children in the inner cities of Chicago, Baltimore, Detroit -- and so many other places throughout our land.

We've defended the borders of other nations, while leaving our own borders wide open, for anyone to cross -- and for drugs to pour in at a now unprecedented rate.

And we've spent trillions of dollars overseas, while our infrastructure at home has so badly crumbled.

Then, in 2016, the earth shifted beneath our feet. The rebellion started as a quiet protest, spoken by families of all colors and creeds -- families who just wanted a fair shot for their children, and a fair hearing for their concerns.

But then the quiet voices became a loud chorus -- as thousands of citizens now spoke out together, from cities small and large, all across our country.

Finally, the chorus became an earthquake - and the people turned out by the tens of millions, and they were all united by one very simple, but crucial demand, that America must put its own citizens first ... because only then, can we truly make America great again.

Dying industries will come roaring back to life. Heroic veterans will get the care they so desperately need.

Our military will be given the resources its brave warriors so richly deserve.

Crumbling infrastructure will be replaced with new roads, bridges, tunnels, airports and railways gleaming across our beautiful land.

Our terrible drug epidemic will slow down and ultimately, stop.

And our neglected inner cities will see a rebirth of hope, safety, and opportunity.

Above all else, we will keep our promises to the American people.

It's been a little over a month since my inauguration, and I want to take this moment to update the Nation on the progress I've made in keeping those promises.

Since my election, Ford, Fiat-Chrysler, General Motors, Sprint, Softbank, Lockheed, Intel, Walmart, and many others, have announced that they will invest billions of dollars in the United States and will create tens of thousands of new American jobs.

The stock market has gained almost three trillion dollars in value since the election on November 8th, a record. We've saved taxpayers hundreds of millions of dollars by bringing down the price of the fantastic new F-35 jet fighter, and will be saving billions more dollars on contracts all across our Government. We have placed a hiring freeze on non-military and nonessential Federal workers.

We have begun to drain the swamp of government corruption by imposing a 5-year ban on lobbying by executive branch officials -- and a lifetime ban on becoming lobbyists for a foreign government.

We have undertaken a historic effort to massively reduce job-crushing regulations, creating a deregulation task force inside of every Government agency; imposing a new rule which mandates that for every 1 new regulation, 2 old regulations must be eliminated; and stopping a regulation that threatens the future and livelihoods of our great coal miners.

We have cleared the way for the construction of the Keystone and Dakota Access Pipelines -- thereby creating tens of thousands of jobs -- and I've issued a new directive that new American pipelines be made with American steel.

We have withdrawn the United States from the job-killing Trans-Pacific Partnership.

With the help of Prime Minister Justin Trudeau, we have formed a Council with our neighbors in Canada

to help ensure that women entrepreneurs have access to the networks, markets and capital they need to start a business and live out their financial dreams.

To protect our citizens, I have directed the Department of Justice to form a Task Force on Reducing Violent Crime.

I have further ordered the Departments of Homeland Security and Justice, along with the Department of State and the Director of National Intelligence, to coordinate an aggressive strategy to dismantle the criminal cartels that have spread across our Nation.

We will stop the drugs from pouring into our country and poisoning our youth -- and we will expand treatment for those who have become so badly addicted.

At the same time, my Administration has answered the pleas of the American people for immigration enforcement and border security. By finally enforcing our immigration laws, we will raise wages, help the unemployed, save billions of dollars, and make our communities safer for everyone. We want all Americans to succeed -- but that can't happen in an environment of lawless chaos. We must restore integrity and the rule of law to our borders.

For that reason, we will soon begin the construction of a great wall along our southern border.

It will be started ahead of schedule and, when finished, it will be a very effective weapon against drugs and crime.

As we speak, we are removing gang members, drug dealers and criminals that threaten our communities and prey on our citizens. Bad ones are going out as I speak tonight and as I have promised.

To any in Congress who do not believe we should enforce our laws, I would ask you this question: what would you say to the American family that loses their jobs, their income, or a loved one, because America refused to uphold its laws and defend its borders?

Our obligation is to serve, protect, and defend the citizens of the United States. We are also taking strong measures to protect our Nation from Radical Islamic Terrorism.

According to data provided by the Department of Justice, the vast majority of individuals convicted for terrorism-related offenses since 9/11 came here from

outside of our country. We have seen the attacks at home -- from Boston to San Bernardino to the Pentagon and yes, even the World Trade Center.

We have seen the attacks in France, in Belgium, in Germany and all over the world.

It is not compassionate, but reckless, to allow uncontrolled entry from places where proper vetting cannot occur. Those given the high honor of admission to the United States should support this country and love its people and its values.

We cannot allow a beachhead of terrorism to form inside America -- we cannot allow our Nation to become a sanctuary for extremists.

That is why my Administration has been working on improved vetting procedures, and we will shortly take new steps to keep our Nation safe -- and to keep out those who would do us harm. As promised, I directed the Department of Defense to develop a plan to demolish and destroy ISIS -- a network of lawless savages that have slaughtered Muslims and Christians, and men, women, and children of all faiths and beliefs. We will work with our allies, including our friends and allies in the Muslim world, to extinguish this vile enemy from our planet.

I have also imposed new sanctions on entities and individuals who support Iran's ballistic missile program, and reaffirmed our unbreakable alliance with the State of Israel.

Finally, I have kept my promise to appoint a Justice to the United States Supreme Court -- from my list of 20 judges -- who will defend our Constitution. I am honored to have Maureen Scalia with us in the gallery tonight. Her late, great husband, Antonin Scalia, will forever be a symbol of American justice. To fill his seat, we have chosen Judge Neil Gorsuch, a man of incredible skill, and deep devotion to the law. He was confirmed unanimously to the Court of Appeals, and I am asking the Senate to swiftly approve his nomination.

Tonight, as I outline the next steps we must take as a country, we must honestly acknowledge the circumstances we inherited.

Ninety-four million Americans are out of the labor force.

Over 43 million people are now living in poverty, and over 43 million Americans are on food stamps.

More than 1 in 5 people in their prime working years are not working.

We have the worst financial recovery in 65 years.

In the last 8 years, the past Administration has put on more new debt than nearly all other Presidents combined.

We've lost more than one-fourth of our manufacturing jobs since NAFTA was approved, and we've lost 60,000 factories since China joined the World Trade Organization in 2001.

Our trade deficit in goods with the world last year was nearly \$800 billion dollars.

And overseas, we have inherited a series of tragic foreign policy disasters.

Solving these, and so many other pressing problems, will require us to work past the differences of party. It will require us to tap into the American spirit that has overcome every challenge throughout our long and storied history.

But to accomplish our goals at home and abroad, we must restart the engine of the American economy -- making it easier for companies to do business in the United States, and much harder for companies to leave.

Right now, American companies are taxed at one of the highest rates anywhere in the world.

My economic team is developing historic tax reform that will reduce the tax rate on our companies so they can compete and thrive anywhere and with anyone. At the same time, we will provide massive tax relief for the middle class.

We must create a level playing field for American companies and workers.

Currently, when we ship products out of America, many other countries make us pay very high tariffs and taxes -- but when foreign companies ship their products into America, we charge them almost nothing. I just met with officials and workers from a great American company, Harley-Davidson. In fact, they proudly displayed five of their magnificent motorcycles, made in the USA, on the front lawn of the White House.

At our meeting, I asked them, how are you doing, how is business? They said that it's good. I asked

them further how they are doing with other countries, mainly international sales. They told me - without even complaining because they have been mistreated for so long that they have become used to it -- that it is very hard to do business with other countries because they tax our goods at such a high rate. They said that in one case another country taxed their motorcycles at 100 percent.

They weren't even asking for change. But I am.

I believe strongly in free trade but it also has to be fair trade.

The first Republican President, Abraham Lincoln, warned that the "abandonment of the protective policy by the American Government [will] produce want and ruin among our people"

Lincoln was right -- and it is time we heeded his words. I am not going to let America and its great companies and workers, be taken advantage of anymore.

I am going to bring back millions of jobs. Protecting our workers also means reforming our system of legal immigration. The current, outdated system depresses wages for our poorest workers, and puts great pressure on taxpayers.

Nations around the world, like Canada, Australia and many others -- have a merit-based immigration system. It is a basic principle that those seeking to enter a country ought to be able to support themselves financially. Yet, in America, we do not enforce this rule, straining the very public resources that our poorest citizens rely upon. According to the National Academy of Sciences, our current immigration system costs America's taxpayers many billions of dollars a year.

Switching away from this current system of lower-skilled immigration, and instead adopting a merit-based system, will have many benefits: it will save countless dollars, raise workers' wages, and help struggling families -- including immigrant families - enter the middle class.

I believe that real and positive immigration reform is possible, as long as we focus on the following goals: to improve jobs and wages for Americans, to strengthen our nation's security, and to restore respect for our laws.

If we are guided by the well-being of American citizens then I believe Republicans and Democrats can work together to achieve an outcome that has eluded our country for decades.

Another Republican President, Dwight D. Eisenhower, initiated the last truly great national infrastructure program -- the building of the interstate highway system. The time has come for a new program of national rebuilding.

America has spent approximately six trillion dollars in the Middle East, all this while our infrastructure at home is crumbling. With these six trillion dollars, we could have rebuilt our country -- twice. And maybe even three times if we had people who had the ability to negotiate.

To launch our national rebuilding, I will be asking the Congress to approve legislation that produces a \$1 trillion investment in the infrastructure of the United States -- financed through both public and private capital -- creating millions of new jobs.

This effort will be guided by two core principles: Buy American, and Hire American.

Tonight, I am also calling on this Congress to repeal and replace Obamacare with reforms that expand choice, increase access, lower costs, and at the same time, provide better Healthcare.

Mandating every American to buy government-approved health insurance was never the right solution for America. The way to make health insurance available to everyone is to lower the cost of health insurance, and that is what we will do.

Obamacare premiums nationwide have increased by double and triple digits. As an example, Arizona went up 116 percent last year alone. Governor Matt Bevin of Kentucky just said Obamacare is failing in his State -- it is unsustainable and collapsing.

One third of counties have only one insurer on the exchanges -- leaving many Americans with no choice at all.

Remember when you were told that you could keep your doctor, and keep your plan?

We now know that all of those promises have been broken.

Obamacare is collapsing -- and we must act decisively to protect all Americans. Action is not a choice -- it is a necessity.

So, I am calling on all Democrats and Republicans in the Congress to work with us to save Americans from this imploding Obamacare disaster.

Here are the principles that should guide the Congress as we move to create a better healthcare system for all Americans:

First, we should ensure that Americans with pre-existing conditions have access to coverage, and that we have a stable transition for Americans currently enrolled in the healthcare exchanges.

Secondly, we should help Americans purchase their own coverage, through the use of tax credits and expanded Health Savings Accounts -- but it must be the plan they want, not the plan forced on them by the Government.

Thirdly, we should give our great State Governors the resources and flexibility they need with Medicaid to make sure no one is left out.

Fourthly, we should implement legal reforms that protect patients and doctors from unnecessary costs that drive up the price of insurance -- and work to bring down the artificially high price of drugs and bring them down immediately.

Finally, the time has come to give Americans the freedom to purchase health insurance across State lines -- creating a truly competitive national marketplace that will bring cost way down and provide far better care.

Everything that is broken in our country can be fixed. Every problem can be solved. And every hurting family can find healing, and hope.

Our citizens deserve this, and so much more -- so why not join forces to finally get it done? On this and so many other things, Democrats and Republicans should get together and unite for the good of our country, and for the good of the American people.

My administration wants to work with members in both parties to make childcare accessible and affordable, to help ensure new parents have paid family leave, to invest in women's health, and to promote clean air and clear water, and to rebuild our military and our infrastructure.

True love for our people requires us to find common ground, to advance the common good, and to cooperate on behalf of every American child who deserves a brighter future.

An incredible young woman is with us this evening who should serve as an inspiration to us all.

Today is Rare Disease day, and joining us in the gallery is a Rare Disease Survivor, Megan Crowley. Megan was diagnosed with Pompe Disease, a rare and serious illness, when she was 15 months old. She was not expected to live pasts.

On receiving this news, Megan's dad, John, fought with everything he had to save the life of his precious child. He founded a company to look for a cure, and helped develop the drug that saved Megan's life. Today she is 20 years old -- and a sophomore at Notre Dame.

Megan's story is about the unbounded power of a father's love for a daughter.

But our slow and burdensome approval process at the Food and Drug Administration keeps too many advances, like the one that saved Megan's life, from reaching those in need.

If we slash the restraints, not just at the FDA but across our Government, then we will be blessed with far more miracles like Megan.

In fact, our children will grow up in a Nation of miracles.

But to achieve this future, we must enrich the mind - - and the souls -- of every American child.

Education is the civil rights issue of our time.

I am calling upon Members of both parties to pass an education bill that funds school choice for disadvantaged youth, including millions of African-American and Latino children. These families should be free to choose the public, private, charter, magnet, religious or home school that is right for them.

Joining us tonight in the gallery is a remarkable woman, Denisha Merriweather. As a young girl, Denisha struggled in school and failed third grade twice. But then she was able to enroll in a private center for learning, with the help of a tax credit scholarship program. Today, she is the first in her family to graduate, not just from high school, but

from college. Later this year she will get her master's degree in social work.

We want all children to be able to break the cycle of poverty just like Denisha.

But to break the cycle of poverty, we must also break the cycle of violence.

The murder rate in 2015 experienced its largest single-year increase in nearly half a century.

In Chicago, more than 4,000 people were shot last year alone -- and the murder rate so far this year has been even higher.

This is not acceptable in our society.

Every American child should be able to grow up in a safe community, to attend a great school, and to have access to a high-paying job.

But to create this future, we must work with -- not against -- the men and women of law enforcement.

We must build bridges of cooperation and trust -- not drive the wedge of disunity and division.

Police and sheriffs are members of our community. They are friends and neighbors, they are mothers and fathers, sons and daughters - and they leave behind loved ones every day who worry whether or not they'll come home safe and sound.

We must support the incredible men and women of law enforcement.

And we must support the victims of crime.

I have ordered the Department of Homeland Security to create an office to serve American Victims. The office is called VOICE -- Victims of Immigration Crime Engagement. We are providing a voice to those who have been ignored by our media, and silenced by special interests.

Joining us in the audience tonight are four very brave Americans whose government failed them.

Their names are Jamiel Shaw, Susan Oliver, Jenna Oliver, and Jessica Davis.

Jamiel's 17-year-old son was viciously murdered by an illegal immigrant gang member, who had just been released from prison. Jamiel Shaw Jr. was an incredible young man, with unlimited potential who was getting ready to go to college where he would have excelled as a great quarterback. But he never

got the chance. His father, who is in the audience tonight, has become a good friend of mine.

Also with us are Susan Oliver and Jessica Davis. Their husbands -- Deputy Sheriff Danny Oliver and Detective Michael Davis -- were slain in the line of duty in California. They were pillars of their community. These brave men were viciously gunned down by an illegal immigrant with a criminal record and two prior deportations.

Sitting with Susan is her daughter, Jenna. Jenna: I want you to know that your father was a hero, and that tonight you have the love of an entire country supporting you and praying for you.

To Jamiel, Jenna, Susan and Jessica: I want you to know -- we will never stop fighting for justice. Your loved ones will never be forgotten, we will always honor their memory.

Finally, to keep America safe we must provide the men and women of the United States military with the tools they need to prevent war and -- if they must -- to fight and to win.

I am sending the Congress a budget that rebuilds the military, eliminates the Defense sequester, and calls for one of the largest increases in national defense spending in American history.

My budget will also increase funding for our veterans.

Our veterans have delivered for this Nation -- and now we must deliver for them.

The challenges we face as a Nation are great. But our people are even greater.

And none are greater or braver than those who fight for America in uniform.

We are blessed to be joined tonight by Carryn Owens, the widow of a U.S. Navy Special Operator, Senior Chief William "Ryan" Owens. Ryan died as he lived: a warrior, and a hero -- battling against terrorism and securing our Nation.

I just spoke to General Mattis, who reconfirmed that, and I quote, "Ryan was a part of a highly successful raid that generated large amounts of vital intelligence that will lead to many more victories in the future against our enemies." Ryan's legacy is etched into eternity. For as the Bible teaches us,

there is no greater act of love than to lay down one's life for one's friends.

Ryan laid down his life for his friends, for his country, and for our freedom -- we will never forget him.

To those allies who wonder what kind of friend America will be, look no further than the heroes who wear our uniform.

Our foreign policy calls for a direct, robust and meaningful engagement with the world. It is American leadership based on vital security interests that we share with our allies across the globe.

We strongly support NATO, an alliance forged through the bonds of two World Wars that dethroned fascism, and a Cold War that defeated communism.

But our partners must meet their financial obligations.

And now, based on our very strong and frank discussions, they are beginning to do just that.

We expect our partners, whether in NATO, in the Middle East, or the Pacific -- to take a direct and meaningful role in both strategic and military operations, and pay their fair share of the cost.

We will respect historic institutions, but we will also respect the sovereign rights of nations.

Free nations are the best vehicle for expressing the will of the people -- and America respects the right of all nations to chart their own path. My job is not to represent the world. My job is to represent the United States of America. But we know that America is better off, when there is less conflict -- not more.

We must learn from the mistakes of the past -- we have seen the war and destruction that have raged across our world.

The only long-term solution for these humanitarian disasters is to create the conditions where displaced persons can safely return home and begin the long process of rebuilding.

America is willing to find new friends, and to forge new partnerships, where shared interests align. We want harmony and stability, not war and conflict.

We want peace, wherever peace can be found. America is friends today with former enemies.

Some of our closest allies, decades ago, fought on the opposite side of these World Wars. This history should give us all faith in the possibilities for a better world.

Hopefully, the 250th year for America will see a world that is more peaceful, more just and more free.

On our 100th anniversary, in 1876, citizens from across our Nation came to Philadelphia to celebrate America's centennial. At that celebration, the country's builders and artists and inventors showed off their creations.

Alexander Graham Bell displayed his telephone for the first time.

Remington unveiled the first typewriter. An early attempt was made at electric light.

Thomas Edison showed an automatic telegraph and an electric pen.

Imagine the wonders our country could know in America's 250th year.

Think of the marvels we can achieve if we simply set free the dreams of our people.

Cures to illnesses that have always plagued us are not too much to hope.

American footprints on distant worlds are not too big a dream.

Millions lifted from welfare to work is not too much to expect.

And streets where mothers are safe from fear -- schools where children learn in peace -- and jobs where Americans prosper and grow -- are not too much to ask.

When we have all of this, we will have made America greater than ever before. For all Americans.

This is our vision. This is our mission.

But we can only get there together.

We are one people, with one destiny.

We all bleed the same blood.

We all salute the same flag.

And we are all made by the same God.

And when we fulfill this vision; when we celebrate our 250 years of glorious freedom, we will look back on tonight as when this new chapter of American Greatness began.

The time for small thinking is over. The time for trivial fights is behind us.

We just need the courage to share the dreams that fill our hearts.

The bravery to express the hopes that stir our souls.

And the confidence to turn those hopes and dreams to action.

From now on, America will be empowered by our aspirations, not burdened by our fears -inspired by

the future, not bound by the failures of the past -- and guided by our vision, not blinded by our doubts.

I am asking all citizens to embrace this Renewal of the American Spirit. I am asking all members of Congress to join me in dreaming big, and bold and daring things for our country. And I am asking everyone watching tonight to seize this moment and

Believe in yourselves.

Believe in your future.

And believe, once more, in America.

Thank you, God bless you, and God Bless these United States.

Speech from Barack H. Obama

Madame Speaker, Mr. Vice President, Members of Congress, and the First Lady of the United States:

I've come here tonight not only to address the distinguished men and women in this great chamber, but to speak frankly and directly to the men and women who sent us here.

I know that for many Americans watching right now, the state of our economy is a concern that rises above all others. And rightly so. If you haven't been personally affected by this recession, you probably know someone who has - a friend; a neighbor; a member of your family. You don't need to hear another list of statistics to know that our economy is in crisis, because you live it every day. It's the worry you wake up with and the source of sleepless nights. It's the job you thought you'd retire from but now have lost; the business you built your dreams upon that's now hanging by a thread; the college acceptance letter your child had to put back in the envelope. The impact of this recession is real, and it is everywhere.

But while our economy may be weakened and our confidence shaken; though we are living through difficult and uncertain times, tonight I want every American to know this:

We will rebuild, we will recover, and the United States of America will emerge stronger than before.

The weight of this crisis will not determine the destiny of this nation. The answers to our problems

don't lie beyond our reach. They exist in our laboratories and universities; in our fields and our factories; in the imaginations of our entrepreneurs and the pride of the hardest-working people on Earth. Those qualities that have made America the greatest force of progress and prosperity in human history we still possess in ample measure. What is required now is for this country to pull together, confront boldly the challenges we face, and take responsibility for our future once more.

Now, if we're honest with ourselves, we'll admit that for too long, we have not always met these responsibilities - as a government or as a people. I say this not to lay blame or look backwards, but because it is only by understanding how we arrived at this moment that we'll be able to lift ourselves out of this predicament.

The fact is, our economy did not fall into decline overnight. Nor did all of our problems begin when the housing market collapsed or the stock market sank. We have known for decades that our survival depends on finding new sources of energy. Yet we import more oil today than ever before. The cost of health care eats up more and more of our savings each year, yet we keep delaying reform. Our children will compete for jobs in a global economy that too many of our schools do not prepare them for. And though all these challenges went unsolved, we still managed to spend more money and pile up more debt, both as individuals and through our government, than ever before.

In other words, we have lived through an era where too often, short-term gains were prized over long-term prosperity; where we failed to look beyond the next payment, the next quarter, or the next election. A surplus became an excuse to transfer wealth to the wealthy instead of an opportunity to invest in our future. Regulations were gutted for the sake of a quick profit at the expense of a healthy market. People bought homes they knew they couldn't afford from banks and lenders who pushed those bad loans anyway. And all the while, critical debates and difficult decisions were put off for some other time on some other day.

Well that day of reckoning has arrived, and the time to take charge of our future is here.

Now is the time to act boldly and wisely - to not only revive this economy, but to build a new foundation for lasting prosperity. Now is the time to jumpstart job creation, re-start lending, and invest in areas like energy, health care, and education that will grow our economy, even as we make hard choices to bring our deficit down. That is what my economic agenda is designed to do, and that's what I'd like to talk to you about tonight.

It's an agenda that begins with jobs.

As soon as I took office, I asked this Congress to send me a recovery plan by President's Day that would put people back to work and put money in their pockets. Not because I believe in bigger government - I don't. Not because I'm not mindful of the massive debt we've inherited - I am. I called for action because the failure to do so would have cost more jobs and caused more hardships. In fact, a failure to act would have worsened our long-term deficit by assuring weak economic growth for years. That's why I pushed for quick action. And tonight, I am grateful that this Congress delivered, and pleased to say that the American Recovery and Reinvestment Act is now law.

Over the next two years, this plan will save or create 3.5 million jobs. More than 90% of these jobs will be in the private sector - jobs rebuilding our roads and bridges; constructing wind turbines and solar panels; laying broadband and expanding mass transit.

Because of this plan, there are teachers who can now keep their jobs and educate our kids. Health care professionals can continue caring for our sick. There

are 57 police officers who are still on the streets of Minneapolis tonight because this plan prevented the layoffs their department was about to make.

Because of this plan, 95% of the working households in America will receive a tax cut - a tax cut that you will see in your paychecks beginning on April 1st.

Because of this plan, families who are struggling to pay tuition costs will receive a \$2,500 tax credit for all four years of college. And Americans who have lost their jobs in this recession will be able to receive extended unemployment benefits and continued health care coverage to help them weather this storm.

I know there are some in this chamber and watching at home who are skeptical of whether this plan will work. I understand that skepticism. Here in Washington, we've all seen how quickly good intentions can turn into broken promises and wasteful spending. And with a plan of this scale comes enormous responsibility to get it right.

That is why I have asked Vice President Biden to lead a tough, unprecedented oversight effort - because nobody messes with Joe. I have told each member of my Cabinet as well as mayors and governors across the country that they will be held accountable by me and the American people for every dollar they spend. I have appointed a proven and aggressive Inspector General to ferret out any and all cases of waste and fraud. And we have created a new website called recovery.gov so that every American can find out how and where their money is being spent.

So, the recovery plan we passed is the first step in getting our economy back on track. But it is just the first step. Because even if we manage this plan flawlessly, there will be no real recovery unless we clean up the credit crisis that has severely weakened our financial system.

I want to speak plainly and candidly about this issue tonight, because every American should know that it directly affects you and your family's well-being. You should also know that the money you've deposited in banks across the country is safe; your insurance is secure; and you can rely on the continued operation of our financial system. That is not the source of concern.

The concern is that if we do not re-start lending in this country, our recovery will be choked off before it even begins.

You see, the flow of credit is the lifeblood of our economy. The ability to get a loan is how you finance the purchase of everything from a home to a car to a college education; how stores stock their shelves, farms buy equipment, and businesses make payroll.

But credit has stopped flowing the way it should. Too many bad loans from the housing crisis have made their way onto the books of too many banks. With so much debt and so little confidence, these banks are now fearful of lending out any more money to households, to businesses, or to each other. When there is no lending, families can't afford to buy homes or cars. So, businesses are forced to make layoffs. Our economy suffers even more, and credit dries up even further.

That is why this administration is moving swiftly and aggressively to break this destructive cycle, restore confidence, and re-start lending.

We will do so in several ways. First, we are creating a new lending fund that represents the largest effort ever to help provide auto loans, college loans, and small business loans to the consumers and entrepreneurs who keep this economy running.

Second, we have launched a housing plan that will help responsible families facing the threat of foreclosure lower their monthly payments and re-finance their mortgages. It's a plan that won't help speculators or that neighbor down the street who bought a house he could never hope to afford, but it will help millions of Americans who are struggling with declining home values - Americans who will now be able to take advantage of the lower interest rates that this plan has already helped bring about. In fact, the average family who re-finances today can save nearly \$2000 per year on their mortgage.

Third, we will act with the full force of the federal government to ensure that the major banks that Americans depend on have enough confidence and enough money to lend even in more difficult times. And when we learn that a major bank has serious problems, we will hold accountable those responsible, force the necessary adjustments, provide the support to clean up their balance sheets, and assure the continuity of a strong, viable

institution that can serve our people and our economy.

I understand that on any given day, Wall Street may be more comforted by an approach that gives banks bailouts with no strings attached, and that holds nobody accountable for their reckless decisions. But such an approach won't solve the problem. And our goal is to quicken the day when we re-start lending to the American people and American business and end this crisis once and for all.

I intend to hold these banks fully accountable for the assistance they receive, and this time, they will have to clearly demonstrate how taxpayer dollars result in more lending for the American taxpayer. This time, CEOs won't be able to use taxpayer money to pad their paychecks or buy fancy drapes or disappear on a private jet. Those days are over.

Still, this plan will require significant resources from the federal government - and yes, probably more than we've already set aside. But while the cost of action will be great, I can assure you that the cost of inaction will be far greater, for it could result in an economy that sputters along for not months or years, but perhaps a decade. That would be worse for our deficit, worse for business, worse for you, and worse for the next generation. And I refuse to let that happen.

I understand that when the last administration asked this Congress to provide assistance for struggling banks, Democrats and Republicans alike were infuriated by the mismanagement and results that followed. So were the American taxpayers. So was I.

So, I know how unpopular it is to be seen as helping banks right now, especially when everyone is suffering in part from their bad decisions. I promise you - I get it.

But I also know that in a time of crisis, we cannot afford to govern out of anger, or yield to the politics of the moment. My job - our job - is to solve the problem. Our job is to govern with a sense of responsibility. I will not spend a single penny for the purpose of rewarding a single Wall Street executive, but I will do whatever it takes to help the small business that can't pay its workers or the family that has saved and still can't get a mortgage.

That's what this is about. It's not about helping banks - it's about helping people. Because when credit is available again, that young family can finally buy a new home. And then some company will hire workers to build it. And then those workers will have money to spend, and if they can get a loan too, maybe they'll finally buy that car, or open their own business. Investors will return to the market, and American families will see their retirement secured once more. Slowly, but surely, confidence will return, and our economy will recover.

So, I ask this Congress to join me in doing whatever proves necessary. Because we cannot consign our nation to an open-ended recession. And to ensure that a crisis of this magnitude never happens again, I ask Congress to move quickly on legislation that will finally reform our outdated regulatory system. It is time to put in place tough, new common-sense rules of the road so that our financial market rewards drive and innovation, and punishes short-cuts and abuse.

The recovery plan and the financial stability plan are the immediate steps we're taking to revive our economy in the short-term. But the only way to fully restore America's economic strength is to make the long-term investments that will lead to new jobs, new industries, and a renewed ability to compete with the rest of the world. The only way this century will be another American century is if we confront at last the price of our dependence on oil and the high cost of health care; the schools that aren't preparing our children and the mountain of debt they stand to inherit. That is our responsibility.

In the next few days, I will submit a budget to Congress. So often, we have come to view these documents as simply numbers on a page or laundry lists of programs. I see this document differently. I see it as a vision for America - as a blueprint for our future.

My budget does not attempt to solve every problem or address every issue. It reflects the stark reality of what we've inherited - a trillion-dollar deficit, a financial crisis, and a costly recession.

Given these realities, everyone in this chamber - Democrats and Republicans - will have to sacrifice some worthy priorities for which there are no dollars. And that includes me.

But that does not mean we can afford to ignore our long-term challenges. I reject the view that says our

problems will simply take care of themselves; that says government has no role in laying the foundation for our common prosperity.

For history tells a different story. History reminds us that at every moment of economic upheaval and transformation, this nation has responded with bold action and big ideas. In the midst of civil war, we laid railroad tracks from one coast to another that spurred commerce and industry. From the turmoil of the Industrial Revolution came a system of public high schools that prepared our citizens for a new age. In the wake of war and depression, the GI Bill sent a generation to college and created the largest middle-class in history. And a twilight struggle for freedom led to a nation of highways, an American on the moon, and an explosion of technology that still shapes our world.

In each case, government didn't supplant private enterprise; it catalyzed private enterprise. It created the conditions for thousands of entrepreneurs and new businesses to adapt and to thrive.

We are a nation that has seen promise amid peril, and claimed opportunity from ordeal. Now we must be that nation again. That is why, even as it cuts back on the programs we don't need, the budget I submit will invest in the three areas that are absolutely critical to our economic future: energy, health care, and education.

It begins with energy.

We know the country that harnesses the power of clean, renewable energy will lead the 21st century. And yet, it is China that has launched the largest effort in history to make their economy energy efficient. We invented solar technology, but we've fallen behind countries like Germany and Japan in producing it. New plug-in hybrids roll off our assembly lines, but they will run on batteries made in Korea.

Well I do not accept a future where the jobs and industries of tomorrow take root beyond our borders - and I know you don't either. It is time for America to lead again.

Thanks to our recovery plan, we will double this nation's supply of renewable energy in the next three years. We have also made the largest investment in basic research funding in American history - an investment that will spur not only new discoveries in

energy, but breakthroughs in medicine, science, and technology.

We will soon lay down thousands of miles of power lines that can carry new energy to cities and towns across this country. And we will put Americans to work making our homes and buildings more efficient so that we can save billions of dollars on our energy bills.

But to truly transform our economy, protect our security, and save our planet from the ravages of climate change, we need to ultimately make clean, renewable energy the profitable kind of energy. So, I ask this Congress to send me legislation that places a market-based cap on carbon pollution and drives the production of more renewable energy in America. And to support that innovation, we will invest fifteen billion dollars a year to develop technologies like wind power and solar power; advanced biofuels, clean coal, and more fuel-efficient cars and trucks built right here in America.

As for our auto industry, everyone recognizes that years of bad decision-making and a global recession have pushed our automakers to the brink. We should not, and will not, protect them from their own bad practices. But we are committed to the goal of a re-tooled, re-imagined auto industry that can compete and win. Millions of jobs depend on it. Scores of communities depend on it. And I believe the nation that invented the automobile cannot walk away from it.

None of this will come without cost, nor will it be easy. But this is America. We don't do what's easy. We do what is necessary to move this country forward.

For that same reason, we must also address the crushing cost of health care.

This is a cost that now causes a bankruptcy in America every thirty seconds. By the end of the year, it could cause 1.5 million Americans to lose their homes. In the last eight years, premiums have grown four times faster than wages. And in each of these years, one million more Americans have lost their health insurance. It is one of the major reasons why small businesses close their doors and corporations ship jobs overseas. And it's one of the largest and fastest-growing parts of our budget.

Given these facts, we can no longer afford to put health care reform on hold.

Already, we have done more to advance the cause of health care reform in the last thirty days than we have in the last decade. When it was days old, this Congress passed a law to provide and protect health insurance for eleven million American children whose parents work full-time. Our recovery plan will invest in electronic health records and new technology that will reduce errors, bring down costs, ensure privacy, and save lives. It will launch a new effort to conquer a disease that has touched the life of nearly every American by seeking a cure for cancer in our time. And it makes the largest investment ever in preventive care, because that is one of the best ways to keep our people healthy and our costs under control.

This budget builds on these reforms. It includes an historic commitment to comprehensive health care reform - a down-payment on the principle that we must have quality, affordable health care for every American. It's a commitment that's paid for in part by efficiencies in our system that are long overdue. And it's a step we must take if we hope to bring down our deficit in the years to come.

Now, there will be many different opinions and ideas about how to achieve reform, and that is why I'm bringing together businesses and workers, doctors and health care providers, Democrats and Republicans to begin work on this issue next week.

I suffer no illusions that this will be an easy process. It will be hard. But I also know that nearly a century after Teddy Roosevelt first called for reform, the cost of our health care has weighed down our economy and the conscience of our nation long enough. So, let there be no doubt: health care reform cannot wait, it must not wait, and it will not wait another year.

The third challenge we must address is the urgent need to expand the promise of education in America.

In a global economy where the most valuable skill you can sell is your knowledge, a good education is no longer just a pathway to opportunity - it is a prerequisite.

Right now, three-quarters of the fastest-growing occupations require more than a high school diploma. And yet, just over half of our citizens have that level of education. We have one of the highest

high school dropout rates of any industrialized nation. And half of the students who begin college never finish.

This is a prescription for economic decline, because we know the countries that out-teach us today will out-compete us tomorrow. That is why it will be the goal of this administration to ensure that every child has access to a complete and competitive education - from the day they are born to the day they begin a career.

Already, we have made an historic investment in education through the economic recovery plan. We have dramatically expanded early childhood education and will continue to improve its quality, because we know that the most formative learning comes in those first years of life. We have made college affordable for nearly seven million more students. And we have provided the resources necessary to prevent painful cuts and teacher layoffs that would set back our children's progress.

But we know that our schools don't just need more resources. They need more reform. That is why this budget creates new incentives for teacher performance; pathways for advancement, and rewards for success. We'll invest in innovative programs that are already helping schools meet high standards and close achievement gaps. And we will expand our commitment to charter schools.

It is our responsibility as lawmakers and educators to make this system work. But it is the responsibility of every citizen to participate in it. And so tonight, I ask every American to commit to at least one year or more of higher education or career training. This can be community college or a four-year school; vocational training or an apprenticeship. But whatever the training may be, every American will need to get more than a high school diploma. And dropping out of high school is no longer an option. It's not just quitting on yourself, it's quitting on your country - and this country needs and values the talents of every American. That is why we will provide the support necessary for you to complete college and meet a new goal: by 2020, America will once again have the highest proportion of college graduates in the world.

I know that the price of tuition is higher than ever, which is why if you are willing to volunteer in your neighborhood or give back to your community or serve your country, we will make sure that you can

afford a higher education. And to encourage a renewed spirit of national service for this and future generations, I ask this Congress to send me the bipartisan legislation that bears the name of Senator Orrin Hatch as well as an American who has never stopped asking what he can do for his country - Senator Edward Kennedy.

These education policies will open the doors of opportunity for our children. But it is up to us to ensure they walk through them. In the end, there is no program or policy that can substitute for a mother or father who will attend those parent/teacher conferences, or help with homework after dinner, or turn off the TV, put away the video games, and read to their child. I speak to you not just as a President, but as a father when I say that responsibility for our children's education must begin at home.

There is, of course, another responsibility we have to our children. And that is the responsibility to ensure that we do not pass on to them a debt they cannot pay. With the deficit we inherited, the cost of the crisis we face, and the long-term challenges we must meet, it has never been more important to ensure that as our economy recovers, we do what it takes to bring this deficit down.

I'm proud that we passed the recovery plan free of earmarks, and I want to pass a budget next year that ensures that each dollar we spend reflects only our most important national priorities.

Yesterday, I held a fiscal summit where I pledged to cut the deficit in half by the end of my first term in office. My administration has also begun to go line by line through the federal budget in order to eliminate wasteful and ineffective programs. As you can imagine, this is a process that will take some time. But we're starting with the biggest lines. We have already identified two trillion dollars in savings over the next decade.

In this budget, we will end education programs that don't work and end direct payments to large agribusinesses that don't need them. We'll eliminate the no-bid contracts that have wasted billions in Iraq, and reform our defense budget so that we're not paying for Cold War-era weapons systems we don't use. We will root out the waste, fraud, and abuse in our Medicare program that doesn't make our seniors any healthier, and we will restore a sense of fairness and balance to our tax code by finally ending the tax breaks for corporations that ship our jobs overseas.

In order to save our children from a future of debt, we will also end the tax breaks for the wealthiest 2% of Americans. But let me perfectly clear, because I know you'll hear the same old claims that rolling back these tax breaks means a massive tax increase on the American people: if your family earns less than \$250,000 a year, you will not see your taxes increased a single dime. I repeat: not one single dime. In fact, the recovery plan provides a tax cut - that's right, a tax cut - for 95% of working families. And these checks are on the way.

To preserve our long-term fiscal health, we must also address the growing costs in Medicare and Social Security. Comprehensive health care reform is the best way to strengthen Medicare for years to come. And we must also begin a conversation on how to do the same for Social Security, while creating tax-free universal savings accounts for all Americans.

Finally, because we're also suffering from a deficit of trust, I am committed to restoring a sense of honesty and accountability to our budget. That is why this budget looks ahead ten years and accounts for spending that was left out under the old rules - and for the first time, that includes the full cost of fighting in Iraq and Afghanistan. For seven years, we have been a nation at war. No longer will we hide its price.

We are now carefully reviewing our policies in both wars, and I will soon announce a way forward in Iraq that leaves Iraq to its people and responsibly ends this war.

And with our friends and allies, we will forge a new and comprehensive strategy for Afghanistan and Pakistan to defeat al Qaeda and combat extremism. Because I will not allow terrorists to plot against the American people from safe havens half a world away.

As we meet here tonight, our men and women in uniform stand watch abroad and more are readying to deploy. To each and every one of them, and to the families who bear the quiet burden of their absence, Americans are united in sending one message: we honor your service, we are inspired by your sacrifice, and you have our unyielding support. To relieve the strain on our forces, my budget increases the number of our soldiers and Marines. And to keep our sacred trust with those who serve, we will raise their pay, and give our veterans the expanded health care and benefits that they have earned.

To overcome extremism, we must also be vigilant in upholding the values our troops defend - because there is no force in the world more powerful than the example of America. That is why I have ordered the closing of the detention center at Guantanamo Bay, and will seek swift and certain justice for captured terrorists - because living our values doesn't make us weaker, it makes us safer and it makes us stronger. And that is why I can stand here tonight and say without exception or equivocation that the United States of America does not torture.

In words and deeds, we are showing the world that a new era of engagement has begun. For we know that America cannot meet the threats of this century alone, but the world cannot meet them without America. We cannot shun the negotiating table, nor ignore the foes or forces that could do us harm. We are instead called to move forward with the sense of confidence and candor that serious times demand.

To seek progress toward a secure and lasting peace between Israel and her neighbors, we have appointed an envoy to sustain our effort. To meet the challenges of the 21st century - from terrorism to nuclear proliferation; from pandemic disease to cyber threats to crushing poverty - we will strengthen old alliances, forge new ones, and use all elements of our national power.

And to respond to an economic crisis that is global in scope, we are working with the nations of the G-20 to restore confidence in our financial system, avoid the possibility of escalating protectionism, and spur demand for American goods in markets across the globe. For the world depends on us to have a strong economy, just as our economy depends on the strength of the world's.

As we stand at this crossroads of history, the eyes of all people in all nations are once again upon us - watching to see what we do with this moment; waiting for us to lead.

Those of us gathered here tonight have been called to govern in extraordinary times. It is a tremendous burden, but also a great privilege - one that has been entrusted to few generations of Americans. For in our hands lies the ability to shape our world for good or for ill.

I know that it is easy to lose sight of this truth - to become cynical and doubtful; consumed with the petty and the trivial.

But in my life, I have also learned that hope is found in unlikely places; that inspiration often comes not from those with the most power or celebrity, but from the dreams and aspirations of Americans who are anything but ordinary.

I think about Leonard Abess, the bank president from Miami who reportedly cashed out of his company, took a \$60 million bonus, and gave it out to all 399 people who worked for him, plus another 72 who used to work for him. He didn't tell anyone, but when the local newspaper found out, he simply said, "I knew some of these people since I was 7 years old. I didn't feel right getting the money myself."

I think about Greensburg, Kansas, a town that was completely destroyed by a tornado, but is being rebuilt by its residents as a global example of how clean energy can power an entire community - how it can bring jobs and businesses to a place where piles of bricks and rubble once lay. "The tragedy was terrible," said one of the men who helped them rebuild. "But the folks here know that it also provided an incredible opportunity."

And I think about Ty'Sheoma Bethea, the young girl from that school I visited in Dillon, South Carolina - a place where the ceilings leak, the paint peels off the walls, and they have to stop teaching six times a day because the train barrels by their classroom. She has been told that her school is hopeless, but the other day after class she went to the public library and typed up a letter to the people sitting in this room. She even asked her principal for the money to buy a stamp. The letter asks us for help, and says, "We are just students trying to become lawyers, doctors, congressmen like yourself and one-day president, so

we can make a change to not just the state of South Carolina but also the world. We are not quitters."

We are not quitters.

These words and these stories tell us something about the spirit of the people who sent us here. They tell us that even in the most trying times, amid the most difficult circumstances, there is a generosity, a resilience, a decency, and a determination that perseveres; a willingness to take responsibility for our future and for posterity.

Their resolve must be our inspiration. Their concerns must be our cause. And we must show them and all our people that we are equal to the task before us.

I know that we haven't agreed on every issue thus far, and there are surely times in the future when we will part ways. But I also know that every American who is sitting here tonight loves this country and wants it to succeed. That must be the starting point for every debate we have in the coming months, and where we return after those debates are done. That is the foundation on which the American people expect us to build common ground.

And if we do - if we come together and lift this nation from the depths of this crisis; if we put our people back to work and restart the engine of our prosperity; if we confront without fear the challenges of our time and summon that enduring spirit of an America that does not quit, then someday years from now our children can tell their children that this was the time when we performed, in the words that are carved into this very chamber, "something worthy to be remembered." Thank you, God Bless you, and may God Bless the United States of America.