

**STYLISTIC ANALYSIS OF SBY'S SPEECH
AT HARVARD UNIVERSITY IN 2009**

A GRADUATING PAPER

Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for Gaining
the Bachelor Degree in English Literature



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A FINAL PROJECT STATEMENT

I certify that this thesis is definitely is my own work. I am completely responsible for the content of this thesis. Other opinions or findings included in the thesis are quoted or cited in accordance with ethical standard.

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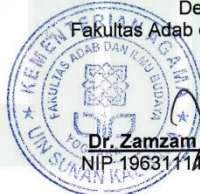
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STYLISTIC ANALYSIS OF SBY'S SPEECH AT HARVARD UNIVERSITY IN 2009

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ABSTRACT

The speech of president in a country gives a great impact for the listeners, especially the citizen. The impact can be good or bad, therefore it is related with capability of president in delivering speech. How a president able to convey the speech successfully and diction appropriately. Therefore, indirectly a president is demanded to be good in the speech. Even though, we know that not all of the presidents can be good in the speech, especially speech in English. Related with it, diction is one of the important aspects. Diction becomes important because it reflects the language capability. Based on that, the researcher has two research questions. First, how are stylistically the diction types of SBY's speech at Harvard University in 2009?; and second how are the diction of SBY's speech based on nine aspects of good speech?; This research uses two theories. They are, the diction theory, it consists of figurative language, and rhetorical devices by Lynn Altenbernd and Lessie L. Lewis, and nine aspects of the good speech by Wijaya and Budi. The researcher uses descriptive qualitative approach to analyze this research and documentation technique for collecting the sources information to support this research. Result of this research is describing diction types of SBY's speech, they are two connotative, six personification, four metaphor, and one hyperbole and SBY fulfills six aspects of the good speech, they are coherence, fresh, repetition, surprising, contains of humor, having the purpose.

Keywords: *diction, figurative language, rhetorical devices, and nine aspects of the good speech*

STYLISTIC ANALYSIS OF SBY'S SPEECH AT HARVARD UNIVERSITY IN 2009

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ABSTRAK

Pidato seorang presiden dalam sebuah negara dapat memberikan pengaruh besar terhadap para pendengar, khususnya rakyat. Pengaruh tersebut dapat berdampak baik ataupun buruk, sehingga hal tersebut berkaitan dengan kemampuan berpidato seorang presiden dalam menyampaikan pidato. Bagaimana seorang presiden dapat menyampaikan pidato dengan sukses dan dengan diksi yang tepat. Oleh karena itu, secara tidak langsung seorang presiden dituntut untuk cakap dalam berpidato. Meskipun kita tahu bahwa tidak semua presiden cakap dalam berpidato, khususnya dalam bahasa Inggris. Berkaitan dengan hal tersebut, diksi merupakan salah satu dari aspek-aspek penting. Diksi menjadi aspek penting karena merupakan cerminan kemampuan berbahasa. Berdasarkan hal tersebut, peneliti mempunyai dua rumusan masalah. Pertama, bagaimana secara stilistik jenis-jenis diksi yang terdapat di dalam pidato SBY di universitas harvard tahun 2009? dan kedua bagaimana diksi pidato SBY berdasarkan pada sembilan aspek pidato yang baik? penelitian ini menggunakan dua teori, yaitu teori diksi yang terdiri dari bahasa figuratif dan gaya retorik oleh Lynn Altenbernd dan Lessie L. Lewis, dan sembilan aspek pidato yang baik oleh Wijaya dan Budi. Peneliti menggunakan pendekatan diskriptif kualitatif untuk menganalisis penelitian ini dan menggunakan teknik dokumentasi untuk mendapatkan sumber-sumber informasi guna mendukung penelitian ini. Hasil dari penelitian ini adalah mendeskripsikan jenis-jenis diksi yang ada di dalam pidato SBY, berupa dua konotasi, enam personifikasi, empat metafora, dan satu hiperbola dan SBY memenuhi enam aspek dalam pidato yang baik, yaitu koherensi, segar, pengulangan, mengejutkan, terdapat humor, mempunyai bertujuan.

Kata kunci: *diksi, bahasa figuratif, perangkat retorik dan sembilan aspek pidato yang baik*

Motto

Language is a Bridge of the World

(Unknown)

The Limits of my Language are the Limits of my

World

(SPBA)

DEDICATION

Sincerely, I dedicate this thesis to:

My beloved parents, *Bapa* Carkono & *Mamah* Elip Kiptiah.

My beloved siblings, Dian Pranita and Indra Surya Pranata.

All My Best Friends, and

My friends at English department

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Actually, there are many mistakes in my graduating paper. I expect the readers to give advice and criticism to improve my research paper.

Wassalamu'alaikum wr. wb

Yogyakarta, 23 March 2016

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background of Study

A leader is a person who has a big responsibility and a great impact to the people. The real impact is when a leader gives a speech in front of many people. According to Gunadi, "Public speaking is a communication which uses oral language about a topic and faced the people" (Wijaya and Budi, 2007). In addition, unconsciously it influences the people doing and agreeing what speaker says. Therefore, a leader and a speech are two combinations which can change people even the world. There are many great leader's speeches in the world, an example is from Indonesian leader, Bung Tomo's speech (Indonesian Patriot). His speech had awaken spirit of Indonesian people to reach their independence from colonialism.

Talking about leader's speech, it is related with leader of a country that is president. A president is the highest position especially in republic state, the highest position makes everything will catch attention. Moreover, when a president delivers a speech. Today, an issue about president's speech rises. The issue is about Jokowi's speech in *APEC* because he delivers his speech using English. It is about his pronunciation and the diction used. Jokowi's speech becomes pro and con because of his style in delivering the speech. Some people assume that his speech is good and the others are not. According to Nasrul, people compare Jokowi's speech with the previous Indonesian president, Susilo Bambang

Yudhoyono or SBY (m.republika.com).

Delivering the speech will be good and success, it depends on many aspects, such as diction, content, gesture, performance, knowledge, and so on. The researcher chooses to analyze an important investigation about diction. Diction is related with language capability, and correlation with the aspects of good speech. Thus, good and appropriate diction is needed. When the diction is wrong and inappropriate, it makes difficult to convey the message because it will be confusing. Keraf said, "Diction is word selection to declare ideas or concepts, it also relates to personality and characteristic or something in high aesthetics. A good diction makes the speaker is not wasteful when speaking" (2004: 22-23).

Related to the explanation above, the used of good words in the communication is related to the Islamic studies, because it has already been explained in the Holy Qoran on surah Al-Isra verse 53:

وَقُلْ لِعِبَادِي يَقُولُوا الَّتِي هِيَ أَحْسَنُ إِنَّ الشَّيْطَانَ يَنْزِعُ بَيْنَهُمْ إِنَّ
الشَّيْطَانَ كَانَ لِلْإِنْسَانِ عَدُوًّا مُبِينًا

"And say to my slaves (i.e the true believers of Islamic Monotheism) that they should (only) say those words that are best: (Because) Shaitan (Satan) verily, sows a state of conflict and disagreements among them. Surely, Shaitan (Satan) is to man a plain enemy" (Hilali and Khan, 2011).

Based on the verse above, it is connected with communication and diction. Indeed in Islam, a Moslem should be careful when speaking to people. Moreover, a Moslem is forbade to mock, to hurt, and to curse because those bad things come

from Satan. A Moslem in every words gives impact through the people. Thus, Islam teaches its followers to speak in a good and polite manner. When a Moslem uses a bad and impolite manner, it causes bad impact to other Moslems and for the result is a sin.

The researcher is interested to take SBY's speech at Harvard University in 2009 as the object because of several reasons. Firstly, his speech at Harvard is not common speech because the listeners that come in that agenda must get the ticket online and the ticket is limited. He becomes a speaker in stadium general at John F Kennedy School of Government Harvard University. Secondly, diction of his speech at Harvard are interesting because he uses some new terms like *soft power* in his speech and he is the first person who connotes *power* as something modern. Thirdly, his speech uses not only new term but also several diction to enrich the speech than the other speeches overseas. Fourthly, SBY as the previous president has own style in the used of diction, he often conveys his ideas implicitly or indirectly. The researcher is also curious because according to Darsono, his speech gets many praises from people (DetikNews.com).

SBY's speech at Harvard University in 2009, entitled "Towards Harmony Among Civilizations" contained nine imperatives to reach harmony among civilizations. The Nine Imperatives, they are *the century of soft power, intensify the process of dialogue and outreach, a solution to burning political conflicts, strengthen the voice of moderation in our communities, multiculturalism and tolerance, make globalization work for all, reform global governance, education, global conscience*. In the end of his speech, he gives a hope that those imperatives

are not only brings the world into a new millennium, but also elevates the bonds of humanity to greater heights. In the Century, no one loses and everybody wins.

Related to the reason above, the researcher believes that every Indonesian president has different style in delivering speech. Here, the researcher will not compare which one be the best speech between SBY or Jokowi, because this research just related to the issue which has mentioned, that is about Indonesian president's speech and the speech style. Here, the researcher wants to reveal and to show that diction of president's speech is important to analyze because it will give impact to many people and also get attention from the world.

Because sometimes, Indonesian people assumes that English is not really necessary. As we know, Indonesian has *Bahasa* as national language. Learning English is not correlated with nationalism. It is related with the globalization which English is necessary. English is international language which Indonesian does not use it as national language. For some people learn English is not easy, thus it is rather difficult to deliver a speech in English because of the limit words. Therefore, speech in English is not only about good in pronunciation but also in the used of diction.

In addition a speech is classified good, if the speaker fulfills several aspects, and one of the aspects the example is fresh (topic). In his speech SBY uses several aspects, and one of them is in the sentence "*It is fitting that I come here after the G-20 Summit in Pittsburg*". The sentence indicates that SBY just come in the G-20 Summit to discuss something. Than he tells to the listeners that the G-20 grouping, comprising some 85 per cent of the world's GNP and 80 per cent of world trade.

1.2 Research Questions

Based on the background of study, there are two questions that the researcher wants to answer. They are:

1. How are stylistically the diction types of SBY's speech at Harvard University in 2009?
2. how are the diction of SBY's speech at Harvard University in 2009 based on the aspects of good speech?

1.3 Objectives of Study

Related to the research question, there are two objectives of study that the researcher wants to acquire. They are:

1. to describe how are stylistically the diction types of SBY' s speech at Harvard University in 2009.
2. to know how are the diction of SBY speech at Harvard University in 2009 based on the aspects of good speech.

1.4 Significances of Study

1.4.1 Theoretical Significance

The researcher hopes that it can enrich the research of stylistics field especially about diction. Moreover, This research can also be an example for lecturers in teaching and for the student who use the similar topic of research in the future as a reference.

1.4.2 Practical Significance

The researcher believes that this research could be beneficial for people who want to be good speaker or orator in the future, especially about public

speaking. The researcher also wants to realize that language is important to study because studying about foreign language is beneficial to increase knowledges because language reflects mind. Others, the researcher knows nowadays, the capability in foreign language is very needed in the globalization era.

1.5 Literature Review

There are many researchers about speech which has studied, and most of them analyze the leader's speech. The researcher has found literature reviews which give reference for the research. The first research was "Stylistic Speech Analysis of Dr. H. Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono, the President of Indonesia Case: The India and Indonesia Business Forum" written by Wienny Ardriyati (2011). Wienny used stylistic theory to analyze SBY's speech. She wanted to find out how the President's speech addressed the honor to the Associated Chambers of Commerce and Industry of India which has written in a forum of business community in terms of theme, plot structure, stylistic, and linguistics categories. She used descriptive qualitative method in her research. The research has revealed that the president's speech was not merely his expression in using the language, but the strong content of the business forum that was addressed to the audiences and how the president describes the condition of both countries, Indonesia and India, how the link of cooperation between both of them.

The second was "A Stylistic Analysis of the Language of Political Campaigns in Nigeria: Evidence From the 2007 General Elections" written by V. E. Omozuwa & E. U. C. Ezejideaku (2008). They used stylistic theory to analyze and they used

descriptive qualitative approach. This study was a synchronic stylistic analysis of the various political utterances. This research could be embodied in term of rhetoric or propaganda, involving repetition, promise, colloquialism, word coinages, pidginized, and figurative expressions. This research has revealed that politicians spare nothing at outsmarting, even the opponents mean resorting to the use of utterances, that could be defamatory, abusive, and sometimes vulgar.

The third was "A Stylistic Analysis of a Selected Campaign Speech of President Goodluck Jonathan" written by Balogun Oluwafun Milayo Dorcas (2011). He used stylistic theory to analyze and he uses descriptive qualitative method. The research focused on two aspects, that are words and utterances. He has four research questions, they are: what campaign speech is. What the features are. What factors to be considered in delivering the speech are. What method of presentation is. The areas to be covered in the stylistic analysis of this speech were phonology, morphology, cohesion, graphology, and lexical-syntactic structures. The research has revealed that there were speeches that staining in term of messages and contents, when a speech was spoken or written merely by the audience and hearer respectively.

The fourth was "Adverbs in Obama's second Inaugural Address" written by Sukron Marzuki (2014). He used descriptive qualitative method to analyze. He wanted to know about what are types of adverbs used in Obama's second inaugural address?; and how are the adverbs used in the address?; The object of his research was adverb, the aims were to analyze the types and position of adverbs. He used theory of syntax in the research. The research has revealed that

there are eight types of adverbs from 137 adverbs in Obama's second inaugural address.

The last was "Barack Obama's Diction in His 2009 Inaugural Speech" written by Ana Puspita Sari (2014). She used descriptive qualitative method to analyze, and she wanted to answer how is the diction in Barack Obama's 2009 inaugural speech?; and how does the diction in Barack Obama's speech affect the audiences?; She used theory of diction, figurative language, and rhetorical devices in her research. The research has revealed that Obama applies several connotative words, she also used some figurative language such as metaphor, and personification. She also used rhetorical devices to enrich his speech.

Based on the researchers above, most of them analyze the leader's speech. They have analyzed the leader's speech using stylistics theory. Those researches which have been mentioned above are quite different from the data and the theory, because the researcher analyzes the transcript of SBY's speech at Harvard University in 2009 as the main data, then this research focuses on the diction and nine aspects of the good speech as the theory. Although, there is a similar diction theory, it is different because the data is Indonesian president speech. One of the reason why the researcher chooses diction of SBY's speech because as Indonesian president, he uses several variations of the diction in his speech, that is *a roller coaster year*. He uses that term to show a condition at that time, it is interesting to study.

1.6 Theoretical Approach

Diction is study about word selection, even though diction relates with poetry, diction is can also related with other objects which contains of words such as novel, film, song, even speech. Here, the researcher chooses diction theory to analyze the object that is speech. The researcher believes that every object which formed of words can be analyzed using diction theory.

Based on the reason mention, this research uses several stylistic theories especially the diction theory by Lynn Altenbernd and Lessie L. Lewis entitled "*A Handbook for the Study of Poetry*" (1966) because the theory is basic of the diction and it is appropriate to apply the theory which formed of words. "The selection of word is called diction" (Altenbernd and Lewis: 1966). According to Brooks and Warren, diction is easy stages in the study of words (1972: 9). A good diction is the result of the choice of good words, and effective expression obviously the words that will represent not nearly, not approximately but exactly (Brooks and Warren, 1972: 285).

1.6.1 Diction

In the diction there are denotation and connotation. The denotation means the words in the dictionary definition, for example: blue means color. Meanwhile, the connotation is the accumulation of emotional associations that a word has gathered through its history or acquires in a given setting, for example: blue means feeling sad and sorrow (Altenbernd and Lewis, 1966: 9-10).

1.6.2 Figurative Language

In figurative language there are metaphors, metonymies, synecdoche, simile

and personification. A metaphor is a word applied literally to one kind of object or idea is implied by analogy to another (Brooks and Warren, 1972: 311). Metonymy is the use of an attribute of an object or something closely associated. Synecdoche is so nearly like metonymy that most of the comments on that figure apply here as well. Simile is closely related to metaphor and usually there is word "like". Personification is the abstract thing that doing the qualities of human being in such a way to render a normally (Altenbernd and Lewis, 1966: 21-22).

1.6.3 Rhetorical devices

Rhetorical devices are divided into hyperbole, understatement, ambiguity (Double meaning) and ellipsis. Hyperbole is deliberate and often outrageous exaggeration. It may be used to magnify a fact or an emotion. Meanwhile, understatement is the opposite of hyperbole. Ambiguity is double meaning, and ellipsis is word omission (Altenbernd and Lewis, 1966: 23).

Based on those theories, the researcher will analyze the data such as words or phrases, or sentences that used in the speech. Then classify, and interpret the data based on the theories.

1.7 Methods of Study

This section consists of four parts method of study, they are type of research, data source, data collection technique, data analysis technique.

1.7.1 Type of Research

The two objectives of study are to describe diction types; to show the diction based on nine aspects of the good speech. The researcher chooses a qualitative approach to analyze the research. According to Creswell,

"Qualitative analysis is exploring and understanding the meaning individuals based on the interpretation" (2009: 5).

Qualitative analysis is also about the form of data that used, qualitative is usually explained through the words. Qualitative is related with something implicit that cannot be counted in number. According to Ross, "Qualitative research is 'world view', not a single reality, based upon perceptions and change over time, within a given situation of context" (Wahyuni, 2012: 2).

1.7.2 Data Source

The researcher gets the source of data from the record of SBY's speech at Harvard university in 2009 and the transcript, the video record is taken from <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=vNPT4UvG36g> and the transcript is taken from <https://ombenk.wordpress.com/2010/06/29/pidato-presiden-sby-yang-terpilih-sebagai-pidato-terbaik-abad-21/> that become the main data. Other sources, such as internet, articles, and books that relate to SBY's speech become supporting data.

1.7.3 Data Collection Technique

The researcher uses several techniques to collect the data. First, the researcher searches the video record of SBY's speech from youtube.com and the transcript of SBY's speech from google.com. Second, watching and listening the video record attentively to examine that the transcript is precise. Reading the transcript attentively to find diction based on theory and classify the speech based on nine aspects of the good speech.

1.7.4 Data Analysis Technique

According to Bogdan & Biklen, "Analysis involves working with data, organizing it, breaking it into manageable units, synthesizing, searching for patterns. Discovering what is important and what is to be learned and deciding what will tell others" ('Aliyah, 2015: 14). After the researcher finds the data, the researcher analyzes into several steps, they are:

After finding the diction then classifying each diction based on connotative, figurative language, rhetorical device and nine aspects of the good speech, next interpreting each diction, after that classifying SBY's speech at Harvard University in 2009 based on the nine aspects, the last is checking the context.

1.8 Paper Organization

This research contains four chapters. The first chapter is an introduction which includes background of study, research questions, objectives of study, significances of study, literature review, theoretical approach, methods of study, and paper organization. The second chapter is theoretical background, speech definition and biography of SBY. The third chapter is the findings and discussions of the research, in this chapter the analysis is explained clearly. The fourth chapter is conclusion of the research and giving suggestion the research for the future.

CHAPTER IV

CONCLUSION AND SUGGESTION

4.1 Conclusion

Investigating president's speech is related to language capability in communication, because language is not only a means to communicate. After the researcher describing each diction than the researcher correlating the data using nine aspects of the good speech.

The researcher finds conclusion that generally SBY applies several diction, they are two connotative (phrases), several figurative language they are six personifications (one phrase and five sentences), four metaphor (four phrases), and rhetorical device that is one hyperbole (phrase) and it consist of eight phrases and five sentences. SBY does not use metonymy, simile, synecdoche, understatement, ambiguity, and ellipsis in his speech.

Related to nine aspects of the good speech, SBY is classified to fulfill six aspects and the aspects are coherence, fresh, repetition, surprising, contains of humor and having the purpose. He does not classified three aspects, they are clear, brief and solid, climax.

4.2 Suggestion

Related to this research, the researcher has some suggestions which can be analyzed in the future. They are:

1. Considering to the next research, other researchers could analyze the other aspects in the speech except diction, such as the impacts of the speech towards the listeners through reader responds, the implication, and the performance or other branch of linguistics; syntax, morphology, semantics and also structure.
2. Investigating speech of other presidents or other popular personages in the world, which the speech gives big impacts to the listeners especially people in the world.
3. The similar research about president's speech can realize that a president may have good English capability in delivering speech in this era.

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List of the Data in SBY's speech at Harvard University in 2009

No	Data
1	The first imperative is to make the 21st century <i>the century of soft power</i> .
2	The 20th century was <i>the century of hard power</i> .
3	...But today, racism is in serious decline, <i>apartheid is gone</i> .
4	...But <i>the world saw</i> more countries developing nuclear weapons.
5	The <i>whole wept</i> , and offered helping hands.
6	...But " <i>Global conscience</i> " <i>could well help</i> transcend whatever, religious and cultural divides that faced humanity.
7	It can be <i>a century that not only brings us into</i> a new millennium, but also elevates the bonds of humanity to greater heights.
8	It may be naive to expect that <i>the world can be rid</i> of conflict and hatred.
9	Perhaps this is why the G-20 has been successful in arresting <i>a global meltdown</i> .
10	In <i>the roller coaster years</i> following independence, Indonesia has suffered separatist threats, ethnic and religious conflicts, and Islamic insurgencies.
11	It is no wonder that the 20 th century has been called the " <i>age of conflict</i> ".
12	Eighteen years after the end of the Cold War ended, ten years into the 21st Century, we find ourselves at <i>a crucial crossroads</i> .
13	It has been <i>the bloodiest Century</i> in memory.
14	<i>In 2001</i> , the United Nations began the Dialogue among Civilizations. Spain and Turkey later launched the Alliance of Civilizations. The Asia Europe Meeting (ASEM) also took-up Inter-faith Dialogue. Recently, Saudi Arabia convened the Interfaith Conference at the UN. Indonesia and Norway also launched, <i>since 2006</i> , the Global Inter-Media Dialogue in the aftermath of the cartoon crisis.

15	It is fitting that I come here <i>after the G-20 Summit in Pittsburgh</i> .
16	The question now is whether climate change would be able to foster a new <i>global conscience</i> . We are still not sure that it will. But a “ <i>global conscience</i> ” could well help transcend whatever civilization, religious and cultural divides that has faced humanity.
17	<i>Let me outline 9 (nine) imperatives to achieve harmony among civilizations. If you ask me “why 9 ?”, well, it is a bit personal, because 9 is always my lucky number. Let me now outline these imperatives.</i>
18	I am impressed with the turn-out this evening, and, for the students, <i>I hope you are NOT here today as an excuse to skip class.</i>
19	We can be the bastion of freedom, tolerance and harmony. We can be a powerful example that Islam, democracy and modernity can go hand in hand. And <i>we will continue to advance Indonesia’s transformation through democracy, development and harmony.</i>

The Transcript of SBY speech at Harvard University in 2009

“TOWARDS HARMONY AMONG CIVILIZATIONS” SPEECH BY DR. SUSILO
BAMBANG YUDHOYONO
PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF INDONESIA

AT THE JOHN F. KENNEDY SCHOOL OF GOVERNMENT HARVARD
UNIVERSITY

BOSTON, 29 September 2009

Bismillahirrahmanirrahim

Professor David Ellwood, Dean of the John F. Kennedy School of Government,
Professor John Thomas,
Faculty members,
Students,
Dear friends,

I am honored to be here today, to address the distinguished faculty and students of Harvard University. I am impressed with the turn-out this evening, and, for the students, I hope you are NOT here today as an excuse to skip class.

I must admit, I have wanted to visit Harvard for a long time. Several of my Ministers, successful businessmen and military generals were fortunate to study here. Don't take this the wrong way : but I find it interesting that I did not end-up working for people who went to Harvard; it's actually people who went to Harvard who ended-up working for me !

I am proud that my son, Captain Agus, was able to join this prestigious Harvard program – I think he is somewhere in this room. So now other than being a loyal soldier in the Indonesian army, he is also another Harvard student working for me ! Several months ago, President Barack Obama made a historic speech in Cairo, seeking to redefine relations between America and the Muslim world. As President of the country with the world's largest Muslim population, I would like today to respond to that speech.

President Obama delivered his speech at Al Azhar University, one of the oldest and best Universities in the Islamic world. I speak today at Harvard, the oldest and most prestigious University in America. (And please do not tell people in Princeton and Yale I said this..) But our objective is the same: to take a hard look at relations between the West and the Islamic worlds, and to chart a new course forward.

It is fitting that I come here after the G-20 Summit in Pittsburgh.
For to me, the G-20 is one manifestation of the change taking place in global

politics. The G-20 grouping, comprising some 85 per cent of the world's GNP and 80 per cent of world trade, is not just an economic powerhouse — it is also a civilizational powerhouse.

The G-20 for the first time accommodates all the major civilizations — not just Western countries, but also China, South Korea, India, South Africa, and others, including significantly, three countries with large Muslim populations: Saudi Arabia, Turkey, and Indonesia. The G-7, the G-8, or even the United Nations Security Council, does not boast this distinction. The G-20 is representative of a multi-civilizational global community.

Perhaps this is why the G-20 has been successful in arresting a global meltdown. The swift and coordinated actions of G-20 economies have started the stabilization of our financial systems and restored confidence, prompting today's early signs of modest economic recovery.

We are very pleased that at the close of Pittsburgh, the G-20 has been institutionalized, and looks set to be the premier forum for international economic cooperation. This comes not a moment too soon, for the world's civilizations should be properly represented in one defining forum. Civilizations. They at once define us, and divide us.

Is harmony between our civilizations truly elusive so out of reach? can we just not get along?

Sixteen years ago, the late Samuel Huntington, a son of this university, published an essay proposing that after the Cold War, civilizations, religions and cultures would become the defining feature of international relations and would constitute the primary cause of conflicts between and within nations.

To me, the term “clash of civilizations ” itself is counter-productive. If they hear it often enough, some people may think that the world is such and accept it as reality. I don't believe that civilizations are inherently incompatible and prone to conflict when they interact. This is what I saw firsthand at the G20, where nations of diverse cultural backgrounds joined hands to address a common challenge. We spoke different languages through our headphones, but we understood one another.

Huntington sought to understand post-Cold-War fault lines and warned us of potential turbulence. This is not a trivial reminder. Civilizational issues are rife in modern politics. As policy-makers, our job is to prevent such prognosis from becoming reality.

Indeed, Huntington's warning has been relevant to Indonesia's experience. In the roller coaster years following independence, Indonesia has suffered separatist threats, ethnic and religious conflicts, and Islamic insurgencies.

But we overcame these challenges. We adapted. And instead of failing, we have thrived. Today we are not a hotbed of communal violence; we are by and large an archipelago of peace.

Today we are not at the brink of 'Balkanization'; we have instead fortified our national identity through three successful, peaceful national elections.

Today we are not a victim of past authoritarian, centralized governments, but a model of democracy and decentralization.

Today we are not paralyzed by financial crisis but forging ahead with sweeping reforms of our financial and industrial structure. And Indonesia today is a dynamic emerging economy, enjoying one of the highest growth rates in Asia after China and India.

Thus, no matter how deep and seemingly divisive the civilizational forces facing Indonesia — the ethnic differences and religious conflicts — we overcame them. This is despite the enormous challenges of democracy and development that still confront us.

Please do not misunderstand me. I am aware of the painful realities of our world. I am aware of the 4000 years of painful relations between Judaism, Islam and Christianity.

I am aware of a traumatic collective memory that is not easy to erase.

When dealing with matters of faith, we face basic human emotions that predated modern states. These emotions are complicated, stubborn, and will likely become more problematic as religiosity intensifies worldwide. According to some estimate, Islam will be the world's largest religion by 2025, accounting for some 30 % of the world population, and indeed Islam is currently the fastest growing religion in the United States.

As religiosity increases, so will the politics of identity. And aided by globalization and technology, extremism and radicalism can only grow. As we transition from G8 to G20 and perhaps beyond, mutual exposure between civilizations will become the most intense humanity has ever seen. Perhaps we will even see the emergence of a "global civilization".

And democracy has gained immense ground, spreading in the Islamic world, including in Indonesia. There were only a handful of democracies at the turn of the 20th century. At the turn of the 21st century, there are some 89 full democracies. Even the Organization of Islamic Conference has adopted the historic Mecca Charter committing its members to the principles of democracy, human rights and governance. Indeed, more people now live under open pluralist societies, and under religious freedom, than at any other time in history. This trend can have only a positive impact on the global community.

It may be naive to expect that the world can be rid of conflict and hatred. But I

believe that we can fundamentally change and evolve the way civilizations, religions and cultures interact.

This is NOT utopia. It is a pragmatic vision. I have seen it work in Indonesia. I have seen it work in many countries. The question is : can we make it work globally? As Robert F. Kennedy once said, quoting George Bernard Shaw, ‘I dream of things that never were, and ask, why not?’ To highlight how I think this can possibly be achieved, let me outline 9 (nine) imperatives to achieve harmony among civilizations.

If you ask me “why 9?”, well, it is a bit personal, because 9 is always my lucky number. Let me now outline these imperatives.

The first imperative is to make the 21st century the century of soft power. Remember : The 20th century was the century of hard power. We saw two World Wars, several major wars and proxy wars, and a long Cold War which risked nuclear holocaust. One estimate suggests that some 180 million people died in the wars and conflicts of the last century. It is no wonder that the 20th century has been called the “age of conflict”. It has been the bloodiest Century in memory. In contrast, the 21st century should and must be the century of soft power.

But there exists a large of “soft power deficit” that the world’s civilizations must fill. I believe that this ‘clash of civilizations’ is actually a clash of ignorance. We are weakest when we are alone. We are strongest when we join forces with one another. There are many examples of this power of exchange and connectivity.

In the 13th century, the Islamic civilization was the most sophisticated in the world because it had an enormous and indiscriminate thirst for knowledge and science, learning from all corners of the world. And this body of scientific knowledge from the Muslim world was later utilized by the Western Renaissance. Civilizations have built on each other’s knowledge and become enriched by them.

We have done the same in Indonesia, where we have built on our exposure to Eastern, Islamic, and Western influences, culminating in the open, pluralistic and tolerant society that we are today.

In short : the cross-fertilization of cultures can produce something wonderful, something good.

The more we exchange cultures and share ideas, the more we learn from one another, the more we cooperate and spread goodwill, the more we project soft power and place it right at the heart of international relations, the closer we are to world peace.

Experience has taught me that soft power is an effective weapon against conflict. Just ask the people of Aceh, Indonesia.

For 30 years, Aceh was rife with violence. Successive Indonesian governments

opted for a rigid military solution, because a settlement seemed so elusive. When I assumed the Presidency, I pursued a new approach, one defined by goodwill and trust-building. I offered the separatists a win-win formula, promising them peace with dignity. Remarkably, we reached a permanent peace settlement in just 5 short rounds of negotiations. The peace agreement was fully in line with my objective to defend our sovereignty and territorial integrity but in a civilized and democratic way. That was when my faith in soft power multiplied, and why I believe it holds the key to resolving many global problems.

The second imperative is to intensify the process of dialogue and outreach that now seems to be proliferating.

We have seen many good initiatives. In 2001, the United Nations began the Dialogue among Civilizations. Spain and Turkey later launched the Alliance of Civilizations. The Asia Europe Meeting (ASEM) also took-up Inter-faith Dialogue. Recently, Saudi Arabia convened the Interfaith Conference at the UN. Indonesia and Norway also launched, since 2006, the Global Inter-Media Dialogue in the aftermath of the cartoon crisis. All this represents a fresh approach to link civilizations and religions.

We must deepen the quality of these dialogues, so that they produce specific actions that, as UN Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon points out, (and I quote) “change what people see, what they say and ultimately how they act” (end of quote).

These initiatives should not always be a meeting of like-minded moderates, although surely this is also important. They should also include disbelievers, for a dialogue should not be a reaffirmation, but an honest attempt to understand the concerns of the other side. The point is to listen, and not just talk.

A true dialogue must address age-old grievances and confront false stereotypes, without presumptions and preconditions. Indeed, the best dialogues are often respectful and honest, open-ended and constructive, intense, and solution-oriented. These were the quality of dialogues held in Indonesia between Muslims and Christians in conflict-zones in Poso and Maluku, which culminated in a commitment to peaceful reconciliation. The third imperative is the need to find a solution to burning political conflicts that have driven a wide wedge, specifically between the western and Muslim worlds.

Today, some two out of three Muslim countries are in conflict or face a significant threat of conflict. In contrast, only one out of four non-Muslim countries face similar challenges. But despite these very complex conflict situations, Muslims must be able to differentiate between a conflict involving Muslims, and a “war against Islam”. I do not believe that any of the civilizations – Western, Hindu, Sinic, Buddhist, Japanese – are systematically and simplistically engaged in a “war against Islam”.

Of all the world's conflicts, none has captured the passion of Muslims more than the plight of the Palestinians. But this is not a religious issue – there are Christians and Jews in Palestine, and Muslims and Christians in Israel. Nonetheless, the establishment of the much-awaited Palestinian state, in the framework of a two-state solution where Palestine and Israel live side by side in peace, would be widely hailed by Muslims worldwide. It would remove a major mental barrier in their perception of the West, especially of the United States. Currently, many Muslims fail to notice the constructive role of the West in producing peace in Bosnia, and in Kosovo, but they would surely notice, and rejoice in, the resolution of the Palestine dilemma.

But the Palestinians too have a moral and political responsibility. It is difficult to attain and sustain statehood unless there is unity among the Palestinian factions. In my meeting with Palestinian leaders, I always told them very clearly that Indonesian freedom fighters would have never won the war for independence, if they had not united in spirit.

The bottom line is : we desperately need to end the vicious cycle of conflict and violence.

The timely withdrawal of Western forces from Iraq and Afghanistan would also alleviate Muslim fears of a Western hegemony. And all these political solutions would help reduce terrorism, as a crime that deviates from the true teaching of Islam as a religion of peace. It would also turn the feelings of fear and humiliation among some Muslims into hope and self-esteem.

The fourth imperative is to strengthen the voice of moderation in our communities.

By nature, moderates are open-minded, flexible and prone to an inclusive approach through outreach and partnership. In contrast, extremists are driven by xenophobic fear, and bent on confrontation and exclusion.

Because both moderation and extremism will grow in the 21st century, we must make sure the moderates are empowered, and take center stage in society. The moderates should no longer be a silent majority. They must speak up and defend their mainstream values in the face of opposition from the louder and more media-genic extremists. In this vein, I find it very encouraging that Western media have unanimously refused to show the very offensive film *Fitna* by provocative Dutch politician Geert Wilders. This shows the media's improved sensitivity towards Islam.

The moderates also have to be more proactive and less reactive. And they must show, with reason and results, that being a moderate brings real success, peace and progress. Extremists will always capitalize on hopelessness and desperation. We must present a better alternative. The fifth imperative is multiculturalism and tolerance. The most welcome trend in the 21st century is multiculturalism and tolerance. You can not say this of America and many Western nations several

decades ago. But today, racism is in serious decline, apartheid is gone, inter-racial marriages are common, and the market place picks talents without regard for color, religion or ethnicity. Even the family portrait of President Barack Obama reflects this healthy multiculturalism, with his Kenyan and Indonesian roots.

We must all work together to ensure that multiculturalism and tolerance become a truly global norm. And when we speak tolerance, it should be more than just to “tolerate” others. Tolerance implies a deeper meaning. Tolerance means a full respect for others, sincerely accepting their differences, and thriving on our mutual diversity. Only this type of tolerance can heal deeply seated hatred and resentment. The sixth imperative is to make globalization work for all.

I do not accept the precept that, as a rule, globalization produces winners and losers. Like peace, like development, globalization can be harnessed to make winners for all. Let us be clear on this. There can be no genuine harmony among civilizations as long as the majority of the world’s 1,3 billion Muslims feel left out, marginalized and insecure about their place in the world. They are part of the 2.7 billion people worldwide who live under two dollars a day.

These are the sad, hard facts. Out of 57 Muslim populated countries, 25 are classified as low-income countries, 18 lower middle-income, and 14 as upper middle income or high income. And even though 1 out of every 4 people in the world are Muslims, their economies constitute one tenth of the world economy. One in four people in Muslim countries live in extreme poverty. Almost 300 million Muslims aged 15 and above are illiterate.

These statistics are, of course, unacceptable.

Muslims must take ownership in their destiny. Many Muslims reminisce too much about the glory days of centuries past, when Islam was on top of the world: politically, militarily, scientifically, economically. Muslims today must be convinced that Islam’s best years are ahead of us, not behind us.

The 21st Century CAN be the era of the second Islamic renaissance. A confident, empowered and resurgent Muslim world can partner with the West and other civilizations in building sustainable peace and prosperity. But to do this, Muslims must change their mind-set. Like the remarkable 13th century Muslims before them, they must be open-minded, innovative, and take risks. There are inspirational Muslims everywhere: Nobel laureate Muhammad Yunus, Orhan Pamuk, Muhammad Ali, Zidane, Hakeem Olajuwon, Fareed Zakaria and rapper: Akon. Countries like United Arab Emirates and Qatar have shown that with good governance, self esteem and a progressive worldview, they can change their nation’s fortune in one generation. And Indonesia has shown that Islam, modernity

and democracy – plus economic growth and national unity – can be a powerful partnership.

In short, the world's citizens, and children of all civilizations, must be equal partners and benefactors of globalization. A recent survey in *The Economist* found that, for the first time, more than half of the world population can be loosely considered middle-class. If this is true, then we have a reasonable chance to reach “zero poverty” worldwide by the end of this century. With the emerging economic order that is now unfolding, getting from here to there would require intense inter-cultural and inter-religious harmony. This should be the shared goal of all our nations.

The seventh imperative is to reform global governance.

Earlier, I talked about how the G20 Summit is more representative of today's global dynamics. Unfortunately, this is the exception rather than the rule.

For example, the UN Security Council today still reflects the power balance of 1945 rather than 2009, with exclusive veto powers reserved for four Western nations and China. It is unfortunate that recent efforts to reform the UN Security Council have not been successful. This situation is unsustainable. The UN Security Council will need to be restructured to keep up with 21st century geopolitical realities.

Imperative number eight is education.

Politicians often overlook educational opportunities in both our homes and our classrooms. But the answers to the world's problems are there, for it is also there that hatred and prejudice breeds. These are the real battlegrounds for the hearts and minds of future generations.

It is at these places that we must turn ignorance into compassion, and intolerance into respect. The foot soldiers here are parents, teachers and community leaders. We must inculcate in our school curriculum the culture of moderation, tolerance, and peace. We must help our children and our students develop a sense of common humanity which allows them to see a world of amity, not a world of enmity.

In Indonesia, elementary students are taught about respecting religious traditions. Exam questions ask Muslim students what they should do if their Christian neighbors invite them to celebrate Christmas. We are probably the only country in the world where each religious holidays – Islamic, Catholic, Protestant, Hindu, Buddhist – are designated as national holidays, even though Hindus and Buddhists account only 2.4 per cent of our population. Through education, we have sought to ensure that tolerance and respect for religious freedom becomes part of our trans-generational DNA.

Finally, the ninth imperative : global conscience.

It is not easy to describe this, but this is what I saw in Aceh during the tsunami tragedy. On 26 December 2004, giant tsunami waves crashed Aceh and Nias, and 200,000 people perished in half an hour. The whole nation was in grief.

But in this tragedy, we also found humanity. The whole world wept, and offered helping hands. Americans, Australians, Singaporeans, Chinese, Mexicans, Indians, Turks and other international volunteers worked hand in hand to help the Acehnese. I realized then ... there exists a “powerful global conscience”.

One would think, that the enormous pain of World War 2 would usher in a new dawn of world peace. That is why the United Nations was formed. But the human race ended up with many more wars.

One would think the threat of the nuclear holocaust was enough to trigger nuclear disarmament, but the world saw more countries developing nuclear weapons. The question now is whether climate change would be able to foster a new global conscience. We are still not sure that it will.

But a “global conscience” could well help transcend whatever civilization, religious and cultural divides that has faced humanity.

So these are my NINE imperatives for harmony among civilizations that I offer to you today.

They will require a great deal of hard work. It will take the work of generations and decades. And it will require patience, perseverance, partnership and lots of thinking outside the box.

Eighteen years after the end of the Cold War ended, ten years into the 21st Century, we find ourselves at a crucial crossroads. In front of us may be the most progressive century mankind has ever known, a century where, as Fareed Zakaria says, more things will change in the next 10 years than in the past 100 years.

It can be the century of possibility and opportunity.

President Barack Obama spoke in Cairo of a “new beginning” between America and the Muslim world. Today, I say that we can “REINVENT A NEW WORLD”.

It will be a world not of conquest, but of connectivity. It will be a world defined not by a clash of civilizations, but by the confluence of civilizations. It will be a world marked by plenty, not by poverty. And it will be a vast empire of global minds breaking down centuries of civilizational collisions and hostilities.

America, with all the economic, social and technological resources at her disposal, has much to contribute to this new world. America’s role in helping to reform the international system, spread prosperity, empower the world’s poor, resolve conflicts, and share knowledge is a critical asset to a transforming world. Now is a

golden opportunity for America to inundate the world with her soft power, not hard power. America should not worry about retaining its superpower status. America can help make the world anew — what could be more powerful and definitive than that? Indonesia too has a significant role to play. We can bridge between the Islamic and the western worlds. We can project the virtue of moderate Islam throughout the Muslim world. We can be the bastion of freedom, tolerance and harmony. We can be a powerful example that Islam, democracy and modernity can go hand in hand. And we will continue to advance Indonesia's transformation through democracy, development and harmony.

This is why Indonesia and America are now evolving a strategic partnership. The world's second and the third largest democracies. The most powerful Western country and the country with the largest Muslim population. Calibrated for the challenges of the 21st century, this partnership can strengthen regional stability, inter-civilizational unity and world peace.

In the final analysis, vast oceans separate our countries but our common search unites. We are both trying to redefine our place in the world. President Obama insists the 21st century can still be the American Century. I am convinced that this could well be Asia's Century.

Then I thought, why can't it be everybody's century? It can be the American Century. It can be the Asian Century. It can be the European Century. It can be the African Century. And it can be the Islamic Century. This can be an amazing century where hope prevails over fear, where brotherhood of man reigns supreme, where human progress conquers ignorance. It can be a Century that not only brings us into a new millennium, but also elevates the bonds of humanity to greater heights. In this Century, no one loses. And everybody wins.

Insya Allah!
I thank you.

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