

SBY's "TOWARD HARMONY AMONG CIVILIZATIONS": A DISCOURSE
ANALYSIS

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 clarify that this thesis 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.

Yogyakarta, 10 Mei 2018

The writer,



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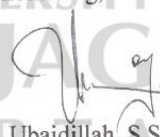
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Wassalamu 'alaikum Wr.Wb.

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ABSTRACT

SBY's "TOWARD HARMONY AMONG CIVILIZATIONS": A DISCOURSE ANALYSIS

This research is aimed to know how the grammatical cohesion is used in the speech that is delivered by Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono (SBY) entitled "*Towards Harmony Among Civilization*". It is interesting to get the research about the grammatical cohesion used in the speech that talks about the global era that delivered at the John F. Kennedy School of Government Harvard University in 2009. In this occasion, he becomes a speaker in stadium general at John F Kennedy School of Government Harvard University, his speech is becoming one of influence speech in the word in the era globalization. The objective of this research is to describe the using of grammatical cohesion in speech "*Towards Harmony Among Civilization*". This research uses descriptive qualitative method and library research method to collecting data. To answer this question, this research uses grammatical cohesion theory delivered by Halliday and Hasan. in this research, the researcher finds out that SBY uses 849 forms of grammatical cohesions. It consists of reference, ellipsis, conjunction, and substitution. For the reference, SBY uses 595 references that consist of personal, demonstrative and comparative reference. For the ellipsis, SBY uses nine ellipses, that is nominal ellipsis. For the conjunction, SBY uses 244 conjunctions that consist of additive, adversative, causal and temporal conjunction. while, for the substitution, SBY uses one substitution, it is verbal substitution. The grammatical cohesion used by SBY is sometime used endophoric and sometimes exophoric. It is used endophoric if the reference exists in the text and it is used exophoric if the reference does not exist in the text.

Keywords: *cohesion, speech, SBY*

ABSTRAK

SBY's "TOWARD HARMONY AMONG CIVILIZATIONS": A DISCOURSE ANALYSIS

Penelitian ini memiliki tujuan untuk mengetahui bagaimana kohesi gramatikal digunakan pada sebuah pidato yang disampaikan oleh Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono (SBY) yang berjudul "*Towards Harmony Among Civilization*". Penelitian ini merupakan penelitian untuk mengetahui bagaimana kohesi gramatikal diaplikasikan pada sebuah pidato yang membicarakan tentang Era Global yang disampaikan di John F. Kennedy School of Government Harvard University pada tahun 2009. SBY menjadi pembicara di kuliah umum John F Kennedy School of Government Harvard University. Pidato yang disampaikan oleh SBY merupakan salah satu pidato yang berpengaruh di dunia dalam era globalisasi. Pada penelitian ini, peneliti memiliki pertanyaan tentang bagaimana kohesi gramatikal digunakan pada pidato yang berjudul "*Towards Harmony Among Civilization*" di Universitas Harvard pada tahun 2009?. Tujuan dari penelitian ini adalah untuk menguraikan bagaimana kohesi gramatikal digunakan pada puisi "*Towards Harmony Among Civilization*". Penelitian ini merupakan penelitian kualitatif deskriptif yaitu sumber penelitiannya berasal dari pidato dan juga peneliti melakukan kajian pustaka. Penelitian ini menggunakan teori kohesi gramatikal dari Haliday dan Hasan. Pada penelitian ini, peneliti menemukan bahwa SBY menggunakan 849 kohesi gramatikal pada pidatonya. SBY menggunakan empat macam kohesi gramatikal yaitu, referensi, elipsis, dan konjungsi dan substitusi. Oktar menggunakan 595 referensi yang terdiri dari referensi *personal*, *demonstrative* dan *comparative*. Pada penggunaan elipsis, peneliti menemukan sembilan data yang terdiri dari nominal elipsis. Untuk penggunaan konjungsi, peneliti menemukan 244 konjungsi yang terdiri dari *additive*, *adversative*, *causal*, dan *temporal*. Sedangkan pada penggunaan substitusi, SBY hanya menggunakan satu verbal substitusi. Dalam penggunaannya, SBY terkadang menggunakan kohesi gramatikal secara endoforik dan eksoforik. Dikatakan endoforik jika referensi yang dituju ada dalam teks dan dikatakan eksoforik jika referensi yang dituju berada di luar teks.

Keywords: *kohesi, pidato, SBY*

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I realize that perfection belongs to Allah SWT. Some mistakes are possible found in this research paper, thus there is need to revise them. Finally, I expect the readers to give the advice and criticism to improve my research paper.

Yogyakarta, Mei 08th, 2018

The researcher

DEDICATION

Sincelery, I dedicate this graduating paper to:

My beloved parents, *Bapak* Sul and *Emak* Tu



MOTTO

Language is a bridge of the world

(unknown)

One thing for sure, there is happy ending for every struggle

(Kamal Abdul Aziz)



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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background of Study

Language is a means of human to communicate with others. According to Oxford Advanced Learner Dictionary, “language is a system of communication consisting of sounds, words, and grammar, or the system of communication used by people of a particular country or profession”. It means that language has the important role and function in life. One of the functions of language is as a bridge to people in convey their ideas and feelings.

In society, people demand to have a good communication in order to make a good interaction. Meanwhile, a good interaction will be occurred if the people communicate by using the same language until the information will be easier to be understood. In the Islamic perspective, the good interaction by using the same language is stated in The Holy Quran surah Ibrahim verse 4:

وَمَا أَرْسَلْنَا مِنْ رَّسُولٍ إِلَّا بِلِسَانِ قَوْمِهِ لِيُبَيِّنَ لَهُمْ فَيُضِلُّ اللَّهُ مَنْ يَشَاءُ وَيَهْدِي مَنْ

يَشَاءُ ۚ وَهُوَ الْعَزِيزُ الْحَكِيمُ ﴿٤﴾

“We sent not a messenger except (to teach) in the language of his (own) people, in order to make (things) clear to them. So Allah leads astray those whom

He pleases and guides whom He pleases and He is exalted in power, full of Wisdom". (Ali, 2011: 553)

Based on the verse above, if the substance of the message is to make clear, it must be delivered in the same language among their (the Prophets) societies. One of the examples of the way how the Prophet communicate with his society is by giving the speech. As the leader, Prophet's speech can influence the society.

Talking about the same language in communication, actually, there are some languages that become international languages, such as English, Arabic, and Mandarin (<https://travel.tribunnews.com>). It is used to make people easy to communicate with other people around the world. In this research, the researcher will analyze about speech that used English language as a means of communication. One of the speeches that used English as the means of communication is entitled "*Toward Harmony Among Civilizations*" delivered by Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono's (SBY) speech at Harvard University in 2009.

He becomes a speaker in stadium general at John F. Kennedy School of Government Harvard University. Besides, SBY is ex-president who is fluent in English. It proved that he took American language course at America in 1976 and several other education in the foreign country. In addition, he gets many awards from the foreign country such as America and Brunei Darussalam. He also served such as chief military observer united nation peace forces (UNPF) at Bosnia in 1995. He has an ability to speak English with humor sense. As he is often gives the joke in middle of his speech and sometimes repeats the word in his speech. SBY's speech at Harvard University in 2009 is special speech, because the

audiences which come in the agenda must get the ticket online and it is limited. Beside that, his speech becomes one of influential speeches in the world (www.kompas.com). It makes the researcher interested to take SBY's speech at Harvard University in 2009 as the object of this research.

SBY's speech at Harvard University in 2009 talks about how to reach harmony among civilizations. There are nine imperatives to reach harmony among civilizations. Those 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. At the end of his speech, he states that those imperatives do not only bring us into a new millennium, but also elevate the bonds of humanity to greater heights. In this century, no one loses and everybody wins.

In the speech, SBY often used cohesion to convey his speech, especially grammatical cohesion. Grammatical cohesion is a cohesion whose cohesive relation depends on grammatical structure of the sentence. SBY used cohesion very clear in the sentence. It can be seen from the first paragraph of his speech, it is "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" From the paragraph above, SBY used personal reference *I* and *you*, and he also

used additive conjunction *and*. Personal reference and additive conjunction are the part of grammatical cohesion.

1.2 Research Question

Based on the background that is described above, the research question is: how are grammatical cohesion used by SBY in his speech “*Towards Harmony Among Civilization*” at Harvard University in 2009?

1.3 Objective of the Study

Related to the research question above, the objective of the study is to describe the grammatical cohesions used by SBY in his speech “*Towards Harmony Among Civilization*” at Harvard University in 2009.

1.4 Significances of the Study

The significance of this research is divided into two, theoretically and practically. Theoretically, the researcher hopes this research can give the reader better understanding of discourse analysis field, especially about grammatical cohesion. Practically, this research can be one of the references for readers who are interested in analyze about grammatical cohesion.

1.5 Literature Review

The first is a graduating paper entitled “Adnan Oktar’s ‘Why Denouncing the Charlie Hebdo Attack is Not Enough’: a Discourse Analysis” written by Linatul Malihah a student of English Literature Sunan Kalijaga University (2016). Her research question is how are grammatical cohesion used in the editorial “Why Enouncing the Charlie Hebdo is not Enough”? The method of her research is descriptive qualitative. She used theory of cohesion delivered by Halliday and

Hasan. In conclusion, she states that Oktar uses 169 forms of grammatical cohesions. They consist of reference, ellipsis, and conjunction.

The second is a graduating paper entitled “Stylistic Analysis of SBY’s Speech at Harvard University in 2009” by Suci Dwi Prastiwi a student of English Literature Sunan Kalijaga Universty (2016). Her research questions 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 based on the aspects of good speech?. The method of her research is descriptive qualitative approach and uses documentation technique for collecting the resource information. This research uses diction and rhetoric devices method by Lynn Altenberg and Lessie L Lewis. In her conclusion, she states that there are some diction types of SBY’s speech. Those are two connotatives, six personifications, four metaphors, and one hyperbole. SBY also fulfills six aspects of the good speech. Those are coherence, fresh, repetition, suprsing, contains humor, and having the purpose.

The third is a graduating paper entitled “Discourse Analysis of Rexona Advertising” by Nasihah student of English Literature Sunan Kalijaga Universty (2016). Her research questions are 1. How do text and context of advertisements Rexona power, man, and women express meaning? 2. How are those three advertisements different?. The method of her research is descriptive qualitative approach and uses library research for collecting the resource information. This research uses a theory of the discourse of advertising by Cook and cohesion concept adapted by Cook from Halliday and Leech. In conclusion, she finds out the number of cohesion devices in the text of advertisement Rexona power that

includes repetition, referring expression, sense relation, ellipsis, and conjunction. While, the two others have repetition, referring expression, ellipsis, and conjunction. Repetition makes co-reference in text clear, sense relations may add new information economically while also aiding clarity; referring expressions are brief, though they sacrifice clarity; conjunction clear. While the context in Rexona power creates meaning a discourse of bullfighting in Mexico, Rexona men creates meaning a discourse of a sport car, while Rexona women creates meaning a discourse of a feminism.

The difference between this research and those prior researchers above is very obvious. Two prior researchers use the same theory, discourse analysis. Meanwhile, there is a prior research has the same object with this research, SBY's speech at Harvard University in 2009. The difference between this research and Suci's research is this research focuses on analyzing grammatical cohesion by Halliday and Hasan, whereas Suci's research focuses on analyzing stylistic theory by Linn Altenbernd and Lessie L. Lewis.

1.6 Theoretical Approach

To answer the research question above, the researcher uses the cohesion theory delivered by Halliday and Hasan, but here the researcher will provide the definition of discourse since cohesion is a part of discourse. Discourse has some definitions, those are "discourse is the study of language in use (Gee, 2011: 8). Furthermore, Paltridge says that "discourse analysis focuses on knowledge about language beyond the word, clause, phrase, and sentence that is needed for successful communication. It looks at patterns of language across text and

considers the relationship between language and the social-cultural context in which it is used (Paltridge, 2006: 2)”. It means that discourse is the highest level of the language system. It analyses the purposes of the text. Thus, discourse analysis itself has the substudy that is cohesion.

According to Halliday and Hasan “cohesion is a semantic relation between an element in the text and some other elements that is crucial to the interpretation of it (Halliday and Hasan, 1976: 8)”. Based on the definitions, it can be said that cohesion is a part of the language that has a role in making a related sentence from one to another. Cohesion also makes the sentence more simpler because the sentence can use any substitution of the previous thing.

Cohesion itself is divided into two categories. Those are grammatical cohesion and lexical cohesion. But in this research, the researcher will focus on grammatical cohesion. Grammatical cohesion is a cohesion that cohesive relation depends on the grammatical structure of the sentence. Grammatical cohesion has a focus on how the word can have a cohesive relation to other words that exist in the text. Grammatical cohesion is divided into four types. Those are reference, substitution, ellipsis, and conjunction (Halliday and Hasan, 1976: 6).

In applying the theory above, the researcher reads the speech and finds some data that should be taken according to the theory. For the explanation of the theory of cohesion and the use of the theory, it will be explained in the next chapter.

1.7 Method of Research

This chapter discusses the method of research that is used by the researcher. It relates to type of research, data source, data collection technique, and data analysis technique.

1.7.1 Type of Research

This research is conducted by using a qualitative approach. A qualitative research is different from the quantitative. According to Arikunto (Arikunto, 2006:12) a qualitative research is a kind of research which does not use numerals in collecting the data and interpreting the result. The researcher uses a documentation method to analyze the data.

1.7.2 Data Sources

The main data is the speech of Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono entitled “*Towards Harmony Among Civilizations*” at Harvard University in 2009. The researcher takes the video record from <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=vNPT4UvG36g>. Whereas, the supporting data are from internet, books, and articles that relate to Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono’s speech at Harvard University in 2009.

1.7.3 Data Collection Technique

There are seven techniques in the method of collecting data. Those are sampling, interview, observation, documentation, questioner, triangulation, and reading (Ratna, 2008:210). This research uses the technique of documentation because the data is from library and internet as the note and information. The researcher does several steps.

1. The researcher searches the video of SBY's speech from www.youtube.com.
2. The researcher watches and listens the video closely.
3. The researcher writes the utterances of SBY's speech.
4. The researcher reads the utterances attentively to find cohesion device based on theory of grammatical cohesion.

1.7.4 Data Analysis Technique

After the data are collected through the documentation technique, the next step is analyzing data. In data analyzing technique, the researcher does some steps. Those are:

1. Classifying the data into types of grammatical cohesion.
2. Analyzing the data that has been classified.
3. Interpreting the representative data.
4. Making conclusions from the interpretation above.

1.8 Paper Organization

This paper consists of four chapters. The first chapter is an introduction. The researcher gives information of the background of study, research questions, objectives of study, significances of study, literature review, theoretical approach, the method of research, and paper organization. The second chapter is theoretical background. The researcher explains and discusses the theories that relevant to the analysis. The third chapter is discussions. the researcher discusses the findings and discussions of the analysis. The last chapter is conclusion and suggestion of the paper. The researcher gives the conclusion of the resarch and suggestion for the reader.

CHAPTER IV

CONCLUSION AND SUGGESTION

4.1. Conclusion

Based on the research findings and discussion above, the researcher concludes that in using the grammatical cohesion in the speech Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono used various cohesion devices. In the speech, he used 849 form of grammatical cohesion. He used four types of grammatical cohesion, those are references, ellipsis, conjunction, and substitution. For the references, he used 595 references. He used personal references, demonstrative references, and comparative references. For the ellipsis, SBY used nine ellipsis. He used nominal ellipsis only. For the conjunction, he used 244 conjunctions. He used an additive, an adversative, a causal, and a temporal conjunctions. While, for the substitution, he used one substitution. It is verbal substitution only.

In using the grammatical cohesion devices, SBY used them endophorically and exophorically. Some of them used exophorically when the references which refers do not exist in the text. Furthermore, some of them used endophorically. They sometime used anaphorically and sometimes cataphorically. SBY used them anaphorically when the referens refer to the previous word, phrases, or sentences. SBY used cataphoric when the reference refers to the afterward words, phrases, or sentences.

4.2. Suggestion

Cohesion theory written by Halliday and Hasan can be applied in many kinds of text. It can be applied in the speech like the researcher did, editorial, comments of the editorial, and skill writing of some students in a certain grade. For the speech that the researcher used, it also can be analyzed by using lexical cohesion theory delivered by Halliday and Hasan or other theory such as critical discourse analysis, syntax, and presupposition.



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<https://travel.tribunnews.com> accessed on 04 Mei 2018

www.kompas.com accessed on 04 Mei 2018



APPENDIX 1

“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

Part	Time	Utterance
1	00:01 - 00:25	<i>Bismillahirrahmanirrahim</i> Professor David Ellwood, Dean of the John F. Kennedy School of Government, Professor John Thomas, Faculty members, Students, Dear friends,
	00:26 - 00:32	I am honored to be here today, to address the distinguished faculty students of Harvard University.
	00:33 - 00:40	I am impressed with the turn-out this evening, and, for the students, I hope
	00:41 - 00:44	you are not here today as an excuse to skip class.
	00:47 - 00:54	I must admit, I have wanted to visit Harvard for a long time. Several of my Ministers,
	00:55 - 01:01	successful businessmen and military generals were fortunate to study here. Don't take this the
	01:02 - 01:09	wrong way : but I find it interesting that I did not end-up working for people who went to
	01:10 - 01:15	Harvard; it's actually people who went to Harvard who ended-up working for me!
	01:24 - 01:31	I am proud that my son, Captain Agus, was able to join this prestigious Harvard program – I
	01:32 - 01:38	think he is somewhere in this room. so now other than being a loyal soldier in the Indonesian
	01:38 - 01:42	army, he is also another Harvard student working for me !
	01:47 - 01:53	Several months ago, President Barack Obama made a historic speech in Cairo, seeking to
	01:53 -	redefine relations between America and the Muslim world. As

02:01	President of the country with
02:02 - 02:07	the world's largest Muslim population, I would like today to respond to that speech.
02:08 - 02:14	President Obama delivered his speech at Al Azhar University, one of the oldest and best
02:14 - 02:20	Universities in the Islamic world. I speak today at Harvard, the oldest and most prestigious
02:21 - 02:31	University in America. (And please do not tell people in Princeton and Yale I said this ..) but
02:31 - 02:38	our objective is the same : to take a hard look at relations between the West and the Islamic
02:39 - 02:42	worlds, and to chart a new course forward.
02:42 - 02:48	It is fitting that I come here after the G-20 Summit in Pittsburgh.
02:48 - 02:57	For to me , the G-20 is one manifestation of the change taking place in global politics. the G-
02:58 - 03:08	20 grouping, comprising some 85 per cent of the world's GNP and 80 per cent of world trade,
03:09 - 03:14	is not just an economic powerhouse — it is also a civilizational powerhouse.
03:15 - 03:22	The G-20 for the first time accommodates all the major civilizations — not just Western
03:22 - 03:28	countries, but also China, South Korea, India, South Africa, and others, including
03:29 - 03:36	significantly, three countries with large Muslim populations: Saudi Arabia, Turkey, and
03:37 - 03:45	Indonesia. the G-7, the G-8, or even the United Nations Security Council, does not boast this
03:46 - 03:52	distinction. the G-20 is representative of a multi-civilizational global community.
03:53 - 04:00	Perhaps this is why the G-20 has been successful in arresting a global meltdown. the swift and
04:01 - 04:08	coordinated actions of G-20 economies have started the stabilization of our financial
04:09 - 04:15	systems and restored confidence, prompting today's early signs of modest economic recovery.
04:17 - 04:25	We are very pleased that at the close of Pittsburgh, the G-20 has been institutionalized, and
04:25 - 04:32	looks set to be the premier forum for international economic cooperation. this comes not a
04:33 - 04:38	moment too soon, for the world's civilizations should be properly represented in one defining
04:38 - 04:45	forum. Civilizations. they at once define us, and divide us.

	04:47 - 04:54	Is harmony between our civilizations truly elusive, so out of reach? can we just not get along?
	04:56 - 05:06	Sixteen years ago, the late Samuel Huntington, a son of this university, published an essay
	05:07 - 05:13	proposing that after the Cold War, civilizations, religions and cultures would become
	05:14 - 05:20	the defining feature of international relations and would constitute the primary cause of
	05:21 - 05:23	conflicts between and within nations.
	05:24 - 05:31	To me, the term “clash of civilizations” itself is counter-productive. If they hear it often
	05:33 - 05:40	enough, some people may think that the world is such and accept it as reality. I don’t believe
	05:41 - 05:47	that civilizations are inherently incompatible and prone to conflict when they interact. this is
	05:48 - 05:55	what I saw firsthand at the G20, where nations of diverse cultural backgrounds joined hands
	05:56 - 06:01	to address a common challenge. we spoke different languages through our headphones,
	06:02 - 06:04	but we understood one another.
	06:05 - 06:11	Huntington sought to understand post-Cold-War fault lines and warned us of potential
	06:12 - 06:19	turbulence. this is not a trivial reminder. Civilizational issues are rife in modern politics.
	06:19 - 06:24	As policy-makers, our job is to prevent such prognosis from becoming reality.
2	00:22 - 00:29	Indeed, Huntington’s warning has been relevant to Indonesia’s experience. In the roller
	00:30 - 00:36	coaster years following independence, Indonesia has suffered separatist threats, ethnic and
	00:37 - 00:40	religious conflicts, and Islamic insurgencies.
	00:41 - 00:47	But we overcame these challenges. we adapted. and instead of failing, we have thrived.
	00:48 - 00:55	Today we are not a hotbed of communal violence; we are by and large an archipelago of peace.
	00:56 - 01:02	Today we are not at the brink of ‘Balkanization’; we have instead fortified our national
	01:02 - 01:08	identity through three successful, peaceful national elections.
	01:09 - 01:16	Today we are not a victim of past authoritarian, centralized governments, but a model of
	01:16 -	democracy and decentralization.

01:18	
01:09 - 01:16	Today we are not paralyzed by financial crisis but forging ahead with sweeping reforms of
01:26 - 01:34	our financial and industrial structure. and Indonesia today is a dynamic emerging economy,
01:35 - 01:40	enjoying one of the highest growth rates in Asia after China and India.
01:41 - 01:48	Thus, no matter how deep and seemingly divisive the civilizational forces facing Indonesia
01:49 - 01:55	— the ethnic differences and religious conflicts — we overcame them. this is despite the
01:55 - 02:01	enormous challenges of democracy and development that still confront us.
02:02 - 02:08	Please do not misunderstand me . I am aware of the painful realities of our world. I am aware
02:09 - 02:15	of the 4000 years of painful relations between Judaism, Islam and Christianity.
02:16 - 02:21	I am aware of a traumatic collective memory that is not easy to erase.
02:22 - 02:27	When dealing with matters of faith, we face basic human emotions that predated modern states.
02:28 - 02:34	These emotions are complicated, stubborn, and will likely become more problematic
02:35 - 02:41	as religiosity intensifies worldwide. According to some estimate, Islam will be the world's
02:42 - 02:52	largest religion by 2025, accounting for some 30 % of the world population, and indeed Islam
02:52 - 02:55	is currently the fastest growing religion in the United States.
02:56 - 03:02	As religiosity increases, so will the politics of identity. and aided by globalization and
03:03 - 03:12	technology, extremism and radicalism can only grow. As we transition from G8 to G20 and
03:13 - 03:19	perhaps beyond, mutual exposure between civilizations will become the most intense
03:19 - 03:27	humanity has ever seen. Perhaps we will even see the emergence of a “global civilization”.
03:28 - 03:34	And democracy has gained immense ground, spreading in the Islamic world, including in
03:34 - 03:41	Indonesia. there were only a handful of democracies at the turn of the 20th century. At the
03:42 - 03:49	turn of the 21st century, there are some 89 full democracies. Even the Organization of Islamic
03:50 - 03:56	Conference has adopted the historic Mecca Charter committing its members to the principles of

	03:57 - 04:02	democracy, human rights and governance. Indeed, more people now live under open
	04:03 - 04:12	pluralist societies, and under religious freedom, than at any other time in history. this trend
	04:13 - 04:16	can have only a positive impact on the global community.
	04:18 - 04:24	It may be naive to expect that the world can be rid of conflict and hatred. but I believe that.
	04:25 - 04:31	we can fundamentally change and evolve the way civilizations, religions and cultures interact.
	04:32 - 04:39	This is not utopia. it is a pragmatic vision. I have seen it work in Indonesia. I have seen it
	04:49 - 04:46	work in many countries. the question is : can we make it work globally? As Robert F.
	04:46 - 04:54	Kennedy once said, quoting George Bernard Shaw, 'I dream of things that never were, and
	04:54 - 05:02	ask, why not?" To highlight how I think this can possibly be achieved, let me outline 9 (nine)
3	00:07 - 00:10	imperatives to achieve harmony among civilizations.
	00:10 - 00:18	If you ask me "why 9 ?", well , it is a bit personal, because 9 is always my lucky number.
	00:19 - 00:23	Let me now outline these imperatives.
	00:23 - 00:31	The first imperative is to make the 21st century the century of soft power. Remember: the 20th
	00:32 - 00:39	century was the century of hard power. we saw two World Wars, several major wars and
	00:40 - 00:46	proxy wars, and a long Cold War which risked nuclear holocaust. one estimate suggests that
	00:47 - 00:54	some 180 million people died in the wars and conflicts of the last century. it is no wonder that
	00:55 - 01:02	the 20th century has been called the "age of conflict". it has been the bloodiest Century in memory.
	01:04 - 01:10	In contrast, the 21st century should and must be the century of soft power.
	01:11 - 01:17	But there exists a large of "soft power deficit" that the world's civilizations must fill.
	01:18 - 01:27	I believe that this 'clash of civilizations' is actually a clash of ignorance. we are weakest
	01:27 - 01:33	we are alone. we are strongest when we join forces with one another.
	01:34 - 01:38	There are many examples of this power of exchange and connectivity.

01:39 - 01:45	In the 13th century, the Islamic civilization was the most sophisticated in the world because it
01:45 - 01:53	had an enormous and indiscriminate thirst for knowledge and science, learning from all
01:54 - 01:49	corners of the world. and this body of scientific knowledge from the Muslim world was later
01:59 - 02:06	utilized by the Western Renaissance. Civilizations have built on each other's knowledge and
02:06 - 02:08	become enriched by them.
02:09 - 02:16	We have done the same in Indonesia, where we have built on our exposure to Eastern,
02:17 - 02:23	Islamic, and Western influences, culminating in the open, pluralistic and tolerant society that
02:24 - 02:25	we are today.
02:25 - 02:33	In short : the cross-fertilization of cultures can produce something wonderful, something good.
02:34 - 02:28	The more we exchange cultures and share ideas, the more we learn from one another, the
02:39 - 02:45	more we cooperate and spread goodwill, the more we project soft power and place it right at
02:46 - 02:50	the heart of international relations, the closer we are to world peace.
02:52 - 02:58	Experience has taught me that soft power is an effective weapon against conflict. Just ask the
02:58 - 03:00	people of Aceh, Indonesia.
03:01 - 03:07	For 30 years, Aceh was rife with violence. Successive Indonesian governments opted for a
03:07 - 03:14	rigid military solution, because a settlement seemed so elusive. When I assumed the
03:15 - 03:22	Presidency, I pursued a new approach, one defined by goodwill and trust-building. I offered
03:23 - 03:29	the separatists a win-win formula, promising them peace with dignity. Remarkably, we
03:29 - 03:35	reached a permanent peace settlement in just 5 short rounds of negotiations. the peace
03:36 - 03:43	agreement was fully in line with my objective to defend our sovereignty and territorial
03:43 - 03:50	integrity but in a civilized and democratic way. that was when my faith in soft power
03:51 - 03:57	multiplied, and why I believe it holds the key to resolving many global problems.
03:58 -	The second imperative is to intensify the process of dialogue and

	04:06	outreach that now seems to be proliferating.
	04:07 - 04:14	We have seen many good initiatives. In 2001, the United Nations began the Dialogue among
	04:14 - 04:21	Civilizations. Spain and Turkey later launched the Alliance of Civilizations. the Asia Europe
	04:22 - 04:27	Meeting (ASEM) also took-up Inter-faith Dialogue. Recently, Saudi Arabia convened the
	04:28 - 04:35	Interfaith Conference at the UN. Indonesia and Norway also launched, since 2006,
	04:36 - 04:43	the Global Inter-Media Dialogue in the aftermath of the cartoon crisis. All this represents a fresh
	04:43 - 04:46	approach to link civilizations and religions.
4	00:01 - 00:06	We must deepen the quality of thesedialogues, so that they produce specific actions that,
	00:07 - 00:14	as UN Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon points out, (and I quote) “change what people see,
	00:15 - 00:19	These initiatives should not always be a meeting of like-minded moderates, although surely
	00:20 - 00:26	this is also important. they should also include disbelievers, for a dialogue should not be a
	00:26 - 00:35	reaffirmation, but an honest attempt to understand the concerns of the other side. the point is
	00:36 - 00:40	to listen, and not just talk.
	00:41 - 00:43	A true dialogue must address age-old grievances and confront false stereotypes, without
	00:44 - 00:57	presumptions and preconditions. Indeed, the best dialogues are often respectful and honest,
	00:57 - 01:03	open-ended and constructive, intense, and solution-oriented. thesewere the quality of
	01:04 - 01:09	dialogues held in Indonesia between Muslims and Christians in conflict-zones in Poso and
	01:10 - 01:18	Maluku, which culminated in a commitment to peaceful reconciliation. the third imperative is
	01:19 - 10:25	the need to find a solution to burning political conflicts that have driven a wide wedge,
	01:26 - 01:29	specifically between the western and Muslim worlds.
	01:30 - 01:36	Today, some two out of three Muslim countries are in conflict or face a significant threat of
	01:37 - 01:43	conflict. In contrast, only one out of four non-Muslim countries face similar challenges.
	01:44 - 01:51	but despite thesevery complex conflict situations, Muslims must be able to differentiate

01:52 - 01:59	between a conflict involving Muslims, and a “war against Islam”. I do not believe that any of
02:00 - 02:05	the civilizations – Western, Hindu, Sinic, Buddhist, Japanese – are systematically and
02:06 - 02:09	simplistically engaged in a “war against Islam”.
02:10 - 02:15	Of all the world’s conflicts, none has captured the passion of Muslims more than the plight of
02:16 - 02:23	the Palestinians. but this is not a religious issue – there are Christians and Jews in Palestine,
02:24 - 02:28	and Muslims and Christians in Israel. Nonetheless, the establishment of the much-awaited
02:29 - 02:37	Palestinian state, in the framework of a two-state solution where Palestine and Israel live side
02:37 - 02:44	by side in peace, would be widely hailed by Muslims worldwide. it would remove a major
02:45 - 02:52	mental barrier in their perception of the West, especially of the United States. Currently,
02:53 - 02:59	many Muslims fail to notice the constructive role of the West in producing peace in Bosnia,
03:00 - 03:07	and in Kosovo, but they would surely notice, and rejoice in, the resolution of the Palestine dilemma.
03:09 - 03:15	But the Palestinians too have a moral and political responsibility. it is difficult to attain and
03:15 - 03:22	sustain statehood unless there is unity among the Palestinian factions. In my meeting with
03:23 - 03:30	Palestinian leaders, I always told them very clearly that Indonesian freedom fighters would
03:30 - 03:35	have never won the war for independence, if they had not united in spirit.
03:36 - 03:43	The bottom line is: we desperately need to end the vicious cycle of conflict and violence.
03:45 - 03:50	The timely withdrawal of Western forces from Iraq and Afghanistan would also alleviate
03:51 - 03:55	Muslim fears of a Western hegemony. and all these political solutions would help reduce
03:56 - 04:04	terrorism, as a crime that deviates from the true teaching of Islam as a religion of peace. it
04:05 - 04:13	would also turn the feelings of fear and humiliation among some Muslims into hope and self-esteem.
04:15 - 04:20	The fourth imperative is to strengthen the voice of moderation in our communities.
04:21 - 04:31	By nature, moderates are open-minded, flexible and prone to an inclusive approach through
04:32 -	outreach and partnership. In contrast, extremists are driven by

	04: 38	xenophobic fear, and bent on
	04:38 - 04:41	confrontation and exclusion.
	04:42 - 04:46	Because both moderation and extremism will grow in the 21st century, we must make sure
	04:47 - 04:53	the moderates are empowered, and take center stage in society. the moderates should no
	04:54 - 05:01	longer be a silent majority. they must speak up and defend their mainstream values in the face
	05:02 - 05:10	of opposition from the louder and more media-genic extremists. In this vein, I find it very
	05:11- 05:16	encouraging that Western media have unanimously refused to show the very offensive film
	05:18 - 05:23	Fitna by provocative Dutch politician Geert Wilders. this shows the media's improved
	05:24 - 05:29	sensitivity towards Islam.
	05:30 - 05:32	The moderates also have to be more proactive and less reactive. and they must show, with
	05:33 - 05:39	reason and results, that being a moderate brings real success, peace and progress. Extremists
	05:40 - 05:44	will always capitalize on hopelessness and desperation. we must present a better alternative.
	05:45 - 05:51	the fifth imperative is multiculturalism and tolerance. the most welcome trend in the 21st
	05:52 - 06:00	century is multiculturalism and tolerance. You can not say this of America and many Western
	06:01 - 06:07	nations several decades ago. but today, racism is in serious decline, apartheid is gone, inter-
	06:08 - 06:18	racial marriages are common, and the market place picks talents without regard for color,
5	00:01 - 00:04	religion or ethnicity. Even the family portrait of President Barack Obama reflects this healthy
	00:05 - 00:09	multiculturalism, with his Kenyan and Indonesian roots.
	00:10 - 00:16	We must all work together to ensure that multiculturalism and tolerance become a truly
	00:17 - 00:24	global norm. and when we speak tolerance, it should be more than just to "tolerate" others.
	00:25 - 00:31	Tolerance implies a deeper meaning. Tolerance means a full respect for others, sincerely
	00:32 - 00:38	accepting their differences, and thriving on our mutual diversity. only this type of tolerance
	00:39 - 00:48	can heal deeply seated hatred and resentment. the sixth imperative is to make globalization work for all.

00:49 - 00:56	I do not accept the precept that, as a rule, globalization produces winners and losers.
00:57- 01:03	Like peace, like development, globalization can be harnessed to make winners for all. Let us be
01:03 - 01:10	clear on this . there can be no genuine harmony among civilizations as long as the majority of
01:11 - 01:20	the world's 1,3 billion Muslims feel left out, marginalized and insecure about their place in
01:21 - 01:28	the world. they are part of the 2.7 billion people worldwide who live under two dollars a day.
01:29 - 01:37	These are the sad, hard facts. Out of 57 Muslim populated countries, 25 are classified as low-
01:38 - 01:46	income countries, 18 lower middle-income, and 14 as upper middle income or high income.
01:47 - 01:54	and even though 1 out of every 4 people in the world are Muslims, their economies constitute
01:55 - 02:01	one tenth of the world economy. one in four people in Muslim countries live in extreme
02:02 - 02:08	poverty. Almost 300 million Muslims aged 15 and above are illiterate.
02:10 - 02:12	These statistics are, of course, unacceptable.
02:13 - 02:20	Muslims must take ownership in their destiny. Many Muslims reminisce too much about the
02:21 - 02:26	glory days of centuries past, when Islam was on top of the world: politically, militarily,
02:28 - 02:36	scientifically, economically. Muslims today must be convinced that Islam's best years are ahead of us , not behind us.
02:37 - 02:44	The 21st Century CAN be the era of the second Islamic renaissance. A confident, empowered
02:45 - 02:50	and resurgent Muslim world can partner with the West and other civilizations in building
02:51 - 02:58	sustainable peace and prosperity. but to do this , Muslims must change their mind-set.
02:59 - 03:05	Like the remarkable 13th century Muslims before them , they must be open-minded,
03:06 - 03:12	innovative, and take risks. there are inspirational Muslims everywhere : Nobel laureate
03:13 - 03:20	Muhammad Yunus, Orhan Pamuk, Muhammad Ali, Zidane, Hakeem Olajuwon, Fareed
03:21 - 03:27	Zakaria and rapper: Akon. Countries like United Arab Emirates and Qatar have shown that
03:28 - 03:34	with good governance, self esteem and a progressive worldview, they can change their
03:35 -	nation's fortune in one generation. and Indonesia has shown that

03:41	Islam, modernity and
03:42 - 03:49	democracy – plus economic growth and national unity – can be a powerful partnership.
03:50 - 03:56	In short, the world's citizens, and children of all civilizations, must be equal partners and
03:57 - 03:59	benefactors of globalization.
04:02 - 04:05	A recent survey in the Economist found that, for the first time, more than half of the world
04:06 - 04:13	population can be loosely considered middle-class. If this is true, then we have a reasonable
04:14 - 04:23	chance to reach “zero poverty” worldwide by the end of this century. With the emerging
04:24 - 04:30	economic order that is now unfolding, getting from here to there would require intense inter-
04:31 - 04:37	cultural and inter-religious harmony. this should be the shared goal of all our nations.
04:38 - 04:41	The seventh imperative is to reform global governance.
04:42 - 04:48	Earlier, I talked about how the G20 Summit is more representative of today's global
04:49 - 04:53	dynamics. Unfortunately, this is the exception rather than the rule.
04:54 - 05:01	For example, the UN Security Council today still reflects the power balance of 1945 rather
05:02 - 05:10	than 2009, with exclusive veto powers reserved for four Western nations and China. it is
05:11 - 05:16	unfortunate that recent efforts to reform the UN Security Council have not been successful.
05:18 - 05:23	this situation is unsustainable. the UN Security Council will need to be restructured to keep
05:24 - 05:29	up with 21st century geopolitical realities.
05:30 - 05:32	Imperative number eight is education.
05:33 - 05:39	Politicians often overlook educational opportunities in both our homes and our classrooms.
05:40 - 05:44	but the answers to the world's problems are there, for it is also there that hatred and
05:45 - 05:51	prejudice breeds. These are the real battlegrounds for the hearts and minds of future generations.
05:52 - 06:00	It is at these places that we must turn ignorance into compassion, and intolerance into respect.
06:01 - 06:07	the foot soldiers here are parents , teachers and community leaders. we must inculcate in our

	06:08 - 06:15	school curriculum the culture of moderation, tolerance, and peace. we must help our children
	06:15 - 06:25	and our students develop a sense of common humanity which allows them to see a world of amity, not a world of enmity.
	06:26 - 06:31	In Indonesia, elementary students are taught about respecting religious traditions.
	06:32 - 06:38	Exam questions ask Muslim students what they should do if their Christian neighbors invite
	06:39 - 06:44	them to celebrate Christmas. we are probably the only country in the world where each
	06:45 - 06:51	religious holidays – Islamic, Catholic, Protestant, Hindu, Buddhist – are designated as
	06:52 - 06:58	national holidays, even though Hindus and Buddhists account only 2.4 per cent of our
6	00:35 - 00:39	population. Through education, we have sought to ensure that tolerance and respect for
	00:40 - 00:44	religious freedom becomes part of our trans-generational DNA.
	00:45 - 00:49	Finally , the ninth imperative : global conscience.
	00:50 - 00:57	It is not easy to describe this , but this is what I saw in Aceh during the tsunami tragedy.
	00:58 - 01:06	On 26 December 2004, giant tsunami waves crashed Aceh and Nias , and 200,000 people
	01:07 - 01:12	perished in half an hour. the whole nation was in grief.
	01:13 - 01:19	But in this tragedy, we also found humanity. the whole world wept, and offered helping hands.
	01:21 - 01:26	Americans, Australians, Singaporeans, Chinese, Mexicans, Indians, Turks and other
	01:27 - 01:33	international volunteers worked hand in hand to help the Acehnese. I realized then ... there
	01:34 - 01:36	exists a “powerful global conscience”.
	2 01:37 6 -01:44 8	One would think, that the enormous pain of World War 2 would usher in a new dawn of
	01:45 - 01:52	world peace. that is why the United Nations was formed. but the human race ended up with many more wars.
	01:54 - 01:58	One would think the threat of the nuclear holocaust was enough to trigger nuclear
	01:59 - 02:04	disarmament, but the world saw more countries developing nuclear weapons. the question
	02:05 - 01:13	now is whether climate change would be able to foster a new global conscience. we are still not sure that it will.

02:14 - 02:20	But a “global conscience” could well help transcend whatever civilization, religious and
02:21 - 02:23	cultural divides that has faced humanity.
02:24 - 02:31	So these are my NINE imperatives for harmony among civilizations that I offer to you today.
02:32 - 02:38	They will require a great deal of hard work. it will take the work of generations and decades.
02:39 - 02:45	and it will require patience, perseverance, partnership and lots of thinking outside the box.
02:46 - 02:52	Eighteen years after the end of the Cold War ended, ten years into the 21st Century, we find
02:52 - 03:00	ourselves at a crucial crossroads. In front of us may be the most progressive century mankind
03:01 - 03:07	has ever known, a century where, as Fareed Zakaria says, more things will change in the next
03:08 - 03:11	It can be the century of possibility and opportunity.
03:12 - 03:16	President Barack Obama spoke in Cairo of a “new beginning” between America and the
03:17 - 03:22	Muslim world. Today, I say that we can “REINVENT A NEW WORLD”.
03:23 - 03:29	It will be a world not of conquest, but of connectivity. it will be a world defined not by a
03:30 - 03:37	clash of civilizations, but by the confluence of civilizations. it will be a world marked by
03:38 - 03:44	plenty, not by poverty. and it will be a vast empire of global minds breaking down centuries
03:45 - 03:52	of civilizational collisions and hostilities.
05:53 - 03:56	America, with all the economic, social and technological resources at her disposal, has much
03:57 - 04:04	to contribute to this new world. America’s role in helping to reform the international system,
04:05 - 04:11	spread prosperity, empower the world’s poor, resolve conflicts, and share knowledge is a
04:12 - 04:18	critical asset to a transforming world. now is a golden opportunity for America to inundate
04:19 - 04:27	the world with her soft power, not hard power. America should not worry about retaining its
04:28 - 04:34	superpower status. America can help make the world anew — what could be more powerful
04:34 - 04:41	and definitive than that?
04:42 -	Indonesia too has a significant role to play. we can bridge between

04:44	the Islamic
04:05 - 04:50	and the western worlds. we can project the virtue of moderate Islam throughout the Muslim world.
04:51 - 04:56	we can be the bastion of freedom, tolerance and harmony. we can be a powerful example that Islam,
04:57 - 05:03	democracy and modernity can go hand in hand. and we will continue to advance
05:05 - 05:10	Indonesia's transformation through democracy, development and harmony.
05:11 - 05:16	This is why Indonesia and America are now evolving a strategic partnership. the world's
05:17 - 05:23	second and the third largest democracies. the most powerful Western country and the country
05:24 - 05:29	with the largest Muslim population. Calibrated for the challenges of the 21st century,
05:30 - 05:35	This partnership can strengthen regional stability, inter-civilizational unity and world peace.
05:36 - 05:41	In the final analysis, vast oceans separate our countries but our common search unites.
05:42 - 05:49	we are both trying to redefine our place in the world. President Obama insists the 21st century can
05:50 - 05:57	still be the American Century. I am convinced that this could well be Asia's Century.
05:58 - 06:05	Then I thought, why can't it be everybody's century? it can be the American Century.
06:06 - 06:14	it can be the Asian Century. it can be the European Century. it can be the African Century.
06:15 - 06:21	and it can be the Islamic Century.
06:21 - 06:23	This can be an amazing century where hope prevails over fear, where brotherhood of man
06:24 - 06:30	reigns supreme, where human progress conquers ignorance.
06:31 - 06:34	It can be a Century that not only brings us into a new millennium, but also elevates
06:31 - 06:34	the bonds of humanity to greater heights.
06:35 - 06:46	In this Century, no one loses. and everybody wins.
06:51 - 06:52	Insya Allah!
06:53 - 06:54	I thank you.

APPENDIX 2: DATA OF ANALYSIS

No	Types		Form	Data	Time	Total Data
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