
A Critical Discourse Analysis of Mann and Thomson's Theory of Rhetorical Devices in Indonesian Presidential Speeches

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Abstract

This research applied Mann and Thomson's (2005) theory of rhetorical devices by using a qualitative method to explain the use of rhetorical devices in Indonesian presidential speeches. To collect the data, documentation, libraries, and note-taking techniques were used. Meanwhile, the data for this research is the speeches of President Megawati, Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono, and Joko Widodo obtained from the Archive and Press Bureau, the media, and information from the Ministry of State Secretariat of the Republic of Indonesia, National TVRI Central Jakarta, and <https://www.youtube.com>. In this research, the data analysis method links micro, mediated, and macro aspects in three dimensions: (1) text, (2) discourse practice, and (3) social practice culture. The findings show that Presidents Megawati Soekarno Putri, Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono, and Joko Widodo all used metaphors, the rule of three, euphemisms, and pronouns in delivering their speeches. The presidents use metaphors more than any other type of rhetorical device to show and explain the main point of their speeches. Furthermore, the researcher discovered the theme of the speeches, in which President Megawati Soekarno Putri's topic was "terrorism," by implementing the use of euphemism. By using the rule of three, President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono's topic is "democracy." And last, President Joko Widodo is using a metaphor to talk about "budgeting."

Keywords: *Critical Discourse Analysis, Rhetorical Devices, Speeches.*

INTRODUCTION

Communication is an essential ability for social interaction and self-expression while conveying information. Fluency, which is the listener's understanding of what you're saying, is one of the abilities required to become a proficient English speaker. Others include increasing one's vocabulary, understanding

grammar, and ultimately, improving one's pronunciation. When it comes time to talk, the speaker should be prepared with a subject that will sustain audience attention.

Communication between people is separate from public speech and communication. There are instructive, persuasive, and entertaining types of public speaking. The objectives of communication and public speaking are for the listener to absorb knowledge and change as a consequence of listening, whether based on judgments of attitude, conduct, or persuasion (Rahayu et al., 2022).

Hussein and Adel (2018) believe the persuasive effect happens when a compelling message in speech impacts a listener, as well as via imposition, enticement, and provocation in politics. Rhetoric, or the use of words to attract the attention of the listener, is an effective and persuasive study of speaking and writing. According to Khajavi and Rasti (2020), the employment of rhetorical techniques that benefit the audience is connected to strategic territory in the delivery of a politician's discourse speech by the leader.

According to the English Department of the Grand Canyon Diploma (2016), rhetoric is the effective and persuasive use of

words, whereas devices are language-using instruments. Consequently, rhetorical devices act as language delivery; they might affect the written word or be audience-specific when presenting speech topics. In general, there are seven tactics for rhetorical devices: feedback response as a question to the audience or writer, allusion, repetition, parallelism, and Aristotle's ethos, logos, and pathos for persuasive writing.

A rhetorical device is a linguistic technique in which each unique pattern is used to elicit a certain response from the listener or reader; it may be used to alter the audience's attitude, give feedback between the speaker and audience, or excite or seduce via speech. Rhetorical devices for speech play a crucial role in successful delivery for listeners, where the context of speech is understood. However, according to Satria and Adek (2020), the rhetorical strategies employed while presenting a speech to state leaders are that they may provide a speech that is practical and offers a solution to addressing the problems of every nation. Numerous state leaders, whether royal or presidential, need to be proficient in persuasion in order to bolster their egos and challenge their audiences.

Moreover, Jones and Peccei (2004) assert that adopting a rhetorical technique

while making a speech has a significant impact on the audience since the audience not only hears but also observes the method of speaking. Thomas and Wareing (2005) define the following five forms of hypothesis deduction: metaphor, euphemism, the rule of three, parallelism, and pronouns in speech. The researcher made use of four of the five elements.

A speaker must have the ability to engage the audience while making a speech. When speaking, he should be able to control the people around him in terms of supplying information, giving back to the audience, and attracting the attention of the listener. (Gufron, 2022), presuming that certain views in a speech act, notably those of John Langshaw Austin (1962) and John Rogers Searle (1969), have various opinions gathered in a speech. According to John Langshaw Austin, the opposite of a word is not its pronunciation but rather the word itself. He thinks that every word has a substantial impact on a person's life. This discourse is separated into two key sections: declarative and performance-based. A speaker must execute three actions in order to give a speech: the locutionary act, the illocutionary act, and the perlocutionary act.

Ir. Soekarno served as Indonesia's first president from 1945 to 1996, followed by Soeharto from 1966 to 1998, BJ. Habibie from 1998 to 1999, Megawati Soekarno Putri from 2001 to 2004, Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono from 2004 to 2014, and Joko Widodo from 2014 to the present, 2022 (Kepustakaan Presiden-Presiden RI). The researcher would place emphasis on the current president, as well as the fifth, sixth, and seventh presidents, after examining the styles of seven presidents' addresses in Indonesia. This research was carried out to aid listeners in producing persuasive speeches. Several of these presidents' speeches are available on YouTube.

This researcher applies the theory of Mann and Thomson (2005) to make it easier for listeners to get more information from a speaker. Additionally, the researcher applies one of the four components of Teun Van Dijk's (2007) theory, the theme, which may be the end of the speech subject. The speaker emphasizes a specific point to the audience. This study, which combines Teun Van Dijk's macrostructures critical discourse analysis and theories from Thomas and Wareing with an analysis of rhetorical devices used in Indonesian presidential speeches, offers the reader a novel perspective, especially in the

development of insights regarding the use of rhetorical devices and macrostructures in accordance with Teun Van Dijk's CDA method.

LITERATURE REVIEWS

Rhetorical Devices

To attract the attention of the listener in the delivery of a speech, it is necessary to consider that the listener easily gets information or ideas. Jones and Peccei's statements employ the persuasive method, which is one of the ways speeches are delivered in order to pique the listener's interest and share information and ideas that the listener can apply (Thomas & Wareing, 2005:37). In this study, researchers used the theory of Jones and Peccei. They introduced a rhetorical device, which consisted of all measures used to explain the relationship between taste and strength in delivering speech. They divide the rhetorical device into metaphors, euphemisms, the rule of three, and pronouns.

Metaphor

According to Thomas and Wareing (2005: 38), a metaphor is any statement whose veracity is uncertain. Metaphor is one of the language components of rhetorical tactics used to establish analogies between two distinct ideas, such as comparing the features,

forms, locations, or personalities of particular things. This is done to grab the listener's attention. In reference to the phrase:

"The Germans is the bully in the playground, (on various British TV broadcasts, referring to the strong Germany's and influential position in the European Union)".

The conclusion is that the political concept of Germany refers to both a land area and a group of people, whereas the term "bully" refers to someone who is not on German territory. The phrase about the playground is metaphorical.

Euphemism

Euphemism is a language style or subtle expressions used as a substitute for harsh expressions to the listener in order to avoid unpleasant feelings, create embarrassment, or use language that is not appropriate to express in public places, also known as satirical language. (Thomas & Wareing, 2005, p. 160) stated that the attitude toward a particular word is not worth expressing in public, so a euphemism expression as an expression that covers the language is impolite. Referring to the expression:

"Death or dying if using the expression euphemism using the word die".

The explanation is that the expression "rant" is replaced with the expression "euphemism" or replaced with the meaning of the word "subtle."

Rule of Three

Jones and Peccei's statement that the three-part rule is one of the hallmarks of political rhetoric that is widely used by orators (Thomas & Wareing, 2005: 39) In addition, they suggest that the rule of three can convince listeners, strengthen arguments, and help them absorb information faster. Rule three, commonly used and believed, is:

"At the president's delivery" (The Guardian, February 27, 1991), we will not attack unarmed soldiers, as we announced last night. We have no choice but to regard the withdrawal of combat units as a threat. I've been saying since the start of air operations almost six weeks ago that the attempted coal-fired power plant was ahead of schedule. "The liberation of Kuwait is imminent."

The conclusion to President Bush's explanation is that the pronouns used by President Bush are an affirmation that is not yet clear to whom, so his speech is relatively controversial.

Pronoun

Pronouns are parts of speech used to replace nouns; their function is to avoid repeating the same noun or noun phrase that

has already been mentioned. Pronouns are used to conceal the speaker's and listener's agency by changing the noun to a pronoun (Thomas & Wareing, 2005: 43). Referring to the expression in President Bush's speech:

"As we announced last night, we will not attack unarmed soldiers in retreat." We have no choice but to consider retreating combat units a threat and respond accordingly. Since the beginning of the air operation, nearly six weeks ago, I have said that our efforts are on course and on schedule. This morning, I am pleased to say that coalition efforts are ahead of schedule. The liberation of Kuwait is close. (The Guardian, February 27, 1991)

The above text concludes that President Bush's relative noun "we" uses his speech relatively, whereas President Bush's relative noun "I" uses safer ground and responsibility for achievement.

Macrostructure

In a critical discourse analysis (CDA), macrostructure is one of three structures: superstructure, macrostructure, and microstructure. The observation of the global meaning of speech and text, as well as a focus on the topic or theme is conveyed by the speaker to the listener, constitute macrostructure. (Teun A. Van Dijk, 2007: 171) statement that "topic" is "part of the context," which would of course be fine if it

were defined not as a discourse topic but as some kind of "thought topic" or mental model, that is, as part of the macrostructure of speaking plans or as part of the mental model that controls the production and comprehension of global meaning.

Critical Discourse Analysis

Teun A. Van Dijk's (2007: 12) argument that critical discourse analysis (CDA) can influence the theory of context in linguistic science and other discourse analysis methods such as CDA Understanding the context of a speech is aided by using the critical discourse analysis method.

The researcher is looking for explanations from other studies on the same issue as this one. Some research findings that contrast with the present one are as follows:

"The Study of Five Rhetorical Principles in Indonesian President's Speeches" is carried out by Satria and Adek (2020). The purpose of their research was to interpret and describe the delivery of speeches using qualitative research methods. It has been discovered that rhetorical devices are one of the delivery methods utilized in communication science to disseminate public information through speech. In addition to the context of the speech and the listeners' attention to the speaker's delivery, a speech is

referred to as an oration. Listeners are also paying attention to whether or not the speaker is telling the truth or providing the necessary information.

Setiarini, Winarni, and Junining did a study titled "Pronoun Rhetorical Devices in Donald Trump's Presidential Addresses" in 2019. Through a qualitative study, the researchers observed that rhetorical techniques impact the reader and listener more effectively and convincingly. mastering the skills of using rhetorical devices to capture, control, and convince the reader's and listener's attention, control, and persuade them. In addition, rhetorical devices include various components, such as spelling, structural alignment, and imagery. Spelling is one of the characteristics often employed to draw an audience's attention.

The title of Saif and Akram's (2019) study is "A Critique of Rhetorical Devices in Selected Political Discourse." The purpose of their study was to examine the rhetorical tactics utilized by Indira Gandhi and Benazir Bhutto to attract listeners with their speech delivery. They are employing a critical discourse analysis (CDA) or qualitative approach model and have discovered that persuasive mechanisms in the delivery of political speech are used to control listeners'

and readers' minds with the language of power assertion in order to attract the attention of the recipient of information. This suggests that the effectiveness of a political speech relies on the speaker's ability to convince the audience.

The last research is by Caroline, Sitorus, Sinurat, Herman, and Silalahi, titled "An examination of Mark Zuckerberg's speech act" and published in 2021. Researchers detected 35 distinct forms of illocutionary actions in Mark Zuckerberg's "Find Your Purpose" speech, with assertives accounting for 40% of instances, instructions for 43%, expressives for 8%, commissives for 6%, and declarations accounting for 1% of cases (3 percent). In Mark Zuckerberg's "Find Your Purpose" speech, researchers uncovered 15 data points (43 percent). The study identified five categories of illocutionary discourse: assertive (14 data), directive (15 data), expressive (3 data), commissive (2 data), and declaration (1 data).

RESEARCH METHODS

The researcher used a qualitative method to explain the use of rhetorical devices in Indonesian presidential speeches. Qualitative research is a research method that uses text to help researchers collect data. And this research applied the method of critical

discourse analysis (CDA) using the model of Teun A. Van Dijk's (2007) by analyzing three aspects, namely text, discourse practice, and sociocultural conditions. This research focuses primarily on the documentation of speeches delivered by Indonesian presidents using rhetorical devices in the form of a word, phrase, or sentence from 2000 to 2022, i.e., the presidential speeches of President Megawati, Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono, and Joko Widodo delivered in the state court.

Documentation, libraries, and notes were used for data collection in this research. Videos of the speeches of President Megawati, Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono, and Joko Widodo were obtained from the Archive and Press Bureau, the Media, and Information from the Ministry of State Secretariat of the Republic of Indonesia, National TVRI Central Jakarta, and <https://www.youtube.com> as the primary method of documentation. In this research, the data analysis methodologies link micro, mediated, and macro aspects in three dimensions: (1) text, (2) discourse practice, and (3) social practice culture. Analysis of the text's dimensions using the linguistic method aims to describe the material descriptively solely at the level of the text in the form of a word, phrase, or sentence, using the data

analysis table as a guide. Intertextual analysis is required in the discourse practice dimension to connect text analysis and discourse practice. This study is accomplished concurrently with text analysis, i.e., by investigating how the people of Indonesia generate and consume text. The researcher will then perform sociocultural practices within the sociocultural practice dimension by relating his research to the macro setting. Additionally, the researcher used discourse theory and ideology as supplementary theories.

FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

Rhetorical Devices

Metaphor as a Rhetorical Device in the speeches of President Megawati Soekarno Putri

Data (Sample)	
...From the very beginning, this nation and state were established, built, and managed as a vehicle to create a better shared future...	... <i>Sedari awal, bangsa dan negara ini didirikan, dibangun, dan dikelola sebagai wahana untuk mewujudkan masa depan bersama yang lebih baik...</i>
Source Domain	Target Domain
Indonesian state	Vehicle

President Megawati likened the Indonesian state to a vehicle. If interpreted in

general, the mention of the word "vehicle" is synonymous with a place to play. However, she uses the word to attract the attention of listeners, who should be able to use the place as a vehicle, which is a form of rhetorical device called a metaphor.

Data (Sample)	
...Not to mention the various attempts to pay off by establishing puppet states outside the unitary state of the Republic of Indonesia,...	... <i>Belum lagi berbagai upaya untuk menyempal dengan mendirikan negara-negara boneka di luar Negara Kesatuan Republik Indonesia,...</i>
Source Domain	Target Domain
Indonesian state	Puppet states

President Megawati noted in her address that the meaning of the strong word above, where the phrase puppet state appears, is imperialist, employing metaphor (M). When written correctly, "puppet" refers to a toy doll often used by children, while "state" refers to the use of force in a certain territory or geographic place. However, since the foundation of the RIS (Republik Indonesia Serikat) during the Belanda colonial period, which attempts to transform Indonesia into a federal state, the major ambition has been to be dominated by the Belanda Kingdom.

Metaphor as a Rhetorical Device in the speeches of President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono

Data (Sample)	
...Even though 60 years is long enough for a journey,...	... <i>Meski masa 60 tahun telah cukup panjang bagi sebuah perjalanan,...</i>
Source Domain	Target Domain
60 years	Journey

The president employs metaphor in the context of his speech, which is the use of a word but not the sequence structure of a technique to achieve a goal. Whereas every bold word "journey of this nation" implies that the nation has a road, this sentence explains why: a struggle from Indonesian heroes from colonization to independence. Until it became an Indonesian nation, to achieve the goal of defending the Indonesian nation, the president's invitation gave responsibility and a sense of belonging to the country.

Data (Sample)	
...We view corruption as the nation's morale damaged...	... <i>Korupsi kita pandang sebagai kerusakan bangsa...</i>
Source Domain	Target Domain
Corruption case	Moral decay

Researchers discovered that during speech delivery, the speaker uses a phrase to

catch the listener's attention. The "moral of the nation" of the speaker gives the idea that the nation is like a human being who must have views and behaviors; the moral referred to by President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono as the speaker is Pancasila. The nation can be said to be moral, as can be seen from the morals of the nation itself.

Metaphor as a Rhetorical Device in the speeches of President Joko Widodo

Data (Sample)	
...We keep speeding up structural transformation to build a more stable and long-lasting engine of economic growth...	... <i>Transformasi struktural terus kita pacu untuk membangun mesin pertumbuhan ekonomi yang lebih solid dan berkelanjutan...</i>
Source Domain	Target Domain
Structural transformation	Engine of economic growth

The researcher analyzed that in the phrase "engine of economic growth," the speaker seemed to give the idea that the economy can improve using the engine of development. If the word "building machine" is described, it is a tool not related to the word "economic growth," or what is meant is the increase that occurs in the economy. The use of the word "engine" in economics

suggests that the use of rhetorical devices refers to metaphor.

The Rule of Three as a Rhetorical Device in the speeches of President Megawati Soekarno Putri

Data (Sample)	
...This act of terror must be prevented, discouraged, and defeated regardless of its size...	... <i>Sekecil apapun, aksi teror ini harus dicegah, ditangkal, dan ditaklukkan...</i>

The researcher concludes that "prevented, deterred, and conquered" is a word that indicates that acts of terror that occur really need to be considered because they can disturb and worry the Indonesian people in their activities outside the house. The speaker used a high tone to emphasize the message and to send a message to the authorities to deal with and protect the people.

The Rule of Three as a Rhetorical Device in the speeches of President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono

Data (Sample)	
...We are all determined to respect, protect, uphold, and fulfill	... <i>Kita sama-sama telah bertekad untuk menghormati, melindungi,</i>

human rights...

menegakkan dan memenuhi Hak Asasi Manusia (HAM)...

One rhetorical device that is rarely used is the rule of three. The rule of three usually utilizes high intonation. The goal of Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono's (SBY) presidential speeches is to engage the audience and convey important messages. The research findings in the words "respect, protect, uphold, and fulfill" are affirmative words, where respect means to appreciate, protect means to keep, uphold means to enforce, and fulfill means to comply with human rights.

Furthermore, researchers discovered that the president follows a "rule of three" when delivering his speech. The word phrase "respects, protects, upholds, and fulfills human rights" gives an important message that every person has the right to welfare based on the 5 basic principles of the Indonesian state as stated in the 1945 Basic Law.

Data (Sample)	
...We eradicate abuse of power and authority, violations	... <i>Kita memberantas penyalahgunaan kekuasaan dan</i>

of human rights, corruption, collusion, and nepotism...	<i>wewenang, pelanggaran hak-hak asasi manusia, korupsi, kolusi dan nepotisme...</i>
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This research found that during Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono's presidency, or SBY for short, he encountered a democracy that required attention. Because in his time many committed frauds, in the delivery of his speech the president had a high notation on the word "corruption, collusion, and nepotism" to give an important message to the members of the office given the mandate by the people.

The Rule of Three as a Rhetorical Device in the speeches of President Joko Widodo

Data (Sample)	
...The design of the 2023 state budget must always be "alert, anticipatory, and responsive" to various possible scenarios that are very dynamic and have the potential to cause turmoil...	<i>...Desain APBN 2023 harus senantiasa "Waspada, Antisipatif, dan Responsif" terhadap berbagai kemungkinan skenario yang bergerak sangat dinamis dan berpotensi menimbulkan gejolak...</i>

President Joko Widodo emphasized certain phrases in his address, such as "alert, anticipatory, and responsive," to indicate that

there are several examples that might lead to conflict or unrest between groups.

Data (Sample)	
...Fiscal consolidation and reform must continue to be carried out in a comprehensive, gradual and measurable manner...	<i>...Konsolidasi dan reformasi fiskal harus terus dilakukan secara menyeluruh, bertahap, dan terukur...</i>

This research found that one of the president's goals in giving the speech was to hope that state revenues could be fixed by managing both state spending and financing.

Euphemism as a Rhetorical Device in the speeches of President Megawati Soekarno Putri

Data (Sample)	
...We complete the working mechanism by forming a special work unit to coordinate the eradication of terrorism...	<i>...Kita melengkapi mekanisme kerja dengan membentuk unit kerja yang khusus mengkoordinasi pemberantasan terorisme...</i>

Researchers examined the delivery of a speech by President Megawati Soekarno Putri on a daring word: the use of the word "terrorism" in the president's delivery is to

reduce people's anxiety about terrorist acts. The benefit of using rhetorical devices, namely euphemisms, for speakers is that it makes it easier for the speaker to convey messages to the listener.

Euphemism as a Rhetorical Device in the speeches of President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono

The researcher discovered that President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono did not employ euphemisms in his address.

Euphemism as a Rhetorical Device in the speeches of President Joko Widodo

Data (Sample)	
...Central banks in many countries are tightening monetary policy aggressively ...	... <i>Bank Sentral di banyak negara melakukan pengetatan kebijakan moneter secara agresif..</i>

Researchers discovered that, in addition to meaning "more quickly or actively," the president provided the phrase's purpose and meaning. Where the point is that the country's central bank of money management has implemented a new policy, the goal is to communicate the impact of the new policy on developing countries in terms of a decrease in the exchange rate of their currencies.

Pronoun as a Rhetorical Device in the speeches of President Megawati Soekarno Putri

Data (Sample)	
...I have to say in clearer language that we still have to really design and build the character of this nation...	... <i>Dengan bahasa yang lebih jelas harus saya katakan bahwa kita masih harus benar-benar merancang dan membangun karakter bangsa ini...</i>

In the delivery of the next speech, the researcher analyzed the existence of "my word", which means that President Megawati, as the speaker, said that the key to the development and progress of a country is the existence of togetherness in designing and jointly shaping the country. "I" and "We" are two different words that mean different things, where "my word" refers to the speaker, i.e., President Megawati, and the word "we" are presidents refers to all listeners and herself.

Data (Sample)	
...From the beginning, when we described our national territory and attached Law	... <i>Sedari awal ketika kita menggambarkan wilayah nasional kita, sebagaimana hal itu kita lampirkan dalam</i>

Number 4 of the PRP of 1960 concerning Indonesian Waters, we also never listed the existence of the two islands in the national territory map...	<i>Undang-undang Nomor 4 Prp Tahun 1960 tentang Perairan Indonesia, kita juga tidak pernah mencantumkan keberadaan dua pulau itu dalam peta wilayah nasional...</i>
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In the excerpt of the speech above, President Megawati uses the plural first pronoun three times, indicating that the president conveyed the affirmation that the Indonesian nation cannot stand tall by itself. Our word is not only for the speakers and listeners who are present, but our word is also intended for all Indonesians.

Pronoun as a Rhetorical Device in the speeches of President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono

Data (Sample)	
...I urge all parties to defend and infuse our nation's path with a feeling of duty and belonging...	<i>...Saya mengajak semua pihak untuk bersama-sama menjaga, dan mengisi perjalanan bangsa ini, dengan rasa tanggung jawab dan rasa memiliki...</i>

The researcher studying presidents' speeches discover a substitute meaning, with

the word "I" referring to the speaker, namely President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono, who invited and influenced the listeners to collaborate in improving so that the Indonesian nation develops and advances and can compete with other countries. As for what the researchers found, there was a pronoun (Pr) in the word "all parties" in the sentence "all parties: a diverse society," explaining that Indonesia is the largest island country in the world with 17.508 habitable islands and 360 ethnic groups. In the president's sentence, the meaning is to explain, affirm, and remind again of the richness of variety and tribes in Indonesia.

Data (Sample)	
...Such a large fuel subsidy is considered untargeted and unfair because it is more enjoyed by those who earn more...	<i>...Subsidi BBM yang sedemikian besar dirasa tidak tepat sasaran dan tidak adil karena, lebih dinikmati oleh mereka yang berpenghasilan lebih mampu...</i>

The pronoun "those who earn more well" used in the fragment of President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono's speech above refers to those who abuse their authority and implement policies that are not on target.

Pronoun as a Rhetorical Device in the speeches of President Joko Widodo

Data (Sample)	
...the development agenda that we will achieve, as well as the potential risks and challenges that we face,...	...agenda pembangunan yang akan kita capai, serta potensi risiko dan tantangan yang kita hadapi,...

The term "we" as the pronoun in the fragment of President Joko Widodo's speech refers to the president and listeners, and the objective of the president using the pronoun "we" is to plan and evaluate the state budget in order to prevent unwelcome risks next year and grow the Indonesian country as envisioned. By using pronouns, the president is able to get a very important point across to the audience much more easily.

Data (Sample)	
...We hope that the consideration on the state budget for 2023 will be productive...	...Besar harapan kami, pembahasan RAPBN tahun 2023 dapat dilakukan secara konstruktif...

The use of the pronoun "we" refers to the president, the people of Indonesia, the council of members of the House of Representatives, and the state budget in order to build and realize an advanced Indonesia.

The word "we" gives the meaning of the president, and the people expect change in the next year.

Macrostructure (Thematic)

This research was done to investigate and assess the macrostructure of Van Dijk by analyzing the rhetorical methods used by the president as the speaker to influence the audience. In macro-analysis, the rhetorical devices utilized in the president's address will be examined in their entirety. In each of the president's speeches, the development of the text's thematic framework, for instance, will be examined.

In this research, the researcher examines the speeches of three presidents delivered in front of the Plenary Meeting of the House of Representatives of the Republic of Indonesia, in Jakarta, i.e., 1. President Megawati Soekarno Putri, entitled "Annual Session of the People's Consultative Assembly of the Republic of Indonesia" on November 1, 2001; 2. A speech by President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono on August 16, 2005, entitled "State of the Nation Speech of the President of the Republic of Indonesia and Government Statement on the Bill on the 2006 State Budget and Its Financial Memorandum"; 3. And the last, President Joko Widodo delivered the "Bill Regarding

the State Budget (APBN) Fiscal Year 2023 Together the Financial Memorandum."

President Megawati Soekarno Putri

President Megawati Soekarno Putri raised Indonesia's battle for independence in her address. She reminded the audience of the terror attacks that had taken place in various regions of Indonesia. Fear was so widespread as a consequence of the terror that the president urged nations to assist in fighting terrorism bilaterally and multilaterally. The president also emphasized the need for early discovery to prevent terrorists, who are always looking for opportunities to be caught off guard.

Her message reveals the macrostructure and rhetorical devices of her discourse. The macrostructure facilitates the speaker's communication of the essential factors to consider. The researcher determined that a rhetorical device, particularly the euphemism "terrorism," is used to instill fear in individuals with certain aims and goals. The researcher investigates the context of the president's speech delivery and the rhetorical method utilized in the terms "prevented, deterred, and conquered" to communicate a crucial message.

In her speech, the topic of the theme was related to terrorist acts that occurred at

that time, where the terror caused panic in several regions of Indonesia. The meaning of "terrorist" is someone who commits a crime that refers to a disturbance. The speaker, in delivering his speech, tried to make the listener reduce panic, anxiety, and worry. President Megawati used euphemism, a type of rhetoric, to get across an important message and make people less worried about the terror they were facing.

President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono

President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono, in his speech entitled "Democracy Cannot be Built in a Day," emphasized democracy in the reform era. "We still need time to mature ourselves." President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono emphasizes in his message that democracy and politics are difficult; everything takes time and requires a change process. President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono assured this in his expression: "However, I am sure that all of this, step by step, we will be able to overcome." The statement was the president's way of attracting the attention of listeners and inviting them to participate in bringing about positive change.

In the data that the researcher analyzed, there is a macrostructure and rhetorical device used, namely the rule of

three, as in the delivery, "We eradicate abuse of power and authority, violations of human rights, corruption, collusion, and nepotism." The macrostructure used can assist the speaker in expressing and affirming a meaningful impression of the message to the listener. "Corruption, collusion, and nepotism" is one of the ways the speaker gives a meaningful impression to the listener and uses different intonations as an attraction to attract the listener's attention.

In delivering his presidential speech, President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono related to the topic of his speech, democracy. During the reign of President SBY, the politics that occurred at that time were not balanced; there was a lot of fraud. So the word "politics" appears several times, as do important messages like "corruption, collusion, and nepotism," which are key words that are emphasized in his speech. On this theme, the president uses a rhetorical device related to the rule of three, where in his delivery, the speaker gives an important message with a firm pronunciation that helps him in conveying information to the listeners.

President Joko Widodo

Based on the data gathered, President Joko Widodo's topic in his speech is an appeal and hope to the Leader and members of the

Representative of the Republic of Indonesia (DPR RI) so that the APBN 2023 State Budget next year can be more stable than this year. The speaker is making an effort to keep the nominal value of each budget in mind by emphasizing the word "vigilant, anticipatory, and responsive."

The topic is a macrostructure related to a theme to attract listener attention; the content of the speech delivery should be interesting at the beginning of each paragraph, such as "APBN architecture and APBN design." The speaker gives a simile by relating the theme or topic of the delivery to attract the listener's attention and give a message to the listener. The theoretical concept used by the speaker is the rhetorical metaphor.

The macrostructure in the delivery of the president's speech is related to the theme presented; the topic in the delivery of the president's speech is to remain focused on the budget according to the theme. The President hopes that the Members of the House of Representatives of the Republic of Indonesia will be even more controlled in the coming year. This is because, according to the results of the next budget forecast, the value of the state currency is going down, which means that Indonesia needs to be more careful with its money.

The delivery of the presidential address is intended to persuade and influence the audience. The president employs a metaphor as a rhetorical device in his delivery: "state budget architecture and state budget design." To capture the audience's attention, the president compared the state budget to an illustration of a structure. The president's use of metaphor is crucial for expressing essential signals and information about the state budget.

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