

A SEMANTIC PROPAGANDA ANALYSIS OF
RECEP TAYYIP ERDOĞAN'S POLITICAL SPEECHES

THESIS

Submitted by

SHALICHINA
NIM. 150203215

Student of *Fakultas Tarbiyah dan Keguruan*
Department of English Language Education



FAKULTAS TARBIYAH DAN KEGURUAN
UNIVERSITAS ISLAM NEGERI AR-RANIRY BANDA ACEH
2019 M / 1440 H

THESIS

Submitted to *Fakultas Tarbiyah dan Keguruan*
Universitas Islam Negeri Ar-Raniry Banda Aceh
In Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for The Degree
Bachelor of Education in English Language Teaching

by:


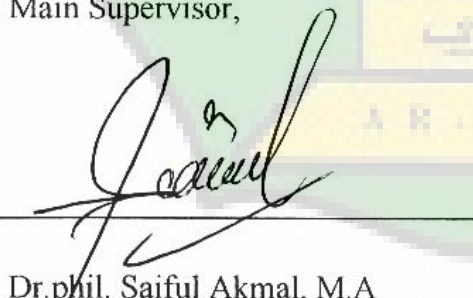
SHALICHINA
150203215

Student of *Fakultas Tarbiyah dan Keguruan*
Department of English Language Education

Approved by:

Main Supervisor,

Co-Supervisor,



Dr.phil. Saiful Akmal, M.A
Date : 01 / 01 / 2020

Fera Busfina Zalha, MA
Date : 02 / 01 / 2020

It has been defended in *Sidang Munaqasyah*
In front of the board of the Examination for the working paper
and has been accepted in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for Bachelor Degree of Education in English Language Teaching

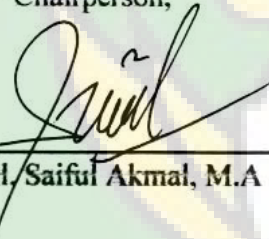
On:

Wednesday, 15 January 2020
20 Jumadil Awal, 1441 H

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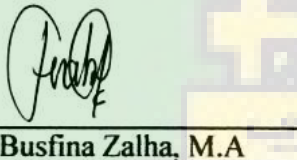
Dr.phil./Saiful Akmal, M.A

Secretary,



Yulfar Masna, M.TESOL

Member,



Fera Busfina Zalha, M.A

Member,



Khairiah Syahabuddin,
MHSc.ESL.,M.TESOL., Ph.D

Certified by:

The Dean of *Fakultas Tarbiyah dan Keguruan*
Universitas Islam Negeri Ar-Raniry Banda Aceh



Dr. Muslim Razali, S.H., M.Ag.
NIP. 195903091989031001



KEMENTERIAN AGAMA REPUBLIK INDONESIA
UNIVERSITAS ISLAM NEGERI AR-RANIRY
FAKULTAS TARBIYAH DAN KEGURUAN
PRODI PENDIDIKAN BAHASA INGGRIS
Jln. Syeikh Abdur Rauf Kopelma Darussalam Banda Aceh
Email: pbi.ftk@ar-raniry.ac.id, Website: http://pbi.ar-raniry.ac.id

SURAT PERNYATAAN KEASLIAN
(Declaration of Originality)

Saya yang bertandatangan dibawah ini:

Nama : Shalichina
NIM : 150203215
Tempat/tanggal lahir : Banda Aceh/11 April 1997
Alamat : Kp. Ateuk Pahlawan, Lr. Cempaka No.9
Banda Aceh 23241, Aceh.

Menyatakan dengan sesungguhnya bahwa skripsi yang berjudul:

A Semantic Propaganda Analysis of Recep Tayyip Erdoğan's Political Speeches

adalah benar-benar karya saya, kecuali semua kutipan dan referensi yang disebutkan sumbernya. Apabila terdapat kesalahan dan kekeliruan di dalamnya, maka akan sepenuhnya menjadi tanggungjawab saya. Demikianlah surat pernyataan ini saya buat dengan sesungguhnya.

Banda Aceh, 31 Desember 2019

Saya yang membuat surat pernyataan,



Shalichina

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT



All my praise and gratitude goes to the presence of Allah SWT who has conferred strength, opportunity, and health so that I can complete the undergraduate study (S1) by completing the writing of this thesis. Shalawat and salaam to the Prophet Muhammad SAW. along with his family who have brought a change from the realm of ignorance to a world full of science and civilization.

By the will of Allah SWT and the help of several parties, I was able to complete the writing of a thesis entitled "**A Semantic Propaganda Analysis of Recep Tayyip Erdoğan's Political Speeches**". The presence of this thesis is inseparable from the support of various parties, both morally and materially. Therefore, I sincerely express my deepest gratitude and appreciation to Mr. Dr.phil. Saiful Akmal, S.Pd.I., M.A as the deputy chair of the English Education Department, as my academic advisor (PA), and my first supervisor, and to Ms. Fera Busfina Zalha, MA as my second supervisor who have given their time in the midst of their activities to guide, direct and response me best in completing this thesis. Afterwards, my thanks goes to Mr. Dr. T. Zulfikar, M.Ed as the head of the English Education Department, the extraordinary lecturers who have provided me with knowledge and all the employees of UIN Ar-Raniry who have facilitated me to study.

Infinite respect and gratitude also addressed to my parent Jasmani and the late Siswadi Asnawy for all the sacrifices and love that have been given on us, for keeping us in your prayer, for giving us education, and for financial support. Then, to my siblings: Kuntari Madchaini, Mu'this Sahli, Nurul Fajri, Madchannur, Mukhlishina, Sa'idatun, and Muhammad Khalil who always encouraged and advised each other, I am very grateful to have you guys. Then, thank you to my friends, unit 6 class of 2015, and my proofreader Maria Syuhada S.Pd who have supported and helped me in completing this thesis.

Finally, to Allah SWT I ask to be given His ease and guidance. I realize that this thesis is not free from mistakes and weakness, therefore, I sincerely accept criticism and suggestions from all parties to perfect it in the future.

Banda aceh, 31 December 2019

Shalichina



ABSTRACT

Name : Shalichina
NIM : 150203215
Faculty : *Fakultas Tarbiyah dan Keguruan*
Major : English Education Department
Thesis working title : A Semantic Propaganda Analysis of Recep Tayyip Erdoğan's Political Speeches
Main Supervisor : Dr.phil Saiful Akmal, S,Pd.I., MA
Co-Supervisor : Fera Busfina Zalha, MA
Keywords : Propaganda Analysis, Semantic Propaganda, Speech Analysis

This study aims at identifying the types of semantic propaganda and investigating the techniques of propaganda tools used by Recep Tayyip Erdoğan in his three political speeches related to humanity issues; The speech about Israel's attack on Aid Flotilla in 2010, The speech on OIC's meeting discussed about Jerusalem in 2017, and The speech on UN General Assembly – World Leaders Gather in New York For Annual Meeting in 2018. The types of semantic propaganda data were analyzed by using Hall's theory and the techniques of propaganda data were analyzed by using Filene's theory. The findings of this study showed that; (1) there were 54 of semantic propaganda which were classified into 8 types of semantic propaganda applied in Erdoğan's political speeches. The most frequent semantic propaganda type Erdoğan used in his political speeches was lost-performative type in which was performed in 11 utterances or 20.37% out of the speeches; (2) there were 60 utterances of propaganda's techniques which were classified into 6 propaganda's techniques applied in Erdoğan's political speeches. The most frequent propaganda's technique Erdoğan used in his political speeches was card stacking technique in which was performed in 18 utterances or 30% out of the speeches. However, lost-performative type of semantic propaganda and card stacking technique of propaganda used by Erdoğan in his political speeches were some of the secrets in gaining his audience become his followers in delivering his political speeches.

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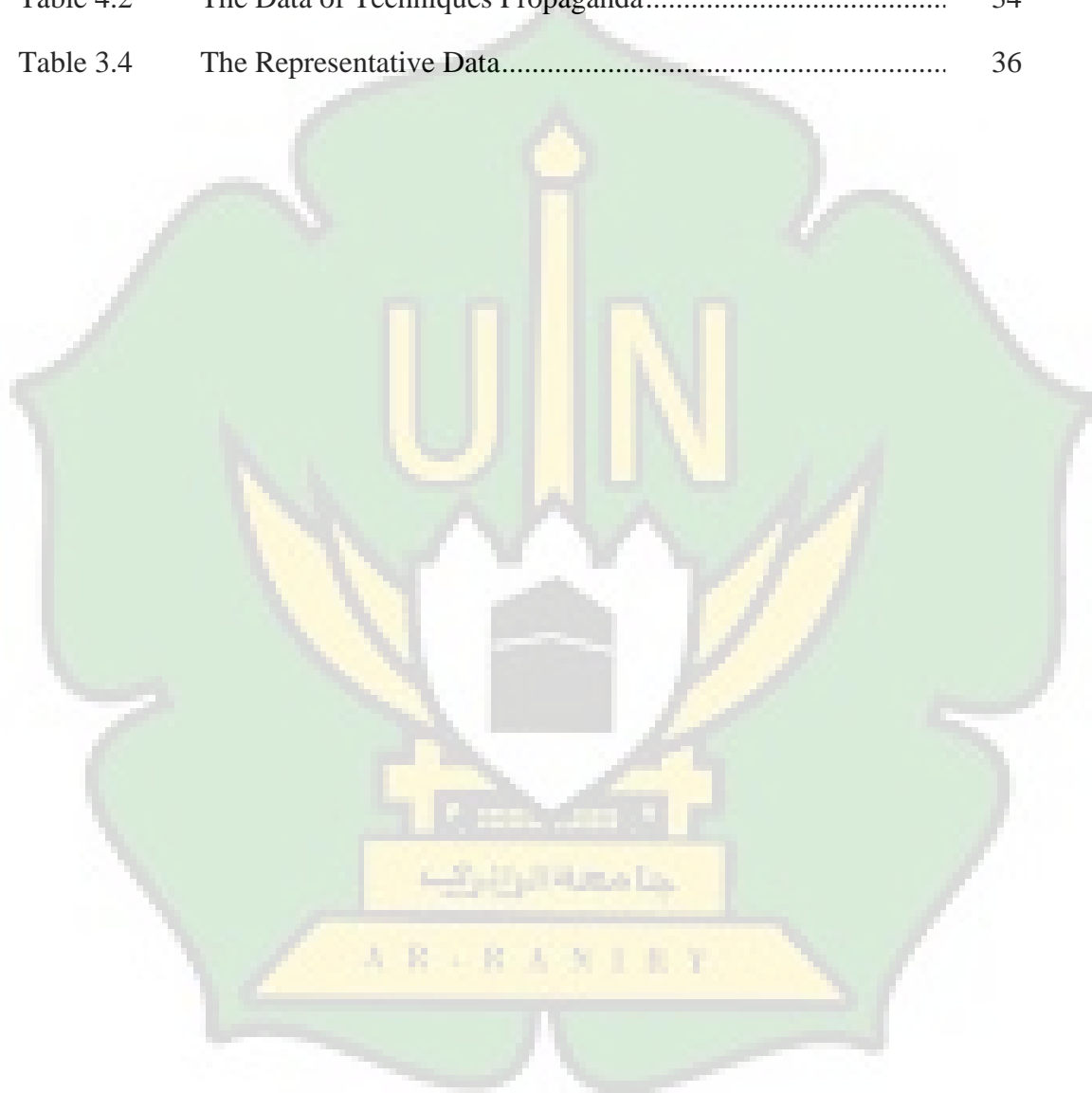
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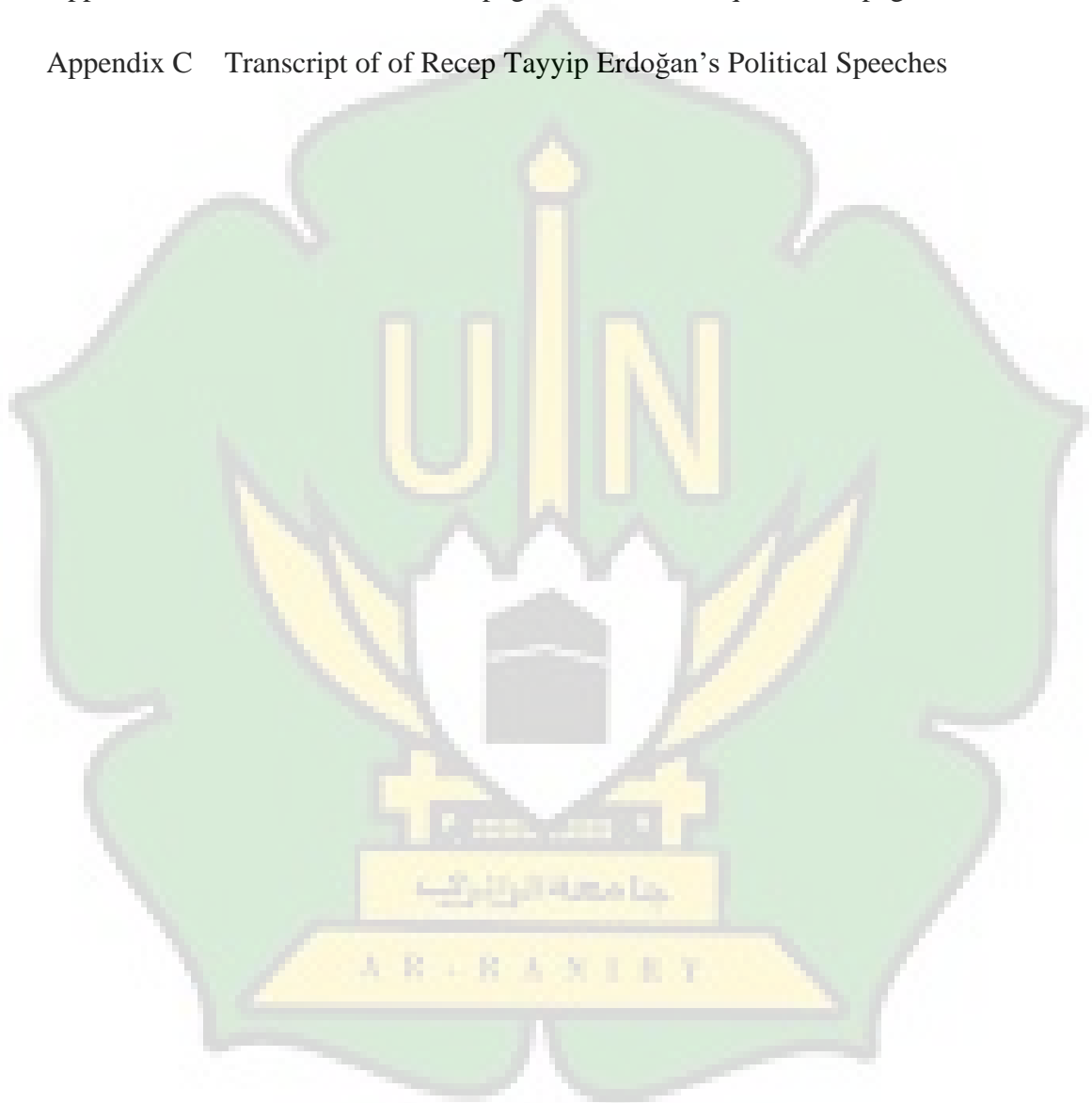


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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

This chapter presents introduction of study which consists of background of study, previous studies, research question, research aims, scope of study, significance of study, research terminologies and research methodology.

A. Background of Study

According to Velentzas and Broni (2014), conveying information through the exchange of thoughts, messages, or information, through the choice of written and spoken is the act of communication. Communication draws on several interpersonal and intrapersonal skills which include speaking, listening, observing, questioning, processing, analyzing and evaluating; these are essential to learning, forming healthy relationships, creating a sense of community and achieving success in the workplace (Velentzas & Broni, 2014).

Furthermore, Velentzas and Broni (2014) add that recipients of a message must be able to identify the sender's intent, take into account the message's context, resolve any misunderstandings, accurately decode the information and decide how to act on it. Thus, for an effective communication, it is important that the interlocutor interpret the messages as what is intended by the speaker. Moreover, Cubbison (2016) states that clear and appropriate word choice is a desirable quality in both written and oral communication, which oftenly the

assessment of the strength of someone's argument depends on how effective the author is at choosing his language. Therefore, in order to help the interlocutor interpret the information right, the speakers should be concerned with the words they prefer to use. Furthermore, to be clear, be simple and systematic in conveying messages also seem crucial in creating a good understanding between the speaker and the receiver.

However, as Cubbison (2016) argues that in communication, there are times when a speaker may use hidden means of persuasion to try to convince the listener through word choice strategy. Thinking of word choice as a way to change meaning by manipulating the perspective, the particular word chosen by speakers also attempts to manipulate the way the receiver receives it (Cubbison, 2016). For example, a media reports the news regarding to the Syria issue preferring the word "immigrants" rather than "refugees" to represent syrian coming to their country. These words influence of perspective as the representative is the same, however, the sense it brings is different. The word of "refugees" potentially gives positive feeling to the receiver while "immigrants" potentially gives negative feeling. Interestingly, propaganda intentionally loads this kind of case for specific effects. Therefore, word choice can affect the hearer or the audience understanding and perhaps there is propaganda in it.

According to Smith (2019), propaganda is the more or less systematic effort to manipulate or to drive other people's beliefs, attitudes, or actions by means of symbols (words, gestures, banners, monuments, music, clothing, insignia, hairstyles, designs on coins and postage stamps). In other words,

propaganda is a term for deliberate, systematic attempts to manipulate beliefs and emotions through methods that are considered deceitful. Deliberateness and a relatively heavy emphasis on manipulation distinguish propaganda from casual conversation or informal interaction. Meanwhile, Black (2001) offers that principle of science, rhetoric, semantics, and enlightened or open-minded education serve as a powerful defensive to propaganda. Furthermore, studying propaganda techniques can help critical thinking skills as critical thinkers are always on the lookout for manipulation of belief, emotion, and they recognize that political pundits on television and radio, especially when promoting partisan positions or agendas, often try to manipulate opinion through inflammatory language (Cubbison, 2016). Therefore, studying techniques of propaganda will discern the address to understand easily the certain purpose that the propagandist try to do.

Propaganda can exist in any communication and interaction including in president's speech. In scope of presidents' speech, everyone can interpret the speech based on their own knowledge, perception and experience. This situation could be used by the president or influencer to insert propaganda in his speech. Following this, the influence of propaganda itself depends on the position or how much authority the person has (Badsey, 2014). In other words, the bigger the authority possessed by the propagandist, the bigger the impact is given. As Hall (2000) adds that, the higher the level of political speech, the more likely that the speech writer designs the speech to have a propagandistic effect. As Hall (2000)

states that the political speech is designed to have propagandistic effect, therefore, this research is conducted to analyze political speeches.

The president of Turkey, Recep Tayyip Erdoğan is one of phenomenal presidents lately. His firmness in saying and acting made him respected by world leaders. As reported by BBC News (2019) “From humble beginnings Recep Tayyip Erdoğan has grown into a political giant, reshaping Turkey more than any leader since Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, the revered father of the modern republic” and also as reported by Majlis Taklim Miftahus surur’s fans page (2017):

Media Time chose Recep Tayyip Erdoğan, the most popular figure in 2011. The poll held by Time online media, put Erdoğan as the most popular figure in 2011.

Erdoğan was praised as a figure who built democracy in the Islamic world. The leader of the AKP Party was considered successful in increasing Turkey as the number two country, which experienced the fastest economic growth in the world. Erdoğan, although not an Arab, was the most admired world leader among Arabs. According to a University of Maryland poll, Erdoğan is a figure who is highly admired and loved by Arabs. (2017).

Moreover, there are many of his statements and behaviors went viral, for example, the one that happened in the World Economic Forum in Davos in 2009. Erdoğan left a debate with Israel’s president, Shimon Peres, because his time to talk was not as long as Peres. He left the stage after saying “Thank you very much, I do not think I will come back to Davos after this”. This phenomenon has fallen into discussion around the globe and he received a hero's welcome and immediately became the most popular political leader around the world (TheGuardian.com). Moreover, since Erdoğan officiated as Prime Minister in 2007 and continued serving as President since 2014, most of his speeches were addressed to the

activities he performed during this process, from the area of education to health, from unemployment to economy, from transportation to legal system and to the activities to prevent terror become better (Ayidin, 2016, p.7). Following these facts, he must have a distinction technique of propaganda that makes him become such an influencer which a huge number of followers all over the world. Besides, he is very bold in expressing his ideas in his speech. Therefore, based on the fact, this research is interested in investigating the propaganda technique that is used by Erdoğan.

B. Previous Studies

The discussion of president's power in nation does not stop in the parliament; it is also interesting to be discussed in the education field. There are some researchers who make it as learning purposes, such as analyzing presidents' political speeches. There are many studies that analyse political speeches especially in term of propaganda. One of them is the research entitled *Propaganda on Donald J. Trump Inaugural Speech (A Critical Discourse Analysis)* conducted by Syamwiel (2018) that aims at discovering the building of discursive practice of propaganda used by Donald Trump on his speech as an ideological dissemination from the politic figure. Second, the research conducted by Ayidin, F., B. (2016) entitled *The Propaganda Speeches of 2014 Presidential Bids with Discourse Analysis of Van Dijk*. Third, the research entitled *A Pragmatic Study of Barak Obama's Political Propaganda* which conducted by Al-Ameedi, Kadhim; Khudhier, Hussein (2015). Fourth, the research conducted by Bayram (2010) titled *Ideology and Political Discourse: A Critical Discourse Analysis of*

Erdogan's Political Speech. However, most of previous studies conducted studies on propaganda used Van Dijk's theory (2002), while this study analyzed the types of semantics propaganda used Hall's theory (2000) and the techniques of propaganda used Filene's theory (1937). Moreover, Bayram (2010) conducted the research in critical discourse especially in ideology and political discourse analysis of Erdogan's political speech; meanwhile this research conducted on semantic propaganda analysis of Erdogan's political speech.

C. Research Questions

Based on background of the study in the preceding discussion the following research questions are formulated as follows.

1. What are the types of semantic propaganda used by Recep Tayyip Erdoğan's political speeches?
2. What are the techniques of propaganda tool used by Recep Tayyip Erdoğan's political speeches?

D. Research Aims

In accordance with the research questions, the aims of the research are:

1. To identify the types of semantic propaganda used by Recep Tayyip Erdoğan's political speeches.
2. To investigate the techniques of propaganda tool used by Recep Tayyip Erdoğan's political speeches.

E. Scope of Study

In this research, the researcher focuses on identifying the types of semantic propaganda and discussing the techniques of propaganda tool used in 3 speeches of Recep Tayyip Erdoğan related to humanity issues. The first speech about Israel's attack on Aid Flotilla, delivered on June, 2nd 2010. The second speech that was held at Istanbul on 13th of December in 2017 in an OIC's meeting discussed about Jerusalem. The third, the speech on UN General Assembly – World Leaders Gather in New York For Annual Meeting, which was published on September, 26th 2018.

F. Significance of study

The significance of this research is divided into two, which are theoretical and practical. Theoretically, this research aims to give the contribution to interrelated field Critical Discourse Analysis. Practically, as the application towards the knowledge that I got since studying in English Department of State Islamic University of Ar-Raniry that can be used as a reference to the study of semantic propaganda and propaganda. This research can help the students who are concerned with the study of Critical discourse Analysis, and also for those who are interested in understanding speech in term of semantic propaganda as a way to spread ideas and point of view.

G. Research Terminologies

There are some terms need to be defined to avoid misunderstanding in this study:

1. Semantic Propaganda

According to Hall (2000) semantic propaganda is propaganda contained in a phenomenon that occurs between communicators and communicants in conveying intentions, information, or ideas that do not adequately represent something, thus, communicants must "fill in the gap" in their own mind (induction). However, propagandists exploit this phenomenon to convey their propaganda (Hall, 2000).

2. Political Speech

Political speech deals with matters of public concern when it can be fairly considered as relating to any matter of political, social, or other concern to the community. In this study, the researcher concerns political speeches relates to humanity issues.

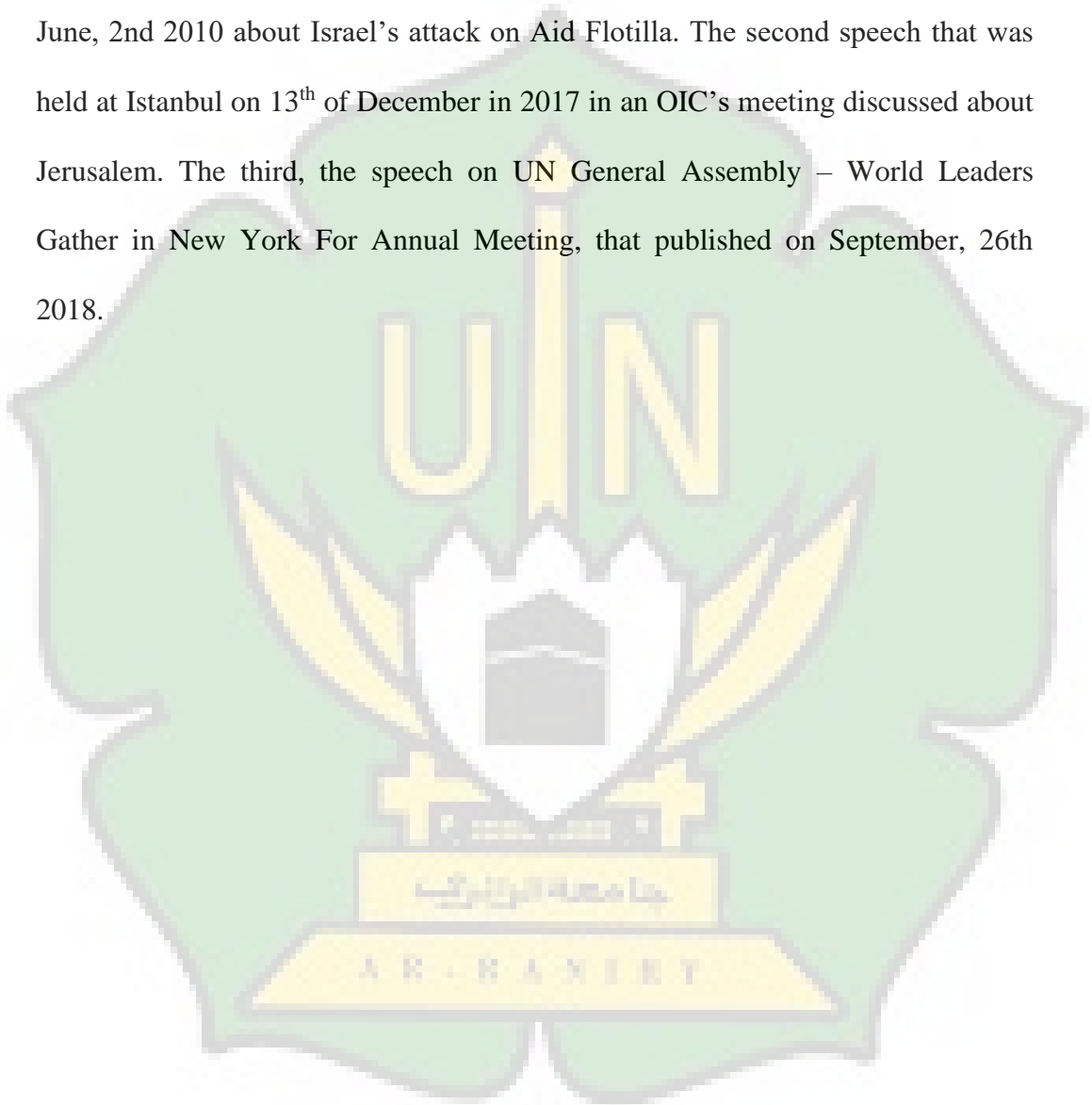
H. Research Methodology

1. Research Design

This study used descriptive qualitative research method. In analyzing the data, this study applied three steps. Firstly, the data were identified into types of semantic propaganda based on L. Michael Hall's (1998) theory. After that, the data were classified into general semantic by Korzybski's (1937) theory of interpretation in examining techniques of propaganda in order to make it clear what propagandist is trying to do. Finally, the researcher identified the techniques of propaganda based on Edward Filene's (1937) theory.

2. Research subject

The research subject of this study used 3 transcripts of the speech by Recep Tayyip Erdoğan which related to humanity issues. The first speech held on June, 2nd 2010 about Israel's attack on Aid Flotilla. The second speech that was held at Istanbul on 13th of December in 2017 in an OIC's meeting discussed about Jerusalem. The third, the speech on UN General Assembly – World Leaders Gather in New York For Annual Meeting, that published on September, 26th 2018.



CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

This chapter reviews some literature dealing with the focus of this study. It includes several concerns: propaganda, semantic peopaganda, understanding propaganda from general semantic, and propaganda tools in scope of President Recep Tayyip Erdogan's political speeches.

A. Propaganda

1. *The Definition of Propaganda*

Propaganda is a form of communication that aims at achieving a response that furthers the desired intent of the propagandist (Jowett & O'Dennell, 2012). Walton (1997, p.6) defines one aspect of propaganda is that, "by its very nature, it is designed to reach and influence a mass audience, and as such, it is a kind of technique that must appeal successfully to the emotions, commitments and enthusiasms of the people to win acceptance for a conclusion". Nevertheless, propaganda as a type of discourse does have certain characteristics that enable us to recognize it, or at least to use particular words to make certain intention and criticisms in everyday conversations and in academic arguments like in political science (Walton, 1997, p.3). According to Walton (1997), one of common ways to claim that an argument is propaganda or that may be described as propaganda is by criticizing arguments or evaluating them in a negative way that suggests that

the argument is not based on reliable evidence or rational argumentation, thus that it may be rejected as logically unconvincing to a rational person. Furthermore, according to Fitzmaurice (2018) propaganda emerges as being political and partisan in nature that its attempt to persuade a mass audience to conform to a particular point of view. Moreover, propaganda has been used as an instrument of controlling and conformity by the dominant power (fitzmaurice, 2018). Therefore, propaganda can be defined as an instrument used by a particular person or certain group to persuade or to control listeners' point of view.

2. *Techniques of Propaganda*

This study uses propaganda techniques proposed by a thinker, Edward Filene (1937). Filene (1937) identified seven techniques of propaganda which are name calling, glittering generalities, transfer, testimonial, plain folks, bandwagon, and card stacking used by propagandists (Smith, 2019). Filene (1937) as cited by Hobbs and McGee (2014) helped establish The Institute of Propaganda Analysis aiming at helping educate the American public and understanding the techniques by which propaganda is spread (Smith, 2019). According to Reisch (2014), The Institute of Propaganda Analysis (IPA) was a liberal organization that founded in 1937 by a group of liberal academics. To determine whether American politicians truly promoted democratic value, therefore, a group of liberal academics created IPA in order to evaluate the propagandas that inundated Americans (Reisch, 2014). However, even though Filene's (1937) theory of seven techniques of propaganda was created in 1937, his theory is still applied in 21st media literacy and become standard to recognize propaganda techniques (Hobbs & McGee,

2014). The following sections provide brief explanations of all seven techniques of propaganda proposed by Filene (1937), as cited in Crouch (2018, p.11-16).

a. Name Calling

Name calling technique uses negative or discriminatory words or labels in which propagandists provoke suspicion and prejudice. The goal is to create an overall dislike of a group of people, thus, verbally attacking their beliefs, institutions, leaders or religion is fair game.

Merinos (2010, p.10) offers words or labels such as “Terrosist”, “Nazi” or “A liar” used by propagandist to give a negative label to make a particular mass reject and condemn a particular person or group.

b. Glittering Generalities

Glittering generalities technique uses slogans or simple catchphrases by which propagandists make generalized statements attractive to their audience. Usually, these statements involve ideas of love, honor, glory, peace, family values, freedom, and patriotism that anything general is enough to inspire pride. These statements say very little, therefore they cannot be proved or disproved.

Hobbs & McGee (2014, p.59) illustrates how propagandist do propaganda by generalizing their statement in the sentence “what America needs is economic security for all”. In the statement, the propagandist generalized the mass by using the slogan to make generalized statements in order to agree with the slogan (Hobbs & McGee, 2014).

c. Transfer

Transfer technique is a transfer process associating a revered symbol with an idea the propagandist wants to promote. Likewise, if an idea can be linked with a flag, it has a greater chance of winning popular approval. The stir of emotions makes it difficult for people to clear their minds and think critically.

Transfer techniques propaganda can be seen in sentence “Major soft-drink brands were accused of having traces of pesticides a couple of years ago”. In this process, while these allegations were on the rise, during this same period, fruit juices and other drinks were able to do great business (Masud, 2019).

d. Testimonial

A testimonial technique makes an association between a respected or authoritative person and the effect of testimony. The hope is that the respected person will lead others to follow his ideas.

Fleming (1995, p.8) states that one of an example of testimonial technique is a positive statement from famous public figure toward a particular product. Obviously, this process would tend to influence the increasing of purchase toward the product (Fleming, 1995).

e. Plain Folks

The goal of this technique is to convince the audience that the spokesman is like them and he shares their woes and concerns. Using plain language and mannerisms, the spokesman is able to build trust by his followers.

“It is proverbial that political candidates always kiss babies.” (Hobbs & McGee, 2014, p.59) can explain the work of plain folk technique. In the sentence, the propagandist try to convince the mass that the political candidates is merciful people (Hobbs & McGee, 2014).

f. Bandwagon

Bandwagon technique aims to capitalize on the human to drive to be part of a particular mass. By creating the illusion that widespread support exists, the propagandist hopes those who are on the same mass will join the cause. If they refuse, this technique seeks to make them feel isolated.

An utterance “Everybody’s doing it” (Hobbs & McGee, 2014, p.59) can explain the Bandwagon technique. In that utterance, the propagandist used the word “everybody’ to make anyone listening to him to do a particular act ‘it’ (Hobbs & McGee, 2014).

g. Card Stacking

Card stacking technique is the technique which uses only the facts that support their ideas. In this technique, propagandists try to provoke people to believe their claim or argument. The aim of card stacking is making the audience to assume the facts as conclusive. By using this technique, propagandist might control the beliefs of his audience.

Hobbs and McGee (2014, p.59) illustrate an example of card stacking technique in sentence “In 1939, with unemployment still the serious issue in

America”. In this sentence, the propagandist blame the democrats for not ending the unemployment issue (Hobbs & McGee, 2014).

3. Understanding Propaganda From General Semantics

An American author, educator, media theorist, and cultural critic, Neil Postman (1979) points out that, “Propaganda” refers to use of language design to generate a certain kind of responses (Fleming, 1995). Meanwhile, Korzybski (1937) intended that General Semantics formulations and method would help the communication more clearly and immunize us against the changes in meaning, intentions, and ideas between communicator and communicant in communication (Fleming, 1995, p.3). But propagandist exploits such techniques to influence thinking in whatever direction they desire (Fleming, 1995, p.3). As Fleming (1995) states that, investigating basic propaganda techniques in term of the principles of General Semantics makes it clear what propagandist are trying to do and why their techniques work. Therefore, as propaganda is designed to create a certain kind of responses and general semantics theory makes it clear what propagandist’s intention, it can make the audience understand better and easier to recognize which propaganda technique that the propagandist applied.

a. The Six Basic of General Semantics by Korzybski (1937)

There are six basic of general semantics formulations which are proposed by Korzybski (1937). They are non-identified, non-allness, self-reflexiveness, probability principle, symbol-signal reaction, and extensionalization. The

following sections provide brief definitions of the six basic of general semantic proposed by Korzybski (1937), as cited in Steve (2008, p.7-13).

1) Non-identify

Non-identity is the term referring to the process in which propagandists make audience agree to the propagandists' intention. However, a particular thing or word that propagandists offer is not what it represents.

Fleming (1995, p.5) offers the label of "terrorist" as an example of non-identify term. The label of "terrorist" evokes negative feeling, and the propagandist hopes the audience will respond the same way to the particular group, eventhough, the group is not as they labeled (Fleming, 1995, p.5).

2) Non-allness

Non-allness is the term referring to the process in which propagandists offer things or words to audience that is sufficient to form opinion without realizing there is more to be said about the thing or the word.

As an example, in the label "terrorist" offered by Fleming (1995) in representing a particular group, the propagandist hopes that the label is sufficient for the audience to form opinion without realizing there is more to be said about the group (Fleming, 1995, p.5).

3) Self-reflexiveness

Self-reflexiveness is the term referring to the process in which peopagandists expect the audience to make reflexion or abstraction of a particular

thing or word that propagandists offer and hope the audience will respond the same toward it, as if it were good in supporting a particular thing or word.

Fleming (1995, p.5) states that, “in self-reflexiveness term, the propagandist hopes the audience will not see the label of “terrorist” as an abstraction of some behavior”. Eventhough the label is an abstract and as such is incomplete and inaccurate” (Fleming, 1995, p.5).

4) Probability principle

Probability principle is the term referring to the process in which propagandists try to create a permanent belief toward a particular thing that they label. According to Fleming (1995, p.5), probability principle term can be described as the situation where propagandist hopes the audience will assume that if the label “terrorist” fit once, it always will be accurate.

5) Symbol-signal reaction

Symbol-signal reaction refers to the process where propagandists need an automatic or unthinking response to a particular thing or word as if it was sufficient evidence of it. Regarding to the word “terrorist” mentioned before, the propagandists expect people to react automatically and negatively to the label “terrorist” without questioning the facts (Fleming, 1995, p.5).

6) Extensionalization

Extensionalization is the process in which propagandists hope the audience will neither ask whether things or words have any factual basis nor seek non-verbal evidences. According to Fleming (1995, p.5), extensionalization term

can be described as the hope of the propagandists that audience will neither ask whether the “terrorist” label has any factual basis and they will not also seek non-verbal evidence of the “terrorist” labelling.

B. Semantic Propaganda

According to Hall (1998), in communication, the recipient need to carry out further investigations of his observation towards conclusion due to the creative communication accepts pluralism and propagandist does not seem to do propaganda. In the realm of politics, politicians struggle for power in order to put certain political, economic and social ideas into practice. In this process, language plays one of crucial roles, for every political action is prepared, accompanied, influenced and played by language (Hall, 1998). Meanwhile, language can have "propagandistic" effects (Charteris & Black, 2005), but with the right knowledge, people can resist (Hall, 1998). As Hall (1998) analogizes language as a map of the territory of reality, it follows that the more distortions in language, the more inaccurately the map represents the territory. Distortion is a misrepresentation that makes something appear different from it really is (Boutron & Revard, 2018), which affects cognitive semantic (Rogers, Patterson, Jefferies & Ralph, 2015). Therefore, Hall (1998) adds that, Cognitive-semantic distortions (CSD) occur "naturally" in everyday communication that often cause misinterpretations, communication jams, or arguments, but propaganda intentionally loads language with CSD for particular effects. This normally works by the "map" so incorrectly representing the "territory" that the listeners have to fill in the gaps in their own minds, a process known as "induction" (Hall, 1998). Induction is a process of

reasoning or arguing which infers a general conclusion based on individual conclusion/case (Nordquist, 2019). Therefore, the propagandist often loads language with CSD that leads the people to have to fill in the gaps in their own perspectives in order to insert the propaganda intentionally.

1. Types of Semantic Propaganda

The linguists Grinder and Bandler (1975) developed the Meta Model forms the basis of Neuro-linguistic programming (Hall, 2000). Hall (2000) stated that the meta-model in NLP (Neuro-Linguistic Programming) or meta-model of therapy is a set of questions designed to specify information, challenge and expand the limits to a person's model of the world. It responds to the distortions, generalizations, and deletions in the speaker's language (Hall, 2000).

The Meta Model draws on transformational general semantics, the idea that language is a translation of mental states into words, and that in this translation, there is an unconscious process of deletion (not everything thought is said), process of distortion (assumptions and structural inaccuracies) and process of generalization (a change towards absolute statements) (Hall, 2000). Likewise in hearing, not everything said is acknowledged as heard (Hall, 2000). Therefore, Hall formatted the types of semantic propaganda by used the 3 main categories which are Deletion, Generalizations, and Distortions into 8 types, which are; (1) Deletion category included simple deletion and unspecified adjective, (2) Generalization category included simple generalization and modal operator, and (3) Distortions included simple distortion, complex equivalence, lost per-

formative, and presupposition (Hall, 2001). The following sections provide clear definition of the type of semantic propaganda proposed by Hall (2001, p.73-97).

a. *Simple Deletion*

Simple deletion is the type of semantic propaganda referring to the process in which using general or unspecific words for a specific purpose. The function of simple deletion is to criticize something and its effect is to generalize the audience's mind. It is supposed to be deleted or excluded. According to Hall (2001, p.74), the example of simple deletion can be described in the utterance "People say that America is the real evil". In this utterance, the word "People" is unspecified and its effect is to generalize the audience's mind to agree with the speaker, even though the audience do not know the word "people" refers to whom exactly (Hall, 2001).

b. *Unspecified Adjective (sub-category of Deletion)*

Unspecified adjective is the type of semantic propaganda referring to the adjective used by speakers that the definition of the adjective is unspecified or ambiguous. The purpose of using unspecified adjective is to let audience to define the adjective based on their point of view. According to Hall (2001, p.76), the example of unspecified adjective can be described in the sentence "The extreme views of many of demonstrators..." In this situation, people might have different perspective of the word "extreme" and they will define based on their point of view (Hall, 2001).

c. Simple Generalization

Simple generalization is the type of semantic propaganda referring to the process in which speaker generalizes the specific things as measurement to represent something. However, the measurement used by propagandists is not the only factor to represent that particular thing. According to Hall (2001, p.78), the example of simple generalization can be illustrated in utterance “without continued threat of force we will never make any progress”. In this utterance, the speaker states that to make some progress, they need to continue threat of force. The speaker offers that to continue threat of force is the only measurement to make some progress (Hall, 2001).

d. Modal Operator (sub-category of Generalization)

Modal operator is the type of semantic propaganda referring to the process of using the term “have to” and “must” to express speakers’ internal rules to influence audience to do what speakers said. In this process, speakers generalize that the particular rules applied to everyone. According to Hall (2001, p.79), the example of modal operator can be described in utterance “We have to act now!” or “We must not allow this to continue...”. In these utterances, the speaker hopes that everyone who hear the rules is obligatory to do.

e. Simple Distortion

Simple Distortion is the type of semantic propaganda which is a basic cause-effect distortion. In this simple distortion process, propagandists offer a cause that lead many effects in which propagandists do not mention the possible

effects. According to Hall (2001, p.82), the example of simple distortion can be described in utterance “Only Saddam can avert this war...” This example explains that, if Saddam not avert the war, it can be caused by many things, like a preference for avoiding mass slaughter (Hall, 2001).

f. Complex Equivalence (sub-category of Distortion)

Complex equivalence is the type of semantic propaganda which is the equivalence of two statements appearing complex and it is unstated by speaker. In this type, propagandists hope that audiences accept the equivalence of two statements as it is equal to be equated. According to Hall (2001, p.85), the example of complex equivalence can be illustrated in the following utterance; “They are always criticizing the president, they hate America...” In this utterance, Hall questions how criticism of a president equates with hatred of a country. In this example of complex equivalence, the utterances “They are always criticizing the president” and “They hate America” have different object, but the speaker makes the two statements appear equivalently (Hall, 2001).

g. Lost Per-formative (sub-category of Distortion)

Lost Per-formative is the type of semantic propaganda referring to the process of giving a judgment without explained the reason of why the speaker decides that judgment and not taking responsibility for that judgment (such as; necessary, inevitable, unavoidable). In this process, propagandists hope that audience agree and believe againts the judgment. Hall (2001, p.88) illustrates the example of lost per-formative in the utterance “The bombing is unfortunate, but it

is necessary”, “we don’t like doing it, but it’s inevitable”, or “we don’t want to kill civilians, but it’s unavoidable”. The first example is questionable, to what reason and standard the bombing is necessary, or in the second example, it is questionable, to which criteria it is inevitable and why, or the third example is questionable, who evaluates it as unavoidable (Hall, 2001, p.90).

h. Presupposition

Presupposition is the type of semantic propaganda referring to the process of using a silent assumption or unspoken paradigm. Propagandists used presupposition because they do not want to explain the detail reason of their statements and they hope audience make a worst or better assumption of their statements. According to Hall (2001, p.92), the example of presupposition can be described in utterance “If people knew the true extent of John’s brutality they would not question our decision.” In this utterance, the speaker hopes that without giving the detail reason of the decision, the audience make a silent assumption of how brutal John is.

C. Speech

Speech is an expression or ability to express thoughts and feeling by articulating sound (Hornby, 2009). As Elbow (2010) states in his article that is concerned with distinguishing between typical writing and speech, that speech is the complex language that comes out of our mouths without planning when we have a thought or feeling to share. Furthermore, according to Dipper and Pritchard (2017) speech refers to the use of spoken or written language in a social context.

In addition, in linguistics, the term of speech is a unit of language longer than a single sentence, such as a speech delivered by a president (Dipper & Pritchard, 2017). Based on the scholars defined the speech, it can be concluded that speech is bunch of words are tied in point of view of particular subject or issue that the speaker have developed to be spoken in front of the audience.

1. Political speech

According to Phelps (2019), political speech deals with matters of public concern when it can be fairly considered as relating to any matter of political, social, or other concern to the community. Furthermore, Phelps (2019) adds that political speech is thus a very broad category, it includes discussion of countless issues like taxes, world events, immigration, humanity, healthcare, race, religion, and candidates for office, and it can be expressed in a variety of media such as a president delivered a political speech about humanity issue. While according to Wells (2006) defined that, political speeches is expressions which comment on government action or speech that discuss public issues rather than the private conduct of an individual. In the other words, political speech can be defined as speech which commentary on matters of public benefit and concern.

According to Afshin (2016), political text or political speech helps with the accomplishment of several functions. As Bayram (2010) also recognized that, political discourse as a sub-category of speech in general, can be based on two criteria, which are functional and thematic. Furthermore, Henneberg (2007) adds that, it fulfills different functions due to different political activities and it is thematic because its topics are primarily related to politics such as political

activities, political ideas, and political relations (Katsara, 2016). For example, if the speech arranged to the election of president, consequently the function of the speech is to win the election and if the speech arranged relates to humanity issue, so the function of the speech is to inform the people about the particular issue in order to seek the solution. Therefore, political speech arranged based on the function and the purpose which regards to public issues that contain the importance of people. In this research, the researcher aims to the specific political speech in case of humanity issues which delivered by President Recep Tayyip Erdogan.

2. The Importance of Language in Political Speech

Nowadays, both political scientists and linguists take an interest in the study of the relationship between politics and language, but each side addresses different issues when investigating the relationship between them (Afshin, 2016). Moreover, Afshin (2016) states that the theories and method each side applies are different. As Schaffner (1997) explained that, while linguists are interested in the linguistic features employed by politicians to convey their messages to the people, political scientists are mainly concerned with the consequences or effects that follow political decisions and actions (Afshin, 2016). As Kulo (2009) explains that, whether their decision goes along with a political conviction or not, it is more likely based on communication through language. Within all types of political system, from autocratic, through oligarchic to democratic, leader have relied on the spoken word to convince others of the benefits that arise from their leadership (Charteris-Black, 2005). Therefore, this phenomenon can not be denied that in

realm of politics, it considers to language in convincing the people in order to gives the effect effectively.

However, political speech is typically made to convince and persuade the people, whether common people or politicians. Thus, political speech makers rely on and take advantage of the complex potentials of language (Rozina & Karapetjana, 2019). Besides, Bayram (2016) states that one of the ability of speaker in applying an appropriate language can lead to establish of unseen and interpersonal relation between the speaker and the intended audience which makes a speech more effective and persuasive. Moreover, language has a key role in the exchange of values in social life and transforming power into right and obedience into duty which may both create power and become an area where power can be applied (Bayram, 2016). Therefore, the effective language used in politics need to be concerned with the consequences or effects and used an appropriate word to persuade the people.

By studying language in circumstance where all its functions and variations are taken into consideration, it is possible to learn more about how perception, establishment, and identities are influenced by language (Nordquist, 2019). In political speeches during election campaigns, ideas and ideologies need be conveyed through language so that they are agreed upon the receivers as well as by others who may read or hear parts of the speech (Kulo, 2009). Moreover, Kulo (2009) adds that political speeches are composed by a team of professional speech writers, who are educated in the use of persuasive language. Concequently, in arranging political speeches, the speech writers need to consider in using

appropriate words to frame the circumstances to be conveyed the intents to the people well.

D. Recep Tayyip Erdoğan 's Profile

Recep Tayyip Erdoğan was born on February 26, 1954, in Istanbul with origins in Rize. He graduated from Kasımpaşa Piyale Primary School in 1965 and finished his secondary education at Istanbul Imam Hatip School in 1973. Mr. Erdoğan also obtained a diploma from Eyüp High School after having completed the requisite exams for additional courses. He graduated from the Faculty of Economics and Management of the University of Marmara in 1981.

As for the local elections held on March 27, 1994, Mr. Erdoğan was elected as Mayor of Metropolitan İstanbul. On December 12, 1997, while addressing the public in Siirt, Mr. Erdoğan read a poem from a book, which was recommended by the National Education Ministry and published by a state agency, and after that, he was sentenced to imprisonment for reading that poem. Thus, his term as mayor was ended.

After serving 4 months in prison, Mr. Erdoğan established the Justice and Development Party (AK Party) on August 14, 2001, with his friends as a result of the insistent demand from the public and the developing democratic process and he was elected Founding General Chair of the AK Party by the Council of Founders.

As the General Chairman of the AK Party, Mr. Erdoğan won a great victory during the parliamentary elections held on July 22, 2007, and established

the 60th government of the Republic of Turkey by winning 46.6 % of the votes and received the vote of confidence. Mr. Erdoğan, winning 49 % of the votes, arose triumphant at the end of the parliamentary elections held on June 12, 2011, and established the 61st government.

Mr. Erdoğan elected as the 12th President on August 10, 2014, and also the first President of the Republic of Turkey. Upon the approval of the constitutional amendment in a referendum on April 16 allowing the President to retain his/her party membership, he was elected at the 3rd Extraordinary Congress on May 21, 2017, as the Chairman of the AK Party, of which he is the founder.

Winning 52.59% of the votes, Mr. Erdoğan was re-elected President in the Presidential elections, held on June 24, 2018. After that, Mr. Erdoğan swore on July 9, 2018, as the first President of the Presidential System of Government, which Turkey switched to following the constitutional amendment that was adopted in the referendum on April 16, 2017 (source: www.tccb.gov.tr).

CHAPTER 3

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

This chapter discusses research methodology that was used to investigate the types of Semantic Propaganda and Propaganda Techniques of Recep Tayyip Erdoğan's political speeches. It includes four parts: research method, material of analysis, method of data collection, and data analysis.

A. Research Method

This study used descriptive qualitative approach. It is called descriptive qualitative research method because this research focuses on analyzing written material or document. As Johnson & Christensen (2004) define descriptive qualitative method as a research that relies primarily on the collection of qualitative data (non-numerical data such as words and pictures). To be specific, this study analyzed, interpreted, and formulated the patterns of Recep Tayyip Erdoğan's political speeches to examine the type of semantic propaganda and the techniques of propaganda in term of the principles of general semantics which are based on the rhetorical and ideological elements set by Korzybski (1937).

B. Material of Analysis

The data sources of the research used the transcript of the speech by Recep Tayyip Erdoğan. This study took three speeches' transcripts from official website which related to humanity issues. As experts say that Turkish president has given

diplomacy a new look by taking it away from a mere strategic thinking to humanism, which means appreciating ethical stance and emphasizing the value and agency of human beings (Musyaffa & Widadio, 2019). Furthermore, Erdoğan seemed concerned on humanity issues by oftenly becoming the first leader who responded against the humanity issues and he is very bold in stating in his speeches which made his speeches often went viral. Therefore, this study chose Erdoğan's speeches related to humanity issues as the choice speeches. The choice of the speeches; 1) speech held on June, 2nd 2010 in Istanbul about Israel's attack on Aid Flotilla; 2) speech that was held at Istanbul on 13th of December in 2017 in an OIC's meeting discussed about Jerusalem; 3) the speech on UN General Assembly – World Leaders Gather in New York For Annual Meeting, that published on September, 26th 2018 were the most posted on media.

C. Methods of Data Collection

As Johnson & Christensen (2004) mention that the data collection method is the collection of materials both script video and a video, this research used Recep Tayyip Erdoğan's political speeches transcripts. There were several steps in collecting the data. First, the researcher chose three transcripts of Recep Tayyip Erdoğan's political speeches that are related to humanity issues and downloaded it as the main source. Then, the script of each video was identified into the types of Semantic Propaganda. After that, it was classified into General Semantic theory by Korzybski (1937) interpretation to make it clear what propagandist try to do in using techniques of Propaganda.

D. Data Analysis

In this research, there are three analysis steps to analyze the data. Firstly, the data were identified into types of semantic propaganda based on Hall's (2001) theory. After that, the data were classified into general semantic by Korzybski's (1937) theory of interpretation in examining techniques of propaganda in order to make it clear what propagandist is trying to do. Finally, this study identified the techniques of propaganda based on Filene's (1937) theory. Following tables below are the examples of the data were analyzed.

Table 3.1

The Sample of Data Analysis

No.	Utterances	Types of Semantic Propaganda	Techniques of Propaganda
1.	"... was the terrorist attack against Turkey millitary trop at the Iskandar Naval base..."	Simple deletion	Name Calling
2.	We have taken the necessary steps with our friends in Turkey.	Lost per-formative	Plain Folks
3.	We have taken the necessary steps with our friends in Turkey.	Simple deletion	Plain Folks
4.	I urgently did the necessary steps.	Lost per-formative	Plain Folks
5.	Israel's attitude at this stage is being watched by the world's people ,...	Simple generalization	Bandwagon

CHAPTER 4

FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

In this chapter, findings and discussion of the types of semantic propaganda and the techniques of propaganda tool applied in Recep Tayyip Erdoğan's political speeches are presented. In findings section, there are three sections to answer research questions of this study; section 1 where all the data were classified into the types of semantic propaganda proposed by Hall (2001) were mentioned; section 2 where all the data of the techniques of propaganda proposed by Filene (1937) were mentioned; section 3 where the analyzing of semantic propaganda types and then examined them used general semantic theory proposed by Korzybski (1937) to investigate the techniques of propaganda tool used by Recep Tayyip Erdoğan.

A. Findings

1. *The Types of Semantic Propaganda*

Based on the findings, this study found that there were 54 semantic propaganda classified into 8 types of semantic propaganda Erdoğan used in his political speeches. There were 8 utterances of simple deletion, 11 utterances of lost per-formative, 8 utterances of simple generalization, 10 utterances of modal operator, 3 utterances of simple distortion, 4 utterances of unspecified adjective, 7 utterances of presupposition, and 3 utterances of complex equivalence. The total

types of semantic propaganda utterances in Erdoğan's political speeches were 54 utterances.

Tabel 4.1

The Data of Types of Semantic Propaganda

Types of Semantic Propaganda	Frequency Total	Percentage (%)
Simple Deletion	8	14,8 %
Lost-Performative	11	20,37 %
Simple Generalization	8	14,8 %
Modal Operator	10	18,5 %
Simple Distortion	3	5,55 %
Unspecified Adjective	4	7,4 %
Presuppotion	7	12,96 %
Complex Equivalence	3	5,55 %
Total Data	54	100%

As shown in the table, the most frequent type of semantic propaganda used by Erdoğan in his political speeches was lost-performative type. It was performed in 11 utterances or 20.37% out of the total number of the utterances in the speeches. The second most frequent semantic propaganda type Erdoğan used was modal operator type performed in 10 utterances or 18.5% out of the total number of the utterances in his speeches. Furthermore, the third most frequently semantic propaganda type Erdoğan used was simple deletion type performed in 8 utterances or 14.8% and simple generalization type that also was performed in 8 utterances or 14.8% out of the speeches. Then, Erdoğan used presupposition type in 7

utterances or 12.96% out of the utterances in his speeches. Next, Erdoğan used unspecified adjective type in 7 utterances or 7.4% out of the speeches. Lastly, the fewest types Erdoğan used were simple distortion and complex equivalence types in 3 utterances or 5.55% out of the speeches for each type. The explanation of semantic propaganda in Erdoğan's political speeches were explained in the discussion section.

2. *The Techniques of Propaganda*

Based on the findings, it was found that there were 60 utterances consisting of techniques of propaganda which classified into 6 techniques of propaganda applied in Erdoğan's political speeches. There were 11 utterances of name calling, 14 utterances of plain folks, 3 utterances of bandwagon, 13 utterances of glittering generalities, 18 utterances of card stacking, and 1 utterances of testimonial. The total of techniques propaganda utterances in the three of Erdoğan's political speeches were 60 data.

Tabel 4.2

The Data of Techniques Propaganda

Techniques of Propaganda	Frequency Total	Percentage (%)
Name Calling	11	18,3 %
Plain Folks	14	23,3 %
Bandwagon	3	5 %
Glittering Generalities	13	21,66 %
Card Stacking	18	30 %
Testimonial	1	1,66 %
Total Data	60	100%

The table showed that Erdoğan mostly used card stacking technique in his political speeches. It was performed in 18 utterances or 30% out of the total number of the utterances in the speeches. Moreover, plain folks technique was the second most propaganda's technique that was performed in 13 utterances or 21.66% out of the total of the utterances in the speeches, followed by glittering generalities technique that was performed in 13 utterances or 21.66% out of the total of the utterances in the speeches, name calling technique in 11 utterances or 18.3% out of the total of the utterances in the speeches. The fewest technique that Erdoğan used was bandwagon technique in 3 utterances or 5% out of the total of the utterances in the speeches.

3. *The Analysis of Semantic Propaganda*

In this section, I explained the representative of every type of semantic propaganda and techniques of propaganda, due to the semantic propaganda need to be interpreted used general semantic theory proposed by Korzybski (1937) to indicate the technique of propaganda.

Tabel 3.4

The Representative Data

No.	Utterances	Types of Semantic Propaganda	Techniques of Propaganda
1.	"The first of them was the terrorist attack against Turkey military trop at the Iskandar Naval base..."	Simple Deletion	Name Calling

2.	We have taken the necessary steps with our friends in Turkey.	Lost Per-formative	Plain Folks
3.	In terms of history of humanity this has been recorded as a major shame.	Simple Generalization	Bandwagon
4.	Thus I once again express that Israel must immediately lift the inhuman embargo against Gaza.	Unspecified Adjective	Name Calling
5.	Dear comrades, as you know, we prosecute together with Spain the Alliance of civilizations' work.	Simple Distortion	Plain Folks
6.	It is impossible to support a comprehension that does not esteem and respect the human and human rights.	Complex Equivalence	Card Stacking
7.	But it is not enough anymore to condemn only, we have to obtain results.	Modal Operator	Card stacking
8.	So if this is not terror accupation, what is it? Is there any other definition?	Presupposition	Card Stacking

1. Simple Deletion - Name Calling

a. Simple Deletion

Simple deletion is the type of semantic propaganda referring to the process in which using general or unspecific words. In this case, it is illustrated in Erdoğan's speech on Israel's Attack on Aid Flotilla on June 2nd, 2010 in Istanbul which was found in line 5. Erdoğan said that;

“The first of them was the terrorist attack against our military trop at the Iskenderun Naval base”.

In this utterance, Erdoğan used the word “terrorist”, in which it was confusing because it was unclearly stated to whom the word “terrorist” refers to. In this case, the audience were supposed not know whom the word “terrorist” refers to because Erdoğan did not say anything about the terrorist before. Consequently, the audience might have defined the word “terrorist” based on their own point of view. For example, some American might assume the terrorist was referred to Moslem because of the occurrence happened in Syria.

b. General Semantic Interpretation

In general semantic interpretation, the word “terrorist” can be interpreted in symbol-signal reaction because Erdoğan sounded like wanting his audience to react automatically and negatively to the label “terrorist” without questioning the evidence. It was appeared because he had not informed anything yet about the term “terrorist” before he gave the “terrorist” label to a particular group of people.

c. Name Calling

In this case, by labelling the word “terrorist” to a particular people, Erdoğan used the name calling technique of propaganda. It was indicated as name calling technique because he gave a negative label to the particular people who attacked against Turkey military trop at the Iskanderun Naval base in order to eavoke negative feeling of the audience.

2. *Lost-Performative – Plain Folks*

a. Lost-Performative

Lost-performative is the type of semantic propaganda referring to the process of giving a judgment without explained the reason of why the propagandist decides that judgment and not taking responsibility for that judgment. In this case, it is illustrated in Erdoğan’s speech on Israel’s Attack on Aid Flotilla on June 2nd, 2010 in Istanbul which was found in line 41. Erdoğan said that;

“We have taken the necessary steps with our friends in Turkey.”

In this utterance, Erdoğan gave a judgment by using the word “necessary” without explaining the reason of why he decided that judgment. It was confusing to what reason and standard the steps are necessary.

b. General Semantic Interpretation

In general semantic interpretation, it can be interpreted in extensionalization because Erdoğan sounded like hoping his audience to not ask

why it was said as important steps, what makes them important, or whether there are any improvement to the issue with the result that those steps are important.

c. Plain Folks

In this case, Erdoğan used plain folks technique of propaganda because he tried to build trust to his audience by saying the steps he took were important. In other words, by saying the steps were important, he tried to convince his audience that he have taken the important steps against the issue.

3. *Simple Generalization – Bandwagon*

a. Simple Generalization

Simple generalization is the type of semantic propaganda referring to the process in which propagandist generalizes the specific thing as measurement to represent something. However, the measurement used by propagandist is not the only factor to represent that particular thing. In this case, it is illustrated in Erdoğan's speech on Israel's Attack on Ais Flotilla on June 2nd, 2010 in Istanbul which was found at between line 92-97. Erdoğan said that;

“Regrettably I must say, the incidents which occurred yesterday, in terms of humanity's collective civilisation and culture have been a black mark. In terms of history of humanity **this has been recorded as a major shame**. Attacking humanitarian aid ships with arms, to massacre innocent people, treating civilians as terrorists is in terms of humanity a great defeat. A despicably cowardly and vicious act of presumption that is recklessness and dauntless.”

In this utterance, Erdoğan generalized this particular attacked which is conducted by Israel against humanitarian aid ships is a major shame in terms of history of humanity. It is included in simple generalization type of semantic

propaganda because this attacked stated as a major shame of history of humanity without appeared any assessment that this attacked become a major shame. As if that attacked is the only measurement to be measured without giving any details of why it is recorded as a major shame.

b. General Semantic Interpretation

In general semantic interpretation, it can be interpreted in self-reflexiveness because Erdoğan hoped that the audience will respond to the "similarity" abstraction as if it were a complete, objective assessment of the case in recording this attacked as a major shame of the history of humanity.

c. Bandwagon

In this case, Erdoğan used bandwagon technique of propaganda because he sounded like hoped that his audience will respond the "similarity" abstraction that this attacked is a major shame of the history of humanity is a objective assessment. As bandwagon technique aimed to capitalize on the audience to drive to be part of the agreement that this attacked is a major shame of history of humanity by creating that statement.

4. Unspecified Adjective – Name Calling

a. Unspecified Adjective

Unspecified adjective is a type of semantic propaganda referring to the adjective used by propagandist that the definition of the adjective is unspecified or ambiguous in which the purpose of using unspecified is to let audience to define the adjective based on their point of view. In this case, it is illustrated in

Erdoğan's speech on Israel's Attack on Ais Flotilla on June 2nd, 2010 in Istanbul which was found in line 85. Erdoğan said that;

“Thus, I once again express that Israel must immediately lift the inhuman embargo against Gaza.”

In this utterance, Erdoğan used the word “inhuman” to explain the embargo that happen in Gaza. The word “inhuman” which used by Erdoğan is unspecified or ambiguous because in this situation, people might have different perspective of the word “inhuman” and they will define it based on their perspective regards to the word “inhuman”. It is can be not as worst as they think, but the propagandist wanted the listeners to think the word “inhuman” as the worst thing.

b. General Semantic Interpretation

In general semantic interpretation, the word “inhuman” can be interpreted in non-allnes because Erdoğan sounded like he wanted that the word “inhuman” was sufficient to form the audiences' worst opinion without realizing there were more to be said about the word inhuman, such as the way how Israel do embargo against Gaza.

c. Name Calling

In this case, Erdoğan used name calling technique of propaganda because he gave a negative word to illustrate how worst Israel against Gaza. He tried to avoke the audience to react negatively toward Israel.

5. *Simple Distortion – Plain Folks*

a. Simple Distortion

Simple distortion is the type of semantic propaganda referring to the process in which propagandist offers a cause that lead many effects. In this process, propagandist do not mention those possible effects. In this case, it is illustrated in Erdoğan’s speech on Israel’s Attack on Ais Flotilla on June 2nd, 2010 in Istanbul which was found in line 88. Erdoğan said that;

“Dear comrades, as you know, we prosecute together with Spain the Alliance of civilizations’ work.”

In this utterance, it can be seen that Erdoğan offered possible effect might come by prosecuting the Alliance of civilizations’ work together with Spain. In fact, Erdoğan did not mention possible effect that might happen due to the step that he taken.

b. General Semantic Interpretation

In general semantic interpretation, the utterance can be interpreted in non-allnes. As non-allnes definition which propagandist offers things or words to audience that is sufficient to form opinion without realizing there is more to be said about the thing or word, Erdoğan hoped that by persecuting the Alliance of civilizations’ work together with Spain is enough to form public’s opinion that there is possible effect might happen without saying it.

c. Plain Folks

In this case, by saying the utterance “Dear comrades, as you know, we prosecute together with Spain the Alliance of civilizations’ work.”, Erdoğan hoped to be able to build trust on his listeners. In this utterance, Erdoğan sounded like to try to convince the listeners by persecuting the Alliance of civilizations’ work together with Spain is the right step in this issue. Therefore, it is indicated as plain folks technique.

6. Complex Equivalence – Card Stacking

a. Complex Equivalence

Complex equivalence is the types of semantic propaganda which is the equivalence of two statements appearing complex and it is unstated by propagandist. In this type, propagandist hopes that the audiences accept the equivalence of two statement as it is equal to be aquated. In this case, it is illustrated in Erdoğan’s speech on Israel’s Attack on Ais Flotilla on June 2nd, 2010 in Istanbul which was found in line 151. Erdoğan said that;

“It is impossible to support a comprehension that does not esteem and respect the human and human rights.”

In this utterance, it can be seen that people who do not respect the human and human rights is impossible to support a comprehension towards Erdoğan’s speech. This statements appeared complex because how does the people who do not respect the human and human rights impossible to support the comprehension.

b. General Semantic Interpretation

By stating “It is impossible to support a comprehension that does not esteem and respect the human and human rights” as a complex equivalence type, Erdoğan sounded like he tried to create a permanent beliefs toward the statements as it is equal to be aquated. In this process, Erdoğan hoped the audience assumed that if this statement fit once, it always will be accurate.

c. Card Stacking

In this case, it is indicated that Erdoğan used card stacking technique of propaganda because it is sounded like he used statement “It is impossible to support a comprehension that does not esteem and respect the human and human rights” as it is fact, in order to make his audience to assume that fact as a conclusive statement. Therefore, by stating this statement, Erdoğan might control the beliefs of his audience in bad side.

7. *Modal Operator – Card Stacking*

a. Modal Operator

Modal operator is the type of semantic propaganda referring to the process of using the term “have to” and “must” to express speaker’s internal rules to influence audiences to do what speaker said. In this process, speaker generalizes that the particular rules applied to everyone. In this case, it is illustrated in Erdoğan’s speech on Israel’s Attack on Ais Flotilla on June 2nd, 2010 in Istanbul which was found at between line 203-204. Erdoğan said that;

“...but it is not enough anymore to condemn only, we **have to** obtain results.”

In this utterance, Erdoğan stressed his utterance by saying “have to” which its aim that it is obligatory for all of the people who heard the speech. As modal operator which the process of using the term “have to” or “must” to express speakers’ internal rules to influence audience to do what speakers said, therefore, the stressing of this utterance by using “have to” indicated as modal operator.

b. General Semantic Interpretation

In general semantic interpretation, the utterance “...but it is not enough anymore to condemn only, we have to obtain results “ can be interpreted in extensionalization. It is interpreted used extensionalization because Erdoğan sounded like he wanted his audience applied the internal rules, without asking why the audience to do that rule.

c. Card Stacking

In this case, by stressing the suggestion by using the term “have to”, Erdoğan tried to provoke his audience to belief his claim that it is not enough anymore to condemn only, but obtaining results are needed. Moreover, this utterance illustrated as if the condemnation is nor enough anymore due to Israel did the same thing againts Palestine. Therefore, he suggested a change that can make the issue obtained a result. As the result, by saying this utterance, he aimed to provoke thne people to believe his claim.

8. *Presupposition – Card Stacking*

a. Presupposition

Presupposition is the type of semantic propaganda referring to the process of using a silent assumption or unspoken paradigm. Propagandist used

presupposition because they do not want to explain the detail reason of his particular statement and he hopes audiences make a worst or better assumption of his statement. In this case, it is illustrated in Erdoğan's speech on OIC's meeting discussed about Jerusalem in 2017 which was found at between line 35-36. Erdoğan said that;

“So if this is not terror occupation, what is it? Is there any other definition?”

This utterance can be indicated as presupposition. It is indicated as presupposition because Erdoğan sounded like he gave a silent assumption by saying “So if this is not terror occupation, what is it?”. The focus of this utterance was the utterance “what is it?” in which Erdoğan made the listeners' assumption worst. As this statement potentially provoke the listeners' assumption worst.

b. General Semantic Interpretation

The utterance “So if this is not terror occupation, what is it? Is there any other definition?” can be interpreted in self reflexiveness. It is interpreted in self reflexiveness because Erdoğan wanted his audience to make reflexion of his statement. Erdoğan hoped that it is a good utterance in supporting the listeners' assumption become worst.

c. Card Stacking

In this case, it is called card stacking technique because Erdoğan tried to provoke his audience to believe his claim and tried to make his claim stronger by giving reflexion used the words “what is this”. Due to this process, the audience

might assume the claim as conclusive claim. Therefore, it is indicated as card stacking technique.

B. Discussions

The aim of this study are to know what are the types of semantic propaganda used Hall's (2001) theory and the techniques of propaganda used Filene's (1937) theory on Recep Tayyip Erdoğan's political speeches. Due to semantic propaganda used such as ambiguous words, to make the correlation between the types of semantic propaganda in order to indicate what techniques of propaganda used by Erdoğan's exactly, this study examined them used general semantic theory proposed by Korzybski (1937) in order to make the investigation stronger in indicating which technique semantic propaganda lead to.

Based on the findings, this study found that, there were 54 of semantic propaganda which classified into 8 types of semantic propaganda applied in Erdoğan's political speeches. There were; 8 data of simple deletion type, 11 data of lost per-formative, 8 data of simple generalization, 10 data of modal operator, 3 data of simple distortion, 4 data of unspecified adjective, 7 data of presupption, and 3 data of complex equivalence.

The second finding was the number of the techniques of propaganda used the theory proposed by Filene (1937). This study found that, there were 60 data of techniques of propaganda which classified into 6 techniques of propaganda applied in Erdoğan's political speeches. There were 11 data of name calling, 14 data of plain folks, 3 data of bandwagon, 13 data of glittering generalities, 18 data of card stacking, and 1 data of testimonial.

As this study showed the type of semantic propaganda that Erdoğan mostly used in his three chosen speeches was lost-performative type. It was showed that in giving statements in his speeches, Erdoğan did not explained further against his statements as if his audience do not need the explanation and agree towards his statements. However, Erdoğan's good reputation able to build trust among his audience and able to drive their opinion easily to what his desire.

Furthermore, this study showed the technique of propaganda that Erdoğan mostly used in his three chosen speeches was card stacking technique. It was showed that Erdoğan offered facts or evidences to support his ideas or arguments to provoke his audience to believe his ideas or arguments. As the aim of card stacking is making the audience to assume the facts as conclusive, therefore, Erdoğan seems like used this technique to make his ideas or arguments stronger that might control the beliefs of his audience.

This study relates to the previous studies was conducted by Ayidin (2016) entitled *The Propaganda Speeches of 2014 Presidential Bids with Discourse Analysis of Van Dijk*. His study analyzed the propaganda on Recep Tayyip Erdoğan's political speeches used Van Dijk's theory while this study analyzed the propaganda techniques used Filene's theory. Meanwhile, the framework of analyzing the data, this study relates to the previous study was conducted by Fleming (1995) entitled *Understanding Propaganda From A General Semantic Perspective*.

Based on the discussion above, this study can be used as a reference to the study of semantic propaganda and propaganda. This research can help the students who are concerned with the study of critical discourse analysis, and also for those who are interested in understanding speech in term of semantic propaganda as a way to spread ideas and point of view.



CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATION

This chapter consists of conclusion and recommendations of the study. In this section, the data analysis and the result discussion is summarized. Moreover, some recommendations are recommended for future works related to the study that could be conducted by other future researchers.

A. Conclusions

This study was conducted to identify the types of semantic propaganda and to investigate the techniques of propaganda tool used by Recep Tayyip Erdoğan's political speeches. In identifying the types of semantic propaganda, this study used Hall's theory (2001) and in investigating the techniques of propaganda used the theory proposed by Filene (1937). To make the correlation between the types of semantic propaganda in order to indicate what techniques of propaganda used by Erdoğan's exactly, this study examined them using general semantic theory proposed by Korzybski (1937) in order to make the investigation stronger in indicating which technique semantic propaganda lead to.

The speeches were analyzed were the three chosen speeches related to humanity issues. The first speech about Israel's attack on Aid Flotilla, delivered on June, 2nd 2010. The second speech that was held at Istanbul on 13th of December in 2017 in an OIC's meeting discussed about Jerusalem. The third, the

speech on UN General Assembly – World Leaders Gather in New York For Annual Meeting, which was published on September, 26th 2018.

The first finding was the number of the types of semantic propaganda based on Hall's (2001) theory found in the three chosen speeches. This study found that, there were 54 of semantic propaganda which classified into 8 types of semantic propaganda applied in Erdoğan's political speeches. There were; 8 data of simple deletion type, 11 data of lost per-formative, 8 data of simple generalization, 10 data of modal operator, 3 data of simple distortion, 4 data of unspecified adjective, 7 data of presupposition, and 3 data of complex equivalence.

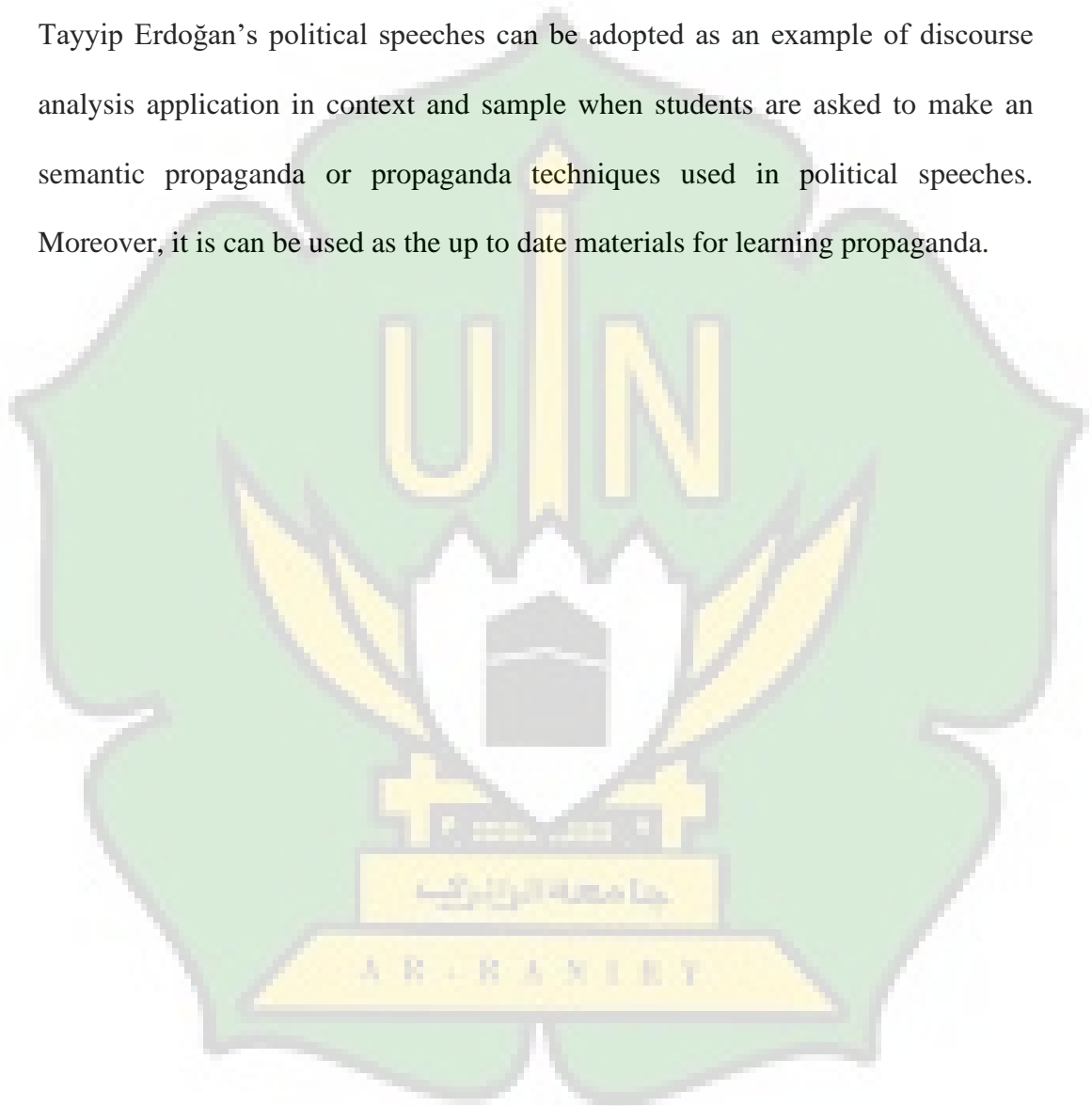
The second finding was the number of the techniques of propaganda used the theory proposed by Filene (1937). This study found that, there were 60 data of techniques of propaganda which classified into 6 techniques of propaganda applied in Erdoğan's political speeches. There were 11 data of name calling, 14 data of plain folks, 3 data of bandwagon, 13 data of glittering generalities, 18 data of card stacking, and 1 data of testimonial.

B. Recommendation

Regarding to the propaganda of Recep Tayyip Erdoğan's three political speeches, firstly, I intend to recommend various points of view to be conducted by future researchers. Further studies may use different analytical theories to facilitate the research framework. As the researcher did not analyze all aspects of the semantic propaganda theories except from Hall's theory (2001) and techniques

of propaganda theories except from Filene (1937; Hobbs & McGee, 2014). Therefore, for future researchers were allowed to broaden the topics examined.

Secondly, the results of the analysis of semantic propaganda of Recep Tayyip Erdoğan's political speeches can be adopted as an example of discourse analysis application in context and sample when students are asked to make an semantic propaganda or propaganda techniques used in political speeches. Moreover, it is can be used as the up to date materials for learning propaganda.



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Data of Semantic Propaganda and Techniques of Propaganda

No .	Utterances	Types of Semantic Propaganda	Techniques of Propaganda
1.	The first of them was the terrorist attack against Turkey military trop at the Iskandar Naval base. [speech: 1 line: 5]	Simple Deletion	Name Calling
2.	We have taken the necessary steps with our friends in Turkey. [speech: 1 line: 45-46]	Lost Per-formative	Plain Folks
3.	We have taken the necessary steps with our friends in Turkey. [speech: 1 line: 45-46]	Simple Deletion	Plain Folks
4.	I urgently did the necessary steps. [speech: 1 line: 52]	Lost Per-formative	Plain Folks
5.	Israel's attitude at this stage is being watched by the world's people ,... [speech: 1 line: 88-89]	Simple Generalization	Bandwagon
6.	..., the public opinion is forming its views. [speech: 1 line: 89]	Simple Generalization	Bandwagon
7.	As you know , during that time, we were in our America program. [speech :1 line: 42]	Simple distortion	Plain Folks

8.	Due to this abhorrent terrorist attack which occurred in Hatay... [speech 1 line: 42-43]	Unspecified Adjective	Name Calling
9.	Now, they must inform to the world... [speech 1 line: 86-87]	Modal Operator	Glittering Generalities
10.	...and they must no refrain from international cooperation. [speech 1 line: 87]	Modal Operator	Glittering Generalities
11.	Israel must understand the seriousness of the situation... [speech 1 line: 88]	Modal Operator	Glittering Generalities
12.	...and Israel must stop committing actions such as this that are wrong. [speech 1 line: 88-89]	Modal Operator	Glittering Generalities
13.	...to show the necessary reaction and sensitivity. [speech 1 line: 94-95]	Lost Per-formative	Plain Folks
14.	Thus I once again express that Israel must immediately lift the inhuman embargo against Gaza. [speech 1 line: 95-96]	Modal Operator	Glittering Generalities
15.	Thus I once again express that Israel must immediately lift the inhuman embargo against Gaza. . [speech 1 line: 95-96]	Unspecified Adjective	Name Calling

16.	Dear comrades, as you know , we prosecute together with Spain the Alliance of civilizations' work. [speech:1 line:98-99]	Simple Distortion	Plain Folks
17.	...that different religions, different civilisations and cultures can live in peace and tolerance together. [speech:1 line: 99-101]	Lost per-formative	Glittering Generalities
18.	It is a struggling so that instead of hatred and animosity, love will dominate. [speech:1 line: 101-102]	Lost per-formative	Glittering Generalities
19.	In terms of history of humanity this has been recorded as a major shame . [speech:1 line: 104-105]	Simple Generalization	Bandwagon
20.	...treating civilians as terrorists... [speech:1 line: 106-107]	Unspecified Adjective	Name Calling
21.	A despicable cowardly and vicious act of presumption that is recklessness and dauntless . [speech:1 line: 107-108]	Presupposition	Name Calling
22.	...at the same time they trample humanity under their feet, they abandon humanity. [speech:1 line: 114-115]	Presupposition	Name Calling
23.	...the international	Modal Operator	Glittering

	community must investigate this incident in all dimensions... [speech:1 line: 125-126]		Generalities
24.	...and they must give the legal response. [speech:1 line: 125-127]	Modal Operator	Glittering Generalities
25.	I do so believe , those Israeli people who watched this bloody attack in tears... [speech:1 line: 134-135]	Presupposition	Plain folks
26.	It is impossible to support a comprehension that does not esteem and respect the human and human rights. [speech:1 line: 172-173]	Complex Equivalence	Card Stacking
27.	A state considering the security of its own people can not achieve this by obtaining the hate and hostility of the whole world with their actions. [speech:1 line: 174-175]	Complex Equivalence	Card Stacking

28.	An administration that does not esteem others as humans except its own people can not have a concern called peace. [speech:1 line: 176-177]	Complex Equivalence	Card Stacking
29.	All people on the earth condemn this as a clear cruelty, I know this. [speech:1 line: 229]	Lost Per-formative	Card Stacking
30.	But it is not enough anymore to condemn only, we have to obtain results. [speech:1 line: 229-230]	Modal Operator	Card stacking
31.	I believe that , no country considering human values and virtues, no international institution will just watch a murder of these dimensions. [speech:1 line: 239-241]	Lost Per-formative	Card Stacking
32.	Israel, who shot a bullet on innocence and mercy people has chosen with this murder in the open sea... [speech:1 line: 259-261]	Unspecified Adjective	Glittering Generalities
33.	This attack was one more time clearly proved the inhuman oppression and cruelty of Israel for years has	Simple Generalization	Card Stacking

	<p>been using regarding to Palestine and Gaza. [speech:1 line: 219-221]</p>		
34.	<p>It is going to be very important for us to forge a close solidarity and cooperation in the field of fighting terrorism ... [speech:2 line: 29-31]</p>	Lost Per-formative	Plain Folks
35.	<p>...and all the other terrorist organizations in the region. [speech:2 line: 31-33]</p>	Simple Deletion	Name Calling
36.	<p>We are committed to fight all forms of terrorism without any descrimination whatsoever that impose a clear and a present threat upon our future. [speech:2 line: 33-35]</p>	Simple Deletion	Name Calling
37.	<p>There is no place for terrorist organizations in the future of our region. [speech:2 line: 34-35]</p>	Simple Deletion	Name Calling
38.	<p>We know that by the help of the new US administration leaves hope that there are hopes will not be lost in vain. [speech:2 line:</p>	Simple Generalization	Testimonial

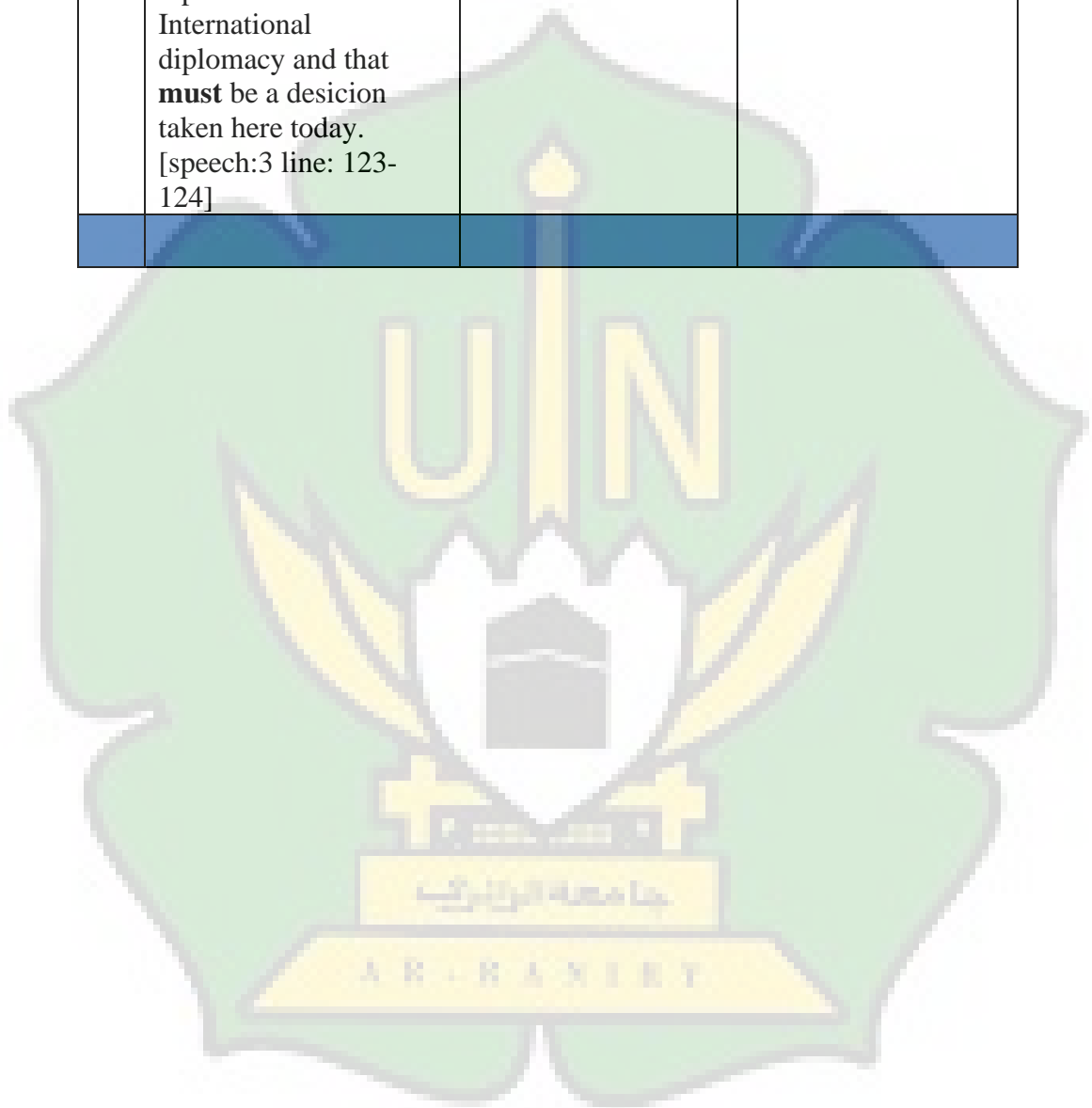
	49-51]		
39.	We found that it was the most necessary answer to be given to the syirian regime, especially in the aftermath of the recent chemical attack that took place. [speech:2 line: 51-53]	Lost Per-formative	Plain Folks
40.	I would like to thank everyone who ecepted my invitation and participated in this important meeting. [speech:3 line: 7-8]	Lost Per-formative	Plain Folks
43.	This shows that Israel is stay on the occupation. [speech:3 line: 35]	Simple Generalization	Card Stacking
44.	In addition, today Israel is state of Terror... [speech:3 line: 35-36]	Presupposition	Name Calling
45.	10 years old children are taken by terrorist soldiers and put inside cages,... [speech:3 line: 37-38]	Simple Deletion	Name Calling
46.	14 years old children are taken and blind floaded by 20 soldiers or police and they are hit, beaten... [speech:3 line: 38-39]	-	Card Stacking

47.	on the other side, small child, the mother is hugging the girl and in that same photo you see that the mother is being beaten by the (rivelbots) and the girl is being taken from her. [speech:3 line: 39-41]	-	Card Stacking
48.	So if this is not terror accupation, what is it? Is there any other definition? [speech:3 line: 41-42]	Presupposition	Card Stacking
49.	As you can see, here around 20 soldires are taking away a 14 years old boy who has been blind folded and his face is in blood. [speech:3 line: 43-45]	-	Card Stacking
50.	So what else should we talk to you Mr.Trump? everything is clear. [speech:3 line: 45-46]	Presupposition	Card Stacking
51.	We do not need to say anything to Israel, the facts are out there, they know already. [speech:3 line: 46-47]	Presupposition	Card Stacking
52.	So with this desicion, or occupation or illegal sattelment or destroying homes or displacing people or sizing their property	-	Card Stacking

	<p>and land and disportion at violence, which is carry out by Israel is being almost awarded for it sections and this award is given by Trump. [speech:3 line: 47-51]</p>		
53.	<p>You may make the desicion like this on your own, but the world does not consist of ommit you. [speech:3 line: 51-52]</p>	-	Glittering Generalities
54.	<p>Iam saying this comfortably because I already discussed this with team. [speech:3 line: 61-62]</p>	Simple Deletion	Card Stacking
55.	<p>We have seen the same in Syria, they have sided with YPC in terror group in order to fight againts ISIS. I am saying this comfortably because I already discussed this with team. Why? because you can not destroy one terror group with help from another terror group. [speech:3 line: 60-63]</p>	Simple Deletion	Card Stacking
56.	<p>Only in nortnen Syria more than 4000 trucks of weapons and imminision have been transfered. So why did so much</p>	-	Card Stacking

	weapons arriving in northern Syria, why they are abroad here, in order to give support to the terror groups there. [speech:3 line: 63-66]		
57.	Other problems in the region can never make us forget the issues in Palestine. [speech:3 line: 68-69]	Simple Generalization	Plain Folks
58.	Without fair findings and sustainable solution to the Palestine issue, we can not talk about a sustainable peace in stability in the region. [speech:3 line: 69-70]	Simple Generalization	Plain Folks
59.	This issue such a sure step againsts law and against conciousness and they also harm the trust towards International Community until UN. [speech:3 line: 70-72]	Lost Per-formative	Plain Folks
60.	My brothers, the desicion of the US about Jerusalem by International Law is also leads a heavy blow on our civilization. [speech:3 line: 73-75]	Simple Distortion	Plain Folks
61.	Those who make desicion which is violate the saintity of jerusalem, must take a	Modal Operator	Glittering Generalities

	little lesson from jerusalem. [speech:3 line: 82-83]		
62.	Palestine must be represented better in International diplomacy and that must be a desicion taken here today. [speech:3 line: 123- 124]	Modal Operator	Glittering Generalities



**Speech 1: Recep Tayyip Erdoğan's Speech on Israel's Attack on Aid Flotilla
(June 2nd, 2010)**

Today I do not only want to speak to my dear people but to all of humanity.

I want to call to the conscience and hearts and minds of the whole of humanity, I would like to share courageously my feelings.

Yesterday, in the darkest moment of the night two bloody attacks occurred.

5 **The first of them was the terrorist attack against our military troop at the Iskenderun Naval Base.** In this malicious, vicious attack six of our soldiers died, and they have become martyrs. Seven of our soldiers have been injured.

10 The second, at dawn in the waters of the Mediterranean Sea, the heart of humanity has taken one of her heaviest wounds in history. The aid ships, from the humanitarian heart, these flowing aid ships have been hindered with guns, by violence, despotism.

They, who with mercy, compassion and humaneness, loaded onto these ships, they could not reach their place of destination, they were wrecked in carnage.

15 Yesterday, beginning in the morning hours, armed elements of the Israeli Army stopped humanitarian aid being brought to the Gazan people, from more than 32 countries, with 600 people inside carried by the Free Gaza Flotilla, in international waters, in an absolutely illegal way did they attack, spilling the blood of innocent humans.

20 At this violent attack, resulting in casualties and persons being wounded, the humanitarian aid ships were seized and sequestered. This inhuman attack against those women, young people, religious functionaries that the ship was carrying, I do one more time strongly, severely condemn.

25 I have declared in Chile. Here I do stress it one more time. The bloody massacre of Israel, brought against the ships bringing humanitarian aid to Gaza is a massacre deserving of any kind of curse and condemnation. This is openly an attack against international law, against the heart of humanity, against world peace; I say against the heart of humanity, for, on those ships were people from all nations, all religions. People alone and they only were bringing humanitarian aid to those under blockade, embargo, to the people in Gaza. The ships, before they
30 left openly declared to the entire world their cargo, their intention, their mission. As witness to this openly humanitarian aid from the world and our country 60 journalists have entered the ships as well. In international waters, in open sea, this armed attack against 600 people and 6 ships which were carrying aid to oppressed people, poor people, to starved people, to people whose homes were destroyed –
35 this was openly an attack against the basic philosophy of the United Nations.

The ships which set sail, be it from Turkey be it from other countries, were completely stocked to carry out the humanitarian purpose, having aid material. They were, according to international traffic rules, strictly controlled. At the same time on the ships were no other passengers than civilians and aid volunteers. The ships were flying white flags. Despite all those conditions the ships were subject to an armed attack.

As you know we were during that time on our Latin America program. Due to this abhorrent terrorist attack which occurred in Hatay and Israel's illegal attack against aid ships, we had to cut our work sort in Chile and return to our country. From the very first moment we had been watching the events closely. **We have taken the necessary steps with our friends in Turkey.** Yesterday morning at 6:30, deputy Bülent Arınç, together with related ministers and administration representatives, organised an evaluation meeting in which we have considered the issue in all its dimensions. Our Foreign Ministry, our intelligence units, related establishments and armed forces have been monitoring the issue very closely.

Our Minister of Foreign Affairs and our Minister of Defense, talking on the phone with Israel's Minister of Defense, forcefully put forth our reaction and sensitivities. And I, together with my ministers, evaluating the events during the entire night, have been continuously in contact with Turkey. On the other hand I have established contacts with the international community and for now this process continues. In this framework, I have put on the table everything necessary to do in all the dimensions of this situation. **I urgently did the necessary steps.** The Republic of Turkey is using all possibilities, every chance made available by international law and diplomacy. And Turkey will keep using it. In this framework, Turkey's ambassador to Tel Aviv has been called back. Three joint military operations which were on the agenda have been cancelled. Our Minister of Foreign Affairs went to New York and The UN Security Council has been called for an urgent meeting and it was ensured that there would be an urgent, extraordinary meeting. The UN Security Council has made a statement condemning Israel. It has been pointed out in the statement the need to open an investigation, to set free immediately the civilians and the injured. The matches of our youth football team have been cancelled. NATO's Council has been called for an extraordinary meeting. Furthermore, the Organisation of Islamic Conference, the Arab League, European Union and all related establishments have been contacted, international institutions have been called to duty. The Organisation of Islamic Conference will hold a meeting on Monday.

Primarily, the safety and security of the convoy and our citizens in the convoy has to be ensured. Necessities to ensure the treatment of the injured are being taken care of. Israel has said: "Let us send the injured to you." We have replied that we have the will and power to take our injured ourselves, and we have refused this offer. Two military ambulance aircrafts have taken off to bring our injured back. And now, they shall be taking our injured, and then returning to this destination. With civil aircraft the Ministry of Health is about to arrive there. To the Israeli

80 Ambassador, who was summoned to the Foreign Ministry, a call was made to demand the immediate return of the citizens of the Turkish Republic, and setting the captured ships free.

Further, all efforts to attend to the treatment of the injured, bringing them to Turkey, have been made and in our country all measures have been taken. Israel, 85 hindering the international community's access to information from the first moment of the incident, **now must inform the world public opinion in a truthful way, and they must not refrain from international cooperation. Israel must understand the seriousness of the situation and must stop committing actions such as this that are wrong. Israel's attitude at this stage is being watched by the world's people, the public opinion is forming its views.** Those who are affiliated with the effort are in touch and are coordinating with the countries whose citizens are in the flotilla. 90

The ships fly the flags of Turkey, Greece and the Comoros Islands, there are people from 32 countries involved. I expect those countries, too, **to show the necessary reaction and sensitivity. Thus I once again express that Israel must immediately lift the inhuman embargo against Gaza.** [15 seconds applause]. 95 Israel must not hinder that the humanitarian aid reaches its destination.

Dear comrades, as you know, we prosecute together with Spain the Alliance of Civilisations' work. Our goal and mission is to reinforce the conviction **that different religions, different civilisations and cultures can live in peace and tolerance together. It is a struggle so that instead of hatred and animosity, love will dominate.** 100

Regrettably I must say, the incidents which occurred yesterday, in terms of humanity's collective civilisation and culture have been a black mark. **In terms of history of humanity this has been recorded as a major shame.** Attacking humanitarian aid ships with arms, to massacre innocent people, **treating civilians as terrorists is in terms of humanity a great defeat. A despicably cowardly and vicious act of presumption that is recklessness and dauntless.** [20 seconds applause]. 105

We know, war as well as peace has its laws. In war you do not attack children, in war you do not attack women, old people, in war you do not attack civilians or religious functionaries, in war you do not attack those who are hoisting the white flag, health and rescue personnel; not in wartime, but in peace time, those who do these things not only violate the law, **at the same time they trample humanity under their feet, they abandon humanity.** 110 115

Despots, gangsters even pirates have specific sensitiveness, follow some specific morals. Those who do not follow any morality or ethics, those who do not act with any sensitivity, to call them such names would even be a compliment to them. Israel has, by attacking a ship with volunteers from 32 countries, in fact 120 defied the world. World peace has been deeply wounded. This brazen,

irresponsible, reckless government that recognises no law and tramples on any kind of humanitarian virtue, this attack of the Israeli government by all means – but by all means, must be punished.

125 A government, having made lying its state policy and does not blush on account of the crime it commits, instead of expecting them to open an investigation, **the international community must investigate this incident in all its dimensions and must give the legal response.**

130 The State of Turkey won't be satisfied only by watching this. Turkey is not an adolescent, rootless state. It is in no way a tribal State! No one should attempt to play around with this nation, to test the patience of Turkey. As precious as Turkey's partnership is, so harsh will be her hostility.

135 Losing Turkey's friendship and partnership is a price itself to pay. We have always been in a historical friendship and collaboration with the Israeli and Jewish people. **I do so believe, those Israeli people who watched this bloody attack in tears,** who strongly criticise it, do understand very well that this incident does not benefit human dignity, is a great mistake, how a heavy hit strike it has been to the friendship of both countries.

140 The issue is not a matter between Turkey and Israel. The issue is Israel's present lawlessness, and recognising the present government's inhuman practices, using violence, spilling blood, showing approaches that threaten peace.

145 Turkey has always been, in the Middle East, on the side of peace. She has contributed to regional stability and security. In the recent past, for Israel's relations with Palestine, Syria and Lebanon to be normalized, the country contributing was also Turkey. Israel now is showing attitudes, taking the most important peace defender in the region, and opposing her. Israel from now on, must give up the carelessness it shows in explaining the injustice being practised with their justifications about security, criticism that they call anti-Semitism.

150 There is an understanding where violence is its policy, Israel sees that it is licit for itself to oppress, tyrannize, maltreat and she does not hesitate to shed blood. There is no longer any way for the illegal actions of Israel to be covered, to be misinterpreted intentionally, to be ignored. The time has come for the International community to say: **STOP!**

155 It is Israel who does not recognise over 100 UN Security Council resolutions against her. So, the United Nations cannot be content with the condemnation decision it has taken last night.

I just talked to the General Secretary of the United Nations. He is also coming to New York. And this evening at 8 o'clock Mr. Obama said he would, I will also talk to him. I declare here that I will share precisely these issues with them.

160 Israel's aggressive manner doubtlessly takes its source from the power they get
from elsewhere. At this point, as Turkey our precision is obvious. And I talked
yesterday from Chile with one of United Nations Security Council permanent
members, Mrs. Merkel. I spoke with others today. I talked to England's new
Prime Minister, he called as well, I am also going to talk to him, I called him
165 earlier and we talked, today we will discuss this again. And with the others we
will also talk.

We cannot leave Israel with what they have done, alone. We cannot say to the
Israeli government, all you do will go to your advantage. Everything has a price.
And this government will have to pay for this.

170 For this kind of comprehension that does not show respect for human life, that
they find it impossible to esteem any right and law, we cannot have a peaceful
attitude, my comrades.

**It is impossible to support a comprehension that does not esteem and respect
the human and human rights.**

175 **A State considering the security of its own people cannot achieve this by
obtaining the hate and hostility of the whole world with their actions.**

**An administration that does not esteem others as humans except its own
people cannot have a concern called peace.**

180 Israel has been destroying her defense shields one by one, losing one by one her
alliance points, isolating herself. The Israeli administration, generating grudges
and hatred in the Middle East, is setting dynamite off in regional peace, as an
instability is spreading, Pandora's Box comes out like iodine.

The international community must immediately take action.

185 I also want to call to the Israeli people from here. We have always been against
anti-Semitism. We have raised our voice against the injustice against the Jewish
people. We have contributed so that the Israeli people can live in peace and
security in the Middle East. Now, as the Israeli people, it is your turn to show the
same sensitive attitude, the same humane attitude, to say, "Stop these cruelties
being done."

190 The policy of violence shown by the coalition of the government, violating any
kind of right and law, is totally putting Israel's interests aside. Is clearly putting
your peace and security at risk. Due to the aggressive attitude of your government,
the State of Israel assumes a piracy position, engaging in banditry.

Those reckless administrators, thinking that they, with lies, deceit, shedding
blood, aggressiveness, piracy, using state terrorism, the massacre of innocent

195 people do govern a State. But those reckless politicians primarily do evil to Israel
and the Israeli people.

Before all else you must say stop to this situation. By the way, I thank the Turkish
Jewish Community, putting in words their right and sincere reaction to the event.
Our Jewish citizens have, as members of the Turkish people, defended, and
200 continue to defend the right position of Turkey to the utmost.

Looking with hatred upon our Jewish citizens or being in any other different
manner by anyone is not acceptable, it cannot be and should never be.

Dear brothers, sisters, today is a new day. Today is a new beginning, a birth.
Nothing will be like before, this is clearly apparent. An aggressive State which
205 openly murders, massacres, cannot explain itself to humanity without regretting,
without being held to account for it, cannot stand in the face of the international
community.

Those ships were all ships of mercy. And their cargo was the heart of humanity.

72 miles far from their own waters, entirely in open sea and international waters,
210 Israel carried out an operation on a ship, a civil ship, not a military ship, one is not
allowed even do this at all. To make an operation on a civil ship, even the capture
of the passengers is itself a crime. Attacking innocent people with arms, to shed
blood, and to massacre is clearly state terrorism. They deny, they say that they
were shot at. We are sick of your lies, we are sick. Be honest, honest, be honest.

215 The captured ships, together with the staff and volunteers immediately must be
released. With the volunteers (activists) and Members of the European Parliament,
60 journalists, with his mother on board, the one-year-old infant Kaan, who was
released, on the ships, no one has the right to show those ships as if they had any
other intention, purpose, mission than to deliver humanitarian aid. **This attack**
220 **has one more time clearly proved the inhuman oppression and cruelty Israel**
for years has been using regarding Palestine and Gaza.

I have said it once before. The Israeli administrators, whom we told into their face
how well they know how to murder, have one more time shown the world how
good they indeed are at massacres. To comprehend, handcuffing even heavily
225 wounded innocent people they have shot at. Hey! Can there be an explanation for
his? Lying on the stretcher, wounded, you even handcuff him! Can that be
explained with human rights, with universal values? It is no longer possible to tell
the world how much those were shown humanity.

All people of the earth condemn this clear cruelty, I know this. But it is not
230 **enough anymore to only condemn, we have to obtain results.**

All people on earth who want justice on earth, one day not power but justice will
dominate, you should know that, I want this.

Turkey will use all opportunities that international law allows. At this course we will move together with the international community. I want all humanity to attract attention to this issue. With her blood-shedding policy Israel cannot legitimate this illegal, this bloody murder with any excuse, she cannot explain it.

Israel, with no excuse, no reason can wash the blood on her hands. The issue, case created by the bloody attack in the Mediterranean Sea, is not the problem between two countries but the problem of the entire world. **I believe that no country considering humane values and virtues, no international institution will just watch a murder of these dimensions.**

From now on, whoever shuts their eyes to the bloody attacks of Israel, whoever ignores them, should know, they are accomplices of these murders. It has been understood that the matter is not a matter of defending against terrorism, that the matter is not struggle against terrorism, but that the matter is an effort of a massacre towards a city, towards all people of a city, in order to completely exterminate them, has one more time been proven with this last incident that occurred.

You throw bombs on these people, you try phosphorous bombs on these people, you bomb hospitals, you bomb mosques, you attack schools, you bomb playgrounds, you even aim at the UN Office, as if this illegality was not enough, you also cut off all kinds of needs of those people.

And after all of this, you won't withhold the aid volunteers who try to deliver to these people medicine, food, construction materials, to feel your inhuman savagery.

Anyone, everyone can condone, tolerate this illegality. I openly say, stressing it, insidiously can support it, but Israel should not make the mistake of comparing Turkey with others. Such a mistake will have a very high price.

Israel, who shot a bullet on innocence and mercy, has chosen with this murder in the open sea, solitariness against the whole world. Has chosen to be isolated.

I say it one more time. If everyone keeps silent, if all shut their eyes, if all turn their backs; we, as Turkey, we won't turn our back to Palestine, to the Palestinian people, to Gaza. We won't shut our eyes! We won't cease crying for Palestine!!!

My dear brothers and sisters, our nation has to be firm. Our people must have dignity worthy of Turkey. We will take it into our hearts. The wounds of our wounded we will all together heal.

We are aware with satisfaction that all around in Turkey our people with a great sensitiveness are watching the issue closely, they are showing their democratic reactions lawfully.

To say it, this is appropriate for our people. **I believe that all our citizens will keep their steadfastness, and move in dignity and common sense.** Everyone should know and be sure, the love and friendship ships flowing down from the heart of humanity will pass one day all hindrance, barricades and reach their destination. To those who stand behind this inhuman, this inhuman and illegal operation;

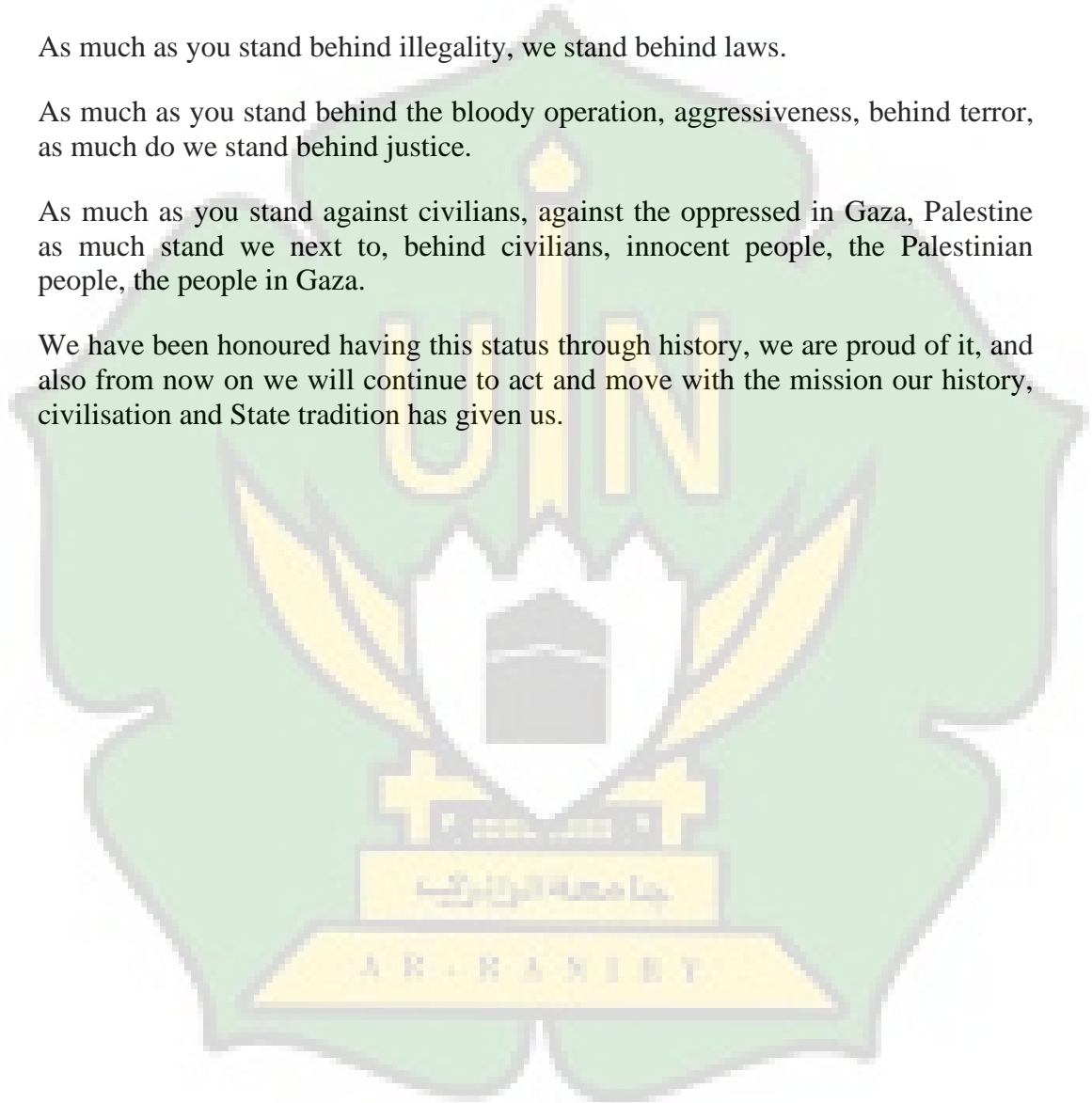
As much as you stand behind illegality, we stand behind laws.

As much as you stand behind the bloody operation, aggressiveness, behind terror, as much do we stand behind justice.

280 As much as you stand against civilians, against the oppressed in Gaza, Palestine as much stand we next to, behind civilians, innocent people, the Palestinian people, the people in Gaza.

We have been honoured having this status through history, we are proud of it, and also from now on we will continue to act and move with the mission our history, civilisation and State tradition has given us.

285



**Speech 2: UN General Assembly – World Leaders Gather in New York
(Annual Meeting) (September, 26 2018)**

Mr. President (Trump). My dear friends distinguished members of press at the answer I would like to wholeheartedly salute you all. I would like to take this opportunity to thank President Trump and his team for the generous hospitality they have shown us upon arrival, not only to my personal self, but also to the
5 entire members of my delegation on behalf of the entire Turkey nation. Thank you Mr. President. Once again in your presence, I would like to congratulate Mr. President for the legendary triumph that he garnered in the aftermath of the election. Quite recently, we have had bilateral discussions with President Trump. Without the opportunity to focus on the outstanding relation between Turkey and
10 the United States that date back along time industry which are very well rooted and which are quite happily reached a level of strategic partnership.

The relation between Turkey and the United States have been erected upon common democratic values and common interests. Keeping our outstanding relation stronger than ever will be very important, not only for our common
15 interests but also stability of the globe and peace around the world. The close cooperation that the both of the countries shall demonstrate sepecially in the region which is currently in turmoil will be very important for the rest of the world. Primarily we are alongside by each other as Turkey in the United States under the roof of the United Nations (NATO) and the G20. We have been
20 enjoying the a close cooperation in all of these platforms in all of these for around the world and in the future to comewe are going to focus on making sure that we are going to expand our close cooperation and build on the outstanding dialogue that we enjoy.

We are determined to expand our relation and I believe my current official visit to
25 the US will mark a historical turn of type whether it be throughout our bilateral discussions, whether it be the discussion that we shall have between the delegations, I think we are going to enjoy some further gains in term of future of our relation. We seem to agree on expanding further relation in the field of economy, trade, reciprocal investments, energy and defense industry. **It is going to be very important for us to forge a close solidarity and cooperation in the field of fighting terrorism** primarily with us **and all the other terrorist organizations in the region. We are committed to fight all forms of terrorism without any descrimination whatsoever that impose a clear and a present threat upon our future. There is no place for terrorist organizations in the future of our region.** Taking my PGM PYD in the region in taking them into
35 consideration the region will never be accepted and it is going to be against a globe agreement that we have reached, and we should never allow those groups to manipulate the religious structure and the ethnic structure of the region making terrorism as a pretext or an excuse. Those who are willing to turn the chaos in
40 Syria, Iraq, Yemen, an Libya are bound to lose evantually. They will never be

able to turn that chaos in that part of the word into an opportunity and the terrorist organizations with blood in their hands are bound to fail. As I previously done, so I have been very frankly community communication our expectation with regard to the fertilized organ is a fertilized terrorist organization which we have notified our friend of their involvement in the failed coup of July the 15th in Turkey. We have taken into consideration the joint steps that we can take forward in Syria and Iraq.

Of course president Trump's recent election victory has led to the awakening of a new set of aspirations, expectations, and hopes in our region. **We know that by the help of the new US administration leaves hope these hopes will not be lost in vain. We found that it was the most necessary answer to be given to the Syrian regime especially in the aftermath of the recent chemical attacks that took place.** We know that I in term of keeping up with the principal and committed fight against the terrorist organizations all around the world we will not repeat the mistake of the past and we will continue doen this path together. In the restoration and the establshment of stability and security of the region in questioning the Alliance and this partnership and cooperation between US and Turkey is a vital importance. I hope and pray that both of us will be committed to expand further our cooperation in the future along with consulting eacch other more frequently. We are laying the fondation of a new era between the 2 countries in terms of our relations, I hope and pray that this new administration will bring forth auspicious result for the relations.

I would like to thank president Trump for his very kind and cordinal invitation and I am looking forward to hosting him in Turkey along with his entire family.



OIC JERUSSALEM METTING SPEECH (2017)

As I begin my remarks, I would like to greet everyone of you, Assalamu'laikum waraahmatullahi wabarakatuh. We are in Istanbul, which is the sisters of Al-Quds, from here I would like to convey my greetings and my regards to all of our brothers and sisters who heart with Al-Quds. Today, we are here to discuss Al-Quds, which is the first kiblah of Islam, and which is one of the three holiest mosques of Islam. we are here, to discuss the violences againts the historical dignity of Jerussalem. **I would like to thank everyone who ecepted my invitation and participated in this important meeting.** We hope this meeting to leads the peace for Jerussalem. On December 16th, the President of the US declered that he recognizes Jerusslem as the capital of Israel. Without need to say long words about it, Jerussalem is an old city and anyone who walk the street of this old city were understanding immidiately that this city is under occupation. So, declaring such as desicion about the city which is under an occupation already can have a law effect. The US has the right of VETO of the security council which made a decision in 80 desicion of resulation number 478, according to that no country can hold an ambessy in Jerussalem. So the desicion by the US is againts law and it has so far been supported only by Israel which is occupying Jerussalem.

I would like to thank all countries which did not support this unlaw fault desicion. This is dedicates stands about Jerusalem has been confimed moslems countries since very beginning and very openly have denied or rejected this desicion of the US concerning of Jerussalem. As the current, President of OIC at the same date, we made a call to National Community and said this desicion is againts effect againts history and conciousness, and it is no envolved. This desicion first in the first mouth is going to mean the punishing of Palestinians which have always decide with peace. I am going to demonstrate on the map now since 1947, we will see what has happen in Palestine since 1947. As you can see, 1947 the condition in Palestine (under stage??) than israel. This was in near 1947, from UN, in this plant, Palestine (strunk) and the Israel on the other hand is expanded. When you are look at the 1949 to 1967 Palestine keeps striking Israel on the other side keep expending. And than, count to today, as you can see, whatever israel was 1947 now Palestine is that position. This is (tribution) would never been carry out by volv againts ...but this tribution was done here. You have been distributed this map when you knew them already from 1947 to today, this have been the course of the land of Palestine. **This shows that Israel is stay on the occupation. In addition, today Israel is state of Terror..** so why Erdogan saying this, how can I

do not. **10 years old children are taken by terrorist soldiers and put inside cages...14 years old teenager was taken and blind folded by 20 soldiers or police and they are hit, beaten, on the other side, small child, the mother is hugging the girl and in that same photo you see that the mother is being beaten by the (soldiers) and the girl is being taken from her. So if this is not terror occupation, what is it? Is there any other definition? Anyone who is human and who holds the conscience should take at least from this. As you can see, here around 20 soldiers are taking away a 14 years old boy who has been blind folded and his face is in blood. So what else should we talk to you Mr.Trump? everything is clear. We do not need to say anything to Israel. The facts are out there, they know already. So with this decision, or occupation or illegal settlement or destroying homes or displacing people or seizing their property and land and disportion at violence, which is carry out by Israel is being almost awarded for it section and this award is given by Trump. You can not do anything with a accomplish in the sort. You may make the decision like this on your own, but the world does not consist of ommit you.** The UN has 196 members today, and within this decision, I am sure they are reminding 196 members will react. As the US, you might be a strong country, you can have weapons, you might have nuclear missiles, you might have a lot of plans and weapons, but this does not mean you are strong . you are only strong when you are right. If you are not right, you can never be strong.

The US is deciding (shading) not with those want peace, but who are making peace impossible and during such time, when there is heavy fight against terror, it is making life easier for fanatics. **We have seen the same in Syria, they have sided with YPC in terror group in order to fight againsts ISIS. I am saying this comfortably because I already discussed this with team. Why? You can not destroy one terror group with help from another terror group. Only in northern Syria more than 4000 trucks of weapons and imminision have been transfered. So why did so much weapons arriving in northern Syria, why they are abroad here, in order to give support to the terror groups there.** With the US and Israel their recent decision has pay the way for stress againsts of humanity. **Other problems in the region can never make us forget the issues in Palestine. Without findings is fair and sustainable solution to the Palestine issue, we can not talk about a sustainable peace in stability in the region. This issue such a step sure againsts law and against conscience and they also harm the trust towards International Community until UN.** We can not keep silent againsts such of decision with concern all of us. **My brothers, the decision of the US about Jerusalem by leads International Law is also a heavy blow on our civilization.** Our sisters served this holy land in order to meet all of its needs and to ensure the well fair of the all people living in the city regardless of their

backgrounds. Our own sisters at the time of Sulaiman they make neffecent with the Halil gate that was built in the walls are ensisters puts the word “laailaaha illallah, Ibrahim haliilullah” which shows the perspective of our civilization on
80 Jerusalem. On the Balcony of the church which is very significant for the christian, because of they balances they would not steps have been left there the way it is and tells us a lot about the city. **Those who make desicion which is violate the saintity of jerusalem, must take a little lesson from jerusalem.** Jerusalem is significant for all believes. The pope and the jewish who want a fair
85 justice and the quddist and everyone who have never let it go their honorable stands, I would like thank them on the behalf of my person and my nation.

I would like to thank for those who protected jerusalem for centuries might be palestinian brothers in our region and in jerusalem peace can only be possible if ethical honest and fairy people from all beliefs and backgrounds brought for it. So
90 from here, I would like to call to all countries to recognize jerusalem as the capital of the occupy of Palestine. I think we can not delay any further as the moslem countries we can never let go of our demand for free Palestine whose capital is jerusalem. The Israeli soldires have oppressed our brothers who were protesting againts the desicion and we condemn this action. We, once again commomurade the martils of the cause of Palestine. Last week was the 100 anniversary of the end of the moslems role in jerusalem, during the first further board, many martyrs were
95 killed in defense of jerusalem, and we commemorate them by once again, the duty of moslems is under any condition to protect jerussalem. In our country and in anywhere else in the world, I would like to ask my brothers and sisters to visit
100 Jerusalem one day if have an opportunity and to visit the al-Aqsa mosque because when you pray there, you will be made a call for peace you will making a call of compasion, and for revolation of humanity, so I would like to underline once again here that Jerusalem is our red line. The al-Aqsa mosque and the dom of the rock are inside ----which is 144 hectares and it belongs to the moslems until
105 invinity. Attack againts this place should be/ are being vote againts by the king of Jordan and together we will make mantain our stands.

Our Palestinian brothers also must soul the issues and among themselves and act in unity againts this test, this is become a must for them. Salahuddin al ayyubi is the concourer of jerusalem and he made a following golden advices to us “Those
110 who fight with their friends can not be their enemies”. So --- brothers, countries which have not recognize the state of Palaestine yet must take this important step in order to ensure a balence of a peace in the region, especially Europe. As Israel is expanding state of the muse of one hand, and it discourse europe shouldnt help longer be sla to the discourse of not recognizing Palestine. Because the country
115 which continues the occupation is being welcome, but the other said which is

asking for the 1967 borders which is only one fifty history borders is not being recognize and that not logical reason for this. After this, the declaration of the US, the peace can not be ensured in any other other way. Israel is trying to by time from the world in order to continue the occupation. When supporting it, those state sulotion we should not allow Israel to make that impossible by each day. We
120 can not be impartial between the occupaying and the accupied because if we do so we will be supported the oppresion. Palestine process of being part to international agreement should be done. **Palestine must be represented better in International diplomacy and that must be a desicion taken here today.**
125 Anybody who has a concious and who feel accountable to the future generation should do their best for Jarusalem.



SURAT KEPUTUSAN DEKAN FAKULTAS TARBIYAH DAN KEGURUAN UIN AR-RANIRY
Nomor : B-11231/UN.08/FTK/KP.07.6/07/2019

TENTANG
PENGANGKATAN PEMBIMBING SKRIPSI MAHASISWA FAKULTAS TARBIYAH DAN KEGURUAN
UIN AR-RANIRY

DEKAN FAKULTAS TARBIYAH DAN KEGURUAN UIN AR-RANIRY

- Menimbang : a. bahwa untuk kelancaran bimbingan skripsi dan ujian munaqasyah mahasiswa pada Fakultas Tarbiyah dan Keguruan UIN Ar-Raniry Banda Aceh, maka dipandang perlu menunjuk pembimbing skripsi tersebut yang dituangkan dalam Surat Keputusan Dekan;
- b. bahwa saudara yang tersebut namanya dalam surat keputusan ini dipandang cakap dan memenuhi syarat untuk diangkat sebagai pembimbing skripsi.
- Mengingat : 1. Undang-undang Nomor 20 Tahun 2003, tentang Sistem Pendidikan Nasional;
2. Undang-undang Nomor 14 Tahun 2005, tentang Guru dan Dosen;
3. Undang-undang Nomor 12 Tahun 2012, tentang Pendidikan Tinggi;
4. Peraturan Pemerintah Nomor 74 Tahun 2012 tentang Perubahan atas Peraturan Pemerintah RI Nomor 23 Tahun 2005 tentang Pengelolaan Keuangan Badan Layanan Umum;
5. Peraturan Pemerintah Nomor 4 Tahun 2014, tentang Penyelenggaraan Pendidikan Tinggi dan Pengelolaan Perguruan Tinggi;
6. Peraturan Presiden RI Nomor 64 Tahun 2013; tentang Perubahan IAIN Ar-Raniry Banda Aceh Menjadi UIN Ar-Raniry Banda Aceh;
7. Peraturan Menteri Agama RI Nomor 12 Tahun 2014, tentang Organisasi dan Tata Kerja UIN Ar-Raniry Banda Aceh;
8. Peraturan Menteri Republik Indonesia No. 21 Tahun 2015, tentang Statuta UIN Ar-Raniry;
9. Keputusan Menteri Agama Nomor 492 Tahun 2003, tentang Pendelegasian Wewenang, Pengangkatan, Pemindahan dan Pemberhentian PNS di Lingkungan Departemen Agama Republik Indonesia;
10. Keputusan Menteri Keuangan Nomor 293/KMK.05/2011 tentang Penetapan Institut Agama Islam Negeri Ar-Raniry Banda Aceh pada Kementerian Agama sebagai Instansi Pemerintah yang Menerapkan Pengelolaan Badan Layanan Umum;
11. Keputusan Rektor UIN Ar-Raniry Nomor 01 Tahun 2015, tentang Pendelegasian Wewenang kepada Dekan dan Direktur Pascasarjana di Lingkungan UIN Ar-Raniry Banda Aceh;
- Memperhatikan : Keputusan Sidang/Seminar Proposal Skripsi Prodi Pendidikan Bahasa Inggris Fakultas Tarbiyah dan Keguruan UIN Ar-Raniry Tanggal 28 Juni 2019

MEMUTUSKAN

- Menetapkan :
PERTAMA : Menunjuk Saudara:
- | | |
|------------------------------|----------------------------|
| 1. Dr.phil. Saiful Akmal, MA | Sebagai Pembimbing Pertama |
| 2. Fera Busfina Zalha, MA | Sebagai Pembimbing Kedua |
- Untuk membimbing Skripsi :
- Nama : **Shalichina**
- NIM : **150203215**
- Program Studi : **Pendidikan Bahasa Inggris**
- Judul Skripsi : **A Semantic Propaganda Analysis Of Recep Tayyip Erdogan's Political Speeches**
- KEDUA** : Pembiayaan honorarium pembimbing pertama dan kedua tersebut diatas dibebankan pada DIPA UIN Ar-Raniry Banda Aceh Tahun 2019; No.025.04.2.423925/2019 tanggal 5 Desember 2018.
- KETIGA** : Surat keputusan ini berlaku sampai akhir semester Genap Tahun Akademik 2019/2020
- KEEMPAT** : Surat Keputusan ini berlaku sejak tanggal ditetapkan dengan ketentuan segala sesuatu akan diubah dan diperbaiki kembali sebagaimana mestinya apabila kemudian hari ternyata terdapat kekeliruan dalam penetapan ini.

Ditetapkan di: Banda Aceh
Pada Tanggal: 31 Juli 2019

An. Rektor
Dekan,


Muslim Razali

Tembusan

1. Rektor UIN Ar-Raniry (sebagai laporan);
2. Ketua Prodi PBI Fak. Tarbiyah dan Keguruan;
3. Pembimbing yang bersangkutan untuk dimaklumi dan dilaksanakan;
4. Mahasiswa yang bersangkutan;
5. Arsip.

AUTOBIOGRAPHY

1. Name : Shalichina
2. Place/Date of Birth : Banda Aceh/ 11 April 1997
3. Sex : Female
4. Religion : Islam
5. Nationality : Indonesia
6. Marital Status : Single
7. Address : Jl. Taman Makam Pahlawan Lr. Cempaka
no.9 Ateuk Pahlawan, kec. Baiturrahman,
Banda Aceh.
8. E-mail : shalichinasiswadi@gmail.com
9. Parents
 - a. Father : Siswadi Asnawy
 - c. Mother : Jasmani
 - d. Occupation : House wife
10. Education Background
 - a. SD : MIN Mesjid Raya Banda Aceh(2002)
 - b. SMP : MTsS Babun Najah Banda Aceh (2009)
 - c. SMA : MAN Model Banda Aceh (2012)
 - d. Universitas : UIN Ar-Raniry (2015)

Banda Aceh, December 31th 2019

Shalichina