Analyzing Presidential Discourse on the Paris Agreement: Trump's Skepticism vs. Jokowi's Support

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Abstract: This research analyzes President Trump and Jokowi's speeches on the Paris Agreement. The descriptive qualitative approach was employed in this study. The Critical Discourse Analysis model examines the connections among language, ideology, and power. Van Dijk's Discourse Analysis Model was used in critical discourse analysis to examine President Trump's speech. NVivo 12 was further utilized to gather and evaluate the data. The study highlighted a significant contrast in how presidents handle the Paris Agreement. Despite a lack of factual evidence, Trump tried to amplify the perception that the United States is unfairly targeted in environmental efforts, while President Jokowi supported and favored the agreement. Through discourse analysis, the stance of political leaders and public opinion could influence the acceptance of the Paris Agreement.

Keywords: Critical Discourse Analysis; United States; political leaders; public opinion

INTRODUCTION

'A world that's safer, and more prosperous, and more secure, and more free than the one that we inherited' Barack Obama, who was the then President of the United States of America (USA), stated in December 2015 that he had personally witnessed the effects of climate change in the world's most northern state of Alaska, where the sea has been already engulfing villages and eroding shorelines, where glaciers are melting at a rate unheard of in modern times and where permafrost is thawing, and the tundra is burning. In his mind, it was a glimpse of one potential future: the fate of the children if the pace of climate change continues to outpace our attempts to address it. He declared that the United States of America had ratified the Paris Climate Agreement, a comprehensive international action strategy to combat climate change, along with almost 200 other nations (The Obama White House, 2015).

With ratified by the United States under President Obama, the Paris Agreement faced uncertainty since Donald Trump won the election as President of the United States and due to Trump's well-known reputation as a person who disbelieves in global warming and climate change (Rifqi, 2018). Less than two years after it had been adopted in a significant part of the USA, President Trump announced the USA's withdrawal from the Paris Climate Accord in June 2017. When running for President in 2016, Donald Trump expressed skepticism or outright denial about climate change and pledged to leave the Paris Agreement if elected (Zhang et al., 2017). This circumstance unequivocally demonstrates that Trump presented distinct public policies and concepts regarding climate change from Barack Obama (Rifqi, 2018). After winning the election,

Trump modified his stance on climate change, declaring he had 'an open mind.' He delayed deciding about the Paris Agreement, showing he was fully aware that the choice to leave would face harsh criticism domestically and internationally. Trump initially wavered but withdrew from the pact (Zhang et al., 2017).

That abrupt transition followed the change in White House occupancy. The Paris Accord's withdrawal makes for an intriguing subject of investigation. As stated in Article 28 of the accord, there is the practical aspect of the withdrawal process, not to mention the effects of the US's absence from the discussion of global climate concerns. Other international organizations, such as the G8 and G20, are also interested in issues relating to the climate. The article examines the United States negotiating stance and the obligations it made when the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC) went into force up until the present, including greenhouse gas emission reduction, financial support, and reporting (Chestnoy & Gershinkova, 2017).

President Joko Widodo has unequivocally embraced and endorsed the Paris Agreement regarding climate change in Indonesia. Indonesia is a participating party in the accord, having formally acceded to it, thereby signaling its dedication to addressing the global issue of climate change. This proactive stance by Indonesia underscores its acknowledgment of the urgency in tackling climate change, along with its resolve to implement tangible measures for curtailing greenhouse gas (GHG) emissions, safeguarding its natural environment, and fostering a sustainable future (Sekretariat Kabinet Republik Indonesia, 2021). As per the Paris Agreement, Indonesia must formulate and convey its Nationally Determined Contribution (NDC). Within Indonesia's NDC, there are specified targets, including an unconditioned reduction goal of 29% and a conditional target reaching up to 41% compared to the business-as-usual scenario by the year 2030. To achieve the objectives delineated in the NDC, Indonesia has embarked on a series of measures. These actions include initiating a moratorium on primary forest activity, prohibiting further forest conversion, and implementing a mixed energy program (Sulistiawati, 2020).

The term "post-truth" saw a dramatic rise of approximately 2,000% in its usage in 2016 compared to the preceding year. This surge coincided with significant events like the EU referendum in the United Kingdom and the United States presidential election. Subsequently, it became closely linked with particular political figures, notably Donald Trump, symbolizing an unfavorable trend in the realm of politics (Stratford, 2017). "Post-truth" political communication denotes a political conversation and information distribution wherein emotional or individual convictions and viewpoints carry more weight in shaping public sentiment than factual evidence. Within a post-truth political context, emotional appeals, personal stories, and storytelling frequently overshadow empirical, provable data when molding public perception and influencing decision-making (Powell, 2017).

One of the political goals is the power to manipulate the behavior of others. A speech may be an effective instrument. Delivering a speech is one communication skill that can transfer information and messages to the public (Amin Aminuddin, 2022). Every speech, especially those designed to influence others, must be rhetorical. Political persuasion language is designed to influence listeners' views, orientations, or actions. For instance, to maintain, modify, and create opinions about a political issue or motivate them to act (Lafta et al., 2020).

Similarly, Beard Adrian emphasized the significance of speeches in politics and the necessity of a politician having extraordinary speaking abilities since language serves as a tool for communication and for presenting and forming arguments (Beard, 2000) because they stem from one's views, political debates are perceived as being ideological (van Dijk, 1995). Van Dijk contended that the primary goal of political speech is to manipulate or control the public's thoughts in some other way. One of the objects of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), which seeks to understand how language, ideology, and power interact, is speech (van Dijk, 2006).

Even though numerous studies have examined Trump's discourses, the current study particularly examines how Trump has utilized his political influence to support his ideological ideas concerning crucial global concerns. This study attempted better to understand an ideology from Donald Trump's speeches using Van Dijk's critical discourse analysis method. Language, power, and ideology can be understood by seeing how it is used concerning the social issue that is present at the moment and the social power that is trying to influence the community's ideology in the speaker's favor. Van Dijk's Discourse Analysis Model has been used for this study to conduct

a microanalysis of Donald Trump's speech. This study aims to determine how Trump portrays the United States' national interest through rhetoric and spreads his ideology to influence the audience. Besides, the analysis of President Jokowi's reaction and endorsement of the Paris Agreement was conducted by reviewing his public addresses. These contrasting positions indicate the broader policy disparities between the two leaders concerning climate change and the Paris Agreement. This research's main question compares President Trump's and Jokowi's post-truth political communication.

AN OVERVIEW OF CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS

The conditions, elements, and effects of power abuse by dominant groups and institutions are the focus of critical discourse analysis (CDA). The CDA evaluates language and its social purposes, particularly those connected to inequality, and examines how they are repeated and occasionally given legitimacy (Abdelaal et al., 2015). The misuse of social power, domination, and inequality that develop through speech and text in social and political situations are the main topics of CDA. Many academics have expressed their opinions on CDA, including those who claim that the term's application extends beyond language usage (Hidalgo, 2011).

CDA has captured the interest of academics from diverse fields, and various activists lend credence to this idea. Additionally, CDA aims to break down obstacles caused by articulating presumptive views that have been justified via discourse to promote communication and well-being and reveal the manipulative nature of discursive practices. CDA possesses the essential elements of a critical approach, and an interdisciplinary approach is required. Various models and methodologies created to analyze discourse in specific ways are sometimes called CDA. However, CDA has a crucial component that reveals how discourse is utilized to further political goals and how it may be used to validate the prevailing narrative(Billig, 2003).

CDA reveals the ideologies behind political statements. Consequently, CDA explains how dominant players may influence the public discourse to further their political or economic objectives, even if it does not investigate causality. As a methodological tool, it links the text being studied, the discursive practices that went into its construction, and the more extensive social settings surrounding its creation and the discursive practices. To analyze how power structures are created and evaluated, CDA investigates the social context to examine the sociopolitical circumstances that influence speech. The social life mirrored in speech may be described, interpreted, considered, and critiqued using CDA. In addition to broader social and cultural structures, interactions, and processes, CDA examines the connections between discursive texts, events, and practices (Fairclough, 2001).

THEORY

One of the older ideas that serves as the cornerstone of foreign policy is the concept of national interest. National interest has traditionally dominated state and international affairs discussions dating back to George Washington and Hans Morgenthau (Edmunds et al., 2014). Scholars who adhere to power theories or realists, like Morgenthau, do not distinguish between power and national interest. For instance, Morgenthau (2012) argued that politicians should think and act to advance the national interest, which he defined as power. Frederick H. Hartmann defined national interest as 'Those things that states could or do seek to protect or achieve vis-à-vis other states.' According to Waltz, maximizing power is in the nation's interest (Ota & Ecoma, 2022).

Interests comprise everything that helps people attain their goals or improve their overall quality of life. On the other hand, Thomas Hobbes is grounded in a materialist explanation of human nature and connects self-preservation with interest. This point of view holds that all human behavior toward others is motivated by the basic need to protect oneself. Statesmen and thinkers have used the term 'national interest' to describe the goals and objectives of sovereign entities in the international sphere ever since nation-states were founded (Jude & Sunday Onyekwuma, 2021).

James N. Rosenau (1968) believed that national interest may be seen from two perspectives: as a tool for analysis and a mechanism for political action. While analysts have found that the concept's value-laden nature makes it challenging to use as a tool of rigorous

investigation, political actors have discovered that this same characteristic renders the valuable concept as a way of thinking about their goals and as a means of mobilizing support. In other words, Rosenau thought that although national interest action utilization benefits its users, it lacks structure and meaning, in this case, the political players.

The idea of national interest serves as the foundation for foreign policy direction. The phrase denotes the fundamental framework for all state acts as part of its foreign policy. National interests can be divided into general, secondary, tertiary, and core national interests. Core or vital national interests are often prepared to battle right now or until the end. States typically reject their alternative without considering it, which indicates matters of vital concern (Metea, 2020: 75). For instance, in his speech, Trump successfully aroused in his audience's mind that the Paris Accord indeed disadvantaged the welfare of Americans.

RESEARCH METHOD

The current effort is a linguistic analysis of President Trump's and President Jokowi's statements about the Paris Climate Accord. The information is retrieved from https://www.cries.org/wp-content/uploads/2018/01/013-Documento.pdf and https://unfccc.int/sites/default/files/resource/INDONESIA_cop26cmp16cma3_HLS_EN.pdf. The data is considered in the study to determine how he employed language to project an attitude of 'we against them' on the heart of the audiences towards the American economy. The information was used in political speeches to grab the audience's attention and convince them to take urgent action regarding the topics discussed.

According to 'Van Dijk's Discourse Analysis Model,' renowned linguist Van Dijk, language is used to depict one's group favorably and members of other groups unfavorably. Since ideology is a multifaceted phenomenon having moral, theological, cultural, and political elements, it is regarded as a core theory of Critical Discourse Studies (CDS). As a whole, ideology always has a polarized structure that prioritizes rivalry, comparisons among group members, and categorization into in and out-groups. In Van Dijk's view, the macro level and the micro level of the text are the two levels of analysis(Ye, 2022).

He offered four fundamental discursive approaches for the macro analysis that focus on delegitimizing the 'other' in the discourse and legitimizing the 'self.' The four fundamental discursive approaches mentioned above are highlighting positive things about 'us,' emphasizing negative things about 'them' followed by de-emphasizing negative things about 'us,' and de-emphasizing positive things about 'them' Van Dijk identified 25 key terms of rhetorical discursive strategies for the micro-analysis method (Ye, 2022). These include *actor description, authority, burden (topos), categorization, comparison, consensus, counterfactuals, disclaimer, euphemism, evidentiality, illustration* or *example, generalizations, hyperbole, implication, irony, lexicalization, metaphor, national self-glorification, norm expression, number game, polarization, populism, presupposition, vagueness* and *victimization.*

This study used qualitative methods because they may be used to analyze the 'what, where, when, why, and how' of an issue and to provide data pertinent to a particular case study. A descriptive-analytic research methodology based on Van Dijk's Discourse Analysis Model was used to conduct the **micro-analysis** in the current study. These models are the most suitable ones for this research. They are beneficial when a researcher needs to ascertain what the addresser is trying to communicate to the addressee through a text. The tool that was used to capture all data is NVIVO 12 PLUS software. Using that software, the researchers can find the word frequency and word tree analysis in Trump and Jokowi's speech. The gist and the specific rhetorical strategies were examined according to the public data. The data analysis process is shown in Figure 1.
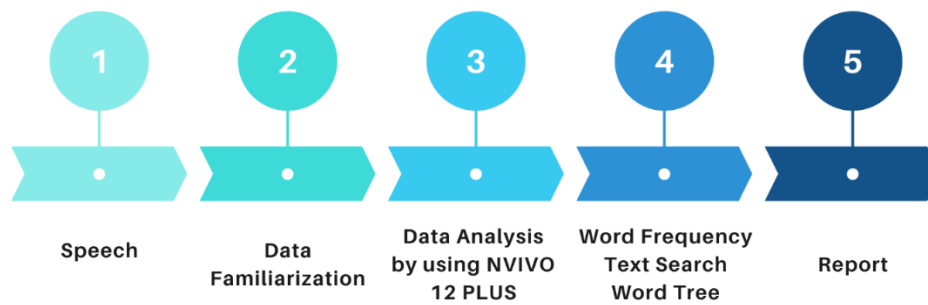
Figure 1. Data Analysis Process

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

According to Bob Hodge, interaction is a fundamental prerequisite for strong and transformational discourse since it brings many viewpoints, ideas, structures, and ontologies. Ideologies always engage in many types of interaction (Hodge, 2012). For instance, Van Dijk argued that interaction and action both support ideology. Ideologies may be communicated by writing and speaking (Padilla & Vana, 2019). Donald Trump, for instance, revealed his ideology in his address on the withdrawal from the Paris Agreement speech. It aids in the persuasive construction of new and existing beliefs. It is similar to how communication techniques and abilities help to build beliefs and control group interactions under various conditions (Gyawali, 2020).

In this section, the findings will be presented and explained based on the theory put out by Teun A. van Dijk, which is also used to evaluate the data. The researchers did a micro-analysis of Trump's speech and then evaluated the speech by following Van Dijk's 25 key terms of rhetorical discursive strategies. The outcome of the microanalysis will eventually portray Trump's ideology. The spoken discourse's structures are included in the following parts, revealing the symbolic ideology present.

### Computer-Assisted Analysis via Nvivo 12

This study used NVivo 12 to analyze the speech's data since it can recognize keywords and automatically create word clouds, word trees, and word tree maps based on text search queries and word frequency analysis, making it more straightforward to examine the speech transcript. Figure 2 is a word cloud that explicitly shows the most frequently used words in President Trump's speech. It shows the five most frequent words: 'united' (27 counts), 'states' (25 counts), 'America' (23 counts), 'Paris' (22 counts), and 'agreement' (21 counts). Other than that, the words 'country' and 'countries' recorded 16 counts, respectively. The word 'jobs' recorded a count of 15, while the word 'economic' recorded 13 counts.

Figure 2. Word cloud of most frequent words in Trump's Speech
Source: Processed by the author using NVIVO 12 Plus software

Figure 3 shows the text search of certain words. It illustrates the word trees produced automatically by NVivo 12 of two of the most frequently used words in Trump's speech. The most representative words are wealth, jobs, people, and economy, which are the main ideas of Trump's speech in the White House Rose Garden. For instance, most of the word 'wealth' in the word trees is about how much abundant wealth the United States of America has to lift the poorest workers in the country out of poverty. Moreover, Trump promulgated that the Paris Agreement had taken away what Trump stated as phenomenal and extraordinary wealth through the Green Climate Fund, where the developed countries should send approximately $100 billion to developing countries. In the word tree of 'people,' Trump emphasized his love towards Americans. He mentioned that there would be no leader who could put their people at a disadvantage, and he fought every day for the people. Trump had called for better terms that are fair to the United States and the people, and he will consider reentering the accord.
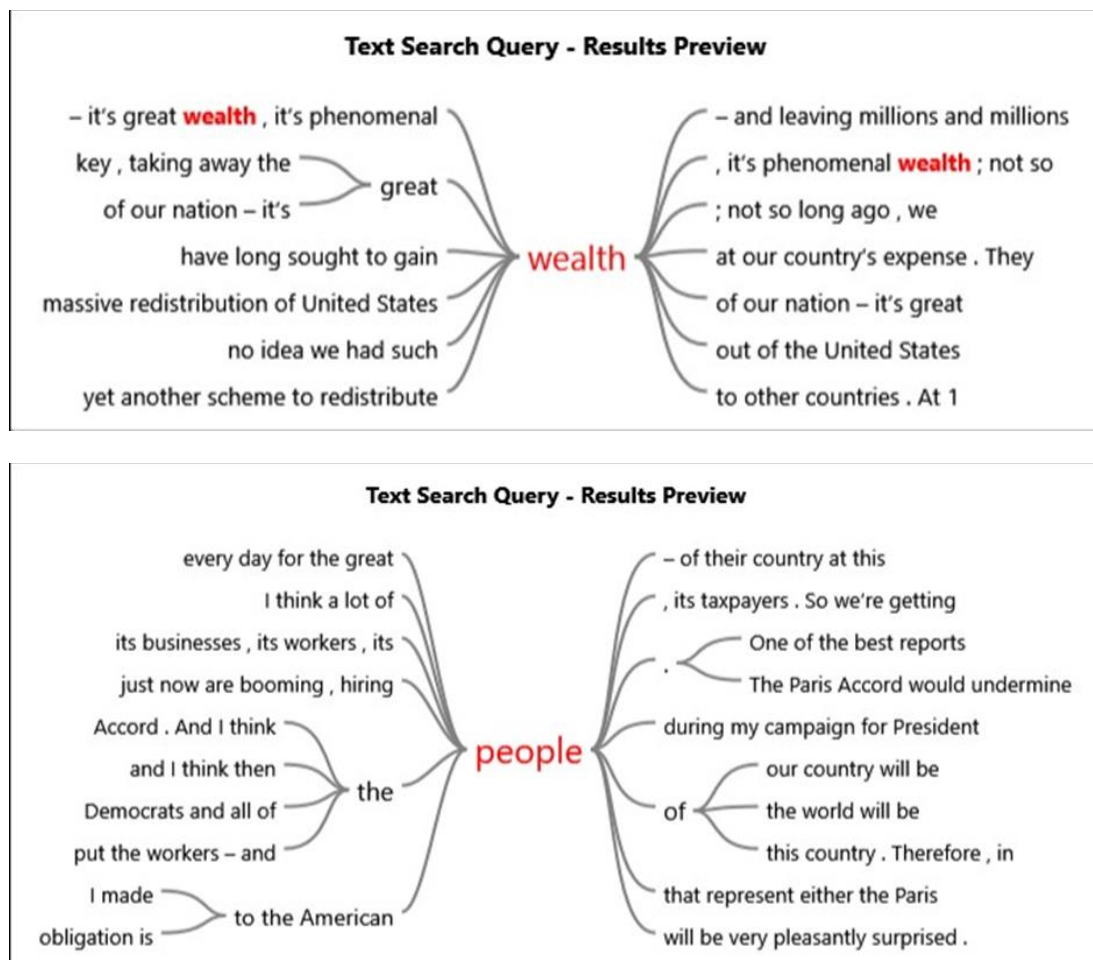
Figure 3. Word trees of several frequent words in Trump's Speech
Source: Processed by the author using NVIVO 12 Plus software

In this part, the researchers used Van Dijk's Discourse Analysis Model, which stresses the **'us against them'** tactic, to assess Trump's speech on the United States of America's withdrawal from the Paris Agreement remark. Furthermore, the national interest of the United States will be identified from Trump's speech. In his speech, Trump mentioned that as he is fighting for the country's people, he wishes not to have anything that gets in his way. Therefore, for him to fulfill his dignified duty as a President, the United States withdrew from the Paris Agreement as he believed that it only offered disadvantages to Washington. The researchers first explain Trump's speech on the United States of America's withdrawal from the Paris Agreement, followed by Jokowi's remarks and response.

Figure 4 shows the most frequently used words in President Jokowi's speech. It reveals the five most frequent words: 'climate' (8 counts), 'Indonesia' (8 counts), 'Carbon' (5 counts), 'contribute' (5 counts), and 'contribute' (3 counts). Other than that, the words 'country' and 'countries' recorded 16 counts, respectively.

Figure 4. Word cloud of most frequent words in Jokowi's Speech
Source: Processed by the author using NVIVO 12 Plus software

Figure 5 shows the result of a text search of certain words. It is the word trees produced automatically by NVivo 12 of two of the most frequently used words in Jokowi's speech. The most representative words are 'support,' 'contribute,' and 'tackling,' which portray Jokowi's acceptance of the Paris Agreement. Jokowi expressed dedication to decreasing Indonesia's greenhouse gas emissions. The nation presented its Nationally Determined Contributions (NDCs) to the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC) (Humas, 2015a), outlining its objectives to diminish emissions and bolster resilience against climate change. Under Jokowi's leadership, the Indonesian administration launched initiatives to shift towards cleaner energy options, including strategies for developing renewable energy like solar and wind power, aiming to decrease dependence on fossil fuels.
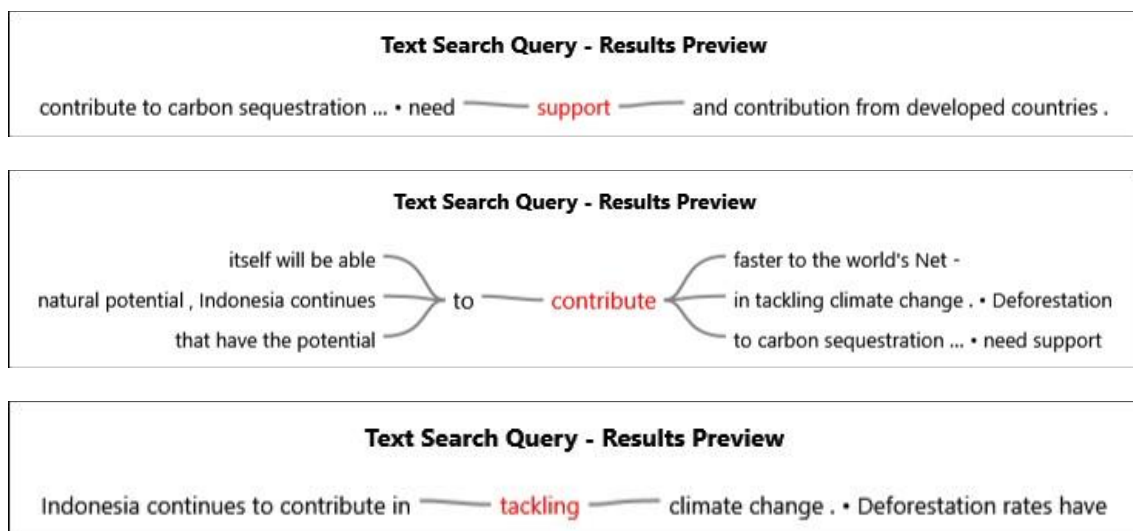
Figure 5. Word trees of several frequent words in Jokiwi's Speech
Source: Processed by the author using NVIVO 12 Plus software

President Trump's Perception of the Paris Agreement

Excerpt 1. *"As President, I can put no other consideration before the well-being of American citizens. The Paris Climate Accord is simply the latest example of Washington entering into an agreement that disadvantages the United States to the exclusive benefit of other countries, leaving American workers –who I love– and taxpayers to absorb the cost in terms of lost jobs, lower wages, shuttered factories, and vastly diminished economic production".*

From the excerpt above, Trump created a **burden (topos)** by defining the loss of American citizens and the United States' economic loss. He aimed to victimize the Paris Agreement and touch the target audience's feelings. From his statement, he indirectly portrayed the national interest of the US. Trump pointed out his concerns regarding the decline in US economic production. In addition, Trump quoted the data collected by the National Economic Research Associates, which stated that if the US complies with the Paris Agreement terms and regulations to restrict energy usage, the US could lose 2.7 million jobs by 2025 and thousands of manufacturing jobs. **Victimization** has been made by portraying the harsh reality of American manufacturing jobs, which the communities rely on the most. In his remarks, Trump maintained a precise classification in which he saw himself and his policy as beneficial to Americans. On the other hand, all the former politicians and their rivals are impliedly portrayed as ineffectual because the former President had ratified the Paris Agreement. This tactic is called **illustration or example**, and to build this impact, he used the tactic of **comparison** and **populism.**

Excerpt 2. *"Compliance with the terms of the Paris Accord and the onerous energy restrictions it has placed on the United States could cost America as much as 2.7 million lost jobs by 2025, according to the National Economic Research Associates. This includes 440,000 fewer manufacturing jobs –not what we need– believe me. This is not what we need."*

Undeniably, Trump showed **counterfactual** when he used the persuasive, argumentative strategy to ask for empathy, or one could say an expression to highlight what would be like if certain conditions were created or not created (Khan et al., 2019). He tried to convince the targeted audience that the US would lose many jobs if Washington kept complying with the Paris Agreement. Other than that, he also played the **number game**. Trump included numbers and statistics in his speech. The number game helps Trump gain credibility and authenticity using statistics and numbers in his speech. Besides, he employed **authority** as a discursive technique by mentioning the National Economic Research Associates to support his assertion. Through the discursive tactic of polarization, the macro strategy of us vs. them is sustained throughout the extract.

He used the **polarizing** tactic by blaming the Paris Accord for the decline in manufacturing employment. By doing this, he turned the Paris Accord into a damaging out-group and a barrier to US economic progress. Additionally, Trump used the **generalization** technique here by blaming the Paris Accord for all the jobs Americans depend on being lost. The generalization method is potent because it collectively places the responsibility on the entire group rather than specific members, portraying the entire group as the out-group.

Excerpt 3. *"Beyond the severe energy restrictions inflicted by the Paris Accord, it includes yet another scheme to redistribute wealth out of the United States through the so-called Green Climate Fund –nice name– which calls for developed countries to send $100 billion to developing countries all on top of America's existing and massive foreign aid payments. So, we're going to be paying billions and billions and billions of dollars, and we're already way ahead of anybody else. Many of the other countries haven't spent anything, and many of them will never pay one dime. "*

In the excerpt above, Trump mentioned the Green Climate Fund, formed inside the UNFCCC as a financial operating entity to help developing nations with adaptation and mitigation measures to combat climate change. Developed countries must provide $100 billion to developing countries from this framework. For this purpose, he employed **actor description** techniques. Typically, an actor's description gives specific information about an object, like a person, place, or object, and how this entity performs its function, whether favorably or badly, in

a social or political context. In this scenario, he negatively pictured the Green Climate Fund through the **hyperbolical generalization**, "So we're going to be paying billions and billions and billions of dollars, and we're already way ahead of anybody else." It must be pointed out that, in this extract and throughout the entire statement, there is no mention of the advantages of Washington's compliance with the Paris Accord. In this situation, we can see that the national interest of the US during the Trump administration is its economy.

President Jokowi's Perception of the Paris Agreement

Jokowi has openly endorsed the Paris Agreement for various reasons, all of which underscore the intersection of Indonesia's domestic priorities and global climate change challenges. A prominent factor motivating his support is Indonesia's status as a custodian of extensive and ecologically diverse landscapes, encompassing forests, peatlands, and marine ecosystems (Humas, 2015a). These invaluable natural assets face susceptibility to climate change ramifications, such as escalating temperatures, rising sea levels, heightened occurrences of extreme weather conditions, and biodiversity diminishment. By throwing its weight behind the Paris Agreement, Indonesia strives to safeguard its environment and the wealth of natural resources it houses, ensuring their preservation for the current and forthcoming generations (Humas, 2015b).

Excerpt 1. *"We provide political support, the same as the previous conference, commitment because we are in the right position for 17 thousand islands if sea levels rise."*

Jokowi employed **norm expression** by mentioning what Indonesia should be doing regarding this matter. Indonesia has committed to decrease its greenhouse gas emissions by 29% by 2030 when contrasted with a baseline scenario. This commitment was presented as a component of its Intended Nationally Determined Contributions (INDC) within the framework of the Paris Agreement. Furthermore, the government has shown keen interest in broadening its utilization of sustainable energy sources, including solar, wind, and hydroelectric power, as part of its initiatives to diminish carbon emissions (Windyswara, 2019). Jokowi's strategy in communicating and addressing climate change has been characterized by greater complexity. During his leadership, Indonesia has taken steps to tackle climate change, although the results have been a combination of positive and negative outcomes.

Excerpt 2. *"As one of the countries with the largest forest area in the world and referred to as the lungs of the world, Indonesia has chosen to be part of the solution. The Government that I lead will develop the country by caring for the environment."*

Jokowi utilized **national self-glorification** by giving some positive allusions to Indonesia to portray it well. Indonesia has been actively formulating strategies to combat deforestation, encourage reforestation, and curtail emissions stemming from land-use alterations, with a special emphasis on preserving and managing peatlands. In November 2022, President Joko Widodo invited all G20 leaders to visit the Grand Forest Park Tahura *(Taman Hutan Raya / Tahura)* in Ngurah Rai. This visit aimed to provide them with a firsthand experience of Indonesia's concrete efforts in addressing climate change. The Ngurah Rai Tahura, covering an area of around 1,300 hectares, was formerly a substantial fishing ground with adverse environmental effects on the surrounding area. However, Indonesia successfully transformed it into a thriving mangrove forest habitat, accommodating 33 varieties of mangrove trees and providing shelter to approximately 300 species of fauna (Gaora, Putra et al., 2023). Moreover, he also employed **populism**. Populism is a political strategy a speaker or political figure employs to promote their political ideologies and policies to gain increasing public support and recognition.

Excerpt 3. *"Indonesia, as a country with large areas of green land and ocean that have the potential to contribute carbon, needs support and contributions from developed countries. The climate finance with developed country partners is a game changer in mitigation and adaptation to the climate change in developing countries."*

Furthermore, President Jokowi's administration has actively participated in global cooperation and alliances to tackle climate change. This involvement encompasses collaborative efforts with other nations and entities to obtain financing and backing for projects related to climate change mitigation (Siraj, 2019). Indonesia has received financial support from the Green Climate Fund (GCF), a funding source for climate change initiatives in less developed nations. This GCF funding has been allocated to diverse climate-centric initiatives within Indonesia, encompassing activities in the domains of forestry and renewable energy (Setyowati, 2020). Throughout his speech, Jokowi used **euphemism** tactics. It is a communication strategy in which the speaker employs gentler or milder language instead of offensive or straightforward expressions.

Comparison and Implication of Trump and Jokowi Approaches to the Paris Agreement

In analyzing Jokowi's discourse, there may be an inclination to underscore a favorable and encouraging stance toward the Paris Agreement. He might employ language that resonates with Indonesia's dedication to combating climate change and its strong commitment to global collaboration. Conversely, when scrutinizing Trump's discourse, one may emphasize a more questioning and doubtful tone regarding the Paris Agreement. His rhetoric might center on economic considerations and national sovereignty, mirroring his administration's disengagement from the agreement. From his speech, undeniably, the national interest of the US during his administration is the economy.

In Jokowi's speech on the Paris Agreement, it is possible to detect an acknowledgment of the reality of climate change and its consequences. His communication may underscore the significance of worldwide efforts to combat climate change. In contrast, when examining Trump's discourse, there might be indications of skepticism or minimization of climate change's importance. His speeches cast doubt on the scientific consensus regarding climate change. Furthermore, Jokowi's discourse might involve conversations about the economic advantages of climate action, such as the potential for job creation in renewable energy sectors.

On the other hand, Trump's discourse analysis may emphasize concerns related to economic expenses and the possibility of job losses linked to climate-related policies. In Jokowi's analysis, there could be an emphasis on Indonesia's dedication to assuming global responsibilities in addressing climate change, particularly given its vulnerability to its consequences.

In contrast, Trump's speeches accentuate US sovereignty and a decreased willingness to adopt a leading global role in tackling climate-related issues. The Trump administration scaled down restrictions on methane emissions from the oil and gas sector. Methane is a potent greenhouse gas, and these revisions diminished endeavors to combat its role in climate change (Baker, 2015). Furthermore, the Trump administration undertook the removal of the Clean Power Plan, which had the objective of curbing carbon emissions from power plants as substituted with the Affordable Clean Energy (ACE) rule, offering greater leeway to states in managing emissions, but was criticized for its perceived lack of rigor (Glicksman, 2017).

Jokowi's discourse strongly emphasizes environmental preservation and promoting sustainable practices, including initiatives to combat deforestation. Conversely, in Trump's discourse analysis, there may be a reduced emphasis on environmental concerns and a greater focus on deregulation and the extraction of natural resources. Since 2020, the Indonesian government has received a payment of USD 103.8 billion from the Green Climate Fund (GCF) organization to reduce deforestation rates. Indonesia has consistently demonstrated a decrease in its annual deforestation rate over the past decade (Anugrah, 2020).

The central government administers a forest fund, which takes the form of a forest subsidy and is referred to as the Reforestation Fund. This fund is designated for activities such as reforestation, rehabilitation, and support, and it is generated through contributions made by Business Permit Holders engaged in the utilization of forest products from natural forests. These contributions are based on the forest utilization activities conducted by these permit holders. Subsequently, the central government assumes the responsibility of collecting these funds. Following collection, the central government allocates these resources to the Ministry of Environment and Forestry and local governments to carry out forest rehabilitation initiatives (Surandoko, 2021).

The analysis conducted in this research provides insights into how the rhetoric of political leaders can potentially impact decisions and the execution of climate policies. Jokowi's communication may play a role in encouraging the adoption of environmentally friendly policies, whereas Trump's position could have influenced deregulatory measures. Jokowi's dedication to global climate action can elevate Indonesia's position in international relations and stimulate cooperation with other countries. On the other hand, Trump's approach might have strained diplomatic relationships, especially in climate negotiations. This type of discourse analysis can shape how the general public perceives and comprehends climate change and associated policies. Jokowi's supportive language may generate public backing for climate initiatives, while Trump's skepticism may mold public sentiment toward deregulation.
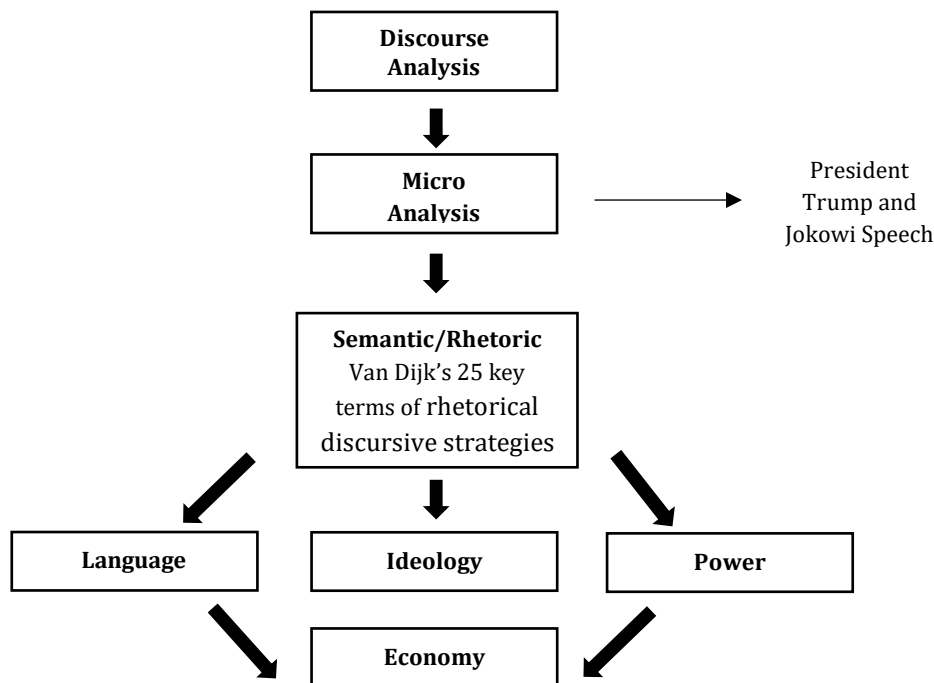
Figure 4. President Trump and Jokowi Speech Micro-Analysis Process

Figure 4 shows the micro-analysis process of President Trump and Jokowi's speech. It is evident from a micro-analysis of both Presidents' speeches that there is a connection between language, ideology, and power. Trump used the amount of money the United States should give developing nations to protect the environment to justify leaving the Paris Agreement by utilizing the victimization strategy. According to this analysis, Trump is perceived as having an anti-globalization mindset and striving to combat it. Trump's withdrawal from the Paris Agreement demonstrates that he is not interested in being bound by global rules. Hence, from this research, the United States' national interest under President Trump is the economy.

Donald Trump and Joko Widodo have adopted contrasting strategies in their communication and policy stance on climate change. Trump gained notoriety for rejecting climate change and reducing environmental regulations. In contrast, Jokowi has pursued a multifaceted approach, aiming to safeguard forests and advance renewable energy, though encountering persistent challenges in policy implementation. Trump's decision to pull the United States out of the Paris Agreement indicates a lack of endorsement for the accord, unlike smaller nations like Indonesia, where President Jokowi and the country have voiced their backing. Indonesia has officially joined the agreement and pledged to reduce greenhouse gas emissions while actively engaging in climate-related actions (Popovich et al., 2020).

Trump has voiced doubts regarding the validity of climate change science, occasionally labeling it as a deception. During his tenure, his government reversed several environmental regulations and advocated for the growth of fossil fuel sectors like coal, oil, and natural gas

(Popovich et al., 2020). Conversely, Jokowi's administration has pursued multiple initiatives to confront climate change, encompassing actions against deforestation, encouraging reforestation, amplifying renewable energy resources, and preserving peatlands. Indonesia has established ambitious objectives to curtail emissions resulting from land-use shifts and to foster sustainable approaches.

CONCLUSION

In the present study, the researchers suggested that Trump explicitly and implicitly stressed the US national interest through his speech. Trump decided to leave the agreement because he was confident it would affect the US economy. He stressed the financial cost that the US would incur to comply with the agreement. Additionally, Donald J. Trump criticized Barack Obama, his political rival, by publicly denouncing him for prior decisions to abide by the Paris Agreement, claiming that it is only the most recent instance of Washington entering into an agreement that disadvantages the United States to the sole benefit of other nations. However, Trump's communication frequently disregarded or downplayed factual information regarding climate change and its impacts. His government reversed environmental regulations designed to mitigate greenhouse gas emissions, opposing scientific advice.

Smaller nations like Indonesia, which may possess limited economic resources, frequently regard the Paris Agreement as a valuable avenue for securing climate-related financing and aid from larger, more prosperous nations. For them, the accord represents an opportunity to access funding for critical climate adaptation and mitigation initiatives and the essential transfer of technology and expertise. In contrast, larger countries like the United States, endowed with robust economies, tend to interpret the Paris Agreement differently. Their financial strength enables them to invest in renewable energy and emissions reduction endeavors without significant dependence on external funding. Nevertheless, these larger nations often encounter heightened international pressure to take substantial actions due to their considerable carbon emissions, which can substantially impact global climate trends.

These divergent viewpoints underscore the intricacies inherent in climate negotiations as nations of varying sizes and economic capabilities grapple with the agreement's provisions while contemplating their distinct circumstances and obligations in addressing the global climate crisis.

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