

# Assessing Translation Quality of the Indonesian Translation of Barack Obama's Speech in 2012 United Nations General Assembly<sup>2</sup>

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## Abstract

This research aims to assess the translation quality by comparing the source text and the target text. The researcher decided to compare the speech by Barack Obama in 2012 United Nations General Assembly and its translation in Indonesian. The model that the researcher used to find out the translation quality is Translation Quality Assessment: A Model Revisited by Juliane House. The model focuses on comparing both source and target text in order to acquire some mismatches and errors before concluding the statement of quality. In the end, the researcher got the conclusion that the interpersonal function is slightly changed while the ideational function remains the same. Moreover, the researcher also concluded that this model is more appropriate to be used in assessing the translation quality of explicit texts such as texts with informative and operative purposes.

**Keywords:** *translation quality assessment, speech, juliane house, mismatches, errors*

## 1. Introduction

### 1.1 Background

Translation quality assessment is a branch of translation studies that are seldom explored. In the course of translation, the notion of how a translation is considered qualified is a question that is frequently asked. Translation, according to Larson (1984:3), is a process of transferring the message conveyed in source language into target language by changing the form. Larson emphasizes that it is allowed to alter the formal structure of source language to fit the requirements of formal structure of target language as long as the meaning is conveyed successfully to the target audience.

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<sup>2</sup>This journal entry is a summary of an undergraduate thesis with the same title by the same researcher.

However, in its practice, it is a common occurrence that bilinguals find translation works which deviate from its original. Some translations apparently convey meanings which are different from the source texts. This phenomenon poses larger questions. How qualified is the translation? How is the quality of the translation measured? Are there any theories or models that can be used to assess the quality of translation?

Many experts have tried to define the notion of translation quality and set up some models of translation quality assessment. In this particular research, the researcher used the model of Translation Quality Assessment: A Model Revisited by Juliane House. The data that were used in this research is the speech conducted by Barack Obama in 2012 United Nations General Assembly and its translation in Indonesian.

The researcher decided to use this data because Barack Obama as the president of The United States of America is a prominent figure. Thus, it is a must for the translator to translate his utterance in public and international forums as equivalent as possible in order to avoid confusions and misunderstandings in the process of conveying Obama's agenda and point of view to the audience all over the world. Furthermore, in this speech, Barack Obama addressed the issue of violence which occurred in the name of religions. This topic can be considered as a highly sensitive issue, and if not addressed carefully, it might cause unnecessary tension among the countries which have conflicting views in resolving the problems.

## **1.2 Research Questions and Research Objectives**

In conducting this research, the researcher formulated two research questions as follows:

1. What is the statement of quality of the Indonesian translation of Barack Obama's speech in 2012 United Nations General Assembly?
2. What kind of texts that can be assessed using Juliane House's Translation Quality Assessment: A Model Revisited?

The objectives of this research are to produce the statement of quality based on the comparison of the source text and the target text and to discover what kinds of texts that can be assessed using Translation Quality Assessment: A Model Revisited by Juliane House.

## **2. Review of Literature**

### **2.1 Translation Quality**

Friedrich (qtd. in House 1977:6) states that the translator is responsible for the quality of translation. It depends on the translator skills in understanding and conveying messages from one language to another. Nida (qtd. in House 2001:244), on the other hand, focuses on the response. He argues that a translation can be categorized as qualified if the target text is able to illicit the same response from the target audience as the source text does to the source audience. Savory (qtd. in House 1977: 7) lists down some obscure criteria of a qualified translation, such as “a translation should read like an original work”, “translation should read like a translation”, and so on. Furthermore, Newmark (1988: 192) also contributes his thinking about a good translation by defining it as a translation that has the same function as the original. Then House (2001: 247-248) elaborates that translation quality should be sought through equivalence in functional level.

Some theories above can be considered plausible to be conducted while some others need further elaboration. In this research, the researcher chose to use the definition of translation quality by House because House focuses on the equivalence in functional level, and it can only be achieved by critically analyzing both textual and contextual aspects of both source text and target text.

## **2.2 Translation Quality Assessment**

There are many views regarding how a translation can be assessed. The first one is mentalist view which suggests that the notion of translation quality assessment can be determined through evaluator's sole and subjective opinion (qtd. in House 2001: 244). Nida (qtd. in House 1997: 4), on the other hand, proposes some tests which involve testing both source and target audience's response in order to measure the translation quality. Furthermore, House (1977: 42) tries to set up a model by analyzing the dimensions of language and adapting Crystal and Davi's scheme. She divides the dimensions into two: dimensions of language user which includes geographical origin, social class, and time, and dimensions of language use, which includes medium, participation, social role relationship, social attitude, and province. The dimensions of source text and target text will be compared further to produce the statement of mismatches and errors and statement of quality. Nord (qtd. in Williams 9) sets up a model in which skopos (intention) of the text plays an important part in translation quality assessment. Then, House (1997: 107) decided to revise her previous theory by changing the usage of the dimensions into a set of register analysis by Halliday and Martin.

In this research, the researcher used Translation Quality Assessment: A Model Revisited by House because of its detailed procedures and extensive analysis.

## **2.3 Context**

According to Malinowski (qtd. in House 1997: 37), text and context cannot be analyzed without one another. Therefore, in the process of translation, it is important for the translator to pay attention not only to the text but also to the context. In translating texts, translators should understand both the text and the context.

Based on the understanding, it can be concluded that context is an important aspect in translating texts. Therefore, the notion of context also needs to be made apparent in the process of assessing translation quality. In House's earlier theory, the situational dimensions act as the description of the context. In

her revised theory, House characterizes the context into the analysis of register and genre.

## **2.4 Text Typology**

Reiss (qtd. in Munday 2001: 74) classifies text into informative text which aims to inform the audience; expressive text which aims to express the author's opinion; and operative text which aims to persuade the audience. Kinneavy (qtd. in Trosbor 3-23) categorizes the text types into narrative, evaluation, classification, and description text. According to Werlich (qtd. in Trosbor 2-23), there are five types of text: description, narration, exposition, argumentation, and instruction.

The researcher chose to use Reiss's Text Typology because the classification is simpler and more concise. Furthermore, similar to House, Reiss's theory is based on functionalist point of view. Thus, both theories have the same basic framework and are deemed compatible.

## **2.5 Previous Studies**

Javad Heidary and Gholamhossein Bahrami (2009) conducted a study on translation quality assessment by using House's Translation Quality Assessment: A Model Revisited. The title of their research is *The Application of Juliane House's Model of TQA in Persian Translation of the Book 'Pride and Prejudice.'* The study compares the work of Jane Austen, 'Pride and Prejudice' and its Persian translation.

Another research on translation quality assessment was also conducted by Hojatollah Yamini and Farhad Abdi (2010) by using House's Translation Quality Assessment: A Model Revisited. Their research, which is entitled *The Application of House's Model to William Shakespeare's 'Macbeth' and its Persian Translation by Ala'uddin Pasargadi,* focuses on comparing the original version of 'Macbeth' by William Shakespeare and its Persian translation.

Both previous studies focused on the errors found in the process of comparison and used quantitative method in calculating the errors and making the conclusion.

### **3. Theoretical Framework & Research Methodology**

#### **3.1 Theoretical Framework**

As stated previously, the theoretical framework that the researcher used is Juliane House's Translation Quality Assessment: A Model Revisited. According to House (qtd. in Munday 2001: 93), there are some procedures that need to be followed in the process of assessing translation quality. Those steps are:

1) A textual profile is produced of ST register.

According to House (1997: 108), there are three categorizations in one textual profile:

a) Field

(1) Subject matter: the main topic of the text

b) Tenor

(1) Author's provenance and stance: the stance of the author

(2) Social role relationship: the relationship between the author and the audience

(3) Social attitude: the degree of formality between the author and the audience

c) Mode

(1) Medium: the channel of communication

(2) Participation: the degree of participation of the audience

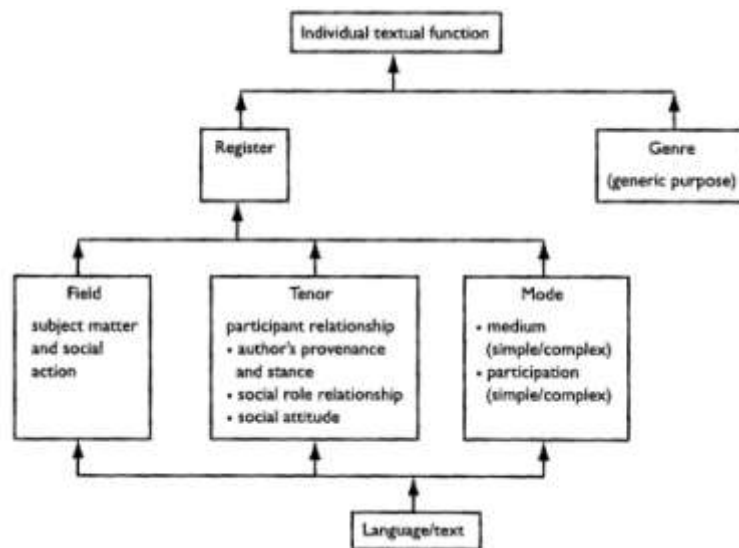


Figure 1  
Scheme for analyzing and comparing original and translation texts (qtd. in House, 1997:108)

2) A description of ST genre is added based on the register.

3) A statement of function is made for the ST.

House (1997: 35) adopts Halliday's functional theory. She agrees that in the process of stating the function of text, there are only two functions which are comparable which are:

- a) Ideational function which describes phenomena in the world and present explanations; thus it is represented through the aspect of Field.
- b) Interpersonal function which expresses and conveys the author's opinion to the audience; thus it is represented through the aspect of Tenor.

4) The same descriptive process is carried out for the TT.

5) The TT profile is compared with the ST profile and the statements of mismatches and errors (overtly and covertly erroneous errors) are produced.

6) A statement of quality is made of the translation.

7) The translation then can be categorized into overt or covert translation.

The most important point that underlies this model is that in the statement of quality, there will be no judgment or evaluation which claims that the translation is good or not. House (1997: 119) believes that the statement of quality should not

be concluded in the form of value judgment. Moreover, in her journal entitled *Translation Quality Assessment: Linguistic Description versus Social Evaluation*, House (2001: 254) also states that:

“In translation criticism it is important to be maximally aware of the difference between (linguistic) analysis and (social) judgment. In other words, a distinction must be made between describing and explaining linguistic features of the original text and comparing them with the relevant linguistic features of the translation text on the one hand and judging “how good a translation” is on the other hand.”

House explains that in the process of judging translation as qualified or not, we need to consider some social aspects that are actually beyond the translator’s main concern. Therefore, analyzing and comparing textual profiles of both ST and TT and judging whether the translation is qualified or not are two completely different notions. In House’s model, she only emphasizes on the analysis of the linguistic aspects of both ST and TT. As the consequence, the result of House’s model is in the form of critical conclusion drawn from the process of analysis instead of the statement whether the translation is good or bad.

### **3.2 Nature of the Research**

This research is a descriptive qualitative research because this main purpose of this research is to describe the comparison between ST and TT before concluding the statement of quality. Moreover, the result of the research will be in the form of non-numerical conclusion, making this research a qualitative instead of quantitative research.

### **3.3 Data Collection Procedures**

Some steps that were conducted by the researcher in the process of collecting data are:

- 1) Reading the ST
- 2) Creating the textual profiles and statement of function of the ST
- 3) Reading the TT



- 4) Creating the textual profiles and statement of function of the ST
- 5) Comparing the textual profiles of ST and TT

### **3.4 Data Analysis Procedures**

House (qtd. in Munday 2001: 93) states that there are some steps in analyzing data:

- 1) After comparing ST and TT textual profiles and creating statements of functions, the statements of mismatches and errors are produced.

According to House (1997: 45), there are two kinds of errors. Those errors are:

a) Overtly erroneous errors: mismatch in non-register

(1) Mismatch of denotative meaning: omission, addition, and substitution, consisting of wrong selections of elements or wrong combinations of elements

(2) Breach of target language system: ungrammaticality and dubious acceptability

b) Covertly erroneous errors: mismatch in one register

- 2) After the mismatches and errors are found, the researcher would conduct further analysis to see the effects of the mismatches and errors towards ideational and interpersonal functions.

- 3) A statement of quality is then made of the translation.

- 4) The translation then can be categorized into overt or covert translation.

According to House (1997: 66-70), overt translation is a translation work which is read like a translation while covert translation is a translation work which is read like another original work in target language.

- 5) After the process of analysis, the researcher would give a conclusion in terms of text types which can be analyzed using Translation Quality Assessment: A Model Revisited by Juliane House

## 4. Analysis and Discussion

### 4.1 Comparison of ST and TT Textual Profiles

In the process of analysis, the researcher firstly described the textual profile of ST. Then, the researcher also conducted the same procedure to TT textual profile. In the process of description, the researcher analyzed the lexical, syntactic and textual means of each register and provided examples to support the researcher's analysis.

After describing the textual profiles, the researcher explained the genre and the statement of function of ST and TT based on the analysis of textual profiles. The result of the analysis and the discussion is summarized in the table below.

ST PROFILE		TT PROFILE	
<i>Field</i>	<b>Subject Matter:</b> Speech	<i>Field</i>	<b>Subject Matter:</b> Speech
<i>Tenor</i>	<b>Author's Provenance &amp; Stance:</b> President of USA	<i>Tenor</i>	<b>Author's Provenance &amp; Stance:</b> Translator (assuming the position of ST author)
	<b>Social Role Relationship:</b> Symmetrical		<b>Social Role Relationship:</b> Symmetrical
	<b>Social Attitude:</b> Formal-Consultative		<b>Social Attitude:</b> Formal
<i>Mode</i>	<b>Medium:</b> Complex	<i>Mode</i>	<b>Medium:</b> Complex
	<b>Participation:</b> Complex		<b>Participation:</b> Complex

Table 1

Comparison of ST and TT Textual Profiles (Taken from Halim 2013: 72)

From the table above, it can be seen that the mismatches are found in the aspect of TENOR, especially in *Author's Provenance & Stance* and *Social Attitude* while other aspects remain the same.

## 4.2 Analysis on Mismatches

The first evident mismatch is *Author's Provenance & Stance* which concerns author's points of view; however, in the TT, the translator takes the place of the ST author in expressing ST author's points of view. The translator follows the ST author's idea and translates the speech accordingly. As the result, ST and TT share the same stance. Thus, the difference in *Author's Provenance & Stance* should not be considered as a mismatch at all.

In the aspect of *Social Attitude*, lexical mismatch in the translation of *I* and *you* was found. The translator translated *I* and *you* into *saya* and *anda*. In Indonesian language system, there are many ways to refer the first person singular such as *gue*, *aku*, *saya*, *hamba*, and so on. The same thing also applies to the reference of second person singular such as *lu*, *kau*, *kamu*, *dikau*, *anda*, and so on. *Saya* and *anda* are included as the formal reference in addressing first and second person singular in Indonesian grammar. Therefore, by translating *I* into *saya* and *you* into *kamu*, the translator establishes more formal social attitude instead of keeping the same formal-consultative style. The decision of the translator then can be considered as mismatch.

Example:

ST	TT
I would like to begin today by telling you about an American named Chris Stevens.	<u>Saya</u> ingin memulai hari ini dengan menceritakan kepada <u>Anda</u> sebuah kisah tentang seorang warga negara AS bernama Chris Stevens.
I tell you this story because Chris Stevens embodied the best of America.	<u>Saya</u> menceritakan pada <u>Anda</u> semua kisah ini karena Chris mewakili hal-hal terbaik dari Amerika.
And I also appreciate that in recent days, the leaders of other countries in the region -- including Egypt, Tunisia	<u>Saya</u> juga sangat menghargai bahwa baru-baru ini, para pemimpin-pemimpin di kawasan tersebut—termasuk Mesir,

and Yemen -- have taken steps to secure our diplomatic facilities, and called for calm.	Tunisia, dan Yaman—telah mengambil langkah-langkah untuk mengamankan fasilitas-fasilitas diplomatik kami dan meminta rakyat mereka untuk tetap tenang.
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Table 2

Lexical mismatch of *Social Attitude* (Taken from Halim 2013: 75)

### 4.3 Overtly Erroneous Errors

In the TT, some overtly erroneous errors can be found. Listed below are the errors which resulted from mismatch of denotative meanings.

- 1) *Burma* into *Birma*
- 2) *Syrian people* into *rakyat Syria*
- 3) *United Nations* into *Persatuan Bangsa-Bangsa*
- 4) *United Nations Security Council* into *Persatuan Bangsa-Bangsa*

### 4.4 Statement of Quality

As stated previously, there are mismatches in the aspect of TENOR, particularly in *Author's Provenance & Stance* and *Social Attitude*. The difference in ST and TT *Author's Provenance* should not be considered as a mismatch since the translator preserves ST author's main idea and stance. Therefore, the main content of the speech does not change during the process of translation which leads to unaltered ideational function. The mismatch in *Social Attitude*, however, changes the interpersonal function because the relationship between the author and the audience in TT is different compared to the original.

The overt errors found in the process of analysis do not affect the interpersonal and ideational function. They do not change the main topic of the speech or disrupt the relationship between the author and the audience.

In the end, it can be concluded that the ideational function of the text does not undergo any changes. However, the interpersonal function is slightly

compromised. In addition, the translation of the speech can be categorized as an overt translation from the way the translator faithfully preserves the organization and the main ideas of the speech and treats the TT readers as the ST readers.

## **5. Conclusion**

To answer the first research question about the statement of quality, as explained above, there is one mismatch in the aspect of TENOR which affects the interpersonal function. The researcher found some overtly erroneous errors within the translation, yet those errors do not affect the interpersonal and ideational function. Moreover, it can also be concluded that the translation is an overt translation.

To answer the second question about text types that can be analyzed using House's Translation Quality Assessment: A Model Revisited, the researcher concluded that it is better to use said model to assess explicit texts. This is due to the fact that even though House's model critically analyzed the linguistic features of both ST and TT, the model only stops in the surface-level analysis. The analysis towards other features beyond linguistic ones is not elaborated in this model. Therefore, House's model is more suited if it is used to analyze informative or operative texts whose content is explicitly explained. On the other hand, for the case of expressive texts, which frequently use implicit meaning, using other models of translation quality assessment might be a better option.

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## APPENDICES

### APPENDIX 1

#### Remarks by President Obama to the U.N. General Assembly

September 26, 2012

United Nations Headquarters  
New York, New York  
10:22 A.M. EDT

- 1 THE PRESIDENT: Mr. President, Mr. Secretary General, fellow delegates, ladies and gentleman: I would like to begin today by telling you about an American named Chris Stevens.
- 2 Chris was born in a town called Grass Valley, California, the son of a lawyer and a musician. As a young man, Chris joined the Peace Corps, and taught English in Morocco. And he came to love and respect the people of North Africa and the Middle East. He would carry that commitment throughout his life. As a diplomat, he worked from Egypt to Syria, from Saudi Arabia to Libya. He was known for walking the streets of the cities where he worked -- tasting the local food, meeting as many people as he could, speaking Arabic, listening with a broad smile.
- 3 Chris went to Benghazi in the early days of the Libyan revolution, arriving on a cargo ship. As America's representative, he helped the Libyan people as they coped with violent conflict, cared for the wounded, and crafted a vision for the future in which the rights of all Libyans would be respected. And after the revolution, he supported the birth of a new democracy, as Libyans held elections, and built new institutions, and began to move forward after decades of dictatorship.
- 4 Chris Stevens loved his work. He took pride in the country he served, and he saw dignity in the people that he met. And two weeks ago, he traveled to Benghazi to review plans to establish a new cultural center and modernize a hospital. That's when America's compound came under attack. Along with three of his colleagues, Chris was killed in the city that he helped to save. He was 52 years old.



5 I tell you this story because Chris Stevens embodied the best of America. Like his fellow Foreign Service officers, he built bridges across oceans and cultures, and was deeply invested in the international cooperation that the United Nations represents. He acted with humility, but he also stood up for a set of principles -- a belief that individuals should be free to determine their own destiny, and live with liberty, dignity, justice, and opportunity.

6 The attacks on the civilians in Benghazi were attacks on America. We are grateful for the assistance we received from the Libyan government and from the Libyan

people. There should be no doubt that we will be relentless in tracking down the killers and bringing them to justice. And I also appreciate that in recent days, the leaders of other countries in the region -- including Egypt, Tunisia and Yemen -- have taken steps to secure our diplomatic facilities, and called for calm. And so have religious authorities around the globe.

7 But understand, the attacks of the last two weeks are not simply an assault on America. They are also an assault on the very ideals upon which the United Nations was founded -- the notion that people can resolve their differences peacefully; that diplomacy can take the place of war; that in an interdependent world, all of us have a stake in working towards greater opportunity and security for our citizens.

8 If we are serious about upholding these ideals, it will not be enough to put more guards in front of an embassy, or to put out statements of regret and wait for the outrage to pass. If we are serious about these ideals, we must speak honestly about the deeper causes of the crisis -- because we face a choice between the forces that would drive us apart and the hopes that we hold in common.

9 Today, we must reaffirm that our future will be determined by people like Chris Stevens -- and not by his killers. Today, we must declare that this violence and intolerance has no place among our United Nations.

10 It has been less than two years since a vendor in Tunisia set himself on fire to protest the oppressive corruption in his country, and sparked what became known as the Arab Spring. And since then, the world has been captivated by the transformation that's taken place, and the United States has supported the forces of change.

- 11 We were inspired by the Tunisian protests that toppled a dictator, because we recognized our own beliefs in the aspiration of men and women who took to the streets.
- 12 We insisted on change in Egypt, because our support for democracy ultimately put us on the side of the people.
- 13 We supported a transition of leadership in Yemen, because the interests of the people were no longer being served by a corrupt status quo.
- 14 We intervened in Libya alongside a broad coalition, and with the mandate of the United Nations Security Council, because we had the ability to stop the slaughter of innocents, and because we believed that the aspirations of the people were more powerful than a tyrant.
- 15 And as we meet here, we again declare that the regime of Bashar al-Assad must come to an end so that the suffering of the Syrian people can stop and a new dawn can begin.
- 16 We have taken these positions because we believe that freedom and self-determination are not unique to one culture. These are not simply American values or Western values -- they are universal values. And even as there will be huge challenges to come with a transition to democracy, I am convinced that ultimately government of the people, by the people, and for the people is more likely to bring about the stability, prosperity, and individual opportunity that serve as a basis for peace in our world.
- 17 So let us remember that this is a season of progress. For the first time in decades, Tunisians, Egyptians and Libyans voted for new leaders in elections that were credible, competitive, and fair. This democratic spirit has not been restricted to the Arab world. Over the past year, we've seen peaceful transitions of power in Malawi and Senegal, and a new President in Somalia. In Burma, a President has freed political prisoners and opened a closed society, a courageous dissident has been elected to parliament, and people look forward to further reform. Around the globe, people are making their voices heard, insisting on their innate dignity, and the right to determine their future.

- 18 And yet the turmoil of recent weeks reminds us that the path to democracy does not end with the casting of a ballot. Nelson Mandela once said: "To be free is not merely to cast off one's chains, but to live in a way that respects and enhances the freedom of others."
- 19 True democracy demands that citizens cannot be thrown in jail because of what they believe, and that businesses can be opened without paying a bribe. It depends on the freedom of citizens to speak their minds and assemble without fear, and on the rule of law and due process that guarantees the rights of all people.
- 20 In other words, true democracy -- real freedom -- is hard work. Those in power have to resist the temptation to crack down on dissidents. In hard economic times, countries must be tempted -- may be tempted to rally the people around perceived enemies, at home and abroad, rather than focusing on the painstaking work of reform.
- 21 Moreover, there will always be those that reject human progress -- dictators who cling to power, corrupt interests that depend on the status quo, and extremists who fan the flames of hate and division. From Northern Ireland to South Asia, from Africa to the Americas, from the Balkans to the Pacific Rim, we've witnessed convulsions that can accompany transitions to a new political order.
- 22 At time, the conflicts arise along the fault lines of race or tribe. And often they arise from the difficulties of reconciling tradition and faith with the diversity and interdependence of the modern world. In every country, there are those who find different religious beliefs threatening; in every culture, those who love freedom for themselves must ask themselves how much they're willing to tolerate freedom for others.
- 23 That is what we saw play out in the last two weeks, as a crude and disgusting video sparked outrage throughout the Muslim world. Now, I have made it clear that the United States government had nothing to do with this video, and I believe its message must be rejected by all who respect our common humanity.

- 24 It is an insult not only to Muslims, but to America as well -- for as the city outside these walls makes clear, we are a country that has welcomed people of every race and every faith. We are home to Muslims who worship across our country. We not only respect the freedom of religion, we have laws that protect individuals from being harmed because of how they look or what they believe. We understand why people take offense to this video because millions of our citizens are among them.
- 25 I know there are some who ask why we don't just ban such a video. And the answer is enshrined in our laws: Our Constitution protects the right to practice free speech.
- 26 Here in the United States, countless publications provoke offense. Like me, the majority of Americans are Christian, and yet we do not ban blasphemy against our most sacred beliefs. As President of our country and Commander-in-Chief of our military, I accept that people are going to call me awful things every day and I will always defend their right to do so.
- 27 Americans have fought and died around the globe to protect the right of all people to express their views, even views that we profoundly disagree with. We do not do so because we support hateful speech, but because our founders understood that without such protections, the capacity of each individual to express their own views and practice their own faith may be threatened. We do so because in a diverse society, efforts to restrict speech can quickly become a tool to silence critics and oppress minorities.
- 28 We do so because given the power of faith in our lives, and the passion that religious differences can inflame, the strongest weapon against hateful speech is not repression; it is more speech -- the voices of tolerance that rally against bigotry and blasphemy, and lift up the values of understanding and mutual respect.
- 29 Now, I know that not all countries in this body share this particular understanding of the protection of free speech. We recognize that. But in 2012, at a time when anyone with a cell phone can spread offensive views around the world with the click of a button, the notion that we can control the flow of information is obsolete. The question, then, is how do we respond?
- 30 And on this we must agree: There is no speech that justifies mindless violence. There are no words that excuse the killing of innocents. There's no

video that justifies an attack on an embassy. There's no slander that provides an excuse for people to burn a restaurant in Lebanon, or destroy a school in Tunis, or cause death and destruction in Pakistan.

- 31 In this modern world with modern technologies, for us to respond in that way to hateful speech empowers any individual who engages in such speech to create chaos around the world. We empower the worst of us if that's how we respond.
- 32 More broadly, the events of the last two weeks also speak to the need for all of us to honestly address the tensions between the West and the Arab world that is moving towards democracy.
- 33 Now, let me be clear: Just as we cannot solve every problem in the world, the United States has not and will not seek to dictate the outcome of democratic transitions abroad. We do not expect other nations to agree with us on every issue, nor do we assume that the violence of the past weeks or the hateful speech by some individuals represent the views of the overwhelming majority of Muslims, any more than the views of the people who produced this video represents those of Americans. However, I do believe that it is the obligation of all leaders in all countries to speak out forcefully against violence and extremism.
- 34 It is time to marginalize those who -- even when not directly resorting to violence -- use hatred of America, or the West, or Israel, as the central organizing principle of politics. For that only gives cover, and sometimes makes an excuse, for those who do resort to violence.
- 35 That brand of politics -- one that pits East against West, and South against North, Muslims against Christians and Hindu and Jews -- can't deliver on the promise of freedom. To the youth, it offers only false hope. Burning an American flag does nothing to provide a child an education. Smashing apart a restaurant does not fill an empty stomach. Attacking an embassy won't create a single job. That brand of politics only makes it harder to achieve what we must do together: educating our children, and creating the opportunities that they deserve; protecting human rights, and extending democracy's promise.
- 36 Understand America will never retreat from the world. We will bring justice to those who harm our citizens and our friends, and we will stand with our allies. We are willing to partner with countries around the world to deepen ties of trade and investment, and science and technology, energy and development -- all efforts

that can spark economic growth for all our people and stabilize democratic change.

- 37 But such efforts depend on a spirit of mutual interest and mutual respect. No government or company, no school or NGO will be confident working in a country where its people are endangered. For partnerships to be effective our citizens must be secure and our efforts must be welcomed.
- 38 A politics based only on anger -- one based on dividing the world between "us" and "them" -- not only sets back international cooperation, it ultimately undermines those who tolerate it. All of us have an interest in standing up to these forces.
- 39 Let us remember that Muslims have suffered the most at the hands of extremism. On the same day our civilians were killed in Benghazi, a Turkish police officer was murdered in Istanbul only days before his wedding; more than 10 Yemenis were killed in a car bomb in Sana'a; several Afghan children were mourned by their parents just days after they were killed by a suicide bomber in Kabul.
- 40 The impulse towards intolerance and violence may initially be focused on the West, but over time it cannot be contained. The same impulses toward extremism are used to justify war between Sunni and Shia, between tribes and clans. It leads not to strength and prosperity but to chaos. In less than two years, we have seen largely peaceful protests bring more change to Muslim-majority countries than a decade of violence. And extremists understand this. Because they have nothing to offer to improve the lives of people, violence is their only way to stay relevant. They don't build; they only destroy.
- 41 It is time to leave the call of violence and the politics of division behind. On so many issues, we face a choice between the promise of the future, or the prisons of the past. And we cannot afford to get it wrong. We must seize this moment. And America stands ready to work with all who are willing to embrace a better future.
- 42 The future must not belong to those who target Coptic Christians in Egypt -- it must be claimed by those in Tahrir Square who chanted, "Muslims, Christians, we are one." The future must not belong to those who bully women -- it must be shaped by girls who go to school, and those who stand for a world where our daughters can live their dreams just like our sons.

- 43 The future must not belong to those corrupt few who steal a country's resources -- it must be won by the students and entrepreneurs, the workers and business owners who seek a broader prosperity for all people. Those are the women and men that America stands with; theirs is the vision we will support.
- 44 The future must not belong to those who slander the prophet of Islam. But to be credible, those who condemn that slander must also condemn the hate we see in the images of Jesus Christ that are desecrated, or churches that are destroyed, or the Holocaust that is denied.
- 45 Let us condemn incitement against Sufi Muslims and Shiite pilgrims. It's time to heed the words of Gandhi: "Intolerance is itself a form of violence and an obstacle to the growth of a true democratic spirit." Together, we must work towards a world where we are strengthened by our differences, and not defined by them. That is what America embodies, that's the vision we will support.
- 46 Among Israelis and Palestinians, the future must not belong to those who turn their backs on a prospect of peace. Let us leave behind those who thrive on conflict, those who reject the right of Israel to exist. The road is hard, but the destination is clear -- a secure, Jewish state of Israel and an independent, prosperous Palestine. Understanding that such a peace must come through a just agreement between the parties, America will walk alongside all who are prepared to make that journey.
- 47 In Syria, the future must not belong to a dictator who massacres his people. If there is a cause that cries out for protest in the world today, peaceful protest, it is a regime that tortures children and shoots rockets at apartment buildings. And we must remain engaged to assure that what began with citizens demanding their rights does not end in a cycle of sectarian violence.
- 48 Together, we must stand with those Syrians who believe in a different vision -- a Syria that is united and inclusive, where children don't need to fear their own government, and all Syrians have a say in how they are governed -- Sunnis and Alawites, Kurds and Christians. That's what America stands for. That is the outcome that we will work for -- with sanctions and consequences for those who persecute, and assistance and support for those who work for this common good. Because we believe that the Syrians who embrace this vision will have the strength and the legitimacy to lead.

- 49 In Iran, we see where the path of a violent and unaccountable ideology leads. The Iranian people have a remarkable and ancient history, and many Iranians wish to enjoy peace and prosperity alongside their neighbors. But just as it restricts the rights of its own people, the Iranian government continues to prop up a dictator in Damascus and supports terrorist groups abroad. Time and again, it has failed to take the opportunity to demonstrate that its nuclear program is peaceful, and to meet its obligations to the United Nations.
- 50 So let me be clear. America wants to resolve this issue through diplomacy, and we believe that there is still time and space to do so. But that time is not unlimited. We respect the right of nations to access peaceful nuclear power, but one of the purposes of the United Nations is to see that we harness that power for peace. And make no mistake, a nuclear-armed Iran is not a challenge that can be contained. It would threaten the elimination of Israel, the security of Gulf nations, and the stability of the global economy. It risks triggering a nuclear-arms race in the region, and the unraveling of the non-proliferation treaty. That's why a coalition of countries is holding the Iranian government accountable. And that's why the United States will do what we must to prevent Iran from obtaining a nuclear weapon.
- 51 We know from painful experience that the path to security and prosperity does not lie outside the boundaries of international law and respect for human rights. That's why this institution was established from the rubble of conflict. That is why liberty triumphed over tyranny in the Cold War. And that is the lesson of the last two decades as well.
- 52 History shows that peace and progress come to those who make the right choices. Nations in every part of the world have traveled this difficult path. Europe, the bloodiest battlefield of the 20th century, is united, free and at peace. From Brazil to South Africa, from Turkey to South Korea, from India to Indonesia, people of different races, religions, and traditions have lifted millions out of poverty, while respecting the rights of their citizens and meeting their responsibilities as nations.
- 53 And it is because of the progress that I've witnessed in my own lifetime, the progress that I've witnessed after nearly four years as President, that I remain ever hopeful about the world that we live in. The war in Iraq is over. American troops have come home. We've begun a transition in Afghanistan, and America and our allies will end our war on schedule in 2014. Al Qaeda has been weakened, and Osama bin Laden is no more. Nations have come together to lock down nuclear materials, and America and Russia are reducing our arsenals. We have seen hard choices made -- from Naypyidaw to Cairo to Abidjan -- to put more power in the hands of citizens.



- 54 At a time of economic challenge, the world has come together to broaden prosperity. Through the G20, we have partnered with emerging countries to keep the world on the path of recovery. America has pursued a development agenda that fuels growth and breaks dependency, and worked with African leaders to help them feed their nations. New partnerships have been forged to combat corruption and promote government that is open and transparent, and new commitments have been made through the Equal Futures Partnership to ensure that women and girls can fully participate in politics and pursue opportunity. And later today, I will discuss our efforts to combat the scourge of human trafficking.
- 55 All these things give me hope. But what gives me the most hope is not the actions of us, not the actions of leaders -- it is the people that I've seen. The American troops who have risked their lives and sacrificed their limbs for strangers half a world away; the students in Jakarta or Seoul who are eager to use their knowledge to benefit mankind; the faces in a square in Prague or a parliament in Ghana who see democracy giving voice to their aspirations; the young people in the favelas of Rio and the schools of Mumbai whose eyes shine with promise. These men, women, and children of every race and every faith remind me that for every angry mob that gets shown on television, there are billions around the world who share similar hopes and dreams. They tell us that there is a common heartbeat to humanity.
- 56 So much attention in our world turns to what divides us. That's what we see on the news. That's what consumes our political debates. But when you strip it all away, people everywhere long for the freedom to determine their destiny; the dignity that comes with work; the comfort that comes with faith; and the justice that exists when governments serve their people -- and not the other way around.
- 57 The United States of America will always stand up for these aspirations, for our own people and for people all across the world. That was our founding purpose. That is what our history shows. That is what Chris Stevens worked for throughout his life.
- 58 And I promise you this: Long after the killers are brought to justice, Chris Stevens's legacy will live on in the lives that he touched -- in the tens of thousands who marched against violence through the streets of Benghazi; in the Libyans who changed their Facebook photo to one of Chris; in the signs that read, simply, "Chris Stevens was a friend to all Libyans."

59 They should give us hope. They should remind us that so long as we work for it, justice will be done, that history is on our side, and that a rising tide of liberty will never be reversed.

60 Thank you very much.

END

10:16 A.M. EDT

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## APPENDIX 2

### **Pidato Presiden AS di Sidang Umum PBB**

**26 September 2012**

GEDUNG PUTIH

KANTOR JURU BICARA

September 25, 2012

Markas Besar PBB, New York

- 1 **PRESIDEN AS:** Presiden, Sekretaris Jenderal, rekan-rekan delegasi, bapak-bapak dan ibu-ibu sekalian yang terhormat: Saya ingin memulai hari ini dengan menceritakan kepada Anda sebuah kisah tentang seorang warga negara AS bernama Chris Stevens.
- 2 Chris lahir di sebuah kota bernama Grass Valley di California sebagai anak dari pasangan seorang pengacara dan seorang pemain musik. Dalam masa mudanya, Chris menjadi anggota Peace Corps dan mengajar Bahasa Inggris di Maroko. Pengalaman ini membangkitkan kecintaan dan rasa hormatnya pada penduduk di Afrika Utara dan Timur Tengah. Dan perasaan ini terus ia bawa sepanjang hidupnya. Sebagai seorang diplomat ia ditugaskan di beberapa tempat, dari Mesir hingga Suriah, dari Arab Saudi hingga Libya. Ia juga dikenal dengan kegemarannya berjalan kaki di kota-kota dimana ia ditempatkan – mencoba masakan-masakan setempat, bertemu dengan sebanyak orang yang ia bisa, berbincang-bincang dalam Bahasa Arab, dan mendengarkan pendapat orang dengan senyumnya yang lebar.
- 3 Chris tiba di Benghazi pada awal Revolusi Libya dengan menaiki sebuah kapal kargo. Sebagai wakil AS, ia menolong rakyat Libya yang berusaha melewati sebuah konflik penuh kekerasan, membantu merawat orang-orang terluka serta ikut merancang sebuah visi masa depan dimana hak-hak semua rakyat Libya akan dihormati. Dan setelah revolusi berakhir, ia membantu lahirnya sebuah demokrasi

baru, sementara rakyat Libya mengadakan pemilihan umum, membangun lembaga-lembaga pemerintahan baru dan beranjak maju setelah beberapa dekade dibawah diktaktor.

- 4 Chris Stevens mencintai pekerjaannya. Ia bangga dengan negara yang ia wakili dan ia menghormati semua orang yang ia temui. Dan dua minggu lalu, ia melakukan perjalanan ke Benghazi untuk meninjau rencana pembangunan sebuah pusat budaya baru dan modernisasi sebuah rumah sakit di kota itu. Dan pada saat itulah Konsulat Jenderal AS diserang. Bersama tiga rekan lainnya, Chris tewas di sebuah kota yang ia telah bantu untuk diselamatkan. Saat itu ia berusia 52 tahun. Saya menceritakan pada Anda semua kisah ini karena Chris mewakili hal-hal terbaik dari Amerika. Seperti rekan-rekannya di Departemen Luar Negeri AS, ia berusaha untuk membangun jembatan-jembatan antar samudera yang menghubungkan berbagai budaya dan ia terlibat dalam kerjasama-kerjasama internasional yang merupakan pencerminan dari Persatuan Bangsa-Bangsa. Ia selalu bertindak dengan segala kerendahan hati, namun ia selalu menjunjung serangkaian prinsip-prinsip dasar – yaitu sebuah kepercayaan bahwa setiap individu berhak untuk memilih sendiri takdirnya dan hidup dibawah asas-asas kemerdekaan, martabat, keadilan dan kesempatan untuk maju.
- 5 Serangan-serangan terhadap warga sipil di Benghazi tersebut adalah serangan terhadap Amerika. Kami sangat berterimakasih atas bantuan Pemerintah dan rakyat Libya dalam hal ini. Tidak ada keraguan bahwa kami akan terus memburu para pembunuh-pembunuh dan mengadilinya. Saya juga sangat menghargai bahwa baru-baru ini, para pemimpin-pemimpin di kawasan tersebut – termasuk Mesir, Tunisia dan Yaman – telah mengambil langkah-langkah untuk mengamankan fasilitas-fasilitas diplomatik kami dan meminta rakyat mereka untuk tetap tenang. Hal ini juga telah disampaikan oleh para pemuka-pemuka agama di seluruh dunia.
- 6 Namun perlu dimengerti bahwa serangan-serangan yang terjadi pada dua minggu terakhir ini bukan hanya sekedar serangan terhadap Amerika. Mereka juga menyerang ide-ide dasar yang membentuk Persatuan Bangsa-Bangsa, ide-ide yang menyatakan bahwa perbedaan diantara umat manusia dapat diselesaikan dengan damai; bahwa diplomasi dapat menggantikan perang; dalam sebuah dunia yang saling berhubungan ini kita semua memiliki andil dalam membuka kesempatan untuk maju yang lebih besar dan menjaga keamanan bagi semua warga negara kita. Jika kita benar-benar serius menjunjung tinggi ide-ide dasar ini, maka tidaklah cukup bagi kita untuk hanya menambah penjaga di depan Kedutaan Besar, atau hanya mengeluarkan pernyataan-pernyataan penyesalan dan menunggu gelombang kemarahan mereda. Jika kita benar-benar serius terhadap ideal-ideal ini, maka kita harus berbicara jujur tentang apa sebenarnya akar permasalahan dari krisis ini – karena saat ini kita dihadapkan pada sebuah pilihan

antara kekuatan-kekuatan yang ingin memisahkan dan harapan-harapan yang kita pegang bersama.

- 7 Hari ini kita harus memperteguh kembali komitmen kita bahwa masa depan akan ditentukan oleh orang-orang seperti Chris Stevens – dan bukan oleh para pembunuhnya. Hari ini kita harus mendeklarasikan bahwa kekerasan dan intoleransi tidak memiliki tempat lagi di Persatuan Bangsa-Bangsa.
- 8 Kurang dari dua tahun yang lalu seorang pedagang kaki lima di Tunisia membakar dirinya sendiri untuk memprotes korupsi dan penindasan di negaranya, dan peristiwa ini memicu apa yang kemudian dikenal sebagai *Arab Spring*. Dan sejak saat itu, dunia terperanjat dengan transformasi yang terjadi akibat peristiwa tersebut, dan Amerika Serikat telah memberikan dukungannya terhadap pihak-pihak yang menginginkan perubahan.
- 9 Kami terinspirasi oleh protes rakyat Tunisia yang berhasil menggulingkan seorang diktator, dan melihat bahwa kami juga menjunjung prinsip-prinsip yang sama dengan para pria dan wanita di Tunisia yang turun ke jalan untuk ikut dalam protes.
- 10 Kami juga bersikeras mendukung perubahan di Mesir, karena dukungan kepada demokrasi akan selalu membuat kami berpihak kepada rakyat.
- 11 Kami mendukung transisi kepemimpinan di Yaman, karena kepentingan rakyat sudah tidak lagi dilayani oleh pemerintah status quo yang penuh korupsi.
- 12 Kami melibatkan diri di Libya, sebagai bagian dari koalisi luas negara-negara dan dengan mandat Persatuan Bangsa-Bangsa, karena kami memiliki kemampuan untuk mencegah terjadinya pembantaian rakyat yang tidak berdosa dan juga karena kami percaya bahwa aspirasi rakyat jauh lebih kuat daripada seorang tiran.
- 13 Dalam kesempatan ini dimana kita semua bertemu, sekali lagi kami nyatakan Rezim Bashar al-Assad harus segera berakhir agar penderitaan rakyat Syria dapat dihentikan dan sebuah fajar baru akan terbit.
- 14 Kami mengambil semua posisi tersebut karena kami percaya bahwa kebebasan dan hak untuk menentukan nasib masing-masing bukanlah sesuatu hal unik yang hanya dimiliki oleh kebudayaan tertentu. Bukan nilai-nilai Amerika atau barat,

tetapi nilai universal. Walaupun berbagai tantangan besar akan datang dalam proses transisi menuju demokrasi, saya yakin bahwa pada akhirnya sebuah pemerintah dari rakyat, oleh rakyat dan untuk rakyat akan dapat mendatangkan stabilitas, kemakmuran dan kesempatan individu yang menjadi dasar perdamaian dunia kita.

- 15 Jadi marilah kita mengingat bahwa sekarang adalah masanya untuk maju. Untuk pertama kalinya setelah beberapa dekade lamanya, rakyat Tunisia, Mesir dan Libya telah memilih pemimpin-pemimpin baru melalui proses pemilihan umum yang terpercaya, kompetitif dan adil. Semangat demokrasi ini tidak saja muncul di Dunia Arab. Pada tahun ini, kami juga melihat transisi kekuasaan yang damai terjadi di Malawi dan Senegal, serta seorang Presiden baru di Somalia. Di Birma, seorang Presiden telah melepaskan tahanan-tahanan politik dan membuka masyarakatnya yang dulu tertutup, seorang pembangkang politik yang berani telah terpilih sebagai anggota parlemen, dan rakyat menantikan reformasi selanjutnya. Di seluruh dunia, banyak orang yang telah bangkit dan bersuara, mereka terus memperjuangkan agar martabat dasar mereka sebagai manusia dan juga hak untuk menentukan masa depan dihormati.
- 16 Namun berbagai gejolak minggu-minggu terakhir ini mengingatkan kita bahwa jalan menuju demokrasi tidak berakhir dengan hanya memasukan kartu suara. Nelson Mandela pernah berkata: “Menjadi bebas bukan hanya berarti bahwa kita sudah tidakdirantai lagi, tetapi juga hidup dengan cara menghormati dan mendukung kebebasan orang lain.”
- 17 Demokrasi sejati menekankan bahwa seorang warga negara tidak bisa dipenjarakan karena apa yang ia percaya, dan sebuah bisnis dapat berjalan tanpa harus membayar uang suap. Demokrasi bergantung pada kebebasan para warga negaranya untuk mengeluarkan pendapat dan berkumpul tanpa rasa takut, dan bergantung pada aturan hukum serta proses yang menjamin hak-hak bagi semua warga negara.
- 18 Dengan kata lain, demokrasi yang sejati – kebebasan yang sejati – membutuhkan kerja keras. Pihak-pihak yang berkuasa harus menghindari godaan untuk menekan para pembangkang. Dalam masa-masa ekonomi sulit, negara-negara pasti tergoda – dan mungkin telah tergoda untuk menghasut rakyatnya agar memusuhi pihak-pihak tertentu, di dalam ataupun luar negeri, daripada menyulitkan diri dengan proses reformasi.
- 19 Selain itu, akan ada pihak-pihak yang selalu ingin menghalangi kemajuan manusia – para diktator yang ingin terus berkuasa, para koruptor yang ingin *status*

*quo* dipertahankan, dan para kaum ekstrimis yang ingin terus mengobarkan api kebencian dan perpecahan. Dari Irlandia Utara hingga Asia Selatan, dari Benua Afrika hingga Amerika, dari Kawasan Balkan hingga Lingkar Pasifik, kita telah melihat berbagai gejolak yang mengiringi transisi menuju sebuah tatanan politik baru. Kadangkala, konflik-konflik antar ras atau suku muncul. Dan seringkali muncul dari sulitnya rekonsiliasi perbedaan tradisi dan keyakinan dalam keragaman dan ketergantungan yang terjadi di dunia modern. Di setiap negara, ada pihak-pihak yang merasa terancam oleh kepercayaan agama yang berbeda; dalam setiap kebudayaan, pihak-pihak yang mencintai kebebasan harus bertanya kepada diri mereka sendiri seberapa besar mereka dapat memberikan toleransi pada kebebasan orang lain.

- 20 Itulah yang kita lihat dan terjadi dalam dua minggu terakhir ini, ketika sebuah video yang kasar dan menjijikan membangkitkan kemarahan Dunia Islam. Sekarang, saya telah membuat jelas bahwa Pemerintah AS sama sekali tidak memiliki keterlibatan dalam video ini, dan saya yakin bahwa pesan-pesan video ini harus ditolak dan dikecam oleh semua orang yang menghargai kemanusiaan.
- 21 Video ini tidak hanya menghina Umat Muslim, tetapi juga Amerika – jika Anda melihat kota diluar tembok gedung ini, jelas terlihat bahwa negara kami menyambut semua orang dari setiap ras dan keyakinan agama. Negara kami adalah rumah bagi warga Muslim yang bebas menjalankan ibadah di seluruh negeri. Kami tidak saja menghormati kebebasan beragama, tetapi juga memiliki hukum-hukum yang melindungi para individu agar mereka tidak disakiti hanya karena penampilan atau karena kepercayaan mereka. Kami mengerti kenapa banyak orang yang merasa tersinggung oleh video ini karena jutaan rakyat kami juga merasakan hal yang sama.
- 22 Saya tahu bahwa banyak yang bertanya kenapa kami tidak melarang video semacam ini. Dan jawabannya terukir dalam hukum kami: Undang Undang Dasar kami melindungi kebebasan mengeluarkan pendapat.
- 23 Di Amerika Serikat, tidak terhitung banyaknya publikasi yang menyinggung perasaan. Seperti saya sendiri, mayoritas warga Amerika beragama Kristen, namun kami tidak melarang penistaan atas hal-hal yang kami anggap paling suci. Sebagai Presiden dan Panglima militer tertinggi, saya menerima kenyataan bahwa setiap harinya orang-orang menghina saya dengan kata-kata kasar namun saya akan terus melindungi hak mereka untuk melakukan hal itu.
- 24 Warga Amerika telah berjuang, dan juga gugur di seluruh dunia untuk melindungi hak setiap orang dalam mengekspresikan pendapat mereka, bahkan pendapat-pendapat yang kami tidak setuju. Kami melakukannya bukan karena kami

mendukung pidato yang mengandung kebencian, tetapi karena para pendiri negara kami sadar bahwa tanpa perlindungan ini, kemampuan setiap individu untuk mengeluarkan pendapat dan beribadah sesuai agamanya masing-masing akan terancam. Kami melakukannya karena dalam sebuah masyarakat yang beragam, segala usaha untuk membatasi kebebasan berbicara dapat dijadikan alat untuk membungkam kritik dan juga menekan kaum minoritas.

- 25 Kami melakukannya karena dengan kekuatan iman yang kita miliki dalam kehidupan, dan semangat dalam perbedaan antar keyakinan beragama, senjata paling kuat untuk melawan kata-kata yang mengandung kebencian bukanlah penindasan, justru kata-kata penuh toleransi untuk melawan kebencian dan penistaan. Suara-suara yang dapat mengangkat nilai-nilai saling pengertian dan saling menghormati.
- 26 Sekarang, saya tahu bahwa tidak semua negara dalam lembaga ini memiliki pengertian yang sama atas perlindungan kebebasan berpendapat. Kami sadar akan hal itu. Tetapi di tahun 2012 ini, dimana setiap orang yang memiliki telepon seluler dapat menyebarkan pandangan-pandangan yang menyinggung perasaan ke seluruh dunia cukup dengan menekan satu tombol, pengertian bahwa kita dapat mengendalikan semua arus informasi sudah tidak berlaku lagi. Sekarang pertanyaannya adalah, bagaimana kita bereaksi terhadap hal ini?
- 27 Dalam hal ini kita harus sepakat: tidak ada pidato yang membenarkan penggunaan kekerasan secara liar. Tidak ada kata-kata yang bisa memberikan alasan untuk pembunuhan orang-orang yang tidak berdosa. Tidak ada video yang bisa membenarkan penyerangan atas sebuah Kedutaan Besar. Tidak ada kata-kata fitnah yang menjadi alasan bagi pihak-pihak tertentu untuk membakar sebuah restoran di Lebanon, atau menghancurkan sebuah sekolah di Tunisia, atau menyebabkan korban jiwa dan kerusakan di Pakistan.
- 28 Di dunia modern ini yang penuh dengan teknologi modern, reaksi kekerasan terhadap pernyataan yang mengandung kebencian justru akan memberikan kekuatan bagi para individu yang membuat pernyataan kebencian ini untuk menciptakan kekacauan di dunia. Kita hanya akan memberikan kekuatan bagi orang-orang terburuk dalam masyarakat kita jika kita bereaksi dengan cara seperti ini.
- 29 Dalam skala lebih luas, peristiwa-peristiwa yang terjadi dalam dua minggu terakhir ini juga menunjukkan perlunya kita semua berbicara jujur tentang

ketegangan yang ada diantara Dunia Barat dan Dunia Arab yang saat ini mulai bergerak menuju demokrasi.

- 30 Sekarang, saya ingin menegaskan: Seperti halnya kita tidak bisa menyelesaikan semua permasalahan di dunia, Amerika Serikat tidak pernah dan tidak akan mendikte hasil transisi-transisi demokratis di luar negeri. Kami juga tidak mengharapkan semua negara untuk setuju dengan kami dalam setiap isu, dan kami juga tidak berasumsi bahwa kekerasan-kekerasan ataupun pidato-pidato kebencian dari beberapa individu yang terjadi dalam minggu-minggu terakhir ini mewakili pandangan dari mayoritas besar Umat Islam. Hal serupa dengan pandangan pembuat video ini sama sekali tidak mewakili pandangan warga Amerika. Namun, saya juga percaya bahwa setiap pemimpin negara di dunia memiliki tanggung jawab untuk berbicara secara tegas untuk menolak kekerasan dan ekstrimisme.
  
- 31 Sudah saatnya kita memarjinalkan orang-orang – walaupun mereka tidak melakukan kekerasan secara langsung – yang menggunakan kebencian mereka terhadap Amerika, atau Dunia Barat, atau Israel, sebagai prinsip dasar mereka dalam berpolitik. Karena hal ini akan memberikan perlindungan dan kadangkala alasan bagi mereka-mereka yang ingin menggunakan kekerasan.
  
- 32 Jenis politik seperti ini – yang mengadu-adu dombakan pihak Timur melawan Barat, dan pihak Selatan melawan Utara, Islam melawan Kristen, Hindu dan Yahudi – tidak akan bisa menepati janji-janji mereka tentang kebebasan. Bagi para kaum muda, hal ini hanya akan memberikan harapan sia-sia. Membakar bendera Amerika tidak akan menghasilkan apapun yang dapat memberikan pendidikan sekolah kepada seorang anak. Memporakporandakan sebuah restoran tidak akan mengisi perut-perut yang kelaparan. Menyerang kedutaan besar tidak akan membuka lapangan pekerjaan baru. Politik seperti ini hanya akan mempersulit kita dalam mencapai tujuan-tujuan bersama yaitu: memberikan pendidikan bagi anak-anak kita, memberikan kesempatan-kesempatan bagi mereka untuk maju, melindungi hak asasi manusia dan mencapai tujuan-tujuan demokrasi.
  
- 33 Pahamiilah bahwa Amerika tidak akan pernah berpaling dari dunia. Kami akan memberikan hukuman yang setimpal bagi mereka yang telah mencelakakan warga negara kami dan kawan-kawan kami, dan kami akan bekerja sama dengan mitra-mitra kami. Kami siap bermitra dengan negara-negara di seluruh dunia untuk memperkuat perdagangan dan investasi, ilmu pengetahuan dan teknologi, serta energi dan pembangunan – segala upaya yang dapat mendorong pertumbuhan ekonomi bangsa kita dan menstabilisasi perubahan demokratis.



- 34 Namun upaya ini bergantung pada semangat untuk bekerja sama dan rasa saling menghormati. Tak ada pemerintahan maupun perusahaan, sekolah maupun lembaga swadaya masyarakat yang akan merasa nyaman jika ditempatkan di sebuah negara di mana mereka dalam bahaya. Untuk mencapai kerjasama yang efektif, keselamatan warga negara kita harus terjamin dan upaya-upaya tersebut harus disambut dengan baik.
- 35 Politik yang hanya didasari oleh amarah – yang membeda-bedakan antara “kita” dan “mereka” – tak hanya menghambat kerjasama internasional, tapi juga pada akhirnya akan merusak mereka yang mengikuti prinsip semacam ini. Kita semua memiliki keinginan untuk menentang mereka yang mempunyai prinsip seperti itu.
- 36 Jika kita ingat kembali, kaum Musliminlah yang paling dirugikan oleh para ekstrimis. Di hari yang sama ketika warga negara kami dibunuh di Benghazi, seorang polisi di Turki dibunuh di Istanbul beberapa hari sebelum hari pernikahannya; lebih dari 10 warga Yaman terbunuh akibat pemboman mobil di Sana'a; para orangtua di Afghanistan menangisi anak-anak mereka yang hilang nyawanya akibat bom bunuh diri di Kabul.
- 37 Dorongan untuk melakukan aksi intoleransi dan kekerasan pada awalnya mungkin ditujukan pada Barat, tapi seiring berjalannya waktu, kondisi ini tak dapat dibendung. Dorongan serupa untuk melakukan aksi ekstrimisme digunakan sebagai pembenaran perang antara Sunni dan Syi'ah, antara suku bangsa dan marga. Aksi semacam ini tidak membuahkan kekuatan maupun kemakmuran, tapi justru kekacauan. Dalam waktu kurang dari dua tahun, kita telah melihat bagaimana aksi protes yang berlangsung secara damai dapat membawa perubahan bagi negara-negara yang penduduknya mayoritas Muslim dibandingkan kekerasan yang digencarkan selama puluhan tahun. Dan para ekstrimis menyadarinya. Karena mereka tidak dapat berkontribusi terhadap kemajuan masyarakat, kekerasan menjadi satu-satunya cara agar mereka tetap relevan. Mereka tidak membangun; mereka hanya menghancurkan.
- 38 Ini saatnya untuk meninggalkan dorongan untuk melakukan kekerasan dan memecah-belah. Dalam begitu banyak hal, kita dihadapkan pada dua pilihan: apakah kita ingin meraih masa depan atau terpenjara di masa lampau? Dan kita tidak boleh mengambil keputusan yang salah. Kita harus memanfaatkan saat ini sebaik mungkin. Dan Amerika siap untuk bekerja sama dengan siapa saja yang ingin meraih masa depan yang lebih baik.
- 39 Masa depan tidak layak dimiliki oleh mereka yang mengincar penganut agama Kristen Koptik di Mesir – masa depan harus diraih oleh mereka yang berada di

Alun-Alun Tahrir yang menyerukan, “Kaum Muslimin, kaum Kristiani, kita semua satu.”

- 40 Masa depan tidak layak dimiliki oleh mereka yang gemar menggertak kaum wanita – masa depan harus dibentuk oleh para perempuan belia yang duduk di bangku sekolah, dan oleh mereka yang berupaya untuk sebuah dunia di mana anak-anak perempuan kita bisa mencapai mimpi-mimpi mereka, layak anak-anak pria kita.
- 41 Masa depan tidak layak dimiliki oleh segelintir koruptor yang mencuri sumber daya negeri mereka – masa depan harus dimenangkan oleh para murid dan wirausahawan, para pekerja dan pengusaha yang bekerja untuk kemakmuran masyarakat. Dengan para wanita dan pria seperti itulah Amerika berdiri disampingnya; cita-cita mereka kami dukung.
- 42 Masa depan bukan milik mereka yang menghina nabi kaum Muslimin. Namun, mereka yang mengutuk penistaan semacam itu seadilnya juga mengutuk rasa benci yang terwujud lewat penistaan Yesus Kristus, perusakan gereja, atau penyangkalan terhadap Holocaust.
- 43 Mari kita kecam provokasi terhadap Muslim Sufi dan penganut Syi’ah. Inilah saatnya untuk mencamkan perkataan Gandhi: “Intoleransi merupakan bentuk kekerasan dan menghambat perkembangan semangat demokrasi yang sebenarnya.” Kita harus bekerja sama untuk mencapai sebuah dunia dimana perbedaan kitalah yang menguatkan kita, bukan memecah-belah kita. Inilah nilai-nilai Amerika, inilah cita-cita yang kami dukung.
- 44 Di antara warga Israel dan Palestina, masa depan tidak boleh dimiliki oleh mereka yang menyerah terhadap perdamaian dunia. Mari kita tinggalkan mereka yang senang menyulut konflik, mereka yang menolak hak Israel untuk hidup. Jalan yang kita harus tempuh memang sulit, tapi tujuannya jelas – negara Yahudi yang aman bagi rakyat Israel dan Palestina yang merdeka dan makmur. Amerika sadar bahwa perdamaian seperti ini dapat diraih bila ada kesepakatan antara kedua belah pihak. Oleh karenanya, Amerika akan mendampingi siapa saja yang siap untuk mengambil langkah tersebut.
- 45 Di Suriah, masa depan tidak boleh dimiliki oleh seorang diktator yang membunuh rakyatnya secara massal. Apabila dunia merasa perlu untuk melakukan protes, protes yang dilakukan secara damai, maka alasan yang tepat untuk mengadakan protes tersebut adalah karena adanya rezim yang menyiksa anak-anak dan yang menembakkan roket ke gedung-gedung tempat tinggal. Dan kita harus senantiasa

terlibat untuk memastikan bahwa kondisi yang berawal dari tuntutan warga negara untuk menikmati hak-hak mereka ini, tidak berakhir dengan sederet tindak kekerasan yang keji.

- 46 Bersama, kita harus membela warga Suriah yang percaya akan adanya perubahan – negara Suriah yang bersatu dan merangkul semua warganya, dimana anak-anak tidak lagi takut akan pemerintah mereka, dan semua warga Suriah dapat menyuarakan pendapat mereka mengenai sistem pemerintahan – Sunni dan Alawi, Kurdi dan Kristiani. Inilah apa yang diupayakan oleh Amerika. Inilah tujuan yang kami perjuangkan – menerapkan sanksi dan konsekuensi bagi mereka yang bertolak belakang, dan memberikan bantuan serta dukungan bagi mereka yang berupaya untuk meraih kebaikan ini. Karena kami percaya bahwa warga Suriah yang memiliki cita-cita ini memiliki kekuatan dan hak untuk memimpin.
- 47 Di Iran, kita dapat melihat akibat dari ideologi kekerasan dan tidak bertanggung jawab. Warga Iran memiliki sejarah kuno yang luar biasa, dan banyak warga Iran yang ingin menikmati kedamaian dan kemakmuran layaknya negeri-negeri tetangga mereka. Namun pemerintah Iran tak hanya membatasi hak-hak rakyatnya sendiri, tapi mereka juga terus memberikan dukungan kepada seorang diktator di Damaskus dan mendukung kelompok-kelompok teroris yang tersebar di seluruh dunia. Berulang kali pemerintah Iran gagal membuktikan bahwa program nuklir mereka dimaksudkan untuk tujuan perdamaian, dan memenuhi tanggungjawab mereka terhadap Persatuan Bangsa-Bangsa.
- 48 Jadi, saya tegaskan. Amerika ingin mengakhiri isu ini melalui jalur diplomasi, dan kami percaya bahwa masih ada ruang dan waktu untuk melakukannya. Namun waktu yang kita miliki tidaklah tak terbatas. Kami menghargai hak bangsa-bangsa untuk mengakses tenaga nuklir untuk tujuan damai, tapi salah satu fungsi Persatuan Bangsa-Bangsa adalah untuk memastikan bahwa kita menggunakan energi tersebut untuk perdamaian. Dan, jangan salah, dipersenjatai dengan nuklir, Iran bukanlah tantangan kita. Kondisi ini akan mengancam keberadaan Israel, keamanan negara-negara di Teluk, dan stabilitas ekonomi dunia. Kondisi ini dapat memancing perang nuklir di wilayah tersebut, serta mengakhiri perjanjian nonproliferasi. Oleh karena itu, koalisi bangsa-bangsa meminta pertanggungjawaban pemerintah Iran. Dan inilah mengapa Amerika Serikat akan berupaya semampu kami untuk mencegah Iran memperoleh senjata nuklir.
- 49 Kami telah merasakan pahitnya meraih keamanan dan kemakmuran tanpa penerapan hukum internasional dan rasa hormat terhadap hak azasi manusia. Inilah mengapa institusi ini dibangun dari puing-puing konflik. Inilah mengapa kebebasan mengalahkan tirani saat Perang Dingin. Dan inilah pelajaran yang dipetik selama dua puluh tahun terakhir.

- 50 Sejarah menunjukkan bahwa perdamaian dan pertumbuhan berpihak pada mereka yang mengambil keputusan yang benar. Bangsa-bangsa di seluruh dunia pernah menjalani masa-masa pahit seperti ini. Eropa, yang merupakan medan perang paling berdarah di abad ke-20, kini bersatu, bebas, dan damai. Dari Brazil hingga Afrika Selatan, dari Turki hingga Korea Selatan, dari India hingga Indonesia, rakyat dari berbagai suku, agama, dan tradisi telah mengangkat jutaan orang dari kemiskinan, namun tetap menghormati hak azasi warga negara mereka dan memenuhi tanggung jawab mereka sebagai negara.
- 51 Kemajuan yang telah saya saksikan dalam hidup saya, kemajuan yang telah saya saksikan hampir empat tahun menjabat sebagai Presiden – inilah mengapa saya masih memiliki harapan untuk dunia yang kita huni ini. Perang di Irak telah berakhir. Prajurit Amerika telah pulang ke rumah mereka masing-masing. Kami telah memulai transisi di Afghanistan, dan Amerika beserta sekutu-sekutu kami akan mengakhiri perang pada tahun 2014, sesuai jadwal. Al Qaeda telah dilumpuhkan, dan Osama bin Laden kini sudah tiada. Bangsa-bangsa kini bersatu untuk menutup akses ke bahan nuklir, dan Amerika dan Rusia tengah mengurangi persenjataan. Kita telah menyaksikan perubahan-perubahan drastis – dari Naypyidaw hingga Kairo hingga Abidjan – yang diambil demi memberikan kekuatan yang lebih besar di tangan rakyat.
- 52 Di tengah-tengah tantangan ekonomi, dunia bersatu untuk memperkuat kemakmuran. Lewat G20, kami telah bermitra dengan negara-negara berkembang agar dunia terus menjadi lebih baik. Amerika senantiasa mengikuti rencana perkembangan yang mendorong pertumbuhan dan mengakhiri ketergantungan, dan bekerja sama dengan pemimpin-pemimpin Afrika yang terbuka dan transparan untuk membantu mereka menghidupi bangsa mereka. Kerjasama baru telah terjalin untuk memberantas korupsi dan mendorong pemerintahan yang terbuka dan transparan, dan komitmen-komitmen baru telah dihasilkan lewat *Equal Futures Partnership* untuk memastikan bahwa kaum wanita dan anak-anak perempuan dapat berpartisipasi penuh dalam politik dan meraih peluang. Sesaat lagi, saya akan mendiskusikan upaya kami dalam memerangi perdagangan manusia.
- 53 Semua ini memberikan saya harapan. Namun yang memberikan saya harapan terbesar bukanlah tindakan kita, bukan tindakan para pemimpin – tetapi orang-orang yang pernah saya temui. Prajurit Amerika yang telah mempertaruhkan nyawa mereka dan mengorbankan raga mereka untuk orang-orang yang tak mereka kenal yang berada di belahan dunia lain; para murid di Jakarta dan Seoul yang bersemangat untuk menerapkan pengetahuan mereka demi kepentingan masyarakat; wajah-wajah di alun-alun di Praha maupun parlemen di Ghana yang melihat demokrasi sebagai jalan untuk menyuarakan aspirasi mereka; anak-anak muda di kawasan kumuh di Rio dan sekolah-sekolah di Mumbai yang memiliki

semangat untuk meraih perubahan. Para pria, wanita, dan anak-anak dari berbagai suku dan kepercayaan ini mengingatkan saya bahwa, untuk setiap kerusuhan masal yang ditayangkan di televisi, ada milyaran pemirsa di seluruh dunia yang memiliki harapan dan impian yang sama. Mereka mengingatkan kita bahwa pada dasarnya manusia memiliki cita-cita yang sama.

- 54 Begitu banyak hal yang seharusnya kita perhatikan, tapi justru memecahbelah kita. Itulah yang kita lihat di media massa. Itulah yang menyita perhatian kita. Tapi jika Anda kesampingkan semua hal itu, semua orang, dimana pun mereka berada, mengidamkan kebebasan untuk menentukan masa depan mereka; kebanggaan akan pekerjaan mereka; kenyamanan dari beriman; dan keadilan yang terwujud ketika pemerintah mengabdikan pada rakyat mereka – bukan sebaliknya.
- 55 Amerika Serikat akan terus berupaya untuk cita-cita ini, untuk rakyat kami dan untuk rakyat di seluruh dunia. Itulah tujuan pendirian bangsa ini. Itulah yang diperlihatkan oleh sejarah kami. Itulah yang diupayakan oleh Chris Stevens semasa hidupnya.
- 56 Dan saya berjanji: Setelah para pembunuh itu diadili, peninggalan Chris Stevens akan senantiasa hidup di dalam jiwa semua yang pernah ia temui – di dalam jiwa puluhan ribu orang yang turun ke jalanan di Benghazi untuk menentang kekerasan; di dalam jiwa warga negara Libya yang mengubah foto profil di akun Facebook mereka menjadi foto Chris; di papan-papan yang bertuliskan, “Chris Stevens adalah teman semua warga Libya.”
- 57 Mereka selayaknya memberikan kita harapan. Mereka selayaknya mengingatkan kita bahwa, selama kita berupaya, keadilan akan tercapai, bahwa sejarah telah membuktikannya, dan bahwa kobaran semangat untuk mencapai kebebasan tak akan pernah padam.
- 58 Terima kasih banyak.