


A Comparative Analysis of Speech Act Usage Between Retno Marsudi's and Sugiono's Speeches in Supporting Palestine at International Forums

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A B S T R A C T

This study analyzes the use of speech act in the diplomatic speeches of Retno Marsudi and Sugiono in international forums supporting Palestine. Based on Searle's speech act theory and Toulmin's argumentation theory, this study explores how each diplomat used linguistics strategies to construct meaning and convey political support. The data collection techniques in this research are first, watching videos of Retno Marsudi's and Sugiono's speeches at the 16th UN and BRICS Summit through YouTube. Second, transcribing the selected videos. Third, searching for their speech texts on the official website of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Indonesia. Fourth, reading the text and then collecting data by selecting which phrases to take. The last is identifying the phrases that match the category characteristics. Using descriptive qualitative method in the analysis, Retno Marsudi tends to use directive speech acts to urge immediate action from the UN Security Council and commissive speech acts to emphasize Indonesia's commitment to justice. On the other hand, Sugiono uses expressive and directive speech acts to build international solidarity and invite Southern countries to support Palestine. The analysis shows that Retno Marsudi emphasizes direct conceptual meaning, while Sugiono uses associative meaning to strengthen global solidarity and justice. This difference reflects the rhetorical strategies used in accordance with their respective audiences and objectives in international forums. This research provides insight into the use of language in diplomatic forums that can influence policy in international relations.

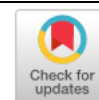
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INTRODUCTION

Palestine is known for its struggle to achieve independence and human rights under Israeli occupation. Conflicts between Palestine and Israel have occurred several times, triggered by the same issue, which is the expansion of Jewish settlements in the Palestinian territories. This will continue to happen and continue when the Israeli authorities impose their will on the expansion of the territory, even though this violates international law (Victor, 2021). Rupert Colville, spokesperson for the UN Human Rights Office, reiterated the UN's position on the Israeli occupation of the Palestinian territories, saying that the settlement of Jews in the Palestinian territories occupied by Israel violates international law (Republika, 2021). In international law, the West Bank and East Jerusalem are considered occupied territories and all Jewish construction activity there is considered illegal ("Chapter 3: Israeli Settlements and International Law," 2019). Specifically, their genocidal actions to expand this territory.

The critical issue of genocide in Palestine is an issue that is currently being hotly discussed by people throughout the world. The events in Palestine are also of concern to every country, especially from a legal perspective. Because of this, Palestine has become the focus of attention in international forums. Through official statements, speeches or diplomatic

discussions carried out by leaders or representatives of countries, with the aim of finding solutions and defending and upholding human rights in this protracted conflict. Therefore, this becomes relevant in pragmatic analysis to be able to understand how these diplomatic messages can be conveyed from leaders or state representatives and received by international audiences. According to Yule (1996), this study involves the interpretation of what the speaker conveys in a particular context, and how that context relates to and influences what the speaker says. One of the pragmatic approaches is speech act theory, which focuses on the role of language in efforts to express oneself, that is an action carried out through speech. Speech acts occur in various conditions and contexts, including in the political realm. Various problems also exist in politics, not only about how to implement a country's policies but also about world peace (Aristoteles, 2017).

The genocide that continued at that time, international forums are held to serve as a forum for negotiations to resolve the Palestinian-Israeli conflict. For example, the UN Security Council held conferences and open debates on this issue. The Indonesian Minister of Foreign Affairs, who acts as a representative of the Indonesian, was also present and gave statements regarding the defense of Palestine. This has been done by Indonesian Foreign Ministers at every forum held.

Retno Marsudi, as Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Indonesia during the era of President Joko Widodo, and Sugiono as Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Indonesia during the era of President Prabowo were two of the country representatives who attended these conferences. For example, in Retno Marsudi's speech at the UNSC Open Debate which discussed the situation in Palestine, she said *"... Once again, I urge Council members to stop the everyday horrors faced by the Palestinians in Gaza and the West Bank."* Based on this phrase, Retno Marsudi clearly said that she was urging UN council members to immediately take action to stop the genocide taking place in Palestine. Meanwhile, in Sugiono's speech, he took the opportunity at the BRICS 16th Summit to ask southern countries to side with Palestine and to recognize the country, said *"The Global South must stand on the right side of history, helping Gaza to recover, recognizing the state of Palestine."*

These two data reflect a quite visible difference between Retno Marsudi's words, which frankly urged and demanded that council members stop the genocide committed by Israel against the Palestinian people. Meanwhile, Sugiono invited southern countries to side with Palestine, explaining how they should act and recognize the State of Palestine. Based on this comparison, there are problems that can be identified, first is the differences in communication patterns in conveying messages or asking for action as a form of support for Palestine. Second is the lack of previous research that examines in depth how a speech or utterance from a country's representative compares to taking action in support of Palestine.

Through their speeches, there are speech acts shown when delivering their statement. This becomes more attention for researchers to analyze. This research aims to find out how speech acts are used in the political environment, especially international relations. The speech acts used by Retno Marsudi and Sugiono in their speeches were also formed from arguments that had been prepared in order to achieve the message they wanted to convey through the speech. According to Crusius & Channell (2006) in his book entitled *The Aims of Argument* "..., argument means mature reasoning". "Mature" here means the attitude and approach to arguments. By using the arguments model developed by Stephen Toulmin, we can find out how an argument is built in the speech. In the analysis, we can see how in their claim Retno Marsudi and Sugiono stated the importance of international support for the Palestinian-Israeli conflict, with grounds in the form of reasons such as human rights violations committed by Israel against Palestinians.

The significance of this research is to provide a comprehensive analysis of language, especially the diplomatic language used in Retno Marsudi's speech or statement during the UNSC Debate and Sugiono's speech at BRICS Summit. There are two things that become the focus of the research, first is how the speech act used in the speeches. Second, how the argument is formed in the speech act. This research provides insight into how language is used to express opinions in political forums. By analyzing speech act and argument, this research is

able to explain how language can influence a policy in political forums and international relations.

Speech act in diplomatic speeches are important to study, because these speeches are not just conveying information, but are full of implied meanings, strategies, and communication goals. Through speech act analysis, it can be understood how a diplomat persuades, urges, commits, or builds solidarity in a subtle but powerful way. As in the context of support for Palestine, the choice of words and types of speech act reflect political positions, diplomatic strategies, and efforts to influence international audiences. This study not only enriches the understanding of language use in diplomacy, but also shows how language can be a tool of power in international relations.

The previous reading about speech act analysis on a speech and statement in political discourse is the first thesis entitled "*Speech Act Analysis On Statements Delivered By The Minister Of Foreign Affairs Of The Republic Of Indonesia*" made by Aidin Ahsan (2023). In his research, the researcher analyzes speech act categories and felicity conditions in a statement. The second previous research is from Ebta Yuni Aribawanti (2022), with her research entitled "*Speech Act Analysis of Millie Bobby Brown's Speech At UNICEF Forum 2019*". In this research, the aim is to find out what types of illusions were used in Millie Bobby Brown's speech at the 2019 UNICEF forum. The third previous research is from Hua Yin and Yang Chen (Yin & Chen, 2020), with the title of their research "*Speech Act in Diplomacy: How China Makes Commitments in Diplomatic Press Conferences*". This research explores the utterances of Chinese Foreign Ministry spokespersons in making diplomatic commitments at regular press conferences of the Chinese Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

The previous research about argument is from Diva Hana Zhafirah Hardy (2021), with her thesis title "*Argument Pattern Used By Samina Ali's Speech What Does The Quran Really Say About A Muslim Woman's Hijab?*". In this research, Samina Ali's speech was entitled What Does The Quran Really Say About a Muslim Women's Hijab? analysis of argument patterns and levels of sharpness with the aim of determining the quality of the speech. Then, another previous research from Yuliana Setyaningsih & R. Kunjana Rahardi (2019), with their research title "*Quality of Arguments Used in the First- round Presidential Debate: Critical Pragmatics and Stephen Toulmin's Perspective*". The focus of this research is to determine the breadth and depth of arguments, as well as how these arguments are conveyed by presidential candidates.

The difference between this research and some previous studies that have been read is that research will be conducted on how the function of each speech act spoken in a statement, then in this research, it is combined with the analysis of arguments in speech by using the theory developed by Toulmin.

METHOD

The object of study in this research uses descriptive qualitative method in the analysis process, which is intended to explore by describing the analysis with variables related to the data under study (Syahrizal & Jailani, 2023). Therefore, this method is suitable and sustainable with the use of pragmatics theory that the author uses in this research.

Data Sources

The data in this study used phrases taken from several YouTube videos of Retno Marsudi's speech at the United Nations and Sugiono's speech at BRICS 16th Summit. Data collection was done by random sampling technique, Noor et al. (2022) ensured that each sentence from the video had the same chance to be included in the analysis. In this study, 12 data were sampled for analysis from a total of 125 data.

Data Collection

There are several steps of data collection techniques in this research, first is watching the videos of Retno Marsudi and Sugiono's speeches at the United Nations and BRICS 16th Summit through YouTube, as a source to strengthen the researcher's research in seeing the intonation and expressions shown. Second, transcribing the selected videos. Third, searching for the text of their speech on the official website of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the

Republic of Indonesia. Fourth, read the text and then collect data by choosing which phrases to take. The last is identifying phrases that match the characteristics of the category.

Data Analysis

Then, in the process of analyzing the data, there are several steps taken. First is identifying the data using Searle's speech act theory; second, interpreting each data; third, categorize the data; fourth, interpreting the function of speech act usage; fifth, analyzing the data using Stephen Toulmin's argumentation theory; and the last is draw conclusions from the overall discussion in this research.

Procedures

The data that have been collected are selected phrases that contain speech acts. The data will be presented descriptively, then the use of Searle's speech act theory is to find out what speech acts are shown by the speaker in his speech or statement (Yule, 1996). After knowing what kind of speech acts are shown, the function of the speech acts is analyzed through the same approach. Then, the data is analyzed using the theory of argumentation developed by Stephen Toulmin (Toulmin, 2003).

FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

The analysis of Retno Marsudi and Sugiono's speeches regarding Palestine will be discussed in more depth, highlighting the dynamics that arise in the use of speech acts and arguments in the two speeches. Even though both speakers have the same goal, namely to voice Indonesia's position on the side of Palestine, there are differences in how they build their narratives and direct their messages to a global audience. This analysis will show how language choices, argument structure, and processing of meaning play a role in strengthening or challenging the positions taken by both parties. Thus, this discussion provides an overview of how each speech communicates Indonesia's diplomatic stance and responds to broader international political dynamics. A total of 12 data were sampled from a total of 125 data to be analyzed, with 6 data each from Retno Marsudi and Sugiono's speeches.

Table 1. Retno Marsudi's Data Analysis

Retno Marsudi's Speeches	
Text	Type of Speech Act
I urge Council members to stop the everyday horrors faced by the Palestinians in Gaza and the West Bank.	Directive
We demand an immediate and permanent ceasefire.	Directive
Indonesia strongly rejects this statement.	Declarative
We all have the responsibility to uphold International Humanitarian Law without exception to the situation in Gaza.	Expressive
Indonesia will not rest until we see justice and dignity restored for the Palestinian people.	Commissive
Every weapon sent to Israel can be used to kill innocent civilians.	Representative

All data can be accessed through the following link:
<https://docs.google.com/document/d/1SHJWtLigA2vR23O4Oc54LmVSIKqrruTY/edit?usp=drivesdk&ouid=105262917441512849365&rtopof=true&sd=true>

Data 1 from Retno Marsudi's speech at UNSC Open Debate

"I urge Council members to stop the everyday horrors faced by the Palestinians in Gaza and the West Bank."

According to Searle in Yule (1996) this phrase indicates a directive. Retno Marsudi here gives orders or requests that council members do something, which is stopping the "everyday horrors" faced by the Palestinian people in Gaza and the West Bank. The word "urge" is a form of request or encouragement for other people to take certain actions, in this case asking "Council members" to stop violence against Palestinians.

There are several functions of this speech act in its use, first, conveying urgency to act. Through this speech act, it has meaning of giving motivation to the audiences so that a goal is achieved (Ahya, 2020). Retno Marsudi explicitly urges council members to take concrete action to end the suffering experienced by Palestinians. Second, increase awareness and responsibility. Retno Marsudi, by using the words "once again", wants to emphasize that this

problem has occurred repeatedly, and it is time for firm action to be taken. This generates a sense of responsibility and urgency on the part of the UN. The third is to influence emotions, by mentioning "*the everyday horrors faced by the Palestinians in Gaza and the West Bank*," Retno Marsudi wanted to arouse feelings of empathy and moral awareness in the members of the Council, in the hope that this would encourage them to act.

As a further step of analysis, after identifying the type of speech act used in the statement, the argument is analyzed using Toulmin's theory (2003), evaluating the structure and strength of the argument underlying the statement in the context of the data. The claim in this sentence is that members of the UN Security Council are being asked to take action to stop the daily suffering experienced by Palestinians in Gaza and the West Bank. Grounds supporting this claim include reports of human rights violations, death toll statistics, and deteriorating humanitarian conditions resulting from military blockades and attacks. Warrant links the claims to the argument that it is the responsibility of the international community, particularly the UN Security Council, to protect civilians suffering from armed conflict. It is their role in peacebuilding, and offers a valuable perspective on the complexities involved in such interventions (Doyle & Sambanis, 2000). Backing supports this by referring to UN resolutions which emphasize the need for protection for civilians and the principles of international humanitarian law. Rebuttal anticipates objections from those who might argue that international intervention could worsen the situation or that a more comprehensive solution is needed to address the roots of the conflict. Overall, this claim is supported by strong evidence, with clear warrant, as well as the backing of international law, although there are potential objections regarding international intervention, even though this sentence has no qualifiers.

Data 2 from Retno Marsudi's speech at UNSC Open Debate

"We demand an immediate and permanent ceasefire."

In this sentence, there is the word "*demand*" which shows a clear request from Retno Marsudi to the UN council to carry out a ceasefire and stop the conflict between Palestine-Israel permanently. Based on this, according to Searle, this sentence is included in directives (Yule, 1996). This sentence have several functions of using this speech act, it is clear that the main function is to ask or demand that the UN Council as the ruling party carry out a ceasefire over the conflict that is occurring in Gaza. This sentence also shows Indonesia's commitment and emphasizes its role as a mediator or peace supporter in global peace. Indonesia's engagement through multi-track diplomacy, involving governments efforts, nongovernmental organizations, business sector, religious activists, and media, highlights its comprehensive approach to conflict resolution (Solihin et al., 2023). This multifaceted strategy emphasizez Indonesia's dedication to supporting Palestine and promoting peace (Pratama & Prastyanti, 2024). Lastly, this sentence also functions as a reminder of the urgency of the situation and the actions needed to prevent more victims of the conflict.

According to Toulmin (Toulmin, 2003), there are several patterns that formed the argument. The claim in this sentence is a request to immediately stop all forms of violence and implement a permanent ceasefire in the Palestinian-Israeli conflict area. The ground on which this claim is based includes evidence in the form of increasing numbers of civilian casualties, deteriorating humanitarian conditions in Gaza and other Palestinian territories, as well as reports of human rights violations during the conflict. Warrant links the claims to the argument that stopping violence is a necessary first step to prevent more victims and further damage, with the goal of achieving peace. The backing for this warrant includes the history of the ceasefire's success in resolving conflicts in various parts of the world, the support of the international community, including the UN, which emphasizes the importance of the ceasefire, and the principles of international law that protect civilians. This sentence does not contain qualifiers. Rebuttal anticipates arguments from those who may consider that an unconditional ceasefire will not be enough because it does not resolve the root causes of the conflict, or concerns that the parties involved may not comply with the ceasefire without a more comprehensive political agreement. Sticher and Vukovic (Sticher & Vucovic, 2020) argue

that the function of a ceasefire evolves from establishing military advantage to enhancing bargaining power, and ultimately facilitating negotiated settlements.

Data 3 from Retno Marsudi's speech at UNSC Open Debate

"Indonesia strongly rejects this statement."

This sentence is related to Prime Minister Netanyahu's statement on January 18 which said that he would not allow a Palestinian state to be established. So in responding, Retno Marsudi said *"strongly rejects"* in that sentence as a form of rejection of Netanyahu's statement. This form of rejection is included in declarative according to Searle in Yule (1996). The functions of using a speech act in this sentence are primarily as a form of official statement regarding the position taken by Indonesia which rejects Netanyahu's statement and clarifies Indonesia's position in defending Palestine (Difa, 2024a). Second, as a diplomatic message regarding Indonesia's disagreement with this statement. Finally, by using a declarative, Retno Marsudi emphasized Indonesia's authority and capacity to take an independent and firm stance in this international forum.

According to Toulmin (2003), there are several patterns that formed the argument. The claim in this sentence is that Indonesia firmly rejects certain statements made in the context of the debate at the UN Security Council regarding the Palestine-Israel issue. Grounds that support this claim can be arguments or data that show that the statement is contrary to Indonesia's position or policy regarding the Palestine-Israel issue. Warrant links grounds with claims through the principle that Indonesia has a strong commitment to justice and Palestinian rights, so statements that conflict with this principle deserve to be rejected. Backing strengthens this warrant by referring to Indonesia's foreign policy which consistently supports Palestine and the principles of international law. This sentence is emphatic without qualifiers. Rebuttal considers objections from other parties who may state that the rejected statement has grounds that need to be considered. This analysis shows that the claims are supported by evidence and principles held by Indonesia, although it is necessary to pay attention to potential objections. Indonesia's foreign policy has consistently supported the Palestinian cause, reflecting its dedication to upholding international law and advocating for Palestinian self-determination (Marsudi, 2023). This unwavering stance reinforces the strength of Indonesia's position in international forums, despite potential objections from other parties.

Data 4 from Retno Marsudi's speech at UNSC Open Debate

"We all have the responsibility to uphold International Humanitarian Law without exception to the situation in Gaza."

According to Searle in Yule (1996), this sentence is included in the expressive. The phrase *"We all have the responsibility"* is part of the expression of feelings of moral responsibility for obligations in upholding international humanitarian law, especially in this context, the situation occurring in Gaza. The main function of this sentence is clearly to make all audiences aware of international humanitarian law, as well as a form of criticism of the injustice of inconsistent legal enforcement, that the genocide that occurred in Gaza is not an exception to the enforcement of this law. The words *"We all"* also play a role in showing international solidarity in supporting the implementation of humanitarian law in Gaza. Mišić Ilić and Radulović (2016) explain that politicians use expressive illocutionary acts to demonstrate personal involvement and sway public opinion. The role of expressives in political discourse, highlighting their function in conveying emotions and influencing audience perceptions (Gurevich, 2022).

After identifying the type of speech act used in the statement, the argument is analyzed using Toulmin's theory (2003), evaluating the structure and strength of the argument underlying the statement in the context of the data. The claim in this sentence is that all parties have a responsibility to uphold International Humanitarian Law, including in the situation in Gaza. Grounds supporting this claim include reports of such lawlessness in Gaza, evidence of the urgent need for the protection of civilians, and data from humanitarian organizations. The principle of proportionality is central to International Humanitarian Law, requiring that the anticipated military advantage of an attack be balanced against potential civilian harm. This principle is particularly pertinent in Gaza, where densely populated areas heighten the risk of

civilian casualties (Kels, 2024). Warrant links grounds to claims through the principle that International Humanitarian Law applies universally and must be enforced regardless of the situation. Backing for this warrant includes the Geneva Convention, UN resolutions, and support from the international community. The sentence has no qualifiers. Rebuttal considered objections about the complexity of applying these laws in conflict areas, such as political and military challenges. The enforcement of International Humanitarian Law in such contexts is further complicated by the use of civilian structures for military purposes, blurring the lines between legitimate military targets and protected civilian sites (Gostin & Goodwin, 2024). This analysis shows that the claims are supported by strong evidence and principles of international law, although challenges in implementation must be acknowledged.

Data 5 from Retno Marsudi's speech at UNSC Open Debate

"Indonesia will not rest until we see justice and dignity restored for the Palestinian people."

This sentence shows the commitment made by Indonesia in its efforts to obtain justice for Palestine, which means that according to Searle, this sentence is included in the commissive (Yule, 1996). This is shown in the phrase *"Indonesia will not rest"* which confirms Indonesia's commitment to continue supporting the Palestinian struggle. Expressing commitment is the main function of this sentence, with the phrase *"will not rest"* being a form of Indonesia's seriousness and dedication to defending Palestine. This sentence also functions as a diplomatic promise, indicating that Indonesia will continue to be active on the Palestinian issue. Then the sentence also emphasizes that Indonesia is a country that supports human rights and international justice, as well as the steadfastness shown by Indonesia in defending Palestine.

According to Toulmin (2003), there are several patterns that formed the argument. The claim in this sentence is that Indonesia is committed to continuing to fight for justice and dignity for the Palestinian people until it is achieved. Grounds that support this claim include the conditions of injustice experienced by the Palestinian people due to the prolonged occupation and conflict, as well as reports of human rights violations against them. Warrant links the need to restore justice and dignity to Indonesia's moral and political responsibilities, strengthening the argument that justice is a human right of all peoples, including Palestinians. The backing for this warrant includes Indonesia's constitutional support for world peace, UN resolutions that affirm Palestinian rights, and support from the international community. This action underscores Indonesia's commitment to international law and the enforcement of Palestinian rights (Difa, 2024). This sentence does not have explicit qualifiers. Rebuttal considers the enormous political challenges and long time that may be required to achieve justice for Palestinians, as well as the argument that attention to one region may override other issues of justice. This analysis shows that Indonesia's claims are supported by strong grounds, logical warrants, and relevant backing, although there is potential rebuttal that must be overcome.

Data 6 from Retno Marsudi's speech at UNSC Open Debate

"Every weapon sent to Israel can be used to kill innocent civilians."

This sentence is a statement that conveys Retno Marsudi's views or beliefs regarding the consequences of sending weapons to Israel, so this means that this sentence is included in the representative (Yule, 1996). By looking at what is happening in Gaza, this situation can give credence to what would happen if weapons sent to Israel could be used to kill innocent civilians. The functions of this sentence are to state facts and views by looking at the reality of what is happening in Gaza. Second, conveying concern over the consequences that would occur if arms deliveries to Israel continued. Lastly, this sentence is also a form of support for the arguments that have been said previously, also regarding a ceasefire to stop the acts of genocide taking place in Gaza.

After identifying the type of speech act used in the statement, the argument is analyzed using Toulmin's theory (2003), evaluating the structure and strength of the argument underlying the statement in the context of the data. The claim in this sentence is that weapons sent to Israel could potentially be used to kill innocent civilians. Grounds supporting this claim include reports from international organizations on the use of weapons in conflicts leading to

civilian deaths, as well as statistics on civilian casualties from previous conflicts. Warrant links arms transfers to risks to civilians, arguing that in armed conflict, weapons are often used not only against military targets but also against civilian populations. Backing strengthens this warrant through the principles of International Humanitarian Law which protect civilians and reports from organizations such as the UN which show patterns of weapons use that harm civilians. The International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) highlights that inadequately controlled arms supplies facilitate violations of International Humanitarian Law and human rights, prolong conflicts, and exacerbate humanitarian (*Arms Transfers to Parties to Armed Conflict: What the Law Says*, 2024). This sentence uses qualifiers in the form of the word "can" to indicate possibility, not certainty. Rebuttal considered objections that Israel had the right to defend itself, that weapons were used in a defensive context, and that efforts were made to minimize civilian casualties. This analysis shows that the claim is supported by relevant grounds, logical warrant, and strong backing, although there is the potential for rebuttal that must be considered.

Table 2. Sugiono's Data Analysis

Sugiono's Speeches	
Text	Type of Speech Act
The Global South must stand on the right side of history, helping Gaza to recover, recognizing the state of Palestine.	Directive
We also appreciate generous efforts by countries around the table to support our Palestinian brothers and sisters towards recovery and normalcy.	Expressive
Indonesia urges Israel's accountability before international law.	Directive
To this end, Indonesia remains committed to support the plight of the Palestinian people, to deliver humanitarian aid and to support UNRWA.	Commissive
460 days of Israeli atrocities in Palestine have transpired, causing tens of thousands of Palestinian to lose their lives, while millions more have been displaced.	Representative
Indonesia is of the view that international law must be observed without double standards.	Representative

Data 1 from Sugiono's speech at BRICS 16th Summit

"The Global South must stand on the right side of history, helping Gaza to recover, recognizing the state of Palestine."

Based on Searle's theory in Yule (1996), this sentence is included in the directive category. As a directive speech act, the speaker gives encouragement or direction to the listener, in this case, the Global South countries, to take certain actions (Yule, 1996). The word "must" shows a strong element of obligation, which reflects a request or invitation to the other party to act by what the speaker considers right. This sentence can be categorized as a directive because Foreign Minister Sugiono not only conveys information but also encourages concrete action: helping Gaza recover and recognizing the Palestinian state. The proposed action is not only moral but also political, reflecting the firm position that the speaker wishes to establish. The implicit imperative element in it shows the intention to influence the listener to make a certain decision.

The function of this speech act is to build political and moral solidarity among Global South countries. By emphasizing the importance of *"standing on the right side of history,"* the speaker attempts to establish moral legitimacy for his actions and invites listeners to act based on shared values, they are justice and humanity (Khodijah, 2020). This function also reflects strategic objectives, which is mobilizing international support for the Palestinian struggle, while strengthening the geopolitical position of Global South countries in the global order (Chaerunnisah, 2023).

After identifying the type of speech act used in the statement, the argument is analyzed using Toulmin's theory (2003), evaluating the structure and strength of the argument underlying the statement in the context of the data. The claim in this sentence is that countries in the Global South must side with historical truth by helping Gaza recover and recognizing a Palestinian state. Grounds supporting this claim include the humanitarian situation in Gaza

which requires international assistance, political and moral support from many countries in the Global South, as well as data showing the need for recovery in Gaza (The Associated Press, 2025). The warrant that connects the grounds with the claim is that supporting Gaza and recognizing Palestine reflects justice and human rights, in accordance with the moral responsibilities of countries in the Global South that have experienced colonialism. Backing strengthens this warrant through the principles of human rights, historical support for the anti-colonial struggle, and UN resolutions that support Palestine's right to independence (da Silva Gama, 2025). Even if there are no explicit qualifiers, qualifications such as "must" can strengthen the claim. Rebuttal considers objections such as the limited resources of countries in the Global South, the potential for diplomatic conflict with Israel's supporters, and geopolitical complexities that require a cautious approach. This analysis shows that the claim is supported by relevant grounds, logical warrant, and strong backing, although there is potential rebuttal that needs to be considered.

Data 2 from Sugiono's speech at BRICS 16th Summit

"We also appreciate generous efforts by countries around the table to support our Palestinian brothers and sisters towards recovery and normalcy."

Based on Searle in Yule (1996), this sentence is included in the expressive. With the word "appreciate" this sentence is a form of Sugiono's appreciation for the efforts that have been made by other countries to support Palestine. This expression is a form of appreciation shown by Indonesia to countries that care about the suffering experienced by the Palestinian people. Apart from being a form of appreciation, this sentence also has other functions in its use. Firstly, as a builder of diplomatic relations and increasing international solidarity between countries that support Palestine, which is an encouragement for further actions to continue supporting Palestine in the future (Gati & Hafid, 2024). Second, in the phrase "our Palestinian brothers and sisters" Sugiono shows closeness and solidarity with Palestine, which is a highlight of Indonesia's commitment to supporting Palestine. Lastly, it is a form of recognizing the international contribution that other countries have made in defending Palestine through their appreciation.

According to Toulmin (2003), there are several patterns that formed the argument. The claim in this sentence is that Sugiono expressed his appreciation for the efforts of countries that support recovery and normal life for the Palestinian people. Grounds supporting this claim include concrete examples of assistance provided by these countries, such as humanitarian, economic, or diplomatic assistance, as well as reports and statistical data about their contributions (*EU Humanitarian Support for Palestinians*, 2025). The warrant linking the grounds to the claim is that international efforts supporting the restoration of Palestine are commendable actions because they help alleviate the suffering of the Palestinian people. The backing for this warrant is strengthened by the principle of international solidarity, UN resolutions, and historical examples where international assistance has helped conflict-stricken countries to recover (*UN Official: \$53.2 Billion Needed for Palestinian Recovery*, 2025). There are no explicit qualifiers in this data. Rebuttal considers the arguments that despite international efforts, the situation in Palestine is far from complete recovery, the existence of a political agenda behind aid, and the need for a comprehensive political solution to the Palestinian-Israeli conflict. This analysis shows that Sugiono's claims are supported by strong grounds and logical warrants, with relevant backing, although there is potential rebuttal that must be considered.

Data 3 from Sugiono's speech at Annual Press Statement 2025

"Indonesia urges Israel's accountability before international law."

This sentence was presented to the UNSC to demand that Israel be responsible for the genocide it committed in Gaza in accordance with international law. The word "urges" indicates a strong request for the UNSC to take this action, so this sentence is included in the directive (Yule, 1996). Several functions of using this sentence are, firstly, as a reminder in enforcing the law, that Israel has an obligation to be responsible for its actions, and the UNSC has a responsibility to ensure that accountability is upheld (Zou & Zhu, 2023). Second, as a form of firm stance taken by Indonesia in upholding international law (Solihin et al., 2023).

Finally, as a reminder violations of international law must not be allowed to go without consequences.

According to Toulmin (Toulmin, 2003), there are several patterns that formed the argument in this sentence. The claim in this sentence is that Indonesia urges Israel to be responsible before international law. Grounds supporting this claim include reports of human rights violations by Israel, evidence of actions that violate international law, and UN resolutions stating such violations. The warrant linking the grounds to the claim is that all states, including Israel, must comply with international law and be held accountable for its violations, with the logic that without accountability, violations will continue to occur (Indo Journal, 2024). The backing for this warrant is strengthened by international legal principles, support from the international community, and case precedents in international courts. Even though there are no explicit qualifiers, qualifiers such as "urges" can strengthen the message. Rebuttal considers the arguments that Israel may have the right to defend itself, that the accountability process could be politicized, and that international law should be applied fairly. This analysis shows that Indonesia's claims are supported by strong grounds and backing, although there is potential for rebuttal regarding the justification for Israel's actions and the international process.

Data 4 from Sugiono's speech at Annual Press Statement 2025

"To this end, Indonesia remains committed to support the plight of the Palestinian people, to deliver humanitarian aid and to support UNRWA."

According to Searle in Yule (Yule, 1996), this sentence is included in the commissive, with the word "committed" indicating that Indonesia is committed to taking concrete action in supporting Palestine. The functions of using speech acts in this sentence are mainly to express Indonesia's commitment to continuing support which is emphasized by the phrase "remains committed" (Putri & Sunarto, 2023). Then this sentence also emphasizes Indonesia's active role in international diplomacy, especially in peace and humanitarian efforts. By showing a clear commitment, Indonesia is also building a reputation as a country dedicated to handling humanitarian issues on the world stage, with various supports such as humanitarian aid and support for UNRWA.

According to Toulmin (2003), there are several patterns that formed the argument in this sentence. The claim in this sentence is that Indonesia is committed to supporting the struggle of the Palestinian people, providing humanitarian assistance, and supporting UNRWA. Grounds that support this claim include historical facts about Indonesia's support for Palestine, data about aid that has been sent, and reports of Indonesia's involvement in the UNRWA program (UNRWA, 2019). The warrant linking the grounds to the claim is that as a supporter of human rights, Indonesia is responsible for helping Palestine. The backing for this warrant is strengthened by the principles of international solidarity, UN resolutions, and the history of global support for Palestine. There are no explicit qualifiers of this data. Rebuttal considers logistical challenges, criticism of UNRWA, and the argument that a political solution is more important than aid alone (Reuters, 2025). The analysis shows that this claim is supported by strong grounds and backing, although there is potential for rebuttal regarding practical challenges and criticism of the supported organization.

Data 5 from Sugiono's speech at Annual Press Statement 2025

"460 days of Israeli atrocities in Palestine have transpired, causing tens of thousands of Palestinian to lose their lives, while millions more have been displaced."

In this sentence, Foreign Minister Sugiono conveyed the fact that "460 days of Israeli atrocities" had caused many casualties in Palestine. This sentence is considered representative according to Searle in Yule (1996), because it explains the facts that happened in Palestine. The main function of this sentence is to raise the audience's attention to the damage and many casualties that occurred in Palestine due to the genocide carried out by Israel. Then, by arousing feelings of empathy and solidarity through these words, it can become the basis for further diplomatic action in overcoming the Palestinian-Israeli conflict.

According to Toulmin (2003), there are several patterns that formed the argument in this sentence. The claim in this sentence is that for 460 days, Israeli atrocities in Palestine have caused tens of thousands of Palestinians to lose their lives and millions more to be displaced. Grounds supporting this claim include statistical data, reports from international organizations, and documentation of violent events (Jamey, 2025). The warrant linking the grounds to the claim is that prolonged human rights violations are causing enormous harm to the civilian population. The backing for this warrant is strengthened by the principles of international law and UN resolutions that condemn violence against the Palestinian people. There are no explicit qualifiers in this data. Rebuttal considered objections to the accuracy of the data and the view that Israel's actions might be perceived as a response to a security threat. The analysis shows that claims about Israeli atrocities are supported by strong grounds and backing, although there is potential for dispute regarding the interpretation and accuracy of the data.

Data 6 from Sugiono's speech at Annual Press Statement 2025

"Indonesia is of the view that international law must be observed without double standards."

This sentence shows Sugiono's understanding of his belief that in upholding international law it must be applied without "double standards". So the sentence is included in the category of representative (Yule, 1996). This statement can be said to mean that Sugiono, as a representative of the Indonesian state, believes that the law must be determined consistently and fairly regardless of which party is involved. The main function of this sentence is to equate the country's views or opinions by using the phrase "Indonesia is of the view" regarding international law which must be applied fairly. Then this sentence also acts as a form of criticism of injustice in the application of international law, by using the term "double standards" where there are certain parties who receive more favorable or unfavorable treatment in the eyes of the law in the same way. And finally, as a form of confirmation of the principles of Indonesian diplomacy, which supports the application of fair international law and respects human rights.

According to Toulmin (Toulmin, 2003), there are several patterns that formed the argument in this sentence. The claim of this sentence is that Indonesia believes international law must be obeyed without double standards. Grounds that support this claim could be reports from international bodies or the UN which show inconsistencies in the application of international law, as well as Indonesia's experience in implementing the principle of equality. Warrants link grounds to claims, such as the logic that international law should be applied fairly to all states. Sanjaya and Faisal (2023) explain that disparities in human rights applications is because how cultural, political, and historical factors contribute to these double standards. Backing strengthens the warrant with further support, such as principles of international law and examples of cases of law violations that were not punished appropriately. Qualifiers indicate the extent to which the claim applies, although in this sentence there are no explicit qualifiers. Rebuttal considers objections to claims, for example that the application of international law is often influenced by political factors or global stability. Juwana (2021) said that *"International law is frequently used as a political instrument by States. It can be an instrument to exert pressure, instrument for intervening on the other States domestic affairs without considered as violation and it can also be used justify States' action"*. The analysis shows that Indonesia's claim about the importance of applying international law without double standards is supported by strong grounds, warrants and backing, although there is potential for rebuttal regarding political influence and international stability.

CONCLUSIONS

The speeches of Retno Marsudi and Sugiono that discuss the Palestinian issue have differences in use of speech act and argument structure, although both have the same goal in supporting Palestine. Based on analysis using Searle's speech act theory and Toulmin's argument theory, Retno Marsudi's speech is dominated by usage directive, commissive, and representative speech acts to urge ceasefire action, ended human rights violations, and

commits to justice. The argumentative structure of her speech is built on claims supported by strong evidence, the basis of international law, and humanitarian responsibility, despite potential objections related to the complexity of global politics. On the other hand, Sugiono emphasizes directive and expressive speech acts in building international solidarity, and uses representative speech act to convey facts about human rights violations. His argument structure utilizes historical narratives and principles of international justice to emphasize the importance of fair application of law without double standards. By using George Yule's theory of meaning, the meaning in Retno's speech is more nuanced conceptual, emphasizing clarity of facts and the urgency of legal and moral action. On the other hand, Sugiono builds more meaning associative, drawing on the values of solidarity, colonial history and collective responsibility to strengthen its diplomatic message. In conclusion, the differences in communication styles and rhetorical strategies of the two speakers reflect the context of their speeches as well as the audience they want to influence, which together strengthens Indonesia's diplomatic position in supporting Palestine in international forums.

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