



# Indonesia's Humanitarian Stance in the 79<sup>th</sup> UNGA: A Discourse Analysis of Marsudi's Speech

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**Abstract.** This study uncovers how Indonesia's ideological stance on humanitarian issues is constructed and communicated through political discourse, focusing on Retno Marsudi's final speech as Foreign Minister at the 79th United Nations General Debate. Using Fairclough's three-dimensional model, this research analyzes speech at three levels: textual (vocabulary, grammar values), discourse practice (context and intertextuality), and sociocultural practice (broader ideological and intertextual context). The study highlights how linguistic choices—such as repetition, expressive modality, and intertextual references—are strategically employed to represent Indonesia's commitment to justice, particularly regarding the Palestinian-Israeli conflict. The findings reveal that Marsudi's speech blends diplomatic conventions with emotionally charged appeals and anti-colonial framing to position Indonesia as a morally assertive and consistent humanitarian actor. Furthermore, the analysis shows how discourse functions not only as a communicative tool but as a form of soft power that reinforces national identity, challenges institutional inaction, and promotes global solidarity. This research contributes to applied linguistics by demonstrating how language operates as a strategic tool in public diplomacy and international relations, offering insight for applied linguistics field and future diplomatic communication practices.

**Keywords:** Humanitarian Stance, Marsudi's Speech, Political Communication

## 1 Introduction

### 1.1 Background of Study

In contemporary global politics, language serves not only as a medium of communication but also as a powerful instrument for constructing ideology and negotiating power. Within the domain of diplomacy, political speeches become strategic tools through which states assert identity, justify actions, and influence international perception. Scholars such as [3] and [10] have emphasized how discourse functions as a site where social structures and power relations are both reflected and contested. Political language—particularly in institutional settings like the United Nations—is inherently performative, persuasive, and ideologically saturated, making it an essential object of inquiry in Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA).

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The United Nations General Debate (UNGD) is one of the most prominent global stages for political communication, where national leaders and foreign ministers articulate their foreign policy stances before the international community. In this context, speeches are not merely ceremonial but contribute to the construction of national narratives and the projection of diplomatic identity. Indonesia, as a state historically positioned within the Global South and committed to anti-colonial values, has consistently used such forums to advocate for humanitarian causes most notably the Palestinian struggle for self-determination. These ideological commitments are embedded within its diplomatic discourse, exemplified through the language of its key representatives.

Retno Marsudi, Indonesia's first female Foreign Minister, has been a central figure in voicing Indonesia's global humanitarian commitments. Her final address at the 79th UN General Debate in 2024 marked a significant rhetorical moment, not only because of its historical finality but also due to its pointed critique of global inaction and its explicit defense of Palestine. While previous studies have explored Marsudi's speeches through various discourse lenses such as illocutionary acts [7] or textual-contextual cohesion [6], few have analyzed her discourse as a strategic act of ideological positioning within global power structures. Moreover, there remains a notable gap in examining this final speech through Fairclough's three-dimensional CDA model, which enables a layered understanding of how language operates at textual, institutional, and sociocultural levels.

This study seeks to fill that gap by investigating how Retno Marsudi's final UNGD speech constructs and communicates Indonesia's ideological stance on humanitarian issues, with particular attention to the representation of the Palestinian cause. It applies Fairclough's three-dimensional CDA model to uncover how linguistic features (textual dimension), discursive production practices (discourse practice), and broader geopolitical contexts (sociocultural practice) interact to position Indonesia as a morally assertive and ideologically consistent actor on the international stage.

## 1.2 Objective and Scope of Study

Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) argues that language is not merely a tool of communication but also a medium for ideological construction and power negotiation [5]. [24] explains that discourse analysis provides a crucial link between discourse structures and power relations, making it an essential tool for examining ideological influence in communication. In this context, language, power, and ideology are interconnected, shaping social narratives, and influencing global perceptions.

The objective of this study is to examine how discourse strategies are used to represent Indonesia's ideological stance on humanitarian issues, as reflected in Retno Marsudi's speech at the 79th United Nations General Debate (UNGD). More specifically, the study aims:

1. To apply Fairclough's Three-Dimensional model in the analysis of Retno Marsudi's speech.
2. To identify how political discourse strategies construct and represent Indonesia's humanitarian stance on a global stage.

This research is limited to the analysis of Retno Marsudi's speech at the 79th UN General Debate on 28 September 2024 at the morning session, which marked her final appearance as Indonesia's Foreign Minister after ten years of service. The study concentrates on how the speech employs discourse to construct and project Indonesia's humanitarian stance in a global forum with a great number of global stakeholders. The unit of analysis includes the official transcript of the speech, supported by secondary materials uploaded on the United Nations official website, including the speech summary published there. The study also considers key segments of the speech that explicitly refer to humanitarian issues including peace and justice, as it is the theme of United Nations General Debate 79th Session. The first issue mentioned is particularly concerning Palestine, as these parts reflect recurring ideological patterns in Indonesia's diplomatic discourse that represent its stance in humanitarian issues, with the Palestine conflict as the main case analyzed.

To examine how the discourse is produced and shaped within institutional settings, the study also incorporates selected secondary data. These supporting materials meet two inclusion criteria: (1) intertextual necessity, involving documents such as Indonesia's constitution, UN resolutions, or previous statements that are reflected or referenced in the speech; and (2) discursive norms and institutional expectations, which include established conventions and rhetorical patterns in UN diplomatic discourse. These documents help identify how institutional structures and genre expectations inform the construction of the speech, including tone, structure, and rhetorical choice.

Fairclough's model is applied across three interconnected levels. The textual dimension focuses on linguistic features such as vocabulary and grammar analysis. The discourse practice dimension investigates the processes of production of the speech, including the situational context and discourse type. Finally, the sociocultural practice dimension explains the broader context and interpretation from intertextual political, cultural, and historical factors that shape and are shaped by the discourse.

In sum, this research delves into the intersection between language, ideology, and representation in diplomatic communication. It positions Retno Marsudi's speech not only as a political act but as a textual artifact that encapsulates Indonesia's values and rhetorical stance in the international arena in her last performance representing Indonesia at the privileged forum of the UN General Debate.

### 1.3 Literature Review

Speech as powerful tools in communication is also a popular subject for research in social science fields. Especially when it comes to speech from figures that have specific power and influence on society. Previous studies have examined critical discourse analysis applied to political figures including the president, such as the journal article entitled "Ideology and Political Discourse: A Critical Discourse Analysis of Erdogan's Political Speech" from [4]. Implemented the CDA as a method for interplay between language, power, and social structures for analyzing a speech by Turkish Prime Minister, Recep Tayyip Erdogan, during a debate with Israeli President, Shimon Peres, at the World Economic Forum in 2009. The result of the study concluded that Erdogan used

rhetorical strategies to present his power that blends vernacular language with the public language of politics, it plays a crucial role in his political success. Erdogan also evokes emotions and connects with the public, as demonstrated during the Davos debate. Additionally, his use of religious references, such as biblical quotes, serves to critique opposing action and reinforce his ideological position within the context of traditional Turkish political discourse.

Furthermore, [7] also conducted a discourse study focusing on Illocutionary Acts in Retno Marsudi's Speech at the General Debate of the 78th Session of the United Nations General Assembly. It set limitations of discourse analysis by focusing on one single speech and speaker to allow in-depth analysis of illocutionary acts, which influence discourse in international relations within a diplomatic context. Results of the study enhance the comprehension of communication dynamics in prestigious diplomatic forums, such as the UN General Assembly, where the choice of illocutionary acts could significantly impact the effectiveness of power transfer and how it will get responded. It was found that Retno Marsudi used various types of illocutionary acts in her speech with directive acts being the most dominant, presenting her sharp and effective communication but also softened by mentioning ASEAN's achievements and expressing gratitude.

It also mentioned before that discourse could make a representation of a specific union, or in this case a nation. Various discourse analysis discussing representation has been published, including a thesis from [1] that uses news discourse from The Jakarta Post as a tool to judge Indonesian police representation on a specific case. It uses a three-dimensional model with qualitative research methods and conducts an NVIVO tool to discover the discourse dimension that shapes institution representation. Finally, the study discovered the image of police institutions in Indonesia are hardly related with one point, its low quality. But even so, the study also mentioned how the news has not fairly mentioned police, in the case is suspected, over the investigator. While it seems to harm the police representation in news, it also showed how power in news discourse could be shaped by a case, as part of social context.

Three-dimensional models also applied in various forms, most likely on political topics or media affiliated with public figures. Recently, [9] in his thesis research used a descriptive qualitative method and applied a three-dimensional model on a tweet responding to the Hong Kong protest from famous NBA player, Darly Morey. The research highlighted how interpretation of this tweet cracked positive bonds between China and NBA, because one sees it as a challenge to their sovereignty and the other thinks it is a freedom of speech. Representing each other's social context that shaped the social media discourse.

Various studies applied critical discourse analysis on political figures but not dominantly using three-dimensional models in their research. As [7] made their research previously implied limitation on illocutionary acts on Retno Marsudi's speech. While this research has the similar subject, the speech from Retno Marsudi at the UN General Debate, it has a different focus on the theoretical framework that leads to the finding result unrelated. In addition, the result of these studies will discover in-depth meaning on how Retno Marsudi represented Indonesia in her last speech as Minister of Foreign Affairs.

While recent studies have applied discourse analysis to Retno Marsudi's speeches notably [6] on their HRC address (textual-contextual cohesion) and [8] on his ICJ intervention (legal-diplomatic framing) none have examined her 79th UN General Debate (UNGD) speech as a site of ideological representation for Indonesia's foreign policy identity. Furthermore, this study distinguishes itself by analyzing Retno Marsudi's speech as her final diplomatic performance at the UN as Indonesia's Foreign Minister a moment where rhetorical choices transcend immediate policy to marked her legacy and Indonesia's ideological imprint on the global stage. These studies overlook three critical dimensions: (1) the UNGD's unique forum dynamics, where Marsudi's rhetorical strategies shift from legal argumentation (ICJ) or institutional diplomacy (HRC) to moral shaming ('Inaction means complicity') and anti-colonial solidarity, reflecting Indonesia's historical stance; (2) the gendered performativity of her speech as the first female Indonesian Foreign Minister in a male-dominated arena, a layer absent in prior analyses; and (3) the intertextual depth linking her discourse to Indonesia's constitutional anti-colonialism ('penjajahan di atas dunia harus dihapuskan'), which constructs a national identity beyond immediate policy goals. By applying Fairclough's three-dimensional to the UNGD speech, this study reveals how Marsudi's language not only addresses Palestine but also projects Indonesia's ideological legacy a gap unaddressed in earlier works focused on textual cohesion or legal pragmatism.

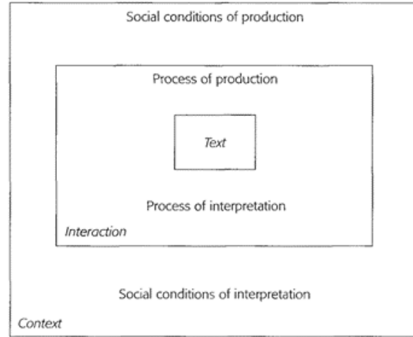
While prior studies have examined Marsudi's speeches through illocutionary acts or textual cohesion, this study applies Fairclough's three-dimensional model to uncover how Indonesia's anti-colonial identity and humanitarian positioning are intertextually constructed in her final UNGA address, which is a dimension that not yet fully explored. By analyzing not only what is said but how linguistic, discursive, and sociocultural layers converge, this research reveals how diplomatic speech functions as a tool of soft power and ideological representation in global forums.

## 2 Research Method

### 2.1 Theoretical Framework

This study adopts Fairclough's Three-Dimensional Model of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) to examine how political language functions as a tool of ideological construction and representation. CDA views language as a form of social practice embedded within power structures and influenced by broader sociopolitical contexts. The analysis is conducted using Fairclough's Three-Dimensional CDA Model, which enables the researcher to examine the speech at three interrelated levels: textual, discourse practice, and sociocultural practice.

In the textual dimension, the analysis focuses on how language is used to convey representation, stance, and identity. This includes close examination of word choices, repetition, modality, metaphors, agency, and sentence structure. The framework is guided by Fairclough's ten key questions [2], specifically on questions that explore



vocabulary and grammar in terms of their experiential, relational, and expressive functions that.

The discourse practice dimension analyzes how the speech is constructed, distributed, and interpreted within the diplomatic setting of the UN General Assembly. This includes how Marsudi's role as Foreign Minister, the genre of diplomatic speech, and the expectations of international diplomacy shape the way the message is crafted. The analysis also explores how the speech interacts with institutional narratives, aligns with or resists dominant frames, and draws on intertextual references to reinforce legitimacy and moral alignment.

In the final stage, the sociocultural practice dimension examines how the broader ideological and geopolitical contexts are reflected in the speech. This includes how Indonesia's historical and policy-based commitment to humanitarianism, anti-colonialism, and Global South solidarity is linguistically expressed. The analysis traces how political realities, institutional norms, and foreign policy ideologies shape the speaker's discursive strategies in constructing Indonesia's identity as a moral and humanitarian actor on the global stage. The analysis is carried out at the sentence level, with attention to clauses when relevant, to observe how discursive features organize meaning, position actors, and frame political action.

**2.2 Data and Transcription**

The main data source is the official video of Retno Marsudi's speech at the 79th United Nations General Debate (UNGD), delivered on 28 September 2024. The video was accessed through the United Nations' official YouTube account. The speech was transcribed manually into a written document, which serves as the core material for analysis. The transcript was aligned with the official UN summary to ensure accuracy in content and structure.

**2.3 Analytical Procedure and Validation**

The official video of Marsudi's speech was transcribed manually and aligned with the UN's official summary to ensure accuracy. Guided by [2]'s ten key questions on vocabulary and grammar, coding was conducted in two focused categories: vocabulary values (contrastive framing, expressive modality, metaphor) and grammar values

(voice, pronouns, modality). To support initial mapping of key terms and their frequency, the corpus tool AntConc was used; however, the core analysis remained qualitative, relying on iterative close reading to interpret ideological functions. To enhance reliability, the coding framework and selected excerpts were reviewed with a peer familiar with CDA to ensure consistency in interpretation. While this study centers on a single speech a common approach in in-depth CDA case studies the focused coding allows for a detailed exploration of how linguistic, intertextual, and sociocultural layers converge in a historically significant moment of diplomatic performance. The analysis was carried out at the sentence level, with attention to clauses when relevant, to observe how discursive features organize meaning, position actors, and frame political action.

### 3 Findings

#### 3.1 Textual Dimension

##### Vocabulary Values

The vocabulary employed in the speech reveals how Indonesia strategically constructs its ideological stance on the Palestine–Israel conflict. Central to this construction is the contrastive framing of the two actors. Both Palestine and Israel are mentioned eight times, yet the contexts in which they appear differ markedly. Palestine is consistently connected with notions of justice, statehood, legitimacy, and humanitarian suffering, positioning it as a rightful state actor whose dignity must be defended. Conversely, Israel is repeatedly associated with atrocities, impunity, violations, and illegality, casting it as the aggressor that continues to undermine international law. This binary framing situates Indonesia as a moral arbiter within the discourse, affirming its alignment with oppressed nations while denouncing actors perceived as violating humanitarian principles.

The relational values of vocabulary further highlight how Indonesia negotiates its identity within international forums. Although diplomatic discourse typically favors restraint and neutrality, the speech diverges from this convention by adopting a more confrontational register. Expressions such as “once again... blatantly violating international law” convey frustration at the persistence of violations, while the rhetorical challenge to Netanyahu “Really?” signals a striking departure from conventional diplomatic language. Such directness performs two functions: it undermines the credibility of the opposing narrative while asserting Indonesia's moral authority to challenge dominant powers. Through this linguistic stance, Indonesia simultaneously strengthens solidarity with Palestine and positions itself as a principled critic of the international community's failures, particularly within the UN system.

Expressive values embedded in the speech intensify this ideological positioning. The repetition of urgent modals *must*, *cannot*, *stop*, *enough* creates a rhythm of moral insistence, emphasizing that neutrality or hesitation is no longer acceptable. Terms such as *atrocities* and *complicity* move beyond legalistic vocabulary, embedding a humanitarian and emotional dimension that appeals to collective conscience. This layering of

expressive force allows the speech to transcend the procedural boundaries of diplomacy, instead framing Indonesia's voice as a moral call to action. The cumulative effect is to heighten urgency while discrediting inaction, pushing the audience toward acknowledging the human cost of continued violations.

Metaphors are strategically mobilized to consolidate this message. The phrase "walk the talk" challenges the international community to move from discourse to implementation, casting inaction as a form of betrayal. Similarly, "inaction means complicity" positions silence not as neutrality but as moral failure, equating the absence of response with active support for oppression. Finally, "equal footing" functions as a metaphor of legitimacy, encapsulating Indonesia's demand that Palestine be recognized as a full state actor within global politics. These metaphors do not merely embellish the speech; they crystallize complex ideological positions into accessible and persuasive imagery, enabling Indonesia to appeal to both rational and emotional registers.

Taken together, the vocabulary choices construct a discourse in which Indonesia is positioned as both a defender of humanitarian values and a critic of global power imbalances. By combining contrastive framing, confrontational relational stances, expressive repetition, and strategic metaphor, the speech advances an ideological narrative that elevates Palestine's legitimacy, delegitimizes Israel's actions, and calls into question the credibility of international institutions. This discursive strategy underscores how vocabulary operates not only as a vehicle of description but also as a powerful instrument for shaping perception, mobilizing solidarity, and reaffirming Indonesia's moral role on the global stage.

### Grammar Values

Grammar operates as a subtler but equally powerful mechanism in shaping ideological meaning. The use of active and passive voice illustrates how agency and victimhood are discursively organized. Active Subject–Verb–Object constructions assign responsibility explicitly to Israel, as in "Israel conducted an unprecedented massive air attack on Beirut." Here, the aggressor is named directly, avoiding any neutral phrasing. In contrast, passive structures highlight humanitarian suffering, as in "41,000 people in Gaza have been killed." By omitting the agent, the sentence centers victims rather than perpetrators, drawing attention to the scale of loss rather than the mechanics of violence. Together, these patterns reinforce the binary opposition of aggressor versus victim.

Pronoun choices further contribute to this ideological stance. The inclusive *we* and *our* build solidarity and collective responsibility within the UN framework, evident in "We must stop that. I repeat, we must stop that." By contrast, *they* and *he* are reserved for Israel and Netanyahu, marking both distance and accountability. This differentiation constructs two distinct subject positions: the international community united in duty, and the aggressor isolated as responsible.

Sentence types add to the effect. Declaratives dominate, providing authority and certainty, yet they are frequently paired with modal verbs such as *must* and *cannot*. This combination transforms straightforward statements into urgent obligations. For example, "Indonesia cannot, I repeat, cannot sit back and relax" conveys both assertiveness and collective moral appeal. The use of modals softens imperatives into inclusive calls

to action, balancing firmness with diplomatic acceptability. The core patterns are summarized in the table below.

**Table 1.** Findings in Grammar Values

Grammatical Feature	Example from Speech	Ideological Function
Active voice (SVO)	"Israel conducted an unprecedented massive air attack on Beirut."	Assigns clear agency and responsibility to Israel as aggressor
Passive voice	"41,000 people in Gaza have been killed."	Emphasizes Palestinian suffering while backgrounding agency
Inclusive pronouns	"We must stop that. I repeat, we must stop that."	Builds collective responsibility and solidarity
Exclusive pronouns	"PM Netanyahu wants the war to continue."	Directs blame and distance towards specific actor
Modals (must, cannot)	"Indonesia cannot, I repeat, cannot sit back and relax."	Imposes obligation and moral urgency while softening imperative into shared duty

These grammatical features work alongside lexical choices to structure meaning at the textual level. By assigning agency, foregrounding suffering, and mobilizing solidarity, the grammar of the speech complements its vocabulary in constructing Indonesia's humanitarian stance. What might otherwise seem like neutral linguistic structures operate here as vehicles of ideological positioning, reinforcing Indonesia's identity as a principled advocate for peace and justice.

### 3.2 Discourse Practice

#### Context: Situational Condition and Institutional Norms

The speech begins by situating itself within a unique context: Marsudi's final opportunity to address the UN as Indonesia's Foreign Minister. This framing lends both urgency and symbolic weight, presenting the moment as personal closure and national representation. Institutional norms are observed through formal salutations such as "Mr. President" and "colleagues," signaling respect for the forum. References to time, as in "As I speak now, more than 41,000 people in Gaza have been killed," show how Marsudi adheres to delivery constraints while emphasizing immediacy and relevance

#### Discourse Hybridity: Diplomatic + Humanitarian Solidarity in Anti-colonial Discourse

A notable feature of the address is its blending of discourse types. Diplomatic discourse is evident in references to the "*two-state solution*" and in appeals couched as urging rather than commanding. Humanitarian discourse emerges through emotionally

charged language and rhetorical questions, such as “*Is that not enough?*” and “*Really?*”, which intensify moral pressure. Finally, anti-colonial solidarity discourse draws on Indonesia’s historical experience to align its national identity with Palestine’s struggle. This hybridity enables the speech to shift between institutional politeness and moral confrontation, strengthening both credibility and affective resonance.

#### Intertextuality: National Ideology and International Policy

The persuasiveness of Marsudi’s speech is rooted in its intertextual connections, which draw authority from both national and international discourses. On the national level, the invocation of Indonesia’s 1945 Constitution (UUD 1945) is highly symbolic. The Constitution explicitly rejects colonialism, declaring that it must be abolished in all forms. By citing this foundational principle, Marsudi frames Indonesia’s support for Palestine not as a temporary policy stance but as an extension of its constitutional and historical identity. This reference naturalizes Indonesia’s position: to defend Palestine is to remain faithful to the very ideological basis of the nation.

On the international level, Marsudi appeals to UN instruments such as Resolution 181, which laid the groundwork for a two-state solution. By referencing this resolution, she situates Indonesia’s call for Palestinian statehood within a recognized legal and institutional framework. This intertextual move is strategic: it underscores that Indonesia’s stance is not merely moral but grounded in established international consensus. At the same time, it highlights the contradiction between the resolution’s promise and the reality of continued occupation and violence.

The combination of these references illustrates how national and international discourses converge. Indonesia’s anti-colonial identity (rooted in UUD 1945) is reinforced by UN legal frameworks (Resolution 181), producing a layered legitimacy that strengthens the moral claim. Intertextuality here does more than provide background; it constructs an ideological ground where humanitarian advocacy, constitutional principle, and international law are inseparably linked. By weaving these discourses together, Marsudi positions Indonesia as a state that speaks not only from its own historical experience but also from globally sanctioned norms of justice and peace.

#### Power Effects: Discursive Positioning and Moral Authority

The outcome of these discursive practices is the projection of Indonesia’s identity as both principled and humanitarian. Marsudi does not present Indonesia merely as another participant in diplomatic deliberations, but as a state compelled by history, ideology, and law to speak out against injustice. This positioning is achieved through the careful interplay of diplomatic decorum, moral critique, and intertextual references that connect Indonesia’s national identity to international norms.

By invoking UUD 1945 alongside UN Resolution 181, the speech anchors its authority in both national and global frameworks. This dual grounding allows Indonesia to claim moral authority: its position on Palestine is not framed as optional or contingent, but as a constitutional imperative reinforced by international consensus. The effect is to project Indonesia’s stance as inevitable, principled, and non-negotiable.

Through this discursive positioning, Indonesia challenges the inertia of global institutions while simultaneously affirming their legitimacy as arenas for justice. By declaring “inaction means complicity” and questioning whether the Security Council will only act after greater loss of life, Marsudi exposes structural failures without rejecting multilateralism itself. The rhetorical strategy thereby asserts Indonesia's credibility as a moral critic, using language to pressure powerful actors while aligning with the values of justice, peace, and dignity.

In this way, discourse becomes a tool of authority. Indonesia projects influence not through coercion or material power, but through the construction of moral legitimacy. This moral authority, carefully articulated in the speech, strengthens Indonesia's role as a humanitarian advocate in global forums and secures its identity as a state that speaks for justice from both its own historical experience and universally recognized legal frameworks.

### 3.3 Sociocultural Practice

#### Indonesia's Humanitarian Diplomacy and Global Identity

Marsudi's speech reflects Indonesia's long-standing identity as a Global South leader committed to anti-colonial justice and humanitarian solidarity. This stance is historically anchored in the nation's 1945 Constitution, which explicitly rejects colonialism, and reinforced by Indonesia's legacy in the Non-Aligned Movement (NAM). References such as “*a decade of contributions*” and “*Indonesia will always stand with Palestine*” reaffirm Indonesia's postcolonial legitimacy, branding its diplomacy as consistently aligned with the struggle of oppressed peoples. The speech also avoids religious markers, despite Indonesia's Muslim-majority demographics, signaling a deliberate strategy to frame Palestine's plight as a universal humanitarian issue rather than a sectarian one. By doing so, Marsudi presents Indonesia's solidarity as inclusive, globally relevant, and ideologically consistent.

In addition to this historical and ideological foundation, Marsudi incorporates liberal humanitarian values to strengthen the claim. Statements such as “*the mandate of the Security Council is to maintain peace, to create peace, not to maintain and prolong wars, or even worse, to support the perpetrator of atrocities*” blend anti-colonial discourse with the universal language of peace and justice. This ideological hybridity—drawing from national principles and international humanitarian norms—projects Indonesia's foreign policy as both historically grounded and globally legitimate.

#### Contesting Power through Institutional Critique

The speech also operates as a critique of hegemonic power, particularly targeting the UN Security Council (UNSC). Marsudi's declaration that “inaction means complicity” and her provocation “Will the Security Council only act when 100,000 Palestinians are killed?” frame the Council as morally bankrupt. By using the UN's own mandate to expose its failures, Indonesia joins broader Global South grievances about institutional injustice, positioning itself as a moral critic from within rather than an outsider to the system.

Yet, the critique is coupled with pragmatic engagement. Marsudi adopts the UN's sanctioned lexicon "two-state solution" and "international law" to reinforce legitimacy and sustain Indonesia's image as a reformist actor rather than a radical challenger. The discourse also demonstrates strategic selectivity: while emphasizing Palestinian statehood ("equal footing"), it avoids contentious intra-Palestinian or other regional issues, such as Rohingya, that could complicate the narrative. This selective silence universalizes Indonesia's moral stance while preserving diplomatic flexibility. By weaving historical identity, humanitarian discourse, institutional critique, and calculated omissions, the speech projects Indonesia as a principled yet pragmatic actor—anchoring its humanitarian stance in both constitutional ideology and the moral vocabulary of international law.

## 4 Conclusion

This study examined how Retno Marsudi's final UN speech constructs Indonesia's humanitarian stance through strategic language use, especially concerning the Palestinian issue. Using Fairclough's three-dimensional model, the analysis revealed how vocabulary, grammar, and metaphor were employed to frame Israel as the aggressor and Indonesia as a morally driven actor. The speech blends diplomatic discourse with activist and anti-colonial narratives, allowing Indonesia to challenge institutional inaction while maintaining global legitimacy.

These findings align with previous research on political discourse but extend them by highlighting how Global South nations like Indonesia use soft power to assert moral leadership. Marsudi's rhetoric reflects both national identity and diplomatic strategy, invoking Indonesia's anti-colonial history to justify its current stance.

This study is intentionally designed as an in-depth case study of Retno Marsudi's final UNGA speech. While this allows for detailed exploration of linguistic and ideological construction, it limits generalizability to Indonesia's broader diplomatic discourse. As a qualitative CDA analysis, it also carries the potential for researcher interpretive bias, though peer consultation was used to enhance reliability. The focus on textual analysis means non-verbal and multimodal dimensions—such as tone, gesture, and delivery—were not examined; such elements could further enrich understanding of diplomatic performance in future studies.

Future research could expand this work by comparing multiple speeches across time or ministers, incorporating multimodal discourse analysis, or investigating audience reception across different geopolitical contexts. Such approaches would help build a more comprehensive picture of how humanitarian and anti-colonial stances are communicated in global diplomatic forums.

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