

**DIPLOMATIC POLITENESS AND POWER DYNAMICS IN RETNO
MARSUDI'S SPEECHES AT THE UNITED NATIONS ON PALESTINE**

THESIS

By:

Halimatus Sa'diyah Salya
NIM 210302110144



**DEPARTMENT OF ENGLISH LITERATURE
FACULTY OF HUMANITIES
UNIVERSITAS ISLAM NEGERI MAULANA MALIK IBRAHIM MALANG
2025**

**DIPLOMATIC POLITENESS AND POWER DYNAMICS IN RETNO
MARSUDI'S SPEECHES AT THE UNITED NATIONS ON PALESTINE**

THESIS

Presented to

Universitas Islam Negeri Maulana Malik Ibrahim Malang

in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of *Sarjana Sastra* (S.S.)

By:

Halimatus Sa'diyah Salya
NIM 210302110144

Advisor :

Dr. Ulil Fitriyah, M.Pd., M.Ed
NIP 198208232023212021



DEPARTMENT OF ENGLISH LITERATURE

FACULTY OF HUMANITIES

UNIVERSITAS ISLAM NEGERI MAULANA MALIK IBRAHIM MALANG

2025

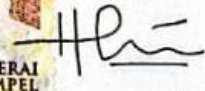
STATEMENT OF AUTHORSHIP

I state that the thesis entitled **“Diplomatic Politeness and Power Dynamics in Retno Marsudi’s Speeches at the United Nations on Palestine”** is my original work. I do not include any materials previously written or published by another person, except those cited as references and written in the bibliography. Hereby, if there is any objection or claim, I am the only person who is responsible for that.

Malang, 10 May 2025

The researcher

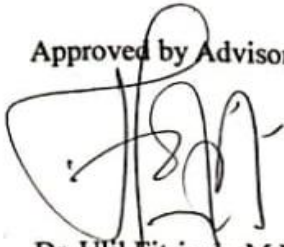



Alimatus Sa'diyah Salya
NIM 210302110144

APPROVAL SHEET

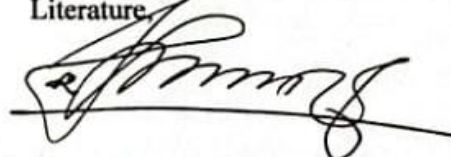
This to certify that Halimatus Sa'diyah Salya's thesis entitled **"Diplomatic Politeness and Power Dynamics in Retno Marsudi's Speeches at the United Nations on Palestine"** has been approved for thesis examination at Faculty of Humanities, Universitas Islam Negeri Maulana Malik Ibrahim Malang, as one of the requirements for the degree of Sarjana Sastra (S.S.).

Approved by Advisor,



Dr. Ulil Fitriyah, M.Pd., M.Ed
NIP 198208232023212021

Malang, 10 May 2025
Head of Department of English
Literature,



Ribut Wahyudi, M.Ed., Ph.D.
NIP 198112052011011007

Acknowledged by Dean,



Dr. M. Faisol, M.Ag.
NIP 197411012003121003

LEGITIMATION SHEET

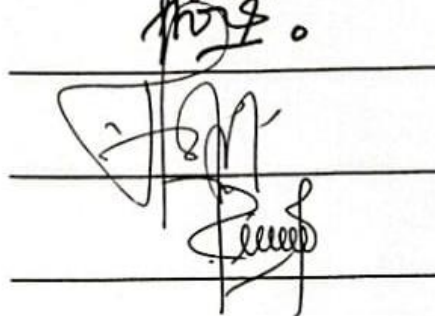
This is to certify that Halimatus Sa'diyah Salya's thesis entitled **"Diplomatic Politeness and Power Dynamics in Retno Marsudi's Speeches at the United Nations on Palestine"** has been approved by the Board of Examiners as one of the requirements for the degree of Sarjana Sastra (S.S.) in Department of English Literature .

Malang, 10 May 2025

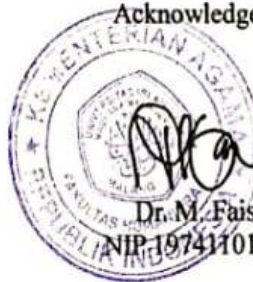
Board of Examiners

1. Dr. Ika Fariyah Hentihu, M.Pd
NIP 197003071999032002
2. Dr. Ulil Fitriyah, M.Pd., M.Ed
NIP 198208232023212021
3. Dr. Lina Hanifiyah, M.Pd
NIP 198108112014112002

Signatures



Acknowledged by Dean,



Dr. M. Faisol, M.Ag.

NIP 197411012003121003

MOTTO

لَا يُكَلِّفُ اللَّهُ نَفْسًا إِلَّا وُسْعَهَا

“Allah does not require of any soul more than what it can afford.”

(2:286)

"The pain you feel today is the strength you will feel tomorrow. For every challenge encountered there is opportunity for growth."

DEDICATION

This thesis is dedicated to my parents and family, whose love, support, and encouragement have been the foundation of my journey. To my parents, thank you for your unwavering belief in me, your sacrifices, and your endless support. Your strength and wisdom have always inspired me to push forward, even during the toughest times.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

First of all, the researcher would like to express gratitude to Allah SWT for His abundant mercies and blessings, which have enabled the successful completion of this thesis entitled **“Diplomatic Politeness and Power Dynamics in Retno Marsudi’s Speeches at the United Nations on Palestine.”** It is with deep appreciation that the researcher extends heartfelt thanks to the following individuals and groups who have played a significant role in the successful completion of this research. Special thanks to Prof. Dr. H. M. Zainuddin, MA., the Rector of the State Islamic University of Maulana Malik Ibrahim Malang; Dr. M. Faisol, M.Ag, the esteemed Dean of the Faculty of Humanities at Universitas Islam Negeri Maulana Malik Ibrahim Malang; and Mr. Ribut Wahyudi, M.Ed., Ph.D., the esteemed Head of the English Literature Department at Universitas Islam Negeri Maulana Malik Ibrahim Malang .

The researcher would also like to express sincere gratitude to Dr. Ulil Fitriyah, M.Pd., M.Ed., the dedicated thesis advisor, whose patient guidance and unwavering support have been instrumental in the completion of this thesis. To the researcher’s beloved parents, Mr. Yoni Hana and Mrs. Indriati, the deepest thanks for their unwavering love and support throughout this research journey. Your belief in me has been the strength that has driven me to pursue my dreams. A special thanks to my beloved family, such as Agung Shofiyulloh Salya, Fasich Iqbal Noor Abid, and Khairunnisa Aulia Noor Utami, who inspire me to always remain joyful and generous in life.

The researcher also extends gratitude to all the dearest friends who have provided unwavering support, particularly the fellow members of the Eyik Lovers, and EL-MISHKAAT groups, as well as the friends from the same department, such as Alifah and Wardah. Then, M. As’ad Dzanur Royyan, S.T., who provided invaluable support in completing this research.. Finally, the researcher would like to thanks herself for enduring every challenge, remaining steadfast in moments of doubt, and successfully completing this research.

ABSTRACT

Salya, Halimatus Sa'diyah (2025) Diplomatic Politeness and Power Dynamics in Retno Marsudi's Speeches at the United Nations on Palestine, Undergraduate Thesis.
Department of English Literature, Faculty of Humanities, Universitas Islam Negeri Maulana Malik Ibrahim Malang. Advisor: Dr. Ulil Fitriyah, M.Pd.,M.Ed

Keywords : *Diplomatic Politeness, Power Dynamics, Retno Marsudi*

In international forums such as the United Nations, diplomatic speeches often reflect complex politeness strategies to maintain relations between countries. This study analyzes the politeness strategies used by Retno Marsudi in her speech at the United Nations and how they reflect Indonesia's power in the world. Using Brown and Levinson's (1987) politeness theory and Foucault's (1977) power theory, this study employs a descriptive qualitative approach and discourse analysis methods. Two speeches delivered by Retno Marsudi at the UN General Assembly in 2023 and 2024 were analyzed to see how these communication strategies function in a diplomatic and ideological context. The results of the study show that positive politeness strategies are the most frequently used, with the aim of building solidarity, emotional closeness, and a positive image of Indonesia as a country that cares about justice and humanity. In addition, the use of “bald on record,” negative politeness, and “off record” strategies was also found, which helped convey diplomatic criticism politely and effectively. Power analysis also shows how Retno Marsudi used her speeches to advocate for the voices of developing countries and strengthen Indonesia's moral and diplomatic position amid global inequality. Further research could integrate other theories such as Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) and Feminist Linguistics to uncover hidden ideologies and gender influences in female diplomatic speeches. Additionally, cross-cultural research could compare diplomatic politeness strategies from different backgrounds to understand cross-cultural communication competencies in diplomacy.

ABSTRAK

Salya, Halimatus Sa'diyah (2025) Etika DiplomatiK dan Dinamika Kekuasaan dalam Pidato Retno Marsudi di PBB tentang Palestina, Skripsi. Jurusan Sastra Inggris, Fakultas Humaniora, Universitas Islam Negeri Maulana Malik Ibrahim Malang. Pembimbing: Dr. Ulil Fitriyah, M.Pd., M.Ed.

Kata kunci : *Etika DiplomatiK, Dinamika Kekuasaan, Retno Marsudi*

Dalam forum internasional seperti PBB, pidato diplomatik sering mencerminkan strategi kesopanan yang kompleks untuk mempertahankan hubungan antar negara. Studi ini menganalisis strategi kesopanan yang digunakan oleh Retno Marsudi dalam pidatonya di PBB dan bagaimana hal itu mencerminkan kekuatan Indonesia di dunia. Menggunakan teori kesopanan Brown dan Levinson (1987) serta teori kekuasaan Foucault (1977), penelitian ini menerapkan pendekatan kualitatif deskriptif dan metode analisis wacana. Dua pidato yang disampaikan oleh Retno Marsudi di Sidang Umum PBB pada tahun 2023 dan 2024 dianalisis untuk melihat bagaimana strategi komunikasi ini berfungsi dalam konteks diplomatik dan ideologis. Hasil penelitian menunjukkan bahwa strategi kesopanan positif paling sering digunakan, dengan tujuan membangun solidaritas, kedekatan emosional, dan citra positif Indonesia sebagai negara yang peduli terhadap keadilan dan kemanusiaan. Selain itu, penggunaan strategi “bald on record,” kesopanan negatif, dan “off record” juga ditemukan, yang membantu menyampaikan kritik diplomatik dengan sopan dan efektif. Analisis kekuasaan juga menunjukkan bagaimana Retno Marsudi menggunakan pidatonya untuk memperjuangkan suara negara-negara berkembang dan memperkuat posisi moral dan diplomatik Indonesia di tengah ketidaksetaraan global. Penelitian lebih lanjut dapat mengintegrasikan teori-teori lain seperti Analisis Diskursus Kritis (CDA) dan Linguistik Feminis untuk mengungkap ideologi tersembunyi dan pengaruh gender dalam pidato diplomatik perempuan. Selain itu, penelitian lintas budaya dapat membandingkan strategi kesopanan diplomatik dari latar belakang yang berbeda untuk memahami kompetensi komunikasi lintas budaya dalam diplomasi.

مستخلص البحث

ساليا، حليماتوس سعدية (٢٠٢٥) الأخلاقيات الدبلوماسية وديناميات السلطة في خطاب رتنو مارسودي في الأمم المتحدة حول فلسطين، أطروحة بكالوريوس. قسم الأدب الإنجليزي، كلية العلوم الإنسانية، جامعة مولانا مالك إبراهيم الإسلامية في مالانج. المشرف: د. أوليل فيترياه، ماجستير في التربية، ماجستير في التربية

الكلمات المفتاحية: الأخلاقيات الدبلوماسية، ديناميات السلطة، رتنو مارسودي

في المنتديات الدولية مثل الأمم المتحدة، غالبًا ما تعكس الخطب الدبلوماسية استراتيجيات مجاملة معقدة للحفاظ على العلاقات بين الدول. تحلل هذه الدراسة استراتيجيات المجاملة التي استخدمتها ريتنو مارسودي في خطابها أمام الأمم المتحدة وكيف تعكس قوة إندونيسيا في العالم. باستخدام نظرية الأدب التي وضعها براون وليفينسون (١٩٨٧) ونظرية القوة التي وضعها فوكو (١٩٧٧)، تستخدم هذه الدراسة نهجًا وصفيًا نوعيًا وأساليب تحليل الخطاب. تم تحليل خطابين ألقتهما ريتنو مارسودي في الجمعية العامة للأمم المتحدة في عامي ٢٠٢٣ و ٢٠٢٤ لمعرفة كيف تعمل استراتيجيات الاتصال هذه في سياق دبلوماسي وأيديولوجي. أظهرت نتائج الدراسة أن استراتيجيات الأدب الإيجابي هي الأكثر استخدامًا، بهدف بناء التضامن والتقارب العاطفي وصورة إيجابية لإندونيسيا كدولة تهتم بالعدالة والإنسانية. بالإضافة إلى ذلك، تم العثور أيضًا على استخدام استراتيجيات "الصراحة في التسجيل" والأدب السلبي و"خارج التسجيل"، مما ساعد على نقل النقد الدبلوماسي بأدب وفعالية. كما يوضح تحليل القوة كيف استخدمت ريتنو مارسودي خطاباتها للدفاع عن أصوات البلدان النامية وتعزيز الموقف الأخلاقي والدبلوماسي لإندونيسيا وسط عدم المساواة العالمية. يمكن أن تدمج الأبحاث الإضافية نظريات أخرى مثل تحليل الخطاب النقدي (CDA) واللغويات النسوية لكشف الأيديولوجيات الخفية وتأثيرات النوع الاجتماعي في الخطابات الدبلوماسية النسائية. بالإضافة إلى ذلك، يمكن أن تقارن الأبحاث عبر الثقافات استراتيجيات الأدب الدبلوماسي من خلفيات مختلفة لفهم كفاءات التواصل عبر الثقافات في الدبلوماسية.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

THESIS COVER	ii
STATEMENT OF AUTHORSHIP	Error! Bookmark not defined.
APPROVAL SHEET	Error! Bookmark not defined.
LEGITIMATION SHEET	Error! Bookmark not defined.
MOTTO.....	vi
DEDICATION.....	vii
ACKNOWLEDGEMENT	viii
ABSTRACT	ix
ABSTRAK.....	x
مستخلص البحث.....	xi
TABLE OF CONTENTS	xii
CHAPTER 1 : INTRODUCTION.....	1
A. Background of the Study	1
B. Research Questions	6
C. Significance of the Study.....	6
D. Scope and Limitation of the Study	7
E. Definition of Key Terms	7
CHAPTER II : REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE.....	9
A. Pragmatics.....	9
B. Critical Discourse Analysis.....	10
C. Politeness Strategies	11
D. Power Dynamic	15
E. Diplomatic Communication.....	17
1. Politeness in Diplomatic Communication	18
2. Power Dynamic in Diplomatic Communication	19
CHAPTER III: RESEARCH METHOD	21
A. Research Design.....	21
B. Research Instrument	21
C. Data and Data Source	22
D. Data Collection	23

E. Data Analysis	24
CHAPTER IV : FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION.....	25
A. Findings	25
1. Politeness Strategy in Retno Marsudi's UN Diplomatic Advocacy.....	26
2. Representation Power Dynamic in Retno Marsudi's UN Diplomatic Advocacy.....	43
B. Discussion.....	53
CHAPTER V : CONCLUSION AND SUGGESTION	60
A. Conclusion	60
B. Suggestions	62
BIBLIOGRAPHY	65
CURICULUM VITAE	65
APPENDIXES.....	68

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

In this chapter, the researcher discusses the background of the study, previous studies, the problem of the study, the significance of the study, the scope and limitations, and the definitions of key terms.

A. Background of the Study

Diplomatic interaction skills between countries are needed for state leaders to convey their interests to other countries concerned. In addition, interaction also aims to convey information, build relationships, express intentions, and influence perceptions (Radunovic, 2010). In diplomatic affairs, politeness strategies become important for managing power relations between states. Diplomacy often involves interactions between countries with large differences in political, economic, or military power, which can create tensions or conflicts of interest. Politeness strategies therefore help mitigate these potential conflicts by maintaining a balance between conveying an assertive message and maintaining a respectful demeanor (Rajik, 2025).

In international relations, power dynamics greatly influence how states interact with one another. Countries with greater political, economic, or military power often have a dominant position in diplomatic negotiations, while smaller or less influential countries must adjust to these dynamics. For example, in discussions on climate change or international trade, developing countries may feel compelled to follow the lead of larger countries, even if the proposed policies do not align with

their national interests. This imbalance in power can lead to tensions, especially when powerful countries attempt to impose their interests without considering the needs or aspirations of others.

This imbalance in power and its impact on diplomatic interactions often calls for the use of politeness strategies in communication. Politeness strategies are the means used to maintain social relationships and avoid threats to the self-esteem or "face" of the parties involved. Initially explained by Leech (1983), the theory was later expanded by Brown and Levinson (1987), who categorized politeness strategies into positive politeness, negative politeness, bald on record, and off record. Positive politeness focuses on building closeness and emphasizing similarity, while negative politeness is about respecting the interlocutor's autonomy and maintaining formality. Bald on record strategies involve direct communication without softening the message, whereas off-record strategies involve indirect or ambiguous ways of conveying a message.

Politeness and power strategies in communication cannot be separated from each other. Just as in the use of politeness strategies, power also plays a role in shaping the dynamics of social interaction. Power is a concept that is often discussed in various fields, ranging from politics to social relations. Michel Foucault, one of the leading thinkers, views power as something complex, not just control or domination, but also as a process that shapes social and individual life (Bevir, 1999). According to Foucault, power is dispersed in various social relations and is not centered on a particular individual or institution (Haugaard, 2020). Power

is not only oppressive, but also productive, shaping behavior, identities, and social structures through social mechanisms.

The focus of this research is to analyze the politeness strategies used by Retno Marsudi as Indonesia's Minister of Foreign Affairs in the UN forum, especially in dealing with international power dynamics dominated by big countries. This research focus was chosen from the many interstate diplomacy activities out there, as Retno Marsudi has become one of the important figures of the developing countries in Asia who has consistently championed important issues such as peace, human rights, and international cooperation. The analysis in this study provides insight into how a diplomat from a developing country can navigate power dynamics. In a situation of rising geopolitical tensions and sensitive international issues, this research as above provide an understanding of how diplomacy can be conducted more effectively through appropriate communication strategies (Antwi-Boateng, 2021).

Some previous studies by Eliyana (2023), Simangunsong et al. (2024), and Azzahra et al. (2023) revealed the use of politeness strategies identified by Brown and Levinson to be effectively applied in diplomacy speeches done in the current study. However, there is still a lack of in-depth contextual analysis of how social factors, culture, and social position affect the use of politeness strategies. Although Eliyana (2023) shows the dominance of positive politeness strategies in President Jokowi's speeches, there is no discussion of the cultural context that influences this choice. Likewise, Simangunsong et al., (2024) found the dominance of positive politeness in Barack Obama's speeches but did not explore audience responses

based on their cultural background. Meanwhile, Azzahra et al., (2023) compared politeness strategies between Donald Trump and General El Sisi, but did not discuss the impact of social distance on the choice of politeness strategies. This suggests that a more in-depth contextual analysis is needed to comprehensively understand diplomatic communication.

Apart from the speech object, some previous studies by Fitri (2022), Fridolini et al. (2021), and Hakim and Novitasari (2022) revealed the use of politeness strategies identified by Brown and Levinson to be effectively applied in movies. Research on *Mulan* showed that all politeness strategies were present, with positive politeness strategies being the most dominant (Fitri, 2022). Research on *Little Women* also found the application of all politeness strategies, where positive strategies again dominated (Fridolini et al., 2021). Meanwhile, research on the film *Onward* highlights the use of politeness strategies by the character Ian Lightfoot, emphasizing the importance of politeness in different cultural contexts (Hakim & Novitasari, 2022). However, these studies still do not explain in detail how specific cultural contexts influence the application of these strategies. This suggests that although there are general patterns in the use of politeness strategies, contextual factors such as cultural background and power dynamics remain important to determine the effectiveness of communication between characters in movies.

Moving on from previous studies that applied politeness theory to several objects, researchers found several studies that discussed power dynamics according to Foucault's views in the research of Portschy (2020), Looman et al. (2021), Haugaard (2020), and Carlsen et al. (2020). The dynamics of power is power that

is not centralized, but dispersed in social relations and is closely related to knowledge and identity formation (Portschy, 2020). Power is considered a productive force, shaping behavior, interactions, and social structures. In research (Portschy, 2020) discusses the relationship between power and knowledge in a social and temporal context. Then, research conducted by Looman et al. (2021) highlights how the distribution of power in the medical environment affects collaboration and learning. Meanwhile, research conducted by Haugaard, (2020) criticizes Foucault's view, emphasizing that power also gives agency to individuals and proposes that power in organizations can be coactive, encouraging creativity and innovation. For its own shortcomings, these four references lack analysis of the influence of culture and social position in the application of power, and do not discuss in depth the role of individuals in challenging or changing power structures.

Based on the literature review, it can be concluded that studies on politeness strategies and power dynamics in diplomatic advocacy are still limited. Most existing research focuses only on politeness without addressing how power is represented. In fact, politeness in diplomacy also functions as a form of soft power that influences international perception. The findings of this study support that assumption. The analysis of Retno Marsudi's speeches shows that politeness strategies particularly positive politeness are used not only to maintain diplomatic decorum but also to construct Indonesia's moral position on the global stage. Additionally, several utterances reflect power dynamics, indicating that diplomatic language can serve as a tool to negotiate power relations and enhance Indonesia's influence in international forums.

This research focuses on the analysis of the diplomatic speech of Retno Marsudi, the Indonesian Minister of Foreign Affairs, using Brown and Levinson's politeness theory to explore the politeness strategies applied in maintaining the "face" of the international audience and Foucault's Power Dynamics theory to analyze how Indonesia's position in international power dynamics influences the choice of politeness strategies. With this approach, this research aims to analyze how Retno Marsudi applies politeness strategies in her speech to minimize potential threats to the "face" of the international audience and identify how international power dynamics influence the choice of politeness strategies.

B. Research Questions

This study also aims to find out research questions such as:

1. What politeness strategies does Retno Marsudi use in her diplomatic speeches at the United Nations?
2. How do these speeches reflect power dynamics in international diplomacy ?

C. Significance of the Study

This study provides practical contributions by offering insights into how politeness strategies in diplomatic speeches, specifically in Retno Marsudi's UN advocacy, can be used as tools for navigating international power dynamics. By applying Brown and Levinson's politeness theory and Foucault's power dynamics theory, the research reveals how these strategies function as instruments of soft power to influence perceptions and foster international relations, especially for countries with less global influence like Indonesia. The findings offer valuable

recommendations for diplomats and policymakers on how to effectively communicate in multilateral forums, balancing assertiveness and politeness to strengthen a country's diplomatic stance while maintaining positive international relationships.

D. Scope and Limitations of the Study

The scope of this study focuses on the pragmatic analysis and Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) of two diplomatic speeches delivered by Retno Marsudi at the United Nations (UN) forum. It applies Brown and Levinson's Politeness Theory and Foucault's Power Theory to examine the politeness strategies used in the context of international power dynamics.

The study is limited to two speeches delivered in 2023 and 2024, without analyzing audience responses or broader diplomatic contexts. It uses only Brown and Levinson's and Foucault's theories, as they complement each other in addressing interpersonal politeness and institutional power. Furthermore, the absence of audience reaction analysis limits insights into the effectiveness of the politeness strategies in these specific contexts.

E. Definition of Key Terms

The researcher provided some key terms in this study and their explanations to clarify for readers:

- 1. Politeness Strategies :** Communication techniques used to maintain or enhance the self-image of oneself and others in social interactions. In the

context of diplomacy, these strategies help minimize conflicts and create an environment conducive to dialogue.

2. **Power Dynamics** : Refers to the way power is transmitted and negotiated in social interactions. In this research, power dynamics are reflected in how Retno Marsudi uses politeness strategies to strengthen Indonesia's position in international forums
3. **Diplomatic Speech** : The process by which a diplomat conveys their country's official position on certain issues in international forums. This research analyzes Retno Marsudi's advocacy in the context of the UN.
4. **Retno Marsudi** : The Indonesian Foreign Minister who is the focus of this research and one of the important figures of the developing countries in Asia who has consistently championed important issues such as peace, human rights, and international cooperation.

CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE

The theoretical framework underlying this study is detailed in this section. A literature review on Brown and Levinson's politeness theory is conducted first by the researcher. This is followed by a section on how politeness theory relates to power dynamics diplomacy.

A. Pragmatics

Pragmatics is the branch of linguistics concerned with how language is used in actual communication, focusing on context-dependent aspects of meaning. It examines how speakers use language to achieve specific goals and how listeners interpret intended meanings, often beyond the literal interpretation of words (Yule, 1996). Unlike semantics, which studies meaning in isolation, pragmatics focuses on the interaction between linguistic expressions and the users' intentions, social norms, and situational factors (Leech, 1983). It involves understanding how meaning is constructed through context, tone, background knowledge, and shared assumptions.

Key areas in pragmatics include speech act theory (Austin, 1962; Searle, 1969), which explores how utterances function as actions (e.g., promising, ordering), implicature (Grice, 1975), which refers to implied meanings not explicitly stated, and politeness theory, which analyzes how speakers manage interpersonal relationships and social harmony through language (Brown & Levinson, 1987).

B. Critical Discourse Analysis

Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) is an interdisciplinary approach to studying language that views discourse as a form of social practice. It aims to reveal the hidden power relations, ideologies, and inequalities embedded in texts and spoken language (Fairclough, 1995). CDA argues that language is not neutral; rather, it reflects and reinforces dominant social structures and power dynamics. One of the core principles of CDA is that discourse both shapes and is shaped by society. This means language not only describes social realities but also contributes to constructing and maintaining them (Wodak & Meyer, 2009). CDA scholars investigate how language in media, politics, education, and institutions legitimizes certain ideologies while marginalizing others.

CDA focuses on uncovering implicit meanings, linguistic choices, and rhetorical strategies used to influence public perception and maintain social control (van Dijk, 1993). It often analyzes vocabulary, grammar, modality, and textual structures to detect bias, manipulation, or ideological stances. CDA does not claim to be value-free. Instead, it adopts a critical stance by aiming to challenge social injustice and give voice to marginalized groups (Blommaert & Bulcaen, 2000). It is particularly useful in analyzing political speeches, news reports, policy documents, and educational materials to uncover underlying ideologies.

C. Politeness Strategies

Politeness is a fundamental aspect of communication that reflects speakers' social concern for how to interact with others, especially in maintaining relationships that follow personal status and prevailing social norms (Brown, 2001). To maintain good social relations, individuals often adopt various politeness strategies so that their messages are received without causing tension or damaging relationships with interlocutors. Politeness is an aspect of pragmatics, and its use in language is determined by context. According to Yule (1996), politeness is the act of showing awareness of the other person's face or one's public persona. In this situation, being polite can help us show attention to others. This phenomenon of politeness has become a topic of extensive study in various contexts due to its complex and relevant nature in social interactions, so various theories have been put forward to explain this dynamic in more depth.

One of the most influential theories in politeness studies is the universal politeness theory proposed by Brown and Levinson (1987), which has received significant attention from linguists due to its ability to capture the nuances of politeness interactions across different cultures and communication contexts (Behzadpoor, 2022). Politeness theory, developed by Penelope Brown and Stephen Levinson in 1987, is a key framework for understanding how individuals manage social relationships and mitigate potential conflict through language. Their theory is based on Erving Goffman's concept of "face" (1967), which refers to an individual's public self-image, or the social value a person claims during interactions. Brown and Levinson suggest that "face" is universal across cultures

and involves two main components: positive face and negative face (Xafizovna, 2022).

a. Positive Face

Brown and Levinson's politeness and face theory is based on the view that social interactions always have the potential to threaten one's face. Therefore, politeness is a strategic effort to minimize threats and maintain social harmony. Positive face is an important part of this social dynamic, as it reflects the human need to be accepted and valued in the eyes of others. Positive face is an aspect of a person's self that relates to a positive self-image, i.e. how they want to be seen by others as acceptable in a social group. In other words, a person wants their views, values, or behaviors to be considered appropriate, respected, and recognized by others. Speakers aim to maintain positive face by using language that expresses approval or solidarity, making the listener feel included or valued (Jegade, 2024). Actions that increase the listener's sense of self-worth, such as compliments or affirmations, are examples of appeals to positive face.

b. Negative Face

A negative face is the desire to remain independent and not be imposed upon. It emphasizes the individual's need for freedom from obligation or intrusion. Speakers protect negative faces by minimizing demands or impositions on the listener. Requests, orders, or interruptions can be face-threatening acts (FTAs) that affect the negative face (Yule, 1996). To mitigate these threats, speakers often use politeness strategies that acknowledge and respect the listener's autonomy. Brown

and Levinson's theory revolves around the idea that certain speech acts can threaten the face of either the speaker or the listener. These acts are called face-threatening acts (FTAs) and may challenge positive faces (by implying disapproval or criticism) or negative faces (by making requests or giving commands). To handle these threats, speakers use politeness strategies that vary in directness and level of mitigation, depending on the social context. To minimize the impact of face-threatening acts, Brown and Levinson outline four politeness strategies (Hutahaeen et al., 2021), which were selected based on factors such as the social proximity between speaker and hearer, the social roles they hold, the level of power held by each party, as well as the intensity of the threat to face posed by the action or utterance that can be applied in the context of diplomacy or other social interactions. The four strategies include.

1. Positive Politeness Strategy

Positive strategies are used to show attention to the needs, desires, or interests of the interlocutor. Its main purpose is to create social closeness, build a sense of community, and show approval or agreement (Holmes & Wilson, 2022). In diplomatic communication, this strategy serves to reduce tension and build a more intimate relationship between countries or individuals. By using this strategy, the speaker acknowledges and reinforces the social relationship between him/herself and the listener, thus reducing any potential discomfort that may arise. This strategy involves expressions that acknowledge the good or qualities of the interlocutor, or show that the speaker has concern for their well-being. In international relations, this strategy can be used to affirm partnerships or recognize the contributions of

other countries in international forums. The speaker can show a sense of friendship and solidarity, which is important in maintaining stable and harmonious diplomatic relations.

2. Negative Politeness Strategy

Negative politeness focuses more on respecting the interlocutor's freedom or personal space. The aim of this strategy is to avoid coercing the interlocutor or violating existing social boundaries, thus allowing them to retain their autonomy and freedom in the interaction. In diplomatic contexts, negative strategies are often used to maintain formality or to show respect for the rights of the other party, which is very important in relations between countries. Negative strategies are used when there is potential conflict or discomfort that could arise from communication that is too direct or too urgent. Speakers use expressions that show respect for the other party's time, space, or preferences, hoping not to disturb or coerce them.

3. Bald on Record Strategy

Bald on Record strategy refers to a direct and straightforward way of communicating, where the speaker does not attempt to minimize the threat to the other person's face. In this strategy, the message is delivered firmly, clearly, and without any attempt to soften the statement, especially when the situation demands clarity or strong assertion. Usually, this strategy is applied in urgent or important contexts, such as when a quick response, policy affirmation, or official statement is required (Hakim & Novitasari, 2022). In addition, the use of this strategy is common in highly intimate relationships, such as between close friends or family

members, where directness is considered more acceptable (Fridolini et al., 2021). Although this strategy may be risky as it can create social tension, in certain situations such as intimate communication, speakers feel more comfortable speaking bluntly. For example, in everyday conversation, direct commands such as “Give me a pen!” are an obvious form of Bald on Record. In diplomacy, the use of this strategy is also not uncommon, especially when clarity and assertiveness are needed in response to issues that require quick clarification.

4. Off Record Strategy

Off Record strategies are indirect and often ambiguous communications. Speakers use a way of speaking that allows for interpretation by the listener, without explicitly stating their purpose or message. This leaves room for the listener to draw conclusions or respond according to their interpretation of the situation or context. This strategy is often used when the speaker wants to express an opinion or criticism without directly offending the interlocutor or without imposing their views. In international relations, the off record strategy can be used in highly sensitive diplomatic situations, where directly expressing an opinion or criticism could cause tension or damage relations. The speaker uses more cautious or implied expressions, so that the interlocutor can respond according to the situation.

D. Power Dynamic

Power is everywhere and comes from everywhere (Foucault, 1980). Power is not only held by the government and structural officials, but also occurs in social interactions and can be done by everyone (Rahayu et al., 2014). Power plays a role

in influencing the content and style of communication. Individuals who have power tend to use more dominant and manipulative language to influence others, while those in lower positions tend to avoid conflict and express themselves carefully (Triandjojo, 2014). In addition, perceptions of the message conveyed are also influenced by power status. Individuals with higher power often receive more positive assessments even though the message they convey is unbalanced (Triandjojo, 2014). Power also does not have a specific physical form, but emerges as a result of strategic processes that occur in society (Foucault, 1978). Therefore, it is important to understand power as a dynamic and changing phenomenon, which is always reproduced in various contexts both in social and historical forms.

Michel Foucault's concept of power diverges from traditional views that often portray power as something that one possesses and uses to oppress others. Instead, Foucault sees power as a pervasive and diffuse force present throughout society, embedded in institutions, relationships, and daily practices (Deacon, 2002). Power, in his view, is not concentrated solely in the hands of dominant individuals or groups but is distributed across networks of relationships and actions. This power is subtle and often operates in ways that are less about overt oppression and more about influencing and shaping behaviors and thoughts.

In his seminal work *Discipline and Punish* (1977), Foucault illustrates how modern institutions, such as prisons, schools, and hospitals, exert control through mechanisms of surveillance and discipline. These institutions foster "docile bodies," meaning individuals who regulate their behavior because of the awareness that they might be constantly watched (Spierenburg, 2004). The Panopticon, a

theoretical prison design that allows a single guard to observe all inmates without them knowing whether they are being watched, is a key metaphor for this form of disciplinary power. Foucault argues that such surveillance induces self-regulation and compliance, leading to an internalization of control.

Additionally, Foucault's notion of power is productive, not merely repressive. Power generates knowledge and truth, influencing how individuals understand themselves and their world. In *The History of Sexuality* (1976), Foucault discusses how power operates through practices such as confession, where individuals are compelled to speak the truth about themselves. In this sense, power works by guiding people to internalize social norms and regulate their own behavior, especially regarding aspects of identity like sexuality.

E. Diplomatic Communication

Communication is generally considered an important aspect of diplomacy (Jonsson & Hall, 2003). Diplomatic communication is the process of interaction carried out by a state or government to convey messages, build relationships, and achieve political goals at the international level (Madu, 2018). In this context, diplomatic communication involves various forms of interaction, both direct and indirect, between high-ranking state officials, such as foreign ministers and ambassadors. This process is crucial for maintaining interstate relations and resolving conflicts that may arise.

In practice, diplomatic communication is often conducted through official channels, such as bilateral meetings, international conferences, or multilateral

forums. According to Jönsson and Hall (2003), diplomatic communication encompasses multiple dimensions, including verbal and nonverbal communication as well as public and private communication (Jonsson & Hall, 2003). They emphasize that diplomats must be able to navigate the complexities of international relations by using appropriate language and understanding the social and political context in which they operate.

1. Politeness in Diplomatic Communication

The study of politeness in diplomatic contexts explores how politeness strategies are used in communication between diplomats and international representatives. In diplomacy, politeness is not just a matter of social niceties; it plays a crucial role in maintaining relationships, facilitating negotiations and managing sensitive interactions between nations. The intricacies of diplomatic communication often require a delicate balance between assertiveness and tact, as diplomats navigate complex power dynamics and cultural differences (Jonsson & Hall, 2003).

Politeness strategies, as outlined by sociolinguists such as Brown and Levinson, can be classified into two main categories: positive politeness and negative politeness (Xafizovna, 2022). Positive politeness strategies aim to improve the relationship between communicators by expressing solidarity and appreciation. In diplomatic contexts, these strategies may manifest as compliments, expressions of mutual interest, or collaborative language (Simangunsong et al., 2024). Such approaches help create a favorable atmosphere for discussion and negotiation, fostering goodwill and mutual respect between the parties.

On the other hand, negative politeness strategies focus on minimizing coercion and respecting the autonomy of the interlocutor. This type of politeness is especially important in diplomatic communication, where maintaining the dignity of all parties is crucial. Diplomats often use indirect language, hedging, and formality to soften requests or proposals, thus reducing the likelihood of offending their counterparts (Radunovic, n.d.). In doing so, they signal respect for the other party's position and create space for open dialogue, even when disagreements arise.

Cultural factors significantly affect the application of civility strategies in diplomacy. Different cultures have different norms regarding what constitutes polite behavior, which can affect how messages are conveyed and received (Jonsson & Hall, 2003). For example, cultures that value directness may prioritize clear and straightforward communication, while cultures that emphasize indirectness may interpret direct communication as confrontational. Understanding these cultural nuances is important for diplomats, as misinterpretations can lead to misunderstandings or diplomatic conflict (Wang & Lee, 2024). Therefore, diplomatic politeness should include a deep understanding of different value systems and ways of intercultural communication (Simangunsong et al., 2024).

2. Power Dynamic in Diplomatic Communication

Power dynamics in diplomatic communication refer to the way power is exchanged and negotiated in interactions between states. In the context of diplomacy, states with greater political, economic or military power tend to have more dominant influence in negotiations and decision-making, while smaller states often have to adjust to this dynamic. This balance of power often affects the style

of communication used, where stronger countries may be more direct and assertive, while weaker countries will be more cautious and use more polite strategies to protect their interests without sparking conflict (Bevir, 1999).

Diplomatic power is not only related to physical or military strength, but also includes soft power such as the ability to influence through diplomacy, culture or ideology. In diplomatic communication, politeness strategies, as described by Brown and Levinson, are often used to ease tensions and maintain a balance of power (Hakim & Novitasari, 2022). Countries with greater power may use direct and assertive bald-on-record strategies when the situation demands clarity, while smaller countries tend to use positive or negative politeness strategies to show respect and maintain good relations. These dynamics are also influenced by the social and cultural context, where differences in norms and values between countries can affect the way power is negotiated in diplomatic communication. Effective communication strategies in this context are crucial to maintaining stable international relations and avoiding conflicts that may arise due to power imbalances (Amalia et al., 2023).

CHAPTER III

RESEARCH METHOD

This chapter covers the research design, research instruments, data and data sources, data collection, and data analysis methods used in this study.

A. Research Design

This type of research design uses a qualitative descriptive, using pragmatic and Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA). Pragmatic analysis is applied to identify politeness strategies in Retno Marsudi's UN speeches and to examine how these strategies function to maintain face and build diplomatic relations (Yule, 1996). CDA, based on Fairclough (1995), is used to uncover the power relations and ideological meanings behind the discourse. Brown and Levinson's Politeness Theory (1987) supports the pragmatic analysis by classifying the types of politeness used, while Foucault's Power Theory (1977) complements the CDA framework by analyzing how language reflects and negotiates power in international diplomacy. These theories are chosen for their compatibility in exploring both interpersonal strategies and broader power dynamics.

B. Research Instrument

The research instrument in this study is the researcher herself to collect all data through observations of two diplomatic advocacy speeches delivered by Retno Marsudi at the UN international forum. In addition, supporting instruments are also included to assist in conducting research, such as a computer to observe data and YouTube's Automatic Captions feature to record automatic transcripts created

quickly and efficiently from videos available on the YouTube platform. Although the automatic transcript may contain errors, it is the researcher's responsibility to verify and correct the transcript to match the actual speech.

C. Data and Data Source

The data in this study consist of two diplomatic advocacy speeches delivered by Retno Marsudi at the United Nations (UN) forum, focusing on the issue of Palestine. The form of data in this research is utterances, which were identified and selected based on the presence of politeness strategies and power dynamics in the speech. A total of 22 utterances were found and analyzed in this study. These utterances were categorized according to Brown and Levinson's politeness strategies and examined in relation to Foucault's concept of power, allowing for a detailed interpretation of language use in diplomatic discourse.

The data sources of this study are two official video recordings of Retno Marsudi's diplomatic speeches, retrieved from Kompas TV's official YouTube channel, which serves as a credible media outlet for broadcasting Indonesia's foreign policy discourse. The first speech, entitled "[FULL] Pidato Menlu Retno Marsudi di Sidang Darurat PBB: Kutuk Kekerasan Israel ke Palestina" (https://youtu.be/7efqBtjUF98?si=bsiGuOdPXMAH7_U9), was delivered on October 28, 2023. The second speech, entitled "[FULL] Pidato Retno Marsudi di Majelis Umum PBB: Bicara Ketidakadilan di Palestina – Sindir Netanyahu" (<https://youtu.be/TZ8GotYMLds?si=7ewscsHlhEpgGlwO>), was delivered on September 28, 2024. Both speeches were chosen because they represent Indonesia's

diplomatic response to global humanitarian issues and provide rich material for examining politeness strategies and the representation of power dynamics in international forums.

D. Data Collection

In this study, data was collected through several stages. First of all, the researcher identified and selected two speeches of Retno Marsudi delivered at the United Nations (UN) forum. The speeches were chosen because they were considered representative of Indonesia's diplomatic stance on global issues and showed how politeness strategies and power dynamics were used. The selected objects were then processed using YouTube's Auto Caption, a feature chosen for its ability to automatically generate transcripts quickly and efficiently. This feature allows researchers to access the text of the speeches that have been delivered without the need for manual transcription. However, manual transcription still be carried out by the researcher, to ensure the correctness of the transcript with the suitability of the existing video. After obtaining accurate transcripts, researchers classified parts of the speech based on positive politeness, negative politeness, bald on record, and off record using a table. In addition, researchers also identified parts that showed power dynamics in the context of international diplomacy also in tabular form.

E. Data Analysis

Data analysis in this study was carried out through several stages. First, the researcher reviewed the transcripts generated by YouTube's Automatic Captions by comparing them with the original video recordings to ensure transcription accuracy. Then, the researcher identified and marked utterances that reflected politeness strategies based on Brown and Levinson's (1987) theory namely, positive politeness, negative politeness, bald-on record, and off-record. In parallel, utterances that represented power dynamics were also identified and analyzed using Foucault's (1977) theory, particularly those related to Indonesia's political positioning and diplomatic discourse.

To maintain clarity and consistency, each datum was labeled using the format X.Y.Z, where X refers to the speech number (1 or 2), Y indicates the type of analysis (1 for politeness strategies, 2 for power dynamics), and Z refers to the utterance number. For example, *Datum 1.1.1* represents the first utterance from Speech 1 analyzed under politeness strategies, while *Datum 2.2.1* refers to the first utterance from Speech 2 analyzed under power dynamics. All classified data were organized in a table to support comparison and interpretation. The categorized findings then served as the basis for answering the research questions in this study.

CHAPTER IV

FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

This chapter discuss various findings and discussions in this research. The research findings are taken from the speeches in two diplomacy advocacy speeches delivered by Retno Marsudi at the UN international forum. The content of the findings is the result of the analysis of politeness strategies and power dynamics used and delivered by Retno Marsudi when delivering her advocacy at the UN. In addition, the discussions of this research is to answer the research questions. The findings and discussion explained further in the following chapter.

A. Findings

In this section, the results of data analysis based on the statements of the main subject, Retno Marsudi, which contain politeness strategies and power dynamics, are presented by the researcher. The data in this study consists of all of Retno Marsudi's statements in her two diplomatic speeches delivered at the United Nations (UN) forum. The results of this analysis answer the research questions derived from the transcripts of the speeches taken from YouTube videos, which were analyzed using Brown and Levinson's (1987) politeness theory and Foucault's (1977) theory of power. The categorization of types based on these two theories organized into a table in the appendix.

In this section, it was found that of the two speeches analyzed, positive politeness strategies were the most frequently employed. Brown and Levinson (1987) classify politeness strategies into four types: positive politeness, negative

politeness, bald on record, and off record. Among these, positive politeness appeared in 8 utterances, making it the dominant strategy used by Retno Marsudi. This reflects her consistent effort to foster solidarity, emphasize shared values, and build emotional closeness with the international audience all of which are crucial in the context of diplomatic discourse. The validity of this finding is supported by Appendix 1, where each utterance is categorized accordingly, and the data clearly show that positive politeness outweighs the other three strategies.

In this section, it was also found that Retno Marsudi's speeches reflect various forms of power dynamics as theorized by Michel Foucault (1977). In total, 9 utterances were identified as reflecting power dynamics, where Retno constructs Indonesia's moral position, exerts soft influence, and challenges global imbalances through strategic discourse. These utterances include explicit moral appeals, assertions of solidarity with oppressed groups, and subtle critiques of international inaction. The identification and categorization of these utterances are presented in Appendix 2, confirming how power is enacted not through domination, but through discourse that guides behavior, shapes perception, and negotiates Indonesia's place in the global arena.

1. Politeness Strategy in Retno Marsudi's UN Diplomatic Advocacy.

By following the politeness strategy concept of Brown and Levinson (1987), the researcher found all politeness strategies in this speech Positive Politeness 8 utterances, Bald-on Record 6 utterances, Negative Politeness 5 utterances, Off-record 3 utterances in existing data. Here is the explanation politeness strategies in Retno Marsudi's UN Diplomatic Advocacy.

a) Positive Politeness

The following data shows the form of positive politeness :

Datum 1.1.1

“ Mr. President, I'm standing here not only as the Foreign Minister of Indonesia but also as a woman, a mother, and a grandmother.” (0:38 – 0:51)

At the beginning of her speech, Retno Marsudi establishes moral and emotional credibility by introducing herself not only formally as a state official, but also personally. She refers to herself “as a woman, mother, and grandmother” identities that build emotional closeness and connect her to universal human values. This utterances shows a positive politeness strategy because it functions to create similarity and closeness between the speaker and the audience. By bringing up her personal identity, Retno shows that she has values and experiences that can be understood by everyone, regardless of country background or political position. This is in line with the claiming common ground strategy in Brown and Levinson's theory, which aims to create social bonds and reduce the distance between the speaker and the audience, especially in formal situations such as UN forums.

Datum 1.1.2

“ Use your heart, use your heart for justice and humanity.” (1:01 – 1:09)

This utterance is spoken after the call to stop the killings and provide access to humanitarian aid. The call to “use your heart” is repeated twice, as a call to action not only based on political interests, but also from empathy and conscience. This

utterances contains a positive politeness strategy because Retno tried to build emotional closeness with the assembly members. She uses an approach that touches on shared values, such as justice and humanity, which are part of the collective identity of nations. In Brown and Levinson's theory, this reflects a form of expressing empathy and seeking agreement, which is when the speaker tries to embrace the audience's feelings or point of view to strengthen solidarity and support for the message she is conveying.

Datum 1.1.3

"Indonesia stands with the people of Palestine." (6:49 - 6:51)

This utterance was delivered at the end of the speech as a form of a firm statement of Indonesia's position on the crisis faced by the Palestinian people. After the whole series of calls and proposed actions were delivered, this statement appeared as an affirmation of solidarity and support. The positive politeness strategy is used here because Retno explicitly shows the closeness between Indonesia and Palestine. This statement shows a form of expressing group membership, which places herself and her country in the same group as the suffering party, to build a sense of solidarity and emotional support. This strengthens the interpersonal and moral relationship between the two parties, and creates an image of Indonesia as part of a caring global community.

Datum 1.1.4

"Mr. President, countless times have we stood in this hall to relieve the plight of our Palestinian brothers and sisters." (1:09 - 1:18)

In this section, Retno Marsudi delivered a statement implying that the effort to defend Palestine is not new, but a struggle that has been going on repeatedly in the same forum. She explicitly used the phrase “our Palestinian brothers and sisters”, which in the context of diplomacy is a very meaningful word choice. This phrase not only shows partisanship, but also contains deep emotional meaning and solidarity. By referring to the Palestinian people as “our brothers and sisters,” Retno emphasized that Indonesia does not see Palestine as just another country, but as part of a “big family” that deserves support and protection. This phrase also comes after an emotional appeal to humanity, thus reinforcing the context that the defense of Palestine is a form of moral calling and shared conscience. This utterances is included in the positive politeness strategy because it shows an approach that builds emotional closeness and social ties between the speaker, the audience, and the subject being discussed, the Palestinian people. Brown and Levinson in their theory mention that one form of positive politeness is claiming common ground, which is when the speaker creates a sense of togetherness through shared values.

Datum 2.1.1

“Indonesia is and will always stand with the people of Palestine...” (0.27 - 0:30)

This utterances came after Retno Marsudi emphasized that Indonesia cannot remain silent seeing the injustice that continues to befall the Palestinian people. By saying that “Indonesia is and will always stand with the people of Palestine”, Retno not only shows momentary support, but also emphasizes a long-term commitment

that is principled. The phrase “will always stand” creates an image of constancy and moral alignment that will not change, even in the midst of international political dynamics. In the context of the Palestinian-Israeli conflict, this sentence represents Indonesia's historical position as a country that has consistently supported Palestinian independence since the beginning of its own independence. It is also a declaration of Indonesia's national identity before the global community as a country that sides with justice and humanity.

This utterance is categorized as positive politeness because it seeks to create emotional closeness and strengthen solidarity relations between Indonesia and Palestine. Retno Marsudi uses language that shows group affiliation, where Indonesia seems to be part of the Palestinian struggle. Instead of conveying criticism or pressure in a confrontational tone, she chose to emphasize support in the form of strengthening relations. This aims to build an image that Indonesia is a loyal ally, not just a passive observer. By using this strategy, Retno reduces the social and political distance between herself and the pro-Palestinian audience, and strengthens Indonesia's position as a consistent and trusted international actor in global issues involving humanitarian values.

Datum 2.1.2

“If every each one of us does it, for sure it will give impact.” (2.27 - 2:31)

This utterance was delivered after Retno Marsudi explicitly urged countries that have not recognized Palestine to do so immediately. However, she does not directly command or put pressure in a harsh manner. Instead, she used a conditional

and inclusive form of sentence, namely “if each one of us does it”, which invites all members of the session to feel involved in a joint effort. This sentence is inviting, but still maintains a sense of equality and does not impose will. The phrase “for sure it will give impact” provides an optimistic assurance that collective action, however small the contribution, will result in big changes. This strategy is very effective in building a sense of collective responsibility without creating a feeling of isolation or guilt for countries that have not yet acted. This utterances is an example of positive politeness because Retno is trying to create a sense of togetherness and global solidarity.

Datum 2.1.3

"Investing in peace empowering women is empowering prosperity for all."

(7:20 - 7:24)

This utterances appeared in the context of Retno Marsudi explaining Indonesia's efforts to support the Women, Peace, and Security agenda in the international arena. She underlined the importance of women's empowerment as one of the main pillars in creating global peace and prosperity. By using the parallel structure “investing in...”, Retno not only provides a logical argument but also an emotional one that builds a connection between the audience and the message. This utterances is included in the positive politeness strategy because Retno tries to build moral solidarity and value understanding with her audience. She raises universal issues that are widely accepted and valued by the international community, gender

equality and women's empowerment, thereby creating emotional and ideological common ground with the audience.

Datum 2.1.4

“Global leadership should be about guiding collective action by listening, empowering collaboration, and instilling hope.” (5:42 - 5:51)

This utterance was delivered when Retno Marsudi discussed the importance of a form of global leadership that is not oriented towards domination and fear, but collaboration and human values. In this statement, Retno listed three important elements of ideal leadership: listening, empowering collaboration, and instilling hope. These three elements form an image of leadership that is empathetic, participatory, and hopeful a form of leadership that contrasts sharply with the hegemonic model.

The positive politeness strategy is evident in this utterances as Retno uses language that builds emotional closeness and encourages cooperation in a way that respects the roles of all parties. She does not reprimand or criticize the other party directly, but rather conveys shared expectations in a constructive and inspiring tone. Phrases like “guiding collective action” and “instilling hope” show empathy and attention to the feelings and position of the listener. In an international forum, this approach is essential for creating a productive and friendly atmosphere for dialogue. In addition, the use of active and positive verbs also strengthens Indonesia's image as a country that wants to be an equal partner in shaping a better global future.

b) Bald on Record

Some data that indicate bald-on record are found below :

Datum 1.1.5

"Stop the killing, protect the civilians, let in the humanitarian assist.." (0:52 – 0:56)

This utterance appeared at the beginning of Retno Marsudi's speech at the UN General Assembly. After introducing herself not only as Indonesia's Minister of Foreign Affairs but also as a woman, mother, and grandmother, Retno immediately voiced an urgent plea addressed to the international community. The choice of diction such as "stop," "protect," and "let in" shows the urgency and moral pressure he wants to convey in the atmosphere of a severe humanitarian crisis in Gaza. The strategy used is bald on record because this utterance is direct, without preamble, explanation, or dampening of meaning. Retno did not use subtle expressions, diplomatic language, or indirect forms that are common in international forums. Instead, she chose to convey the order explicitly, which shows the seriousness of the condition and the importance of immediate action. In Brown and Levinson's theory, this strategy is commonly used in emergency situations when communication effectiveness takes precedence over preserving the face of the listener. With this style, Retno shows that humanitarian values should not be negotiated, and that moral firmness is more important than diplomatic conventions.

Datum 1.1.6

"Indonesia condemns in the strongest terms Israel's violence against Palestinians, against hospitals and places of worship in Gaza." (2:26 - 2:38)

This utterance is an example of bald on record because it is delivered openly and without softening. Retno did not use subtle means such as euphemisms or suppositions, but instead directly used the words “condemns in the strongest” which signaled a firm and uncompromising position. This shows that the speaker is not trying to maintain the face of the criticized party, but instead emphasizes that injustice and violations of international law must be firmly rejected. In terms of Brown and Levinson's theory, this utterance confirms that in a crisis context, conveying a message directly is a legitimate, even necessary, strategy to raise moral awareness and encourage action.

Datum 1.1.7

"Enough is enough." (6:34)

This utterance was uttered by Retno Marsudi in the closing part of her speech at the UN General Assembly. After conveying a whole series of concerns, proposals, and calls for the conflict in Gaza, she closed with a brief but meaningful statement. The phrase “Enough is enough” became the emotional high point of the speech, signaling that the ongoing violence and suffering was beyond tolerance. With this sentence, Retno conveyed her moral and psychological saturation with the situation that has not improved, and urged the international community to stop being silent.

This strategy is a classic form of bald on record because it is direct, concise, and undisguised. It contains no diplomatic sentence structure or attempts to mitigate the listener. Instead, it is an expression of assertiveness that reflects frustration and a moral ultimatum against a world that is slow to act. In Brown and Levinson's theory, statements like this are usually used in very critical situations, where urgency is more important than politeness. By delivering this sentence, Retno puts forward the need for justice and humanity without compromise, and consciously relinquishes forms of politeness for the sake of message delivery effectiveness.

Datum 2.1.5

"We must stop that. I repeat, we must stop that." (1:42 - 1:45)

This utterance comes after Retno criticized Israel's massive offensive amid Prime Minister Netanyahu's claim that Israel wants peace. Retno very firmly stated that the war must stop and repeated it to emphasize its urgency. There is no form of smoothing, euphemism, or attempt to disguise this message. This message is a direct order aimed at the international community to take action against Israel's continued aggression. The repetition of "I repeat" reinforces the decisiveness and emphasizes that this is a statement that cannot be ignored. This is a clear example of the bald on record strategy as Retno delivers the statement directly, straightforwardly, and without mitigation.

Datum 2.1.6

“Inaction means complicity.” (3:16 - 3:21)

This utterance is rhetorically powerful and delivered in a concise yet sharp manner. Retno conveys that inaction in the face of Israeli human rights violations and aggression is tantamount to being part of the crime. This strategy is considered bald on record because it does not use any form of politeness, negotiation, or subtle framing. Retno directly conveys that silence means guilt, which can create great political and moral pressure for UN member states. This sentence leaves no room for ambiguity or soft interpretation; the audience is forced to choose action or guilt. It is a direct form of communication that is usually used when the situation is considered an emergency or when the speaker wants to show high moral authority without compromising the clarity of the message.

Datum 2.1.7

“We must pressure Israel to come back to a political solution for a two-state solution.” (1:42 - 1:48)

This utterance was made after Retno criticized Israel's massive attack on Gaza. After stating that the war must stop, she continues with a very direct appeal: that pressure must be put on Israel to come back to a political solution for a two-state solution. It was not wrapped in a subtle plea or a diplomatic form of collective invitation. The word “must” indicates a high level of urgency and necessity, and “pressure” is an active verb that explicitly indicates that decisive action needs to be taken.

This utterances falls into the bald on record category because it is delivered explicitly and without politeness strategies to protect the “face” of the intended party. Retno delivered this message in an authoritative and urgent tone, reflecting Indonesia's clear and strong position on the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. There are no mitigations or additional statements to soften the impact; it is a direct call to the international community to no longer be passive, but actively apply pressure to the perceived offending party. It shows diplomatic courage as well as an emphasis on concrete action without compromising language.

c) Negative Politeness

The utterances here that contain negative politeness strategies are :

Datum 1.1.8

"I call on the General Assembly, together with relevant UN agencies, to step up efforts in providing humanitarian assistance in Gaza." (3:57 - 4:06)

This utterances was delivered by Retno Marsudi when entering the part of her speech that focused on concrete steps that the international community should take in response to the humanitarian crisis in Gaza. In this context, she formally appealed to the UN General Assembly and relevant bodies to step up humanitarian efforts. The choice of the phrase “I call the General Assembly...” shows that he did not necessarily give a direct order, but used a formal and diplomatic style commonly found in high-level political communication. The strategy used in this utterance is negative politeness because Retno shows caution in making her request. She uses a

polite form of request and maintains social distance with the addressee, in this case an international institution that has high authority.

Datum 1.1.9

"We must continue to support the efforts by the UN Secretary General and key countries to allow humanitarian assistance to take place." (4:06 - 4:16)

This utterance was delivered shortly after Retno called for increased humanitarian assistance by the UN General Assembly. In this sentence, she broadens the scope of responsibility by calling on all member states to continue to support the efforts already made by the UN Secretary-General and key countries. The form of the sentence "We must continue to support..." shows a non-confrontational approach, but still firm in urgency. The strategy used is negative politeness as Retno avoids direct orders and chooses a more subtle and inclusive way. The sentence is not only polite, but also shows sensitivity to the position of the audience who may come from various backgrounds and political interests. By emphasizing the importance of "continued support" for ongoing efforts, she does not convey explicit criticism or pressure, but rather keeps her request from being perceived as a demand.

Datum 2.1.8

"Therefore I urge countries that have yet to recognize the state of Palestine to do so now." (2:21 – 2:27)

This utterance was delivered when Retno Marsudi invited UN member states that have not yet recognized Palestine to do so immediately. This call emerged in

the context of defending the rights of the Palestinian people and as part of Indonesia's diplomatic efforts in fighting for a two-state solution. This utterances is part of a series of arguments she built regarding the importance of recognizing the state of Palestine to achieve justice and peace in the Middle East region. This utterances reflects a negative politeness strategy because Retno used the word "urge" which is formal and does not force directly. Although she conveyed the request firmly, she still maintained social distance with her audience, especially countries that may have different political positions. This strategy allows Retno to show respect and maintain the freedom of these countries in making decisions, while conveying the urgency of action politely and diplomatically.

Datum 2.1.9

“Once again Indonesia urges the permanent members of the Security Council to take concretely act to immediately stop Israel’s violating international law and end Israel’s impunity.” (2:46 – 3:01)

This utterance was delivered by Retno Marsudi as part of her appeal to the major countries that are permanent members of the UN Security Council. She emphasized the need for real action to stop Israel’s violations of international law. By inserting the phrase “once again”, Retno shows that Indonesia has repeatedly conveyed this request, but still uses a formal approach. This utterance reflects negative politeness because it uses an indirect approach and respects the independence of others. Despite strong pressure, she did not use imperative or authoritative sentences. The choice of words such as “urgent” and formal sentence

structure show that Retno maintains social distance and avoids a confrontational style. In this way, she still conveys an important and urgent message without intimidating or pressuring the listener. This shows a polite strategy in diplomatic communication that respects the role and sovereignty of other countries.

Datum 2.1.10

“Indonesia continuously calls for inclusive partnership in addressing global human rights issues..” (5:06-5:14)

This utterances was delivered when Retno Marsudi explained Indonesia's contribution to human rights issues in international forums. This speech emerged without directly targeting a particular party, and without conveying explicit criticism. Instead, Retno uses a diplomatic and collective style to invite all parties to participate. This utterance is an example of negative politeness because it is delivered by maintaining social distance and showing respect for the audience. Phrases like “calls for inclusive partnership” are indirect requests, which avoid coercion and preserve the listener's freedom of action. This strategy shows caution in language so as not to threaten the “negative face” of the audience, which is their desire to act without pressure. In this way, the message is still conveyed, but in a polite and non-confrontational manner.

d) Off Record

The following are utterances that belong to the off record type :

Datum 1.1.10

"With the destruction and human suffering in Gaza, ten, twenty, one hundred truckloads of humanitarian goods are just not enough." (4:20 - 4:28)

This utterance appeared when Retno Marsudi discussed the issue of humanitarian aid entering Gaza. She said that although there has been a certain amount of aid sent, such as ten, twenty, even a hundred trucks, the amount is still insufficient when compared to the scale of destruction and human suffering that occurred there. Retno did not mention who was responsible for the lack of aid, but she painted a strong picture of the disparity between the need and the available response. It is delivered in a tone that evokes empathy, and is intended to sensitize the audience to a reality that is far more severe than what is seen on the surface.

The politeness strategy used in this sentence is off record. Retno does not make an explicit statement or demand, but uses an indirect way to convey criticism. She uses quantitative comparisons ("ten, twenty, one hundred truckloads") to illustrate how much unmet need there is without mentioning which party or country has not contributed enough. In this way, he lets the audience draw their own conclusions about who should do more. This approach keeps the statement polite and non-offensive, but still effectively conveys the urgency and inequality that exists. This strategy is often chosen in diplomacy to get the message across without causing direct conflict.

Datum 2.1.11

"The mandate of the Security Council is to maintain peace to create peace, not to maintain and prolong war or worse to support the perpetrators of atrocities."

(3:01 - 3:16)

This utterances was delivered by Retno as a subtle criticism of the UN Security Council which was considered not to be carrying out its mandate effectively. In the context of the ongoing conflict, she emphasized that the institution should play a role in creating peace, not allowing the conflict to drag on. This criticism was delivered carefully by highlighting the institution's idealism, not directly attacking its member countries. This utterances is an off-record strategy because Retno did not directly blame or accuse certain parties. She conveyed her criticism through the contrast between the ideal mandate and the reality on the ground. The choice of normative sentences and the rhetorical structure "not to maintain and prolong war" creates a strong ironic effect, but still maintains an objective impression. This strategy allows the speaker to express disappointment without openly damaging diplomatic relations.

Datum 2.1.12

"Is that not enough? Will the Security Council only take action to stop Israel atrocities when all Palestinians are displaced or when 100,000 Palestinians are killed or when a regional armed conflict breaks out?" (0:50 – 1: 08)

This utterances is a form off record politeness strategy, because the criticism is not direct and explicit. She uses rhetorical questions such as "Is that not enough?"

and “Will the Security Council only take action...” which imply that real action will only be taken after the situation gets much worse. In doing so, he leaves the audience to draw their own conclusions about who is responsible. This strategy preserves the diplomatic position of the speaker while still delivering a strong message, and this is the hallmark of the off record strategy: delivering criticism subtly and not frontally to maintain social relations and the honor of the listener.

2. Representation Power Dynamic in Retno Marsudi's UN Diplomatic Advocacy.

This section discusses how power dynamics are represented in Retno Marsudi's speech at the United Nations (UN) forum. This discussion does not interpret power as something that is only owned by big countries, but rather as something that is dispersed, runs through social relations, and appears in discursive practices such as diplomatic speeches. Retno's speech not only conveys Indonesia's position politically, but also shows how Indonesia shapes influence, builds moral authority, and negotiates roles in the international system. Through this analysis, the researcher wants to explore how the linguistic practices in Retno Marsudi's speech reflect power relations, both in building Indonesia's bargaining position, articulating solidarity with developing countries, and in conveying resistance to the domination of global powers in a subtle but strategic manner.

Datum 1.2.1

“The Security Council failed to take decisive action.” (1:52 - 1:58)

This utterance is one of the most powerful representations of power dynamics in Retno Marsudi's speech, as it contains direct criticism of one of the most influential institutions in the international system, the UN Security Council. In a formal diplomatic forum such as the UN General Assembly, it is not common to openly criticize the Security Council, which is filled with superpowers with veto rights. However, Retno boldly stated that the Security Council had “failed to take decisive action.” This statement implies an imbalance of power and the failure of dominant actors to fulfill their humanitarian responsibilities.

In Michel Foucault's theoretical framework of power, power is not only centralized in the hands of certain institutions or individuals, but is produced and disseminated through discursive practices. Through this statement, Retno utilizes her speech as a medium to produce a counter-discourse against the dominance of global power. She uses her symbolic position as Foreign Minister of a Global South country to challenge the legitimacy of the Security Council's authority, and implicitly encourages international audiences to question the effectiveness of established power structures.

Through this, Retno Marsudi highlights the contrasting positions of strong and weak nations and aims to reshape global perceptions by portraying Indonesia as a moral voice that challenges inequality. In this case, the discourse built by Retno

is not just a criticism, but a form of symbolic resistance that contains the potential for redistribution of power through international solidarity and global moral pressure.

Datum 1.2.2

“We must stop the systematic effort of the occupying power that may leave nothing left to be negotiated or no one left to negotiate with.” (6:07 - 6:17)

This utterance is another form of a very assertive and strategic representation of power dynamics in Retno Marsudi's speech. In this sentence, Retno uses strong diction such as “systematic effort” and “occupying power” which clearly refer to Israel as the occupying entity, without mentioning its name directly. This is a form of careful diplomatic strategy: delivering sharp criticism without violating the formal boundaries of international diplomacy. Retno raised the issue of structural domination and hegemonic power exercised systemically by the occupying party, which in the context of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, reflects unequal and exploitative power relations.

In Michel Foucault's perspective, power is not only seen from repressive actions, but also from the way a power reproduces structures and practices that maintain domination. Retno's statement exposes the practice of power how the systematic occupation not only destroys the physical territory of Palestine, but also erases the possibility of future peace negotiations, which means erasing the political existence of Palestine itself. Through this speech, Retno positioned herself and

Indonesia not only as observers, but as active agents who criticize and counter the dominant discourse that has been controlled by the world's major powers. She challenges the international power relations that allow modern colonial rule to continue without consequences.

This utterance also voices global solidarity and strengthens Indonesia's position as a diplomatic actor of the Global South who dares to challenge unequal international power structures. Thus, this utterance is not only a political expression, but also a discursive action that represents an effort to deconstruct the dominance of global power through bold and morally nuanced diplomacy.

Datum 1.2.3

"There will be no peace until we solve the root causes of the conflict" (5.49–5.58)

Retno Marsudi's utterances shows a critical and firm attitude towards the ongoing situation, especially regarding the Palestinian conflict. By emphasizing that there will be no true peace without resolving the root causes of the conflict, Retno not only expresses her frustration with the injustice that has occurred, but also provides direct criticism of the mindset that focuses more on surface solutions than deeper structural solutions. In this case, Retno uses Indonesia's position as a country that supports Palestinian independence to demand a change in the approach applied by major countries and other international powers.

From the perspective of power dynamics, this utterances shows Indonesia's efforts to demonstrate moral leadership in international forums, by emphasizing the importance of justice in finding sustainable solutions. This is a form of affirmation of Indonesia's position as a country that dares to criticize major powers, and seeks to move a more just agenda, especially for Palestine. In this case, Retno reminds major countries and members of the UN Security Council to act more responsibly by understanding that resolving this conflict requires recognition of the deeper roots of the problem, not just actions or resolutions that only address the symptoms. So, this shows not only an awareness of the existing injustice, but also shows Indonesia's determination not to just be a spectator, but also an active actor in changing the existing international order.

Datum 1.2.4

"Resumption of the peace process to realize the two-state solution is a must"

(6.01–6.07)

This utterance reflects Indonesia's commitment to supporting a just and permanent peace process between Palestine and Israel, which emphasizes the implementation of a two-state solution. Retno Marsudi emphasized that in order to achieve lasting peace, this solution must be prioritized, and the stalled peace process must be continued. The focus on these two countries reflects Indonesia's seriousness in building international awareness of the solution recognized by the majority of countries in the world as a way out of the long standing conflict.

From a power perspective, this utterances shows Indonesia's attitude as a country with strong moral influence even though it does not have great political power in the UN structure. Retno uses the international platform to emphasize that although there are large countries that may have more influence in determining the course of negotiations, Indonesia still adheres to the principles of justice and international resolutions that support the rights of the Palestinian people. This suggests a struggle to uphold moral values amidst international political struggles that often involve the interests of great powers, and shows how Indonesia is trying to assert its position in global diplomacy by fighting for the basic rights of Palestine.

Datum 2.2.1

“Will the Security Council only take action to stop Israeli atrocities when all Palestinians are displaced or when 100,000 Palestinians are killed or when a regional armed conflict breaks out? That will be too late.”(0:50 - 1:12)

This utterances explicitly shows how Retno Marsudi uses rhetorical strategies to challenge the authority and effectiveness of the UN Security Council, which in Foucault's theory can be understood as an attempt to deconstruct the global power structure that has been passive to Palestinian suffering. This sentence not only contains sharp criticism, but also shows the tension in power relations between UN member states that have veto rights and Global South countries such as Indonesia, which have had structural limitations in global decision-making.

With rhetorical questions like “Will the Security Council only take action...?”, Retno voices the systemic injustices that occur under the influence of the world's great powers, and exposes the inequality of roles in the international system. She positions herself as a representative of the voices of affected countries that are often marginalized in global discourse. This is a form of power articulation in the discursive realm, where Retno actively opposes the dominant narrative and urges concrete changes from institutions with formal authority.

In Foucault's framework, this utterance can be read as a form of resistance to the international regime of truth, where narratives of peace are often controlled by powerful states that perpetuate violence through inaction and permissiveness towards human rights violations. By asserting that the long-awaited action will be “too late” if we wait for total destruction, Retno shows how discourse can be a tool to produce, distribute and resist power. This speech does not only convey criticism, but also urges a paradigm shift in international decision-making from the interests of global political elites to universal humanitarian needs.

Datum 2.2.2

"Once again Indonesia urged the permanent members of the UN Security Council to concretely act immediately to stop Israel from blatantly violating international law and end Israel's impunity. The mandate of the Security Council is to maintain peace, create peace, not maintain and prolong war or worse, support the perpetrators of atrocities. Inaction means complexity." (2:46 - 3:21)

This utterances shows a very strong representation of power because Retno Marsudi directly demands accountability from countries with the highest position in the global power structure, namely the permanent members of the UN Security Council. Through the choice of words “concretely act,” “immediately stop,” and “end impunity,” she asserts that the power held by the Security Council is not just symbolic, but must be realized in real responsible action. She rejects the normalization of violence and links the inaction of international institutions to indirect complicity in such violations, which he expresses through the phrase “inaction means involvement.”

In terms of Foucault's theory of power, this speech reflects an attempt to unpack how power works through institutions and how silence can be as dangerous a form of control as repressive action. Retno Marsudi challenged the symbolic authority of the Security Council by demanding a concrete realization of the institution's mandate. She exposes the hypocrisy of an international system that, instead of maintaining peace, contributes to prolonging conflict through inaction and impartiality. In addition, Retno Marsudi also strategically repositioned Indonesia as a Global South country with high morals and concern for international law and humanity, while intervening in the global narrative that has been controlled by big powers. She uses sharp and non-euphemistic language to emphasize that power must be accounted for. Thus, this speech becomes a form of counter-power articulation that tries to redistribute the structure of global discourse towards a more just and balanced direction.

Datum 2.2.3

"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 perpetrators of atrocities." (3:01 – 3:16)

This utterance is one of the strongest representations of power in Retno Marsudi's speech because it shows a critical attitude towards the highest international institution in maintaining peace, namely the UN Security Council. In this sentence, Retno not only emphasizes the ideal mandate of the Security Council, namely to maintain and create peace, but also implies that this institution has failed in carrying out this task. The use of the phrases "not to maintain and prolong wars" and "even worse, to support the perpetrators of atrocities" shows that she positions herself as an actor who dares to criticize the global power structure directly and openly.

From Foucault's perspective, this statement shows the dynamics of power that are not static but can always be challenged and renegotiated through discourse. By voicing criticism in official forums such as the UN General Assembly, Retno is redistributing symbolic power by dismantling the moral legitimacy of institutions that have long been considered to have the highest authority. This also shows how power works through language. It not only expresses domination, but also becomes a tool of resistance. In this context, Retno is producing a counter-discourse that questions the credibility and integrity of the Security Council and challenges the

global system that is considered to ignore justice and human rights, especially in the case of Palestine.

Datum 2.2.4

"To safeguard health security for all, especially for the Global South." (4:56 – 5:03)

This utterance reflects the symbolic power exercised by Retno Marsudi through a strategy of representation. By emphasizing the phrase "especially for the Global South," Retno is not only voicing the interests of developing countries, but also positions Indonesia as a collective representative of the region. Within the framework of Foucault's theory of power, this action is a form of discursive construction that emphasizes Indonesia's bargaining position in the international arena. She does not speak only as a national representative, but as a spokesperson for groups that have historically been marginalized in the global power structure.

This utterances shows how power is exercised through narratives of solidarity and concern for global justice. In international diplomacy, this method serves to shape perceptions and build strategic alliances. By raising the issue of "health security" as part of the interests of the Global South, Retno emphasizes that power is not only coercive, but can also be exercised productively and representationally, namely by fighting for inclusion and equality. This is also a subtle critique of global inequality in access to health, while strengthening Indonesia's position as a country that actively fights for a more equitable global agenda.

Datum 2.2.5

“Empowering women is empowering prosperity for all.” (7:20 – 7:24)

This utterance shows how power is exercised through the production of meaning and ideological influence. In Foucault's framework, this sentence represents power in the form of normative discourse that unites two things, namely gender equality and economic progress. By connecting women's empowerment with collective prosperity, Retno Marsudi frames gender issues not only as a human rights issue, but also as the foundation of sustainable global development.

This discursive strategy shows how power works through language that shapes ways of thinking and acting. Retno does not impose authority directly, but builds a moral logic that is difficult to deny. She expands the understanding of leadership and development by prioritizing the values of inclusivity and social justice. This shows that power in global politics is not only held by large countries or military forces, but also by countries that are able to shape narratives and inspire collective action based on humanitarian values.

B. Discussion

Based on the findings that have been described previously, this study shows that in two diplomatic speeches delivered by Retno Marsudi at the United Nations forum, politeness strategies and power dynamics were used strategically to build Indonesia's image as a country that upholds the values of humanity, justice, and global solidarity. In the first speech that focused on the call to end violence against

the Palestinian people and condemn the humanitarian violations that occurred in Gaza, 10 utterances were found that contained the use of politeness strategies. This speech emphasized the importance of protecting civilians and urged the international community to take immediate action.

Meanwhile, in the second speech that focused on strengthening support for Palestine and the call for recognition of Palestinian independence as part of the two-state solution, 12 utterances were identified that showed the use of politeness strategies. In this speech, Retno Marsudi highlighted collaborative diplomacy, strengthening global solidarity, and the importance of justice and respect for human rights. In terms of politeness strategies, the results of this study indicate that positive politeness is the most dominant type used by Retno Marsudi. There are 8 data that show the use of positive politeness in both speeches.

Through this strategy, Retno Marsudi builds emotional closeness with the audience, expresses solidarity, and affirms shared values such as justice, humanity, and peace (Sadeghoghli & Niroomand, 2016.). This is in line with the concept of positive politeness by Brown and Levinson (1987) which emphasizes the importance of creating social bonds to minimize the distance between the speaker and the listener especially in formal communication such as international diplomacy (Rajik, 2025b). In addition, 6 utterances were found that used the bald-on record strategy. This strategy is mainly used in parts of the speech that involve urgent moral appeals, such as the call to stop the violence in Gaza.

The use of bald-on record shows Retno Marsudi's assertiveness in conveying messages directly and firmly without further ado (Luthfi & Sofyawati, 2022). This emphasizes that in emergency situations, the effectiveness of the message is prioritized over maintaining formal politeness. Furthermore, 5 utterances were found that used negative politeness. This strategy is used by Retno to uphold the dignity and autonomy of other parties, especially when conveying appeals to international institutions such as the UN General Assembly or member states of the Security Council (Rajik, 2025b). By using negative politeness, Retno shows diplomatic wisdom and respects the listener's freedom of action.

Off-record strategies were found in 3 utterances. This strategy allows Retno Marsudi to convey criticism indirectly through the use of implicatures, rhetorical questions, or implied statements (Muhammad, 2024). With the off-record strategy, Retno conveys a moral message and criticizes global injustice without explicitly mentioning certain actors, thus maintaining diplomatic politeness and a constructive atmosphere in the forum. The combination of the use of positive politeness, directly in public, negative politeness, and off-record in Retno Marsudi's speeches shows her flexibility and accuracy in diplomatic communication (Baartman,2023).

Retno deftly adapts politeness strategies according to the context and urgency of the message she conveys, thus strengthening Indonesia's position as a country that consistently fights for justice, humanity, and world peace. This study found that Retno Marsudi's use of politeness strategies is consistent with previous research findings, such as Eliyana (2023) who also found the dominance of positive

politeness strategies in President Jokowi's speeches. In both cases, these strategies serve to build relationships with international audiences and strengthen the country's image as a defender of humanitarian values and peace.

However, unlike Simangunsong et al. (2024) who only focus on politeness strategies without discussing power dynamics, this study reveals how Retno Marsudi uses explicit strategies to emphasize urgent moral messages, such as her call to stop the violence in Gaza. This shows that in international diplomacy, the urgency and power behind a message influence the choice of politeness strategies. Compared to research on films, such as Fitri (2022) and Fridolini et al. (2021), who found a predominance of positive impressions in *Mulan* and *Little Women*, the difference lies in the context and purpose of using the strategy.

In movies, politeness strategies are used primarily to shape character interactions and relationships, while in diplomatic speeches, these strategies serve a larger purpose: advocating for global justice. , Hakim and Novitasari's (2022) research on the film *Onward* also emphasizes the use of politeness strategies in cultural and character contexts. Although positive politeness remains dominant, international diplomacy requires greater flexibility and adaptation to political and social dynamics. This study shares similarities with previous research in its identification of politeness strategies in diplomacy, particularly the dominance of positive politeness.

As shown in the work of Eliyana (2023) and Simangunsong et al. (2024), this strategy aims to build emotional connections with international audiences and foster

global solidarity. These studies also demonstrate how politeness strategies are used to advance diplomatic goals, such as promoting humanitarian values and peace, similar to the aims of Retno Marsudi's speeches at the UN. However, the key distinction of this study lies in its deeper contextual analysis. While earlier studies focused solely on identifying strategies, this research includes the dimensions of power dynamics, audience, and social context.

This study also shows the use of bald-on record and negative politeness in specific situations, aspects rarely addressed in previous studies. Thus, it contributes to a more comprehensive understanding of how external factors such as power and diplomatic urgency affect the choice of politeness strategies in international speech. In addition to politeness strategies, this study found 9 utterances that represent power dynamics in Retno Marsudi's UN speeches ,4 from the first speech and 5 from the second. The analysis reveals that Retno uses diplomatic discourse as a tool to construct, negotiate, and challenge global power structures.

Based on these data, it is evident that Retno Marsudi's representation of power is not coercive or repressive but rather symbolic and discursive exercised through diplomatic language (Baartman,2023). In line with Michel Foucault's (1977) concept, power is not only held by institutions or major countries, but is also produced through discursive practices, such as speeches in international forums. In the first speech, Retno explicitly criticizes the UN Security Council's failure to fulfill its mandate. Statements like "The Security Council failed to take decisive action" and "We must stop the systematic effort of the occupying power..." show that Retno articulates a counter-discourse.

She challenges the hegemony of powerful states by promoting a narrative grounded in justice, solidarity, and moral urgency. These expressions symbolize resistance to global power imbalances, positioning Indonesia as a Global South actor with a legitimate moral voice. The second speech shifts from sharp critique to a more structured form of moral diplomacy. Retno uses rhetorical questions and strong normative statements such as “Will the Security Council only take action...?” and “Inaction means complicity.” These statements reveal the tensions in power relations between major and developing countries.

She not only calls for change but also deconstructs dominant narratives that perpetuate injustice. Retno Marsudi further broadens the power discourse by representing Global South identities and inclusive values, as seen in statements like “To safeguard health security for all, especially for the Global South” and “Empowering women is empowering prosperity for all.” In this context, power is not understood as coercion but as representational power, the power to shape discourse, inspire policy, and foster international solidarity. Retno builds Indonesia’s influence through narratives of justice and equality.

Through her speeches, Retno Marsudi demonstrates that power can also be mobilized by non-hegemonic states through rhetoric, morality, and solidarity. By framing issues such as Palestine, women’s rights, and Global South equality within a powerful diplomatic narrative, she not only communicates Indonesia’s stance but also redirects global discourse toward inclusivity and equity. These findings align with prior research on power dynamics through a Foucauldian lens. For example, Portschy (2020) highlights the power knowledge relationship in shaping social

structures reflected in Retno's use of moral discourse to challenge global dominance.

Looman et al. (2021), although in a healthcare context, show how the distribution of power influences cooperation similar to Retno's call for global solidarity through moral diplomacy. Haugaard (2020) emphasizes that power enables agency, as seen in Retno's active role in criticizing international power structures. Carlsen et al. (2020) describe power as a coactive force that fosters innovation, illustrated by Retno's efforts to promote gender equality and global justice. Compared to these studies, this research contributes a new perspective by highlighting cultural context, state identity, and Global South representation.

While previous studies often focused on institutional or domestic contexts, this study shows how power can be mobilized discursively through the speeches of developing country representatives in international diplomacy. Thus, this study reinforces the view that power is diffuse and productive, in line with Foucauldian thought. The distinction, however, lies in this research's emphasis on cultural framing, the speaker's geopolitical identity, and the narrative construction of resistance against global hegemonic powers.

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSION AND SUGGESTIONS

This chapter was written after the research was conducted by the researcher, as a summary of the results of the analysis that has been found by the researcher which is the result of answering the research questions mentioned above. Furthermore, this chapter will also discuss a little about the suggestions that are expected for further research.

A. Conclusion

This study explored the use of politeness strategies and the representation of power dynamics in Retno Marsudi's diplomatic speeches at the United Nations. Through the application of Brown and Levinson's politeness theory and Michel Foucault's theory of power, this research offers a deeper understanding of the critical role language plays in diplomacy. It shows that diplomatic speeches are not merely tools for communication but also mechanisms for shaping identity, asserting political positions, and reflecting the power relations that define international diplomacy.

The findings indicate that Retno Marsudi predominantly employs positive politeness strategies, such as expressing shared values, empathy, and solidarity. These strategies work to reduce social distance between Indonesia and other nations, particularly in multilateral forums like the United Nations, where cooperation and mutual respect are key. By focusing on building rapport and emphasizing common ground, she fosters a sense of unity and cooperation. In

contrast, negative politeness strategies are used when maintaining respect for others' autonomy and institutional positions is necessary, demonstrating her diplomatic sensitivity.

The use of bald-on-record strategy, though less frequent, is employed strategically in high-stakes, urgent situations, such as humanitarian appeals. For example, in addressing crises like the situation in Gaza, Retno Marsudi balances urgency with moral clarity, ensuring that Indonesia's position on such issues is conveyed firmly, without compromising diplomatic decorum. This illustrates her ability to navigate complex international scenarios with diplomatic agility, highlighting the importance of choosing the right strategy based on context.

When examining power dynamics, this study reveals how Indonesia's positioning as a Global South country influences the strategies used in diplomatic communication. Retno Marsudi's speeches reflect the complexities of representing a nation that often faces an international power structure dominated by more powerful countries. By carefully selecting her words, she is able to challenge and critique powerful actors, such as the UN Security Council, without breaching diplomatic ethics. This strategic use of language enables Indonesia to amplify its voice and present its values with credibility and authority.

Furthermore, this research confirms Michel Foucault's view that power is not centralized but rather dispersed across social relations through knowledge, identity, and discourse. Retno Marsudi's diplomatic speeches provide a clear example of how power is exercised in global diplomacy. Her use of language not only strengthens

Indonesia's moral authority but also challenges dominant narratives, such as those propagated by powerful institutions and countries, advocating instead for the interests of marginalized groups like Palestine and the Global South.

In comparison to previous studies, which have largely focused on the use of power in domestic or organizational contexts, this study highlights the importance of culture, identity, and geopolitical position in shaping how power is communicated and contested in international diplomacy. It emphasizes that diplomatic communication, particularly through the lens of politeness, is essential for soft power and influence on the global stage. This research also underscores the role of individual actors, such as Retno Marsudi, in using language as a strategic tool for diplomacy, resistance, and leadership.

Ultimately, this study affirms that politeness and power are not opposing forces but complementary elements in the practice of diplomacy. The strategic use of politeness helps to create persuasive, ethical, and effective communication, ensuring that international relations are conducted with respect and mutual understanding. By examining the intersection of politeness and power, this research contributes to a broader understanding of how language functions in global diplomacy and the ways it can shape international relations for the better.

B. Suggestions

This study has provided an in-depth analysis of politeness strategies and the representation of power dynamics in Retno Marsudi's diplomatic speeches at the United Nations. However, as with any research, there are certain limitations that

must be acknowledged. First, this study is limited to only two speeches at the UN General Assembly, which means the findings may not fully represent Retno Marsudi's broader diplomatic communication strategies. The narrow scope of this research suggests that future studies should extend the analysis to include other diplomatic settings, such as ASEAN meetings, bilateral negotiations, and other multilateral forums. Examining how audience type and geopolitical context influence the use of politeness strategies and power dynamics in different diplomatic arenas could provide more comprehensive insights into how diplomatic language functions in varying contexts.

Moreover, this study did not include audience responses to the speeches, an element that could provide valuable data on the effectiveness of the politeness strategies employed. Future research could adopt a reception-based approach by analyzing how Retno Marsudi's speeches are received by global audiences. This could involve examining responses from different countries, international media coverage, and discussions on social media platforms. Using empirical methods such as surveys, interviews, or content analysis of press reactions would help assess the effectiveness of the communicated power messages and politeness strategies and how they influence international discourse.

Another limitation of this study is the exclusive application of Brown and Levinson's politeness theory and Foucault's theory of power. While these frameworks offer valuable insights, future research could benefit from integrating other theoretical perspectives, such as Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA),

Pragmatics, or Feminist Linguistics. CDA could reveal hidden ideologies and power structures embedded within diplomatic speeches, while Feminist Linguistics could offer a nuanced understanding of how gender identity influences the delivery and reception of speeches by female diplomats, such as Retno Marsudi.

Furthermore, it would be beneficial for future studies to explore cross-cultural pragmatics by comparing politeness strategies used by diplomats from different cultural and linguistic backgrounds. As culture plays a significant role in shaping perceptions of politeness and expectations in communication, a comparative approach could provide deeper insights into intercultural communication competence. This type of research could also shed light on the universality or variation of politeness strategies across different diplomatic contexts.

In conclusion, while this study has explored an important intersection of language, diplomacy, and power, it serves as a foundation for further interdisciplinary research in these areas. Given the increasingly vital role of diplomatic communication in addressing global challenges such as conflict resolution, climate change, and human rights, understanding how language functions as a tool of negotiation, identity construction, and resistance is crucial. Future research can build upon this study to contribute to more effective, ethical, and inclusive diplomatic communication practices on the global stage.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Amalia, N. I., Indah, R. N., & Bahtiar, J. Y. (2023). Representation of power through politeness strategies in *Bridgerton* season 1 movie. *Elsya: Journal of English Language Studies*, 5(3), 385–397. <https://doi.org/10.31849/elsya.v5i3.1411>
- Austin, J. L. (1975). *How to do things with words*. Harvard University Press.
- Azzahra, U. A., Pratama, H., & Saleh, M. (2023). Politeness strategies used by Trump and El-Sisi in their speeches at United Nations Assembly. *English Education Journal*, 13(1), 12–19. <https://doi.org/10.15294/eej.v13i1.68280>
- Bevir, M. (1999). Foucault, power, and institutions. *Political Studies*, 47(2), 345–359. <https://doi.org/10.1111/1467-9248.00204>
- Brown, P., & Levinson, S. C. (1987). *Politeness: Some universals in language usage* (Vol. 4). Cambridge University Press.
- Creswell, J. W. (2008). *Research design: Qualitative, quantitative, and mixed methods approaches* (2nd ed.). Sage Publications.
- Deacon, R. (2002). An analytics of power relations: Foucault on the history of discipline. *History of the Human Sciences*, 15(1), 89–117. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0952695102015001074>
- Eliyana, E. (2023). Infrastructure development: Politeness strategy in the speech of the Indonesian president, Jokowi. *CaLLs: Journal of Culture, Arts, Literature and Linguistics*, 9(2), 197–212. <https://doi.org/10.30872/calls.v9i2.12230>
- Fitri, Z. (2022). A pragmatic analysis of politeness strategies in *Mulan* movie. *English Education Journal*, 13(2), 185–201. <https://doi.org/10.24815/eej.v13i2.21980>
- Fridolini, F., Arisena, D. A., & Idawati, K. (2021). Politeness strategies analysis reflected in *Little Women* movie by Greta Gerwig. *Getsempena English Education Journal*, 8(2), 174–185. <https://doi.org/10.46244/geej.v8i2.1375>
- Hakim, M. L., & Novitasari, N. F. (2022). Politeness strategies used by the main character in the film *Onward*. *Celtic: A Journal of Culture, English Language Teaching, Literature and Linguistics*, 9(2), 191–204. <https://doi.org/10.22219/celtic.v9i2.23436>

- Haugaard, M. (2020). Foucault and power: A critique and retheorization. *Critical Review of International Social and Political Philosophy*. <https://doi.org/10.1080/08913811.2022.2133803>
- Holmes, J., & Wilson, N. (2022). *An introduction to sociolinguistics* (6th ed.). Routledge. <https://doi.org/10.4324/9780367821852>
- Hutahaean, H., Herman, H., & Girsang, A. F. F. (2021). An analysis of the politeness strategies utilized by *Pesbukers* in their variety show. *Wanastra: Jurnal Bahasa dan Sastra*, 12(1), 23–33.
- Leech, G. N. (2016). *Principles of pragmatics*. Routledge. <https://doi.org/10.4324/9781315835976>
- Looman, N., Woezik, T., van Asselt, D., de Haan, N. S., Fluit, C., & Graaf, J. (2021). Exploring power dynamics and their impact on intraprofessional learning. *Medical Education*, 56(4), 444–455. <https://doi.org/10.1111/medu.14706>
- Luthfi, M., & Sofyawati, E. D. (2022). Politeness strategies used by students in classroom interaction. *English Education and Applied Linguistics Journal*, 5(2), 100–110. <http://dx.doi.org/10.31980/eealjournal.v5i2.2522>
- Portschy, J. (2020). Times of power, knowledge, and critique in the work of Foucault. *Time & Society*, 30(1), 57–78. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0961463X20911786>
- Rajik, J. (2025). Politeness strategies in political discourse: A study through the lens of Brown and Levinson's politeness theory. *Journal of Pragmatics and Discourse Analysis*, 4(1), 26–33. <https://doi.org/10.32996/jpda.2025.4.1.4>
- Searle, J. R. (1969). *Speech acts: An essay in the philosophy of language*. Cambridge University Press.
- Simangunsong, P. A., Saragi, C. N., & Sipayung, K. (2024). Politeness strategies used by President Barack Obama's speech. *Onoma: Journal of Linguistics and Communication*, 10(2), 45–56. <https://doi.org/10.30605/onoma.v10i2.3502>
- Spierenburg, P. (2004). Punishment, power, and history: Foucault and Elias. *Social Science History*, 28(4), 607–636. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/40267859>
- Xafizovna, R. N. (2022). On linguistic politeness theory: Robin Lakoff's theory of politeness, Brown and Levinson's theory of politeness, Geoffrey Leech's theory of politeness. *Central Asian Studies*, 3(6), 123–134.

CURRICULUM VITAE



Halimatus Sa'diyah Salya was born in Kediri on September 06, 2003. She is the second of two siblings. She completed her high school education at SMA Negeri 1 Mojo in 2021. She then continued her studies at Maulana Malik Ibrahim State Islamic University Malang, where she pursued an undergraduate degree in the Department of English Literature, which she completed in 2025. During college, the researcher was actively involved in HMPS and DEMA Faculty of Humanities at UIN Malang. The researcher hopes that this thesis can contribute to the fields of education and diplomacy.

APPENDIXES

Politeness Strategies in Speech 1 : “[FULL] Pidato Menlu Retno Marsudi di Sidang Darurat PBB: Kutuk Kekerasan Israel ke Palestina” on October 28, 2023

No.	Datum	Utterance	Politeness			
			Positive Politeness	Bald on Record	Negative Politeness	Off Record
1.	1.1.1	“ Mr. President, I'm standing here not only as the Foreign Minister of Indonesia but also as a woman, a mother, and a grandmother." (0:38 – 0:51)	✓			
2.	1.1.2	" Use your heart, use your heart for justice and humanity." (1:01 – 1:09)	✓			
3.	1.1.3	"Indonesia stands with the people of Palestine." (6.49 - 6:51)	✓			
4.	1.1.4	"Mr. President, countless times have we stood in this hall to relieve the plight of our Palestinian brothers and sisters." (1:09 - 1:18)	✓			
5.	1.1.5	"Stop the killing, protect the civilians, let in the humanitarian assist.." (0:52 – 0.56)		✓		

6.	1.1.6	"Indonesia condemns in the strongest terms Israel's violence against Palestinians, against hospitals and places of worship in Gaza." (2:26 - 2:38)		✓		
7.	1.1.7	"Enough is enough." (6:34)		✓		
8.	1.1.8	"I call on the General Assembly, together with relevant UN agencies, to step up efforts in providing humanitarian assistance in Gaza." (3:57 - 4:06)			✓	
9.	1.1.9	"We must continue to support the efforts by the UN Secretary General and key countries to allow humanitarian assistance to take place." (4:06 - 4:16)			✓	
10.	1.1.10	"With the destruction and human suffering in Gaza, ten, twenty, one hundred truckloads of humanitarian goods are just not enough." (4:20 - 4:28)				✓

Politeness Strategies in Speech 2 : “[FULL] Pidato Retno Marsudi di Majelis Umum PBB: Bicara Ketidakadilan di Palestina-Sindir Netanyahu” on September 28, 2024

No.	Datum	Utterance	Politeness			
			Positive Politeness	Bald on Record	Negative Politeness	Off Record
1.	2.1.1	“Indonesia is and will always stand with the people of Palestine...” (0:27 – 0:30)	✓			
2.	2.1.2	“If every each one of us does it, for sure it will give impact.” (2:27 – 2:31)	✓			
3.	2.1.3	“Investing in peace empowering women is empowering prosperity for all.” (7:20 – 7:24)	✓			
4.	2.1.4	“Global leadership should be about guiding collective action by listening, empowering collaboration, and instilling hope.” (5:42 – 5:51)	✓			
5.	2.1.5	“We must stop that. I repeat, we must stop that.” (1:42 – 1:45)		✓		
6.	2.1.6	“Inaction means complicity.” (3:16 – 3:21)		✓		
7.	2.1.7	“We must pressure Israel to		✓		

		come back to a political solution for a two-state solution.” (1:42 – 1:48)				
8.	2.1.8	“Therefore I urge countries that have yet to recognize the state of Palestine to do so now.” (2:21 – 2:27)			✓	
9.	2.1.9	“Once again Indonesia urges the permanent members of the Security Council to take concretely act to immediately stop Israel’s violating international law and end Israel’s impunity.” (2:46 – 3:01)			✓	
10.	2.1.10	“Indonesia continuously calls for inclusive partnership in addressing global human rights issues.” (5:06 – 5:14)			✓	
11.	2.1.11	“The mandate of the Security Council is to maintain peace to create peace, not to maintain and prolong war or worse to support the perpetrators of atrocities.” (3:01 – 3:16)				✓
12.	2.1.12	“Is that not enough? Will the				✓

		Security Council only take action to stop Israel atrocities when all Palestinians are displaced or when 100,000 Palestinians are killed or when a regional armed conflict breaks out?” (0:50 – 1:08)				
--	--	--	--	--	--	--

Power Dynamics in Speech 1 : “[FULL] Pidato Menlu Retno Marsudi di Sidang Darurat PBB: Kutuk Kekerasan Israel ke Palestina” on October 28, 2023

No.	Datum	Utterance
1	1.2.1	“The Security Council failed to take decisive action.” (1:52 – 1:58)
2	1.2.2	“We must stop the systematic effort of the occupying power that may leave nothing left to be negotiated or no one left to negotiate with.” (6:07 – 6:17)
3	1.2.3	“There will be no peace until we solve the root causes of the conflict.” (5:49 – 5:58)
4	1.2.4	“Resumption of the peace process to realize the two-state solution is a must.” (6:01 – 6:07)

Power Dynamics in Speech 2 : “[FULL] Pidato Retno Marsudi di Majelis Umum PBB: Bicara Ketidakadilan di Palestina-Sindir Netanyahu” on September 28, 2024

No.	Datum	Utterance
1	2.2.1	“Will the Security Council only take action to stop Israeli atrocities when all Palestinians are displaced or when 100,000 Palestinians are killed or when a regional armed conflict breaks out? That will be too late.” (0:50 – 1:12)
2	2.2.2	“Once again Indonesia urged the permanent members of the UN Security Council to concretely act immediately to stop Israel from blatantly violating international law and end Israel's impunity. The mandate of the Security Council is to maintain peace, create peace, not maintain and prolong war or worse, support the perpetrators of atrocities. Inaction means complicity.” (2:46 – 3:21)
3	2.2.3	“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 perpetrators of atrocities.” (3:01 – 3:16)
4	2.2.4	“To safeguard health security for all, especially for the Global South.” (4:56 – 5:03)
5	2.2.5	“Empowering women is empowering prosperity for all.” (7:20 – 7:24)