

**Rhetorical Appeals Used By Mahmoud Abbas on His Speech at
United Nation General Assembly (UNGA) 2012**

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**Rhetorical Appeals Used By Mahmoud Abbas on His Speech at
United Nation General Assembly (UNGA) 2012**

THESIS

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

By:

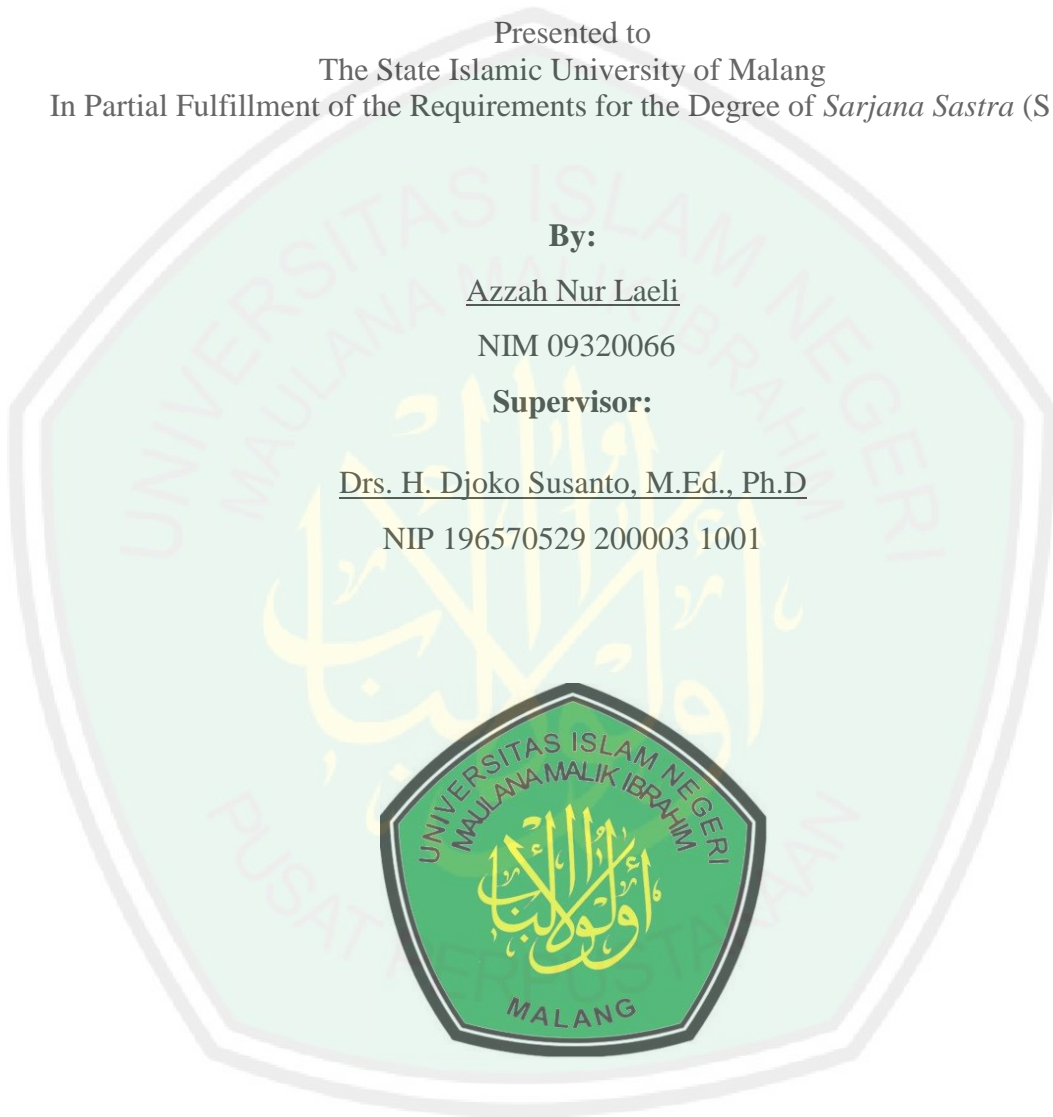
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MALANG
2013**

Statement of Authorship

I state that this thesis entitled *Rhetorical Appeal Used by Mahmoud Abbas on His Speech at UNGA (United Nation General Assembly) 2012* is truly my original work. It does not incorporate any materials previously written or published by another person, except those indicated in quotation and bibliography. Due to this fact, I am the one who is responsible for the thesis if there is any objection or claims from others.

Malang, 10 June, 2013

Azzah Nur Laeli



APPROVAL SHEET

This is to certify that the *Sarjana* thesis written by Azzah Nur Laeli (09320066) entitled *Rhetorical Appeal Used by Mahmoud Abbas on His Speech at United Nation General Assembly (UNGA) 2012* has been approved by the advisor for further approval by the Board of Examiners.

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LEGITIMATION OF THE THESIS

This thesis is to certify that Azzah Nur Laeli's thesis entitled "*Rhetorical Appeals Used by Mahmoud Abbas on His Speech at United Nation General Assembly (UNGA) 2012*" has been already approved by the Board of Examiners as one of the requirements for the degree of *Sarjana Sastra* in English Language and Letters Department, Faculty of Humanities, Maulana Malik Ibrahim State Islamic University of Malang.

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MOTTO

MY BEAUTY IS ON MY LANGUAGE

DEDICATION

This thesis is dedicated to:

My Lovely Parents

Mr. Syahrozi and Mrs. Nur Hayati

My Sweet Brothers

Milhan and Djauhari

My Beloved husband

Budiman Hadi Saputra

My Best Friends Ever Lasting

Ika, Lulu', Aniq, Lifa and Rena



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In the name of Allah, the Merciful, the Beneficent. I would like to give thanks to Allah who has given me smoothness in completing the thesis. Peace and salutation are always given to Muhammad who brings us into Islam. Completing the thesis entitled Rhetorical Appeals Used by Mahmoud Abbas on His Speech at United Nation General Assambly (UNGA) 2012, I considerably owe many persons. Surely I would not, without their support, be able to finish this thesis. I convey my genuine thanks to: my parents (Syahrozi and Nur Hayati) and relatives who always give me advice, support, and pray, my thesis advisor, Dr. Djoko Susanto, M.Ed., Ph.D. who has the honor to give me advice, correction, and attention to successfully realize this thesis, my academic advisor, Sri Muniroch, M.Hum. who patiently gives me advice in accordance with my academic achievement, all of lecturers generally, and especially in the department of English, and all friends of mine in English Language and Letters Department who completely motivate me in finishing this thesis.

Finally, I am truly aware of that this thesis needs the constructive criticism and suggestion from the readers to make it better. I do hope that the thesis can contribute to the development of Linguistics especially for the study of Rhetorical aspect.

Malang, 10 June 2013

Azzah Nur Laeli

ABSTRACT

Laeli, Azzah Nur. 2013. *Rhetorical Appeals Used by Mahmoud Abbas on His Speech at United Nation General Assembly (UNGA) 2012.* English Language and Letters Department. Faculty of Humanities and Culture. Maulana Malik Ibrahim State Islamic University, Malang. Advisor: Drs. H. Djoko Susanto, M.Ed., Ph.D.

Keywords: Rhetorical Appeal, Ethos, Logos, Pathos

Rhetorical study is often related to the art of public speaking. The primary point of rhetoric is language use. In this point, a speaker tries to create an effectiveness in delivering a language to ease the audiences understand the message delivered. Rhetoric has divided into three kinds of appeals: ethos, logos and pathos. This study is aimed at investigating rhetorical appeals employed by Mahmoud Abbas on his speech at United Nation (UNGA).

The research uses a descriptive qualitative research design. The researcher identifies and describes rhetorical appeals employed by Mahmoud Abbas on his speech at UNGA. She collects the data by downloading the video of the speech, transcribing the video and selecting the appropriate data for further analysis. In analyzing, the researcher classified the data based on the theory, analyzed the rhetorical appeals, discussed and interpreted the data found concerning with rhetoric, and drew a conclusion.

Abbas uses the three appeals to strengthen his arguments and persuade the audiences. Based on the data Abbas employs the ethos appeal more rather than the other two appeals. Practicing the ethos more indicates that Abbas more often creates his credibility and shows his character to convince the audience. The pathos is included to show how strong his feeling or toward the war and infliction and suffering encountered by Palestinians. Logos appeal as a mean to strengthen his argument is employed to emphasize his statements by providing many evidences.

For those who are interested in doing the same research on Aristotelian rhetorical appeals such as ethos, logos and pathos, the researcher suggests the future researchers to decide whether you are going to focus on persuasion or argumentation. It is because each has a different degree of argument. If they are interested in persuasive study, it will be better to focus on pathos and ethos. Meanwhile they are interested in argumentative study, take the theory of Parelman about the argument. Because this theory merely focusos on logos only so that they can comprehensively conduct their research on rhetoric.

ABSTRAK

Laeli, Azzah Nur. 2013. *Teori Retorika yang Diterapkan Mahmoud Abbas dalam Pidatonya di Majelis Umum Perserikatan Bangsa-Bangsa (PBB)*. Jurusan Bahasa dan Sastra Inggris, Fakultas Humaniora, Universitas Islam Negeri Maulana Malik Ibrahim Malang. Pembimbing: Dr. H. Djoko Susanto, M.Ed., Ph.D.

Kata Kunci: Retorika, Ethos, Logos, Pathos

Retorika kerap dikaitkan dengan seni berbicara yang titik utamanya adalah penggunaan bahasa. Retorika merupakan metode dalam menciptakan efektivitas dalam berbahasa sehingga pendengar akan mudah memahami pesan yang disampaikan. Retorika dibagi menjadi tiga jenis: *etos*, *logo* dan *pathos*. Penelitian ini bertujuan untuk mengamati teori retorika yang digunakan oleh Mahmoud Abbas dalam pidatonya di Perserikatan Bangsa-Bangsa (PBB).

Studi ini menggunakan metode deskriptif kualitatif. Yaitu, peneliti mengidentifikasi dan menggambarkan teori retorika yang digunakan Mahmoud Abbas dalam pidatonya di Majelis Umum PBB. Peneliti mengumpulkan data dengan *download* video pidato, menyalinnya dan memilih data yang sesuai untuk dianalisis lebih lanjut. Dalam analisis ini, peneliti mengklasifikasikan data berdasarkan teori, menganalisa teori, membahas dan menafsirkan data yang ditemukan, dan menarik kesimpulan.

Abbas menggunakan ketiga teori untuk memperkuat dalil-dalilnya dalam mempengaruhi audien. Berdasarkan data, Abbas lebih sering mengaplikasikan *ethos* daripada *logos* dan *pathos*. Data ini membuktikan bahwa Abbas sering menciptakan kredibilitas dan menunjukkan karakternya untuk meyakinkan penonton. *Pathos* disertakan untuk menunjukkan betapa kuat perasaannya terhadap perang dan penderitaan yang dialami oleh Palestina. *Logos* diterapkan untuk memperkuat argumennya dengan memberikan banyak bukti.

Bagi para peneliti yang tertarik untuk melakukan studi yang sama, peneliti menyarankan agar fokus pada persuasi atau argumentasi saja. Karena keduanya memiliki tingkat yang berbeda dalam ranah argumen. Jika tertarik pada studi persuasif, fokuslah pada *pathos* dan *ethos*. Jika anda tertarik dalam studi argumentatif, gunakan teori Parelman tentang argumen. Karena teori ini hanya fokus pada *logos*, sehingga mereka bisa secara komprehensif melakukan penelitian mereka pada retorika.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

This chapter presents the background of the study, problems of the study, objectives of the study, significance of the study, definition of the key terms, and research method.

1.1 Background of the Study

Every day people are never free from speaking, because speaking is a big part of human life. Without speaking people cannot convey what in their mind. Many years ago, speaking was just a tool of communication. But, nowadays along with the development of knowledge, speaking becomes an art in our lives. Thus, we can influence and persuade people to believe what we say. This term is called rhetorical study.

Along with the development of knowledge, today rhetorical study is extended into writing. West and Turner in Firman (2008: 6), believed that rhetorical study is often related to the art of public speaking in which teaching concept discusses the fundamental of persuasion. The primary point of rhetoric is language use (Effendy, 2005: 53). In this point, a speaker tries to create an effectiveness in delivering a language to ease the audiences understand the message delivered. Furthermore, the study on rhetoric is an interesting subject.

In building a rhetorical concept, we are required to provide some techniques that have been developed by Aristotle and Kenneth Burke. In Ancient Greece, Aristotle enhanced the idea of rhetoric as an art of persuasion in which an

argument must be concise, clear and convincing (Effendy, 2005:55). He is known by three kinds of appeals: logos (logical appeal), pathos (emotional appeal), and ethos (ethical appeal). Logos or logical appeal is an argument encloses logical case and language usage which will show the speaker's credibility. Pathos or emotional appeal is used to show emotion, likes love, hate, and fear from listener/reader's feeling. Finally, ethos or ethical appeal is related to good perception, source credibility or trustworthiness of speakers.

Burke in Booth (2004: 8) argues that rhetoric is a form in primary function of language itself which is realistic. Moreover, it is a symbolic means to build a system in beings a natural response. Burke regards a language as symbol. The way of people gets success in persuading if they are able to construct the language in a good concept. Rhetoric concept of Burke's work is known with dramatism theory in which there are five key terms as methods (usually called "pentad") including *act, scene, agent, agency and purpose*. Twenty years later, Burke establishes one point of pentad, which is *attitude*. Actually, in the seventeenth century, there were some popular orators from Europe like Oliver Cromwell and Lord Bolingbroke who used in techniques of rhetoric. Hence, the beginning of rhetoric development focused on speech with certain purpose was to persuade. In the developing of rhetoric, Sir Winston Churchill was the rhetoric from England who got success to encourage British to fight German Nazi in the World War II.

Furthermore, it cannot be denied anymore that rhetoric has given a great deal in communication discipline. By using rhetoric, it helps us catch the messages which are delivered by speaker. Using rhetorical techniques will make it easier for the audience to understand the message. There are six forms in

organizing messages: deductive, inductive, chronological, logical, spatial, and topical (Rakhmat, 2006: 35-36). Recently, many researchers are interested in studying rhetoric, for example, Anami, Muntaha and Rahmayanti. They use rhetorical concept based on their own perspectives.

Anami (2008) focuses on rhetorical structure of arguments in religious genre, the findings of her research were that Bishop made an argument using both theories of argument in all of his sermons: Toulmin's and Aristotle's model. It can be inferred that the texts of sermons are characterized by various elements of argument and appeals. Besides that, Bishop uses quotation from Bible as a strategy for effective argument and persuasion. While Muntaha (2008) had analyzed "A Rhetorical Analysis on Process Paragraph in Nokia 3610 User's Guidebook". He investigates the phenomena of rhetorical situation to describe the process paragraph used in Nokia 3610 user's guidebook by using the theory of Martin J. Arnaudet.

Rahmayanti (2008) chooses figure of rhetoric on text used in movie advertisement. She found that (1) the reader should know the concept how text of the posters was made using rhetorical operation; (2) a copy writer should understand rhetorical operation as a technique of writing text in order for the readers understand the message easily. She found that the use of rhetorical operations types include repetition, reversal, substitution, and destabilization but for substitution and repetition were the most frequently types used. She explains the use of rhetorical operational concept especially substitution and repetition intended to create the deviations of the expressions used by the advertiser or copywriter in advertisement.

In lining with a bit discussion about rhetoric, the researcher proposes an example of rhetorical phenomenon on Mahmoud Abbas speech at UNGA (United Nation General Assembly). One thing, that obviously becomes an apprehension for United State of America and Regime Zionism of Israel after Palestine is admitted as an independent country, is the accusation on criminals by the regime to ICJ (International Court of Justice) and ICC (International Criminal Court). As predicted in advance, the 67th United Nation General Assembly becomes a mean beam for media. One of spectacular things in UNGA council is the official proposal by Palestinian authority, Mahmoud Abbas on the independence of Palestine. After the proposal, the secretary general of UNGA, Ban Ki-Moon gives it to the security council of UNGA. And ultimately, Mahmoud Abbas fulfills his promise.

Due to the fact that Abbas' proposal is successfully accepted by UN, the researcher is interested to analyze the speech from rhetorical perspective. This willingness comes because the speech brings linguistic views that are prominently studied. The linguistic views are: 1) the speech is spoken as a proposal to legitimate Palestine as member of UN, and 2) the speech is brought to convince the audience in order to achieve Palestinian purpose.

1.2 Problems of the Study

Based on the background of the study presented above, this research intends to answer the following two questions:

1. What rhetorical appeals which are used by Mahmoud Abbas on his speech at United Nation General Assembly (UNGA) 2012?
2. How are the rhetorical appeals delivered by Mahmoud Abbas on his speech at United Nation General Assembly (UNGA) 2012?

1.3 Objectives of the Study

Based on research problems, the objectives of the study are:

1. To identify the structure of rhetoric used by Mahmoud Abbas on his speech at United Nation General Assembly (UNGA) 2012.
2. To describe how the structure of rhetoric are used by Mahmoud Abbas on his speech at United Nation General Assembly (UNGA) 2012.

1.4 Significance of the Study

The results of this study, theoretically, enhances the previous analysis of rhetoric, stating that one statement of rhetorical phenomenon merely has one appeal. However, this study finds that a statement may have more than just an appeal. Thus, pathos and logos or ethos can be found out through the basic concept of rhetoric triggered by Aristotle, stating that rhetoric is built to persuade other people through speaking.

Practically, the study helps to expand the understanding of the researcher and all language learners who major in linguistic study especially to those who want to learn more about rhetoric, so that the discipline of rhetorical study will get developed in sciences. The results of this study also help the students who take the public speaking class in order to have a effective and persuasive statements. In fact, the students of the State Islamic University of Malang rarely research the study. Therefore, by conducting this research, the students will get a broader understanding concerning the rhetorical appeals.

1.5 Scope and Limitation

The researcher elaborates on rhetoric with special focus on rhetorical appeals. This study focuses only on three forms of rhetorical appeals such as ethos (speaker's credibility), logos (the use of logical reason), and pathos (emotional appeal). The object of this study is a speech delivered by Mahmoud Abbas at United Nation General Assembly (UNGA) 2012. The speech will be analyzed by using the theory introduced by Aristotle in his three forms of rhetoric (ethos, logos, and pathos), and theory introduced by Kenneth Burke in some forms of

rhetoric (act, scene, agent, agency and purpose). The rhetoric theory proposed by Kenneth Burke and Aristotle are used to help analyze the data.

1.6 Definition of the Key Terms

To avoid ambiguity and misunderstanding, some meaning of the words used in the title of this study and some words considered as the keywords are delivered. Those definitions are:

1. Rhetoric is the study on using spoken and written language effectively which aim to persuade, to convince, or to give information to the audiences through the art of speaking.
2. Speech is formal talk given to audience which has particular purpose.

1.7 Research Method

This chapter discusses the method used in this study which include research design, research instrument, data and data source, research instrument, data collection and data analysis.

1.7.1 Research Design

In arranging this study, the research uses a descriptive qualitative research design. It is a descriptive one because it aims to describe the data obtained as they are found in speech of Mahmoud Abbas. This study is considered as qualitative because the data collected are mostly in the form of words in argumentative essays rather than number or not statistically analyzed.

This study intends to identify and describe the appeal of rhetoric on Mahmoud Abbas speech. The rhetorical appeal stated by Aristotle are, ethos, logos, and pathos.

1.7.2 Research Instrument

The key or main instrument of this study is the researcher herself as the most appropriate instrument used in this research to collect and analyze the data.

1.7.3 Data and Data Source

The data are in the form of video which was downloaded from www.video.google.com. The video is about speech delivered by Mahmoud Abbas. It was held in UNGA (United Nation General Assembly) 2012. The data resources of the research are obtained from the document of speech only.

The researcher uses the transcript of Mahmoud Abbas speech as the data source. While the data is significant enough to be data recourses because they contain a great number of arguments and appeals which are relevant to the Aristotelian theory of rhetorical appeals, such ethos, logos, and pathos.

1.7.4 Data Collection

In collecting the data, the researcher did the following steps. First of all, the researcher downloaded the video of Mahmoud Abbas speech from

www.video.google.com. After that, the researcher transcribed it to get data transcription. Finally, the researcher identified the appropriate data to be analyzed.

1.7.5 Data Analysis

In analyzing the data, the researcher uses the theory proposed by Aristotle. The researcher uses three forms of rhetorical appeals: ethos, logos, and pathos. The data were analyzed by those three appeals. Even though the theory is from the ancient philosopher of Aristotle, the theory is popularly used by the recent scholars and researchers in conducting their research in this regard.

There are at least four steps used by the researcher. First, the researcher classified the data associated with the theory of Aristotle namely ethos, logos, and pathos. Second, the researcher analyzed the rhetorical appeals of Mahmoud Abbas speech. Third, the researcher discussed and interpreted the data found concerning with the rhetorical appeals. Finally, the researcher concluded the result of the analysis on rhetorical appeals.

CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE

In order to have a broader understanding on the theoretical framework in relation to the problem of the study, the researcher needs to discuss the theories. The researcher discusses the basic concept of rhetoric, rhetorical appeals, Aristotelian rhetorical appeals such as ethos, logos, and pathos and also previous studies. The extensive explanation is elaborated on the following sub-headings.

2.1 Basic Concept of Rhetoric

There are basically five stages needed to be established in planning, structuring, and delivering a persuasive speech. In order to be a good orator, the orators have to master those five stages in moving the hearers to accept what they have already stated. They are invention, arrangement, style, memory, and delivery. These five basic concepts of rhetoric are technically termed as canons. Each canon concerns a specific aspect of the process and production of discourse. Those five aspects are interrelated activities in building a persuasive speech (Asher, 1993: 9168).

Invention is the search for adequate ways to present the information and to identify the arguments. It is tied to the rhetorical appeal of logos, being oriented to what an author would say. Arrangement involves the organization and adjustment of the parts of a presentation in a coherent structure. Style deals with rendering the contents in an appropriate and effective style. If invention addresses what is to be

said, style addresses how this will be said. Memory involves the use of remember devices to remember the order of ideas and arguments in the speech. Delivery involves a good control of the vocal modulation and effective gestures that establish ethos, logos, and pathos appeals (Mills, 2000: 30).

2.2 Rhetorical Appeals

If we trace back to the history of rhetoric, it is as old as the human being. Rhetoric originated in ancient Greece, primarily in Athens, and was connected with a rising democracy which played a premium role on the speaking ability of each individual citizen. They were forced to use the technique of conveying their message (aspiration) to the government through the use of rhetoric. Furthermore, it was also employed in ritual ceremony such as birthday, funeral, marriage proposal, and wedding ceremony. Today the rhetoric is mostly used in any kind of conversation such as public speaking, debate, interview, and lobby (Rakhmat, 1999: 2).

The word rhetoric is derived from the Greek *rhetorike* which means the technique of public speaking. The definition of rhetoric as “the art of persuasion” is the most commonly used by today’s rhetorician. Aristotle made a distinctive point between rhetoric and persuasion. According to him, rhetoric “is the faculty of discovering in any given case the available means of persuasion” (Rhetoric 1.2.1). He said that Rhetoric is a skill which is used by public speakers for a major purpose: to persuade. On the other hand, rhetoric is the study and application of

systematic reasoning, structuring, and communicating strategies (Asher, 1993: 9167).

Hogan (2004: 20) defines persuasion as the ability to induce beliefs and values to other people by influencing their thought and action through specific strategies. In order to persuade other people, the speaker needs to master persuasive communication skills. Without excellent communication skill, it is really hard for the speaker to persuade the people's belief and action. With good persuasive skill, the people will like and respect the speaker, do many things for the speaker, not others. Mastering persuasion is just like walking and riding a bike. It takes time, effort, and a great deal of practice. When the speakers have already mastered the skill, they are easy to use and soon use them without thinking anymore. They become part of the speaker's life.

2.3 Aristotelian Rhetorical Appeals

The best-known ancient rhetorician is probably Aristotle (384–322 BC). He was Plato's student, a well-known philosopher of ancient Greek. In his time, there was a community known as Sophie who taught the way to speak and orate to the people who were not so good at public speaking, lawyer, and politician. Rhetoric, one of the greatest works of Aristotle, is viewed as the study concerning with the physiology. Aristotle was able to make the rhetoric as the discipline of study investigating the effect of the speakers and oration toward recipients systematically. The orators, according to Aristotle, are the person using their

knowledge as an art. So, rhetoric is the art of oration (Malmkjar & Anderson:1991: 539).

Now, we have already come to know that the rhetoric is the art of public speaking commonly used by the debaters, orators, and public speakers as a means of persuasion. It is used to convince and persuade the recipients so that they will accept the messages conveyed. To be much more persuasive, according to Aristotle, he introduced three forms of rhetorical appeals: appealing to ethic (ethos), appealing to logic (logos), and appealing to emotion (pathos).

2.3.1 Ethos

In order to understand the ethos (credibility), Mills (2000: 13) gives the formula of ethos introduced by Edward R. Murrow “To be persuasive, we must be believable. To be believable, we must be credible. To be credible, we must be truthful.” Trustworthiness becomes the central of persuasiveness.

Ethos is the name which was used by Aristotle for what modern students of communication refer to as credibility. Credibility means the audience’s perception of whether or not a speaker is qualified enough to speak on a given topic. Aristotle defined ethos as trustworthiness that must be established in a speechmaking. Ethos is one of the three types of persuasion along with logos and pathos. Ethos is Greek word from which the word ethics derives and refers to ethical appeal in rhetoric. Over the years the rhetoricians and researchers have given much time to investigate the effect of speaker’s credibility toward the

recipients on speechmaking. They have discovered that there are many things such as sociability; dynamism, physical attractiveness, and perceived similarity between speaker and audience affect the credibility of a speaker (Lucas, 2004: 429).

Those factors are claimed by Hendrikus (1991: 144) to be the elements determining the effective communication. In social relationship, a speaker must pay attention to ethic and manner. The speaker should be able to establish a good moral value to the society. The speaker must demonstrate his or her sufficient competence and knowledge against a certain thing. If the people of the society have a good perception of the speaker, the speaker has already built good credibility and he or she is worthy to be listened to material presented. Have you read everything about your subject? Have you quoted from recognized experts in the area you are talking about? Have you made sure that your knowledge of the subject is up-to-date? Those questions make you try to make sense toward the subject you are going to speak. Lucas (2004: 429) says “the more favorably listeners view a speaker’s competence and character, the more likely they are to accept what the speaker says”. What Lucas says is very compatible with what Pierre Bordinie states that the power of word is not on word itself but who uses it. The mathematician will be more persuasive than linguist in speaking mathematics. It is because the mathematician has good knowledge on the study of mathematics and vice versa. According to Rahkmat (1999: 73) the speaker could establish credibility through authority. Authority means someone who has talent that has been familiar within society. The authority could be from the educational background and experience. Physician has an authority to speak about anything

concerning with health issues. Most people would more believe Amin Rais (politician and socialist) to speak about Indonesian politic and society. On the other hand, Amin Rais is irrelevant to speak about the religion or economic because he is not so competent in these two areas, so his speaking about these will be less powerful and persuasive.

Therefore, Clouse (2003: 580) suggests any public speakers to mention their particular knowledge and experiences to the audiences. For example, if you are arguing about the danger of smoking cigarette, you could tell to the audiences that you have ever got lung cancer because of smoking. On the other hand, if you have a particular knowledge, mention to the audiences that you are the doctor who always examines the smokers. By mentioning the knowledge and the experiences, the audiences will be much more convinced that what you say is true. In one experiment, carried out at an Australian university, a man was introduced as a guest speaker to give a seminar from Cambridge University in England. However, his expertise was represented differently to each class. To the first class, he was introduced as a student, to the second class as a demonstrator, to the third class as a lecturer, and to the fourth class as a senior lecturer; to the fifth class, he was introduced as a professor. The result experiment revealed that mostly of the fifth class say the man as a great speaker while the first class say him as ordinary people. It has proved us that speaker's status can boost persuasiveness (Mills, 2000: 27).

It is also important to remember that the credibility is an attitude. It exists not in the mind of the speaker, but in the mind of audiences. A speaker may have high credibility for one audience and low credibility for another. A speaker may

also have a high credibility on one topic and low on another. So the speakers must know to whom he or she is speaking. The speaker's attitude toward audience and subject become evident through tone. Tone is the feeling that recipients perceive about the speaker's attitude. Tone develops through the speaker's choice of vocabulary and sentence structure. Rhetoricians argue that the tone of successful speech can not be separated from the content of the subject. The speaker must try to know the audiences and make appropriate language to be employed to the audiences.

2.3.2 Logos

Logos refers to the reasoning process of the speaker, whose claims are conveyed by means of evidence and reasoning. In Western rhetorical theory, inductive argument uses 'paradigms' that support a proposition by implying a universal conclusion from experience, which need not be expressed. Deductive argument involves the use of rhetorical syllogism, called 'enthymeme'; it is usually probable, though not a certainty, and it tends to assume one premise that is unexpressed (Asher, 1993: 9168).

The speakers are compelled to give some evidences and reasons toward the statements the speakers say. Evidence is one element of what Aristotle referred to as logos defined as the logical appeal of speakers. The other major element of logos is reasoning which refers to the process of drawing conclusion on the basis of evidence. Reasoning and evidence work together to help to make the speaker's claims sound more persuasive.

2.3.3 Pathos

Pathos was regarded by Aristotle as the emotion of the hearers aroused by a speech that moved them to accept what the speaker said. The hearers make decisions emotionally first, then justify with fact. This is absolutely true. They are emotional. Emotions really lead them to do everything in every moment. Although in many decisions logic plays a role, it is always a secondary role after the emotion. When the hearers are emotionally touched, they will be easily persuaded and moved to accept what the speaker says. We rarely think about how we feel when something happens in our life. We just feel it. We simply react emotionally to our environment. Therefore, emotion is the most prominent role of ethos and logos (Hogan & Speakman, 2006: 182)

Emotional appeal is a tool that could be employed throughout an oration for the purpose of persuading the audience. This is the ability of the speaker to control the hearers' emotion. How to arouse the hearer's emotion depends on the choice of words in relation to the topic. When the speaker wants the hearers to donate money to the victim of the war, the speaker could use the word such as hunger, the shortage of food and water, and wounded people. These words could emotionally trigger the hearers' feeling of pity, sympathy, and sorry. Those words heavily have a deeper impact on the audience. Without thinking further, the hearers donate the money for the victim of the war without previous judgment of the fact..

Euphemism is the act of avoiding the words which seems taboo in the society. It is used to replace words that an audience find crude and have offensive connotation. For example, the speakers should use the words pass-away instead of die to refer to grieving audience. Effective speakers show sensitivity to their audience's feeling by avoiding words that will offend them and employ the words that inspire them. The speaker can create emotional labels by adding word such love, hate, stingy, and generous to shape emotional appeals to what the words describe.

Hogan & Speakman (2006: 184) explain that using emotion to persuade is far more powerful than using facts. This is true because facts are cold and unfeeling. Emotions carry the meaning and can move people to take the action the speaker wants. Emotions happen first and literally guide the logic side of the brain. The path of thought is always emotion, then logic. If the speaker wants to have the ability to persuade by using emotions, choose exactly what emotions the speaker intends to touch and know exactly where that will lead his or her target.

Furthermore, Lucas (2004: 449) makes a list of the emotions which is mostly evoked by public speakers. Following each emotion are a few examples of subject that might arouse the emotion such as fear, sympathy, guilt, respect, and pride. Obviously the list here is not complete. There are still other emotional appeals that can be used in persuasion. This list at least can give the speakers an idea of the emotional appeal that can boost the message of the speaker's persuasive speech.

2.3. Speech

Speech is that communication in which, through ideas, language, voice, bodily expression, and speaker's personality, informs one or more other people or influence their attitudes and behavior in harmony with the speaker's purpose (Craig and Franklin, 1957: 9). Still, speech differs from some other types of communication in that it is an outgoing type of behavior and operates with listeners in a time sequence and an immediate social situation.

Oxford advanced learner's dictionary (2000: 1292) defines the term speech as way of speaking, act of speaking, or formal talk given to an audience. From this definition, speech physically can be many kinds such as; preach, lecture, paper presentation, or inaugural speech. Anjali (2006: 20) explicitly explained speech as a part of communication, so that all these kinds must carry messages or ideas.

Still according to Anjali (2006: 16), speech has a power to change the speaker himself and other people. By speaking, an individual can enliven or control the life. Let us say, when someone has a brilliant idea about reprocessing the garbage, while he does not speak anything about that, as the result there will be no solution of the problem of garbage because nobody knows his ideas. This is a simple illustration of the importance of speech. This assumption possibly leads us to an understanding that speech is the manifestation of language, which takes a very significant role in everyday life.

In investigating a speech, the researcher lists some types of speech in order to be able to analyze the object of the study. According to Rakhmat (2006: 17-19),

based on the way the speech is delivered, speech is classified into impromptu, manuscript, memorizer, extemporary. The speech is considered to be impromptu if no preparation before delivering speech. Let us say, when someone is in the party and asked to deliver speech directly. Manuscript refers to speech with the complete text. In other word, it refers to reading a text of speech. Memorizer is a kind of speech in which the speaker memorizer the content of speech. Extemporary is considered as the best type of speech because the speaker develops what will be delivered by himself based on his outline. The speech becoming the objects of this study is included a manuscript because the speaker, Mahmoud Abbas, read the text of the speech.

By referring to the objective of the speaker, rakhmat (2006: 89-125) classifies speech into:

2.3.1 Informative speech

It is oriented to deliver or share information to enable the listener to know, understand, and receive what is informed. Ehninger, Monroe, and Bronbeck figured out types of informative speech; oral report (annual report, project report, governmental report), oral instruction (speech containing instruction from teacher to student, leader to official, director to secretary), and informative lecture (lecture, preach, paper presentation).

2.3.2 Persuasive speech

It is oriented to convince, control, or attract listener's attention. Campaign speech and preach are two of examples of persuasive speech. Joseph A. (1938:

205) stated that the vast of majority of speeches are designed to persuade the listener. The speeches of politicians, advertiser, and religious leaders are perhaps the clearest examples of persuasive speeches. Furthermore, persuasive speech aims to influence an audience attitude toward something can be described as favorable, undecided or unfavorable (Bryant and Wallace, 1947: 371). Then, Pauland friends (1965: 265) said that the speech to persuade is often based on the speech to inform, it is usually necessary to give information as well as argument and to use persuasive devices. It means that when the speaker's purpose is to influence the doing, the thinking, or feeling of his audience, he must go beyond to give information.

In relation to the definition of the persuasive speech, the researcher takes Mahmoud Abbas speech as the object of the study due to the fact that the speech is categorized as persuasive one. The reasons are: 1) the speech is delivered by a politician who strongly persuades United Nation to legalize Palestine as the member and 2) the speech is a proposal to Israel in order to take a peace from them.

2.3.3 Re-creating speech

It is not oriented to inform something or influence listeners but to attract, enliven, and given an interlude. Discussing speech also means the organization of message, since speech becomes a part of delivering message or idea. Rakhmat (2006: 35-36) described briefly the six forms in organizing message; deductive (the turn of the main idea to facts or supporting idea), inductive (the turn of facts or supporting idea to the main idea), chronological (based on time sequence),

logical (based on the order of cause to effect or from effect to cause), spatial (based on the order of place), and topical (the order of specific topic).

2.4 Previous Study

Previous study functions as broadening the understanding of the present study by exploring the same studies which have been conducted. It helps the researcher to know the gap of what other researchers have found on the same study. It also helps the researcher in avoiding the replicate research, so that the researcher can map the present study. In line with the review of related literature above, the researcher proposes the previous studies. Actually, there are several researchers who have already studied about rhetoric. Yet those researchers studied the rhetoric in general with different perspective. To avoid the re-research, therefore, the researcher needs to enlist and explore the previous studies.

Muntaha (2008) researched about “A Rhetorical Analysis on Process Paragraph in Nokia 3610 User’s Guidebook”. He uses the theory proposed by Martin J. Arnaudet and Marry Alen Barret about time clues, listing signals, repetition, pronoun preface, and visualization. His research attempted to investigate the phenomena of rhetoric situation especially on writing to describe the process paragraph used in Nokia 3610 user’s guidebook. He concluded that the writer employed all types of rhetorical process in Nokia 3610 user’s guidebook.

Additionally, the researcher who studied the same field was Alfaruq

(2008). He began to research about “A Rhetorical Element Analysis on the Argumentative Essays in Islamic Magazine”. This research attempts to investigate the language phenomena of rhetoric situation especially rhetorical elements of argumentative essays in Islamica Magazine. He used the theory proposed by Hairston namely purpose, audience, persona, and argument. He found that the writers of Islamic Magazine used rhetorical elements such as purpose, audience, persona, and argument. Moreover, the purposes usually used in those essays are predictive, appraises, and corrective. In addition, the persona used in those essays is authentic voice and ethical appeal. Then, the audiences are general and informed audiences. Finally, the arguments used in those essays are logical and non-logical argument.

Other researcher was Pattaroeba (2006) whose study was about “A Rhetorical Analysis on Aa Gym’s Religious speech. His research focused on the function of rhetorical speech act, style, and figure of speech. He found two kinds of speech act such as directive acts and commissive acts used by Aa Gym in his speech. The most frequently used speech act is directive acts. Moreover, the assertive, expressive, and declarative acts are not found in his speech process. On the style of language, he found that the characteristics language style such as parallelism, antithesis, repetition, and climatic are also not found in his speech. He concluded that the figures of speech are dominated with simile and personification sentences.

Furthermore, Covington (1986) researched on “Aristotelian Rhetorical Appeals in the Poetry of Matthew Arnold”. He found that Matthew Arnold wrote

mostly nonlyrical, discursive poetry that relies heavily on nonlogical Aristotelian rhetorical appeals to "ethos" and "pathos". For example, "To a Republican Friend, 1848" and "The Buried Life" make ethical appeals by projecting an image of the poet as an intelligent, reasonable, but world-weary man whose wisdom can be trusted and whose worldview can be emulated; "Growing Old" makes an emotional appeal to fear by showing us the inevitability and universality of suffering; and "The Sick King in Bokhara" makes an emotional appeal to pity to argue for a justice beyond logic.

The last researcher was Chakorn (2008). He researched on "Rhetorical Appeals in Thai Annual Reports: An Investigation of the Authority's Language in the Executive Letter during Asia's Economic Crisis". He explored the use of the rhetorical appeals in the MFTCs (message from the chairman), and the following discussion reports on this particular issue. He used the theory introduced by Aristotle such as ethos, logos, and pathos. He wants to explore the rhetorical appeals of Thai annual report. He concluded that the Rhetorical appeals found in Thai annual reports are mostly logos and ethos. Pathos is the less technique employed in Thai annual report.

CHAPTER III

FINDINGS AND DISCUSSIONS

This chapter discusses and analyzes the data based on the Aristotle's rhetorical appeal; ethos, logos and pathos employed by Mahmoud Abbas on his speech at United Nation General Assembly 2012.

3.1. Findings

In this analysis, the researcher displays seventeen data of Mahmoud Abbas' speech in United Nation General Assembly (UNGA) 2012. The researcher analyzes the data based on the theory of rhetoric proposed by Aristotle.

Data I

Palestine comes today to the United Nations General Assembly at a time **when it is still tending to its wounds and still burying its beloved martyrs of children, women and men who have fallen victim to the latest Israeli aggression, still searching for remnants of life amid the ruins of homes destroyed by Israeli bombs on the Gaza Strip, wiping out entire families, their men, women and children murdered along with their dreams, their hopes, their future and their longing to live an ordinary life and to live in freedom and peace.**

This is how Abbas attempts to rebreath a new life into negotiations with Israel by failing to mention the thousands of rockets launched by Hamas terrorist to Israel. He also tries to achieve the peace by revealing the failing acknowledgement, that some of these Palestinian martyrs were men like Ahmed Jabari, the mastermind of numerous mass-murder plot against unarmed Israeli

citizens. At last Abbas admits to forget entirely that Hamas brutally drove the Palestinian Authority out of Gaza.

Through the statements *“when it is still tending to its wounds and still burying its beloved martyrs of children, women and men who have fallen victim to the latest Israeli aggression, still searching for remnants of life amid the ruins of homes destroyed by Israeli bombs on the Gaza Strip, wiping out entire families, their men, women and children murdered along with their dreams, their hopes, their future and their longing to live an ordinary life and to live in freedom and peace,”* Abbas puts the story into the right order as a mean to build his ethos, as a mean to gain the peace from Israeli. In addition, he created a strategy to successfully convince the UNGA as of being admitted as one of countries in it. The process of creating the ethos is that Abbas attempts to touch infliction encountered by Palestine for a long year. And he states that there is no time to give up for their struggle to absolve Palestine.

Data II

Palestine comes today to the General Assembly **because it believes in peace and because its people, as proven in past days, are in desperate need of it.**

The Palestinians are in desperate need of peace. The UN General Assembly is set to approve an implicit recognition of Palestinian statehood on Thursday night, despite threats by the United States and Israel to punish the Palestinian Authority by withholding funds for the West Bank government.

As the authority in Palestine, Abbas absolutely has a right to represent his people to propose people's wants during the war. Peace becomes the main purpose of his coming to UNGA. His expectation of it is to stop Israel's aggression. Countries' confessions will have a big influence in making a peace between the two countries.

The strategy of touching the war in Palestine is evidence that Abbas totally utilizes a logical reasoning in fulfilling his need for his people. Therefore, the data shows that Abbas convinces his audience by using the logos appeal. This appeal is found through Abbas' statements about evidences for Palestine's afflictions and sufferings for a long time. The statement "*as proven in the past*" indicates that Abbas has mentioned evidences of Israel aggressions to Palestine. For instance, by the end of 2008 Israel launched a military aggression on a large scale into the Gaza Strip. Israel rallied all military from land, sea, to air. A three-week military aggression defeated 1,201 people, including 410 children; and the injured victims reached 5,300 people. Two figures of Hamas, Nizar Rayyan and Said Siam, also became the victims of Israeli military aggression.

Data III

Palestine comes today to this prestigious international forum, representative and protector of international legitimacy, reaffirming our conviction that the international community now stands before the last chance **to save the two-state solution.**

The importance of resumption in peace process and the creation favorable condition become solution for taking a peace between Palestine and Israel, for halting an illegal settlement construction of Israel and for stopping the inhuman

collective punishments. On the speech Abbas's called an increased status of Palestine as a "*last chance to save the two-state solution*" with Israel. With this status, the Palestinians can take part in debates held entitled United Nation and the International Criminal Court. The president surely believed that by returning Palestine from the non-member of United assembly into a member, a peace between the states will be gained.

Ratification of Palestine to be a state of United Nation has a very important political symbol of diplomacy. It consequently gives a good effect for Palestine besides the peace. Palestine will also has right to play an active role in all United Nation agencies.

Abbas touches the two states instead of stating his purpose in the forum due to the fact that the two states are in a long conflict. The term "to save the two-state solution" indicates one confession to declare a peace between the two states. This is obviously a good statement as a reason to bring Palestine into a legal member of UN. He obviously practices a logos appeal through the implicit reasons in terms "to save the two-state solution".

Data IV

I say with great pain and sorrow... there was certainly no one in the world that required **that tens of Palestinian children lose their lives in order to reaffirm the above-mentioned facts. There was no need for thousands of deadly raids and tons of explosives for the world to be reminded that there is an occupation that must come to an end and that there are a people that must be liberated. And, there was no need for a new, devastating war in order for us to be aware of the absence of peace.**

Abbas again retells the Palestine's condition by stating his opening sentence "great pain and sorrow". If we hear his sentences in this paragraph we will find ourselves chilling. We know the fact in conflict between Palestine and Israel, the blood flows in any places, the corpses are sprawled everywhere and many children lost their lives. The world has seen that this long war become a big history for Palestine. No wonder if Abbas in this paragraph conveys the absence of peace between the two states.

In addition to this context, Abbas strongly expects a response from the world, a response from United Nation General Assembly, a response from Israel for a peace emerged between the two states. Abbas has stated about the fact. It is concerned much on political strategies to gain what Palestine hopes from the world.

There is a big expectation toward the paragraph. As a representative of Palestine, Abbas carries a credibility of himself to convey Palestine's hope. Abbas has convinced the hearers by practicing the pathos appeal. It is evidenced by stating his feeling on the statement "I say with great pain and sorrow". This statement bring an emotional to convey his statement about Palestinian's suffering and the absences of the peace between the states as mentioned, *"that tens of Palestinian children lose their lives in order to reaffirm the above-mentioned facts. There was no need for thousands of deadly raids and tons of explosives for the world to be reminded that there is an occupation that must come to an end and that there are a people that must be liberated. And, there was no need for a new, devastating war in order for us to be aware of the absence of peace."*

Data V

The Palestinian people, who miraculously recovered from the ashes of Al-Nakba of 1948, which was intended to extinguish their being and to expel them in order to uproot and erase their presence, which was rooted in the depths of their land and depths of history. In those dark days, when hundreds of thousands of Palestinians were torn from their homes and displaced within and outside of their homeland, thrown from their beautiful, embracing, prosperous country to refugee camps in one of the most dreadful campaigns of ethnic cleansing and dispossession in modern history. **In those dark days, our people had looked to the United Nations as a beacon of hope and appealed for ending the injustice and for achieving justice and peace, the realization of our rights, and our people still believe in this and continue to wait.**

This is why we are here today.

This data is one of many reasons why Abbas as a --- representative of Palestine --- comes to UN. In this data Abbas tells how Palestine was free from the negation of Al-Nakba in 1948 which intended to tear them from the earth. This is obviously similar to what happens in Palestine in these recent years, how Israel attacks and destroys Palestine. Abbas states when hundreds of thousands of Palestinians were tortured and expelled from their home.

Based on the statement *“In those dark days, our people had looked to the United Nations as a beacon of hope and appealed for ending the injustice and for achieving justice and peace, the realization of our rights, and our people still believe in this and continue to wait.”*, Abbas admit that UN is the only place to ask for a help. As stated in his ending of the paragraph, all of the stories and the real fact what Palestine is encountering are the reasons why Palestine comes to UN.

Presenting those reasons is a strategy to persuade his audience. Those reasons are properly in fact. By doing this, Abbas has applied a logos appeal due

to the fact that the statements are logic and suitable from the fact. In short, to convince his audience, the logos strategy gives much change to the world. It, therefore, makes Palestine as a legal member of UN now.

Data VI

And, our people always have strived not to lose their humanity, their highest, deeply-held moral values and their innovative abilities for survival, steadfastness; creativity and hope, despite the horrors that befell them and continue befall them today as a consequence of Al-Nakba and its horrors.

Most of the data are discussing a peace between the two states. Seemingly, the peace is the best solution to overcome and to stop the war. Many statements in his speech concern much on the peace. In this data, Abbas describes how Palestine prevents their humanity, moral values and their abilities to survive, their creativity and hope although they still worry about the consequence of Al-Nakba and its horrors.

Abbas has been successful to convey their feeling to the audiences. The transmission of his feeling obviously stated through his statements revealing about Palestinians' struggles to take care of their humanity, moral, abilities, creativity and hope. In this data, Abbas is practicing the pathos appeal.

Data VII

We have not heard one word from any Israeli official expressing any sincere concern to save the peace process. On the contrary, our people have witnessed, and continue to witness, an unprecedented intensification of military assaults, the blockade, settlement activities and ethnic cleansing, particularly in Occupied East Jerusalem, and mass arrests, attacks by settlers and other practices by which this Israeli occupation is becoming synonymous with an apartheid system

of colonial occupation, which institutionalizes the plague of racism and entrenches hatred and incitement.

In this data, Abbas reveals that Palestine had not listened even one word from Israeli Official stating that the process of peace would be conducted. In the contrary, Palestine received the unprecedented intensification assault, the blockade, settlement activities and ethnic cleansing particularly East Jerusalem, mass arrest, attacks by settlers and other practices by which this Israeli occupation is becoming synonymous with an apartheid system of colonial occupation, which institutionalizes the plague of racism and entrenches hatred and incitement.

Although verbally not stating his characters, in this paragraph of the speech Abbas touches many confessions of his eagerness to make a peace between the two states. The statements *“On the contrary, our people have witnessed, and continue to witness, an unprecedented intensification of military assaults, the blockade, settlement activities and ethnic cleansing, particularly in Occupied East Jerusalem, and mass arrests, attacks by settlers and other practices by which this Israeli occupation is becoming synonymous with an apartheid system of colonial occupation, which institutionalizes the plague of racism and entrenches hatred and incitement,”* indicates that Abbas has a strong characteristic in achieving something – in this context is a peace. When a speaker unearths his / her characteristics through the message of the language spoken, he / she consequently applies the ethos appeal in rhetoric.

DATA VIII

We did not come here seeking to delegitimize a State established years ago, and that is Israel; rather **we came to affirm the legitimacy of the State that must now achieve its independence,**

and that is Palestine. We did not come here to add further complications to the peace process, which Israel's policies have thrown into the intensive care unit; rather **we came to launch a final serious attempt to achieve peace.** Our endeavor is not aimed at terminating what remains of the negotiations process, which has lost its objective and credibility, but rather **aimed at trying to breathe new life into the negotiations and at setting a solid foundation for it based on the terms of reference of the relevant international resolutions in order for the negotiations to succeed.**

In the middle of the speech, Abbas strongly asserts his serious attempt to achieve the peace process. That the negotiations has been actually done for long time, Abbas truly strengthens his purpose to come to UN. The statements like *“we came to affirm the legitimacy of the State that must now achieve its independence, and that is Palestine, we came to launch a final serious attempt to achieve peace, aimed at trying to breathe new life into the negotiations and at setting a solid foundation for it based on the terms of reference of the relevant international resolutions in order for the negotiations to succeed,”* reveal on affirming the legitimacy of Palestine and the peace process and the purpose of his coming is to breathe a new life through the effort of serious negotiations and setting a solid foundation to succeed the purpose.

On the data, the solutions of gaining the peace process are extremely expected by the speaker. Abbas hopes the international resolutions are found on behalf of Palestine. Due to the fact that what is occurring between the two states is a long problem that should be ended soon.

The three purposes in speaking in front of UN have been a strong emotional view on Abbas' feeling. Due to the fact, that the data obviously strengthen Palestine's purposes and endeavors in coming to UN. The expressions

of emotional through a language or words are categorized as pathos. In this data Abbas practices a rhetorical appeal through his emotions.

DATA IX

On behalf of the Palestine Liberation Organization, I say: **We will not give up, we will not tire, and our determination will not wane and we will continue to strive to achieve a just peace.**

Right after stating the purposes, Abbas continues his speech by revealing his enthusiasm and optimism to gain the peace. Abbas asserts that spirit by stating *“We will not give up, we will not tire, and our determination will not wane and we will continue to strive to achieve a just peace.”*

These are again expressions of feelings that are successfully clarified. Persuasively, Abbas declares that Palestine will change its position in the world, in front of UN. In the data Abbas has been employing a rhetorical appeal categorized as emotion or well-known as pathos term.

DATA X

However, above all and after all, I affirm **that our people will not relinquish their inalienable national rights, as defined by United Nations resolutions. And our people cling to the right to defend themselves against aggression and occupation and they will continue their popular, peaceful resistance and their epic steadfastness and will continue to build on their land. And, they will end the division and strengthen their national unity.** We will accept no less than the independence of the State of Palestine, with East Jerusalem as its capital, on all the Palestinian territory occupied in 1967, to live in peace and security alongside the State of Israel, and a solution for the refugee issue on the basis of resolution 194 (III), as per the operative part of the Arab Peace Initiative.

In this data, Abbas is drawing a conclusion of all his statements. In brief, He restates that his people will keep their right. Palestine will defend themselves against aggression and occupation. They will go on their popularity, peaceful resistance and their epic steadfastness and continue to build their land. The last they will accept the independence of the State of Palestine.

As a representative of long sentences, this paragraph cannot be ignored to be analyzed. Although this paragraph is merely restatements of Abbas to again strengthen the purpose of the coming into short sentences, Abbas cannot avoid using rhetorical appeal.

In that paragraph, Abbas obviously reveals his emotions about Palestinian optimism in the future. He emphasizes on the independence of Palestine by mentioning it in the last sentence: *“We will accept no less than the independence of the State of Palestine, with East Jerusalem as its capital, on all the Palestinian territory occupied in 1967, to live in peace and security alongside the State of Israel, and a solution for the refugee issue on the basis of resolution 194 (III), as per the operative part of the Arab Peace Initiative.”* He shows his emotion through that sentence. Thus, in this data Abbas is practicing the pathos appeal.

DATA XI

Yet, we must repeat here once again our warning: the window of opportunity is narrowing and time is quickly running out. The rope of patience is shortening and hope is withering. **The innocent lives that have been taken by Israeli bombs – more than 168 martyrs, mostly children and women, including 12 members of one family, the Dalou family, in Gaza – are a painful reminder to the world that this racist, colonial occupation is making the two-State solution and the prospect for realizing peace a very difficult choice, if not impossible.**

It is time for action and the moment to move forward.

On the data, Abbas again states the big conflict between Palestine and Israeli. The war is revealed and touched again here. He strongly mentions that the innocent lives that have been killed by Israeli bombs, more than 168 martyrs, are children and women. Abbas takes an example of one family, the Dalou family that has been a painful reminder to the world that this racist, colonial occupation is making the two states solution and the prospect for realizing peace is a very difficult choice.

In rhetorical theory, a statement will be deemed as a logical thinking when the statement is proper to the reality. What Abbas states is obviously the fact occurred between Palestine and Israeli. The fact encourages Abbas and his people to come to US. Accordingly, these are logical reasons to achieve Palestinians' dreams. The peace and the member of UN should be gained by Palestine. In this paragraph Abbas employs the logos appeal to persuade his audiences.

In the part of "*....are painful reminder....., for realizing peace very difficult choice, if not impossible*", Abbas uses a rhetorical strategy by defining his emotion and feeling. Specifically Abbas states how Palestinian feel during the occupation by Israel and how difficult to realize a peace between Israel and Palestine. In this context Abbas practices pathos appeal.

DATA XII

The world is being asked today to undertake a significant step in the process of rectifying the unprecedented historical injustice inflicted on the Palestinian people since Al-Nakba of 1948.

In this data, Abbas expects to world to do a prominent action to end the unpredicted historical injustice inflicted by Palestinian people since Al-Nakba of 1948. Asking to the world to do what he wants is showing his characteristics.

The messages conveyed on this data tell us that Abbas will never give up to change Palestine's condition. Abbas is very eager to close the war and aggressions from Israel. Abbas will not easily give up to struggle his dreams for Palestine. The data indicates that Abbas is practicing the ethos appeal.

DATA XIII

Every voice supporting our endeavor today is a most valuable voice of courage, and every State that grants support today to Palestine's request for non-member observer State status is affirming its principled and moral support for freedom and the rights of peoples and international law and peace.

It is truly not something easy for Palestine to get out from pains they have been feeling for a long time. It has been a long time for them to gain supports from the world. Anyhow, the data shows that today is the right time for Palestine to absolve themselves from affliction given by Israel.

Abbas mentions all of the supports from any states in the world. He admits every support is extremely valuable for Palestine's status. Due to the fact that those supports could benefit the state in getting their freedom, rights, international law and peace. Abbas tries to build a very good image through his respects for the support. He creates credibility through this data. And it is obvious that Abbas is employing the ethos appeal.

In this data, Abbas also utilize the pathos strategy by stating “*Every choice supporting our endeavor today is a most valuable voice of courage,*”. Because in this part Abbas strongly involves his feeling when stating how valuable the United Nation General Assembly voice to achieve Palestinians dreams and to release them from the pain.

DATA XIV

Your support for our endeavor today will send a promising message – to millions of Palestinians on the land of Palestine, in the refugee camps both in the homeland and the Diaspora, and to the prisoners struggling for freedom in Israel’s prisons – that justice is possible and that there is a reason to be hopeful and that the peoples of the world do not accept the continuation of the occupation.

This data boosts and strengthens the previous one. Anyhow, these statements combine between Palestine’s efforts and the supports. Abbas strongly states that the support will promise to Palestinians about the land of Palestine and freedom from Israel’s prisons. Abbas again builds up a good will by stating, “*Your support for our endeavor today will send a promising message – to millions of Palestinians on the land of Palestine, in the refugee camps both in the homeland and the Diaspora, and to the prisoners struggling for freedom in Israel’s prisons – that justice is possible and that there is a reason to be hopeful and that the peoples of the world do not accept the continuation of the occupation.*” Thus, the good will indicate that he uses the ethos appeal to persuade the audiences.

DATA XV

Your support for our endeavor today will **give a reason for hope to a people besieged by a racist, colonial occupation.** Your support **will confirm to our people that they are not alone and their adherence to international law is never going to be a losing proposition.**

Like the preceding data, these statements are spoken to build a good will or image strongly. There is no purpose in doing this but to achieve Palestinians' dreams. For the fourth time, Abbas states that those supports will be reasons for Palestinians to be free from a racist and colonial occupation.

Those supports show Palestinians that they are not alone and their steadfastness to international law is never going to be a losing proposition. Abbas again practices the ethos appeal by presenting a high respect to the world for the supports.

DATA XVI

In our endeavor today to acquire non-member State status for Palestine in the United Nations, we reaffirm that **Palestine will always adhere to and respect the Charter and resolutions of the United Nations and international humanitarian law, uphold equality, guarantee civil liberties, uphold the rule of law, promote democracy and pluralism, and uphold and protect the rights of women.**

In the effort to gain non-member state for Palestine in the United Nations, Abbas reaffirms that Palestinians will always adhere to and respect the Charter and resolution of the United Nation and international humanitarian law, uphold

equality, guarantee civil liberties, uphold the rule of law, promote democracy and pluralism, and uphold and protect the rights of women.

Abbas – as the representative of Palestine – respects the Charter and United Nations for the main purpose of his coming. We can notice his statements about the steadfastness and respect. In this data Abbas utilizes the ethos appeal to convince his audiences.

DATA XVII

As we promised our friends and our brothers and sisters, we will continue to consult with them upon the approval of your esteemed body our request to upgrade Palestine’s status. We will act responsibly and positively in our next steps, and we will to work to strengthen cooperation with the countries and peoples of the world for the sake of a just peace.

Abbas declares that Palestinians will continue together to defend their endeavor and their request to upgrade their status. The status that has been expected for a long time will be granted and given to them. The status of non-member state will be soon closed through their struggle. Palestine will achieve their dreams as legitimated after the proposal given.

Abbas noted that Palestinians will take actions responsibly and positively as the next steps and will work to strengthen cooperation with the countries and peoples all over the world. This data obviously presents a message that a long struggle of Abbas – as the representative of Palestine – shows a particular characteristic of him. This character is a high spirit of struggle to get the dreams. Thus, through this data Abbas employs the ethos appeal.

3.2 Discussions

In this part of the analysis, the researcher discusses the findings of rhetorical appeals employed by Mahmoud Abbas on his speech at United Nation General Assembly (UNGA) on November 29, 2012. The researcher classifies the findings based on the organization of Aristotelian rhetorical appeals: ethos, logos, and pathos. Since the result of the study concerned political areas especially on the war between the two states, Israel-Palestine, the rhetorical appeals are created to achieve a peace between the two countries.

Rhetorical appeals functions to persuade other people through our languages. In this term, the speaker, Mahmoud Abbas, utilizes rhetorical appeals to persuade the audiences to gain his purposes. Based on the data analysis, Abbas employs the three rhetorical appeals to strengthen his arguments and to persuade his audiences.

Abbas employs pathos appeals for six times, logos for five times and ethos for seven times. The ethos appeals dominate the two other appeals. It indicates that Abbas shows his credibility to persuade the audiences. The major purpose of using these three appeals is to end the war, the Israel aggression and colonial occupation and to gain the peace between the two states.

CHAPTER IV

CONCLUSION AND SUGGESTION

After presenting the research findings and discussion in the previous chapter, the researcher makes conclusion and gives suggestion to the reader, especially for the next researchers who want to conduct the same research.

4.1 Conclusion

Based on the data analysis and discussion, the researcher concludes the outcome of the present study that Mahmoud Abbas uses all types of Aristotelian rhetorical appeals in his speech which focus on the types of rhetorical appeals: ethos, logos, and pathos.

Abbas uses the three appeals to strengthen his arguments and persuade the audiences. Based on the data, Abbas employs the ethos appeal more rather than the other two appeals. Practicing the ethos more indicates that Abbas more often creates his credibility and shows his character to convince the audience. The pathos is included to show how strong his feeling or toward the war and infliction and suffering encountered by Palestinians. Logos appeal as a mean to strengthen his argument is employed to emphasize his statements by providing many evidences.

The process of practicing the three appeals emerges when Abbas, as the representative of Palestine, wants to end the aggressions and colonial occupation done by Israel. Through many of his statements, Abbas starts the three appeals by touching the events about the war, attack, and colonialism done by Israel.

4.2 Suggestion

Based on the research result, some suggestions concerning with the topic can be given to the students of the English Letters and Language Department and other researchers who want to conduct further research in the same field.

The researcher suggests the next researchers who are interested in analyzing the Aristotelian rhetorical appeals to develop the research by adding other theories with the same focus. For instances, if future researchers conduct the research on rhetorical appeal with special focus on logos, they can take the theory of Parelman about the argument because this theory merely focuses on logos only so that they can comprehensively conduct their research on rhetoric.



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Mahmoud Abbas Speech at United Nation General Assembly (UNGA) 2012

Mr. President of the General Assembly,
Excellencies, Ladies and Gentlemen,

Palestine comes today to the United Nations General Assembly at a time when it is still tending to its wounds and still burying its beloved martyrs of children, women and men who have fallen victim to the latest Israeli aggression, still searching for remnants of life amid the ruins of homes destroyed by Israeli bombs on the Gaza Strip, wiping out entire families, their men, women and children murdered along with their dreams, their hopes, their future and their longing to live an ordinary life and to live in freedom and peace.

Palestine comes today to the General Assembly because it believes in peace and because its people, as proven in past days, are in desperate need of it.

Palestine comes today to this prestigious international forum, representative and protector of international legitimacy, reaffirming our conviction that the international community now stands before the last chance to save the two-State solution.

Palestine comes to you today at a defining moment regionally and internationally, in order to reaffirm its presence and to try to protect the possibilities and the foundations of a just peace that is deeply hoped for in our region.

Mr. President,
Ladies and Gentlemen,

The Israeli aggression against our people in the Gaza Strip has confirmed once again the urgent and pressing need to end the Israeli occupation and for our people to gain their freedom and independence. This aggression also confirms the Israeli Government's adherence to the policy of occupation, brute force and war, which in turn obliges the international community to shoulder its responsibilities towards the Palestinian people and towards peace.

This is why we are here today.

I say with great pain and sorrow... there was certainly no one in the world that required that tens of Palestinian children lose their lives in order to reaffirm the above-mentioned facts. There was no need for thousands of deadly raids and tons of explosives for the world to be reminded that there is an occupation that must come to an end and that there are a people that must be liberated. And, there was no need for a new, devastating war in order for us to be aware of the absence of peace.

This is why we are here today.

Mr. President,
Ladies and Gentlemen,

The Palestinian people, who miraculously recovered from the ashes of Al-Nakba of 1948, which was intended to extinguish their being and to expel them in order to uproot and erase their presence, which was rooted in the depths of their land and depths of history. In those dark days, when hundreds of thousands of Palestinians were torn from their homes and displaced within and outside of their homeland, thrown from their beautiful, embracing, prosperous country to refugee camps in one of the most dreadful campaigns of ethnic cleansing and dispossession in modern history. In those dark days, our people had looked to the United Nations as a beacon of hope and appealed for ending the injustice and for achieving justice and peace, the realization of our rights, and our people still believe in this and continue to wait.

This is why we are here today.

Ladies and Gentlemen,

In the course of our long national struggle, our people have always strived to ensure harmony and conformity between the goals and means of their struggle and international law and spirit of the era in accordance with prevailing realities and changes. And, our people always have strived not to lose their humanity, their highest, deeply-held moral values and their innovative abilities for survival, steadfastness, creativity and hope, despite the horrors that befell them and continue befall them today as a consequence of Al-Nakba and its horrors.

Despite the enormity and weight of this task, the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO), the sole, legitimate representative of the Palestinian people and the constant leader of their revolution and struggle, has consistently strived to achieve this harmony and conformity.

When the Palestine National Council decided in 1988 to pursue the Palestinian peace initiative and adopted the Declaration of Independence, which was based on resolution 181 (II) (29 November 1947), adopted by your august body, it was in fact undertaking, under the leadership of the late President Yasser Arafat, a historic, difficult and courageous decision that defined the requirements for a historic reconciliation that would turn the page on war, aggression and occupation.

This was not an easy matter. Yet, we had the courage and sense of high responsibility to make the right decision to protect the higher national interests of our people and to confirm our adherence to international legitimacy, and it was a decision which in that same year was welcomed, supported and blessed by this high body that is meeting today.

Ladies and Gentlemen,

We have heard and you too have heard specifically over the past months the incessant flood of Israeli threats in response to our peaceful, political and diplomatic endeavor for Palestine to acquire non-member observer State in the United Nations. And, you have surely witnessed how some of these threats have been carried out in a barbaric and horrific manner just days ago in the Gaza Strip.

We have not heard one word from any Israeli official expressing any sincere concern to save the peace process. On the contrary, our people have witnessed, and continue to witness, an unprecedented intensification of military assaults, the blockade, settlement activities and ethnic cleansing, particularly in Occupied East Jerusalem, and mass arrests, attacks by settlers

and other practices by which this Israeli occupation is becoming synonymous with an apartheid system of colonial occupation, which institutionalizes the plague of racism and entrenches hatred and incitement.

What permits the Israeli Government to blatantly continue with its aggressive policies and the perpetration of war crimes stems from its conviction that it is above the law and that it has immunity from accountability and consequences. This belief is bolstered by the failure by some to condemn and demand the cessation of its violations and crimes and by position that equate the victim and the executioner.

The moment has arrived for the world to say clearly: Enough of aggression, settlements and occupation.

This is why we are here now.

Ladies and Gentlemen,

We did not come here seeking to delegitimize a State established years ago, and that is Israel; rather we came to affirm the legitimacy of the State that must now achieve its independence, and that is Palestine. We did not come here to add further complications to the peace process, which Israel's policies have thrown into the intensive care unit; rather we came to launch a final serious attempt to achieve peace. Our endeavor is not aimed at terminating what remains of the negotiations process, which has lost its objective and credibility, but rather aimed at trying to breathe new life into the negotiations and at setting a solid foundation for it based on the terms of reference of the relevant international resolutions in order for the negotiations to succeed.

Ladies and Gentlemen,

On behalf of the Palestine Liberation Organization, I say: We will not give up, we will not tire, and our determination will not wane and we will continue to strive to achieve a just peace.

However, above all and after all, I affirm that our people will not relinquish their inalienable national rights, as defined by United Nations resolutions. And our people cling to the right to defend themselves against aggression and occupation and they will continue their popular, peaceful resistance and their epic steadfastness and will continue to build on their land. And, they will end the division and strengthen their national unity. We will accept no less than the independence of the State of Palestine, with East Jerusalem as its capital, on all the Palestinian territory occupied in 1967, to live in peace and security alongside the State of Israel, and a solution for the refugee issue on the basis of resolution 194 (III), as per the operative part of the Arab Peace Initiative.

Yet, we must repeat here once again our warning: the window of opportunity is narrowing and time is quickly running out. The rope of patience is shortening and hope is withering. The innocent lives that have been taken by Israeli bombs – more than 168 martyrs, mostly children and women, including 12 members of one family, the Dalou family, in Gaza – are a painful reminder to the world that this racist, colonial occupation is making the two-State solution and the prospect for realizing peace a very difficult choice, if not impossible.

It is time for action and the moment to move forward.

This is why we are here today.

Mr. President,
Ladies and Gentleman,

The world is being asked today to undertake a significant step in the process of rectifying the unprecedented historical injustice inflicted on the Palestinian people since Al-Nakba of 1948.

Every voice supporting our endeavor today is a most valuable voice of courage, and every State that grants support today to Palestine's request for non-member observer State status is affirming its principled and moral support for freedom and the rights of peoples and international law and peace.

Your support for our endeavor today will send a promising message – to millions of Palestinians on the land of Palestine, in the refugee camps both in the homeland and the Diaspora, and to the prisoners struggling for freedom in Israel's prisons – that justice is possible and that there is a reason to be hopeful and that the peoples of the world do not accept the continuation of the occupation.

This is why we are here today.

Your support for our endeavor today will give a reason for hope to a people besieged by a racist, colonial occupation. Your support will confirm to our people that they are not alone and their adherence to international law is never going to be a losing proposition.

In our endeavor today to acquire non-member State status for Palestine in the United Nations, we reaffirm that Palestine will always adhere to and respect the Charter and resolutions of the United Nations and international humanitarian law, uphold equality, guarantee civil liberties, uphold the rule of law, promote democracy and pluralism, and uphold and protect the rights of women.

As we promised our friends and our brothers and sisters, we will continue to consult with them upon the approval of your esteemed body our request to upgrade Palestine's status. We will act responsibly and positively in our next steps, and we will work to strengthen cooperation with the countries and peoples of the world for the sake of a just peace.

Ladies and Gentlemen,

Sixty-five years ago on this day, the United Nations General Assembly adopted resolution 181 (II), which partitioned the land of historic Palestine into two States and became the birth certificate for Israel.

Sixty-five years later and on the same day, which your esteemed body has designated as the International Day of Solidarity with the Palestinian People, the General Assembly stands before a moral duty, which it must not hesitate to undertake, and stands before a historic duty, which cannot endure further delay, and before a practical duty to salvage the chances for peace, which is urgent and cannot be postponed.

Mr. President,
Ladies and Gentlemen,

The General Assembly is called upon today to issue a birth certificate of the reality of the State of Palestine.

This is why in specific we are here today.

Thank you.

