

The Aspirations of the Indonesian Nation in Anis Matta's Speech “*Kullunā Fālāstīn*” Critical Discourse Analysis Norman Fairclough's Theory

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Abstract

The escalating conflict between Israel and Palestine has become a major focus of international forums, including the Organization of Islamic Cooperation (OIC) Summit and the Arab League held in Riyadh, Saudi Arabia, on November 11, 2024. In this conference, Indonesia played an active role through a speech delivered by Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs, Anis Matta. This study aims to explore how Indonesia's national aspirations are represented in the speech, how the text is interpreted by various audiences, and how sociocultural contexts contribute to the meaning of the speech. Types of research in this study are descriptive qualitative, Identify Subsections consists of the primary data source is the transcription of Anis Matta's speech, supported by relevant journal articles, books, and literature. Data collection techniques include watching and note-taking. The data is analyzed using Norman Fairclough's critical discourse analysis model: textual analysis, discourse practice, and sociocultural practice. The findings indicate that the speech represents Indonesia's aspirations through various statements, including highlighting Israel's acts of genocide, criticism of the lack of unity among Islamic countries, a proposal of five strategic steps and others. The speech produced in the context of escalating Israel-Palestine conflict and received positive responses from the public. Influential sociocultural factors include institutional, situational, and systemic aspects such as politics, history, and culture. This research contributes to Arabic language studies and critical linguistics by showing how language in diplomacy can reflect national values in international forums, especially amid the intensifying Palestine-Israel conflict. However, the study is limited by its focus on a single speech and suggests future research to include comparative analysis and assess the concrete impact on Indonesia's foreign policy.

Keywords: Anis Matta's Speech, Critical Discourse Analysis, National Aspirations, Norman Fairclough

ملخص

لقد أصبح تصاعد الصراع بين إسرائيل وفلسطين اهتمامًا كبيرًا في المحافل الدولية، ومنها قمة منظمة التعاون الإسلامي وجامعة الدول العربية المنعقدة في الرياض، المملكة العربية السعودية، في ١١ نوفمبر ٢٠٢٤. شاركت إندونيسيا في هذا الحدث من خلال خطاب ألقاه نائب وزير الخارجية، أنيس متى، معبرًا عن تطلعات الأمة الإندونيسية. تهدف هذه الدراسة إلى تحليل كيفية تمثيل هذه التطلعات في الخطاب، وتفسيره من قبل مختلف الجهات، ومدى تأثير مضمونه بالسياقات الاجتماعية والثقافية المحيطة. اعتمد البحث على منهج وصفي نوعي، بمصدر رئيس يتمثل في نص الخطاب مفرغًا، ومصادر داعمة تشمل مقالات علمية وكتبًا. جُمعت البيانات بالمشاهدة وتدوين الملاحظات، وحُللت وفق نموذج التحليل النقدي للخطاب لنورمان فيركلاف، الذي يتضمن التحليل النصي، والممارسة الخطابية، والممارسة الاجتماعية الثقافية. تُظهر النتائج أن الخطاب تضمن رسائل رئيسية كإدانة الإبادة الجماعية من قبل إسرائيل، وانتقاد ضعف التضامن الإسلامي، وتقديم مقترح استراتيجي. وقد نال الخطاب صدى إيجابيًا. تسلط الدراسة الضوء على دور اللغة في تمثيل القيم الوطنية في الخطاب السياسي، خاصة في سياق الصراع الفلسطيني الإسرائيلي وتنامي تضامن الأمة الإسلامية، مع توصية بتوسيع الدراسة مستقبلاً لتشمل خطابات دبلوماسية أخرى.

الكلمات المفتاحية: تحليل الخطاب النقدي، تطلعات الأمة، خطاب أنيس ماتا، نورمان فيركلاف

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Introduction

The existence of the Middle Eastern region for years has been one of the epicenters of international conflict.¹ This is due to the numerous countries involved in conflicts within this region, including the conflict between Israel and Palestine. The Israel-Palestine conflict is often referred to as the longest standing geopolitical turmoil and the most complex issue in the Middle East.² This conflict has claimed many lives and has had severe consequences for the livelihoods of people on both sides, as well as for the stability of surrounding countries. Consequently, such a situation has led to prolonged tensions in the Middle East and continues to be the focus of international attention in efforts to find an appropriate solution. Dimas Alrifandi stated that the Israel-Palestine conflict has become a major issue in national and international media coverage. Various books, documentary films, and global forums have also highlighted this long-standing conflict.³

One of the international forums held to highlight the Israel-Palestine conflict was the Extraordinary Summit of the Arab League (KIT) and the Organization of Islamic Cooperation (OIC), which took place in Riyadh, Saudi Arabia, on November 11, 2024. The summit was attended by heads of state and representatives from member countries of the OIC and the Arab League. Darwis argued that the conference was held as a response to the significant escalation of violence in Gaza and Jerusalem, as well as to strengthen the bargaining position of the Islamic world in international diplomacy to provide moral support for the Palestinian people.⁴ Indonesia, as one of the countries with the largest Muslim population in the world, also contributed to the forum and played a strategic role in mediating and de-escalating the conflict in Palestine.⁵ In this regard, Indonesia appointed Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs AnisMatta to deliver the government's official stance on the situation through his speech.

A speech can be considered as discourse when it is viewed as a form of communication media that informs or explains something, presents a vision, mission, and programs, and influences or persuades a wide audience to align with the speaker.⁶ Therefore, speeches play a crucial role in various sectors, including shaping public opinion, influencing perceptions, and conveying specific

¹ Wawan budi; Kusuma,Salsabila arini; Purnama,Chandra; Darmawan, "Diplomasi Publik dan Media: Penggunaan Jaringan Penyiaran Al-Jazeera Dalam Krisis Diplomatie Qatar 2017-2019," Jurnal Ilmu Sosial dan Ilmu Politik 10, no. 2 (31 December 2020): 141–168. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.15575/jispo.v10i2.8176>

² Irfan Setiawan, "Eskalasi Konflik Palestine-Israel di Tahun 2023: Perspektif Kebijakan Luar Negeri Indonesia," Jurnal Hubungan Internasional 17, no. 1 (19 June 2024): 248–263. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.20473/jhi.v17i1.52392>

³ Dimas Alfriandi and Zuhriah, "Analisis Isi Framing Berita Konflik Israel dan Palestina di Media Kompas.Com," Indonesian Journal of Humanities and Social Science 5, no. 2 (12 June 2024): 643–654. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.33367/ijhass.v5i2.5469>

⁴ Danial Darwis, "Diplomasi Multilateral Dunia Islam Menuju Perdamaian Palestina," The Insiera Insight 1, no. 10 (19 December 2024): 1–8. <https://journal.insiera.org/index.php/TII/article/view/109>

⁵ Relycia Solihin et al., "Peran Indonesia pada Konflik Israel – Palestina Melalui Multi-Track Diplomacy," Perspektif 12, no. 3 (12 July 2023): 1002–1013. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.31289/perspektif.v12i3.9490>

⁶ Welsi Haslina, "Anies Baswedan's 2024 Candidacy Presidential Declaration: Norman Faircough Critical Discourse Analysis (Deklarasi Capres 2024 Anies Baswedan: Analisis Wacana Kritis Norman Fairclough)," Gramatika STKIP PGRI Sumatera Barat 9, no. 2 (23 October 2023): 286–300. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.22202/jg.2023.v9i2.7381>

messages in line with the speaker's communicative objectives. Anis Matta's speech at the OIC Summit in Riyadh, Saudi Arabia, on November 11, 2024, gained national and international attention for effectively representing and voicing Indonesia's aspirations regarding the ongoing conflict between Israel and Palestine. According to the renowned Arab news channel *Asbarq Al-Awsat*, Anis Matta's speech was described as a joint effort to boycott Israel and end its occupation of Palestine.⁷ Therefore, Anis Matta's speech was not merely a series of words in a diplomatic statement but also a discourse reflecting the aspirations of the Indonesian nation. It carried the power to influence and shape public opinion, with its message and content being wellreceived and impactful on the audience.

It is certainly interesting to examine how Indonesia's aspirations regarding the Palestine issue were constructed in Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs Anis Matta's speech during the conference. To analyze this, a Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) approach is used, as it effectively explains how language, as a social practice, is linked to the discourse context with specific objectives.⁸ Therefore, in Critical Discourse Analysis, language is not only examined from a linguistic perspective but is also inseparable from the social phenomena or contexts surrounding its use.⁹ Critical Discourse Analysis includes several analytical frameworks, such as those developed by Roger Fowler, Theo van Leeuwen, Norman Fairclough, Sara Mills, and Teun A. van Dijk, among others.¹⁰

In this study, the researcher employs the Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) approach developed by Norman Fairclough. This approach is considered relevant for examining Anis Matta's speech because of its ability to uncover ideological representations, hidden meanings, and the sociopolitical dynamics embedded in diplomatic language, particularly in the context of conveying contemporary issues. This view aligns with the opinion expressed by Ismail Marzuki in his book, in which he states that Norman Fairclough's Critical Discourse Analysis is the most comprehensive form of discourse analysis for revealing ideology or the underlying content of a text.¹¹ Norman Fairclough's Critical Discourse Analysis focuses on the idea that language is a social practice rather than merely an individual activity for reflecting something. Therefore, language is part of the discourse that reveals a strong relationship between linguistic phenomena and existing social structures.¹² Linguistic phenomena are inherently social whenever people speak, listen, write, or read, they do so in ways that are influenced by social conditions and, in turn, have social effects.¹³

⁷ Fathur Rahman Yusuf, "Isyādah Indūnisiyyah Bi-Mukhbrajāt Qimmat Ar-Riyāḍ Al-'Arabīyyah – Al-Islāmīyyah" (Riyadh, 11 November 2024). <https://aawsat.news/nc4fp>

⁸ Lulu Eka Aprilia and Achmad Diny Hidayatullah, "Al-Ibrab Al-Ijramy Fi Bandung Fi Al-Akbbār Al-Arabīyah Ala Al-Imtirin; Istīnadan Ila Tablīl Al-Khitbah an-Naqdīy Li Theo Van Leeuwen," *Mantiq Tayr: Journal of Arabic Language* 4, no. 1 (07 December 2023): 38–59. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.25217/mantiqutayr.v4i1.3953>

⁹ Rohana & Syamsuddin, *Buku Analisis Wacana*, (Makassar: CV. Samudra Alif Mim, 2015), hlm. 17. <http://eprints.unm.ac.id/19564/>

¹⁰ I Nyoman Yasa, *Teori Analisis Wacana Kritis Relevansi Sastra dan Pembelajarannya*, Cetakan 1, (Denpasar: Pustaka Larasan, 2021), hlm. 16. <https://www.researchgate.net/publication/370214785%0Ahttps://123dok.com/article/teori-analisis-wacana-kritis-nourman-fairclough.dzx1gkdy>

¹¹ Ismail Marzuki, *Analisis Wacana Kritis (Teori dan Praktik)*, Cetakan 1, (Sorong: Unimuda, 2023), hlm. 32. <https://www.researchgate.net/publication/376893604>

¹² Norman Fairclough, *Critical Discourse Analysis "The Critical Study of Language"*, Second edition, (London dan Newyork: Routledge Taylor and Francis Group, 2019), hlm. 91. <https://www.pdfdrive.com/critical-discourse-analysis-the-critical-study-of-language-d184811117.html>

¹³ Norman Fairclough, *A Dialectical-Relational Approach to Critical Discourse Analysis in Social Research*, Second edi (Thousand Oaks: CA Sage, 2016), hlm. 18. https://www.researchgate.net/publication/285130079_A_dialectical-relational_approach_to_critical_discourse_analysis_in_social_research

Norman Fairclough formulates the framework of Critical Discourse Analysis into three dimensions: the textual dimension (textual discourse/microstructural), the discourse practice dimension (discursive practice/mesostructural), and the social practice dimension (macrostructural/sociocultural practice).¹⁴ First, the textual dimension (microstructural) relates to the author's perspective, which can be interpreted by readers through linguistic symbols. This dimension helps reveal how an object is presented and how the relationships between objects are depicted.¹⁵ According to Fairclough, every text can essentially be broken down and analyzed through three key elements; representation, relations, and identity.¹⁶ Thus, in interpreting a text, the reader's empirical experience, ideology, meaning, or ideas embedded within the text can be revealed. Second, the discourse practice dimension (mesostructural) focuses on analyzing how a text is produced and consumed.¹⁷ Third, the sociocultural practice dimension (macrostructural) examines all aspects related to the context beyond the text that influences and supports its creation. This includes political situations, religion, societal culture, and other external factors that shape the discourse.¹⁸ Muttaqin and Sriyono argue that the analysis of the social/sociocultural practice dimension can also construct various opinions that emerge within a societal structure.¹⁹ In analyzing the sociocultural practice level, explanation can be conducted across three levels; situational, institutional, and social systems.²⁰

In conducting this study, the researcher reviews previous studies that are relevant to the current research, both in terms of the theories used and the research objects examined. There are several previous studies that have applied Norman Fairclough's Critical Discourse Analysis theory, such as the research conducted by Rinda Cahya Mudiawati et al which discussed the language of protest slogans used by teachers in Samarinda.²¹ Hajrah Harun et al, who analyzed the relationship between language and social structure in President Joko Widodo's 2022 speech.²² M. Abdul Hamid et al, who examined how the media outlets Midan Al-Jazeera, Al-Ittihad, and Mawdoo 3 represented

¹⁴ Alfian Rokhmansyah, Widyatmike Gede Mulawarman, and Yusak Hudiyono, "Lgbt News on Tirto.Id Online Media: Fairclough's Critical Discourse Analysis," Proceedings of the 6th International Conference on Science, Education and Technology (ISET 2020) 574, (26 November 2021): 191–197. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.2991/assehr.k.211125.036>

¹⁵ James Paul and Michael Handford, *The Routledge Handbook of Discourse Analysis*, Choice Reviews Online, Third edition, vol. 50, (New York: Routledge Taylor and Francis Group, 2018), hlm. 50. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.5860/choice.50-0712>

¹⁶ Ni Wayan Ditha Sasmitha, "Analisis Wacana Kritis Norman Fairclough dalam Stand-Up Comedy Mamat Alkatiri pada Program 'Somasi,'" *Politicos: Jurnal Politik dan Pemerintahan* 3, no. 1 (14 March 2023): 44–58. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.22225/politicos.3.1.2023.44-58>

¹⁷ Ardiani, Aimie Sulaiman, and Citra Asmara Indra, "Critical Discourse Analysis of Child Marriage Practices in the Yuni's Movie," *Social Science Studies* 3, no. 5 (30 September 2023): 395–420. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.47153/ss35.6312023>

¹⁸ Norman Fairclough, *Critical Discourse Analysis: The Critical Study of Language*, (New York: Longman Group UK Limited, 2015), hlm. 707. DOI: [https://doi.org/10.1016/0378-2166\(96\)89194-6](https://doi.org/10.1016/0378-2166(96)89194-6)

¹⁹ M. Zaenul Muttaqin and Sriyono Sriyono, "Konstruksi Opini Publik Melalui Media Sosial: Studi Pendekatan Analisis Wacana Kritis Grup Facebook Lintas Kejadian Kota Jayapura pada Bulan Juni 2021," *Politicos: Jurnal Politik dan Pemerintahan* 1, no. 2 (16 September 2021): 113–129. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.22225/politicos.1.2.2021.113-129>

²⁰ Norman Fairclough, "Discourse and Text: Linguistic and Intertextual Analysis within Discourse Analysis," *Sage Journals* 3, no. 2 (11 April 2017): 194–216. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1177/0957926592003002004>

²¹ Rinda Cahya Mudiawati, Yusak Hudiyono, and Bibit Suhatmady, "Analisis Wacana Kritis Norman Fairclough Terhadap Bahasa Slogan Aksi Demonstrasi Guru di Samarinda," *Diglosia: Jurnal Kajian Bahasa, Sastra, dan Pengajarannya* 6, no. 3 (11 July 2023): 739–762. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.30872/diglosia.v6i3.694>

²² Hajrah Harun, Anisa Maulidiah Alam, and Jufri Jufri, "Analisis Wacana Kritis pada Pidato Presiden Tahun 2022: Model Norman Fairclough," *Jurnal Onoma: Pendidikan, Bahasa, dan Sastra* 10, no. 1 (2024): 169–181. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.30605/onoma.v10i1.3163>

the identity of Arab women,²³ and the research by Indah Rarasati and Moh Zawawi, which analyzed the representation of the Arab Spring and described forms of social dimensions in the film *Alephia 2053*.²⁴ Furthermore, several previous studies have also focused on speeches as their research object, such as studies analyzing Bung Karno's speech script during the August 17, 1945, ceremony.²⁵ Additionally, there is a study that examines the text structure in the victory claim speech of the 2019 presidential election,²⁶ and a study that analyzes Jokowi's opening speech at the *IMF-World Bank Group meeting*,²⁷ and a research was also conducted analyzing the speech delivered by Mahmoud Darwish.²⁸

Based on the previous studies outlined above, this research shares similarities with earlier works in terms of the approach used. However, it differs in terms of the research object, the issues or contexts addressed, and the specific research objectives formulated. Throughout the literature review conducted, the researcher has not found any previous studies that focus on the speech delivered by the Vice Minister of Foreign Affairs of Indonesia, Anis Matta, at the OIC Summit in Riyadh, Saudi Arabia, on November 11, 2024 particularly regarding the representation of Indonesia's aspirations in the context of the Palestinian conflict. Moreover, previous studies employing a similar approach have rarely examined speeches delivered in Arabic, meaning that the linguistic aspects and the embedded meanings in Arabic texts have yet to be explored in depth.

Thus, this research seeks to fill a gap in the existing literature, particularly in the limited studies that examine Arabic-language diplomatic speeches especially the speech delivered by Anis Matta at the 2024 OIC Summit. The novelty of this research lies in its choice of research object and the phenomenon under study, as well as its emphasis on an indepth analysis of rhetorical structure or linguistic composition within a speech, including language style, sentence structure, rhetorical elements, and so on elements that have often been overlooked in previous studies. Therefore, this study not only expands the scope of existing research but also enriches the understanding of the linguistic and ideological dimensions in Arabic diplomatic discourse. Additionally, this research is highly relevant in the context of current global diplomacy and social issues, particularly amid the on going escalation of the Palestine-Israel conflict and the growing solidarity of the Islamic world. Anis Matta's speech serves as a concrete example of how language can function as a medium for conveying a nation's aspirations in an international forum.

Building upon the previous explanation, the main focus of this research is to uncover the representation of Indonesia's national aspirations in Anis Matta's speech through the three dimensions of Norman Fairclough's Critical Discourse Analysis. Based on this focus, the study is

²³ M. Abdul Hamid, Abdul Basid, and Isma Nida Aulia, "The Reconstruction of Arab Women Role in Media: A Critical Discourse Analysis," *Social Network Analysis and Mining* 11, no. 1 (20 October 2021): 1–12. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1007/s13278-021-00809-0>

²⁴ Indah Rarasati and Mohammad Zawawi, "Critical Discourse Analysis on Representation of Arab Spring in The Movie *Alephia 2053*," *Lingua Cultura* 18, no. 1 (28 March 2024): 11–19. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.21512/lc.v18i1.10743>

²⁵ Armita Enggarwati and Asep Purwo Yudi Utomo, "Fungsi, Peran, dan Kategori Sintaksis Bahasa Indonesia Dalam Kalimat Berita dan Kalimat Seruan pada Naskah Pidato Bung Karno 17 Agustus 1945," *Estetik: Jurnal Bahasa Indonesia* 4, no. 1 (02 July 2021): 37–54. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.29240/estetik.v4i1.2209>

²⁶ Ni Putu Dewi Eka Yanti, Ida Bagus Putrayasa, and I Wayan Artika, "Analisis Wacana Kritis Teun A. Van Dijk pada Teks Pidato Klaim Kemenangan Pilpres 2019," *Jurnal Ilmiah Pendidikan dan Pembelajaran* 3, no. 3 (13 November 2019): 356–362. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.23887/jipp.v3i3.21846>

²⁷ Kusnoa Ali; Rusbiyantoro Wenni, "Gaya Bahasa Pidato Jokowi Dalam Pembukaan Annual Meetings IMF-WORLD Bank Group di Bali," *Ranah: Jurnal Kajian Bahasa* 9, no. 1 (08 May 2022): 72–89. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.26499/rnh.v9i1.995>

²⁸ Mia Mutmainah, "Gaya Bahasa Pidato Mahmoud Abbas (Kajian Stilistika Perspektif Gorys Keraf)," *Jurnal Al-Azhar Indonesia Seri Humaniora* 7, no. 3 (14 November 2022): 199–208. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.36722/sh.v7i3.1235>

formulated into the following three research questions; 1) How are the forms of Indonesia's national aspirations represented in Anis Matta's speech, 2) How is the speech text interpreted by various audiences, 3) How do sociocultural contexts influence and support the content of the national aspiration speech delivered by Anis Matta.

Method

The types of research this study employs a qualitative descriptive method, in which the researcher seeks to gain an in-depth understanding and adapt to the social situation or object under investigation. This method was chosen because it is capable of providing a comprehensive description and analysis of the research object in a systematic, factual, and accurate manner based on the data obtained.²⁹ The identify subsections in this study consist of primary and supporting sources. The primary data source is the transcript of Anis Matta's speech delivered at the OIC Summit in Riyadh, Saudi Arabia, on November 11, 2024. The transcript was obtained from a video uploaded on Anis Matta's personal YouTube channel, which has been viewed 32,405 times. The 6-minute and 23-second video was uploaded on November 13, 2024.³⁰ Meanwhile, supporting data sources are gathered from various literature, journals, books, and other relevant documents on critical discourse analysis, political discourse, the Palestine issue, and various online platforms that discuss the content of the speech.

The Characteristics subject of this study is the speech text of Anis Matta, which is analyzed as a political discourse within the context of international diplomacy. This particular speech was selected because it reflects the official stance or national aspirations of Indonesia on a global humanitarian issue specifically, the ongoing conflict between Israel and Palestine. Furthermore, the speech contains linguistic and ideological elements that can be critically analyzed. The research design in this study using the data collection technique with the watching and note-take method. The watching technique involves carefully observing the video recording of Anis Matta's speech on his YouTube channel, followed by transcribing the speech into written form. Subsequently, the researcher notes relevant data that is aligned with the research objectives. The data analysis technique applied in this study is Norman Fairclough's Critical Discourse Analysis model. This model consists of textual discourse analysis (microstructural), discourse practice analysis (mesostructural), and macrostructural (sociocultural practice) discourse analysis. These dimensions connect the textual level to the sociocultural practice level, enabling the identification of ideological content within the text.³¹ In the textual analysis stage, the researcher examines language structure, diction, and stylistic devices to reveal representations or ideas related to the various forms of Indonesia's aspirations embedded in the speech text. Then, the mesostructural analysis is conducted to understand how the speech text is produced and consumed in order to gain a deeper interpretation. Finally, in the macrostructural analysis stage, the researcher connects the speech text with external factors to determine how sociocultural contexts influence and support the content of the speech.

²⁹ Zuchri Abdussamad, *Metode Penelitian Kualitatif*, ed. Patta Rapanna, (Makassar: CV. syakir Media Press, 2021), hlm. 80.

³⁰ Anis Matta, "Kita Adalah Palestina" KTT OKI Riyadh, 11 November 2024, (Riyadh, Arab Saudi: Youtube, 2024). https://youtu.be/6ZIB_6-q5Yk?si=QIKr5JG-UYI86omE

³¹ Akmaluddin Sultan, "Kuasa Bahasa Dalam Wacana Perkuliahan," *Mabasan* 13, no. 2 (30 December 2019): 111–136. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.26499/mab.v13i2.251>

Result and Discussion

This section presents the various forms of Indonesia's aspirations expressed by Anis Matta in his speech, how the speech content is interpreted by different parties, and the influence of sociocultural contexts on the delivered speech. The explanations are as follows.

A. Various forms of Indonesia's aspirations

Anis Matta's speech at the conference effectively represented various forms of Indonesia's aspirations through the ideas he conveyed. Based on Norman Fairclough's Critical Discourse Analysis, a representation can be revealed through analysis at the textual dimension (microstructural).³² The following is the result of the speech text analysis, which represents various forms of Indonesia's aspirations as conveyed in the speech by Indonesia's Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs, Anis Matta. A detailed breakdown is provided below.

1. Highlighting Israel's Genocide Actions in Gaza

Data 1.1

كيف لا؟ وكلنا شهود على هذه المجازر البشعة وتلك الإبادة الجماعية الحمجية لأهل غزة فلسطين ولأطفال فلسطين ولنساء فلسطين.

How could we not? we are all witnessing a brutal massacre, a shocking extermination carried out by Israel against the people of Gaza and Palestine, against Palestinian children, and against Palestinian women.

In the sentence above, Anis Matta uses a rhetorical question to highlight Israel's genocide against Palestine. The question doesn't seek an answer, but emphasizes that the reality in the next statement is unacceptable. The interrogative sentence used is *كيف لا؟*. This phrase falls under the

category of *istifhām inkārī* (استفهام إنكاري) which is used to express denial or strong disapproval يأتي

للتعبير عن إنكار أمر ما أو استهجانه It functions as an interrogative expression to convey rejection or disagreement toward a certain matter.³³ In the following sentence, Anis Matta constructs a

depiction of the dire reality faced by the Palestinian people. This is evident in his statement *وكلنا*

شهود على هذه المجازر البشعة وتلك الإبادة الجماعية الحمجية. This sentence is a *jumlah ismiyyah*

(nominal sentence) consisting of *كلنا* as the *mubtada'* (subject) and *شهود* as the *khabar* (predicate).

In the word *كلنا* contains *كل*, which serves as *taukid ma'nawi* (emphatic particle) meaning *دخل في*

الكلام لإخراج الشكّ و في الأعداد لإحاطة الأجزاء which functions to emphasize and eliminate

³² Ismail Marzuki, *Analisis Wacana Kritis (Teori dan Praktik)*, Cetakan 1, (Sorong: Unimuda, 2023), hlm. 34. <https://www.researchgate.net/publication/376893604>

³³ Izzah Sayyid, "Asalib Al-Istifham Fi Al-Lughah Al-'Arabiyah | Kayfa Taj'alu Jumburak Yastami'U?," Shammā 'Afif, 2024. <https://shaimaafifi.net/>

doubt.³⁴ Next, the pronoun *نا* in word *كلنا* is *dhamir muttasil ma'a al-ghayr* (ضمير المتصل مع الغير) or connected pronoun to indicating collectivity reinforcing the idea of inclusivity and the word *شهود* is *isim jama' taksir* or an irregular plural noun to indicating plurality, this linguistic construction strongly affirms that everyone without exception, is witnessing the atrocities suffered by the Palestinian people. Anis Matta also highlights various acts of violence committed by Israel against Palestine through several phrases in his speech. One such phrase is *المجازر الباشعة* which means heinous massacres. The word *المجازر* is an *isim makan* or noun of place that literally refers to *موضع ذبح البهائم* meaning a place for slaughtering animals. Continuing with the phrase *الإبادة الجماعية الحمجية* which means extermination that is horrifying to witness. In this phrase, the word *الإبادة* refers to *تنقية* لأهل غزة فلسطين، ولأطف. In this phrase, the word *فلسطين* is repeated multiple times, and these repetitions are connected by *huruf athaf* or coordinating conjunction *و* (waw) which in this context functions as *للماعية* indicating inclusiveness or equality.³⁶ As a result, the residents of Gaza, Palestinian children, and Palestinian women are all portrayed as equally being the primary victims of this event.

2. Criticism of the Lack of Humanitarian Solidarity Among Muslims & Urging the Arab League and the OIC to Take Firm Action

Data 2.1

وهل سنكون شهودا على موت الضمائر الإنسانية والنخوة الإسلامية إلى جانب هؤلاء القتلة والجرحه بسببصمتنا وعجزنا؟ هذه القمة غير العادية جاءت كما نعتقد استجابة للتحد الوجودي لنا جميعا منخلال تنسيق الرد الجماعي من المنظمين العربيه والإسلامية والتي تمثل مالا يقل أكثر من مليارين مسلم من أجل تحرير فلسطين لكل ما نملك من قوة وموارد.

³⁴ Ibn Manẓūr, "Lisān Al-'Arab", (Kairo: Dār al-Ma'ārif, 1119), hlm. 180.

³⁵ Umar Aḥmad Mukhtār, "Mu'jam Al-Lughah Al-'Arabīyah Al-Mu'āṣirah", (Mesir: Alāmat al-Kutub, n.d.), hlm. 48. <https://www.arabdict.com/ar/عربي-عربي/مجزرة>

³⁶ Muhammad Fikri Hakim, *Terjemah Matan Al Jurumiyah Dua Bahasa: Jawa & Indonesia*, ed. Arsyadanil Haq Muhammad sanaya, (Kediri: Al Aziziyah Press, 2013), hlm. 197.

Will we continue to watch as the human conscience dies in the face of those who are killed and wounded due to our silence and weakness? this agenda is held, as we believe, in response to this issue to consolidate our collective resistance. The Arab and Islamic world, which today represents no less than 2 billion Muslims, must unite with all its strength and resources to fight for independence.

The excerpt above contains Anis Matta's criticism of the international community, including Islamic countries, which he perceives as insufficiently responsive to the Palestinian crisis. His critique begins with an interrogative question, as seen in the sentence *وهل سنكون شهودا على موت الضمائر والنخوة الإسلامية إلى جانب هؤلاء القتلة والجرحى*. In this sentence, he opens with the interrogative particle *هل* which does not require an answer. In this context, the question functions as *Istifham Inkari*, serving as a rejection or affirmation of the reality described in the next statement.³⁷ The following editorial reads *موت الضمائر الإنسانية*. Which means the death of the human conscience. This phrase is a *tarkib idhafi* or possessive construction which refers to combining two nouns or *Isim* into one sentence,³⁸ and contains the word *الضمائر* which refers to *شعور إنساني باطني* meaning the deepest feeling within a person.³⁹ Therefore, the term *conscience* here represents a person's innermost feelings. Additionally, this phrase includes a figurative element, specifically *Istiarah Ma'niyyah* (إستعارة معنية) as it does not explicitly mention its *Musyabbah bihnya* or the object of comparison.⁴⁰ This creates an implicit metaphor because *الضمائر* is not a living being that can physically die, instead, the phrase suggests that a dead conscience *الضمائر* is likened to a human body that has perished. Then, the phrase *قتلة والجرحى* refers to *من أصيب في جسده بشق أو طعن أو قتل* meaning those who have been killed or suffered stab and slash wounds on their bodies.⁴¹ This wording conveys the sheer tragedy of the killings inflicted upon the Palestinian people. Due to this, in the speech, Anis Matta criticizes the international community and emphasizes in the forum that

³⁷ Muhammad Adriani Yulizar, "Uslub Hamzah Istifham Sebagai Salah Satu Bentuk Dialektika Dialogis Al-Qur'an," Al-Fathin: Jurnal Bahasa dan Sastra Arab 4, no. 02 (09 December 2021): 229-339. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.32332/al-fathin.v4i02.4084>

³⁸ Fatkhur Roji, Muhammad Syaifullah, and Mohammad Izdiyan Muttaqin, "Analisis Tarkib Idhafi Dalam Al-Qur'an Surat Annisa' (Pembelajaran Nahwiyah)," Mantiq Tayr: Journal of Arabic Language 1, no. 2 (19 June 2021): 101-116. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.25217/mantiqtayr.v1i2>

³⁹ al-Ma'ānī li-Kullī Rasm Ma'nā, "Ta'rif Wa Ma'Nā Al-Ḍamā'ir Fī Mu'jam Al-Ma'ānī Al-Jamī'– Mu'jam 'Arabī 'Arabī," n.d. <https://www.almaany.com/ar/dict/ar-ar/ضمائر/>

⁴⁰ Rumadani Sagala, *Balaghah Paling Lengkap*, (Lampung, 2016), hlm. 18. [https://repository.radenintan.ac.id/9298/1/Balaghah Paling Lengkap.pdf](https://repository.radenintan.ac.id/9298/1/Balaghah%20Paling%20Lengkap.pdf)

⁴¹ As-Sumūw al-Amīr Badr bin 'Abd Allāh bin Farḥān Āl Su'ūd, *Mu'jam Al-Malik Salīm Al-'Ālamī Li-Lughah Al-'Arabīyyah*, (Arab Saudi, 2024). <https://dictionary.ksaa.gov.sa/>

they must not remain silent. This is evident in his statement *من تنسيق الرد الجماعي*. In this phrase, the word *رد* means to respond or retaliate and in Mu'jam *Lisaanul 'Arab* the word *رد* is defined as *صرف الشيء ورجعه* which means to return or restore something.⁴² In this context, Anis Matta stresses the necessity of restoring justice by responding to what Israel has done to Palestine. This action is necessary because, in the continuation of his statement, Anis Matta says in his phrasing *مالا* *يقول أكثر من مليارين مسلم من أجل تحرير فلسطين لكل ما نملك من قوة وموارد*. In this sentence, the word *أكثر* originates from the morphological pattern of *أفعل* in *waṣaṇ ṣifat musyabbaha* and serves one of the rhetorical functions of *مبالغة* meaning exaggeration or emphasis on an exceedingly large quantity.⁴³ This statement illustrates that the global muslim community, including the Arab region, possesses immense power, numbering no less than 2 billion people. It highlights their potential as a significant force capable of uniting in resistance to liberate Palestine.

3. Warning to Netanyahu and His Extremist Allies

Data 3.1

فإن إسرائيل بقيادة بنيامين نتنياهو ومعه حلفاؤه اليمينيون المتطرفون لا تعرف غير اللغة القوة والبطش والشراسة ماجعلت قرارات الأمم المتحدة ومجلس الأمن ومحكمة العدل الدولية حبرا علموق.

Indeed Israel, under the leadership of Benjamin Netanyahu and his radical far-right coalition, will only understand the language of strength and firm resistance. We see that all decisions made by the PBB, the Security Council, or the International Court remain mere experiments on paper, without being obeyed by Israel.

The data above demonstrates Anis Matta's strong warning to Israel, as seen in the sentence structured as a *jumlaḥ ismiyyah* in the phrase *فإن إسرائيل بقيادة بنيامين نتنياهو ومعه حلفاؤه اليمينيون*. The phrase *إسرائيل إلى آخره* serves as the *isim* of *إن*, where *إن* is one of the *huruf Ta'kid* used to reinforce meaning.⁴⁴ Therefore, this sentence strongly represents Israel as the primary perpetrator of crimes against Palestine. Anis Matta criticizes Israel by portraying it as a nation that opposes international law. This is evident in his statement *لا تعرف غير اللغة القوة والبطش والشراسة* which means it will understand nothing but the language of power, oppression, and brutality. The phrase is a *jumlaḥ fi'liyah* preceded by *لا نفي* or negation particle and is categorized as *Istiarah*

⁴² Ibn Manẓūr, *“Lisān Al-‘Arab”*, (Kairo: Dār al-Ma‘ārif, 1119), hlm. 210.

⁴³ Tawfiq al-Hākīm, *Mu'jam at-Tanfiq Arab, Jawa, Indonesia*, 1st ed., (Jepara: EL- Falah, 2004), hlm. VI.

⁴⁴ Tamim Mulloh, *Miftahul Mubtadi' Fi Ilmin Nahwi*, ed. Moh. Faruq, 1st ed., (Malang: Maliki Press, 2019), hlm.

31. https://digilib.uas.ac.id/index.php?p=show_detail&id=6650&keywords=

Makniyyah because it does not explicitly mention its *Musyabbah bihnya* or the object of comparison.⁴⁵ As a result, the word *اللغة* is used *majaazi* figuratively to refer to a way of communication or negotiation, emphasizing that Israel understands no other means of communication except resistance and violence. In the text above, the speaker also uses the word *البطشة* which refers to *السلطة والأخذ بالعنف* meaning power and coercion through violence.⁴⁶ The use of this word indicates that Israel's actions against Palestine are not merely acts of aggression but also a form of domination and violence accompanied by coercion. Then, there is also the phrase *حبرا على الورق* which is a form of *majaaz mursal* is a metaphor where the meaning is based on a cause and effect relationship.⁴⁷ Literally, this phrase means "ink on paper," but in this context, it falls under *Alaqaah Musabbabiyah* (effect) referring to the cause the decisions made by the PBB regarding Israel hold no real significance, as a result, these decisions remain mere writings without power. Therefore, due to such actions, Anis Matta delivers strong criticism against Israel.

4. Indonesia's Proposal Through Five Strategic Steps

Data 4.1

أولاً: تكثيف الجهود السياسية والدبلوماسية لإنهاء الحرب في غزة ولبنان ومنع كل محاولات التصعيد من كل الأطراف لجر المنطقة إلى حرب إقليمية لا يمكن التحققي مزارها.

First, expanding political and diplomatic efforts to end the war in Gaza and Lebanon and preventing any attempts by any party to escalate this war into a regional conflict.

The data above presents a segment of Anis Matta's speech, which includes several suggestions for resolving the ongoing conflict. This section outlines the first recommendation, which emphasizes conflict resolution through political and diplomatic approaches as the primary solution to ending the war in Gaza and Lebanon, as well as preventive measures to avoid the escalation of the conflict into a regional war. As seen in the sentence *ومنع كل محاولات التصعيد من كل* the statement contains *jamak taksir* or an irregular plural noun to indicating a broad scope of actions, forms such as *محاولات*, *أطراف*, *جهود*. Additionally, the repetition of the word *كل* twice in the sentence serves to emphasize *الاستغراق والشمول*

⁴⁵ Rumadani Sagala, *Balaghah Paling Lengkap*, (Lampung, 2016), hlm. 18. [https://repository.radenintan.ac.id/9298/1/Balaghah Paling Lengkap.pdf](https://repository.radenintan.ac.id/9298/1/Balaghah%20Paling%20Lengkap.pdf)

⁴⁶ Hasan Al Mustawi, *At-Tahqiq Fi Kalimat Al-Qur'an Al-Karim*, (Tehran: Markaz Nashr Athar al-'Allamah al-Mustafa, 2024), hlm. 313. <https://omalbanin.com/library/details/65>

⁴⁷ Sulthon Bek Muhammad Chatibul Umam, Abidin Nawawi, Hifni Bek Dayyab, Muhammad bek dayyab, Mustofa Tomum, Mahmud Afandi Umar, *Kaidah Tata Bahasa Arab Nahwu, Shorrof, Balaghah, Bayan, Badi*, ed. Jamaluddin Malik, 12th ed., (Jakarta: Darul Ulum Press, 2014), hlm. 485.

refers to completeness and inclusivity.⁴⁸ Signifying that this effort must be carried out collectively and involve everyone without exception.

Data 4.2

ثانياً: تتبعة الشعوب الإسلامية، التي تعتصر قلوبهم معاناة إخوانهم المضطهدين، للمشاركة بكل ما يملكون في دعم نظامهم من أجل الإستقلال وفتح كل القنوات الرسمية والسبل المتاحة لإصال المساعدات الإنسانية إلى فلسطين.

Second, invite all Muslims who empathize with the suffering of their oppressed brothers and sisters to actively participate in all possible efforts to fight for the independence of Palestine. This includes opening all official channels and removing any obstacles to ensure the smooth delivery of humanitarian aid to the Palestinian people.

The data above presents the second proposal put forward by Anis Matta in his speech, which is a call and appeal to all Muslims to care and fight for the independence of Palestine. This call and appeal are expressed by Anis Matta in the phrase تتبعة الشعوب الإسلامية، التي تعتصر قلوبهم معاناة إخوانهم المضطهدين. In this sentence, AnisMatta begins his appeal with several persuasive phrases to evoke empathy from the audience towards the suffering of the Palestinian people. This is reflected in the use of the *fi'il* or verb تعتصر which conveys meanings of anxiety, sadness, and darkness. The *isim* or nominal معاناة which signifies distress and unhappiness, and the word مضطهدين which refers to oppression.⁴⁹ All these word choices serve to awaken the listeners' empathy and instill a sense of brotherhood among Muslims with the Palestinian people. Furthermore, several other calls expressed by Anis Matta in the text above can be seen in the sentence للمشاركة بكل ما يملكون في دعم نظامهم من أجل الإستقلال وفتح كل القنوات الرسمية والسبل المتاحة لإصال المساعدات الإنسانية إلى فلسطين. In this text, certain words are preceded by the لام التعليل or lam of causation such as للمشاركة and للإصال. Words preceded by this particle function to explain a reason or cause.⁵⁰ In this context, all the calls mentioned serve as justifications for supporting and striving for Palestinian independence. Additionally, the phrase also includes the word كل which is repeated twice, one of the linguistic functions of كل is to indicate الشمول والاستغراق تدل على الإستغراق والشمول refers to completeness and

⁴⁸ Shurūq Ḥamīdat, "Al-Farq Bayna Kull Wa-Jamī", *Manḍū' akbaru manqi* "Arabi bi al-'alam, 2016. https://mawdoo3.com/الفرق_بين_كل_وجميع

⁴⁹ Tawfiq al-Hākīm, *Mu'jam at-Tanfiq Arab, Jawa, Indonesia*, (Jepara: El-Falah, 2004), hlm. 604.

⁵⁰ Mustajab M. Making, "Penggunaan Huruf Lam Dalam Al-Qur'an Serta Implikasinya Terhadap Pembelajaran Qawaidul Lughah Al-Arabiyyah," *Al-Ibanah* 8, no. 2 (31 July 2023): 93–104. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.54801/ibanah.v8i2.200>

inclusivity.⁵¹ This implies that the efforts must be carried out collectively and involve everyone without exception.

Data 4.3

ثالثاً: إحداث موجات من الدعم العالمي لإستقلال فلسطيني من خلال توسيع التحالفات العالمية لتشمل الجنوب العالمي وجميع الدول المساندة لإستقلال فلسطين واعتبار كل أشكال المقاومة من كل الفصائل الفلسطينية في نفس الوقت حقاً قانونياً أزلياً لكل شعب المستعمر وليس ارباباً والضغط على كل المؤسسات الدولية لعزل إسرائيل وإلغاء ضوبيتها من الأمم المتحدة ويجب أن لا تذهب جرائم الحرب والإبادة الجماعية التي ارتكبتها إسرائيل ضد الشعب الفلسطيني من غير معاقبة.

Third, uniting international support for Palestine's independence and expanding the global coalition to support Palestine across various nations and powers. At the same time, all forms of the Palestinian people's struggle are inherent rights of all oppressed nations worldwide. This is a legally recognized and perpetual right, not an act of terrorism. We must also reaffirm to all international institutions the necessity of expelling Israel from PBB membership. Additionally, it is the duty of the entire international community not to allow Israel's war crimes and genocide against the Palestinian people to go unpunished without severe consequences.

The text above presents the third suggestion conveyed by Anis Matta in his speech, once again reaffirming his support for Palestine, as expressed in his statement *إحداث موجات من الدعم العالمي*. Which means creating waves of global support for Palestine's independence.

The word *موجة* literally refers to *اضطراب أمواج البحر* meaning the turbulence of sea waves.⁵² In this context, the choice of this vocabulary is intended to portray global support as something with natural characteristics, resembling ocean waves that continuously flow and are difficult to stop.

Then, in the following phrase *والضغط على كل المؤسسات الدولية لعزل إسرائيل وإلغاء ضوبيتها من الأمم المتحدة* it refers to the pressure on every international institution to isolate Israel and revoke its

membership from the United Nations. In the phrase, the use of the *masdar* in the word *الضغط* conveys the meaning of continuous and absolute pressure, as one of the functions of *masdar* is its unrestricted nature meaning it is not bound by time or place.⁵³ This implies that the pressure and efforts to isolate Israel must be carried out persistently, regardless of specific situations or time

⁵¹ Shurūq Ḥamīdat, "Al-Farq Bayna Kull Wa-Jami'," *Manḍū' akbaru mawqi' Arabi bi al-'alam*, 2016. <https://mawdoo3.com/الفرق-بين-كل-وجميع/>

⁵² Qāmūs An-Nūr, "Ma'nā Al-Manj," n.d., <https://qamus.inoor.ir/ar/8E90K/#meaning>

⁵³ Emi Suhemi, "Masbdar Dalam Surat Al-Kahfi: Suatu Kajian Morfologis," *Jurnal Ilmiah Al-Mu'ashirah* 17, no. 2 (02 July 2020): 186-195. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.22373/jim.v17i2.9180>

frames. Furthermore, in the statement *ويجب أن لا تذهب جرائم الحرب والإبادة الجماعية التي ارتكبتها* the phrase emphasizes the obligation to punish Israel for its actions. This expression is constructed as a *jumlaḥ fi'liyyah* with a *fiḥ mudhori*, which indicates an extensive time frame that covers both the *istiḡbal* (future actions) and *Hal* (ongoing actions).⁵⁴ This suggests that the duty to hold Israel accountable must continue indefinitely both in the present and in the future. Then, in the following statement, Anis Matta emphasizes that all forms of struggle in defense of Palestine are legally legitimate rights, as stated in his words *كل أشكال المقاومة من كل الفصائل الفلسطينية في نفس الوقت حقا قانونيا اذليا لكل شعب المستعمر وليس ارهابا*. In this phrase, the expression *حقا قانونيا اذليا*, functions as *akhabar* or predicate consisting of *mashdar* followed by a *Tabi'* in the form of an *sifat wa maushuf* or adjective-noun structure to reinforce the idea that defending Palestine or the resistance of the Palestinian people cannot be disputed by any legal framework. The next in phrase *ليس ارهابا*. This structure represents *Qashr hakiki* because it is preceded by *huruf nafi* or the negation particle *ليس* indicating exclusivity and affirming reality.⁵⁵ The specificity emphasized here is that resistance and defense of Palestine are not acts of terrorism but are legally justified.

Data 4.4

رابعا: مواصلة قطع علاقات الاقتصادي والتجاري والاستثمارية مع إسرائيل وكل الشركات المتصلة بالصهيونية العالمية وإنهاء كل المشاريع الإسرائيلية الجارية داخل دول الأعضاء وفي المقابل زيادة حجم التبادل التجاري بين دول أعضاء من المنظمين العربية والإسلامية خاصة في المنتجات التي تمت صناعتها الدول العربية والإسلامية.

Fourth, severing all forms of economic relations, trade, and investments with Israel and with all companies affiliated with international Zionism, as well as terminating all Israeli interests in member states. On the other hand, there is a need to strengthen business and economic ties among member states and all Muslim countries, particularly in products manufactured in Arab and Islamic nations.

The above sentence presents the fourth suggestion delivered by Anis Matta in the continuation of his speech, which represents Israel as an entity that must be boycotted in all aspects of relations. This is evident in the phrase *مواصلة قطع علاقات الاقتصادي والتجاري والاستثمارية مع*

⁵⁴ Abu Ahmad Al Murtaḡim, *Terjemah Mulakhos Qawaid Al Luḡah Al Arabiyyah Karya Fuad Ni'mah*, Cetakan 1, (Jakarta: s.n, 2015), hlm. 256. <https://terjemahmulakos.wordpress.com/>

⁵⁵ Chatibul Umam, Abidin Nawawi, Hifni Bek Dayyab, Muhammad bek dayyab, Mustofa Tomum, Mahmud Afandi Umar, *Kaidah Tata Bahasa Arab Nabwu, Shorrof, Balaghah, Bayan, Badi*, (Jakarta: Darul Ulum Press, 2014), hlm. 452.

إسرائيل. The sentence follows the *jumlaḥ ismiyyah* structure beginning with a *mubtada* in the form of the word مواصل. This word derives from the *nazan* or pattern تفاعل one of whose functions is الوقوع تدريجاً which refers to the gradual or step-by-step occurrence of an action.⁵⁶ Next, the wāw (و) used in the phrase الاقتصادي والتجاري والاستثمارية. Serves as a *huruf Athaf* (conjunction) with the function of *Ta'qib* (sequential connection).⁵⁷ This indicates that the process of severing various forms of relations with Israel is carried out gradually. Furthermore, AnisMatta also calls on his audience to strengthen business and economic ties among member states, including Muslim nations. This is reflected in the phrase زيادة حجم التبادل التجاري بين دول أعضاء من المنظمين. Which serves as an antithesis or التضاض to the previous action قطع علاقات اقتصادي. Antithesis or التضاض refers to an opposing or contrasting statement.⁵⁸ This highlights that the boycott against Israel is not merely a negative action but also has a positive alternative strengthening intra-Muslim economic cooperation.

Data 4.5

خامسا: رفض كل محاولات التطبيع وإعادة النظر في العلاقات الدبلوماسية مع إسرائيل تماشيا مع مبادرة السلام العربية

Fifth, rejecting all efforts to establish diplomatic relations between Muslim countries and Israel

The text above presents Anis Matta's fifth proposal, which represents Israel as a state entity unworthy of being a diplomatic partner. The sentence is structured as a *jumlaḥ fi'liyah* or verbal sentence beginning with the *Fiil Madhi* or past verb رفض which carries the meaning of "has" or "already" in *fiil madhi*.⁵⁹ This indicates that the rejection of Israel is a firmly established stance that has been unequivocally declared.

⁵⁶ Abdul Kholiq, "Al-Amsilab at-Taṣarrufiyyah Li Al-Madaris as-Salaḥiyyah Asy-Syafi'iyyah", (Nganjuk: Daarus Salaam, 2011), hlm. 45.

⁵⁷ Abu Ahmad Al Murtajim, *Terjemah Mulakbos Qawaid Al Lughah Al Arabiyah Karya Fuad Ni'mah*, (Jakarta: s.n, 2015), hlm. 104. <https://terjemahmulakos.wordpress.com/>

⁵⁸ Muhammad Kholison, *Semantik Bahasa Arab Tinjauan Historis Teoritik dan Apilikatif*, ed. Tim Lisan Arabi, 1st ed., (Sidoarjo: CV. Lisan Arabi, 2016), hlm. 232. <https://inlislite.uin-suska.ac.id/opac/detail-opac?id=31837>

⁵⁹ Malik Bin Salim Bin Mahar, *Al-Mumti' Fi Syarḥ Al-Ajurrūmiyyah*, (Mesir: Addarul Alamiyyah, 2015), hlm. 59.

5. A Message of Solidarity We Are All Part of Palestine

Data 5.1

إندونيسيا ذلك شعب الذي ولد من رحم الآلام ذاقت من مرارة الاستعمار والاضطهاد والعنصرية وحتى الإبادة الجماعية لا لسنوات ولا لعقود بل قرون ومعظم الشعوب العربية والإسلامية كذلك، ففي هذه الآلام التي عانى منها الشعب الفلسطيني قل "كلنا فلسطين!!! ٣" X

Indonesia is a nation born from the womb of suffering, having endured the bitterness of colonization, oppression, racism, and even genocide not just for years or decades, but for centuries. The majority of the Arab nations have also experienced the same hardships as the Palestinian people today. We declare, "We are all Palestine, we are all Palestine, and we are all Palestine".

In the sentence above, Anis Matta evokes a strong declaration of solidarity with Palestine by drawing a reflection on shared historical experiences. The phrase *إندونيسيا ذلك شعب الذي ولد من رحم الآلام ذاقت*. Expresses Indonesia's identity as a nation that has experienced colonization. This is evident from the choice of words *ولد* and *ذاقت*, both of which are *fi'il madhi* that indicate events that have already occurred.⁶⁰ Furthermore, the selection of another vocabulary such as *الاستعمار* (colonization), *الاضطهاد* (oppression) and *العنصرية* (racism) reinforces the emphasis on the suffering that Indonesia once endured. Furthermore, Anis Matta represents that what Indonesia has experienced was also endured by the majority of Arab nations, as expressed in his statement *ومعظم الشعوب العربية والإسلامية كذلك*. In this phrase, there is an *إشارة للبعد* specially *كذلك* which refers to a situation or condition that has already occurred.⁶¹ Based on this shared historical experience, Anis Matta calls upon everyone to stand as part of Palestine, as emphasized in his repeated statement *قل "كلنا فلسطين!!! ٣"*. (Say: We are all Palestine!!! 3x). In this sentence, the word *قل* is a *fi'il amar* (imperative verb) indicating a command.⁶² Additionally, the phrase includes *كل* which serves as *harf ta'kid* (a particle for emphasis) followed by *كلنا* in *نا* a *dhamir muttasil ma'a al-ghair* (a pronoun indicating collectiveness). This grammatical structure signifies that the call applies to everyone, without exception. Anis Matta intentionally repeats this statement multiple times to

⁶⁰ Malik Bin Salim Bin Mahar, *Al-Mumtā' Fi Syarh Al-Ajurrūmiyyah*, (Mesir: Addarul Alamiyyah, 2015), hlm. 59.

⁶¹ Badan Tarbiyah wa Taklim Madrasa Pondok Pesantren Sidogiri, *Al Miftahul Ulum*, 1st ed., (Pasuruan: Pustaka Sidogiri, 2016), hlm. 23.

⁶² Abu Ahmad Al Murtajim, *Terjemah Mulakbos Qawaid Al Lughah Al Arabiyah Karya Fuad Ni'mah*, (Jakarta: s.n, 2015), hlm. 256. <https://terjemahmulakos.wordpress.com/>

reinforce the sense of solidarity, establish the Palestinian struggle as an integral part of the Muslim world's identity, and create a strong emotional impact on the audience, making the speech's core message more memorable.

Data 5.2

نقول لا معنى لحريتنا واستقلالنا إن لم تكن فلسطين حرة مستقلة فهي عندنا أمانة دستورية وفريضة الإسلامية وضرورة إنسانية.

We declare that our independence today holds no true meaning unless we see the Palestinian people experiencing their own freedom and sovereignty. For us, Palestine's independence is a constitutional mandate, an Islamic obligation, and a reflection of our deep humanitarian sensitivity.

In the statement above, Anis Matta once again expresses solidarity with Palestine, emphasizing that a nation's independence is incomplete as long as Palestine remains under occupation. This is reflected in the sentence لا معنى لحريتنا واستقلالنا إن لم تكن فلسطين حرة مستقلة. The structure of this sentence follows *jumlab syartiyah* or a conditional sentence which consists of two clauses; the conditional clause (*jumlab syarat*) and the result clause (*jawab syarat*).⁶³ In this case, the *jumlab syarat* is إن لم تكن فلسطين حرة مستقلة while the *jawab syarat* is لا معنى لحريتنا واستقلالنا. This construction establishes a cause and effect relationship, indicating that Palestine's independence is a prerequisite for other nations' independence to hold full significance. Furthermore, for Indonesia, Palestine's freedom is a constitutional mandate. This is reflected in the phrase أمانة دستورية، وفريضة الإسلامية، and ضرورة إنسانية which constructs an argument across three different domains is law, religion, and morality. By doing so, it strengthens the call for broad solidarity, emphasizing that supporting Palestine is not merely a matter of religion or politics, but also a fundamental humanitarian obligation.

Based on the analysis of the text above, the researcher found various forms of Indonesia's aspirations reflected in Anis Matta's speech. These findings align with the principles of Norman Fairclough's Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), which examines text from a linguistic perspective, including vocabulary choices, sentence types, and sentence structures. Through these linguistic elements, the underlying ideology embedded within the text can be revealed, representing the ideas and perspectives conveyed in the speech.⁶⁴

⁶³ Muhammad Khoiron Ghazali, *Al-Mawsu'ah Al-Muyassarah Fi Al-Nahwi Wa Al-Sarf*, 1st ed., (Singosari Malang: Citra A Media, 2012), hlm. 301. https://digilib.unuja.ac.id/index.php?p=show_detail&id=9809&keywords=

⁶⁴ Siti Ummi Habibah, "Analisis Wacana Kritis Pada Catatan Najwa Berjudul 'Trias Korupsi' Perspektif Norman Fairclough," *Adabiyat: Jurnal Bahasa dan Sastra* IV, no. 2 (17 December 2020): 244–261. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.14421/ajbs.2020.04205>

B. Interpretation of Anis Matta's Speech Text

The interpretation of the speech text aims to uncover the background of its emergence, identify the intended audience, and analyze how the text is received and shapes public opinion. The detailed explanation is as follows.

1. Text Production

The Arabic speech *كلنا فلسطين* was written and delivered by Anis Matta, shaped by both internal and external factors. Internally, it reflects his background as a political leader, Islamic activist, former Deputy Foreign Minister, director of the Al Manar Center, lecturer at the University of Indonesia, and member of Muhammadiyah. Al Jazeera recognizes him as a leading figure in Indonesia's Islamic movement, capable of voicing national aspirations in fluent Arabic at the OIC Summit.⁶⁵ Externally, the speech was composed specifically for a formal international forum the OIC Summit held in Riyadh, Saudi Arabia, on November 11, 2024. Therefore, the speech was structured in a formal and diplomatic manner, with Anis Matta positioning himself as an authoritative figure speaking in an official capacity as a state representative within the summit.

2. Text Consumption

The speech by Anis Matta was openly addressed not only to OIC and Arab League delegates but also to the wider public, as seen in its broad media coverage across TV, online portals, and social media like YouTube and Instagram. Public responses drawn from social media comments as below.

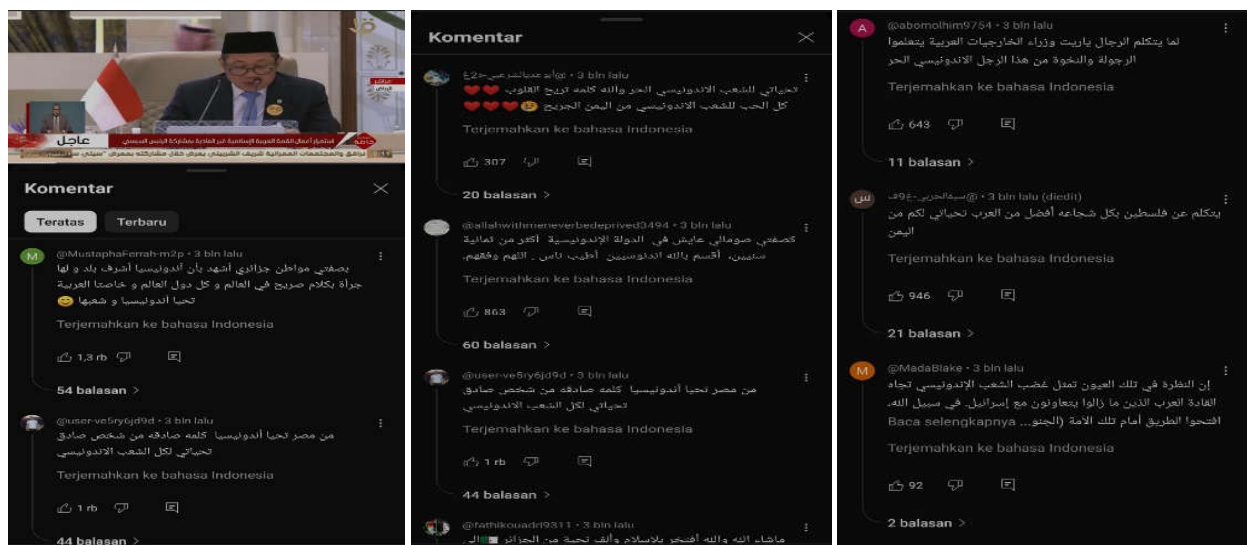


Figure 1, 2 & 3. Various Public Responses to Anis Matta's Speech

Based on figures 1, 2 and 3 above, it contains various public responses and opinions regarding Anis Matta's speech. The majority of the comments convey a positive impression, demonstrating support for his statements. Many social media users appreciated Anis Matta's firm stance in condemning Israel's actions against Palestine and his call for the Islamic world to unite in addressing the issue. Additionally, several comments highlighted how the speech reflected Indonesia's strong and consistent foreign policy in defending Palestine. Notably, some also praised Anis Matta's fluency and eloquence in delivering his speech in Arabic. However, overall, public reactions to the speech

⁶⁵ Ali Şabri, "Ra'īs Ḥizb Ghulūra Lil-Jazīrah Net: *Shi'arunā 'Indūnisiyā Al-Dhababīyyah 2045' Qabil Li-Al-Taḥaqquq*" (Indonesia, 2024). <https://aja.ws/g7x4cl>

were largely dominated by support and appreciation for his resolute advocacy for Palestinian independence and his condemnation of Israel's actions.

Based on the explanation above, the researcher has presented the analysis results regarding the interpretation of Anis Matta's speech. The findings align with Norman Fairclough's Critical Discourse Analysis model, which states that the interpretation of a text is related to the process of text production and consumption both of which are aspects of the discourse practice level (mesostructural).⁶⁶

C. The Influence of Sociocultural Context on Speech Texts

The sociocultural context plays a crucial role in shaping discourse. Language experts note that meaning cannot be fully understood without context.⁶⁷ Discourse emerges from and interacts with society texts can influence social conditions and vice versa.⁶⁸ Norman Fairclough outlines three levels of sociocultural context: institutional, situational, and social systems. In this section, these three levels are identified in relation to the content of Anis Matta's speech. At the institutional level, the focus is on the influence of organizational institutions in discourse production.⁶⁹ Anis Matta's speech was delivered at the OIC Summit, the second-largest international organization after the UN, with 57 member states.⁷⁰ The 2024 summit in Riyadh focused on Israel's aggression against Palestine. The speech's formal tone reflected Indonesia's official position and aligned with the forum's goals Islamic unity and collective response to injustice.

At the situational level, this analysis refers to the conditions or events occurring at the time the text was produced.⁷¹ It was delivered amidst escalating Israeli attacks, causing one of the worst humanitarian crises in recent history.⁷² Despite global calls for peace, the conflict persists. According to Gustrieni Putri, Director of the Institute for Global and Strategic Studies, these atrocities have continued for 75 years due to international inaction. In this context, Anis Matta called for strong, unified responses from the Islamic world, urging them not to remain silent. The final level in the sociocultural dimension is the aspect of the social system, which refers to social factors such as political systems, cultural structures, and others.⁷³ In this speech, the researcher identified three social aspects that significantly influenced its content consist of politics, history, and culture.

⁶⁶ Muhammad Zulfadhli et al., "Ideology of National Insight in Teaching Materials of Compulsory Curriculum Subjects of Indonesian Language: Norman Fairclough's Perspective," *Kembara Journal of Scientific Language Literature and Teaching* 10, no. 1 (26 April 2024): 278–294. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.22219/kembara.v10i1.26734>

⁶⁷ Ahmad Habibi Syahid Ani Susilawati, "Sinonim Kata Bahasa Arab dari Terjemah Buku *Alf Alfu Lailah Walailah Lilathfal u Lailah Walailah Lilathfal* (Pendekatan Semantik Kontekstual)," *Mantiqutayr: Journal of Arabic Language* 4, no. 2 (20 June 2024): 426–444. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.25217/mantiqutayr.v4i2.4608>

⁶⁸ Muhammad Syawaludin, "Analisis Wacana Kritis dalam Kumpulan Pidato Presiden Republik Indonesia Ke-7 Ir. Joko Widodo," *Jurnal Pembahsi (Pembelajaran Bahasa dan Sastra Indonesia)* 9, no. 1 (05 February 2021): 47–57. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.31851/pembahsi.v9i1.4244>

⁶⁹ Yuliyanto Budi Setiawan, "Analisis Wacana Kritis Pemberitaan Kekerasan Berbasis Gender di Surat Kabar *Harian Suara Merdeka*," *Jurnal Ilmiah Komunikasi Makna* 2, no. 1 (11 February 2021): 13–20. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.18196/ja.1104>

⁷⁰ Adi Saputra, "Sejarah Berdirinya OKI, Organisasi Kerja Sama Islam", (Jakarta, 2021). <https://www.cnnindonesia.com/internasional/20210623160237-125-658417/sejarah-berdirinya-oki-organisasi-kerja-sama-islam>

⁷¹ Eriyanto, *Analisis Wacana: Pengantar Analisis Teks Media*, Cetakan 8, (Yogyakarta: LKiS, 2018), hlm. 34.

⁷² Resley Kuhuparuw et al., "Strategi Diplomasi Kemanusiaan Pemerintah Indonesia Terhadap *Refugees Palestina di Yordania pada Tahun 2018-2022*," *Niara* 17, no. 2 (26 September 2024): 541–552. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.31849/niara.v17i2.23159>

⁷³ Norman Fairclough, *Language and Power*, ed. Christopher N Candlin, Second ton, (London: Routledge, 2013), hlm. 240. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.4324/9781315838250>

Politically, Indonesia's foreign policy based on the 1945 Constitution opposes colonialism and supports peace through the Non-Aligned Movement.⁷⁴ This foundation legitimizes Indonesia's stance in the speech. Historically, Anis Matta drew parallels between Palestine's colonization and Indonesia's 350 year struggle under foreign rule. Culturally, he emphasized *Ukhuwah Islamiyah* (Islamic brotherhood), reflecting Indonesia's commitment to Muslim unity and responsibility to defend Palestine.⁷⁵

In the discussion above, the researcher has revealed various external factors that influenced the content of Anis Matta's speech. The findings align with the principles of Norman Fairclough's critical discourse analysis, which states that the sociocultural context or external social factors shaping a discourse can be analyzed through three levels of the sociocultural dimension consisting of institutional, situational, and social systems.⁷⁶

Based on the results and discussion presented above, this study finds that Anis Matta's speech effectively represents Indonesia's aspirations through the three dimensions of Norman Fairclough's Critical Discourse Analysis. In the textual (microstructural) dimension, these aspirations are reflected in his condemnation of Israel's genocide, critique of weak Muslim solidarity, calls for firm action by the Arab League and OIC, warnings to Netanyahu and his extremist allies, as well as a proposal consisting of five strategic steps and a call for solidarity with the assertion that we are all part of Palestine. These findings align with the first dimension of Norman Fairclough's Critical Discourse Analysis framework is textual analysis (microstructural) which posits that linguistic elements such as word choice, sentence types, rhetorical styles, and discourse structures can be used to uncover the representations or ideas embedded in a text.⁷⁷

In the discourse practice (mesostructural) dimension, the speech was produced in an international diplomatic forum and widely disseminated through various media platforms. These findings are consistent with Norman Fairclough's Critical Discourse Analysis second dimension is discourse practice dimension (mesostructural), which emphasizes that the interpretation of a text or discourse is always linked to the processes of its production and consumption.⁷⁸ Finally, in the sociocultural (macrostructural) dimension, the content of the speech is shaped by institutional factors such as Indonesia's active-free foreign policy, situational factors like ongoing violence in Palestine, and social system factors including Islamic solidarity and historical resistance and the Islamic value of solidarity which serves as the moral foundation of the speech. These findings once again align with Norman Fairclough's Critical Discourse Analysis third dimension is sociocultural dimension (macrostructural), which explains that a text or discourse is never detached from its sociocultural context and can be analyzed through institutional, situational, and social system

⁷⁴ Dzikiera Pesona Sadewa and Falhan Hakiki, "Dinamika Kebijakan Politik Luar Negeri Bebas Aktif Indonesia Melalui Gerakan Non-Blok," Jurnal Lemhannas RI 11, no. 1 (31 March 2023): 13–28. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.55960/jlri.v11i1.422>

⁷⁵ Ismail Faisol, *Islam Konstitusionalisme dan Pluralisme*, ed. Nurr, 1st ed., (Yogyakarta: IRCiSod, 2019), hlm. 22. [https://books.google.co.id/books?hl=id&lr=&id=eNSyDwAAQBAJ&oi=fnd&pg=PA5&dq=Dalam+agama+islam+memiliki+budaya+ukhuwah+islamiyah+\(persaudaraan+sesama+muslim\)+israel+pelestina&ots=s2YabQh16m&sig=coiSC2LIU1LkQVltLgiE-oL5Teg&redir_esc=y#v=onepage&q&f=false](https://books.google.co.id/books?hl=id&lr=&id=eNSyDwAAQBAJ&oi=fnd&pg=PA5&dq=Dalam+agama+islam+memiliki+budaya+ukhuwah+islamiyah+(persaudaraan+sesama+muslim)+israel+pelestina&ots=s2YabQh16m&sig=coiSC2LIU1LkQVltLgiE-oL5Teg&redir_esc=y#v=onepage&q&f=false)

⁷⁶ Ibnu Ajan Hasibuan and Ade Irma Khairani, "Hegemoni Bahasa Milenialisasi pada Slogan Demonstrasi: Analisis Wacana Kritis," Konfiks Jurnal Bahasa dan Sastra Indonesia 7, no. 2 (14 June 2021): 9–16. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.26618/konfiks.v7i2.4294>

⁷⁷ Citra Rengganis Cenderamata and Nani Darmayanti, "Analisis Wacana Kritis Fairclough pada Pemberitaan Selebriti di Media Daring," Jurnal Literasi 3, no. 1 (14 April 2019): 1–8. DOI: <https://dx.doi.org/10.25157/literasi.v3i1.1736>

⁷⁸ Nursalam Nursalam, Sulaeman Sulaeman, and Irvan Mustafa, "Analisis Istilah Wacana Kebijakan Pembatasan Sosial Covid-19 di Indonesia," Kembara Journal of Scientific Language Literature and Teaching 7, no. 2 (27 October 2021): 388–405. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.22219/kembara.v7i2.16500>

aspects.⁷⁹ Thus, the findings align with Fairclough's Critical Discourse Analysis, viewing language as interdisciplinary social practice with significant impact. Therefore this study aligns with the focus and scope Micro and Macro linguistic studies in the Mantiq Tayr Journal.

Closing

Based on the analysis of the speech delivered by the Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Indonesia, Anis Matta, during the OIC Summit in Riyadh, Saudi Arabia, on November 11, 2024, this study concludes that the speech effectively represents Indonesia's aspirations regarding the Israel-Palestine conflict through the three dimensions of Norman Fairclough's Critical Discourse Analysis; the textual dimension (microstructural), the discourse practice dimension (mesostructural), and the sociocultural practice dimension (macrostructural). The various forms of aspiration expressed in the speech include condemnation of Israeli genocide, criticism of the lack of solidarity among Muslim countries, a call for the OIC and the Arab League to take firm action, a proposal in the form of five strategic steps, and a declaration of solidarity with Palestine. The interpretation of this speech was produced within the context of an international diplomatic forum and was disseminated widely through various media channels and received positive responses from the public. Moreover, the speech was influenced by several external factors across institutional, situational, and social system aspects such as Indonesia's active and independent foreign policy, its long-standing support for Palestine, Islamic values of solidarity, and others. This research is significant because it provides a novelty contribution in terms of both the object of study and the phenomenon being analyzed, which has not been previously examined in such specific detail. The study also emphasizes a deep analysis of rhetorical structures in Arabic diplomatic speech a focus that has often been overlooked in earlier research. As such, this study not only expands the scope of application of Norman Fairclough's Critical Discourse Analysis but also enriches the understanding of linguistic dimensions and the representation of ideas in diplomatic discourse. These findings are especially relevant in today's global diplomatic and social context, amid the escalating conflict between Palestine and Israel and the rising solidarity across the Islamic world. Anis Matta's speech serves as a concrete example of how language can be employed as a medium to convey the values and aspirations of a nation on the international stage. Behind that, this study also has its limitations, as it focuses on a single diplomatic speech without making comparisons with other similar speeches. Therefore, future research is encouraged to broaden the scope by comparing multiple diplomatic speeches and to explore the concrete impacts of such speeches on Indonesia's foreign policy through policy analysis or interviews with relevant stakeholders such as diplomats and international relations experts.

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⁷⁹ Betül Koçer Güldal and Ezgi Su Sezer, "Investigating the Influence of Ideology on Translation A Critical Discourse Analysis of Slogans of Cosmetic Brands and Their Turkish Translations," *Söylem Filoloji Dergisi* 7, no. Çeviribilim Özel Sayısı (25 February 2023): 403–421. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.29110/soylemdergi.1186734>

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