

Soekarno's Rhetorical Style

Munawwir Hadiwijaya
IKIP Budi Utomo
mr.awinwijaya@gmail.com

Abstract: *This research looks at the rhetorical methods utilized by Soekarno, Indonesia's first president, at the "15th United Nations General Assembly on September 30, 1960, in New York. Soekarno deliver the speech which is attended by Security Council." The goal of this research is to (1) determine which of Soekarno's speech methods he used, (2) the messages that he sends forth. To aid in data analysis, a descriptive qualitative design is used. The theories of Kenneth Burke and Aristotle are employed to comprehend and interpret the evidence. The precise information comes from Soekarno's speech, "To Build a New World." The researcher takes the speech from "Republik Indonesia-Bung Karno library". The data demonstrate that Soekarno employs both Burke's and Aristotle's beliefs. Soekarno employs the "pentad," which includes agent, scene, act, agency, and purpose, based on Burke's theory. The word pentad is used to describe a speech scenario. Soekarno employs logical, emotional, and ethical appeals in accordance with Aristotle's theory.*

Keywords: *Rhetorical style, Soekarno, Speech*

INTRODUCTION

Soekarno is known as the first president of Indonesia since he and Hatta (as vice president) proclaimed Indonesia's independence on August 17, 1945. He could speak some languages. He spoke Indonesian language as official language and Javanese as local language because his cultural background who lived at Java. Then, he was able to speak foreign languages, for example, English and Dutch well. It proves that there are several speeches using English even a combination between them. For example, the speech of Soekarno entitled "Freedom to be Free" uses the combination of languages: Listen well, mark my word, from the very beginning I spoke of New Emerging Forces. I never said New Emerging State. I never said New Emerging Country! No! New Emerging Forces. Those forces are to be found everywhere in the world. In new emerging country, in new emerging state, as well as in old established states.

Moreover, the use of foreign languages does not reduce the essential meaning of the speeches itself. The way of Soekarno chooses to use two or more languages in his speeches shows the character on his political communication. Soekarno is a leader who can provoke Indonesian people's emotion with his speeches. When Soekarno was speaking in public, he expressed the idea forcefully. Consequently, most of the audiences stood to listen. Finally, it can be inferred that Soekarno uses rhetorical strategy as technique in delivering his speeches: to persuade, to convince and to build trust.

Anami (2008) focuses on rhetorical structure of arguments in religious genre; while Muntaha (2008) analyses rhetorical expression in process paragraph in guide's book, and Rahmayanti (2008) chooses figure of rhetoric on text used in movie advertisement. Furthermore, the present study investigates politician's speech which has not been done by three researchers before. This research focuses on rhetorical

aspects of Soekarno's speech given at the fifteenth United Nations General Assembly in New York, September 30, 1960. The researcher wants to explore how rhetoric is used in politics or usually namely deliberative rhetoric by Aristotle. The object is taken because of some reasons. First, Soekarno's speech is used as the object to influence and to convince the audience.

It influences his political communication. He likes to repeat the words which are considered as exclusive words. He delivers the speech clearly and powerfully. Second, the researcher decides to identify the Soekarno's speech particularly now "the fifteenth United Nations General Assembly on September 30, 1960 in New York". The main reason is because he wants to reveal that United Nations (U.N) should pay attention to the main duty: to help maintain world peace. It is in line with the principles proposed in U.N. Recently, the role of U.N seems to be powerless. Therefore, Soekarno reminded that the general assembly should be used to solve critical problems and should not be regarded as routine meeting with the absent of important solution. The last, the researcher uses a theory proposed by Aristotle and Kenneth Burke, in which both concern rhetorical expression.

Rhetorical study is often related to the art of public speaking in which teaching concept discusses the fundamental of persuasion (West & Turner, 2008). The primary point of rhetoric is language use (Effendy, 2005). Here, the speaker attempts to use language effectively to ease the audience in understanding the message delivered. Furthermore, the study on rhetoric is an interesting subject. However, rhetoric is used in the form not only spoken like speech but also written like text. McQuarrie and Mick (1996) develop a theory on

rhetorical figures which is usually used in written form. The rhetorical figure is classified into two kinds: figurative and nonfigurative text. For figurative, there are two types: schemes and tropes. Besides that, McQuarrie and Mick also propose rhetorical operation which includes repetition, reversal, substitution, and destabilization. Some researchers use McQuarrie's theory in analyzing advertising language text, for example, Tom and Eves (1999) who look at "The Use of Rhetorical Devices in Advertising". The result of their research indicated that 45 percent (54 of the 120) of advertisements incorporating rhetorical devices perform better than advertisements that did not use performance measurements of recall and persuasion. In contemporary context, rhetoric is understood as style of communication emphasizing on "how" something is said more than what is said.

Furthermore, rhetoric has given great deal in communication discipline. By using rhetoric, it helps us to 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).

This research is meant to identify the techniques of rhetoric used and the messages expressed by Soekarno in his speech at "the fifteenth United Nations General Assembly on September 30, 1960 in New York".

METHOD

This research is descriptive qualitative. Since the researcher chooses Soekarno's speech, qualitative approach is used in analyzing, discussing, and finding process on the object. The data are obtained from one of Soekarno's speeches especially

at the fifteenth United Nations General Assembly on September 30, 1960, in New York. Soekarno deliver the speech which is attended by Security Council. Furthermore, the data selected are his speech transcript including text of Soekarno’s speech entitled “To Build the World a New”. The researcher takes the speech from “Republik Indonesia-Bung Karno library”.

The data from text of the speech are analyzed in rhetorical theories taken from Burke (1969) and Aristotle. Burke's rhetoric of motives which widens the discipline to include human persuasion and identification techniques and Aristotle's rhetoric concept which includes three appeals, those are *logos* (logic), *pathos* (emotion), and *ethos* (ethic or credibility). Burke’s theory is used to describe the speech situation what happened at that time. Meanwhile, Aristotle’s theory is used to identify the classification of the utterances whether it includes in logical appeal, emotional appeal, or ethical appeal.

The results of the research and its discussion will be spelled out in this below chapter.

Result

Logical Appeal

It refers to an argument that clearly encloses a logical case and language usage, demonstrating the speaker's credibility. It refers to the application of known truths such as historical, geographical, and scientific facts, as well as primary sources, data, expert opinion, and personal experience. (Anami, 2008, Dietcsh).

In his speech to the fifteenth United Nations General Assembly on September 30, 1960, in New York, Soekarno made four statements consisting of logical appeal. Furthermore, the researcher examines all Soekarno's speech utterances, determining that each one was meant to strengthen the argument, particularly the one labeled "To Build a New World." Below table shows how those four utterances differ.

RESULT AND DISCUSSION

Table 1. Logical Appeal (Stressing Point)

Topic of Utterances	Established Truth			Primary Sources			Statistics	Personal Experiences	Informed opinion
	Historical Analogy	Geographical Fact	Scientific Fact	Holy Book	Definition	Expert Opinion			
1 (The verse of Koran and Christian Bible)				√					
2 (The situation of West Irian)								√	
3 (America history)	√								
4 (The great British philosopher)									√

Bertrand
Russell)

Table 1 shows the characteristics of logical appeal which include historical analogy, holy book, definition, citation of expert, and personal experience.

Utterance 1

“I might translate that as: “All mankind! I, Allah made you from a male and a female and divided you into nations and tribes so that you should come to know one another. In truth, those who are most noble before Allah are those who most are in awe of Allah and do good works towards Allah”. And the Christian Bible, too, has a word for us. “Glory to God in the highest, and on earth, peace to men of good will”.”

To strengthen his argument Soekarno quoted from both Holly Quran and Bible. Soekarno reveals Holy Book of Koran and Christian Bible have opened the mind set of Asian and African to struggle for independence and to get better life. The expectation about freedom and emancipation begin to grow over Asia and Africa. The people in Asia and Africa feel exhausted with the condition in colonial pitfall.

Utterance 2

“Again, I speak from experience. That is the situation in West Irian that is the situation in the one-fifth of our national territory which still labors under imperialism.”

Personal experience is utilized through the paragraph to evoke the audiences’

understanding. Soekarno, depicts the circumstances in West Irian under colonialism's grip, the Karel Doorman. The situation in West Irian has become extremely perilous after the arrival of the aircraft carrier-Karel Doorman. If imperialism still exists, conflict may erupt because of a desire to expand territory.

Utterance 3

“Look here, let me take an example from American history. In one generation we must undergo the War of Independence and the War Between the States.”

In his speech, Soekarno uses historical analogy. It has anything to do with the current volatility in Indonesia. It was a long road to independence. What is happening in Indonesia is like what is happening in other parts of the world.

Utterance 4

“It was the great British philosopher Bertrand Russell, who once said that mankind is now divided into two groups. One group follows the teachings of Thomas Jefferson in the declaration of American Independence. The other group follows the teachings of the Communist Manifesto.”

In giving speech, citation from expert is a way can be taken to strength the argument. Soekarno wishes to express that Asia and Africa share the renowned British Bertrand Russell's notion that humanity is divided into two divisions. Asia and Africa have picked up on this philosophy, which

fuels their struggle. However, Asia and Africa, have their own message and strategy for dealing with today's difficulties.

Emotional Appeal

Pathos is the term for emotional appeal, which refers to the appearance of emotions such as love, hate, and terror in the listener or reader's feelings. It deals with the use of vivid, concrete language, emotional tone, emotionally loaded language, vivid

description, figurative language, emotional event narratives, and connotative meanings.

There are five utterances found consisting of emotional appeal used by Soekarno. Soekarno employs a variety of techniques to bolster his argument and elicit emotional responses from his audience. The detail analyses will be displayed in the below session.

Table 2. Emotional Appeal

Utterances	Vivid					Emotion					
	Vivid Verbs	Vivid Adjectives	Vivid Description	Repetition	Concrete Language	Emotionally Loaded language	Emotional Example	Emotional Example	Connotative meaning	Narrative of emotional event	Figurative Language
1			√			√			√		
2						√					√
3											√
4	√					√				√	
5				√	√						

Table 2 shows the variation ways in constructing emotional appeal. The messages in every utterance have self-stressing point not only to support the argument of Soekarno's speech but also to grab sympathy or empathy from listeners. below are the detail analyses of each case.

Utterance 1

“Today, in addressing this Session of the United Nations General Assembly, I feel oppressed by a great sense of responsibility. I feel a humility in speaking to this august gathering of

wise and experienced statesmen from east and west, from the north and from the south, from old nations and from young nations and from nations newly re-awakened from a long sleep. I have prayed to the Almighty that my tongue will find those words which are adequate to express the feeling of my heart, and I have prayed also that these words will bring an echo from the hearts of those who listen.”

Discussion

The foregoing statement contains three devices: vivid description, emotionally

loaded language, and connotative meaning, all of which are used to elicit sympathy from the audience. "Today, as I address this Session of the United Nations General Assembly, I am afflicted by a profound sense of responsibility," Soekarno says, implying that he has a large task ahead of him. He has an excellent opportunity to address the United Nations General Assembly. He is responsible for explaining the situation in different countries around the world. Furthermore, the term "humility" has a connotative meaning in the statement "I sense a humility in speaking to this august assemblage... from nations recently reawakened from a long sleep." is a connotative word that refers to his bravery in giving a speech in such an august assembly. "I have prayed to the Almighty that my tongue will discover those words that are suitable to communicate the feeling of my heart...". How hard he tries to find the right term to explain his feelings. It also demonstrates that he has thoroughly prepared everything prior to receiving it, ensuring that the speech will have a positive impression. This is emotionally charged language: "...these words will elicit an echo from the hearts of those who listen." It means that each word he says will, hopefully, be heard.

Utterance 2

"I speak also to those you represent, to those who have sent you here, to those who have entrusted their future to your hands. I greatly desire that my words shall strike an echo also in hearts, in the deep heart of humanity, in that great heart from which has been brought so many shouts of joy, so many cries of sorrow and despair, and so much love and laughter."

"...who have entrusted their future to your hands" is an utterance to evoke the emotion of listeners using figure of speech.

"My words shall strike an echo also in hearts," "so many shouts of joy," "so many cries of anguish and despair," and "so much love and laughter" are some examples of emotion expressed through language. Soekarno aims to express how people feel about their future and what they hope for. Joy, grief, despair, even love and laughter are examples of how they struggle in coloring situations. Furthermore, he wishes to persuade the audience with each word he speaks to look at what is genuinely happening to the fate of nations living under imperialism over there.

Utterance 3

"...This process is inevitable and certain: sometimes slow and inevitable, like the movement of molten rock down the side of an Indonesian volcano: sometimes swift and inevitable, like the bursting of floodwaters from behind an ill-conceived dam. Slow and inevitable, or swift and inevitable, the victory of national struggle is a certainty."

Soekarno uses figurative language to elicit an emotional response. He wants to express that now is the time to resurrect nations following the fall of empires. Soekarno wants listeners to act because he does not want to miss out on a fantastic opportunity. It depicts the process of nation-building in metaphoric language. One thing is certain: whether it appears slow and inevitable, or rapid and certain, the success of the national struggle is certain.

Utterance 4

“This organization of nations is weakened in so far as it rejects the representation of any nation, and especially of a nation which is old and wise and powerful”

“I speak of China, the biggest nation in the world.”

“Every year we support the admission of China to the United Nations.... That is why we consistently support the representation of China in our number”

“We are determined to make the United Nations strong and universal and able to fulfill its proper function”.

The speech is built by using vivid verb, emotional loaded language, and narratives of emotional events. The use of vivid verb is “weakened”. It is found in the sentence “This organization of nations is weakened in so far as it

rejects the representation of any nation, and especially of a nation which is old and wise and powerful”. Soekarno used the word to express what he felt toward this organization. He saw that as international organization, United Nation (UN) began losing its power and looked as group of some nations which has certain aim. Otherwise, how to describe the civilization of nations so the words like old, wise, and power are chosen to the listener can understand the real condition of the nation.

Soekarno intends to convey who the nation is rejected as the number of the United Nations. It is in the paragraph “I speak of China, the biggest nation in the world. It is looked clearly that his emotional loaded language. The United Nations should

accept China because there is no reason that the nation gets the participation in this organization. It shows that not all nations can be member which has right to express the ideas in this honored organization.

Besides that, as the speaker and as the leader of nation, Soekarno informs why Indonesia always gives support to China to be member of United Nations. Let’s see “Every year we support the admission of China to the United Nations.... That is why we consistently support the representation of China in our number”. The argument in the form of narratives of emotional events has aim to open minded to all Representatives and Delegation how the real condition of this organization by rejecting the membership of China. Supporting towards China merely because the nation has right and capacity to give contribution here, United Nations could see this great and powerful nations

having in terms of numbers, culture, the attributes of an ancient civilization, a nation full of strength and economic power. Soekarno also use vivid language like strong and universal in describing his hope for United Nations. It is in the sentence “We are determined to make the United Nations strong and universal and able to fulfill its proper function”. There are three characteristics of emotional appeal in the analysis including vivid verb, emotionally loaded language, and narratives of emotional events. Those ways are taken by the speaker to express his idea by applying emotional appeal.

Utterance 5

“In all seriousness, I tell you: we of the newly independent nations intend to fight for the United Nations... and

does not attempt to dam or divert or delay that course”

“I have said that this is the time of the building of nations and the breaking of empires... We, whose struggle for life was cloaked under the mantle of colonialism, are hidden no more”

Out of this era of nation building has come the possibility --- yes, the necessity --- of a world free from fear, free from want, free from national oppressions.

“We are determined that the fate of the world... and consequently also a new look for the United Nations”

Soekarno takes the characteristics including concrete language, repetition, emotional example, and narratives of emotional events. In this part of the speech “In all seriousness, I tell you: we of the newly independent nations intend to fight for the United Nations... and does not attempt to dam or divert or delay that course” is a concrete language in which the way of Soekarno in addressing the listeners directly to change their minds how this organization should go to work. The organization can be effective if follows the course of history and does not attempt to dam or divert or delay that course.

Furthermore, He shows emotional example by asking some questions of the phenomena are asked in the speech such as How many nations have achieved their freedom since the charter of the United Nations was written? How many peoples have thrown off their chains of oppression? How many empires, built upon the oppression of peoples, have crumbled into dust? They can be seen clearly through in this paragraph “I have said that this is the

time of the building of nations and the breaking of empires... We, whose struggle for life was cloaked under the mantle of colonialism, are hidden no more”. This part has aim to evoke the listener to think about the situation of nations in some places in the world. He reminded them that the struggle never ends until the colonialism and imperialism gone and the nations will life free. To clear what the hope of nations by there is United Nations especially in the General Assembly, the speaker does repeat his word “free”. It can be seen “The world is changed since that historic day in Nineteen Hundred and Forty-Five, and it is changed for the better. Out of this era of nation building has

come the possibility --- yes, the necessity --- of a world free from fear, free from want, free from national oppressions. Today, this very day, at this General Assembly, we could prepare ourselves for a projection into that future world, the world of which we have thought and dreamed and made visions. Life free is always missed of nations who live undergo the oppression because of colonialism and imperialism.

Soekarno also narrates his optimism through the language “We are determined that the fate of the world, and consequently also a new look for the United Nations”. How the crucial role of this organization to obtain the solution of the nation’s problems in the world, the General assembly is expected take a part of them.

Ethical Appeal

Ethical Appeal also known as ethos, is a system of moral values-principles of action for a person, a group, a profession, or a society. It is concerned with the use of good perception, source credibility, or speaker trustworthiness.

The study shows that there are four utterances used by Soekarno

Table 2. Ethical Appeal

utterances	Good Perception	Source of Credibility	Trustworthiness
1			√
2		√	
3	√		
4		√	

Utterance 1

“Today, we hear and read much about disarmament...I am an Indonesian, and that nation is in danger”

Soekarno applies ethical appeal by showing the trustworthiness. The speaker reveals the reason why nuclear and atomic disarmament must be stopped. It can be seen in the part “Today, we hear and read much about disarmament...I am an Indonesian, and that nation is in danger. Here, Soekarno explains how his character behind the position as president of newly nation, Indonesia. We can see the way he uses repetition in certain word “I”. The word “I” is clearly to express his voice toward the condition that he felt. The word about nuclear and disarmament has caused fear in some of nations. Therefore, he wants to remove the phenomena because there are these words. The word “I” can show his trustworthiness because what he said appropriate the real situation around his life. The trustworthiness of Soekarno can be known as an ethical appeal.

Utterance 2

“We have tried to solve the problem of West Irian...We tried, and we preserved with that, too.”

This section focuses on the characteristics of source trustworthiness. Soekarno could convey the true situation in some parts of his homeland, Indonesia. In his statement to the General Assembly, he recounts what his countries have done in their struggle for West Irian. "We attempted to tackle the situation of West Irian... We gave it our best shot, and we succeeded. One topic that poses a danger to Indonesian sovereignty is the West Irian crisis. It happened because of the district's ongoing colonialism and imperialism. Indonesia would continue to fight to liberate West Irian from colonialism and imperialism. Soekarno provided several strategies for battling West Irian in the thread.

What Soekarno remarked about the true situation in West Irian is a fact that the United Nations must address. He seeks to get the United Nations to take part in the debate. Soekarno's statement in the United Nations General Assembly speech demonstrates that he uses an ethical argument.

Utterance 3

“I cannot speak for the rest of Asia and Africa... for my own nation of ninety-two million people”

In this section, Soekarno has excellent perception. Look at the portion

where it says, "I cannot speak for the rest of Asia and Africa... for my own nation of 92 million people." We can see what Soekarno says in his speech as the voice of Indonesia's ninety-two million people. He is unable to speak on behalf of Asia and Africa. Aside from that, what he enjoys about the Asia-Africa issue is the care he takes as a nation with a shared history. Because he is the president of Indonesia, Soekarno has the authority to speak for the country's 92 million citizens.

In his speech, Soekarno establishes his conviction. What he said was true to the phenomenon and the voice of his countries. Soekarno's positive image is referred to as an ethical appeal.

Utterance 4

"On behalf of the delegation of Ghana, India, the United Arab Republic, Yugoslavia and Indonesia, I hereby submit the following resolution: I submit that draft resolution on behalf of those five delegations, and on behalf of the millions of people in those nations".

In this section, Soekarno's speech featured the usage of source credibility. As the speaker, Soekarno also relays resolutions from Ghana, India, the United Arab Republic, Yugoslavia, and Indonesia. "On behalf of the delegations of Ghana, India, the United Arab Republic, Yugoslavia, and Indonesia, I hereby present the following resolution: I submit that draft resolution on behalf of those five delegations, and on behalf of the millions of people in those nations," reads part of the resolution. The proposed resolution reflects the five delegations' high hopes for the United Nations. It is source credibility in which the

draft made up of five delegations is real. Aside from that, speaking opportunities in the General Assembly do not always come around twice, therefore now is the ideal moment to read the draft resolution. Nations in several parts of the world are looking for it. They urge the United Nations to act as quickly as possible. Nations' dreams have been invested in the organization.

The United Nations General Assembly is seen as a pivotal time in delivering nations' aspirations. His status as a leader of a country and a member of the United Nations has given him the authority to speak in the General Assembly. To apply ethical appeal as a kind of rhetorical expression, Soekarno used source credibility, such as the draft of five delegations.

CONCLUSION

To construct the speech, Soekarno employs two types of rhetorical expression: Kenneth Burke's theory and Aristotle's theory. Soekarno uses five aspects from Burke's theory: agent, scene, act, agency, and purpose (pentad). The word pentad is used to describe a speech scenario. Soekarno uses three classical appeals based on Aristotle's theory: logical appeal, emotional appeal, and ethical appeal. Soekarno employs logical appeal (logos) to elicit cognitive and rational responses from listeners. Soekarno uses historical parallels and primary sources such as the Holy Book, definitions, and expert citations in his logical appeal. When Soekarno wishes to make a repetition, he uses emotional appeal (pathos). Furthermore, Soekarno use figurative language, event narratives, vivid description, vivid verb, simple language, connotative meaning, and emotive examples. These characters appear in

Soekarno's speech to elicit emotional responses from the audience, such as sympathy or empathy. Meanwhile, Soekarno uses ethical appeal (ethos) to establish the speaker's credibility. In presenting the speech, he explains ethical appeal as using good perception, source credibility, and trustworthiness.

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