

MOBILIZING SOLIDARITY IN CYBER-POLITICAL WAR: SPEECH ACT ANALYSIS ON AGUS HARIMURTI YUDHOYONO'S POLITICAL SPEECHES

by Hetti Waluati Triana Dkk.

Submission date: 09-Jun-2022 12:22PM (UTC+0700)

Submission ID: 1853418145

File name: Triana,_Wirman,_Reflinaldi,_ISoL_5_2021_Full_Article.doc (216K)

Word count: 5382

Character count: 29606

MOBILIZING SOLIDARITY IN CYBER-POLITICAL WAR: SPEECH ACT ANALYSIS ON AGUS HARIMURTI YUDHOYONO'S POLITICAL SPEECHES

Hetti Waluati Triana^{(a)*}; Eka Putra Wirman^(b); Reflinaldi^(c)

*Corresponding author

^{(a) (b) (c)} ⁸ Universitas Islam Negeri Imam Bonjol, Padang, West Sumatera, Indonesia

Abstract

This study aims to map and explain the forms of illocutionary speech acts in Agus Harimurti Yudhoyono's (AHY) political speeches and explain his strategy in mobilizing the internal solidarity of the Democratic Party (PD) to fight the leadership takeover movement. This descriptive-qualitative study took three speeches by AHY in response to the forced PD leadership takeover movement which was broadcasted on Agus Yudhoyono's youtube channel. Data was collected through free-of-charge listening techniques and internet archive documentation. Meanwhile, the analysis was carried out using the matching method following the work stages of qualitative analysis. The researcher found 97 illocutionary speech acts consisting of 4 types: representative, directive, expressive, and commissive. Representative speech acts were found in 36 speeches (37%), directive in 18 speeches (18.5%), commissive in 28 speeches (29%), and expressive in 22 speeches (22.5%). From a function perspective, illocutionary speeches in the data source contain the functions of description, statement, command, persuasion, guarantee, threatening, anger, and thanking. The types and functions of illocutionary speech acts found are closely related to the context of the cyber-political war being faced by PD. In this context, AHY used his political speech to mobilize internal party solidarity in maintaining his party's leadership and sovereignty.

Keywords: Cyber-political war; illocutionary speech act, Agus Harimurti Yudhoyono, political speeches

1. Introduction

The studies of speech acts on political speeches have been carried out by many language researchers. Researchers believe that speech acts can reveal hidden intentions that politicians want to convey through their speeches (Baby et al., 2020; Fetzer & Bull, 2012; Odugwu, C. & Akpojsheri, 2018). The researchers found that there was political action from the language styles and expressions used by politicians. In the context of the struggle in the political world, the language is used as a tool to gain constituent support (Ghazal Aswad, 2019; Gusthini et al., 2018). This pragmatic phenomenon is not only a characteristic of today's political speech, but has become a tradition and language style of politicians across generations in their respective leadership areas (Anwar et al., 2015; Bonikowski & Gidron, 2016; Mohamed Al-Faki Associate Professor, 2014). It makes the study of speech acts on political speeches relevant to be studied from time to time.

Several previous studies have found that commissive and representative/assertive speech acts are the two dominant types found in political speeches (Baby et al., 2020; Hashim, 2015; Mohammed Hashim, 2015; Omojola, 2020). These two types are used by politicians to bring persuasive effects in the discourse they develop. In some contexts, these speech acts are combined with the typical rhetoric of politicians so that the audience can more easily recognize them (Akinwotu, 2016; Amalia et al., 2018; Fanani, 2012; Kusumawati, 2016). Politicians use simple and easy-to-understand language, so they gained public sympathy (Altikriti, 2016; Capone, 2010; Ye, 2010). Commissive and representative/assertive speeches are widely chosen because basically, these two speeches can be used to assert the authority of power and make commitments (Ayeomoni & Akinkuolere, 2012).

The Study of (Hashim, 2015; Mohammed Hashim, 2015) stated that commissive speeches in political speech functions to influence, persuade, impress, convince, and deceive. Politicians effectively use this speech to show their leadership vision. The community then assesses the quality of their leadership from the ideas, expectations, and commitments they are trying to make (Abuya, 2012; Alemi, Latifi, et al., 2018; Alemi, Tajeddin, et al., 2018). Meanwhile, the representative/assertive function is used to express certain propositions that describe leadership authority (Alabi et al., 2019; Chinedu & Uche, 2021). Politicians emphasize their leadership through descriptions, statements, and arguments. In the context of campaigns, representative/assertive forms are also widely used in constructing mottos (Batubara, 2020). This form is seen as more effective and impressive in constructing the image of politicians (Al-Hindawi & Al-Awadi, 2015).

Based on the previous research, Agus Harimurti Yudhoyono's (AHY) political speeches in dealing the attempted takeover of the Democratic Party (PD) leadership in mid-2021 is an interesting object to study

(Akbar, 2021; Guritno, 2021; Simanjuntak, 2021). As the General Chairman of the party, he sought to defend the party's sovereignty and leadership authority. This phenomenon has been revealed in the studies (Alemi, Latifi, et al., 2018; Ojukwu et al., 2020; Sheveleva, 2012). Through his political speeches, AHY tried to strengthen his party's leadership authority and sovereignty. AHY delivered 3 political speeches on February 1, March 5, and March 31, respectively, in the momentum of the PD leadership takeover effort. The three political speeches illustrated his struggle to lead the cyber-political war against the leadership takeover movement which was carried out through the Extraordinary Congress (KLB).

The study of AHY's political speeches has a fairly high novelty because it has never been done before. AHY is a new figure in Indonesian politics. His name has become widely known since running for the 2016 DKI Jakarta gubernatorial election (Hamid, 2019; Rahayu, 2017; Yumarma, 2019). Defeated in the contestation, AHY was then elected as the General Chairman of PD at the V PD Congress in 2021. His leadership at the party level was overshadowed by dynastic political issues that he inherited from his father, Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono (SBY). In some circles, AHY is considered not to have enough experience and capacity to lead the party. So that, certain parties tried to take over the leadership of PD from him. In that context, the political speeches he delivered became more complex and interesting to observe from a linguistic perspective.

Based on preliminary observation, AHY's political speeches can be analyzed using the illocutionary speech act theory (Koller & Searle, 1970). AHY conveyed various actions through his speech that he hopes can have an impact on the audience. As an analytical tool, illocutionary speech acts are the most basic human communication units (Searle, 1976). Through his speech, humans communicate the actions they take or want to do (Blackburn & Searle, 1999). Based on these arguments, (Blackburn & Searle, 1999; Searle, 1976) proposed five types of illocutionary speech acts: representative to bind the hearer to the truth of the proposition; directive to ask the hearer to take action; commissive to build commitment with the hearer; expressive to express the psychological condition of the speaker; declarative to change the social status of the hearer.

2. Problem Statement

The speech acts study of AHY's political speeches is based on the following research problems.

- AHY's political speeches is in the context of political conflicts between political parties and other entities outside the party. This context makes the existing language phenomena complex. In previous studies, no one has discussed political speeches of party leaders, all studies have focused on state leaders. This situation is also a novelty for the study of AHY's political speeches.
- AHY's political speeches was delivered as an effort to raise PD's internal solidarity. As a young politician, AHY has problems in terms of leadership authority. Several parties tried to delegitimize his status as General Chairman. In this context, AHY's political speeches is interesting, as it reflects his efforts to fight for the leadership and sovereignty of his party.
- In the context of dealing with conflict and efforts to mobilize solidarity, illocutionary speech are often found in AHY's political speeches. These preliminary findings were AHY's attempted to communicate the actions he wants. These illocutionary speeches can be used as data to reveal AHY's efforts in fighting for the leadership and sovereignty of his party.

3. Research Questions

The study was formulated into two research questions: First, what are the forms and functions of illocutionary speech acts in AHY's political speech? Second, how is the reflection of AHY's efforts in raising PD's internal solidarity in these illocutionary speech?

7

4. Purpose of the Study

Based on the research questions above, this study aims to map out the forms and functions of illocutionary speech acts in AHY's political speech and explain his strategy in building PD's internal solidarity against the leadership takeover movement.

7

5. Research Methods

5.1. Research Design

This research was in a descriptive-qualitative construct. The qualitative value of the research lies in the description of the lingual elements of AHY's speeches by involving the context of the speeches at the level of analysis (Neuman, 2007). The analysis was carried out objectively, as it is, without revealing the tendencies in

the data. At the data collection stage, the qualitative nature is reflected in the absence of researcher intervention and the nature of the research object (Moleong, 2005). Meanwhile, the descriptive value of the research is reflected in the inductive analysis model. In this model, the theory is an analytical blueprint, not a hypothesis that will be tested for truth (Hadi, 2001).

5.2. Data and Data Sources

The lingual data of the study were words, phrases, clauses, and sentences in 3 videos of AHY's speeches which were delivered in response to the PD leadership takeover movement. The three videos of speeches were broadcasted on Agus Yudhoyono's youtube channel (<https://www.youtube.com/c/AgusYudhoyono>). The first video contains AHY's statement about the attempt to take over the leadership of PD by force. The second video contains AHY's response to the implementation of the Extraordinary Congress in Deli Serdang, North Sumatra. Meanwhile, the third video contains AHY's response to the Ministry of Law and Human Rights decision, which rejected the Extraordinary Congress's ratification in Deli Serdang, North Sumatra. Details of data sources can be seen in Table 1 below.

Table 1. Data Source

No	Date	Title	Link
1	February 1, 2021	<i>Pernyataan Pers Ketua Umum Partai Demokrat Agus Harimurti Yudhoyono</i> 'Press conference of the Chairman of the Democratic Party Agus Harimurti Yudhoyono'	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=6YwzJqv5s30
2	March 5, 2021	<i>Ketum AHY: Rapatkan Barisan! Selamatkan Demokrat, Selamatkan Demokrasi</i> 'General Chairmanperson, AHY: Close the ranks! Save Democrat [Democratic Party], Save Democracy'	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=l8sRkQKKF9g
3	March 31, 2021	<i>Pernyataan Pers Ketua Umum Partai Demokrat AHY: Respon atas Pernyataan Pemerintah</i> 'Press conference of the General Chairman of the Democratic Party AHY: Response to the Government's Statement'	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=NILekPGoRXE

5.3. Data collection technique

Lingual data were collected using the free-of-conversation listening method (Mahsun, 2005; Rahardjo, 2002) combined with the internet archive documentation method (Gunn & Faire, 2011). The stages of data collection consisted of transcription, reading and observation, sorting, storage and printing, rereading, and determining the research subject. The writer then took an inventory of the data using a data card instrument which was classified into five based on the types of illocutionary speech acts: representative, directive, commissive, expressive, declarative. To ensure the data was well recorded, the authors made field notes to reflect on things that were relevant and could be used as data to support the analysis (Lune & Berg, 2017).

5.4. Data analysis technique

The matching method proposed by (Sudaryanto, 2001) was chosen as a data analysis technique. AHY's speech was described by relating it to contextual elements that exist outside of language. Data analysis refers to the stages of qualitative analysis proposed by (Lune & Berg, 2017). It consists of data reduction, display data, conclusion and verification. At the data reduction stage, the writer made a selection to choose the core utterances. At the data display stage, the authors presented the data that was considered the most representative as research findings. At the verification stage, the authors re-checked the suitability of the results of data analysis with the context and research questions.

6. Findings

Based on the results of data analysis, it was found that there were 97 illocutionary speech acts in AHY's speech. Typologically, the illocutionary speech acts consist of representative, directive, expressive, and commissive. Representative speech acts were found in 36 utterances (37%), directive speech acts in 18

utterances (18.5%), commissive speech acts in 28 utterances (29%), and expressive speech acts in 15 utterances (15.5%). Each type of illocutionary speech act has several functions. The distribution of the number and presentation of each type and function can be seen in Table 2 below.

Table 2. Distribution of Types and Functions of Illocutionary Speech Acts

No.	Type	Function	Quantitative	Percentage
1	Representative	Description	11	11,4%
		Statement	25	25,7%
2	Directive	Command	8	8,2%
		Persuasion	10	10,3%
3	Commissive	Guarantee	23	23,7%
		Threatening	5	5,1%
4	Expressive	Anger	4	4,2%
		Thanking	11	11,4%
Total			97	100 %

6.1. Representative Speech Acts

The representative speech acts found in the data sources relate to facts about natural disasters and the PD leadership takeover movement by force. Natural disasters that occurred in several parts of Indonesia became the background for AHY in the opening of his speech. As Chairman of PD, AHY conveyed the programs that have been realized to help the natural disaster in detail to mention the numbers. In connection with these findings, representative speech acts have a "description" function. This fact can be seen in the following data 1.a and 1.b.

1. a. ¹ *Pada awal tahun 2021 ini, masyarakat kita menghadapi serangkaian bencana. Mulai dari kecelakaan pesawat, tanah longsor, gempa bumi, hingga aktivitas gunung berapi. Kondisi ini tentu menuntut kita, untuk bahu membahu meringankan beban masyarakat yang menjadi korban.*
 'At the beginning of 2021, our society faced a series of disasters. Starting from plane accidents, landslides, earthquakes to volcanic activity. This condition certainly requires us to work hand in hand to ease the burden of the people who are victims.'
1. b. ¹ *Kondisi pandemi Covid-19 semakin mengkhawatirkan, dimana kini perhari bisa mencapai lebih dari 11-12 ribu kasus, dengan jumlah kasus lebih dari satu juta secara nasional. Sementara hospital occupancy rate atau ketersediaan rumah sakit di sejumlah daerah sudah mencapai 80 persen.*
 'The condition of the Covid-19 pandemic is increasingly alarming, where now it can reach more than 11-12 thousand cases, with the number of cases more than one million nationally. Meanwhile, the hospital occupancy rate or the availability of hospitals in some areas has reached 80 percent.'

Based on the speech in data 1.a and 1.b above, AHY describes the situation of natural disasters that hit Indonesia. The actual disasters that occurred in the past month were plane crashes, landslides, earthquakes, and volcanic activity. These disasters are a reflection of the "description" function of AHY's speech in data 1.a. Meanwhile, on data 1.b, AHY focuses his speech on facts about the Covid-19 pandemic. The speech in data 1.b has a more specific context than data 1.a. the function of "description" of the speech can be seen in the details of the number of cases and the availability of hospitals in several areas. In this context, AHY describes the achievement of 11-12 thousand cases per day and a hospital occupancy rate that has reached 80%.

In the section related to the movement to take over the leadership of the PD by force, AHY revealed that there was a political movement that attempted to coup his position as General Chairman. To anticipate it, he stated that he had received a statement of loyalty from all regional level leaders and was ready to fight against the unconstitutional political movement. In relation to the context of the speech, AHY's representative speech has a "statement" function. AHY stated neutral facts that could be verified through direct verification. The function of the "statement" can be seen in the data 1.c and 1.d below.

1. c. ¹ *Yaitu tentang adanya gerakan politik yang mengarah pada upaya pengambilalihan kepemimpinan Partai Demokrat secara paksa, yang tentu mengancam kedaulatan dan*

eksistensi Partai Demokrat.

'That is about the existence of a political movement that leads to an attempt to take over the leadership of the Democratic Party by force, which certainly threatens the sovereignty and existence of the Democratic Party.'

- 1.d. *Saya telah menerima surat pernyataan kesetiaan dan kebulatan tekad, dari seluruh pimpinan di tingkat daerah dan cabang di seluruh Indonesia, untuk tunduk dan patuh kepada Partai Demokrat dan kepemimpinan hasil Kongres V Partai Demokrat yang sah.*
'I have received a statement of loyalty and determination from all leaders at the regional and branch levels throughout Indonesia to obey the Democratic Party and its leadership, resulting from the legitimate Democratic Party's Fifth Congress.'

Based on the speech in data 1.c and 1.d above, AHY explicitly stated that there were political efforts made by certain parties to take over the leadership of PD. AHY stated that the movement threatened the sovereignty and existence of PD as a political party. Because it violates the party constitution that has been approved by the government. To counter this action, AHY mobilized internal parties in various regions according to the direction of the party's constitution. In his statement, AHY has received a letter of loyalty and determination that all regional and branch-level leaders will not participate in the unconstitutional movement. AHY emphasized that all leaders obey his leadership which was legally stipulated through the 5th PD Congress.

6.2. Directive Speech Acts

The directive speech acts found in the data source are related to AHY's strategy to participate in disaster management and mobilizing active PD administrators and cadres to fight together against the forced leadership takeover movement. He carries out his role and function as the General Chairmanperson who directs and determines party policies. Among the directive speeches found in the context of his status are the function of "command". This is as shown in the following data 2.a and 2.b.

- 2.a. *Saya juga menginstruksikan, kepada seluruh jajaran Partai Demokrat, untuk terus melanjutkan aksi nyata di lapangan.*
'I also instruct all members of the Democratic Party to continue to take concrete actions on the ground.'
- 2.b. *Terus kuatkan silaturahmi dan kolaborasi kita, dengan masyarakat sipil dan segenap elemen bangsa lainnya. Mari terus berkoalisi dengan rakyat, memperjuangkan harapan rakyat.*
'Keep strengthening our relationship and collaboration with civil society and all other elements of the nation. Let's continue in coalition with the people, fighting for the people's hopes.'

Based on the speech in data 2.a and 2.b above, AHY instructed PD leaders and cadres to show their existence in various aspects of people's lives. In data 2.a, AHY instructed all cadres of PD to be actively involved in the process of controlling the spread of Covid-19. There are various forms of contribution that can be made by leaders and cadres, ranging from social, economic, and health fields. In contrast to data 2.a, the speech in data 2.b has a different context. The data focuses on AHY's direction to be solid and collaborative in dealing with the leadership takeover movement. AHY asked the constituents of PD to continue fighting for the hopes of the people facing these problems.

In addition to the "command" function, other functions found in directive speech are "hope" and "invitation". In this context, AHY hopes and invites all constituents to close ranks in dealing the political movement to take over the leadership. The two functions can be seen in the following 2.c and 2.d data.

- 2.c. *Saya juga tentu berharap kita semua dapat terus menjaga diri, tapi juga tetap berani menyuarakan kebenaran dan keadilan. Tentu semua itu kita lakukan dengan cara-cara terhormat dan juga dengan cara-cara yang beretika.*
'I also hope that we can all continue to take care of ourselves and dare to speak out for truth and justice. Of course, we do all of that in an honorable way and also in an ethical manner.'

- 2d. ³ Akhirnya, saya mengajak para kader Demokrat untuk melanjutkan perjuangan kita. Jadikan peristiwa KLB ilegal ini sebagai hikmah dan pelajaran berharga untuk meningkatkan solidaritas dan menjadi momentum bagi kita untuk bangkit kembali.
'Finally, I invite the cadres of the Democratic party to continue our struggle. Take this extraordinary illegal congress event as a valuable lesson to increase solidarity and become a momentum for us to rise again.'

Based on the speech in data 2.c above, it contains AHY's hope as General Chairman that all constituents focus on fighting for the legality of the party constitutionally. AHY firmly stated that he and the constituents were on the right and just path. Therefore, he hopes that all cadres dare to speak the truth. Meanwhile, data 2.d contains an invitation to the constituents to keep fighting. AHY emphasized that the political movement they were currently dealing was a normal process of maturation. Therefore, he invites all party elements to be able to take lessons to increase party solidity.

6.3. Commissive Speech Acts

The commissive speech acts found in the data source are related to the attitude of PD in facing the forced leadership takeover movement. In this context, AHY as the General Chairman conveyed the strategic projections that will be taken by the PD collectively. In general, the existing commissive speeches contain optimism that the PD can be solid and strong to maintain the legality of the party. Based on this context, one of the functions in commissive speech is "guarantee". This fact can be seen in the following data 3.a and 3.b.

- 3.a. ¹ Kami tentu akan mempertahankan kedaulatan dan kehormatan partai kami. Kami yakin, tidak ada satu pun pemimpin partai politik yang rela diambil alih kekuasaannya secara inkonstitusional, oleh pihak manapun.
'We will certainly defend our party's sovereignty and honor. We believe that no political party leader is willing to be taken over unconstitutionally by someone else.'
- 3.b. ⁵ Namun insyaAllah, Partai Demokrat akan tetap konsisten menggunakan cara-cara yang damai dan berkeadaban, bukan kekerasan dan kegaduhan sosial, yang mungkin saja akan mengganggu situasi nasional, yang tengah menghadapi tantangan pandemi Covid-19 dan krisis ekonomi dewasa ini.
'But God willing, the Democratic Party will consistently use peaceful and civilized means, not violence and social commotion, which might disrupt the national situation which is facing the challenges of the Covid-19 pandemic and the current economic crisis.'

The speech in data 3.a and 3.b above, AHY guaranteed the attitude that will be taken by PD in facing the takeover of leadership. In data 3.a, he guaranteed that all party constituents will be solid and able to maintain the sovereignty of the PD. The leadership and all cadres are individuals who have high militancy. They will never be willing if the leadership of PD is taken over by force by someone else. Meanwhile, in data 3.d, AHY guaranteed that PD will consistently use a peaceful and civilized way. He stressed that the strategy to be taken in the future would not be outside the party mechanism agreed in the constitution. In addition, he also guaranteed that he will not make noise in the situation of the uncontrolled spread of the Covid-19 pandemic.

In addition to the "guarantee" function above, another function found in commissive speech is "threatening". In this context, the target of AHY's speech is the group that drives the forced takeover of the PD leadership. Among the threats contained in the commissive speech is AHY's commitment to crushing the movement. This can be seen in the following 3.c data.

- 3.c. ¹ Dengan kata lain, insya Allah, gerakan ini dapat ditumpas oleh kesetiaan dan kebulatan tekad seluruh pimpinan, baik di tingkat pusat maupun daerah dan cabang, serta para kader Demokrat lainnya di berbagai wilayah.
'In other words, God willing, this movement can be crushed by the loyalty and determination of all leaders, both at the central and regional and branch levels, as well as other Democratic cadres in various regions.'

In data 3.c above, AHY explained his belief that the movement that seeks to seize PD will be crushed. He said that the weapon that could crush the movement was the loyalty and determination of all leaders and cadres in all regions and levels. In the speech, AHY emphasized that the existence of leadership and cadre

solidarity is the mainstay weapon that makes PD strong in facing various challenges. This is what he targets to be able to become a threat to the perpetrator.

6.4. Expressive Speech Acts

Expressive speech acts in the data source are related to the expression of AHY's feelings to the leadership takeover group and all PD constituents. In this context, AHY expressed his heart in dealing the leadership takeover movement. Among AHY's expressive speech that have the function of "anger" can be seen in his speech when responding to the issue of leadership dualism and the implementation of the Extraordinary Congress in Deli Serdang. The speech function can be seen in the following data 4.a and 4.b.

- 2
- 4.a. *Sehingga, bisa kami tegaskan di sini, tidak ada dualisme kepemimpinan dan kepengurusan Partai Demokrat. Saya ulangi, saya ulangi, tidak ada dualisme kepemimpinan dan kepengurusan Partai Demokrat.*
'So, we can emphasize here, there is no dualism in the leadership and management of the Democratic Party. I repeat, I repeat, there is no dualism in leadership and management of the Democratic Party.'
- 2
- 4.b. *Sekali lagi saya katakan, bahwa para peserta KLB ilegal di Deli Serdang, Sumatera Utara tadi bukanlah pemilik suara yang sah. Mereka kebanyakan adalah para mantan kader yang sudah dipecat, sudah diberhentikan tetap secara tidak hormat.*
'Once again, I say that the participants of the extraordinarily illegal congress in Deli Serdang, North Sumatra were not the rightful owners of votes. They are mostly former cadres who have been fired, have been dismissed with disrespect.'

Based on the speech in data 4.a and 4.b above, AHY vented his anger at the actors who had held an extraordinary congress and formed new management. In data 4.a, AHY delegitimized the leadership structure agreed in the extraordinary congress. He emphasized that there is no dualism of leadership in the PD, because the legitimate General Chairman according to the constitution is himself, not someone else. Therefore, the management formed in the extraordinary congress has clearly violated the party constitution. Meanwhile, in data 4.b, AHY delegitimized the participants who took part in the extraordinary congress. AHY emphasized that the participants of the extraordinary congress were not the rightful owners of votes. Based on the party constitution, the figures who participated in the extraordinary congress were mostly former cadres who had been dishonorably dismissed.

In contrast to the "anger" function, another function found in AHY's expressive speech is "thanking". In this context, AHY conveyed his heart to PD leaders and cadres who are loyal in defending the sovereignty of PD. This function can be seen in the following 4.c and 4.d data.

- 3
- 4.c. *Secara pribadi, saya menyampaikan apresiasi dan penghargaan yang setinggi-tingginya atas kesetiaan, loyalitas, soliditas, kerja keras dan dedikasi yang luar biasa dari para pimpinan dan pengurus partai.*
'Personally, I express my highest appreciation for the loyalty, solidity, hard work and dedication of the party leaders and administrators.'
- 2
- 4.d. *Akhirnya, kepada seluruh kader Partai Demokrat, saya mengucapkan apresiasi setinggi-tingginya atas kesetiaan dan kebulatan tekad tegak lurus di bawah kepemimpinan hasil Kongres V Partai Demokrat yang sah.*
'Finally, to all cadres of the Democratic Party, I express my highest appreciation for the loyalty and determination to be upright under the leadership of the legitimate Democratic Party's fifth Congress.'

According to the speech in data 4.c and 4.d above, AHY expressed his gratitude to the PD cadres. In the speech, he appreciated the leaders and cadres of the PD who had carried out their function of defending the party's sovereignty very well. Among the aspects that AHY takes into consideration are loyalty, solidity, hard work, and dedication. In the speech, AHY also emphasized his existence as a constitutionally valid General Chairperson and was elected in the 5th PD Congress.

7. Discussion

Simultaneously and continuously, these series of events underlie AHY's various illocutionary utterances. Concretely, the sequence of AHY's speech context begins with a statement about the initiation of the PD leadership takeover movement. This movement plans to coup him from the position of General Chairman. Furthermore, the movement is realized by the mobilizing group through the KLB. This agenda established Moeldoko as their new General Chairman. The last context is the rejection of the KLB results by the Ministry of Law and Human Rights. The series of events became the climax and anticlimax of AHY's struggle which was reflected in the illocutionary speeches in his speech.

The most dominant illocutionary speech acts in the data source are representative with a statement function (25.7%), and commissive with a guarantee function (23.7%). AHY widely uses representative speech with a statement function to explain his position and leadership status in PD which was initiated by certain group movements. These statements are stated emphatically accompanied by evidence and stories from witnesses. Meanwhile, commissive speech with a guarantee function is widely used by AHY to convince the audience that he will defend the sovereignty of the PD and fight the leadership takeover movement according to the path set out in the constitution. This guarantee becomes an important point of AHY's affirmation of its compliance with party mechanisms in making decisions. The next speech that is widely found is representative with the description function (11.4%), expressive with thanking function (11.4%), and and directive with "invite" function (10.3%). These three speeches reflect AHY's efforts in building solidarity and internal strength. Through the description function, AHY explained in detail the movements of the groups that want to take over the leadership of PD. Through the invitation function, he invited all cadres to contribute to fighting the movement. All the hard work that had been passed then he appreciated through speech with a function of gratitude.

From the aspect of speech content, the research findings confirm the results of the study (Baby et al., 2020; Hashim, 2015; Mohammed Hashim, 2015; Omojola, 2020), where representative and commissive speech are the dominant forms that are often found in political speech. With the same function, both forms of speech are used to state situational propositions and make commitments that build audience trust (Alabi et al., 2019; Ayeomoni & Akinkulere, 2012; Chinedu & Uche, 2021). In the context of AHY's political speech data, this representative and commissive form aimed to strengthen the internal solidarity of party cadres. He did it to respond to the context of the political war he was dealing against outside takeover groups. The way of AHY functioning illocutionary speeches is in line with the results of studies (Abuya, 2012; Alemi, Latifi, et al., 2018), in which he ensures that he is consistently moving on the path of the party's constitution in making decisions. The way he communicated more often using invitations than orders was another factor that formed the cadres' sympathy for him. The combination of all the speeches was ultimately able to increase internal solidarity so that he was able to lead the PD to fail the leadership takeover movement.

Based on the perspective of implications, the research findings indicate an increase in the quality of AHY's leadership as the General Chairman of the party. His success in consolidating the party's internal elements was a big asset in winning the political sympathy of the Indonesian people. AHY can use political speech as his instrument to win people's votes. According to the argument (Capone, 2010; Kusumawati, 2016; - Noermanzah et al., 2018; N. Noermanzah et al., 2017) communication through political speech plays an important role in shaping the image of a politician's leadership. In this context, AHY as a young politician has the opportunity to gain a position in the Indonesian political contestation. His consistency in building discourse and self-image through speeches will have a positive electoral effect for him.

8. Conclusion

The illocutionary speech acts in AHY's political speeches was influenced by the context of the cyber-political war at the time. As the two dominant types, representative and commissive speech acts illustrated AHY's efforts to build internal solidarity with PD cadres against the attempt to take over the party leadership. Through representative speech acts, AHY explained and stated the efforts of certain people to delegitimize their leadership and take over PD. Meanwhile, he used commissive speech acts as a medium to strengthen his commitment to all cadres. As the General Chairman, he asserted that he would fight based on the regulations stipulated in the party constitution. Illocutionary speeches in AHY's political speech proved capable of becoming an instrument in mobilizing solidarity with PD cadres. The attempt to take over the leadership of the PD failed after the Ministry of Law and Human Rights declared that the KLB held in Deli Serdang was illegal. In line with that, the speech of AHY's directive containing instructions and invitations succeeded in embracing PD elements at various levels of management. Expressive speech containing gratitude became AHY's form of expression in appreciating the solidarity of PD members. AHY's communication pattern has a positive value and has an important role in maintaining party solidarity in the future.

MOBILIZING SOLIDARITY IN CYBER-POLITICAL WAR: SPEECH ACT ANALYSIS ON AGUS HARIMURTI YUDHOYONO'S POLITICAL SPEECHES

ORIGINALITY REPORT

11%

SIMILARITY INDEX

10%

INTERNET SOURCES

0%

PUBLICATIONS

2%

STUDENT PAPERS

PRIMARY SOURCES

1	kempalan.com Internet Source	4%
2	indonews.id Internet Source	2%
3	www.demokrat.or.id Internet Source	2%
4	garuda.kemdikbud.go.id Internet Source	1%
5	trotoar.id Internet Source	1%
6	Submitted to Universitas 17 Agustus 1945 Surabaya Student Paper	<1%
7	www.futureacademy.org.uk Internet Source	<1%
8	infobibliotheca.ppj.unp.ac.id Internet Source	<1%

9

wn.com
Internet Source

<1 %

10

純子 白子. "初年次教育における性と生の健康教育の実践", 日本教育保健学会年報, 2022
Publication

<1 %

Exclude quotes On

Exclude matches Off

Exclude bibliography On