

# THE DEFENSIVE SPEECHES USED IN THE POWER STRUGGLE OF AUNG SAN SUU KYI TOWARD RESOLVING THE PROBLEM IN ROHINGNYA

*Sigit Haryanto*<sup>1)</sup>, *Malikatul Laila*<sup>2)</sup>, *Agus Wijayanto*<sup>3)</sup>, *Agustina Indah Setyowati*<sup>4)</sup>

<sup>1</sup>Muhammadiyah University, Surakarta  
email: sh288@ums.ac.id

## Abstract

In 2017 the world was shocked by the human tragedy in Myanmar. Thousands of people lived in Rakhine have become victim of discrimination. Muslims community, Rohingya, as an ethnic minority in Myanmar got violence from the Buddhists. Aung San Suu Kyi as the prime minister has become the shooting target from the international media. Then in a few weeks later, she delivered speech formally with the title: "We condemn all human rights violation". The speech was interested to be discussed, especially from critical discourse analysis (CDA). The data that collected by using documentation were analyzed by using CDA proposed by Norman Fairclough: description, interpretation and explanation. This technique was used to recognize the defensive speech she performed. The results of the study showed (1) she had a capability in controlling emotion when delivering the speech and choosing the diction, and (2) she used the formality, euphemism, modality and pronoun in smoothing the speech.

**Keywords:** power struggle, CDA, Rohingya, Muslims minority, Aung San Suu Kyi

## 1. INTRODUCTION

Muslims community, Rohingya, is an ethnic minority in Myanmar. They live mainly in the western state of Rakhine. They are not officially recognized by the government as citizens for decades. The majority of Buddhists in the country have been accused of discrimination and violence against them. As the world knows that the general perception of the Rohingya conflict in Myanmar is a religious issue. However, according to the research head of South Asia Democratic Forum, Siegfried O Wolf, the crisis is more political and economical cases (merdeka.com).

Talking about Myanmar and the Rohingya crisis, it should be related to Aung San Suu Kyi. She is the woman who knows well about the political problems happened in this country. Unfortunately, she kept silence when the tragedy happened. The pressure from the world came minutes by minutes. At finally she gave speech. Her speeches are interesting to be studied, especially on how she responds or gives self defense concerning with the conflict.

Rohingya and its problems has become an interesting topic for the researchers, especially from critical discourse analysis (CDA) perspectives. Isti'anah (2018) has discussed its conflict from how Bangladesh and Myanmar newspapers published the news about Rohingya. And the results Myanmar newspapers tend to hide the actor or hide the word Rohingya in their headline, whereas Bangladesh newspapers put the actor on the headline by mentioning Rohingya. It can be understood that Myanmar newspapers are not independent or still under the government control. Wardini (2018) also discusses it; she focuses on the speeches done by Ashin Wirathu, monk in Myanmar. Based on the research in the frame of CDA, she found that Ashin Wirathu speeches belong to argumentative and persuasive. General purposes of his speeches are influencing the listeners to hate Muslims Rohingya.

Those previous studies prove the gap between this research and the previous researches. This research aims at analyzing the defensive speeches used in the power struggle of Aung San

Suu Kyi toward resolving the problem in Rohingya. The speech that studied was taken from YouTube with the title: “Aung San Suu Kyi’s speech: ‘we condemn all human rights violation.

## Underlying Theories

### Power Struggle and Power Relation

Power is about relations of difference and particularly about the effects of differences in social structures. When power is associated to language, it is entwined in social power in a number of ways: language indexes power and expresses power. In social relations, language and power are closely connected to each other. Power does not derive from language, but language can be used to challenge power. Language provides articulated means for differences in power in social hierarchical structures.

Power struggle occurs both in and over discourse (Fairclough, 1992). Discourse as a political practice is not only a site of power struggle, but also a stake of power struggle. Next, discourse analysis is concerned not only with power relation in discourse (compare conversation analysis), but also with how power relation and power struggle shape and transform the discourse practice of a society or institution.

Power relations are always related to struggle. Moreover, the power relations are not reducible to class relations. Power relations can be classified into two types; the first type is social grouping in institutions, such as: between interviewer and interviewee, teacher and students in class room, the speaker and listener in the speech activity, etc. The second one is the social grouping in non-institutions, for example: between men and women, young and old, ethnic grouping, etc.

### Power in Discourse and Power behind Discourse

Power in discourse is the relation of power based on the interaction or activity in the discourse. The category in this aspect is that face-to-face or spoken discourse may show the domination of powerful participants in controlling the interaction toward the non-powerful participants (Fairclough, 1989). The aspects related to the power struggle and power relation which can be seen in the power discourse are contents (what is said/done), relations (the social relation of people in discourse) and subjects (the subject position that people can occupy).

Besides, the second category is power in cross-cultural encounter which shows the different power relation connected with the cultural aspects such as country, race, etc whereas the third one is hidden power which explains that the power relation in face-to-face discourse, producers design their contributions for the particular people whom they are interacting with – they adapt language, they used and keep adapting throughout an encounter in the light of various sort of ‘feedback’ they got from co-participants (Fairclough, 1989).

How about the product of face-to-face discourse or two-way communication is the basis for the further discourse of power in cross-cultural encounters and hidden power. The more powerful participants usually control the non-powerful participants (see table 1).

Table 1. Power behind discourse

Constraint	Structural Effects
Contents	Knowledge and beliefs
Relations	Social relationship
Subjects	Social identities

The table above shows that the three aspects of power in discourse as the immediate and concrete terms are content, relations, and subjects whereas the three aspects of power behind discourse as long-term and structural way are knowledge and beliefs, social relationship, and social identities. Both of them are mutually influenced and cannot be separated.

Power behind discourse is power relation related to the power to do something, to say something, and to access someplace, and to use formal language based on the status, knowledge, and origin of the participants. For example, the doctor who cannot say something directly to their patients because of the ethical code, a priest who has full access in the church because of their knowledge about religion, a person who is in high social class must use formally standardized language, and a speaker who should use formal language in front of audiences in order to respect the audiences.

The correlation of the power in discourse and power behind discourse is seen from the relation aspect. The relations in the discourse are seen from social relationship between the participants which will influence the contents of the discourse. The contents of the discourse itself are influenced by the knowledge of the participants and the belief in the society. The relationship of the participant and the content of the discourse will represent the subjects of the discourse and the social identities of the participants. The formality aspect in power behind discourse has a correlation with the data of the research which is in the form of the transcript of debate speeches. As we know, in the speech event activity the speaker prefer to use formal language during the interaction. It means that discourse and practice generally, in formal situation are difficult and demanding; they depend on special knowledge and skill which has to be learnt (Fairclough, 1989).

In order to achieve coordination and commonality of practice in respect of knowledge and belief, social relationships, and social identities, three mechanism should be applied. The first one is the practice and the discourse which are universally followed and necessarily accepted due to the no conceivable alternative related to the knowledge and belief, social relationships, and social identities which have been built. The second one is the mechanism inculcation which is related to 'power behind discourse' itself and maintained by the society. And the third one is the mechanism communication which is achieved through rational communication and debate. The idea of 'power behind discourse' is that the whole social order of discourse is put together and held as a hidden effect of power.

## **2. RESEARCH METHOD**

This qualitative research used documentation in collecting the data. The data were taken from the speech presented by Aung San Suu Kyi with the title: We condemn all human rights violation. The collected data were analyzed in the frame of CDA proposed by Norman Fairclough. The result of the analysis data was presented descriptively.

## **3. FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION**

Three aspects would be explained in this subchapter. First is description, second is interpretation, and the last is explanation.

### ***3.1 Description***

Understanding the way how Aung San Suu Kyi delivered the speech that contained the resolving problems is able to be traced from: relational values, expressive values, metaphore, the relational value do grammatical features have, and connective values.

### ***3.2 Relational Values***

Relational values deal with the choice of words used by participants in forming social relationship. Words are regarded to have values that the same as other values. It is possible for

words that contain relational values to overlap with other values Fairclough (1989). Level of formality and the use of euphemism will be covered in this subsection. Formality reflected on text producer's diction can be a sign of the differential in social status, position, and power.

### 3.3 The use of formality

In the speech activity, Aung San Suu Kyi used the phrase '*diplomatic community*' to address the congress in Myanmar. It can be seen in the production text "*we would like to invite the members of our diplomatic community to join us in our endeavor to learn more from the Muslims who have integrated successfully into the Rakhine state*". → The state counselor prefers used the phrase '*diplomatic community*' in order to respect each other.

### 3.4 The use of euphemistic expression

The words '*peace, and harmony*' repeatedly delivered by the speaker in the speech event. It shows that the speaker as the state counselor of Myanmar used that word in order to produce the Rohingya society feel peaceful and calm. Those words have positive value meaning as the hope and wish from the state counselor in resolving the problems of Rakhine state by implementing the strategy of peace and harmony.

### 3.5 The Subject Position of the speaker

In the speech event which delivered by the state counselor of Myanmar, Aung San Suu Kyi in Naypyitaw, September 19, 2017. The speaker's role is as the informant about the Rakhine and Rohingya situation in Myanmar who controls the speech activity from it is started until it is ended. Here is the explanation related to the subject position of the speaker.

The speaker is Aung San Suu Kyi as the State counselor of Myanmar. She has the authority to reveal the situation in her country. There is an aspect in the structure of the text that shows the speaker's role in controlling or delivering the speech. This part analyzes the order of a whole text. Fairclough (1989: 137) stated that a whole text may have structure, the structure itself contains the predictable elements in a predictable order below:

The speech activity it is started by *the opening* in delivering a speech which is the introduction of background issue of the topic. It is about the challenges that Myanmar facing right now. It can be seen in lines (1-2) "*the challenges that a country is now facing and the steps that we are taking to overcome them*".

Then, the introduction of *the obligation of Myanmar government* in making a harmony country. It can be seen in lines (2-5) "*This year as I shall not be able to travel to do ultimate somatically when our people voted for the national league of democracy in the election of 2013 they in fact the task of carrying out three responsibilities democratic transition, peace and stability and development*".

The introduction about *human right violation and the rule of law*. It can be seen in lines (56-58) "*Human right violations and all other acts that impair stability and harmony and undermine the rule of law will be addressed in accordance with strict norms of justice*".

The *official invitation* for the member of Myanmar diplomatic community and the member of the united nation to join in Myanmar endeavor. It can be seen in lines (85-87) "*we would like to invite the members of our diplomatic community to join us in our endeavor to learn more from the Muslims who have integrated successfully into the Rakhine state*". And in lines (235-239) "*It was with the intention of putting an end to wars that is to say putting an end to conflicts that the United Nations was established and I would like to think that what we are doing here today may be the beginning of a truly strong and effective movement to bring an end to all the conflicts within Myanmar*".

*The closing of the speech* is done by the speaker Aung San Suu Kyi as the de facto leader of Myanmar. Suu Kyi closes it by thanking to the whole member. It can be seen in the

last line (256) “*A friendly appeal to help us to achieve the ends that I think you would agree are desirable not just for this particular country but for countries all over the world .thank you*”.

The speech is mostly controlled by the speaker in opening, explaining until closing. While the listeners or hearers only pay attention and try to understand what does the speaker wants in this speech event.

### **3.6 As the people**

There are some indicators which show the speaker position related to the people. First is the use pronoun ‘We’ and ‘You’. The speaker uses the pronoun ‘We’ in lines (163-165) “*We would like to invite you to take part in this peace process to join as in finding lasting solution to the problems that have plagued our country for years*”. → The pronoun ‘we’ here show that the speaker puts herself and the audiences or the member of the Myanmar diplomatic community in the same position which is they have an authority to control the country.

Then, the speaker uses the pronoun ‘You’ in lines (80-81) “*We would like you think of our country as a whole, not just as little afflicted areas it is as a whole only that we can make progress*”. The pronoun ‘you’ is used to address the people who would like to help the conflict in Myanmar.

### **3.7 The use of modality**

The speaker uses an expressive modality of obligation in lines (160-163) “*I would like to take the opportunity to remind you that there are problems as serious for us. As what is happening in the west of our country, we have been trying to build peace out of internal strife. A peace that must (modality) be lasting and that must be accompanied by sustainable and equitable development*”. → It is used to emphasize that the problems in Myanmar is really serious and to explain people that Myanmar government obligated by building a peace. So, it can solve the problems which happen.

### **3.8 Relational value of vocabulary items**

Fairclough (1989) said that the aspect of relational value usually deals with formality and politeness aspect. It can be seen from formal word which is used by the speaker in linen (119-120) “*We would appreciate if all friends could persuade them to join in the process because they have nothing to lose by it*”. → The formality and politeness in this case is related to the social position of the speaker as the Myanmar administrator that stands to deliver a speech in front of public. The word ‘would’ is used by the speaker in order to show her respect toward the audience’s status and the position. As we know that the word ‘would’ is considered more polite and formal than the word ‘will’.

### **3.9 Expressive values**

Expressive values deal with researcher’s evaluation or attitude towards reality. Fairclough (1989: 119) stated that expressive values can be referred to ideologically contrastive classification schemes. Aung San Suu Kyi uses positive expressive values in evaluating the conflict. It can be seen in lines (244-246) “*Hate and fear are the main stages of our world all conflict arise out of hate or out of here it is only by removing the sources of hate and fear that we shall be able to remove conflict from our country and from world*”. → so, Suu Kyi as the de facto leader realizes that the conflict arise because of society who have feeling ‘hate and fear’ in themselves. Then, to solve the problems is removing those feelings. It is a good plan that should society do in resolving the problem.

### 3.10 Metaphore

By using metaphore, the researcher can represent one aspect of experience in terms of another without restriction to the discourse that stereotypically linked with metaphore Fairclough (1989: 119). It can be seen in lines (57-59) *“Our government has emerged as a body committed to the defense of human rights not of any particular communities rights but of the rights of all human beings within borders of our country”*. → In that sentence, Aung San Suu Kyi compares the Myanmar government with the body.

### 3.11 The relation: the speaker, and the hearer/audience

This activity shows the relation between the speaker and the hearer. The speaker is the first person who has role play to give the information to the hearer or audiences and to control the conversation between them. The hearer is the second person who has role play to hear the information from the speaker and has rights to ask a suitable question with the theme to the speaker. Every event or condition has its relations between them. Here, is the evidence that this part answer the question of *‘what relational values do grammatical features have?’* and *‘what ideologically significant meaning relations are there between words?’*. In this level researcher found some of points that indicate the relational value which are shown by the text.

### 3.12 Modes of sentence

There are four main of types of sentence namely simple or declarative sentence, command or imperative sentence, question or interrogative sentence and exclamatory sentence. The speaker as the informant uses some declarative sentences and some interrogative sentences in the speech. The declarative sentence uses by the speaker to make a statement, to give information, and to express hope and wishes. Those declarative sentence can be seen from the text in lines (2-5) *“This year as I shall not be able to travel to do ultimate somatically when our people voted for the national league of democracy in the election of 2013 they in fact the task of carrying out three responsibilities democratic transition, peace and stability and development”*. → this sentence give brief statement to the listener that Myanmar government have responsibility to make sure that Rohingya society entitled to receive law protection, peace and harmony. Then, in line (27-29) *“Myanmar does not fear international security and we are committed to sustainable solution that would lead to peace stability and development for all communities within that state”*. → This sentence show that the speaker try to give information about Myanmar country. Finally, the declarative sentence uses to express the speaker wishes can be seen from lines (35-36) *“the government has been making every effort to restore peace and stability and to promote harmony between the Muslims and Rakhine communities”*. → This sentence makes sure that Myanmar government wish to overcome and resolve the problems or challenges which happen in Myanmar with peace and stability and promote harmony between Muslims and Rakhine. However, in the deliver a speech also use a interrogative sentence to get the deep information. Seems like in lines (215-216) *“how have they managed to keep the peace?, how have they managed to preserve harmony?”* → this question uses wh-question that permits broad number of answer and demands for information about the probability.

### 3.13 The use of pronoun, you and we

The word ‘You’ is used as the second person plural to replace the member of diplomatic communities. It can be seen in lines (192-194) *“I would like you to join us in finding new ways new answer more constructive more positive more innovative and possibly more daring”*. Then the word ‘we’ is used by the speaker as the first person plural to replace herself as the member of Myanmar administrator. It showed in line (223) *“we would welcome others who would like to*

*aid us in our endeavors*”. It shows that the speaker has the same position with the Myanmar administrator.

### 3.14 Modality

The first is the use of relational modality. It can be seen in lines (89-90) “*we can arrange for you to visit these areas and to ask them for yourself why they have not fled?*” → The speaker use the word ‘can’ to give permission to the member of diplomatic communities for visiting the area.

There is also the use of expressive modality. The speaker uses an expressive modal meaning of certainly prediction in delivering the speech. It can be seen in lines (224-227) “*We will make sure that everything that they give toward the promotion of peace and harmony in the Rakhine is used in the best possible way to benefit all communities*”. → As the one who know the condition of Rakhine state, Suu kyi uses modality ‘will’ to express certainly toward the benefit for the member of united state in helping Myanmar challenges. Then, the speaker also uses an expressive modal meaning of obligation in giving explanation and inviting other member to join toward process in resolving the problems by using the word ‘must’ modality. It can be seen in lines (162-165) “*A peace that must be lasting and that must be accompanied by sustainable and equitable development. We would like to invite you to take part in this peace process to join as in finding lasting solution to the problems that have plagued our country for years*”. → The audiences or hearer put themselves in the speaker statements by making a conclusion of the speaker explanation related to the probability expression of making the promotion of peace and harmony in Rakhine. That is the only way to resolve the problems in the Rakhine state.

### 3.15 Connective Values

Connective values are elements that connect parts within a text as well as referring to context outside the text itself. Cohesive features may be in the form vocabulary links between sentences-repetition of words and use of related words. They may be connectors which mark various temporal, spatial, and logical relationships between sentences that show the ideology and the power of the speaker.

Table 2. Repetition Uses

Words	Word count
Peace	22
Problems	20
Rakhine	13
Harmony	12
Stability	11
Development	11
Conflict	11
Endeavor	8
Challenges	7
Resolve	4

Solution	2
----------	---

These are certain words repeatedly uttered by Aung San Suu Kyi which reflected her intention in delivering a speech in front of public. It can be seen above that the plan of this speech is specifically targeted for solution of Rakhine problems. She insists the Myanmar member of diplomatic community to support the plan by joining the endeavors. It also can be seen that only the people who have an authority that can deliver a speech about resolving problems of the county. Here she has the power to make a decision for Myanmar and Rakhine state.

Table 3. Connectors Uses

Words	Word count
And	125
That	59
But	19
Or	10
Because	10
After	5
Since	5
When	3
Then	2
Though	2

From table 3 above, it can be seen that the connector ‘and’ is the most frequently used by the speaker. ‘And’ is mostly used to coordinate two or more ideas which have the same level or parallel. It can be seen in lines (11-13) “*establishing peace and stability and achieving the kind of sustainable development that would be seen as equitable people*”. → That sentence shows that the speaker used the word ‘and’ used as a connector conjunction.

### 3.16 Interpretation

In the interpretation analysis, researcher would begin with the interpretation of the situational context. First is the analysis of ‘*what is going on*’ the activity type is a speech event activity about Rakhine state in human violation. This stage also analyzes the purpose and the topic of the activity. Then the analysis of ‘*who is involve*’ and ‘*what relation*’. For the speaker (Aung San Suu Kyi) is primarily a figure of Myanmar Nation and the conflict of Rakhine state has a subsidiary status as the topic, the listeners are primarily those all member of diplomatic communities. Correspondingly, the purpose of the activity is giving the listeners access to hear the important speech of public figure related to the topic. She is as an expert, the matrix of the discourse is informing her expertise and knowledge on the resolving the conflict of Rakhine state by promoting peace and harmony plan.

The topic of the discourse which is about problem resolve of Rakhine state can be seen from some words which have positive value. This speech event activity is discussed about the plan of resolving problems in Rakhine by promoting a peace and a harmony. The term of peace and harmony have a certain social identity representation, these terms have positive value and positive expectation. The government have decided the best way to resolve the conflict from the



Nation which is built peace and promoting harmony within the communities, Rakhine and Muslims. It is seen from Government hopes to remove the conflict. It also can be seen in Suu Kyi's statement *"We place great importance on the role of the united nation as an assembly of nations which was created to promote peace and harmony to ensure that our world should not ever again in future fall into the suffering that we all experienced during the second world war"*. Statement above shows that Aung San Suu Kyi as the de facto leader does not want the problems in Myanmar same as the second war that they have been ever experienced. This assumption built by the speaker for inviting the member of diplomatic communities to join in endeavors which make and end of the conflicts happily.

The interpretation of the activity of the text is also represented from the schema which covers the order of the discourse. The schema is influenced by the role of the speaker in delivering the speech in front of public. As the person who handles and controls the activity, the speaker tries to do as what the speaker have to do in conducting a speech. Aung San Suu Kyi tries to make the flow in delivering her speech. It can be seen from the sequences of the speech activity. Firstly, the speaker started in opening the activity by introducing the background issue of the topic. Then, the speaker continue with introduce the obligation of Myanmar government in making a harmony country which consist of three responsibilities; democratic transition, peace and stability and development. Then, the speaker gives the relation between human right violation and the rule of law. After that, the speaker tries to give best understanding about the conflict and asks the member of diplomatic communities to join in Myanmar endeavors for resolving the problems. However this sequence is focus in inviting the member for join the endeavors to remove the conflicts. And finally, the speaker closes the speech in the end of the activity.

In case of intertextual context, the speaker (Aung San Suu Kyi) as the information provider has access the intertextual experience in delivering a speech in front of public. She tries to provide some information by promoting a peace and harmony to the whole member of diplomatic communities. However, she also tries to explain that the peace process is not easy as imaged but the government still continues the process toward Rakhine state. It can be seen from the efforts of her in persuading the member of the diplomatic communities to join in endeavors.

The next part is the discussion of some cases of the analysis which is influenced by the speaker resources. This resources influence on the way how Aung San Suu Kyi interacts during the speech event activity. Here researcher would like to discuss it in terms of relation, and the speaker' subject position.

In case of relation, related to the topic it is about plan of resolving problems in Rakhine State. There is no restriction toward the speaker in giving all of the information about the problems and about the plan in resolving the problems. She shares her hopes toward the conflicts by giving expressive modality of probability and convinces the member of diplomatic commission in join the endeavors by expressive modality of obligation modality.

The next is related to the speaker subject position. In terms of the speakers' subject position, firstly the researcher would like to introduce that the speaker is a woman. It can be known by the researcher from background of the speaker who she is?, She shows that she can lead the speech activity by herself and show her authority in controlling the flow of the speech activity by doing an active speaker during the activity. In terms of subject position, the speaker shows her position as the one of Myanmar government member which has an authority to speak up about her opinion and ideas in front of public. It can be seen from some declarative sentences that speaker used. The speaker used the words 'we' in delivering the speech which mean as the expression of solidarity. The speaker has the same position which is the high position than the audiences/ hearers (the member of diplomatic communities).

Then, the speakers' resource is also seen from her fashion. The speaker wears apparel with purple color in the speech event activity. The speakers' fashion shows the formal and

serious mode or atmosphere in delivering her speech activity. It can be seen that the speaker also has the power.

After that is the interpretation of the level of social institution. In the speech event activity, Aung San Suu Kyi is in the position of the state counselor of Myanmar Nation. She has significant power in the nation. This speech is directed generally for public and specifically for the member of diplomatic communities who can help government plan. She employs some rhetorical questions during the speech event activity, there are:

- a. *if you are interested in joining us in our endeavors please let us know we can arrange for you to visit these areas and to ask them for yourself why they have not fled?, why they have chosen to remain in their villages even at a time when everything around them seems to be in a state of turmoil apart?, and*
- b. *I want you to take special care to study the peaceful area. How have they managed to keep the peace?, how have they managed to preserve harmony?, why are they not each other's throats in these particular areas?. This is the answer that we need. It is not just a matter of removing ills but also of promoting what is positive we have to remove the negative and increase the positive.*

These rhetorical question employed by Aung San Suu kyi has several functions. On the first example, the rhetorical question was used to stir some emotions. And the second example of rhetorical question reflected her criticism towards the condition of Rakhine state.

### 3.17 Explanation

In the explanation stage, the researcher uses the Fairclough way in analyzing the charisma. By seeing the discourse as a social process at the institutional and social level, the institutional matrix of this discourse is related to the speech activity which discusses about the problem resolve of Rakhine state. It is seen from the flow of Aung San Suu Kyi in delivering the speech.

The relation between interaction and social context are also will be covered in this explanation stage. Fairclough (1989) stated that explanation is the relationships between transitory social events (interactions) and more durable social structure which shape by these events. This text has to be examined as element in social processes at institutional and societal levels to show how its ideology, power relation, and power struggle at these levels.

The institutional matrix that can be found in this discourse is related to governmental institution. the institutional process are (i) the struggle between the state counselor and the diplomatic member. (ii) Her struggle in convincing the diplomatic community's member and the public about the plan. Her utterances are reflection of her struggle as counselor state in making a better solution for the conflict of Rakhine state by promoting a peace and harmony within communities. She believed that the diplomatic member would join the government in endeavors. Process of a peace and harmony are the main concern of this speech event activity and it is be her main concern since the conflicts beginning for many decades.

Aung San Suu Kyi as the counselor of Myanmar has the duty of defend humanitarian within the communities. Beside that she initially held four ministerial posts in the new government; minister of energy, minister of education, foreign minister, and minister in the president office. Then she was named state counselor, a position newly created by the legislature and signed into law by Htin Kyaw; the post was similar to that of prime minister and potentially more powerful than president. Here is Aung San Suu Kyi's position right now. Based on her position, she already be the one who can resolve the problems of Rakhine state and Rohingya society. Suu Kyi had so seeks support from the diplomatic member to convince the public that the plan would be beneficial for the communities.

The social changes caused by this speech event activity is positive, as she performed the reality of the condition within Rakhine and Muslims and the plan in processing to remove the problems without manipulating them. This speech answered the anxiety of public because,

before this speech delivered, Aung San Suu Kyi has been waited by the public for her decision to resolve the conflicts from Nation. This speech affected her image as the counselor state of Myanmar who always considers the society in Myanmar.

#### 4. CONCLUSION

Aung San Suu Kyi as prime minister in Myanmar should defense her country from the shooting target done by international media concerning with the Rohingya problems. To decline the tension she delivered speech with the title: “We condemn all human rights violation”. From that speech, it is known how she tried to defense her country form negative issues. The defensive speeches are seen from two indicators used. The first indicator comes from the state counselor Aung San Suu Kyi’s manner, namely she could control her emotion in delivering the speech and she chose carefully the diction that she made and the second she used the formality, euphemism, modality and pronoun in smoothing the speech.

#### 5. BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Astuti, Reni Puji. (2015). the Analysis of Power Relation between the Participants in the Disaster News Interviews (Critical Discourse Analysis Approach). *Research Paper*. <https://digilib.uns.ac.id/dokumen/detail/47118/The-Analysis-of-Power-Relation-Between-the-Participants-in-the-Disaster-News-Interviews-Critical-Discourse-Analysis-Approach>. retrieved 15 July 2018.
- Boeva, Alyona. (2016). Discursive Construction of Refugees, Migrants and Asylum Seekers in British and American News Sources. *Procedia - Social and Behavioral Sciences*, 236, 53-58. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.sbspro.2016.12.018> . retrieved 25 April 2018.
- Fairclough, N. (1989) *Language and Power*. (London, Longman).
- Fairclough, N. (1992) *Critical Discourse Analysis*. (London, Longman)
- Fauzan, Arsyad. (2016). The Analysis of Power In North America Statute In Explaining The Legislatures' Compensation (A Critical Discourse Analysis). *Research Paper*. <https://digilib.uns.ac.id/dokumen/detail/52004/The-Analysis-of-Power-In-North-America-Statute-In-Explaining-The-Legislatures-Compensation-A-Critical-Discourse-Analysis>. retrieved 15 July 2018.
- Gowhary, H., Rahimi, F., Azizifar, A., & Jamalinesari, A. (2015). A Critical Discourse Analysis of the Electoral Talks of Iranian Presidential Candidates in 2013. *Procedia - Social and Behavioral Sciences*, 192, 132–141. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.sbspro.2015.06.020>. retrieved 28 April 2018.
- Isti'anah, Arina. 2018. Rohingya in Media: Critical Discourse Analysis of Myanmar And Bangladesh Newspaper Headlines. *Proceedings LOOW6 May89Petra.pdf*
- Janks, H. (1997). Critical Discourse Analysis as a Research Tool. *Discourse: Studies in the Cultural Politics of Education*, 18(3), 329–342. <https://doi.org/10.1080/0159630970180302>
- Kamasa, V. (2013). Naming “In Vitro Fertilization”: Critical Discourse Analysis of the Polish Catholic Church’s Official Documents. *Procedia - Social and Behavioral Sciences*, 95, 154–159. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.sbspro.2013.10.634>. retrieved 25 March 2018.
- Markhamah, Janati Mila. (2015). Analysis of Power Struggle used by President Barack Obama on Barack Obama’s Interviews (A Critical Discourse Analysis Approach). *Research Paper*. <https://digilib.uns.ac.id/dokumen/detail/47878/Analysis-of-Power-Struggle-used-by-President-Barack-Obama-on-Barack-Obamas-Interviews-A-Critical-Discourse-Analysis-Approach>. retrieved 15 July 2018.
- Prasetya, Mahardhika Bekt. (2015). the Analysis of Power Relations Between Participants in the Oprah Winfrey Show Episode of J.K. Rowling (A Critical Discourse Analysis

- Approach). *Research Paper*. <https://digilib.uns.ac.id/dokumen/detail/50290/The-Analysis-of-Power-Relations-Between-Participants-in-the-Oprah-Winfrey-Show-Episode-of-JK-Rowling-A-Critical-Discourse-Analysis-Approach>. Retrieved 15 July 2018.
- Puspitasari, Yunita Tyas. (2014). An Analysis Of Power Relation Between A Teacher And High School Students Interaction In The Movie Entitled “Freedom Writers” (Based On Critical Discourse Analysis). *Research Paper*. <https://digilib.uns.ac.id/dokumen/detail/36782/An-Analysis-Of-Power-Relation-Between-A-Teacher-And-High-School-Students-Interaction-In-The-Movie-Entitled-Freedom-Writers-Based-On-Critical-Discourse-Analysis>. Retrieved 15 July 2018.
- Schiffrin, D., Tannen, D., & Hamilton, H. E. (2001). The Handbook of Discourse Analysis Edited. *The Handbook of Discourse Analysis*, 851. <https://doi.org/10.1002/9780470753460.ch18>
- Sheyholislami, J. (2011). Critical discourse analysis. *Discourse Studies: A ...*, (1979), 1–15. <https://doi.org/10.2307/3587683>
- Törnberg, A., & Törnberg, P. (2016). Muslims in social media discourse: Combining topic modeling and critical discourse analysis. *Discourse, Context and Media*, 13, 132–142. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.dcm.2016.04.003> . Retrieved 25 March 2018.
- Wardani, Ifah. (2018). Power And Ideology Of Ashin Wirathu’s Speeches Toward Muslim In Rohingya: Critical Discourse Analysis. *Research Paper*. <http://eprints.ums.ac.id/62286/> . Retrieved 12 July 2018.
- Zulkifli, Che Nooryohana. (2015). The Construction of Career Women in *Cleo*: Critical Discourse Analysis. *Procedia - Social and Behavioral Sciences*, 208, 53-59. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.sbspro.2015.11.179> .Retrieved 25 March 2018. <http://www.dw.com/id/rohingya-di-myanmar-apa-yang-perlu-diketahui/g-40343623> <https://www.merdeka.com/dunia/apa-sebenarnya-penyebab-myanmar-menindas-muslim-rohingya.html>. Retrieved 2 July 2018. <https://www.tci-thaijo.org/index.php/reflections/article/view/112292>. Retrived 2 July 2018.