

CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS OF ZELENSKY'S DEFENSE DISCOURSE FOR UKRAINE TOWARDS RUSSIA-UKRAINE WAR

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ABSTRACT

The conflict between Russia and Ukraine since 24 February on 2022 made misery for many parties on the war. President of Ukraine, Zelensky became a hot topic in international media report since the war conflict begun. The way he taking respond is powerful and influential for many countries related to the war. This study aimed to find out the types of defending issues in Zelensky statement and also examined what is the implied message behind Zelensky statement. The gaps were found based on the previous research, including; the different theory of CDA, conducted the different issue, and also has a limitations of the times according to the war. The data of the research were taken from 3 videos of Zelensky's statement regarding to war conflict between Russia and Ukraine. Using the CDA theory of Van Dijk and Fairclough, this study examined deeply about the meaning of his statement regarding the war through both of the method, and also the kinds of total defense based on the defense categorize. The research found out 4 types of defending issues and the implied message to his statement. The implied messages on his statement were contains; threat, provocation, asking help, and other responses which purposed to defend Ukraine from the attack of Russia. The use of legitimate power is dominated seen in Zelensky statement, because he tried to persuade his audiences to help him for defending his country. All of his actions in the statements is purposing to defend his country as a president.

Keywords: CDA, Russia-Ukraine, Russia Ukraine War, War Conflict, Zelensky Discourse.

INTRODUCTION

Speech is the ability of human to express their thought with oral language. It is one kind of ability for humans to communicate using language (Janet & Werker, 1992). Speech have the power to influence, brainwash, invite, and deliver the feelings of happiness, sorrowful, cheerful, and hate (Taylor, 2010). The purpose of speech is to deliver the meaning with utterances or spoken by a person. Priatmoko said that, spoken language refers to a type of communication between a person to others that produced by the organs of the human voice and released through the mouth, which known as utterance (Priatmoko, 2013). People who listen to a particular speaker's speech may be affected by it (Tsani & Ratnadewi, 2022).

According to the text above, the speech has a lot of function to convey the meaning with the spoken language. It is the human ability to produce the sound with the language (Kollmeier et al., 2008). Through the spoken language, a person can produce a discourse to show the social practice such as; ideology and power through the language (Schiffrin et al., 2001). Dunmire stated that, understanding the language practices can allow political speakers to "interpret their utterances with evidence, authority, and truth" in political contexts (Dunmire, 2012).

Some of the kinds of spoken discourse used in social life are speech and interviews. This kind of discourse is used in public to convey, express, and also explain the meaning of the spoken language to the audiences (Partington & Marchi, 2015). People often used a speech and interviews for news to report something about the issues in politics, social, and others situation (Khosravini, 2016). Ried et al, stated that, speakers can use their utterances to make themselves different from others and judge others within the speech to make inferences about the social group and other judgement (Reid et al., 2019). To conclude,

speech as the the spoken language can influence the person opinion or thought using the power of language to the listeners.

On February 24, 2022, Ukraine was attacked by Russian forces in several major cities of Ukraine. With the attack of the military, some of the regions were invaded by Russia, which injured a lot of people and killed thousands civilian of Ukraine (A. L. Matthews et al., 2022). Regarding to the Ukraine and Russia conflict phenomenon, the impact of this war, were taking a lot of disadvantage by Ukraine and also their federation, especially the countries in the Western and the members of NATO. Some of the difficulties were including military threats, unsafe territory for Ukrainians, and misery for many sides that are concerned. Volodymyr Zelensky as a representative of Ukraine's leader was trying to defend the Ukraine's territory from Russia. He showed his power that Ukraine can defend the war with the hand of NATO and the west. Zelensky spoke to the speech in General UN Assembly, on 21 September, 2022, that he was confident to defending his country using its right to self defense with article 51 of UN Charter. The president stated that, “Ukraine will appeal to the UN General Assembly to support an international compensation mechanism.” (Kyiv Post, 2022). Through the speeches by president Zelensky, people feel influenced to know more about this war.

There were several previous studies that conducted the same topic about war phenomena especially, for critical discourse analysis in Russia and Ukraine war. Following Zelensky discourse by Rubio, Zelensky professional background has aided him in becoming an effective communicator and public speaker, as well as having the advantage of being a mass leader (Rubio, 2022). Multimodality discourse by Ushchyna mentioned that, both of Russia and Ukraine were having their own perspective. Ukrainians defend their identities both in discourse and militarily, while Russians thinks themselves as the saviour, warriors, and protector (Ushchyna, 2022). Although, the study which focused on eurocentrism issue by Maenpaa, found that both of the news (DW and Aljazeera) is neutral from the Eurocentric perspectives for reporting news (Mäenpää, 2022). However, a twitter discourse described US users of twitter are most frequently quote and retweet from Ukrainian users as opposed to users from Russia (Chen & Ferrara, 2022).

According to the text above, there were several gaps in the studies above. Most of the researches did not conduct the defending issue of the war on the president statement, neither conducted with the same topic. Also, the studies regarding the conflict between Ukraine and Russia has limitations with times and needs more research with the latest information about the conflict, since the war is still going on. Moreover, the several researches used a different theories for analyzing CDA. Based on the gap above, the theory of this study conducted with the different theories which used Fairclough theory to know the deeper information in CDA of Zelensky regarding to defense country statement.

METHOD

Research Design

This study used descriptive qualitative approach since this study was taken a focus in the Zelensky's utterances which are; the speeches and interview that was used as the source of the data to be analyzed in this research. The research chose the descriptive qualitative since the study described Zelensky's utterances, because it observed in a more specific, transparent, and deeply. This argument is compatible with Creswell, a qualitative research used to provides a deeply or clear information. It also used theoretical perspective to help the researcher design the problem of the research, collect, and analyze the data (Creswell, 2013). The reason why the research method used CDA is because, the critical discourse analysis is a research method which can help the study to find out and construct the meaning

beyond the Zelensky statement regarding to the conflict between Russia and Ukraine war.

Using using the CDA theory of three dimensions by Fairclough and Socio-cognitive approach by Van Dijk, this research aim to investigated what is the implied message in the statement of Ukraine Presiden. Furthermore, it also find out is there any defending issue that found in the statement regarding to the conflict between Russia and Ukraine war using the thery of CDA and total defense.

Data and Source of Data

The source of the data was taken from 3 videos of Zelensky's spoken discourse, which are includes; 2 speeches videos and 1 interviews video with news media that are related to the topic of Ukraine and Russia war conflict.

The data were Zelensky's, utterances with speeches that contains defending issue regarding the conflict between Russia and Ukraine war. The utterances consist of word, phrase, clause, and sentence.

Research Instruments

The instrument of the research is the researcher as the key instrument, since the researcher has an important role to analyze and collecting the data with the CDA theories and the indicator from total defense theory. The data of this study was taken by videos of Ukraine President speeches and interview to investigate the research.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Military Defense

Military defense is an effort to overcome the war conflict and attack aggression. In the war conflict, the military defense can't be separated from the attack and terror. It is useful and important for the country defense to defend the country and its citizens trough military strategy. Matthews et al stated that, military defense is used to build up the military strength. Preventingaggression and defend the nation is the main goal for military defense (R. Matthews & Yan, 2007). The statement of the military defense is purposing to defense the territorial from attack of terror. Containing the strategy or policies of the military also matters to defend the national defense from aggression, and it also the purpose of the statement found in Zelensky discourse for his country.

The context of the statement explained when Zelensky delivered online speech in the front of the members of UN Charter to deliver the message of Ukraine country, during the war crisis of Russia invasion at the United Nation General Assembly conference on 21 September, 2022. It happened on the same day when Putin announced the partial mobilizations start.

“But we will not let this Entity prevail over us, even though it is the largest state in the world. Ukraine showed strength on the battlefield, using its right to self-defense in accordance with Article 51 of the UN Charter.”

From the local meaning analysis described the subject “we” in the first sentence is a subject who referred to the Ukraine country as a opponent country of the Russia attack. The word “will not” means the effort of Ukraine to not let Ukraine remiss and let Russia attack them. However, the word “we will not let” as the noun clause is referred to the form of a careful effort to not let their efforts remiss or unguarded by an attack of Russia. Connected with the conjunction “even though” as a subordinate conjunction, it seems to show as a clarification and emphasis the dependent clause after comma. Moreover, the clause “largest state in the world” referred to the geographical area as the largest area in the world.

The word “Entity” as the object in the sentence tend to describe Russia as the appellation of abstract unit which attacking the country. Moreover, the phrase “largest state in the world” described to the country who has a huge power and influential country in the

world, that is Russia. However, In the sentence “Ukraine showed strength on the battlefield” referred to the increased progress that had been done by Ukraine forces for taking back the region of Ukraine. Moreover, the word “self defense” referred to the one of the article of UN Charter which contains self defense strategy to the member of NATO on armed attack. Word “showed” with the past tense described the result of Ukrainian force for putting the big effort to make Russian troops flee from Kharkiv region.

Following to the statement above, Zelensky tried to emphasize the convince statement to his people and influence the world that Ukraine is not weak in the war. He tried to show the world that Ukraine are putting a big effort to defend his country. It proved in the word “will not” as convincing words which could reassure his audiences that Ukraine can attempt the defense on the battlefield as a strong position who won't let the enemy take over his country. Moreover, Zelensky had succeeded to make Russian forces fled from Kharkiv region after the several attack from Russia for Ukraine. The Ukrainians recent battlefield victories in and around Kharkiv, their country's second largest city, have been among their most significant since crushing Vladimir Putin's military's bid to seize the capital Kyiv near the start of the war (CBS, 2022).

Besides, Zelensky showed he is not afraid from this war, even though Russia is a largest state in the world which have lots of population and resources in the world. Finlayson described that, Russia owned a 1/8 of the entire world's land area who has many different natural resources and features, and also have 143 million people population as a geographic feature (Finlayson, 2019). This statement showed he is not afraid of what Russia have, even though they had the largest land who has a big impact of resources in the world.

Furthermore, as the member of NATO, Zelensky tend to use the privilege of Ukraine as the member of United Nations to use a defense support and using the protection from its article of 51 UN Charter. As cited by the article 51 of UN Charter, the article contains the rights of self defense United nations members for armed attack until the security council take the necessary respond to maintain the internal peace and security (Nations, 2016). This statement tend to put the treats for Russia to stop against Ukraine, since the country is having the protection help from United Nations as the member of UN.

There is important message behind his speech, it showed a discursive part in his statement, which contains the statement that he was indirectly threatens Russia. The threat was the form of a statement that he was a member of the United Nations in accordance with article 51. The article is implicitly means if something happened to Ukraine, the United Nations would act. In addition, this article seems to give Russia a warning. In other words Zelensky wants to state with the article of the Un charter, which means that Zelensky has the power to protect himself with the help of other countries under the UN. It described speech convey the meaning as confident statement and the treats for Russia. Zelensky was confident to fight back Russia from terror since Ukrainians are its member of UN charter. The treats was implicitly seen when Zelensky pointed out about self defense article 51 of UN Charter. The article said, "Nothing in the present Charter shall impair the inherent right of the individual or collective self-defense if an armed attack occurs against a Member of the United Nations, until the Security Council has taken the necessary measures to maintain international peace and security....."(Charter, 1959). According to his statement and the article 51 of UN Charter, It is implicitly seen that Zelensky was tried to deliver threats to Russia using his privileged power of UN Charter for the necessary measures to maintain international peace and security. He used his rights for represent his country as the member of UN Charter and use the article as a threats.

Civil Defense

The findings of defending issue in Zelensky statement was found out about civil

defense as the second type of the defending issue. Civil defense is one of important defense strategy to protect the civilians from ambush. The purpose of Zelensky in his speech was contained a defense strategy which aim to concern a basic safety for the residents population. According to Surmava, the purpose of civil defense is aim to secure and maintain the civil resources and the infrastructure (Surmava, 2021).

The context of the statement explained when, Zelensky at the office president with Alex Crawford of Sky news media report were asking about if the president left the country and his people during non stop attack, on 10 March, 2022.

"but I know exactly that if I leave my office, and my country, my people, I think that it would be very difficult for our country, it would be very difficult to unite our country, it would be very difficult to have strong people. "

The interpretation showed role in discourse where the president plays as an important figure. The word "I know" on the statement tend to show a possibility who could be happened if the president leave his people and the country. Moreover, it proves and connected with the word "if" as conditional word in the sentence as a supposition of cause and effect. The possibility that could be happened as worrying action for all the civils within the terror. It is tend to show that the President want to be seen as carrying leader to his residents, who would not gave up and try to defend his country. Moreover, the word "would" as modal of past future tenses tend to predict the possibility in the future which can be possibility happens to integrate the people. The word "unite" also describe the explicit meaning to make all the people fight and contributing undertake defending Ukraine. Beside, the clause "difficult to unite" is showing the opposite effect of Ukraine who could be a form disintegration as the result of war terror. The disintegration can inflict many problem for Ukraine, which are the decreased trust to government, lowering win rate on the battlefield, and also the stronghold of two sides between Russia and Ukraine.

However, the word "for" was pointed out as the purpose of his defend statement, that is purposing to secure all his citizens. It is indicate the statement that all of his efforts is not for himself, but for all his people in Ukraine. Furthermore, the phrase "strong people" is describing about the effect of having the unite people to build strong people as nationalism defender of his country. Having the strong people are good for increasing win rate on the war terror.

According the statement, Zelensky tried to protect his people from the terror. It is also described his action as great leader who take the responsibility to defend his country, especially for public interest. Zelensky believed if he stay for his country, he can defend everything within increase the dangerous potential of the war attack. Moreover, he also put a word "unite" to give a spirit for Ukrainians defending the country. Following by several sources by Time, Though he stated that the danger of an invasion terrified him, Zelensky realized that exhibiting his concern would play into Russia's hands. And he said that "Russia want the West to be afraid of their strength and power." (Shuster, 2022). Ukrainian President Volodymyr Zelensky was urged to leave Kyiv at the request of the US government, but he declined. "The fight is here; I need ammunition, not a ride," Zelensky responded, according to a senior American intelligence officer present during conversation (Khurshudyan, 2022). As a result, Zelensky believed that his decision was right for defending his residents and the country, because as the president the responsibility for taking this respond can unite his people to defend Ukraine.

The implicit meaning in Zelensky statement was found according the explanation.

Zelensky as the president showed his character as a caring leader for his citizens. It is the parts of socio politics acts in his speech by showing his effort. In his statement he showed as an effort to protect all his residents during the war conflict. Furthermore, the way

he said that he will stay at his country could be interpreted as a leader who loves his country and decided to prevent disintegration. His statement could get a positive impact for his audience, especially his civilians and the world viewers from the skynews media. Depends on women journalism, the president was having a low voice, heavy breath, and didn't have a time for sleep. He didn't have time for media interviews, but he's a former actor who understands how important and influential the media can be, and he tried to use it to get his message out there (Womeninjournalism, 2022). It is implicitly means, his condition can be seen as a leader who think and giving hard work as a leader for his residents. It is indicated himself that, through his hard work, he could influence people and make them feel sympathy. It also gives the Ukrainians hope for his leader, so they can win the war conflict.

Economic Defense

Economic defense in Zelensky speech and interviews were found as his strategy to defend his country through the economics sectors. In his statement, the president was tried to engage and influence the countries to help his country. The way of his action can be seen in his statement by promoting his resources and threat the aggressor and also blocking the international market during the war. The characteristics of Zelensky economics defend were match to economic defend in Total defend. In accordance with Mindef, Economics defend is an effort of the government, business, and industry to make the economics of country stable during the crisis of the war (MINDEF, 1984).

The context of the speech explained when, Zelensky delivered speech in effort to increase economics sector during the war, at UN General Assembly, on 21 September, 2022.

"And we have to increase the supply by sea. Both under market conditions and within the UN Food Program, for which Ukraine is always a reliable partner."

The pronouns "we" in the sentence tend to refer for Zelensky and Ukraine as the side or the activator which taking an efforts for increasing the supply. However, the phrase "we have" in the sentence as the efforts and suggestion of Zelensky to increase the sea supply of defending economics. The word "Both" is concern to the food supply which taking a prioritize under the market and UN food program. Furthermore, the word "always" in the sentence show the intensity of Ukraine as an active role partner of UN food program. According to UN News, Ukraine was a major worldwide breadbasket, producing enough food each year to feed 400 million people, and WFP has been collaborating with the government to promote and facilitate grain exports via key Black Sea ports as well as alternate land river routes (News, 2022). The concern of food supply by Ukraine is seems as the main focus for economics defend. That is the reason why he mentioned the phrase "reliable partner" in his statement. By maintaining the reliance as a food supply partnership in the market and UN food program, it could be the way for Zelensky preventing the economic crisis during the war. In accordance with world food program, Prior to the war, Ukraine was one of the world's biggest breadbaskets, but the war has significantly reduced supply for countries in desperate need. But since the agreement July 2022, WFP has supported attempts to restore the Black Sea ports. This also helps Ukraine's economy significantly (wfp, 2022). Concluding the Zelensky statement above, Zelensky as the representative of his country said to his citizens that he will strive and focus to the food supply to protect economics sector during the war. He also mentioned for both markets, to always being a reliable partner to keep food sector stable during the war.

Based on the explanation above, Zelensky told his people and government that they would try to provide food and sea supplies to protect their sectors of the economy during the war. Moreover, he also tend to explain that, they will maintain their relations in the sector and will always be a good trading partner. Even though his country is facing the war terror, Zelensky is still taking an effort on defending his economics during the war. It is an

efforts and his hope for maintain the crisis during the war between his country and Russia. This also provide economy boost by providing food and sea supply for Ukraine.

There is important meaning in Zelensky statement regarding to the speech above. His statement is including the request to the UN and his audiences for helping Ukraine economy, especially keep a relationship on food sectors. He is implicitly hope that, do not stop to support because we will increase supply or efforts to defend the Ukraine's economic defense. With the help and cooperation with Ukraine, the country will get mutual benefits in the form of an overflow food supply, as well as an easy economy for Ukraine.

Psychological Defense

Psychological defense in Zelensky's speech contains reinforcement of citizens sense of commitment to their country. His statement also can influence his audiences to instill a sense of nationalism and fighting spirit to fight for the country rights. Zelensky's psychological defense is appropriate according to categorize in total defence of psychological defense. In accordance with Matthews & Yan, the concept of psychological defense refers to a variety of educational initiatives designed to inspire citizens to protect the nation as a whole (Matthews and Yan 2007).

The context of the speech explained when, Zelensky at UN General Assembly, mentioned about Russia's ham violation and annexation of 4 regions Ukraine, on 21 September 2022.

"Ukraine wants peace. Europe wants peace. The world wants peace. And we have seen who is the only one who wants war. There is only one Entity among all UN Member States who would say now, if he could interrupt my speech, that he is happy with this war – with his war."

By giving the comparison in beginning of the statement, Zelensky is comparing his country between Europe and the world to compare peace as the thing which everyone needs. The pronouns "we" on the statement tend to describe Zelensky and his audiences. And the phrase "the only one" is referred to the Russia country who started the war conflict. According to Hodge et al, Russian forces have launched an attack on Ukraine, with reports of troops crossing the border to the north and south, as well as explosions in a number of towns, including Kyiv, on February 24, 2022 (Hodge et al., 2022). Moreover, he mentioned the phrase "only one" again and added the word "entity" as a unit or thing which referred to Russia as the member of UN states and also the attacker of the war. The pronoun "he" tend to refer Putin as Russian president which mentioned by Zelensky. Furthermore, the word "interrupt" described Putin who tried to disprove Zelensky statement for disproving statement as the side who don't want the war and purposing to attack Ukraine as demilitarized purpose. In accordance with Castillo, Russian forces have launched an attack on Ukraine, with reports of troops crossing the border to the north and south, as well as explosions in a number of towns, including Kyiv, on February 24, 2022 (Castillo, 2022). The clause "happy with this war" seems like Zelensky accused Putin as a leader who happy for this war.

The pragmatic characteristics showed in his discourse. By comparing the feelings between Ukraine, Europe, and also the world, Zelensky seems want to give his audience a sense of persuasion to feel sympathy for his country. Besides, Zelensky also indirectly invited all parties to take his side for fighting peace, by fighting for justice for his country. Since he believed that a country who wanted war did not come from his country, but Russia. The war is started since month of February and it started because of Russia attack and invasion in Ukraine who made lots of Ukrainians killed and suffer during this war.

The important messages were found in Zelensky speech. In his statement, Zelensky is indirectly accused and influenced his audiences that Russia as a country was preparing for

war which caused misery for all parties, especially for his country. He also indirectly positioned that no country wants war and destroys peace other than Russia itself. This seems to emphasize Russia as the guilty party, while Ukraine is a country that wants to fight for peace for its people. The aim of Demilitarization seems to be just a Russian tactic to take over and annex parts of Ukraine.

CONCLUSION

Every leader of the country is always having desire to defend the country and its citizens. It is all the responsibility of a president to defend the attack of war for his country. Mr. President Zelensky is the important figure for taking roles to defend his country between Russia. His effort to defend the country is the key of leader to protect the territorial and civils. The findings in Zelensky statement were contains the several 4 defense strategies that includes; military defense, civil defense, economic defense, and psychological defense.

Furthermore, the statement of Zelensky that found in the several videos were include the implied messages within his speech. These including threat, accusation to Russia, asking for help support, influence statement, provocation, and the others in his speech. All of his statement, is regarding to war conflict between Russia and Ukraine. The findings of Zelensky speech were found the aim to defend his country from the attack and terror of the war. As a leader of the country, the way of Zelensky for take a responsibility and as the important role for his country are indicated him as a great leader, who cared to his people.

The use of legitimate power is dominated seen in Zelensky statement. Since he tried to persuade his audiences to help him for defending his country. The repetition vocabulary also found in his statement, which are the word “peace” and “freedom” to persuade his audiences that all his efforts is actually aimed for peace and freedom to his country. Otherwise, the ideology also found in his statement and it plays as an important role. Zelensky as a president of Ukraine, has a nationalism spirit to instill a spirit of nationalism for his audiences and his citizens. It can be seen on his statement, especially in psychological defense such as in the sentence “Ukraine holds it line and will never surrender”. It is showed the statement as a sense of citizens who commit and defend the country from danger. He can influence people through his statement and plays a role for president who instill the people to not surrender. To conclude, all of Zelensky’s statement during the war is purposing to defend his country from Russia’s war terror. Zelensky as a president is having an important role for his country. The war conflict between Russia and Ukraine caused a lot of losses for many parties. Zelensky as a president has done the right thing for his people. The responsibility that he dedicated to the people reflects the characteristics of a firm and great president. This reflects his presidential attitude which is enviable as a leader of country.

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