CHAPTER 1: THESIS PROPOSAL

1.1 Introduction

This research will discuss critical discourse analysis on the speech of the United States (US) foreign minister, Antony J. Blinken at the UN Security Council on the response to the Russian invasion of Ukraine. It's good for us to know what is called discourse analysis. According to Hodges, Kuper, and Reeves, discourse analysis is about studying and analyzing language use. Because the term is used in so many different ways, we have simplified the approaches to discourse analysis into three groups and described how each of these approaches could be used to study a single domain, such as physician-patient communication on diabetes management. Regardless of approach, a variety of data sources are available to discourse analysts, including transcripts from interviews, focus groups, conversation samples, published literature, media, and web-based materials (Hodges, Kuper, and Reeves 2008).

Referring from the same source, regarding critical discourse analysis researchers in cultural studies, sociology, and philosophy use the term critical discourse analysis to cover a broader scope that includes all the social practices, individuals, and institutions that make it possible or legitimate to to understand phenomena in a certain way, as well as to make certain statements about what is considered to be true. Critical discourse analysis is specifically related to power and is rooted in constructivism. Thus Michel Foucault's discourse analysis, illustrates how certain discourses "systematically construct a social version of the world." Discourse analysis at this level involves not only the examination of texts and the social use of language, but also the study of the ways in which specific institutions exist and the individual roles they

play that make possible the way of thinking and speaking (Hodges, Kuper, and Reeves 2008).

This type of research is a linguistic study that is elaborated with security studies in the study of international relations. So this discussion focuses on the implicit and explicit analysis of Antony J. Blinken's speech in spreading Russophobia in a session at the UN Security Council. Through this meeting, Blinken used to represent US views on security issues as a response to Russia's invasion of Ukraine. Through his views, Blinken attempted his country to provide political maneuvers by raising the Minsk agreement as the opening bridging in his speech. Galeotti argues that the Minsk agreements themselves constitute a series of international agreements that seek to end the Donbass war between Russian armed separatist groups and the Ukrainian Armed Forces, with regular Russian troops playing a central role (Galeotti 2019).

This is understandable if judging from the ownership of veto rights at the United Nations the US directly intersects with Russia, followed by three other countries namely China, France and Britain. The two countries both have veto rights in acting at the United Nations which will automatically lead to a frictional war later. It was considered natural for Blinken to raise the issue of Russophobia in his speech implicitly and explicitly. Quoting Russian foreign policy experts, they have agreed that Russia's rise under Putin's leadership was massive, especially from the Theory of Transition of Power (TTK). This theory is a derivative of the realist/neo realist perspective developed by A.F.K. Organski. This perspective aims to explain the causes of international conflict and war as a result of the birth of power that arises due to dissatisfaction with international rules set by the dominant power. In this view, say that Russia is considered a revisionist country. That is to say, that Russia aims to be a

differentiator by providing a radical change from the old rules or by imposing new rules on international actors (A. Muhammad, Hussin, and Sahide 2019).

In books "Kebangkitan Kembali Great Power: Politik Luar Negeri Rusia Era Presiden Vladimir Putin," alludes to the extreme side of TTK which has a tendency to see Russia as a "trouble maker" that cannot be repaired. Thus, in principle, Russia is deemed unable to assimilate or internalize democratic-values and play by established international rules (A. Muhammad, Hussin, and Sahide 2019). So that in this study, researchers caught many indications of high sentiment towards Russia in Blinken's speech at the UN Security Council, so that the issue of Russophobia was considered as the core discourse in Blinken's speech. This shows that the US is allegedly trying to show the existence of its ideological hegemony in international politics. The purpose of this study is to analyze the content of Antony J. Blinken's speech which is full of sentiment towards Russia as a response to his invasion of Ukraine under the pretext of securitization using a critical discourse study analysis knife to unravel the hidden meaning behind the wording of Blinken's speech as a representation of the US on the international stage.

1.2 Question Research
Through this research, the question arises, how did the US discuss Russophobia with the reason of emergence security at the UN Security Council through the speech by the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Antony J. Blinken?

1.3 Research Puroses
The purpose of the research entitled "Analysis of Critical Discourse on Russophobic Rhetoric in the UN Security Council in the Speech of Antony J. Blinken" is as follows:

a. Explaining that in international relations will involve the role of state actors and their instruments to perpetuate their national interests.

b. Explaining the importance of speech content in positioning the representative attitude of state actors as instruments of propaganda in international relations.

c. Explaining the use of language that intervenes in the linguistic communication of state actors for reasons of securitization in a propagandistic perspective.

1.4 Literature Review

The author uses 73 papers that are analyzed bibliometrically through Publish or Perish with Google Scholar as a reference. With Citation Metrics as follows: Publication Years: 2015-2022; Citation Years: 7 (2015-2022); Total Papers: 73; Citations: 231; Cites/Year: 33.00; Cites/Paper 3.16; Author's Paper: 1.90; h-index: 6; g-index: 13; hI,norm: 6; hI,annual: 0.86; hA-index: 4, with papers with ACC $> = 1,2,5,10,20 : 18, 13, 2,0,0$. Then narrow down the words with the highest probability of appearing, namely Critical Discourse Analysis and Speech. That is, these two words are always related in every research that discusses these two words. This indicates that the word Critical Discourse Analysis which was read from the VOS Viewer application with the Network Visualization feature found 17 items, which then consisted of 3 clusters, with 108 links, and the total links read in the application were 554 links. That way, there are 3 clusters found, meaning that research on Critical Discourse Analysis when it has been visualized with the VOS Viewer application is divided into 3 clusters including the red cluster, which means the core cluster, then the blue cluster with medium scope, and lastly the green cluster with the smallest scope of discussion.
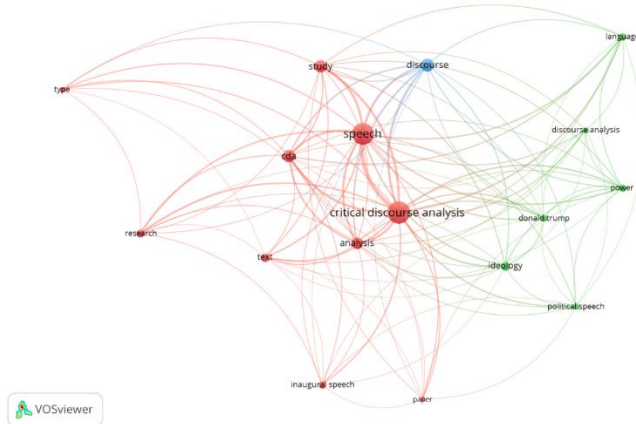
Figure 1: Image of the Network Visualization Feature of the VOS Viewer application

While the next image is the result of processing the Overlay Visualization feature of the VOS Viewer Application which displays three gradations of dark blue to the youngest color, namely yellow. This indicates that the discussion in yellow is the latest or the most up to date with the latest year, namely 2020. Which, when pivoted to discourse analysis, will be connected to the word analysis that is closest, then followed by Donald Trump, speech, study, power, ideology, political speech, language, text and CDA.
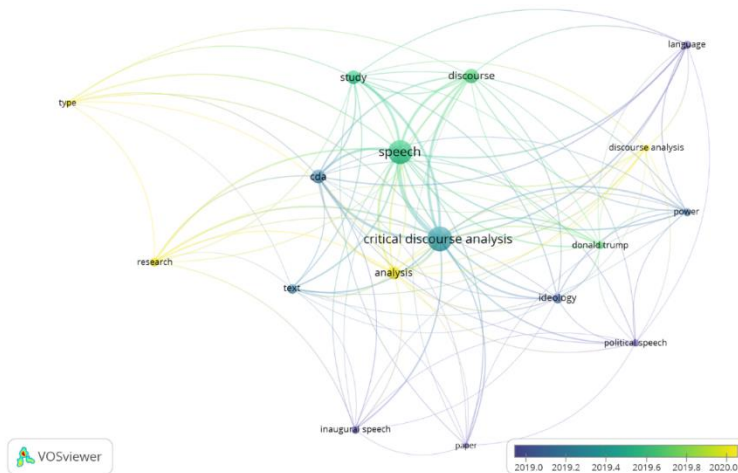

Figure 2: Image of the Overlay Visualization Feature from the VOS Viewer Application

Thus the writer concludes that the novelty of this paper will discuss the speech of the US Deputy Secretary of State, Antony J. Blinken, who allegedly had a major influence on the face of the administration of US President, Joe Biden in his foreign views on the Russian invasion of Ukraine. Apart from that, he also took action to corner Russia as an ideological enemy of the US by spreading the issue of Russophobia through his speech at the UN Security Council as a medium for conveying it.

1.5 Theoretical Framework
1.5.1   Critical Discourse Analysis

Critical Discourse Study or often referred to as Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) is a study to reveal or expose discourse, that a discourse contains an ideological content or power from the maker of the text (discourse). Therefore, in CDA's view, language is no longer neutral, this is because language has been contaminated with ideological understanding from text or narrative makers (Julianto 2021). According to Masitoh, Critical Discourse Study is a linguistic study that discusses discourse not from linguistic elements, but relates it to context. The theoretical basis of discourse analysis is based on several historical developments in the philosophy of knowledge and social theory (Masitoh 2020).

Epistemologically, discourse comes from Sanskrit, namely vacana, which means reading. Furthermore, the word discourse entered into old Javanese and new Javanese, which means talk, words, and utterances. Then, the word discourse in the new Javanese language was absorbed into Indonesian to become discourse, which means "speech, conversation, lecture." Discourse can also move from a functional view, namely discourse is seen as language in use. With this perspective, discourse is understood as a communication event, namely the embodiment of the individual who is

communicating. The language used by the speaker is seen as a manifestation of the speaker's actions (Julaeha, Suherman, and Julianto 2021).

Quoting from Haryatmoko, there are four characteristics of critical discourse study research including the first, critical discourse study researchers have a commitment to fight for equality and social justice. Second, critical discourse studies pay close attention to the way discourse produces or reproduces social domination. Third, critical discourse studies cannot be equated with other models of social research because they already have the assumption that many formulations of texts or discourses are unfair or discriminatory. Fourth, critical discourse studies are not theory-oriented, but problem-oriented. So this kind of orientation requires an ethical assessment that can see discourse as a legitimate social interaction or not from the point of view of basic norms (Haryatmoko 2019).

In his writings, Haryatmoko cites the views of critical discourse studies according to van Dijk. Not only highlighting social irregularities, but van Dijk also emphasized the study of mental representations and the processes that occur in language users (cognition) when they want to produce and understand discourse and take part in the interaction of knowledge, ideology or beliefs of certain social groups. Meanwhile, there are 13 steps of critical discourse study research: 1. Context analysis; 2. Determine the topic or macrostructural semantics; 3. Local meaning; 4. The relevance of the formal structure is disguised; 5. Linking text and context in the form of context models; 6. Discourse semantics, namely the event model; 7. Social cognition; 8. Ideology; 9. Community situation; 10. Micro and macro dimensions of society; 11. Discursive acts as socio-political actions; 12. Actors as participants who have various roles; 13. Analyze the structure of society (Haryatmoko 2019).

Critical Discourse Analysis for example discusses the ideological character of discourse, in this case Fairclouh takes the example, a reasonable interpretation of public finances is basically the same as a household budget, an interpretation favored by former British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher and by many other politicians, so that for example the government must 'budget and save' just like households (Fairclough 2012). According to Fairclough, discourse is generally used in various senses which include, first, making meaning as an element of social processes, secondly, in terms of language related to certain fields or social practices, for example political discourse, thirdly, namely how to interpret aspects of the world related to certain social perspectives. (e.g. the discourse of neo-liberal globalization. It's easy to confuse them, so I prefer to use semiosis for the first, most abstract and general sense (Fairclough 2003).

1.5.2 Securitization Theory of Copenhagen School

Quoting from Buzan, Waever, and Wilde in their book Security: A Framework for Analysis explains that the study of security is a matter of survival. That is, security studies are not only within the scope of state and military issues, but also on economic, social, political and environmental issues (Buzan, Waever, and Wilde 1998). Quoting from Caballero and Emmers there are three stages in the process of securitizing an issue, namely the non-political, political and securitized stages. Caballero said that an issue will be at a non-political stage when the issue becomes part of community discussion and has not yet reached the level of government discussion. (Caballero et al. 2004). Conversely, if the issue has entered the political process, then immediately the issue becomes a topic of discussion, negotiation and even becomes a debate at the government level. Finally, if an issue is said to be securitized, namely when actors, both state and non-state, have agreed

on the existence of a threat and the need for emergency measures to overcome the threat (Caballero, Mely, and Emmers 2006).

According to Buzan, the study of securitization in international relations can mean that, who is trying to secure it? (Securitizing Actor), on what issues? (Threats), for whom? (Referent Object), Why (Why?), with what results, not least, under what conditions (Buzan, Waever, and Wilde 1998). Securitization actors take security threats objectively and try to solve them by carrying out various missions. Apart from that, there are also functional actors who can influence the dynamics of the security sector but do not have the power to move an issue above politics. Functional actors are paramount because they will help frame storylines about the existentially threatening nature of problems, often creating disparities between groups and often involved in other processes. Examples of functional actors could be the media, academia, non-governmental organizations and think-tanks. This can also include the individuals themselves, by telling and sharing stories between friends, family and colleagues. For example, extreme claims made in tabloid newspapers across Europe created narratives in which Islamic State groups infiltrated society and worked to bring about the downfall of democratic nations (Eroukhmanoff 2018).

In the international relations literature, a threat is defined as a situation in which one agent or group has the ability or intention to cause negative consequences on another agent or group. (Rousseau and Garcia-Retamero 2007). The Speech Act is the essence of securitization theory which shows the rhetorical structure of decision makers when framing an issue and trying to convince audiences to raise the issue above politics (Buzan, Waever, and Wilde 1998). The referent object, which is a central idea in securitization theory, is something that is threatened and needs to be protected.

Securitization theorists define five sectors which include; (a) economic sector, (b) social, (d) military, (e) politics, and (f) environment. In each sector, specific threats are articulated as threats to the reference object. For example, in the social sector, the reference object is identity, while the reference object in the environmental field is ecosystems and species that are threatened with extinction. Only in the military sector the object of reference remains the state. By sectoralizing security, researchers understand that existential threats are not objective but related to different characteristics of each object of reference.

This technique also highlights the contextual nature of security and threats (Sahu 2022).

If you look at what happened in the Russia-Ukraine conflict, the US sees this conflict as a securitized issue. What Blinken has done in his speech at the UN headquarters in New York is an indication that an issue has entered the realm of securitized issues. This indication can be said to be relevant because Blinken used the UN security-council as a medium to agree on a joint consensus from the countries present to agree on a common threat, namely Russia. From the joint threat that was directed at Russia, Blinken led the opinion to hold an emergency measure to overcome this common threat. On the other hand, securitization actors can also use speech acts as a tool to construct an issue into a security threat, and to convince and warn the public of the danger of threats directed at Russia against its invasion of Ukraine. It is hoped that the speech act that has been carried out by Blinken will be able to sway public opinion as well as give securitization actors the opportunity to mobilize state power in forming regulations to stop this threat. Quoting from Trihartono, the speech act is considered to have a very vital role in determining the success or failure of a securitization object (Trihartono, Indriastuti, and Nisya 2020).

Based on the indicators described by Buzan, in this study the one trying to secure (securitizing actor) is the US with Antony J. Blinken as its representative. The thing that makes a threat to the current issue is the case of the Russian military invasion of Ukraine with its military expansion. Meanwhile, the reference object refers to US efforts to side with the Ukrainian camp which is in the process of westernization. As for the aspect of securitization, namely in the form of ideology, so that the initiation desire arose to join NATO on the Ukrainian side, which is actually against Russia.

So that the results of indications (results) can be found in efforts to spread anti-Russian sentiment from the US in the UN Security Council Assembly. This was allegedly a good moment considering that military invasions in the modern era are taboo on the pretext of humanitarian issues.

1.6 Hypothesis

Antony J. Blinken's speech indicated that there was a discourse of sentiment that led public opinion to Russophobia in the UN security-council session, this was done as an effort to show the existence of US power hegemony in the international political arena.

1.7 Metodologi

This research was conducted using qualitative methods with content analysis techniques, this is due to the comprehensive study of content, time and place settings, along with the basis that triggers the problem. Content analysis is widely used to describe the characteristics of the content of a message. There are at least four content analysis designs that are commonly used to describe message characteristics. Content analysis is used to see messages in different situations, situations here can be in different contexts, social and political (Mostafa 2020). Content analysis is used to look at messages for different audiences, the audience here refers to readers, listeners or different media audiences. Content analysis is used to look at messages from different communicators. Content analysis can not only be used to see a picture of a message (O'Boyle and Pardun 2021). Content analysis can also be used to draw conclusions about the causes of a message. In content analysis the focus here is not the description of the message, but answering the question why the message "content" appears in a certain form (Akbar et al. 2021).

Qualitative method is a study whose research results are not obtained through statistical procedures or other quantification methods. Instead,

researchers will use a naturalistic approach to understand a particular phenomenon. According to Nahid Golafshani, in the journal The Qualitative Report, 2003 that, "qualitative research is trying to gain enlightenment and understanding of an object phenomenon and extrapolation in the same situation"(Golafshani 2003). According to Bakry, the purpose of using qualitative methods is to collect data that is commonly used in international relations research based on documents or archives, interviews, and internet-based research as sources of news (Bakry 2017).

Meanwhile, according to Moleong, the function and utilization of qualitative research is to examine the background of phenomena that cannot be examined through quantitative research. Then it is used to enrich the perspective on mainstream matters. Utilized by researchers who have an interest in examining a background about motivation, roles, values, attitudes and perceptions. To understand sensitive issues about situations and realities faced by a person. As well as being used to research a phenomenon that until now has not been widely known (Moleong 2017).

1.8 Data Collection Methods

The data that has been collected from the speeches is then divided into four quotations based on certain keywords under various Anti-Russian themes as the broader theme of analysis. To make it easier to collect the data referred to by researchers using the NVivo 12 Plus software. The function of using this software is to guarantee data validity for more in-depth analysis. Besides that, it is also supported from literature from journals from Scopus, Google Scholar, as well as from news sources to strengthen theoretical arguments with reality facts.

The data was found in the form of video speeches obtained via the YouTube channel entitled, *"Secretary Blinken Remarks at the UN Security*

Council" with page https://youtu.be/p2Dpdk4g5H8. Meanwhile, speech texts were obtained through web pages https://www.state.gov/secretary-antony-j-blinken-on-russias-threat-to-peace-and-security-at-the-un-security-council/ entitled *"Secretary Antony J. Blinken on Rusia's Threat to Peace and Security at the UN Security Council"* which was released on February 17th on the webpage *"U.S. Embassy & Consulates in Indonesia",* besides that it is also a release speech at https://www.state.gov/secretary-antony-j-blinken-on-Rusias-threat-to-peace-and-security-at-the-un-security-council/ entitled *"Secretary Antony J. Blinken on Rusia's Threat to Peace and Security at the UN Security Council",* on the official website of the US government www.state.gov all of which were then accessed by researchers on March 14, 2022.

Researchers used 73 samples of referential articles obtained from Scopus which were then continued at the coding stage using the VOS Viewer application to find research novelties. After that, the researcher continued the coding process on the speech text that had been obtained via access from the US government website using the NVivo 12 Plus application. If the VOS Viewer application is used to find the scope of discussion that often appears in a study, then the NVivo 12 Plus application is used by researchers to see the frequency of words used by Blinken in narrating his speech at the UN Security Council.

1.9 Data Analysis Techniques
Various elements of the ideological model are then used under the umbrella of critical discourse studies. In Khan's article quoting from Xiang, critical discourse analysis which later developed into critical discourse studies was developed under a critical research paradigm that is useful for analyzing political rhetoric, parliamentary processes, demonstrations, political speeches and political campaigns such as elections (Xiang 2019). According to Xiang,

critical discourse studies are experiencing a popular trend and are becoming a popular research tool in the modern era in contemporary research based on language analysis approaches that are embedded in social or political issues (Xiang 2019). With this statement, Kanwal and Garcia argue that CDS has the aim of studying how power in language through diction selection is then used to manipulate people in general (Kanwal and García 2019).

In this way, this study has gained popularity due to its broad applicability and application across research fields. In addition, a model like this is a qualitative analytic approach that is used to describe, illustrate, interpret, and explain how discourse is constructed and legitimized in a number of contexts. Because of Russia's invasion of Ukraine, the US response emerged through Foreign Minister Blinken as a representative of NATO, which incidentally is a rival of Russia in the security and military fields. This method was chosen deliberately for this study because Blinken's speech displayed the basis of anti-Russian and anti-Russian military rhetoric which in fact had invaded Ukraine under the pretext of military operations to eradicate Neo-Nazis under the leadership of Volodymyr Zelensky who at that time was about to join the NATO alliance. This speech was delivered by Blinken at the United Nations Security Council on February 17, 2022 at the UN Headquarters in New York City, New York. The text of the speech obtained by the researcher was obtained through the official website of the US Embassy and Consulates in Indonesia by using a link, as well as the video version of the speech obtained via the YouTube channel as verification.

1.10   Object of Research
The object of research in writing scientific papers is to make Antony J. Blinken's speech an open propaganda medium for discussing Russophobia.

1.11   Writing System

The author describes the systematics of writing in this thesis which are grouped into several chapters as follows:

Chapter 1 The author includes a thesis proposal.

Chapter 2 The author includes publications in the INTERMESTIC: Journal of International Studies, Padjadjaran University, entitled "A Critical Discourse Analysis Russophobia Rhetoric in UN Security Council's Speech by Antony J. Blinken."

Chapter 3 The author includes Sinta 3 Publication Journal of Islamic World and Politics (JIWP) Muhammadiyah University of Yogyakarta, entitled, "Critical Discourse Analysis of President Joe Biden's Russophobia Rhetorical Remarks Prior to the 77th United Nations General Assembly"

Chapter 4 The author provides arguments, conclusions, implications and suggestions for consideration for further research.