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**Critical Analysis of the American Ideology towards Russian-Ukrainian
War in Selected US Newspapers**

**Dissertation Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for
Master's Degree in Literature and Civilization**

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Academic year: 2023/2024

Dedication

This work is dedicated to my mom, the light of my eyes, my dad, my ideal role model, my sisters, who always stand by me, my brothers, my pillars of strength, and all my friends, my constant support. It is also dedicated to all those who have been guiding light and unwavering support throughout my journey.

“Soufia HAMMACHA”

First, praise be to God for all blessings, and praise be to God for achieving the goals. This work is a dedication to the source of my support, encouragement, love, and strength that led me to achieve the highest ranks, my dear family, my father, who has always been the first supporter of all my steps, and my mother, whose advice and prayers guided me at a steady pace. May God protect them.

"Hanane MESBAHI"

Acknowledgements

In the name of Allah, the Most Gracious, the Most Merciful.

We would like to begin by expressing our profound gratitude to our supervisor, **Dr. NESBA Kaouther**, who has been extremely disciplined, supportive, kind and encouraging us throughout this journey. We are lucky to have her with such scientific competence and we are grateful for her guidance, support, and appreciation. This work would not have been accomplished without her assistance.

Our thanks and appreciations also go to all our teachers who taught us over the past five years.

We have not, and we will not forget, your hard work and efforts.

Finally, we extend our gratitude to the jury members for graciously accepting and engaging in discussions and assessing this dissertation. We value your perspectives and input.

.

Abstract

This study investigates American ideology regarding the Russian-Ukrainian war, as depicted in mainstream Western media, particularly focusing on U.S. newspapers. It examines the framing of the conflict and the positions taken by these outlets. Using qualitative methods, 50 news articles from five prominent American newspapers were analyzed. The study employed Van Dijk's (2005) ideological discourse analysis for micro-level data, and Braun and Clarke's (2006) thematic analysis for macro-level data. The analysis identified 25 discursive devices and their linguistic uses that shaped power dynamics and ideologies. Five main themes were constructed, collectively revealing how American media portrays the Russo-Ukrainian war and reflects underlying American ideology. The findings suggest a biased media approach, emphasizing Ukrainian suffering while misrepresenting and demonizing the Russian perspective. It is recommended that further studies are necessary to better understand the issue, detect biases in Western media coverage, and explore the evolution of American ideology.

Keywords: American, Ideology, Newspapers, Russia, Ukraine.

List of Abbreviations and Acronyms

CDA	Critical Discourse Analysis
EU	European Union
IDA	Ideological Discourse Analysis
IOC	The International Olympic Committee
NATO	The North Atlantic Treaty Organization
Nov	November
NYP	The new York post
NYT	The new York times
TA	Thematic Analysis
UN	United Nations
US	The United States
USA	United states of America
USAT	The USA Today
WP	The Washington post
WSJ	The wall street journal

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General Introduction

1. Background of the Study

During World War II in September 1939, Western countries, including the United States, Britain, and France, allied with the Soviet Union to confront the common Nazi enemy, despite the noticeable ideological differences between the two poles and a clash of interests. As soon as World War II ended, signs of mistrust began between the Western allies and the Soviets during the Yalta Conference in February 1945, from which the concept of the so-called Cold War was formed.

The Cold War was a geopolitical tension and ideological conflict between the United States (US) and the Soviet Union from 12 March 1947 to 25 December 1991. The two camps remained in hostility and competition throughout this period until 1991, when the end of the Soviet Union was officially announced after the West's victory in this war. The world moved from bipolarity to unipolarity according to a new international system under the control and influence of the US.

After the dissolution of the Soviet Union in 1991, Ukraine and Russia continued to maintain close relations. Although it has been considered an independent state since 1991 and as a constituent republic of the collapsed Soviet Union, the Russian leadership viewed Ukraine as a part of its sphere of influence. Successive Ukrainian governments sought to form closer relations with the European Union by signing an economic partnership agreement. Russia said that Ukraine's possible accession to the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) and the expansions of the alliance in general threaten its national security. As a result, Russia carried out many military operations in Ukrainian territory, where Russian soldiers took control of strategic and vital sites in the Crimean Peninsula.

Subsequently, it annexed Crimea under its sovereignty. In November 2018, after the Kerch Strait incident, the conflict was renewed and relations between Russia and Ukraine

became tense, which led to Russia announcing the launch of a military invasion from late October 2021 to February 2023, which has remained in place until now.

In general, the media serves as a means to cover the movements and perspectives of governments and individuals regarding acts, events, and wars worldwide. Its role is to present information in a way that aligns with the desired narrative, primarily for the population of the country involved and, secondarily, for the general public. Over the years, the American media has played a crucial role in addressing perceptions of global events, influencing public opinion on war, crises, and other significant matters.

2. Statement of the Problem

Based on what was mentioned above, Russia will not give the chance to Ukraine to be a member in the European Union, as it is an integral part of Russia's influence and one of its most important strategic regional borders. As a result, it launched a military invasion in October 2021 in order to protect its territorial borders, in addition to its eternally tense relations with America. The US consistently utilizes the media to shape perceptions of its actions and decisions concerning global complexities, particularly in the realm of print media. The American ideology regarding the Russian-Ukrainian war is presented in newspapers. Besides to previous studies, this research analyzes critically and explores the ideology which the US express through newspapers to justify its stance.

3. Research Questions

This study aims to answer the following research questions:

Q1. What discursive devices are employed in chosen US print media articles regarding the conflict between Russia and Ukraine?

Q2. What are the themes discussed in the American press in covering the Russian-Ukrainian war?

4. Aims of the Study

This study aims to investigate common discursive devices besides to identified themes within US Newspapers to portray the western media coverage of Russian-Ukrainian war. Additionally, it seeks to thoroughly explore the methods and mechanisms employed in United State printed media during framing the war. By conveying the different devices and themes used in American Newspapers, our study target to depict the western position towards Russian-Ukrainian war precisely the embedded American ideology.

5. The significance of the study

The present study is significant for several reasons. Firstly, it offers a unique opportunity to delve into the prevailing ideological currents within American media and society by scrutinizing how major newspapers portray and interpret the Russian-Ukrainian conflict. This exploration not only unveils underlying biases and values but also elucidates the dominant narratives shaping American attitudes towards international crises. Secondly, the study's findings can illuminate the influential role of media in shaping public opinion, thereby impacting diplomatic relations between the United States and Russia/Ukraine. By providing insights into media representations of the conflict, the study can inform policymakers, journalists, and advocacy groups, facilitating a more nuanced understanding of the dynamics at play and potentially influencing future policy decisions. Ultimately, the study contributes to academic discourse by applying critical analysis techniques to media coverage of a significant international event, thereby enriching scholarship in media studies, international relations, and conflict resolution.

6. Research Methodology

The present study follows qualitative approach to carefully analyze the discursive devices aside from the constructed themes within American Newspapers; in order to clarify American position hence its ideology.

6.1 Sampling

In the terms of data provenance, the researchers selected five print media sources based on their interests, origins, and popularity both locally and globally. The sampling method employed in this dissertation involved the selection of prominent newspapers known for their national and international coverage, ensuring a diverse representation of perspectives on the Russian-Ukrainian war. The selected newspapers included The New York Times (NYT), renowned for its comprehensive reporting and analysis of global events, the Wall Street newspaper (WSJ), known for its in-depth coverage of business and world news, The Washington Post (WP), recognized for its investigative journalism and political analysis, USA Today (USAT), a widely circulated newspaper providing a broad overview of current affairs, and The New York Post (NYP), known for its distinctive editorial stance and coverage of breaking news.

These newspapers were chosen due to their wide readership, influence on public opinion, and reputation for providing nuanced perspectives on complex geopolitical issues. By including a range of newspapers with varying editorial stances and readerships, this sampling approach aimed to capture a comprehensive overview of American ideology towards the Russian-Ukrainian war as portrayed in the mainstream media landscape.

6.2 Data analysis

The current study adopts qualitative data analysis approach where it uncovers nuanced insights and patterns, contributing to a more detailed and comprehensive understanding of the subject under investigation. In this research, the chosen methodological approach is critical analysis approach where the researchers read critically and they systematically evaluate the articles selected and discussed. The data analysis is conducted through the adoption of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA). CDA examines language to uncover power structures, biases, and societal nuances within communication. Rooted in critical social theory, it explores how

language reflects and shapes societal power dynamics. It permits researchers to delve into linguistic choices, discourse patterns, and contextual influences to gain a comprehensive understanding of how language influences societal norms and power relations.

Within the broader framework of CDA, this study employs Van Dijk's Ideological Discourse Analysis (IDA). The discourse plays a pivotal role in expressing thoughts and interests through words, talk and context. While, ideologies are a set of ideas and political beliefs of an individual, group or culture. Van Dijk's theory aims to highlight some specific issues that have been ignored in the practice of ideological discourse analysis. This latter is seen as one type of the sociopolitical discourse analysis that can help to associate US-Russian Ukrainian conflict and the structural units, levels and strategies of articles texts within US newspapers.

This theory provides an explanation about the analysis's elements in order to investigate the different social positions and ideologies that are reflected by US communities. Furthermore, it seeks to display the correlative relationship between these positions and the discourse through a theoretical society-actor interface by crossing over the well-known macro-micro structures.

Van Dijk (2005) delineates a comprehensive array of 25 discursive devices, each serving distinct functions within ideological discourse production and analysis of political communication. These techniques serve as both tools for constructing persuasive narratives and as lenses for dissecting the underlying ideological frameworks within political discourse.

1. **Actor description:** Refers to how individuals or groups are portrayed, influencing perceptions of agency and responsibility.
2. **Authority:** Establishing credibility through reasoned argumentation and expertise.
3. **Burden:** Imposing responsibility or obligation on certain entities or groups.
4. **Categorization:** Sorting entities or concepts into groups, shaping understanding and association.

5. **Comparison:** Drawing parallels or contrasts to convey meaning or strengthen arguments.
6. **Consensus:** Strategically building agreement or unity among disparate factions.
7. **Counterfactuals:** Using hypothetical scenarios to illustrate points or challenge prevailing narratives.
8. **Disclaimers:** Qualifying statements to mitigate potential criticism or liability.
9. **Euphemism:** Employing softer or more indirect language to convey sensitive or unpleasant topics.
10. **Evidentiality:** Providing evidence or justification to support claims or arguments.
11. **Example/Illustration:** Offering concrete instances to elucidate abstract concepts or arguments.
12. **Generalization:** Extending principles or observations to broader contexts.
13. **Hyperbole:** Exaggerating for emphasis or rhetorical effect.
14. **Implication:** Suggesting meanings or consequences indirectly.
15. **Irony:** Expressing ideas contrary to what is expected for rhetorical or satirical purposes.
16. **Lexicalization:** Shaping discourse through the choice and usage of specific words or phrases.
17. **Metaphor:** Utilizing figurative language to convey abstract concepts through tangible imagery.
18. **National self-glorification:** Promoting national identity or achievements.
19. **Norm expression:** Reinforcing societal norms or values.
20. **Number game:** Using statistical data or numerical arguments to persuade.
21. **Polarization (US-Them categorization):** Dividing groups into "us" versus "them" to foster identity and conflict.
22. **Populism:** Appealing to the interests and sentiments of the general populace.
23. **Presupposition:** Embedding assumptions into discourse to shape perceptions.

24. **Vagueness:** Using ambiguous or imprecise language to evade scrutiny or commitment.

25. **Victimization:** Portraying oneself or one's group as unjustly persecuted or disadvantaged.

These techniques reflect the complex interplay between language, power, and ideology in shaping political discourse and public opinion.

The theoretical framework that will be used in the second chapter of analysis was the qualitative thematic analysis approach (TA) guided by van Dijk's (1988) news as discourse in order to provide new insights to the investigated study and increases the credibility of findings and results. Moreover, thematic analysis is also used to investigate the American media concealment of Russian-Ukrainian war, and hence, the American ideology towards the conflict. Braun and Clarke (2006) defined thematic analysis as "a method for identifying, analyzing, and reporting patterns (themes) within data" (Braun and Clarke, 2006, p.6). It is different from other qualitative method by its reflexivity and validity to expose different patterns and meanings within different types of discourse. To systematically conducting thematic analysis approach and comprehensively answer the research question, Braun and Clarke (2006) model is followed step by step. According to them, the TA method consists of six phases outlined to be as:

Phase1: familiarizing yourself with your data.

Phase 2: generating initial codes.

Phase 3: searching for themes.

Phase 4: reviewing themes.

Phase 5: defining and naming themes.

Phase 6: producing the report.

7. Structure of the study

This dissertation contains one theoretical chapter and two empirical chapters. The first chapter, in its first part, discusses the concept of ideology, which is the primary theoretical approach identified in the American discourse towards the Russian-Ukrainian war. The second

part of this chapter provides a literature review that examines and synthesizes previous studies related firstly to political discourse and secondly to the Russian-Ukrainian war, aiming to identify gaps in our understanding. The second chapter critically analyzes the language of the data collected from American newspapers using van Dijk's 25 devices, providing a detailed examination of how these devices are employed to shape public perception and discourse. The third chapter goes beyond constructing the different themes that identified from the data extracts of American media, which evidently uncover the western ideologies towards Russian-Ukrainian war by giving a glimpse about American newspapers coverage of both sides of the conflict.

CHAPTER ONE

Ideology, discourse and Russian-Ukrainian war

Chapter One: Ideology, Discourse and Russian-Ukrainian War

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Introduction

This study examines the American ideology towards the Russian-Ukrainian war amidst significant media coverage. Before addressing this issue, the present chapter establishes theoretical foundations and review previous research. It provided details about four key elements: ideology, politics, discourse, and the Russian-Ukrainian war. The concept of ideology is explored hierarchically, tracing its origins and defining its connection to politics and discourse. Similarly, political discourse is divided into discourse and politics, examining various perspectives from scholars, authors, and analysts, leading to discourse analysis. The last section comprehensively discusses the Russian-Ukrainian war from diverse perspectives, covering the conflict's timeline from its origins to the present.

1.1 . Ideology

1.1.1 . Historical Background

The term "ideology" originates from Greek, combining "ideo" (ideas) and "logos" (science), thus meaning "science of ideas." Antoine Destutt De Tracy coined the term during the French Enlightenment in 1796 in his book *Elements of Ideology*. Louis Althusser (1970) confirmed that Cabanis, Destutt De Tracy, and their colleagues were the founders of the term. Subsequently, Marx adopted and further developed the concept fifty years later.

De Tracy believed that all human sciences were sciences of ideas, aiming to serve and protect people by using logic and eliminating fanaticism. Terry Eagleton (1994, p.01) affirmed this view, stating, "For most of us nowadays, 'ideology' has something of a pejorative ring to it, evoking a whole array of negative notions from false consciousness to fanaticism, mental blockage to mystification."

1.1.2 . Definition of Ideology

Ideology has several definitions depending on different scholars' works. Antoine Louis Claude Destutt de Tracy first mentioned the term "ideology" in his book *Elements of Ideology*.

He defined ideology as the analysis of ideas broken down into sensory elements, emphasizing the physiological basis of human sensations in shaping knowledge and behavior. Tracy's concept of ideology revolves around dissecting ideas into sensory components and understanding how these components influence conscious behavior.

Additionally, Engels and Marx contributed to multiple ideological concepts, with "false consciousness" being the most prominent. This term, first coined by Engels in his letter to Franz Mehring, portrays ideology as follows:

Ideology is a process accomplished by the so-called thinker consciously, indeed, but with a false consciousness. The real motives impelling him remain unknown to him; otherwise, it would not be an ideological process at all.

Hence, he imagines false or apparent motives. (Engels, 1968, p. 586).

Ideology as false consciousness refers to the process by which thinkers consciously theorize based on abstract or 'pure' thought, which is perceived as separate from human agency and considered a driving force in history. Engels argues that this belief in thought alone governing human behavior constitutes false consciousness because it overlooks the economic foundations of thought, which are products of human activities and material conditions. It is worth noting that while Marx did not explicitly use the term 'false consciousness'," the concept was developed by both Marx and Engels in their work, *The German Ideology*.

In simple terms, ideology refers to a framework of beliefs, values, and ideas that inform individuals' understanding of the world and their behavior. These beliefs are shaped by sensory experiences, cognitive processes, and social influences. Ideologies can result in diverse viewpoints and interpretations of reality, and are influenced by cultural, social, political, and personal factors.

1.1.3 . Ideology and Conflict

Maynard (2019) discussed the relationship between ideology and conflict in his work, "Ideology and armed conflict", as a critical aspect of social dynamics. Ideology plays an

important role in shaping group identities, determining targets of hostility, and facilitating coordinated actions; all of which are essential elements in either escalating or resolving conflicts. Shared beliefs and values rooted in ideology can either exacerbate conflicts by deepening existing divisions or provide a foundation for reconciliation and peace-building efforts.

The impact of ideology on conflict extends beyond immediate violence, influencing social structures, political systems, and overall community stability. Understanding the interplay between ideology and conflict is vital for effective conflict resolution and management, as ideologies can shape perceptions, motivations, and behaviors that can either escalate or mitigate conflicts within societies.

1.1.4 . Ideology and Discourse

Marika and Simo (2022) said that for researchers of language and social practices, connotations of discourse and ideology provides the means based on investigating communication and social interaction to identify how it occurs and the reasons behind this communication. Therefore, it is a systematic and in-depth study of the various segments and structures of society.

Dant (2013) in his book *Knowledge, Ideology and Discourse* indicated that structuralists treat the concept of discourse from two sides: form and content. He defined this term as the linguistic production of any human being. By this study as well, Dant aimed to demonstrate that the practical investigation of discourse makes the sociological analysis of ideology and knowledge achievable.

To sum up, there is a close connection between ideology and discourse, and perhaps what is most affected by ideology and its context is discourse and language. Ideology contains a set of concepts and beliefs that in turn work to shape the social perception of a particular class or group of society. This cognitive awareness is the primary driver of the group's positions, actions, and interactions, and thus, the discourse produced by it.

1.1.5 . Ideology and Power

The connection between ideology and power is a complex and crucial aspect of social environment. Scholars, such as Therborn (1999) and Mann (2012), have extensively explored this relationship. Therborn's research delves into various significant aspects, such as how ideologies shape human subjects, the material foundations of ideologies, their evolution over time, and their role in organizing social classes. Similarly, Mann's analysis in his book emphasizes how groups with strong ideological beliefs can exert significant influence, often presenting a comprehensive view of society and envisioning an ideal future.

Ideologies, according to Mann (2012), attribute moral qualities like 'good' and 'evil' to individuals, enabling actions of sacrifice and violence. He categorizes ideological power into transcendent, immanent, and institutionalized forms; each impacting social stability and change differently. These ideologies shape beliefs, values, and power dynamics within societies, influencing governance and social order profoundly.

Therborn (1999) and Mann (2012) shed light on how ideologies intersect with power structures, impacting human behavior, social norms, and power distribution within communities. Their insights underscore the complicated relationship between ideology and power, highlighting their significant influence on social foundations and frameworks.

1.1.6. Political Ideology

Political ideologies play a crucial role in shaping societies as highlighted by thinkers such as Rousseau and Marx. Political ideology refers to a set of beliefs, values, or principles that guide political behavior, decision-making, and social organization. Rousseau's concept of the general will underscores the importance of collective agreement in establishing a legitimate state, fostering unity and shared values among the populace. This approach guides governance decisions based on common interests rather than individual desires, influencing the formulation and implementation of laws and policies (Rousseau, 1762).

In contrast, Marx (1867)'s analysis delves into how societal beliefs and values influence community structures, policies, and interactions, particularly through his theories on class conflict and the struggles of the working class. Marx's insights reveal the intricate power dynamics within political ideologies, illustrating how different groups interact and compete for dominance (Marx, 1867).

In essence, political ideologies play a crucial role in shaping societies by guiding governance decisions, influencing laws and policies, and alter the balance of power within communities. They provide frameworks for collective agreement, unity, and shared values. In addition, they reveal the complexities of social structures and interactions.

1.1.6.1. Types of Political Ideology

Political ideologies, as analyzed by Eccleshall, et al. (2014), are intricate and diverse, encompassing a range of perspectives and can be categorized into seven types as follow:

- 1. Liberalism:** Places a strong emphasis on equality, individual liberty, and minimal government involvement in social and economic matters.
- 2. Conservatism:** Advocates for traditional values, institutions, and gradual societal change to preserve stability.
- 3. Socialism:** Focuses on social and economic equality through collective ownership of resources and means of production.
- 4. Nationalism:** Supports a particular nation's interests and identity, frequently highlighting sovereignty and cultural cohesion.
- 5. Fascism:** Stresses suppression of dissent in order to uphold social order, authoritarianism, and ultranationalism.
- 6. Ecologism:** Prioritizes environmental protection and sustainability in political decision-making.

7. Feminism: Supports women's empowerment in the social, political, and economic domains as well as gender equality.

1.2. Political discourse

This section reviews and details the concept of political discourse, what it consists of, and what it is based on. In the literature, two main themes have been examined: politics and discourse which are considered the main foundations of this topic.

1.2.1 . Definition of Political Discourse

Fairclough and Fairclough (2012, p.17) defined political discourse as "Primarily argumentative discourse" which is based on political judgment where the power notions placed in unsure status and constant dispute and being the main subject matter. Additionally, Connolly (1993) affirmed that political language is a biased means that has foundational construction of assumptions through which it conveys political thoughts and acts in a special tendency. Moreover, according to Esquith (1996) the term political discourse is divided into two basic elements:

1.2.1.1 . Politics

Politics is a phenomenon through which states engage with their societies, establishing and defining interactions in specific and dynamic ways. This process is multifaceted, varies from one country to another, and is influenced by numerous factors. These factors include the economic wealth available and its diversity within each country, the social and political structures established within the political system, as well as the historical context and diplomatic relations of the country. Consequently, political structures differ across countries in various aspects, such as orientation, activity, standards, values, and borders. Despite these differences, similarities exist among many international political systems, particularly concerning the nature and type of relationship between governments and their societies (Karmava, 1996).

Furthermore, according to Caramani (2017), politics encompasses the human activity of making authoritative decisions in the public sphere. It involves competition and struggle for

power and its application, including the process of obtaining and maintaining the authority to issue and enforce decrees. Politics extends to all members of society, ensuring the execution of laws and regulations on all individuals. It results from the coordination between the government and the ruling authority of the country to establish organization and enforce penalties on those who disobey these directives.

Chilton (2004) elucidated in his book *Analyzing Political Discourse* that politics varies depending on conditions and reasons, categorizing it into two branches. The first branch views politics as a forceful combat between those seeking dominance and those resisting it, while the second branch regards politics as the pursuit and establishment of resolutions to conflicts and disagreements related to wealth, freedom, and influence.

1.2.1.2 . Discourse

Discourse can be elucidated as a complex interplay of societal and cognitive mechanisms that both reflect and shape meaning within the context of everyday life. They contended that discourse serves as a vehicle for individuals to articulate their emotions, ideas, understandings, experiences, and desires through various communicative modalities, including language, tone of voice, facial expressions, and moments of silence. Consequently, discourse encompasses social and cognitive processes that transform tangible experiences into articulated expressions, making them accessible and comprehensible to others (Strauss & Feiz, 2014).

Scollon et al. (2012) further delineated discourse as language is beyond the level of sentences, emphasizing its role in constructing meaningful texts beyond individual linguistic units. They posited that discourse analysis involves scrutinizing the process of text formation by examining the interplay of sentences within various textual genres, such as newspaper articles, letters, and emails. Moreover, they conceptualized discourse as a "cultural toolkit" (Scollon, 2012. p. 7) comprising four central components: discourse strategies encompassing diverse textual forms and media, cognitive constructs reflecting beliefs about the world, social

interactions governed by customary norms, and methodological approaches for analyzing discourse using diverse materials.

Discourse analysis delves into the intricate layers of meaning within texts, uncovering implicit influences crafted by speakers to shape audience perceptions. Fairclough's (2013) work highlighted discourse as a socially constructed phenomenon infused with ideological underpinnings rooted in power dynamics. He emphasized the reciprocal relationship between language and society, asserting discourse's role in both reflecting and shaping societal practices. Fairclough advocated for an interdisciplinary approach to discourse analysis, drawing insights from fields like linguistics, sociology, and psychology to comprehensively understand the complex interplay between language, power, and society.

1.3 . Russian-Ukrainian war

The Russo-Ukrainian conflict stands as a pivotal event in contemporary geopolitics, exerting profound impacts on regional conditions and global relations, spanning multiple phases from pre-conflict tensions to ongoing confrontations. This conflict has been the subject of intense intellectual, political, and popular interest. A nuanced understanding of its complexities necessitates an exploration of historical, geopolitical, and ideological dimensions that have shaped its trajectory. Scholars, analysts, and politicians have contributed diverse perspectives, illuminating power mechanisms, ideological underpinnings, strategic maneuvers, and the urgent imperative for diplomatic resolutions and international cooperation. This review endeavors to synthesize these multifaceted insights, offering a comprehensive analysis of the conflict's complexities.

1.3.1 . Pre-Conflict Phase and Initial Confrontations (2013-2015)

The period preceding the Russo-Ukrainian conflict, spanning from 2013 to 2015, was characterized by escalating tensions and significant political changes in the region. These tensions were influenced by a complex interplay of historical legacies, geopolitical rivalries, and internal dynamics within Ukraine and its relationship with Russia. Scholars have extensively

analyzed the historical and geopolitical context that led to the annexation of Crimea, shedding light on the factors that contributed to the escalating tensions during this critical period.

Plokhyy (2015) offered a clear analysis of why the conflict between Russia and Ukraine started before the war. He explained that the conflict had deep roots in historical disputes and differing national ambitions. Russia wanted to maintain control over Ukraine, while Ukraine sought greater independence. Plokhyy also discussed internal issues within Ukraine, such as political divisions and economic challenges, which added to tensions. Additionally, he examined how international alliances and power struggles played a role in escalating the conflict.

Additionally, Sakwa (2015) provided an analysis of the reasons that led to the conflict in Ukraine, including the role of NATO and the European Union (EU). Sakwa explored how NATO's expansion into Eastern Europe and the EU's pursuit of closer ties with Ukraine contributed to geopolitical tensions. He examined Russia's concerns about the NATO's proximity to its borders and the perceived encroachment of Western influence in Ukraine. This geopolitical context combined with historical grievances, territorial disputes, and internal political dynamics within Ukraine, created a volatile environment that ultimately led to the outbreak of the war. Sakwa's work shed light on the complex interplay of international relations and domestic factors that shaped the introduction to the conflict in Ukraine.

On the other hand, Mearsheimer (2014) presented a perspective that places significant blame on Western actions and policies for exacerbating tensions with Russia and contributing to the crisis in Ukraine. Mearsheimer argued that the West's expansionist policies, including the enlargement of NATO and the European Union into Eastern Europe, were perceived as threatening by Russia and led to a defensive response. He criticized Western support for anti-Russian movements in Ukraine, such as the Euromaidan protests, which he believed further antagonized Russia and made a peaceful resolution more challenging. His perspective underscores the role of Western interventions and provocations in shaping the dynamics of the Ukraine crisis (Mearsheimer, 2014).

1.3.2 . Escalation and Stalemate (2015-2021)

During the period of Escalation and Stalemate from 2015 to 2021, the conflict between Russia and Ukraine continued with occasional fighting and attempts to resolve the issues through diplomacy. There were times when agreements to stop fighting were broken in eastern Ukraine, leading to a situation which neither side could make significant progress. Experts analyzed the Russo-Ukrainian conflict from various angles.

Kuzio (2015), an expert on Ukrainian politics, focused on Ukraine's internal challenges and its pursuit of sovereignty. Kuzio highlighted the difficulties Ukraine faced in managing internal divisions and external pressures while striving to maintain its independence. On the other hand, in *Imperial Gamble: Putin, Ukraine, and the New Cold War*, Kalb (2015) offered a distinct perspective on the Russo-Ukrainian conflict by delving into its historical context and geopolitical dynamics. Kalb emphasized Russia's strategic interests in Ukraine, rooted in centuries-old historical ties and the Soviet legacy.

Furthermore, Kalb (2015) explained Putin's involvement as an effort to maintain regional control and resist Western influence. He discussed how Ukraine's aspirations for closer ties with the UN and NATO heightened tensions, framing the conflict as a struggle for regional dominance and power balance in Eastern Europe. Additionally, he highlighted the role of media in shaping public perception of the war, demonstrating its use as a weapon in modern conflicts especially in the Russo-Ukrainian conflict.

1.3.3 . Hot February and Invasion of 2022

In February 2022, the Russo-Ukrainian conflict saw a major escalation when Russia launched a large military invasion of Ukraine. This invasion caused intense fighting in multiple areas, resulting in many casualties and civilians being forced to leave their homes. The international community quickly criticized Russia's actions, leading many countries to impose sanctions. This event was a crucial moment in the conflict, increasing military actions and raising humanitarian concerns. The invasion made the already complicated geopolitical situation even

more critical, drawing more global attention and urging diplomatic efforts to address the growing crisis.

In this context, Popova and Shevel (2023) emphasized the urgent need for immediate international support to address the escalating humanitarian crisis caused by the conflict's severe impact on civilians. This included a call for coordinated efforts to provide aid, shelter, and essential services to those affected by the conflict's devastating consequences. In contrast, Vladislav Surkov delved into Russia's military tactics and the underlying ideological considerations that drove the invasion. Surkov's perspective sheds light on the complex interplay of geopolitical interests, military strategies, and ideological motivations that shaped Russia's approach to the conflict during this pivotal phase of military escalation (Cohen, 2022).

1.3.4 . Ongoing Conflict (2022-Present)

The ongoing conflict, which spans from 2022 to the present, has been characterized by continued military engagements, diplomatic efforts, and humanitarian challenges. Following the critical escalation in February 2022 with Russia's invasion of Ukraine, the conflict has persisted with ongoing battles, humanitarian crises, and diplomatic initiatives aimed at ending the war. This period has seen global attention remain focused on the conflict's impact on Ukraine, Russia, Europe, and the broader international community. Charap (2017) highlighted the need for diplomatic solutions and international cooperation to address the challenges posed by the Russo-Ukrainian conflict. Charap's perspective underscores the importance of avoiding further escalation and promoting dialogue to achieve lasting peace in the region.

On the other hand, Snyder (2018) covered the Russian-Ukrainian war with a keen focus on ideological factors. He explored how Vladimir Putin's leadership guided in a resurgence of authoritarianism in Russia, marked by a consolidation of power and the promotion of nationalist and imperialist ideologies. This ideological shift influenced Russia's foreign policy, particularly its aggressive actions in Ukraine, such as the annexation of Crimea and support for separatist movements in Eastern Ukraine.

Snyder's analysis underscored the role of ideology in shaping Putin's vision of Russia's role in the world, emphasizing concepts like "Eurasianism", a key concept in Putin's vision, advocates for a distinct Russian identity separate from the West and emphasizes Russia's historical ties to Eurasia as a basis for its geopolitical strategy. By unpacking these ideological underpinnings, he provided a deeper understanding of the motivations behind Russia's actions in the Ukrainian conflict and their broader implications for international politics.

Conclusion

To conclude, this chapter has established the theoretical framework for understanding American ideology concerning the Russo-Ukrainian war. By delving into concepts such as ideology, politics, discourse, political discourse and the Russian-Ukrainian conflict. This groundwork lays the foundation for deeper analysis and examination of American ideology toward this worldwide issue.

CHAPTER TWO

Language Used to Shape the American Ideology

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Introduction

The theoretical framework developed by Van Dijk (2005) was used in this chapter, particularly focusing on the micro-level of discourse analysis and highlighting the importance of text, social cognition, and social context in understanding ideological discourse. It explores twenty-five devices, shedding light on how media narratives construct an ideology. Examples from the analyzed articles illustrate how these devices shape perceptions and convey ideological messages towards the Russian-Ukrainian war.

2.1. Actor Description

Actor description is a fundamental concept in discourse analysis and is crucial for understanding how individuals or groups are portrayed and influenced by ideological perspectives within discourse. Van Dijk (2005) underscores the significance of actor description in ideological discourse analysis, highlighting its role in shaping biased portrayals based on in-group or out-group categorizations. Particularly in political discourse, actors utilize descriptions to establish positive self-presentation while casting negative depictions of opponents, thereby crafting favorable self-images. Van Leeuwen (2008) expands on this concept by outlining three domains, social actors, actions, and circumstances, used to analyze actor representation across various discourses.

Within the context of US media reporting on the Russian-Ukrainian war, the Actor Description device is employed to portray various actors in several ways. For instance, Article 42 highlights Ukrainians as victims of Russian aggression, emphasizing their suffering and the atrocities committed against them such as "millions turned into refugees," "tens of thousands killed or wounded on the battlefield or by those rockets, drones, and cruise missiles." This portrayal is repeated in Article 47, which focuses on Ukrainian athletes who face significant challenges and trauma due to the International Olympic Committee (IOC)'s decision and the ongoing conflict with Russia, citing phrases like "forced to compete alongside those who

represent a regime trying to destroy their country" and "accept this additional trauma without complaint."

2.2. Authority

Authority in discourse analysis refers to the use of sources or references to establish credibility and influence opinions. Van Dijk (2005) discusses authority as a discursive device used to convey legitimacy and persuade audiences. This can include citing experts, official reports, or well-known institutions to support arguments or claims. Fairclough (1995) categorizes authority under intertextuality, emphasizing how texts refer to other texts to reinforce their credibility and legitimacy.

To illustrate the impact of the Authority device within the ideological context of the Russian-Ukrainian war, some examples are discussed to show how authoritative figures' statements are employed to influence perceptions and justify actions. It makes the readers trust and believe the source of the discourse. For instance, in Article 47, Vadym Gutzeit, president of Ukraine's Olympic Committee, emphasizes the diplomatic efforts against Russia. He stated, "For almost a year, together with the partner countries, we fought on the diplomatic front so that this decision was not adopted." Additionally, Rob Koehler, director general of Global Athlete, added a support to the argument against neutrality. He asserted, "There is no such thing as a 'neutral team' or 'neutral athlete' at the Olympic Games." The Sweden sports minister Jakob Forssmed further reinforced this by stating, "Neutral flag is an illusion and this contributes to normalizing the Russian war of aggression!"

Authority in the discourse on the Russian-Ukrainian war shapes interpretation, influences public opinion, and reinforces ideologies. Citing experts, official reports, and personal experiences establishes credibility, convinces audiences, and builds narratives that justify actions and critique opponents in discourse.

2.3. Burden

The 'burden' device in discourse analysis involves strategically assigning responsibilities or blame within discourse. It relies on presenting assumptions or premises as unquestionably true or self-evident, bolstering specific conclusions. Wodak (2009) explored how 'burden' structures are deemed as a support in speech by emphasizing responsibilities or implications. In political discourse, 'burden' often assigns accountability; it shapes public perceptions and discourse dynamics.

The usage of the 'Burden' device in articles discussing the Russian-Ukrainian war exemplifies a significant rhetorical strategy employed to assign responsibility and shape discourse. In one instance, the burden is placed squarely on Russia, with the assertion that Russia had no justifiable reason for invading Ukraine and that the invasion itself constitutes a "crime of aggression." This characterization emphasizes Russia's responsibility for its actions and frames them as illegal and aggressive, thereby influencing public perception of the conflict.

2.4. Categorization

Categorization is the process of grouping individuals based on their beliefs and actions such as political and religious affiliations. According to Van Dijk (2005), categorization involves classifying people into different groups and attributing positive or negative characteristics to them. Van Dijk (2005, p. 735) states "people tend to categorize people."

In this analysis of the discourse about Russian-Ukrainian war, the researchers explored how various actors are categorized to convey specific messages. For instance, the article 3 categorizes Europeans and Americans based on their roles and responses to the Ukrainian conflict as stated in "But the EU's postponement of critical military assistance is an alarm bell" and in "there's faltering confidence in America, as Europeans are beginning to ask whether the strategic interests of the United States end at its border with Mexico." Also, another statement mentioned in article 10: "The Russian president repeated his false claims that Ukrainian President Volodymyr Zelensky is leading a Nazi regime, and he insisted that Russia's military was

destroying the weapons that the United States and other Western nations were supplying to Kyiv." Putin categorizes Ukraine's leadership under Zelensky as a "Nazi regime," which is a categorization has strong negative connotations and associations to justifying his actions in this war.

2.5. Comparison

Comparison is a common linguistic technique used to identify similarities and differences among people, entities, and nations. In discourse, comparison entails contrasting or juxtaposing elements to highlight distinctions. Van Dijk (2005) discussed how comparison can be used to portray ingroups positively and outgroups negatively. He said, "outgroups are compared negatively, and ingroups positively" (2005, p. 735). It aims to make a point, persuade an audience, or convey a particular message.

In the analysis of articles discussing the Russian-Ukrainian war, there are various forms of comparison. For instance, the article 47 compares the (IOC)'s decision with past actions to convince the audience. "South Africa was banned from the Olympics for 24 years because of its apartheid regime. North Korea wasn't allowed to compete at the Beijing Games in 2022 after it kept its team home from Tokyo because of COVID fears." This comparison directly contrasts past actions taken by the IOC, such as banning South Africa and North Korea from the Olympics for specific reasons, with the current decision regarding Russian athletes. It underscores the potential consequences and ethical considerations associated with the IOC's decisions regarding participation in the Games.

Similarly, article 2 compares different regions like the Middle East, Europe, and Latin America to Ukraine, highlighting their potential vulnerability to Putin's disruptive actions. They are considered as potential victims for Putin as stated in "Whether in the Middle East, Europe or Latin America, Putin has plenty of ways to seek to shake things up - not that he was ever going to stop at Ukraine."

Other comparisons in article 3 are made between Russia's ammunition usage and Ukraine's needs as illustrated in "In a year, Russia uses 10 million rounds of ammunition. The CEO of Germany's Rheinmetall estimates Ukraine needs 1.5 million rounds a year." As well as, historical parallels like the battle for Stalingrad, to draw parallels and underscore the gravity of the current situation in "Remember history. In the battle for Stalingrad, Germany's army ran out of ammunition in 1943, marking a turning point in the war."

2.6. Consensus

Consensus is also a political strategy. According to Van Dijk (2005), it emphasizes and promotes the idea of agreement or unity across political parties or on a national level. This strategy is often employed during times of crisis or when the country faces external threats, such as potential attacks from outside forces. The goal behind its use is to foster a sense of cohesion and solidarity among different political factions or within the nation to address challenges effectively. On the other hand, Dews (1995) criticized the idea of using a prior consensus as a typical liberal illusion. He argued that it is insufficient for addressing the complexities of contemporary political life. He advocated for an ethos of questioning and a more nuanced understanding of the relationship between consensus, conflict, and antagonism in democratic politics.

In articles addressing the Russian-Ukrainian conflict, the rhetorical device of consensus emerges in several instances. For example, in Article 2, a consensus among analysts regarding Putin's actions and intentions is presented, implying a collective agreement on the matter, as evidenced by the statement "Whether in the Middle East, Europe or Latin America, Putin has plenty of ways to seek to shake things up — not that he was ever going to stop at Ukraine."

Multiple analysts cited Hamas' Oct. 7 attacks on Israel as having most benefited Russia, which for once was no longer the world's top enemy." Similarly, Article 10 shows a consensus among Russians expressing discontent with Putin's leadership style and government policies.

This consensus is substantiated through references to public dissatisfaction, criticisms of Putin's authoritarian rule, and even dissent among his supporters, as articulated by state TV anchor Nikolai Zúsik “Even for professed supporters of Putin, the news conference and call-in show highlight his authoritarian, strongman rule and, by contrast, the ineptitude of national, regional and local government institutions.”

2.7. Counterfactuals

Counterfactuals involve imagining alternative situations or outcomes by asking "What if...?" questions. Van Dijk (2005) explores how counterfactuals are used in discourse to challenge or support arguments or to encourage empathy. Additionally, counterfactuals, according to Ferguson (1999), are alternative scenarios that explore what might have happened if historical events had unfolded differently.

The use of counterfactuals is very common in various articles of Russian-Ukrainian war. For example, "Claim: Zelenskyy surrendered and Ukraine has fallen/ Our rating: False/As of Nov. 7, Zelenskyy has not surrendered and Ukraine remains independent. The war between Ukraine and Russia is ongoing, according to numerous news outlets.” In the given example, article 41 effectively uses counterfactuals to debunk the false claim that Zelenskyy has surrendered and Ukraine has fallen. By providing evidence that refutes this claim and highlighting the ongoing conflict between Ukraine and Russia, it challenges the prevailing narrative that suggests Ukraine's defeat or surrender. This use of counterfactuals helps to correct misinformation and present a more accurate and nuanced picture of the situation.

2.8. Disclaimers

Disclaimers, as defined by Van Dijk (2005), are a combination of positive self-presentation with negative other-presentation as an ideological strategy. This tactic allows speakers to briefly acknowledge positive aspects while focusing predominantly on the negative traits of others, categorizing this positive aspect as ‘Apparent’.

Unlike counterfactuals, disclaimers are rarely found in the articles discussing the Russian-Ukrainian war. There is an example found in the collected data; article 10 provides an example of disclaimers through Putin's description of the war in Ukraine as “a great tragedy resembling a civil war between brothers.” This statement serves to soften the narrative and avoid directly acknowledging Russia's role in the conflict, and presenting Russia and Ukraine as equals in the war rather than acknowledging Russia as the aggressor or the more powerful party. It also frames the West's intervention as that of a stranger between brothers, contributing to a perception of equivalence or shared responsibility that may not accurately reflect the actual situation and potentially leading people to sympathize with Russia or be less critical of its actions.

2.9. Euphemism

Euphemism is the use of mild or indirect language to discuss sensitive or taboo topics, substituting less harsh words for potentially offensive or direct terms. Van Dijk's perspective emphasizes that euphemisms serve as semantic moves of mitigation that play a crucial role in discourse by mitigating negative impression formation of others and softening the portrayal of negative acts by one's own group (Van Dijk.2005). For example, phrases like "passing away" instead of "dying" or "unequal treatment" instead of "discrimination" are examples of euphemisms that soften the impact of the words used.

Within the context of the American ideology toward the Russian-Ukrainian war, the use of euphemism serves to soften the portrayal of sensitive topics and mitigate the impact of harsh realities. For instance, Putin's reference to the war in Ukraine as a "special military operation" is a euphemistic choice in article 10 that downplays the severity of the conflict, making it more palatable to the audience. Similarly, terms like "pivot point" and "precarious position" in article 17, framing them in less alarming language. Even the use of phrases like "elastic defense" in Article 23 to describe military strategies serves to soften the descriptions of warfare while maintaining the seriousness of the situation. These examples demonstrate how euphemisms are

employed in discourse to influence readers' perceptions and mitigate the impact of sensitive or taboo topics.

2.10. Evidentiality

Evidentiality refers to how speakers or writers show where their information comes from or how certain they are about it. Van Dijk emphasized that evidentiality is essential as it is “an important move to convey objectivity, reliability, and hence credibility” (2005, p. 736). This adds objectivity and trustworthiness to arguments, making them more persuasive and convincing. Evidentiality can be demonstrated by citing sources, referring to experts or institutions, or presenting personal experiences as evidence.

This concept is exemplified in various articles which touched the Russian-Ukrainian war. For instance, in Article 49, the reference to human rights organization's estimate of 4.7 million deportees enhances the authority of the information by relying on a reputable source specializing in human rights “One human rights organization says...” Similarly, in the same article, citing accounts documented by Human Rights Watch, Amnesty International, and a conflict observatory reinforces the article's credibility through reliable sources as in “This story also relies on accounts documented by Human Rights Watch, Amnesty International, the Conflict Observatory...”

Moreover, in article 3, evidentiality is incorporated by presenting specific estimates, assessments, and documents regarding the severity of the conflict in Ukraine. References to NATO officials as in “NATO official Rob Bauer saw..”, assessments of ammunition needs as illustrated in “..Germany's Rheinmetall estimates..”, and strategic military plans lend credibility and authority to the arguments presented as in “..the Estonians have just published a remarkable document.”

2.11. Illustration\Example

‘Illustration’ or ‘example’ in discourse refers to using specific instances or stories, whether factual or fictional, to support or clarify arguments. Van Dijk (2005) highlighted that illustrations make abstract ideas more tangible and persuasive, often presented in the form of short stories or vignettes to make a general point more plausible. This strategy is powerful in argumentation as concrete examples are easier to remember and have a stronger emotional impact, enhancing their persuasive effectiveness.

Within the gathered data about the American ideology on the Russian-Ukrainian conflict, the device of ‘Illustration/Examples’ serves as a powerful tool for depicting key themes and narratives. For instance, the article 49 offers instances of deportation experiences, such as Vlad’s family being taken from their basement in Mariupol, Illya’s screening process in Russia, and Natalia’s concerns about her mother’s well-being, to elucidate the broader impact on individuals and families.

Furthermore, article1 provides specific examples of damages and impacts, such as “A shopping centre and more than two dozen private buildings were damaged,” “15,000 residents were without power,” “an industrial site and educational facility were damaged,” and “four people were wounded.” Also the statement in the same article “A 62-year-old was killed outside the city” can indeed serve as an example to gain empathy. It provides a specific, relatable example of a civilian casualty, mentioning the age of the person to humanize the impact of the conflict. By including such details, the article aims to evoke empathy from readers by highlighting the personal tragedy and loss experienced by individuals due to the conflict.

2.12. Generalization

Generalization refers to the act of making broad statements or assumptions based on specific instances or examples. It involves attributing certain characteristics or behaviors observed in a person or small group to a larger population. In discourse, generalizations can be

used to reinforce ideological beliefs or stereotypes. Similarly, in political discourse, speakers may generalize negative sentiments against specific groups as part of a populist strategy (Van Dijk, 2005).

In analyzing articles on the Russian-Ukrainian war, the ‘generalization’ device is frequently employed. For instance, in Article 2, there is a generalization portraying Putin as an enemy of the broader international community, emphasizing a narrative where his actions are seen as hostile or antagonistic on a global scale and Putin’s ambitions extend beyond Ukraine “Whether in the Middle East, Europe or Latin America, Putin has plenty of ways to seek to shake things up – not that he was ever going to stop at Ukraine.” This rhetorical strategy aims to evoke strong reactions and convey a particular viewpoint. Similarly, article 11 generalizes the idea that Putin holds the responsibility to end the war “only Mr. Putin can stop this war.”, presenting it as an established fact within the article.

2.13. Hyperbole

Hyperbole refers to the use of exaggerated language or statements for emphasis or rhetorical effect. Van Dijk’s analysis explores how hyperbolic language enhances meaning and can be used to dramatize aspects in discourse. He characterizes hyperbole as “a semantic rhetorical device for the enhancement of meaning” (2005, p. 737). This linguistic strategy amplifies the portrayal of alleged negative actions or qualities attributed to others while potentially mitigating or understating our own negative aspects.

In the context of the Russian-Ukrainian war, hyperbole is employed device in a number of articles. For example, in article 47, the author employs hyperbolic language to convey strong emotions and emphasize certain points, such as describing the callousness as “outrageous” and labeling the expectation for Ukrainian athletes to accept additional trauma without complaint as “monstrous.” Phrases like “all because of Putin’s despotic desires” and “Surely there’s a

loophole here somewhere” further demonstrate the use of exaggerated and dramatic language to make impactful statements.

Similarly, in article 2, hyperbole is used to convey the gravity of Putin’s ambitions in phrases like “Putin doesn’t just want Ukraine – he craves a new Russian Empire.” This exaggerated language heightens the seriousness of the situation and underscores the author’s viewpoint on Putin’s intentions. As well as, in article 3, hyperbolic language is employed to describe Putin’s actions as “the endless resource of human flesh” and characterize the conflict as “a war of attrition and a bloodbath.” These descriptions amplify the negative portrayal of Putin’s actions and the severity of the conflict.

2.14. Implication

Implication refers to suggesting or hinting at a topic without explicitly stating it, allowing speakers to convey ideology or critique towards an outgroup indirectly. Van Dijk (2005) explored how implications are strategically utilized in discourse to convey messages that may not be explicitly articulated, shaping how recipients interpret underlying meanings. This approach relies on shared knowledge or attitudes, enabling speakers to communicate complex or sensitive concepts while avoiding direct confrontation or explicit statements (Van Dijk, 2005).

This device is commonly used in the context of war, including in the Russian-Ukrainian war, For example, in article 42, the statement “These realities make the politics as usual in Washington infuriating” indirectly suggests that political actions in Washington are inadequate or insensitive regarding the situation in Ukraine. This implies a need for change or a different approach without explicitly stating it, subtly critiquing the lack of support for Ukraine.

Similarly, article 47 implies that the IOC’s decision is morally wrong and it contributes to the normalization of Russia’s actions in the conflict with Ukraine such as in “and now the IOC wants them to pretend that all is well, that Putin won’t use these ‘neutral’ athletes as a sign of Russia’s supposed strength and superiority.” Moreover, article 2 implies that Putin’s actions are

part of a larger agenda to assert Russian dominance by stating “The Kremlin appears especially intent on punishing Moldova, a small nation wedged between Ukraine and Romania, for its political independence and refusal to toe the Russian line.” This statement implies that Putin’s actions towards Moldova are not just about that specific country but are part of a broader strategy to exert control over neighboring nations and maintain influence in the region.

2.15. Irony

Irony refers to the intentional contrast between the literal meaning of words and the actual message conveyed by the speaker often for comedic or critical purposes. Van Dijk (2005) examines how irony, expressed indirectly, can be more impactful in delivering accusations or critiques without direct confrontation. Additionally, Booth (1974) explored the various forms of ironic constructions, distinguishing between stable and unstable irony. He emphasizes the challenges in recognizing and interpreting irony, highlighting the crucial role of readers in discerning the author’s intended meaning.

Irony has been identified in certain articles discussing the Russian-Ukrainian conflict. For example, In Article 47, the use of irony is evident in the statement, “Yet, sadly, par for the course. Whenever there is a choice between courage and expediency, it’s a certainty IOC president Thomas Bach will go with the latter.” It criticizes the IOC’s tendency to prioritize expediency over courage, despite claiming to uphold Olympic values such as fairness and neutrality. This example shows how the article employs irony to point out contradictions and criticize the IOC’s stance on the Ukrainian athletes and the decision to allow Russian athletes to compete.

2.16. Lexicalization

Lexicalization refers to the strategic use of certain words or terms to convey positive or negative portrayals of individuals or entities. This linguistic phenomenon involves selecting lexical items based on the speaker’s context, role, goals, or viewpoint, as outlined by Van Dijk

(2005). The choice of words in discourse reflects underlying concepts and beliefs; it contributes to the ideological dimensions of language use and discourse structure. The choice of specific vocabulary shows the underlying ideology or beliefs of the speaker.

The selection of terms plays a fundamental role in building the discourse about the Russian-Ukrainian war. This can be seen in several examples, in Article 42, specific terms like “crime of aggression,” “weapons of murder,” “atrocities,” and “genocide” are strategically used to shape the discourse and convey the seriousness of Russia’s actions. This lexicalization emphasizes the gravity of the situation and underscores the negative impact of these actions. Additionally, article 47 employs strong and specific words and phrases such as “cruelty,” “outrageous,” and “callousness” to convey strong emotions and emphasize key points. This use of hyperbolic language enhances the emotional impact of the discourse.

2.17. Metaphor

Metaphor involves using figurative language to convey abstract concepts through analogy, making them easier to understand by using familiar or concrete images. Van Dijk discusses how metaphors are used in discourse to shape our thinking and perception, influencing our attitudes and beliefs by framing concepts in relatable ways. Similarly, Fairclough (1989) emphasized that metaphors represent deeper ideas beyond just words, with different metaphors carrying various meanings and ideological implications.

Metaphor, as a powerful linguistic device, embodies vivid images about the Russian-Ukrainian conflict, offering nuanced insights to convey complex ideas and emotions. It is exemplified in many examples including “Safe Skies” as a metaphor used in article 42 to represent the concept of ensuring safety and security in airspace, especially in the face of threats such as drones and cruise missiles. The phrase "Safe Skies" is employed figuratively to convey the goal of protecting Ukrainian airspace and preventing further attacks, creating a sense of safety and security for those affected by the conflict.

Additionally, the phrase "whiff of genocide" is figurative; it suggests that there are indications or elements reminiscent of genocide in the reasons given by Vladimir Putin for the invasion of Ukraine. It conveys the seriousness of the situation by evoking the idea of a disturbing scent or trace of a topic highly concerning, such as genocide.

2.18. National Self-Glorification

National self-glorification is portraying one's nation positively or emphasizing national pride. This rhetorical device is commonly used in political discourse to foster unity and patriotism by highlighting favorable aspects of a country, such as its principles, history, and traditions (Van Dijk, 2005).

In terms of Russian-Ukrainian war, this device has appeared in various articles. For instance, in Article 3, American political figures are proactive in planning for Ukrainian victory, as seen in the statement: "Foreign Affairs Committee Chair Michael McCaul, Armed Services Chair Mike Rogers, and Intelligence Committee Chair Mike Turner laid out their plan for Ukrainian victory..." This proactive approach implies a sense of national pride and determination in their efforts.

Moreover, in article 10, Putin's statements glorify Russia's military strength, resilience, and strategic goals, projecting confidence and pride in his country's capacities. By using phrases like "Victory will be ours" and expressions of confidence in achieving his goals, he signaled that he feels confident to push ahead with the invasion, saying there will be peace with Ukraine "only when we achieve our goals." As well as, in article 23, there is pride and gratitude expressed toward President Biden and the United States for their leadership and support for Ukraine, further promoting a positive image and sense of national pride as stated in "thanked President Biden for convening the call and for his, and the United States', leadership in supporting Ukraine". National self-glorification in these examples fosters unity, promotes patriotism, and

shapes positive national images, highlighting determination, strength, goals, and gratitude among nations involved.

2.19. Norm Expression

Norm expression is a device that asserts normative principles or values within discourse. It includes communicating what actions or behaviors are considered acceptable or unacceptable according to established norms. In the context of the Russian-Ukrainian war, the device of norm expression has appeared in various articles. For instance, in article 42, this statement “What the Russians are doing in Ukraine is a test for the whole international legal order and for people who say they care about freedom” suggests that Russia’s actions not only challenge international norms but also pose a direct threat to fundamental principles of freedom and human rights. This assertion calls upon individuals and nations who prioritize freedom and liberty to recognize the importance of upholding the international legal order and defending the values that underpin it. It underscores the need for a collective response to safeguard freedom and address violations that undermine the foundations of democratic societies.

Furthermore, phrases in the article 33 as “test the international order” suggests a challenge to established norms and agreements, portraying Putin’s actions as disruptive and provocative on a global scale. Also, “a stark reminder, Mr. Zelensky warned, of how Moscow would continue to test the Western-backed international rules-based order” and “This is Russia’s war against any rules at all” highlight the idea that Russia’s actions are challenging or disregarding established norms and rules, especially in the context of international relations and agreements. These expressions emphasize the need to address or respond to Russia’s behavior within the framework of accepted norms and rules. The American newspapers, here, use this device pretending that they glorifies justice and condemn injustice and tries to portray Russia as violating global rules in the mind of the reader. This framing helps justifying the American decisions and support towards Ukraine.

2.20. Number game

The number game is a device that applies the strategic use of statistics or numerical data to support arguments or points within discourse. This involves employing numbers or statistical information to enhance the credibility of one's opinions or ideas. Van Dijk (2005) emphasizes the persuasive power of numbers, noting that they are commonly used in news reports to convey objectivity and are a key method for enhancing credibility in arguments.

Statistics are commonly used specifically in discussing wars because they have a significant effect in attracting sympathy and capture readers' attention, as in the Russian-Ukrainian war. For instance, in article 1, specific numbers are used to detail events, such as "killing at least two civilians," "more than two dozen private buildings were damaged," "15,000 residents were without power," "at least four missile strikes," and "at least six blasts." These figures paint a clear picture of the incidents described. Similarly, article 20 utilizes numerical data to underscore the scale and impact of Putin's actions, noting "more than 100,000 troops lost" in the conflict. This statistic emphasizes the significant losses suffered and the gravity of the situation.

2.21. Polarization

Polarization means creating clear differences between groups or ideologies. Leading to highlighting contrasts and putting and categorizing individuals into opposing groups, such as ingroup (us) and outgroup (them). Polarization and Othering are closely linked, both contributing to social division and conflict. When groups or individuals are seen as fundamentally different or 'other', it creates opposing groups like an ingroup and an outgroup. This separation intensifies conflicts by reinforcing the "us" versus "them" mentality. Edward Said (1978) and Simone de Beauvoir (1989) have studied Othering in colonialism, gender relations, and identity, showing how it amplifies social divides and stereotypes, leading to deeper social rifts.

In analyzing the articles which discuss the Russian-Ukrainian war, this device can be found in various examples, in Article 42, polarization is evident in the distinction made between Russia (the aggressor) and Ukraine (the victim). Terms like “the Ukrainians are fighting this war,” “it is the Ukrainians who can win it,” and “Ukrainians fighting Russia” clearly delineate a polarized categorization: Ukrainians as “us” against Russia as “them.” This framing fosters a sense of identity and conflict between the different groups. Similarly, in article 3, a similar polarization occurs with the division of groups into “us” (Western nations) versus “them” (Putin and Russia). This creates a strategic difference in perspective and approach, emphasizing solidarity among readers. “Our fear of escalation led to the fact we never provided the Ukrainians with the tanks, airpower and long-range missiles required to drive Russia’s invading, occupying forces from their soil.”

2.22. Populism

Populism refers to political ideas and activities that are intended to represent ordinary people’s needs and wishes. Van Dijk (2005)’s analysis of populism as a political strategy often involves appealing to popular sentiments or opinions. This strategy may add support and construct political identities by framing policies or arguments in terms of what “the people” prefer or support, even if it involves argumentative fallacies.

In the context of the Russian-Ukrainian war, populism is manifested in many articles. For instance, in Article 3, the headline “Wake up, West! Putin can gain the upper hand in Ukraine in 24 if we do nothing” is a clear example of populism in the article. It appeals directly to the general populace by using urgent language (“Wake up”) and highlights a potential threat (“Putin can gain the upper hand in Ukraine”) to grab attention and emphasize the issue’s importance.

Additionally, Article 10 highlights moments of public discontent or criticism directed at Putin during the news conference and call-in show; for example, “When will the real Russia be different from the TV Russia?” and “There’s no need to run for the election. Give way to a

younger person.” This article influences the Russian people by highlighting the negative side of Putin’s leadership and their country’s losses in the war.

In essence, these examples demonstrate how populism serves as a powerful rhetorical tool within the media landscape, enabling the construction of narratives, the mobilization of support, and the shaping of public perceptions and attitudes toward the Russian-Ukrainian war as complex geopolitical issue.

2.23. Presupposition

Presupposition involves indirectly assuming certain facts or beliefs in discourse. Fairclough (1995) claimed that presupposition is crucial for understanding text meanings, influenced by context and social conditions. He asserted on its role in maintaining or challenging power relations and its use in manipulation and propaganda to convey implicit messages and shape audience perceptions.

The Presupposition device is a powerful tool used in discourse about wars, which is may be a reason behind the existence of several examples in the articles discussing the Russian-Ukrainian war. For instance, in article 42, the assumption that Iran supports Russia with cruise missiles and drones is presented as fact. The article states, "Russian cruise missiles and Russian drones (often supplied by Iran) are regularly used, especially in cold weather, to target Ukrainian civilian infrastructure. This is a possible war crime." Additionally, Article 47 presupposes that the IOC's decision forces Ukrainian athletes into a morally compromising situation. The statement, "By forcing Ukrainian athletes to compete alongside those who represent a regime trying to destroy their country, ... endured these last two-plus years," assumes that competing alongside representatives of an opposing regime is inherently harmful.

Presupposition shapes ideological narratives by embedding implicit assumptions within discourse. The analyzed articles demonstrate how presuppositions influence perceptions of the

public. Understanding these presuppositions is essential for critically analyzing media narratives and their impact on public opinion.

2.24. Vagueness

Vagueness involves using ambiguous or imprecise language. Van Dijk (2005)'s perspective highlights how vagueness is used strategically to avoid commitment or scrutiny in discourse. Emphasizing its role in creating uncertainty and ambiguity, particularly in sensitive topics like expressions of possibility.

From the analyzed articles, this device was identified in several examples, article 3 uses vague language to convey the challenges surrounding the situation in Ukraine such as “But the EU’s postponement of critical military assistance is an alarm bell.” The phrase “critical military assistance” is vague as it does not specify what type of assistance or why it is critical. Similarly, in article 10, “Putin signaled that he feels confident to push ahead with the invasion, saying there will be peace with Ukraine 'only when we achieve our goals.’” The use of terms like "achieve our goals" without specifying what those goals entail in concrete terms add a level of vagueness to Putin's statements, especially regarding sensitive issues like "de-Nazification" and "demilitarization," which can have varying interpretations.

2.25. Victimization

Victimization is a device that emphasizes suffering or portraying oneself or a group as victims to garner sympathy or support. Fairclough (1995) discussed victimization as a rhetorical strategy used in discourse. He noted that victimization often involves portraying oneself or a group as victims of unfair treatment or oppression. This portrayal is strategic and aims to garner sympathy, support, or legitimacy for certain actions or positions. Fairclough emphasized that victimization narratives are constructed within specific socio-political contexts and serve to shape moral judgments, influence perceptions, and mobilize political actions.

Victimization, as a common device, was utilized in a frequent way in the analyzed articles because of its effectiveness to gain the reader's empathy especially in wars. In many articles, Ukraine and Ukrainians are portrayed as victims of the conflict with Russia, highlighting their unjust persecution and suffering. Article 49 emphasizes the impact of forced deportations, human rights violations, and the struggles faced by vulnerable groups. Quotes from this article vividly depict the plight of Ukrainians: "Then, one day, there's a strange voice outside. Soldiers force you out of your shelter and you are directed to a bus, destination unknown," and "Some Ukrainians were forced to move into Russian-occupied territory in Ukraine."

Throughout these articles, victimizing language often portrays Ukraine as the victim of Russian aggression, casualties, occupation, and economic hardships. They emphasize its need for empathy, support, and the condemnation of unjust actions.

Conclusion

In conclusion, applying Van Dijk's (2005) framework to analyze media narratives in American newspapers sheds light on how ideology around the Russian-Ukrainian war is shaped. The study of twenty-five discursive devices shows how these tools bring ideological messages. Additionally, the analyzed examples from the articles manifest how media narratives affect public discourse, emphasizing the importance of text in understanding ideological discourse. This chapter highlights the difficulties of interpreting media representations at the micro level in geopolitical conflicts.

CHAPTER THREE

Main Themes Discussed in US Newspapers and How They Represent the American Ideology

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Introduction

The current chapter answers the second question of this research. It presents thematic data analysis expressed by generated themes within chosen US Newspapers during the coverage of Russian-Ukrainian war. This analytical section represents a guide to bias which constitutes of five main themes as follows: Historical backdrop falls under it three subtheme; roots of war, information war and military forces. The second theme is advancement which comprises of development of war events besides to negotiation table. The next theme that will be constructed is prejudice and bias where composes by two subtopics ordering as: The perpetrator and the victim and United States Aid to Ukraine. Subsequently, the theme of international position adopted consists of several responses including United States, China and Iran, United Nations and International Criminal Court. The last theme that will be identified from the American printed press is repercussion which contains humanitarian, material, economic and political losses.

3.1. Guide to Bias

During the Russian-Ukrainian war, American newspapers clearly and significantly were biased in favor of Ukraine, as they used various propaganda means, striving to launch media and international attack on Russia. Among the methods used during this war was the careful selection of terminology directed at both sides. Thus, poor and unjust linguistics is directed towards Russia, "Misinformation about the conflict has flourished through those two years, as Russians in particular have attempted to skew perceptions of the conflict with false and exaggerated claims"(article41), " "Terrorist State, " " Russia's latest barrage brings more death, fury in Ukraine" (headline of article 45)," The Russian invaders"(article13), "occupation forces"(article19).

On the other hand, the careful and planned selection of good terms and meanings that symbolize peace, sympathy, compassion and mercy were conducted for the benefit of the Ukrainian people and government "Ukrainian President Volodymyr Zelensky has it fundamentally right" (article 6), in addition to the focus on depicting the Russian missile attacks and their various remnants of deaths and injuries, and in return ignoring the Ukrainian military actions, which calls the audience to create a bias that explains and simplifies the methods used in the American world during this war.

3.2 Main Themes Discussed in US Newspapers and How They Represent the American Ideology

According to the analysis conducted on the studied samples, the focus of the US newspapers was placed on five themes with the following subthemes:

3.1.1 Historical Backdrop

This theme addresses the comprehensive historical and general view of the Russian-Ukrainian War in American newspapers. It is covered by three main aspects : the roots of war, information about the war, the historical factors that cause the outbreak of the conflict, and the military forces involved in this aggression.

3.1.1.1 The Roots of War

In their articles, US Newspapers discussed the historical and the primary reasons behind this war, by revealing and clarifying the various factors and assumptions that Russian President Putin adopted in committing these crimes. According to them, he does not recognize the existence of Ukraine as an independent state in its own right, as it has been a part of the Soviet Union since ancient times and the resolution of the land and it is lineage to its mother town 'Russia', to which it is belonged. These newspapers describe that his allegations are false, fake and artificial, and they are an excuse for committing the most heinous crimes against the Ukrainian people.

What made the matter more complicated and Russia became determined to storm Ukraine was its attempts to join NATO, which was considered by Russians as a direct threat to Russia's security, interests, and geopolitical borders. For instance, as stated in article 12: " .. defended what he called his country's need to protect itself against the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation's attempts to encroach on its doorstep. He affirmed to be an indirect conflict with the West, led by NATO: Putin has cast himself as the only leader who can safeguard Russia's independence in what he has described as an existential confrontation with the West, convincing Russians that the fight with Ukraine is a broader war with the US and the NATO' (Article 12). As a result, Putin was keen and insisted on the Ukrainian regime's rejection of NATO, as he described it as a dream "Dreams of joining NATO and the EU would be shattered'(Article 7).

3.1.1.2 Information War

This theme was not presented extensively in the articles, as it talks about important events in general such as presenting the opinions of Ukrainian populist about how they lived in that period or what may result from a special conditions in these successive attacks, so that the focus is on the Ukrainian people and different effects regardless of Russia and its circumstance "The war has not been two years but 10, from when Russian forces annexed Crimea and ... is defined by two words: "richnytsia" (anniversary) and "rokovyny" (commemoration). "Rokovyny" often refers to memorial services, while "richnytsia" pertains more to celebrating life." (article 27).

3.1.1.3 Military Forces

It discusses several aspects of military procedures, including

a. Praising the Ukrainian Soldiers and Exaggerated the Image

It talks about the strength and resilience of the Ukrainian soldiers' courage and their endurance despite the severe injuries that occur to them during the war or the loss of a family member. The way do these heroes work to defend their land with precious and valuable

sacrifices to restore peace, security, stability, and protection from evil, occupiers, and invaders. Therefore, it is a deliberate and systematic plan that the American press works to inflate the image of Ukrainian soldiers and the extent of their sacrifice for the sake of discrediting the Russian country. They tried to polish the Ukrainian image and demise the Russian image. For example, as stated in article 5, “It is an incredibly powerful film, full of further proof from the front line that Ukraine's soldiers-men and women- are almost unbelievably brave,” and “The bravery of these men and women is astounding and humbling.”

b. Various Russian Missiles Attacks and Types of Equipment

It is about the series of Russian missile attacks that are launched in Ukraine and the expansion of their danger by mentioning the number, time, and place in which they occurred, in addition to the weapons used by the Russian army, displaying the types of missiles and aircraft used with their features and modernity. For example, in “Ukraine President Volodymyr Zelenskyy said on his Telegram channel that four civilians were killed and 92 Injured in the capital, Kyiv, and in northeastern Kharkiv as hypersonic Kinzhal missiles that can fly at 10 times the speed of sound slammed into city blocks” (Article 43) and in “The Kh-47M2 Kinzhal is an air-launched hypersonic ballistic missile. Russian forces rarely use such expensive missiles against Ukraine due to their limited stocks” (article14).

3.1.2 Advancement

The beginning of war with different developments occurred in addition to the descriptive efforts made to resolve the conflict. It contains two subthemes: development and negotiation.

3.1.2.1 Development

It witnesses the progress of the events around Russian-Ukrainian war, its levels, and its latest developments, under an American ideological framework. For instance, “...Ukraine's new shipping corridor in the Black Sea can claim its first success as the Resilient Africa cargo ship, which left the Ukrainian port of Chornomorsk earlier in the week, arrived Thursday at Turkey's

Bosphorus Strait with 3,000 tons of wheat. Ukraine has been seeking an efficient and safe export route since Russia pulled out of the Black Sea grain deal in mid-July..." (Article 45).

3.1.2.2 Negotiation

The efforts and endeavours made by various parties to negotiate and reach solutions that satisfy both states and work to resolve the conflict or find solutions through international mediators who have good relations with both countries. For example, in "perhaps the president figures ambiguity will give him more flexibility to negotiate a settlement" (Article 13).

3.1.3 Prejudice and Bias

This topic is considered as a rich material in the hands of U.S newspapers, so as to clarify their ideology towards the current hostilities and their interests behind following this campaign. They work to form a picture that is offensive to Russia by various techniques and means, and in return, amplify the Ukrainian suffering and sacrifice. In other words, they try to convey the news in an unfair and biased manner. It consists of two subthemes: The perpetrator and the victim and United States Aid to Ukraine.

3.1.3.1 The Perpetrator and the Victim

It is a theme used by American newspapers in the propaganda of wars. It includes manipulation, falsification, and bias toward the Ukrainian side by publishing pictures of Russian missile attacks on Ukrainian territory, photographing the victims and dead in Ukraine, recording videos of people crying and terrified. It has also other distortions of Russia's image in this situation and its loss to public and international opinion and its various interests and relationships as well.

Additionally, American newspapers work to convince the world that what Russia is doing is a threat to all international security and not just Ukraine. Therefore, it forms and consolidates the concept of the defeated Ukrainian state and the evil oppressor Russian state. For example

there are many statements that support this claim including "Russia fired missiles across Ukraine" (Article3), and "Moscow has just sent another wave of missiles in Kyiv" (article 3).

It is noticeable that accusations and heinous acts are directed against Russia repeatedly, directly, and biased, without talking about the Ukrainian army or any acts of sabotage it may carry out. For instance, "Instead of a proud democratic nation allied with the west, Ukraine could emerge as a failed state- impoverished, politically unstable, geopolitically unmoored- on the border between Europe and an aggressive, expansionist Russia" (Article 7). Thus, selecting bad terms for the Russian state is used within a unified method called 'The preparatory and the Victim'.

3.1.3.2 United States Aid to Ukraine

American aid to Ukraine is the greatest evidence of its standing, solidarity, and bias toward the Ukrainian state. This is a clear indication that America is one of Ukraine's most important allies. Therefore, the reason behind American media coverage of the war and what it can do can be expected and understood. The United States of America provided assistance to Ukraine in various ways: sending successive batches of weapons of various types throughout the battle, where the additional American military financial value reached billions, as stated in "President Biden has proposed a robust aid package 64\$ billion in humanitarian and military assistance"(article 7), " and it has spurred the U.S to send more than 75\$ billion in aid to Ukraine, including humanitarian, financial and military support."

Moreover, the US trained Ukrainian soldiers by American military officers and trainers, along with receiving injured Ukrainians in American hospitals and training Ukrainian pilots by American trainers. All this assistance is translated in the statement "Ukrainians are not alone in this war"(Article 15). Additionally, US aid to Ukraine takes other forms, including helping the US Department of Justice to prosecuting Russia's crimes (article38).

3.1.4 International Position Adopted

It includes international reactions and various replies taken by other countries in response to this war. Some of them supported Russia, some stood against it, and others expressed a neutral opinion towards this conflict. Among the countries mentioned in American newspapers: United States, China, and Iran, in addition to various international bodies such as the International Criminal Court and United Nations

3.1.4.1 United States

The position of the United States in this war is clear and self-evident. It can be easily known, and thus its ideology toward the Russian-Ukrainian war can be determined. It fully and greatly supports Ukraine by all means and stands against and condemns Russia, describing the latter as unjust and criminal.

3.1.4.2 China and Iran

These two countries support Russia and stand by it absolutely, according to American newspapers, and demonstrate the strength of their relationship and cooperation as in "...and he is aiding the allies who've been helping him namely China and Iran," "the three support each other not just materially (Chinese supplies and Iranian drones to Russia, Russian and Iranian Oil to China, etc.) but also cooperate in diplomacy, propaganda and in covert cyber-attacks." This clarification by the American media that Iran and China stand with an unjust state is a corruption of the image of these two countries, as it should be noted that Iran and China are enemies of the United States. China is the first economic competitor and Iran is a strong military competitor due to the nuclear ammunition it carries. Therefore, this explains the nature of US media coverage in this way as in "Russia remains strong and influential partners, mostly notably China" (article12).

3.1.4.3 United Nations

According to American newspapers, the United Nations adopted a position hostile to Russia's actions, describing them as a crime against Ukrainian civilians as represented in "The UN Security Council hastily convened later Friday to discuss the attack, which Assistant

Secretary-General Khaled Khiari called “appalling.” Tragically, 2023 is ending as it began – with devastating violence against the people of Ukraine,” he said, and noted that international humanitarian law forbids attacking civilians and civilian infrastructure” (article 44).

3.1.4.4 International Criminal Court

The International Criminal Court abhorred Russian attacks on the Ukrainian people. This condemned Russia's sabotage actions in Ukraine and described them as war crimes. United States called European countries to cooperate in collecting the necessary evidence to trial Russia in this supreme judicial body as stated in "Prompting condemnation by western governments, who pledged they would help gather evidence for investigations into potential war crimes by Russia"(article19).

3.2.5 Repercussion

To a very large extent, this theme is considered one of the most highly discussed topics in the American media due to its compatibility with American ideology, which aims to distort the image of Russia. The current theme discusses the various losses that resulted from the Russian war in Ukraine, such as material, human, economic, and political losses. Therefore, according to US media selected articles, Ukrainian losses are one of the most powerful and influential weapons used against Russia.

3.2.5.1 Humanitarian Repercussion

It is considered as the center of commonly mentioned subthemes within American newspapers because of their great importance in shaping public opinion, winning the case in favor of Ukraine, and showing the extent of the suffering of the Ukrainian people. How many children are displaced as in "Another 10 million Ukrainian- more than one -fifth of the population - have been displaced from their homes, and nearly 6million of them are now living abroad"(article 7), how many are killed ,how many are injured and suffered from danger illness such as in "Roughly 70 percent of Ukraine's war casualties suffer polytrauma or multiple injuries, according to Dr.Sirko"(article 31), and how many Ukrainian suffer from

marginalization, migration, torture, and loss of their lives and dreams as a result of Russian missile attacks, and his steadfastness and strength are according to American media coverage, as in "Inside the Hospitals Treating Brain Injuries in Ukraine(headline)"(article 31).

According to these articles, the Ukrainian population also suffers from poverty as a result of war and famine as in “An enduring global food crisis has become one of the farthest-reaching consequences of Russia's war, contributing to widespread starvation, poverty and premature deaths”(article 37).

3.2.5.2 Material Repercussion

According to the articles studied, this sub-theme holds a significant place in terms of importance in the eyes of the American press corpus and newspapers as it revolves around the infrastructure and buildings that were demolished as a result of the war, including the homes of Ukrainians, their hospitals, schools, and their workplaces. As a result, it became a country filled with shattered rubble, as in "damaging vast swaths of infrastructure"(article 41).

3.2.5.3 Economic Repercussion

This sub-topic has been raised less frequently, but it is considered to be of great importance. when the Ukrainian economy suffered from major deteriorations and losses in the midst of the war, it manifests itself in several forms such as losses of large sums of money as represented in “The economy is clawing it's way back from the devastation of the first year of war – an estimated 411\$ billion in damage” (article 7), and in “Pivotal sectors like steel manufacturing and agriculture have been directly damaged by the war” (article35).

3.2.5.4 Political Repercussion

Quoting Western media, there is no doubt that Ukrainian politics has been affected by the consequences of the war besides to the external and internal pressures from politicians and decision-makers. It is represented in examples as “Pressure on President Volodymyr Zelensky and armed forces Chief Valerie Zaluzhnyi have strained their relationship” (article3). Many of those

sales were believed to be motivated by political reasons as in “Much of those sales were considered politically driven - with investors wanting to assist the government or unable to invest elsewhere because of capital controls” (article 35).

3.3 . Discussion

The ancient historical differences between the Western and Eastern Union are the main factors contributing to the formation of the American ideology towards Russia as its first enemy and a source of danger to its interests. According to Wood et al. (2015), the conflict between Russia and Ukraine goes back to the disintegration of the Soviet Union and the extent to which these Eastern countries sought to regain their identity, especially the increase in tension around the Crimean and Port City of Sevastopol. From this standpoint, it can be said that the ideologies, convictions, and established concepts are the result of the events of that period. These were the products of the historical events of that era.

Since a period of time, these ideologies have been embodied in many ways, including the press. Olive (2016) claimed that since the invention of writing, the relationship between propaganda, persuasion, and what is now referred to as the mass media, or simply the media, has become much closer. The written press is a mirror of the society to which it belong. Through this, people can discover the type of political relations in the region, the pattern of ideas followed, and the collective mindset that prevails in social bodies.

Moreover, Tabe and Jess (2024) argued that media discussions about wars are primarily influenced by the government to which press bodies belong, resulting in the fabrication and manipulation of information to serve their country’s interests. Caranana (2024) supported this point, stating that media and communication are exploited to spread capitalist, liberal, and authoritarian ideologies and trends by actors and decision-makers, serving their own interests and concerns. These tools are used to grant power and class rights to the political elites. Thus, it can be concluded that the Western coverage of the Russian-Ukrainian war is shaped by the

historical backgrounds and ideologies conveyed towards the two countries. The Western media's depiction of Ukraine in positive terms, defence of the homeland and peace, indicates that Ukraine is a strategic and important ally of the US, and supporting it serves American interests.

Conversely, American newspapers' negative portrayals of Russia as evil, tyrannical, and oppressive highlight the nature of America's adversarial relationship with Russia. This bias is rooted in historical animosities dating back to the Cold War and bipolar conflict. Weuffen (2004, p.3) claimed that "the war coverage in the American media reflects the reality of American democracy." Therefore, the bias of the Western media in the Russian-Ukrainian war, siding with Ukraine against Russia, aligns with an American ideology seeking to isolate its international competitors and restrict them from achieving their interests.

This conclusion is crucial for addressing the research questions posed in the introduction. The study explains how the war was presented to the world through the lens of American newspapers, focusing on specific events, terminology, and operations launched by Russia to garner international sympathy for Ukraine, providing examples and evidence of this unilateral presentation in the studied articles.

Conclusion

In general, the American press and written press play an important role in shaping public opinion and winning cases of wars and crises. It is an effective tool in achieving goals and objectives and applying pressure on certain parties, which calls for us to solve the research problem presented in the general introduction and fill very important gaps in this field of research.

General Conclusion

The current research examined the American ideology toward the Russian-Ukrainian war as portrayed in Western mainstream media, specifically focusing on US newspapers. The study addressed two primary research questions: What discursive devices are employed in chosen US print media articles regarding the conflict between Russia and Ukraine? What are the themes discussed in the American press in covering the Russian-Ukrainian war? To address these questions, a qualitative research method was employed. Articles from five American newspapers were collected, resulting in a total of 50 articles analyzed.

The analytical framework was based on a combination of critical discourse and thematic analyses. Van Dijk's (2005) theory of ideological discourse analysis was used to examine the micro-level data, focusing on 25 discursive devices. The Thematic Analysis technique (Braun & Clarke, 2006) was used to investigate the macro-level data by identifying patterns in meanings and constructing the main themes discussed in the articles to express the US ideology.

The study revealed that US newspapers support Ukraine through biased and one-sided coverage that serves American interests, systematically employing 25 discursive devices to shape readers' perceptions of the conflict. Key techniques such as actor description, victimization, categorization, and polarization consistently depict Ukraine as the victim and Russia as the aggressor. Emotional responses are evoked through hyperbole, populism, and national self-glorification, while the use of authority, evidentially, and the number game lends credibility to the narrative with statistics and authoritative statements. Devices like vagueness, implication, and lexicalization strategically convey multiple interpretations and emphasize key points, while metaphors, comparisons, and illustrations clarify and reinforce messages. Irony is used to critique opposing narratives and highlight contradictions, and the direct accusatory tone towards Russia and Putin is maintained by rarely using disclaimers.

The study also used thematic analysis to evaluate the topics covered in these newspapers, revealing a biased coverage that favours Ukraine by inflating its image and diminishing Russia's.

Several themes and subthemes constructed, including the backdrop of the war, which covers the conflict's roots, general information, and military forces. The advancement theme includes developments in the battle and negotiations, while the prejudice and bias theme focuses on the victimization of Ukraine and the distortion of Russia's position, including US aid to Ukraine. The international positions theme covers the responses of various countries and international bodies. Lastly, the repercussions theme highlights the humanitarian, material, economic, and political losses in Ukraine. The most discussed topic was the humanitarian repercussions, emphasizing Ukrainian suffering and oppression, while US aid to Ukraine was also extensively covered. In contrast, advancements in the battle, information warfare, and political repercussions were the least discussed topics.

The study concludes that Western media, particularly American newspapers, are not neutral in reporting events related to the Russian-Ukrainian war. Instead, they cover the conflict in a biased manner to gain international support for Ukraine and exert pressure and sanctions on Russia, serving American interests.

The research is bound by several limitations that influence its scope. It is limited in terms of the number of newspapers discussed because of some reasons. First, newspaper selection was challenging because of their access. Second, the novelty of the topic posed challenges in accessing sources, limiting the contextualization of findings. Additionally, maintaining neutrality and objectivity throughout the analysis was challenging.

Based on these limitations, several recommendations for further research are made. Future studies should broaden their analysis beyond newspapers to include other social media platforms, television, radio, videos, and other media sources. This approach will provide a more comprehensive understanding of media representations and public perceptions regarding the conflict.

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Appendices

Appendix 1

Table of The Gathered Data: The Articles.

<i>Number</i>	<i>Headlines</i>	<i>Newspaper</i>	<i>Date of publication</i>	<i>Link</i>
1.	Two killed in Russian air strike on Ukraine	NYP	Jan. 8, 2024.	https://nypost.com/2024/01/08/news/two-killed-in-russian-air-strike-on-ukraine/
2.	Putin is already proving he won't stop at Ukraine	NYP	Dec. 14, 2023.	https://nypost.com/2023/12/14/opinion/putin-is-already-proving-he-wont-stop-at-ukraine/
3.	Wake up, West! Putin can gain upper hand in Ukraine in '24 if we do nothing	NYP	Dec.18, 2023.	https://nypost.com/2023/12/18/opinion/wake-up-west-putin-can-gain-upper-hand-in-ukraine-in-24-if-we-do-nothing/
4.	America must aid Ukraine AND secure our own borders — or what kind of superpower are we?	NYP	Dec. 15, 2023.	https://nypost.com/2023/12/15/opinion/america-must-aid-ukraine-and-secure-our-own-borders-or-what-kind-of-superpower-are-we/
5.	Russian schoolchildren forced to help make flying grenades for drones attacking Ukrainians	NYP	Dec. 19, 2023.	https://nypost.com/2023/12/19/news/russian-kids-forced-to-help-make-flying-grenades-for-drones/
6.	We must keep backing Ukraine to counter Russia, China and Iran's push for global chaos	NYP	Nov. 21, 2023.	https://nypost.com/2023/11/21/opinion/we-must-keep-backing-ukraine-to-counter-russia-china-and-irans-push-for-global-chaos/
7.	Why the US must stay the course in Ukraine	NYP	Dec. 9, 2023.	https://nypost.com/2023/12/09/opinion/why-the-us-must-stay-the-course-in-ukraine/
8.	Road to war: U.S. struggled to convince allies, and Zelensky, of risk of invasion	WP	Aug. 16, 2022.	https://www.washingtonpost.com/national-security/interactive/2022/ukraine-road-to-war/?itid=sr_1
9.	Russia controls Bakhmut, for now, but holding it will be difficult	WP	May. 23, 2023.	https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/2023/05/23/ukraine-russia-war-bakhmut-wagner/
10.	Russia will win war in Ukraine, Putin tells news conference and call-in show	WP	Dec. 14, 2023.	https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/2023/12/14/putin-news-conference-reelection-war/

11.	The war in Ukraine	WP	Apr. 8, 2022.	https://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/2022/04/08/war-ukraine/
12.	Putin vows to push on with Ukrainian war	WSJ	Dec. 14, 2023.	https://www.wsj.com/world/russia/putin-vows-to-push-on-with-ukraine-war-d3e5be30
13.	...but growing risks in Ukraine	WSJ	Aug. 20, 2023.	https://www.wsj.com/articles/but-growing-risks-in-ukraine-russia-war-weapons-military-aid-europe-diplomacy-national-security-nato-770dea93
14.	Russia hits mall in southern Ukrainian city	WSJ	May. 17, 2023.	https://www.wsj.com/articles/russia-hits-shopping-mall-in-southern-ukrainian-city-d69e80a0
15.	Biden visits cheers Ukrainians in kyiv	WSJ	Feb. 20, 2023.	https://www.wsj.com/livecoverage/biden-visits-ukraine/card/biden-s-visit-cheers-ukrainians-in-kyiv-lTo2BrwsJUuzE3I21qmh
16.	Drone everywhere : how the technological revolution on Ukraine battlefields is reshaping modern warfare	WSJ	Sep. 28, 2023.	https://www.wsj.com/world/drones-everywhere-how-the-technological-revolution-on-ukraine-battlefields-is-reshaping-modern-warfare-bf5d531b
17.	Here is how the Russian and Ukrainian war efforts compare ,in 10 charts	WSJ	Jan. 6, 2024.	https://www.wsj.com/world/russia/heres-how-the-russian-and-ukrainian-war-efforts-compare-in-10-charts-1cf9a74f
18.	How putin's obsession with history led him to start a war	WSJ	Feb. 11, 2024.	https://www.wsj.com/world/russia/how-putins-obsession-with-history-led-him-to-start-a-war-6732f619
19.	What are war crimes? What we know as U.S. accuses Russia	WSJ	April. 5, 2022.	https://www.wsj.com/articles/what-are-war-crimes-russia-ukraine-11646680445
20.	'The Ukraine' Review: Truth and Fiction From Kyiv and Beyond	WSJ	Feb. 9, 2024.	https://www.wsj.com/arts-culture/books/the-ukraine-review-sketches-of-an-imperfect-country-797ca866?page=1
21.	GOP Lawmaker Warns of 'Serious National-Security Threat'	WSJ	Feb. 14, 2024.	https://www.wsj.com/politics/national-security/security-threat-russia-intelligence-a1243acb?page=1
22.	Avdiivka, longtime stronghold for ukraine, falls to Russians	NYT	Feb. 17, 2024.	https://www.nytimes.com/2024/02/17/world/europe/ukraine-avdiivka-withdraw-despair.html
23.	Russia-Ukraine War	NYT	Oct. 3, 2023.	https://www.nytimes.com/live/2023/10/03/world/russia-ukraine-news#ukraines-war-

				of-drones-runs-into-an-obstacle-china
24.	U.S. Campaign to Isolate Russia Shows Limits After 2 Years of War	NYT	Feb. 22, 2024.	https://www.nytimes.com/2024/02/22/us/politics/russia-war-anniversary-sanctions.html?searchResultPosition=1
25.	For Many Ukrainians, It's Been a 10-Year War, Not a 2-Year One	NYT	Feb. 23, 2024.	https://www.nytimes.com/2024/02/23/world/europe/ukraine-russia-war-maidan-square.html?searchResultPosition=1
26.	Russian Forces Press On With Attacks in Southern Ukraine	NYT	Feb. 21, 2024.	https://www.nytimes.com/2024/02/21/world/europe/russia-ukraine-war-robotyne.html?searchResultPosition=1
27.	We Ukrainians Are Fighting to Be Free	NYT	Feb. 19, 2024.	https://www.nytimes.com/2024/02/19/opinion/ukraine-war-anniversary.html?searchResultPosition=1
28.	Russian Pilot Who Defected to Ukraine Is Believed Dead in Spain	NYT	Feb. 20, 2024.	https://www.nytimes.com/2024/02/20/world/europe/russia-pilot-maksim-kuzminov-spain.html?searchResultPosition=1
29.	Putin admits shortcomings but vows 'no limits' to Russia's war spending.	NYT	Dec. 21, 2022.	https://www.nytimes.com/2022/12/21/world/europe/putin-war-russia-ukraine.html?searchResultPosition=1
30.	New Russian Land Mine Poses Special Risk in Ukraine	NYT	April. 6, 2022.	https://www.nytimes.com/2022/04/06/us/politics/russia-ukraine-land-mines.html?searchResultPosition=26
31.	Inside the Hospitals Treating Brain Injuries in Ukraine	NYT	Feb. 22, 2024.	https://www.nytimes.com/card/2024/02/22/world/europe/ukraine-war-brain-injury?searchResultPosition=1
32.	U.S. Imposes Major New Sanctions on Russia, Targeting Finance and Defense	NYT	Feb. 23, 2024.	https://www.nytimes.com/2024/02/23/business/us-sanctions-russia.html?searchResultPosition=1
33.	Dictators Do Not Go on Vacation,' Zelensky Warns Washington and Europe	NYT	Feb. 17, 2024.	https://www.nytimes.com/2024/02/17/world/europe/zelensky-ukraine-russia.html?searchResultPosition=1

34.	Biden Announces Sanctions on More Than 500 Russian Targets	NYT	Feb. 22, 2024.	https://www.nytimes.com/2024/02/22/business/us-sanctions-russia-navalny.html?searchResultPosition=1
35.	Ukraine's difficulties on the bond markets leave it more reliant on foreign aid.	NYT	Dec. 27, 2022.	https://www.nytimes.com/2022/12/27/world/europe/ukraine-economy-markets-bonds.html?searchResultPosition=1
36.	Pope Francis calls for people to celebrate a more 'humble' Christmas and donate to Ukraine.	NYT	Dec. 14, 2022.	https://www.nytimes.com/2022/12/14/world/europe/pope-francis-ukraine-christmas.html?searchResultPosition=1
37.	How Russia's War on Ukraine Is Worsening Global Starvation	NYT	Jan. 2, 2023.	https://www.nytimes.com/2023/01/02/us/politics/russia-ukraine-food-crisis.html?searchResultPosition=2
38.	Justice Dept. Embraces Supporting Role in Pursuing War Crimes in Ukraine	NYT	Mar. 21, 2023.	https://www.nytimes.com/2023/03/21/us/politics/ukraine-russia-war-crimes-justice-dept.html?searchResultPosition=1
39.	Summit Signals How Ukraine War Drives Russian Foreign Policy	NYT	Sept. 13, 2023.	https://www.nytimes.com/2023/09/13/world/europe/putin-kim-summit-analysis.html
40.	As Ukraine War Grinds On, Widows Try to See Life After Loss	NYT	Oct. 25, 2023.	https://www.nytimes.com/2023/10/25/world/europe/ukraine-war-widows.html
41.	Fact check roundup: What's true and false two years after Russia's invasion of Ukraine	USAT	Feb. 22, 2024.	https://www.usatoday.com/story/news/factcheck/2024/02/22/russia-ukraine-war-fact-check/72627165007/
42.	Russian missiles and drones are terrorizing Ukrainians. You can help bring safe skies.	USAT	Jan. 5, 2024.	https://www.usatoday.com/story/opinion/voices/2024/01/05/ukraine-war-russia-drone-detection/72052546007/
43.	Russian ballistic missiles strike Ukraine cities, killing at least 4 people	USAT	Jan. 2, 2024.	https://www.usatoday.com/story/news/world/2024/01/02/russian-ballistic-missiles-strike-ukraine-cities/72081586007/
44.	Russia launches the biggest aerial barrage of the war and kills 30 civilians, Ukraine says	USAT	Dec. 29, 2023.	https://www.usatoday.com/story/news/world/2023/12/29/ukraine-russia-biggest-aerial-barrage-war/72062828007/
45.	Terrorist state': Russia's latest barrage brings more death, fury in	USAT	Sep. 21, 2023.	https://www.usatoday.com/story/news/world/2023/09/21/ukraine-russia-war-live-updates/70920184007/

	Ukraine. Live updates			
46.	President Biden invites Volodymyr Zelenskyy to White House as Congress fights over Ukraine aid	USAT	Dec. 10, 2023.	https://www.usatoday.com/story/news/politics/2023/12/10/biden-zelenskyy-white-house-ukraine-aid-congress/71872638007/
47.	IOC allowing Russian athletes at 2024 Olympics isn't about fairness. It's about cruelty.	USAT	Dec. 8, 2023.	https://www.usatoday.com/story/sports/columnist/nancy-armour/2023/12/08/ioc-russian-athletes-2024-olympics-ukraine-impact/71853001007/
48.	Ukrainian doctors working in extreme conditions count on US peers' help	USAT	Jun. 8, 2023.	https://www.usatoday.com/in-depth/news/world/ukraine/2023/06/08/ukrainian-doctors-extreme-conditions-us-help-university-michigan/70289183007/
49.	An Illustrated Explanation of Russia's Deportation of Ukrainians, From the War Zone to a Remote Camp.	USAT	May. 31, 2023.	https://www.usatoday.com/in-depth/graphics/2023/05/30/from-a-war-zone-to-a-remote-camp-an-illustrated-explanation-of-russias-deportation-of-ukrainians/11477766002/
50.	7 killed in missile strike; Biden admin grants reprieve for Ukrainians in US: Updates	USAT	Aug.19, 2023.	https://www.usatoday.com/story/news/world/ukraine/2023/08/19/ukraine-war-updates-drone-attacks/70620035007/

ملخص

تُحقّق الدراسة في الأيديولوجية الأمريكية فيما يتعلق بالحرب الروسية-الأوكرانية كما يتم تصويرها في وسائل الإعلام الغربية الرئيسية، مع التركيز بشكل خاص على الصحف الأمريكية. تُفحص الدراسة كيفية تأطير النزاع والمواقف التي تتبناها هذه الوسائل. باستخدام مناهج نوعية، تم تحليل 50 مقالًا إخباريًا من خمس صحف أمريكية بارزة. استخدمت الدراسة تحليل الخطاب الأيديولوجي لفان دايك (2005) للبيانات على المستوى الجزئي والتحليل الموضوعي (براون و كلارك، 2006) للبيانات على المستوى الكلي. حدد التحليل 25 جهازًا خطابيًا واستخداماتها اللغوية التي تشكل ديناميات القوة والأيديولوجيات. تم اكتشاف خمس مواضيع رئيسية تكشف كيفية تصوير وسائل الإعلام الأمريكية للحرب الروسية-الأوكرانية وتعكس الأيديولوجية الأمريكية الأساسية. تشير النتائج إلى نهج إعلامي متحيز، يركز على معاناة أوكرانيا بينما يسيء تمثيل الشأن الروسي ويدينه. يُوصى بإجراء المزيد من الدراسات لفهم القضية بشكل أفضل، واكتشاف التحيزات في التغطية الإعلامية الغربية، واستكشاف تطور الأيديولوجية الأمريكية.

الكلمات الرئيسية: أمريكية، أيديولوجية، صحف، روسيا، أوكرانيا.