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**An Analysis of Biden's Speeches towards the War in Ukraine and Gaza: A
Comparative Study**

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

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Dedication

We dedicate this work to Palestine.

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Abstract

The Gaza and Ukraine wars are two of the most significant and widely discussed humanitarian crises in recent times. These conflicts have deep historical roots, stemming from religious differences and disputes over land, politics, economics, and ideological factors. These conflicts were not as widely recognized and understood by the world as they are today. The occurrence of both wars at the same time highlights the double standards in Western foreign policy, especially with regard to the US response to the Ukraine war compared to the Gaza conflict during the Biden administration. This study aims to uncover the historical roots and causes of the Gaza and Ukraine wars to understand the underlying motivations and power dynamics shaping US foreign policy. By critically examining Biden's rhetoric on these conflicts, the research reveals the strategic use of language to justify the actions of the Biden administration and its double standards. This study is conducted in a qualitative approach based on the historical, descriptive, comparative, and analytical methods using the Critical Discourse Analysis that focuses on Van Dijk's Ideological square model. Through this analysis, Biden's speeches were found to reflect bias, hidden power dynamics, social injustice, and dominance towards the Gaza war compared to the Ukraine war. The study also revealed the presence of American foreign policy double standards. The United States has a long history of creating and maintaining an international order that favors specific countries, peoples, and cultures. This approach is rooted in the legacy of imperialist European powers that has endured for centuries.

Keywords: Biden's speeches, Gaza, Ukraine, War.

List of Abbreviations and Acronyms

CDA:	Critical Discourse Analysis
CP(B)U:	Communist Party (Bolshevik) of Ukraine
FIFA:	International Federation of Association Football
MAP:	The Membership Action Plan
MPs:	Members of Parliament
NATO:	The North Atlantic Treaty Organization
OUN:	The Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists
PL:	Palestinian Authority
PLO:	Palestinian Liberation Organization
UN:	United Nations
UNR:	Ukrainian National Republic
UNPC:	United Nations Palestine Commission
UPA:	Ukrayins'ka Povstans'ka Armiia (Ukrainian Insurgent Army)
UEFA:	Union of European Football Associations
UK:	United Kingdom
US:	The United States
USA:	The United State of America
USSR:	Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic

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General Introduction

Background of the Study:

The ongoing conflicts in Ukraine and Gaza have presented significant challenges to global peace and stability. The Ukraine crisis traces its roots back to 1991 when Ukraine became an independent country after the fall of the Soviet Union. Ukraine used to be a part of the Russian empire, but it wanted to form closer ties with the West. The conflict began in 2013 when people in Ukraine's capital city, Kyiv, protested against their president's decision to reject a deal with the European Union. The protests grew bigger and more intense, and eventually, the president fled the country in 2014. After that, Russia sent troops to take control of a region called Crimea in Ukraine. They even held a referendum where people voted to join Russia. This caused even more tension between Ukraine and Russia. In eastern Ukraine, some people wanted to break away from Ukraine and become their own country with Russia's support. Since 2014, there has been a lot of violence between Russian-backed separatist forces and the Ukrainian military. Many people have been killed or injured. The situation worsened when a Malaysian Airlines flight was shot down over Ukraine in 2014, killing everyone on board. Investigators found out that a Russian missile was responsible for the tragedy. Efforts to find a peaceful solution to the conflict have not been successful.

In 2016, NATO deployed troops to Eastern Europe to show support for Ukraine and deter any further aggression from Russia. Ukraine has also been targeted by cyberattacks since the conflict started. These attacks have caused power outages and damaged computer systems. It is believed that Russia is behind these cyberattacks. The United States has been helping Ukraine by providing security assistance. They have imposed sanctions on Russian officials and approved the sale of weapons to Ukraine. The US and other NATO countries have also conducted military exercises to show support for Ukraine. In 2021, Russia started moving troops and military equipment near the border with Ukraine, raising concerns about a potential invasion. By December, there were over 100,000 Russian troops near the border. The United States and other NATO allies have warned Russia of retaliation if

they invade Ukraine. To show support, the US deployed troops to NATO countries near Ukraine. However, they have clarified that these troops will not enter Ukraine. Negotiations between Russia and other countries are ongoing, but little progress has occurred.

On the other hand, the history of the Palestinian-Israeli conflict dates back to the British control of Palestine after the defeat of the Ottoman Empire in World War I. At that time, Palestine was inhabited by a Jewish minority and an Arab majority. Tensions grew between both sides after the international community gave Britain the task of establishing a national homeland for the Jewish people in Palestine through the issuance of the Balfour Declaration on November 2nd, 1917. During the 1920s and 1940s, the number of Jews immigrating to Palestine increased, and so did the violence between Jews and Arabs, as well as against British rule in the region. In 1947, the United Nations voted to divide Palestine into two separate states, one Jewish and one Arab, with Jerusalem becoming an international city. The Jewish leaders agreed to this plan, while the Arab side rejected it. In 1948, the British, who were ruling the region, left without being able to solve the issue. The Jewish leaders declared the establishment of the state of Israel, which was met with opposition from many Palestinians. This led to the outbreak of the first Arab-Israeli war, which ended in 1949 with Israel's victory and the displacement of 750,000 Palestinians. Afterward, the region was divided into Israel, the West Bank (Jordan River), and the Gaza Strip. After that, the Arab-Israeli conflict began on the ground with various wars and confrontations between the two sides. The latest chapter was the Al-Aqsa Flood (2023, غمري).

The Western stance differed between the two wars. While calls against Russia escalated and financial and military aid was provided to Ukraine, along with receiving refugees from there to help it confront the Russian military machine, the West completely ignored this with Gaza. Its financial, political, and humanitarian support was not on the same level. The United States' position with Ukraine has considered Moscow's actions as aggressive and what Putin is doing as war crimes. Hamas has been

condemned as a terrorist organization, accused of using Palestinians as human shields, considering Israel's crimes against Palestinians as justified in self-defense (2023, العمل).

Statement of the problem:

The United States' positions and attitudes towards the conflicts in Gaza and Ukraine were distinct. This analysis explores the perceived inconsistencies in the U.S. approach to these wars, as evident in President Biden's speeches and the resulting policy actions. It conducts a comparative analytical evaluation of the language used, policies implemented, and global responses to both conflicts.

Research Questions:

The current research seeks to provide conclusive answers to the following questions:

1. What are the underlying historical roots and primary causes of the conflicts in Gaza and Ukraine, and how have these factors influenced the international responses to these wars, particularly in the context of President Biden's speeches?
2. How does President Biden use language to construct and justify the United States' foreign policy towards Ukraine compared to the Gaza war, and what are the underlying ideological assumptions and power relations embedded in his discourse?

Research Hypotheses:

To answer the questions of the current study, we suggest the following:

1. The conflicts in Gaza and Ukraine could have been rooted in historical and contemporary political, economic, and ideological factors that may have been exacerbated by the strategic interests of major global powers, particularly the United States, Russia, and Israel.
2. As a key player in international relations, President Biden may strategically employ language to shape the narrative around the United States foreign policy towards Ukraine,

presenting it as more justified and morally imperative than the approach taken towards the Gaza war.

3. Biden's discourse on Ukraine might highlight the importance of democracy, freedom, and international collaboration. In contrast, his statements on the Gaza conflict may center more on regional security issues and stability.
4. Western-centric ideological assumptions may shape Biden's discourse toward Ukraine, while geopolitical alliances and historical narratives could influence his language on the Gaza war.

Aims of the study:

The study seeks to uncover the underlying historical roots and causes of the Gaza and Ukraine wars. It aims to critically examine how Biden's rhetoric on Ukraine and Gaza reveals the underlying motivations, assumptions, and power dynamics shaping U.S. foreign policy in these conflicts. By comparing Biden's speeches regarding these wars, the research will provide insight into the Biden administration's strategic use of language to justify its actions on the global stage.

Research Methodology:

In order to better answer the questions asked and to achieve the study's aims, the qualitative research uses on hand the historical and descriptive methods in the chapter one, as most of the data relevant to the theoretical part of the study were extracted from books, articles, websites, and previous studies to create a comprehensive understanding of the historical roots of the Gaza and Ukraine Wars. As for chapter two, it utilizes the analytical and comparative methods based on the Ideological square model of Van Dijk's critical discourse analysis theory to analyze Biden's speeches.

Significance of research:

The significance of this study lies in its contribution to comprehending the construction and impact of political discourse on war and conflict perceptions. Van Dijk's approach emphasizes how discourse structures embody power, dominance, and social inequality. By utilizing this approach to analyze Biden's speeches, the study seeks to reveal the hidden ideologies and power dynamics within his language and rhetoric when discussing the Ukraine and Gaza conflicts. This analysis offers valuable insights into the influence of political discourse on public opinion, policy choices, and international relations, ultimately enhancing our understanding of how language affects conflict perception and resolution.

Structure of the study:

This dissertation is divided into two main chapters. The first is theoretical and provides a background on the roots of wars in Gaza and Ukraine, focusing on the international response to these conflicts. The second chapter is practical and is further divided into two parts. The first part offers a theoretical overview of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) and Van Dijk's model. The second part conducts a comparative analysis of how the conflicts in Gaza and Ukraine are represented in President Biden's speeches.

CHAPTER ONE

The Origins of the Israeli-Palestinian and Russian Ukrainian war

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Introduction

This chapter tends to depict a historical overview of contemporary Ukraine and the Gaza War. It composes of two main sections. The first focuses on the roots of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, while the second discusses the origin of the Russo-Ukrainian conflict, exploring the main reasons and nature of the conflicts.

1.1 The Roots of the Israeli-Palestinian War:

1.1.1 The Historical and National Identity Perspective of the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict:

The Israeli-Palestinian conflict, between Palestinian Arabs and Zionist Jews, is now one of the most notable international contemporary issues and began in the late 19th century. The conflict is based on who gets the land, not only the religious beliefs of different groups. The area, known as Palestine before the 1948-1949 crisis, is now divided into Israel, the West Bank, and the Gaza Strip as a result of the conflict. Jewish claims to the territory are grounded in the biblical promises to Abraham, the bonds with old Jewish empires, and the fact that the only escape from European anti-Semitism is the return to the homeland (Beinin & Hajjar, 2014).

Palestinian Arabs claim that their rights are based on the continuity of their habitation for the last several centuries, the one-to-one population before 1948, and the refusal to acknowledge biblical kingdoms as a justification of their present-day claims. Arabs believe that they are also included in the covenant between Almighty God and Abraham through Ishmael's ancestry, and they oppose the notion of their land being sacrificed as a reparation for European mistakes against Jews (Beinin & Hajjar, 2014). Worldwide, during the 1800s, people began to become aware of themselves as nations with national rights that demanded self-governance and independence. This gave a boost to Jewish national identity and the goals of Palestinians and Jews (Beinin & Hajjar, 2014).

Zionism is the nationalistic idea that involves the creation and strengthening of the Jewish state in Palestine, which is their ancestral homeland. The term Zion has been often used as a religious symbol and it once referred to a hill in Jerusalem. The political Zionism movement started in the late 19th century in Europe, which was led by Theodor Herzl. He convened the first Zionist Congress in Switzerland and made Vienna the center of the movement, later moving to Cologne and Berlin after his death in 1904. Zionism aimed at increasing Jewish immigration to ensure that Jews were the majority in Palestine. Settler colonialism was a key strategy to accomplish the goals of Zionism. Until the year 1948, when Israel was recognized as an independent state and David Ben-Gurion was elected as the first Prime Minister of the state of Israel (Elmali, 2023).

Beinin and Hajjar (2014) claimed that by the end of the 19th century, the Ottoman Empire no longer controlled Palestine, but was subdivided into various districts. Acre and Nablus were parts of the province of Beirut, and Jerusalem was the city which was directly under the political control of Istanbul because of its religious importance to Muslims, Christians, and Jews. In 1878, the population of Jerusalem, Nablus, and Acre districts was 853,464 Muslims, 87,318 Christians, and 30,021 Jews, not including the foreign Jewish residents and Bedouin nomads. Urban life was limited to Jaffa and Nablus cities, which were the largest towns in the Arab countryside. The majority of Jews resided in four cities and continued their traditional religious practices, which were disconnected from Zionism. By 1914, the Jewish community in Palestine had grown to around 60,000 individuals, which included 36,000 immigrants who had arrived in the past years. On the other hand, the Arab population was 683,000. European Jews desired to create a modern Jewish country in Palestine that would be distinct from the traditional Jews of the region who were already living there.

1.1.2 A Land without a People for a People without a Land

Said (1992) argued that the conflict over Palestine is the confrontation between acceptance and denial of the facts by the Arab states and Israel, therefore, a stalemate. The Western perception has

shown great sympathies towards the Zionists, and Palestinians are portrayed as being backward despite their previous presence on the land. The fight is a reflection of a contest between the cultures of progress and those of the traditional, where the Zionist claims are considered superior to the Palestinian rights. Despite the fact that Arabs were the majority in Palestine, the western world views the land as empty and suitable for European settlers' development. This attitude is conveyed in the writings of figures such as Alphonse de Lamartine and Israel Zangwill, which overlooked the native Arab population, thus calling for the colonization of the area by the Jewish people. The new historical narrative now bolsters the Zionist claims, restricting the rights of the Palestinians and continuing to fuel the conflict in the area.

Figure 1.1 *The Map Displaying the Territory in Palestine Claimed by The World Zionist Organization was Formally Unveiled at the Paris Peace Conference in 1919*



Note: Adapted from PAPPE, I. (2011). *PRAISE FOR THE ETHNIC CLEANSING OF PALESTINE*. <https://yplus.ps/wp-content/uploads/2021/01/Pappe-Ilan-The-Ethnic-Cleansing-of-Palestine.pdf>

Elmali (2023) describes the Zionist viewpoint of a land without a people for a people without a land concept. These examples are still colonization narratives because they are fictitious about Palestinian lands. The initial statement is misleading as it suggests that the lands were unclaimed and

colonized by the Jewish people, but there was already a flourishing Arab community before the Zionists took over. The second argument, however, equates Palestine with an uncivilized and backward society, a reflection of the colonial excuses adopted by the British Empire. Chaim Weizmann, an influential figure in the Zionist movement, tended to think that Arabs were like Negroes. According to Zionists, Palestine was an unattractive and barren land, and just like Mark Twain had in his writings, they cherry-picked the evidence. On the contrary, as can be seen from the depiction of artist David Roberts, the place was dynamically full of life and better than what is presented now.

1.1.3 The British Mandates

As Beinín and Hajjar (2014) asserted, Palestine became a disputed area in the early 20th century when the Ottoman Empire started to decline and competition between European powers for dominance occurred. According to Al Jazeera (2021), during WWI, the UK's High Commissioner, Henry McMahon, assured Sharif Hussein of the Arab world's independence from the Ottomans, leading Sharif Hussein to call for a battle in June 1916. However, a number of conflicting declarations and promises were made, including the Balfour Declaration supporting a Jewish state in Palestine and the secret Sykes-Picot Agreement which divided the Ottoman lands. After the war, the League of Nations, France, and Britain took control of the region through mandates. Arab frustration developed due to unfulfilled promises and increased European control over Palestine. In Palestine, Palestinian resistance was triggered by Jewish immigration.

Avital (2018), in his research, indicates that Jews and Arabs were fighting violently in Palestine during the 1920s and 1930s, with the 1929 Wailing Wall Riots being seen as a significant milestone. Arabs came to consider all Jews as one single community that shared the same national aims, and this led to a demand for a Jewish state. The Shaw Commission, which was organized by the British, is the one that dealt with the conflict and resulted in the review of Jewish immigration and land purchasing, thus shifting British policy towards Zionism. The 1936 Arab revolt, which was ignited by the economic crisis and the increased Jewish immigration, took two weeks and the commission concluded that the

partition of the land was necessary in order to meet the irreconcilable political demands. The heavy-handed British response to the revolt caused high casualties among the Arabs, which in turn weakened the society and eventually led to the release of the White Paper of 1939. Although these events could be considered as positive achievements, they did not change the position of Arabs after the Second World War.

Table 1.1 *Distribution of Land Ownership Among Palestinian and Jewish Populations by District, 1945*

DISTRICT	PALESTINIAN	JEWISH	PUBLIC & OTHER ²
ACRE	87	3	10
BAYSAN	44	34	22
BEERSHEBA	15	<1	85
GAZA	75	4	21
HAIFA	42	35	23
HEBRON	96	<1	4
JAFFA	47	39	14
JERUSALEM	84	2	14
JENIN	84	<1	16
NABLUS	87	<1	13
NAZARETH	52	28	20
RAMLA	77	14	9
RAMALLAH	99	<1	1
SAFAD	68	18	14
TIBERIAS	51	38	11
TUL-KAREM	78	17	5

Note: Adapted from: PAPPE, I. (2011). *PRAISE FOR THE ETHNIC CLEANSING OF PALESTINE*.

<https://yplus.ps/wp-content/uploads/2021/01/Pappe-Ilan-The-Ethnic-Cleansing-of-Palestine.pdf>

From 1939 to 1948, the Zionists conducted a paramilitary campaign under the leadership of Menachem Begin, who later became the Prime Minister of Israel, and established organizations such as the Irgun. These groups carried out numerous shootings, including bombings of British offices and police stations that were well-known to the public, such as the King David Hotel bombing that killed 91 people. Yitzhak Shamir, the leader of another terrorist organization that later gained national leadership, is said to have orchestrated attacks through the Stern Gang, targeting British and UN officials (Elmali, 2023).

The publication of the White Paper in 1939 marked the end of the British-Zionist alliance, while the suppression of the Arab revolt and the exile of the Palestinian leadership were the main factors

contributing to the political chaos among Palestinians during a critical period in their history (Beinin & Hajjar, 2014).

Table 1. 2 *The Distribution of Population in Palestine by District Was Shown in Percentages of Palestinians and Jews*

DISTRICT	PALESTINIAN	JEWISH
ACRE	96	4
BAYSAN	70	30
BEERSHEBA	99	<1
GAZA	98	2
HAIFA	53	47
HEBRON	99	<1
JAFFA	29	71
JERUSALEM	62	38
JENIN	100	0
NABLUS	100	0
NAZARETH	84	16
RAMLA	78	22
RAMALLAH	100	0
SAFAD	87	13
TIBERIAS	67	33
TUL-KAREM	83	17

Note: Reprinted from PAPPE, I. (2011). *PRAISE FOR THE ETHNIC CLEANSING OF PALESTINE*.

<https://yplus.ps/wp-content/uploads/2021/01/Pappe-Ilan-The-Ethnic-Cleansing-of-Palestine.pdf>

1.1.4 The United Nation Partition Plan

According to Ben-Dror (2013), the UN General Assembly approved Resolution 181 on November 29, 1947, dividing Palestine into a Jewish State and an Arab State while placing Jerusalem under international supervision. The United Nations Palestine Commission (UNPC) was created to oversee the plan, with British forces scheduled to leave the region by August 1948. Under the UNPC, temporary governments and military forces would be established in the new countries, leading to early elections and eventual complete autonomy by October 1948.

Pappe (2011) explained the Jewish and Palestinian reactions to the resolution. He mentioned that the 1948 Palestinian boycott of UN proceedings is used by Israeli propaganda to blame Palestinians, but Palestinian historiography defends this decision as a response to unfair procedures. Palestinians opposed land partitioning with settlers and feared unjust solutions. Despite legal review calls, the international court never addressed the issue, allowing an unfair division that favored Jewish

populations. The partition resolution neglected Palestinian demographics and geographic balances, leading to ethnic cleansing. The UN map created a political nightmare for Zionist goals and escalated tensions, resulting in ongoing injustice for Palestinians struggling against forced partition and unfair UN decisions. David Ben-Gurion, the Israeli Prime Minister, as Pappe (2011) states, shaped Jewish community policies in 1947 and has been a proponent for the Jewish state in Palestine, despite Arab and Palestinian opposition. He stressed international recognition and rebuked the UN suggestion of making Jerusalem an international city, instead making it the capital of the Jewish state. Ben-Gurion believed that borders should be determined by means of violence and therefore sought to have minimal Palestinian presence within the state.

Figure1.2 *The United Nations Partition Plan Was Officially Approved as General Assembly Resolution 181 On November 29, 1947*



Note: Adapted from PAPPE, I. (2011). *PRAISE FOR THE ETHNIC CLEANSING OF PALESTINE*.

<https://yplus.ps/wp-content/uploads/2021/01/Pappe-Ilan-The-Ethnic-Cleansing-of-Palestine.pdf>

1.1.5 The Arab-Israeli War and Nakba 1947-1949

Juliana (2023) argues that after the British Government granted the Jewish state in Palestine in 1948, Zionist forces announced the establishment of the State of Israel, which has come to be known as the Nakba by the Palestinians. As Elmali (2023) defined Nakba, a word in Arabic which means catastrophe, is the day that more than 700,000 people were expelled from their homeland. The almost 530 Palestinian villages were demolished, massacres and killings occurred as a prelude to the first Arab-Israeli conflict. However, the first wave of mass departures from Palestine started in December 1947 and lasted until around 75,000 refugees left. The exodus had its roots in Jewish military raids and terror, and led to the collapse of the basic social order. The closure of essential services like schools, health centers, and businesses had a serious effect which worsened the situation, leading to an increase in joblessness and destitution. The air raids, in addition to the propaganda and coercion, resulted in mass exodus from cities and even from rural areas (Juliana, 2023).

As Alsaafin (2023) states, the UN General Assembly passed Resolution 194 in December 1948, which supported the inalienable right of Palestinian refugees to return. Israel, until 1966, held around 150,000 of the Palestinian refugees in its custody under severe military supervision. Then, these Palestinians were granted Israeli citizenship. The Palestinians lost the Gaza Strip to Egypt in 1950 and Jordan's rule over the West Bank in the same year. The Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO), which was established in 1964, and Fatah, which was founded a year after, are the main two Palestinian political organizations.

1.1.6 The 1967 Arab-Israeli War

1.1.6.1 The Six Day War

The Six Day War, the war of 1967 between Arabs and Israelis, is immortalized as a symbol of Israeli victory over the Egyptian and Arab forces. Israel's military deployed a strategic policy that led to the control of the Sinai Peninsula, Gaza Strip, West Bank, and Golan Heights. The majority regarded

this victory as a contemporary divine miracle, which induced a neo-Judaic revival in religious sentiment and messianic expectations. The conquest of Jerusalem by the Israelites, including access to the Western Wall, represents a milestone in the history of the Jews. Afterward, the movement towards religious practice in Israel has increased significantly. More Jewish people are coming to the country, and they are becoming more pious (*The 1967 Arab-Israeli War*, n.d.).

1.1.6.2 Naksa

The Palestinians refer to the 1967 War as Naksa, which means a setback. Some argue that it began with the Israeli attack on Egypt, while others claim it was a result of the United States defending itself from attacks by the Russians and Chinese. Once again, Israel's technological advantage led to a quick victory over the Arab armies. Egypt retained the Sinai Peninsula and Gaza Strip, Jordan lost the West Bank, and Syria gave up the Golan Heights. The Israeli occupation of the West Bank and Gaza Strip caused the number of Palestinian refugees to increase, seeking asylum in neighboring countries. The events of 1967 marked the end of Jordanian and Egyptian rule over the Golan Heights, East Jerusalem, West Bank, and Gaza, paving the way for Israeli control. The defeat of the Arabs in 1967 was as significant as the one in 1948 (*The 1967 Arab-Israeli War*, n.d.).

1.1.7 The First Intifada

The first Intifada, which means "the shaking off" in Arabic (Beinin & Hajjar, 2014), was sparked by Israeli policies such as land seizures, settlements, and repression in the West Bank and Gaza Strip. The year 1987 marked the incident in which four Palestinian workers died in an Israeli vehicle. The violence that followed resulted in up to 2,000 deaths, with Palestinians outnumbering Israelis 3 to 1. In 1988, the PLO was prepared to negotiate with the U.S., leading to covert negotiations with Israel and the signing of the Oslo Accords in 1993.

The Accords laid the groundwork for a two-state solution and the establishment of a Palestinian Authority to oversee the West Bank and Gaza. While the PLO favored pragmatism, Hamas insisted on an Islamic state, rejecting peace talks and resorting to suicide bombings. Israel, on the other hand,

disregarded the terms of the Oslo Accord and continued building settlements in the occupied territories. Palestinians also violated the agreement by smuggling weapons into the area. Dialogue stalled in 2000 due to mounting frustration and mutual blame. Ariel Sharon's visit to the Al-Aqsa Mosque triggered a crisis, leading to the Al-Aqsa Intifada shortly thereafter (Araj, 2014).

1.1.8 The Oslo Years and the Palestinian Authority

In 1993 the Intifada ended with the signing of the Oslo Accord, thereafter the establishment of the Palestinian Authority (PA) and its limited rule over some parts of the West Bank and Gaza strip. The PA insists on a two-state solution and passes over the control of the most part of the West Bank to Israel. Nonetheless, the PA could not uphold its pledge to establish an autonomous Palestinian state, resulting in the criticism that it is acting in cooperation with Israeli occupation and is suppressing anyone who does not agree with Israel. Also in 1995, Israel built walls around the Gaza Strip, apart from other measures which contributed to the division of the Palestinian territories. The PLO consented to a two-state solution with Israel, relinquishing control over most of the West Bank's land and resources. The PA is meant to bring up the Palestinian government in the West Bank and Gaza, but they have not been successful in it. Critics believe the PA is just a tool for Israel to repress unrest. A wall was constructed by the Israelis surrounding Gaza in 1995, and this wall has divided the Palestinian territories.

1.1.9 The Second Intifada

During the second intifada, the number of violent conflicts increased, resulting in more than 4,300 deaths in five years. In 2002, Operation Shield was launched by the Israeli Army after a suicide bombing at a bus station that killed several people. The construction of separation barriers in the West Bank and Gaza was sparked by this incident. The state tried to end the rebellion through publicly-sanctioned executions, but the continuous expansion of settlements, strict movement policies, and political instability worsened the situation. The Palestinian Authority's rule was challenged by Hamas'

forceful takeover in 2007, leading to a decline in public support for the Palestinian Authority (Araj, 2014).

1.1.10 Blockade of the Gaza Strip

Based on Elmali (2023) the Israeli embargo of Gaza since 2007 has become an important factor changing the lives of local residents. This embargo has caused more difficulties in the transportation of goods and people, which in turn has resulted in both an economic and humanitarian crisis. Gaza residents have encountered numerous obstacles, and these include among others the lack of services and essential supplies, the high unemployment rate, and the scarcity of basic commodities such as food and electricity. The blockade not ceases to be a controversial question, with the reason of security brought up by Israel, while the opponents claim that it is nothing else but the collective punishment, and violations of human rights. The elimination of the blockade plays a significant role in achieving a comprehensive peace agreement between the two parties as well as improving the living condition of the Gazans.

1.1.11 The Wars on the Gaza Strip

As *Gaza Strip* site (n.d) states, Since the siege started, Israel has been waging numerous military operations on Gaza, resulting in death, destruction, and further worsening the already unfavourable situation in the region. The blockade is in the way of reconstruction materials reaching Gaza, hence the situation is stagnant. The Israeli bombing has caused a lot of damage to the infrastructure including the water supply system which in turn increases the rate of waterborne diseases. The Gaza water is mostly unfit to drink. Power shortages have made the situation even worse for the society because students are not able to do their studies and schools also lack the basic necessities. Israel's most recent move to dismiss power supply to Gaza will only aggravate the already difficult situation of the vulnerable groups, for example those with chronic diseases. UN officials have warned of the worsening conditions in Gaza, with the prospect of the strip becoming unlivable by 2020 due to blockade and the conflict.

1.1.12 The Operation Al-Aqsa Flood

Hemchi (2023) asserts that the Palestinian resistance group, the Izz ad-Din al-Qassam Brigades of Hamas, launched Operation Al-Aqsa Flood on 7 October 2023, astonishing the world with its complexity and successfully seizing Israeli military positions. It was likened to the Egyptian soldiers crossing the Bar Lev Line in 1973 and entering Israeli settlements. The occupation state initially reacted to the operation with trauma, which made it violent; resulting in the demolition of residential areas and the deaths of innocent people. The conflict has become a massive genocide targeting the cleansing of the northern Gaza strip, where people are being shelled and killed, even refugees seeking refuge in hospitals. The enemy soldiers have been referred to as bloodthirsty bandits who flaunt their authority by slaughtering people in villages, burning everything including homes and crops. Even the world media has not been able to prompt anyone to intervene, and the aggressors remain unaccountable, subjecting the victims to further insecurities. The situation has now reached the point of war, resembling medieval times with the total cutting of basic services for the population. The unending turmoil has revealed a lack of action and accountability in the face of the same kind of atrocities.

1.1.13 The Responses of the International Community

Various countries around the world have responded differently to the conflict between Hamas and Israel in Gaza. While Western nations have predominantly backed Israel, emphasising counterterrorism and self-defense, they have often disregarded the historical backdrop of tension and aggression. This support has not just been verbal but also tangible, with nations such as the United States and the United Kingdom offering military assistance. Here is a snapshot of the varied responses globally:

1.1.13.1 United Kingdom

Staff (2023) points out that British Prime Minister Rishi Sunak was asked by the MPs in the House of Commons to take the issue of the alleged "collective punishment" by Israel in Gaza seriously. Sunak,

however, abstained from making any direct comment, laying the blame for the deaths of civilians at the door of Hamas after they carried out an attack on Israel. Labour's Richard Burdon referred to the UN statement, which said that collective punishment is unlawful, and asked Sunak to act. Sunak reiterated the fact that Israel has the right to defend itself against Hamas and emphasised the need for both to comply with international humanitarian law and civilians' protection.

1.1.13.2 Joint Statement by the leaders of France, Germany, Italy, the United Kingdom, and the United States of America

In the opinion of Waldo et al. (2023), those leaders from France, Germany, Italy, the UK, and the US have presented themselves as the unwavering supporters of Israel and the condemners of Hamas for its terrorist activities. They are emphatically standing that there is no legitimacy to terrorism and Hamas must be universally denounced. The recent atrocious acts by Hamas, such as massive murders and abductions, do not meet the universal stand. The countries promise to stand shoulder-to-shoulder with Israel in its efforts to prevent such atrocities from happening. On one hand, they concede that the Palestinians have a rightful claim to liberty but on the other hand, they state that Hamas does not represent their demands, but instead brings nothing but terror and bloodshed. Leaders stress that the solidarity of the members lies in their support for Israel's defense and in the pursuit of peace in the Middle East. They seek to guarantee that no party gets an advantage from the situation and to fight for justice and freedom for both sides, Israelis and Palestinians.

1.1.13.3 The United Nations

UN Secretary General António Guterres has demanded the immediate humanitarian ceasefire and the unobstructed passage of humanitarian aid to Gaza. The Security Council of the UN has passed three resolutions since 7 October. The first resolution called for the immediate liberation of hostages and corridors for humanitarian aid in Gaza. Russia, the UK, and the US abstained. The second resolution demanding more assistance had the Russians and Americans abstain, while the UK was among those who supported it. The resolution put forward three demands: an immediate ceasefire for

Ramadan and the release of hostages, with the US taking the position of abstention. Israel criticized the resolutions for the fact that they didn't call to condemn Hamas and claimed it would keep on its actions until Hamas is destroyed. The Palestinian Authority's representative in the UN requested a ceasefire, aid for inhabitants, and no forced displacements from Gaza (House of Commons Library, 2024).

1.1.13.4 United States of America

That day, President Joe Biden of the USA talked with Prime Minister Netanyahu of Israel about the existing attacks in the area. The United States condemned the terrorist attacks on Israel by Gaza and also pledged to provide support to the Israeli government and its people. Biden pointed out that terror is unacceptable and Israel has the right to defend itself and its people. The U.S. administration put its foot down on the use of the circumstances by Israel's enemies. The Biden administration with all its might, is committed to keeping Israel safe and sound. He and Jill empathised with the families that have suffered from the ongoing violence and they are pained by the loss of life and hope for quick recovery of the injured. However, the President and his team are being very attentive to the situation, and they will maintain a link with Prime Minister Netanyahu as stated by Elmali (2023).

1.2 The Roots of the Russian Invasion of Ukraine

1.2.1 Geography and Borders of Ukraine

According to Êkel'čik (2015), Ukraine is situated in southeastern Europe. It shares borders with Russia, Belarus, Poland, Slovakia, Hungary, Romania, and Moldova. It positioned strategically between Russia and Western European countries, Ukraine is the second-largest country in Europe. It features vast plains suitable for agriculture, with the Dnipro River serving as a major waterway. Historically recognized for its fertile soil, Ukraine has shifted from an agricultural-focused economy to a more diverse one, including steel production, energy resources, and a burgeoning service sector. Despite obstacles, Ukraine's economy is progressing through modernization and diversification efforts.

Ukraine's history is marked by a diverse mix of ethnicities, but it has transformed into a primarily East Slavic with a significant Russian minority and widespread Russian-Ukrainian bilingualism. In the past, ethnic Russians in the Ukrainian SSR identified with the powerful Soviet Union. The ongoing conflict in Ukraine can be attributed to the intricate ethnic relationships that have influenced the nation's identity (Êkel'čik, 2015).

1.2.2 Russia-Ukraine Historical Ties

Deep historical roots of Ukraine-Russia relations can be traced back to the creation of Kievan Rus, the first Slavic state, which was founded by the Vikings in the 9th century. During a thousand year of its history, Ukraine has witnessed political shifts in its borders, religion and system of management. As far as Russians and Ukrainians are concerned, Kiev, a historical city which preceded Moscow, remains a highly valuable place culturally and religiously. The common Orthodox Christian religion, language, traditional values and cuisine, which demonstrate the interconnected fate and culture of Russia and Ukraine, are among the historical monuments. The fact that Prince Vladimir the Great was converted to Christianity during the Kievan Rus is regarded by historians as a turning point in the history of the country, which later succumbed to the Mongol invasion, and then was ruled by the Poles and the Lithuanians, and the Cossacks emerged. The Pereyaslavl Agreement of 1654 that was signed between Russia and the Cossack state was a turning point in the relationship between Ukraine and Russia as it made the Cossack state subject of the Russian control (الحروب بين روسيا وأوكرانيا، ”2022“).

In the late 1700s, a large part of Ukraine's land was absorbed into the Russian Empire during Catherine the Great's reign. Despite efforts for independence in the early 20th century, Ukraine was unsuccessful and instead became a republic within the Soviet Union (Reals & Sundby, 2022).

1.2.3 The Effect of World War I and the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk

The Great War started in July 1914, when Austria-Hungary declared the war on Serbia, as Serbia's patron was Russia. Germany, together with Austria-Hungary, started an offensive in the West through Belgium, and with the UK intervening the conflict on the side of France and itself against both nations.

The Ottoman Empire then joined the struggle in its attempt to recover the lands that had once belonged to it.

In 1917, as the Russian Revolution was launched, the Monarchy fell and the Soviet Socialist Federative Republic came into being, led by Vladimir Lenin, in 1918. In the comfort of the peace, Lenin would have agreed on the treaty of Brest-Litovsk in 1918, thus, Russia had to give up a part of the eastern Europe to Germany and the Ottoman Empire. Lenin, however, found himself in a position of compromise and humiliation. Nevertheless, he deemed it necessary to save Russia from collapse (*Treaty of Brest-Litovsk*, n.d.).

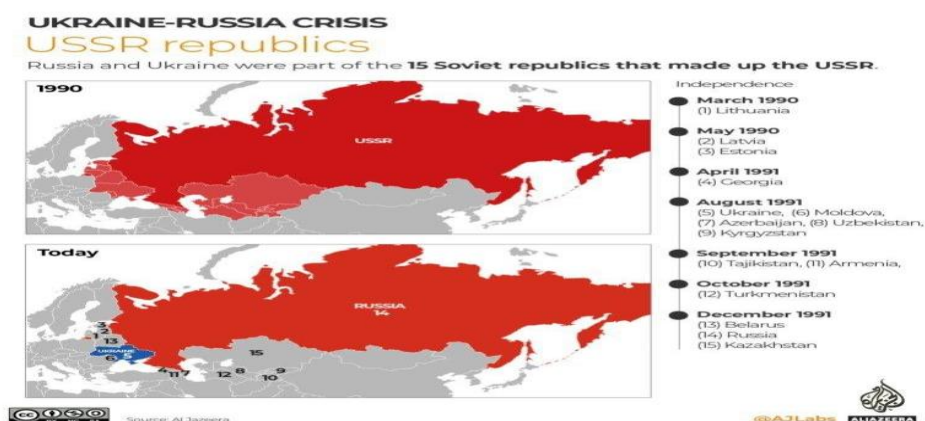
The Treaty of Brest-Litovsk compelled Russia to relinquish significant territories acquired throughout its imperial past in order to bring an end to the war. These territories encompassed regions in Eastern Europe and the Caucasus. Prior to the 1917 Revolution, Russia, similar to other empires, had a track record of expanding its territory, frequently resulting in disputes with nations such as the Ottoman Empire over regions like the Caucasus and Ukrainian Crimea. The treaty required Russia to surrender territories as compensation, resulting in Latvia, Lithuania, and Estonia being transferred to the Central Powers, and Batum, Ardahan, and Kars being ceded to the Ottoman Empire. This resulted in Russia losing Ukraine, Georgia, Armenia, and Azerbaijan to independence movements, and giving up its claims on Finland. The consequences included domestic unrest and a significant loss of population for Russia, as well as the relinquishment of control over crucial coal and iron mines, particularly in Ukraine. (*Treaty of Brest-Litovsk*, n.d.).

1.2.4 Soviet Era and Ukrainian Identity

Following World War, I and the resulting revolutions, Ukrainian lands were divided among four separate states. Bukovina was seized by Romania. Transcarpathia became part of the newly formed Czechoslovakia, while Galicia and western Volhynia, along with smaller nearby areas in the northwest, were taken over by Poland. The territories to the east of the Polish border became Soviet Ukraine (*History of Ukraine*, n.d.).

The Bolsheviks restructured territories into the Ukrainian Socialist Soviet Republic, later known as the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic. Key events included the formation of a Soviet government in 1917, the declaration of Ukrainian independence in 1918, and the adoption of a constitution in 1919 in response to increasing Ukrainian nationalism. As time passed, Soviet Ukraine gradually ceded power to Russia. The USSR was established in 1922, with constituent republics having limited autonomy. Despite efforts for independence, the centralized Communist Party placed the Communist Party (Bolshevik) of Ukraine CP(B)U under Moscow's control. The CP(B)U had mostly non-Ukrainian members, with little Ukrainian representation. Bolshevik support was lacking among the predominantly Ukrainian peasant population (*History of Ukraine*, n.d.).

Figure1.3 A Map Of Ukraine Between 1990 And Present



Note: Adopted from Al Jazeera. (2022, February 28). Russia-Ukraine war by the numbers: Live Tracker. Wwww.aljazeera.com. <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2022/2/28/russia-ukraine-crisis-in-maps-and-charts-livenews-interactive>

1.2.5 World War II and Ukrainian Territory

The agreement between Germany and the Soviet Union in August 1939 allowed Hitler to attack Poland without opposition from the USSR, while Stalin gained control over Galicia, which had a significant Ukrainian population. Stalin also provided military supplies to Germany until they turned against the Soviet Union. The German invasion of Poland in September 1939 resulted in the deaths of Ukrainian civilians and their forced conscription into the Polish military. The USSR took control of

Bukovina, a region with a large Ukrainian population, from Romania. The agreement resulted in the merging of the majority of Ukrainians into the Ukrainian SSR, bringing together individuals from both the western and eastern areas under Soviet control until the arrival of the German forces in 1941. The Lemkos, a Ukrainian ethnic group, remained in German-occupied Poland. However, between September 17, 1939, and June 22, 1941, around 750,000 people in Western Ukraine were either killed or deported to Siberia during the Bolshevik regime (Hrysko as cited in Gregorovich, n.d.).

1.2.6 The Influence of Operation Barbarossa on Ukraine and Belarus

According to Gregorovich (n.d.), in June of 1941, Operation Barbarossa was initiated by Hitler, with a focus on Ukraine and Belarus. The goal of the German Blitzkrieg was to eradicate Jews and Ukrainians, who were deemed as inferior beings. Hitler saw Ukraine as valuable for its fertile land. Despite Stalin being warned in advance, the USSR was not ready, leading to swift German occupation of large areas. Ukrainians saw the Germans as saviors due to harsh Soviet policies, such as forced collectivization, a man-made famine, and suppression of intellectuals and religious groups. The 1941 Battle of Kiev resulted in the surrender of the largest army in history, with 665,000 soldiers facing starvation and harsh conditions in outdoor concentration camps under Nazi racial ideologies.

1.2.7 Battle of Ukraine: "Breadbasket of Europe"

Ukrainians did not know that in the eyes of Nazi German ideology they were considered an inferior race and the fertile land they lived on, known as the Breadbasket of Europe, was designated to be German colonization space. Hitler's aim was to run a racist brutal campaign against the Ukrainians who possessed unique black soil. A year after the war, he intended that the majority of Ukrainian population be either killed or enslaved so that the new German settlers could take their lands. On December 16, 1942, Hitler wrote in his directive the German Army should use ruthless measures against the guerrilla fighters in Ukraine, and even target non-combatants such as women and children. It didn't take time for Ukrainians to understand that the Nazis committed unspeakable atrocities during their three years of rule in the occupied territory (Gregorovich, n.d.).

1.2.8 Stalin's Scorched Earth Policy

During World War II, the Red Army and the German Wehrmacht both carried out scorched earth tactics in Ukraine. Stalin commanded the destruction of infrastructure as the Soviet army withdrew in 1941, while Hitler did the same in 1943 as the Germans fell back from the advancing Red Army. The consequences of these policies were extensive devastation and hardship for the civilian population in Ukraine and neighboring regions on the Eastern Front (Alexander & Maria, 2015).

During WWII, the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN) aimed for Ukrainian independence. The group divided into Melnykivtsi and Banderivtsi factions under Melnyk and Bandera's leadership. Despite both factions opposing Nazi Germany and Soviet Russia, they occasionally held differing opinions. Ukrainian nationalists were viewed as a menace by Moscow, which spread propaganda against them, with Bandera being unjustly blamed for crimes. The Kremlin pushed Russian nationalism and chauvinism, highlighted by Stalin's tribute to the Russian people in May 1945 (Gregorovich, n.d.).

The Ukrainian Insurgent Army, which is in the Ukrainian context referred to as Ukrayins'ka Povstans'ka Armiia (UPA), established in 1942 under Bandera's leadership, sought independence for Ukraine by battling both German and Soviet forces. UPA held sway over wooded and mountainous areas in the western and northern parts of Ukraine, while the cities were under German control. Initially, the Soviet Army provided weapons to the guerrillas and occasionally fought alongside them, but eventually only specialized units like the NKVD and Soviet partisans were deployed to combat the Ukrainian nationalist insurgents. General Roman Shukhevich, the Commander-in-Chief of UPA, continued the guerrilla warfare against the USSR until his death in action in 1950, five years after the conflict began (Gregorovich, n.d.).

1.2.9 Post-War Ukraine

The transition of Ukraine from the Ukrainian SSR had a significant impact on various trends following independence. The establishment of Soviet Ukraine was a response to the Ukrainian

Peoples(national) Republic (UNR), which promoted the idea of national independence. A short period of Ukrainization in the 1920s, which included programs to support ethnic Ukrainians, came to an end after the devastating Holodomor famine-genocide orchestrated by Stalin in 1932-1933. Stalin believed there was no longer a need for concessions after suppressing the Ukrainian peasantry and intellectual class (Yekelchuk, 2023).

As Yekelchuk (2023) states that the importance of the Ukrainian issue in justifying territorial annexations from the Soviet Union's western neighbors, who had a sizable Ukrainian population, persisted. After the Red Army restored unity in Ukrainian ethnolinguistic territories, the republic's Ukrainian identity was targeted, leading to an assimilationist campaign. Over time, the Soviet government marginalized Ukrainian culture to a mere ethnographic representation, linking progress with Russian culture.

Khrushchev's initiatives, while reversing some of Stalin's policies, continued to promote Russification. Ukrainian schools were shut down, leading more Ukrainian families to choose Russian education for better job opportunities. The influx of ethnic Russians into Ukraine grew as a result of migration. Khrushchev's decision to give Crimea to Ukraine in 1954 was strategic, aiming to balance the nationalist western Ukraine with the predominantly Russian Crimea for economic and political reasons (Yekelchuk, 2023).

In contrast to the overall trend of assimilation, Ukrainian-language education and media persisted in western Ukrainian oblasts thanks to the nationalist anti-Soviet insurgency. Ukrainian-speaking communities thrived in urban areas, forcing the state to accept their presence. For postwar Ukrainians, the status of the Ukrainian language represented larger social and economic issues, with defending Ukrainian culture equating to advocating for rights in all aspects of life (Yekelchuk, 2023).

The suppression of nonconformist political expression by the Soviet systems prompted writers, literary critics, and artists to advocate for society. In the 1960s, young Ukrainian patriots, referred to as shistdesiatnyky, called for a revival of the Leninist approach to Ukrainian culture, emphasising

Ukrainization. The Ukrainian Helsinki Group, formed in 1976, consisted of Jewish and Baptist activists who worked alongside a Moscow-based group to promote human rights and democracy in Ukraine. Soviet Ukraine in the early 1980s was characterized by its modern, urbanized society and well-educated population. Unlike the typical model of democratization, the lack of a traditional middle class and the reliance of Soviet intellectuals and professionals on the state set it apart (Yekelchik, 2023).

1.2.10 The Chernobyl Disaster

The disaster at the Chernobyl's nuclear power plant that took place in April 1986, 70 miles north of Kyiv, released the same amount of radioactivity as 500 Hiroshima bombs and contaminated over 50000 sq. kilometers of land area larger than Belgium (*Post 1940 History of Ukraine*, n.d.).

In total, more than 90,000 people were evacuated from their homes, and a 10,584 square mile area was declared an unsafe region, which no one except workers of the plant were allowed to enter. The radiation fallout impacted 2,300 settlements and over three million people in Ukraine, with many receiving doses that increased their risk of cancer. Furthermore, the disaster put nearly 30 million people at risk who depended on the Dnieper and other rivers for their water supply (*Post 1940 History of Ukraine*, n.d.).

Mikhail Gorbachev, the recently appointed leader of the Soviet Union, instructed Ukrainian officials to continue normal operations despite the quickly rising radiation levels. This decision aimed to show that the situation was manageable and did not endanger public health. Nevertheless, the Chernobyl disaster further fueled discontent with Moscow and its policies among all party and social groups in Ukraine (*Post 1940 History of Ukraine*, n.d.).

The ecological movement, as a national phenomenon, rose in Ukraine during Gorbachev's reforms, and it became a special way to galvanize the nation around the idea of a victim of Moscow's decisions. The latter movement, following on the heels of Chernobyl, was one of the key factors that contributed to the break-up of the Soviet Union, by raising some fundamental issues about the relationship between

the center and the republics as well as the Communist Party and the people. It also sparked the first significant public debate in a society seeking to reclaim its voice after years of stagnation under Brezhnev (*Post 1940 History of Ukraine*, n.d.).

1.2.11 Independent Ukraine

Ukraine's Unity Day was proposed by the civil-political movement Rukh and its affiliated parties in January 1990 to replace Soviet anniversaries, commemorating the Unification Act of 1919. They orchestrated a human chain from Lviv to Kyiv to show support for independence. The Soviet media condemned these festivities, viewing Ukrainian nationalism as a danger to the country's social and political harmony. A picture in a Moscow publication showed people in Kyiv dressed in the Ukrainian Insurgent Army uniform, raising worries about the influence of Ukrainian nationalism on the USSR's unity and democratic principles (*A "Sudden Transition "*, n.d.).

Internal factors, particularly the unsuccessful Moscow coup in August, compromised the integrity of the Soviet Union. Ukraine asserted its independence on August 24, 1991, opting for Ukrainian laws instead of Soviet ones. Levko Lukianenko drafted the Act of Independence. A referendum in December 1991 overwhelmingly endorsed Ukraine's independence. The dissolution of the Soviet Union followed shortly after with the Belovezh Accords. Media coverage of Ukraine's first independence anniversary in August 1992 emphasized emotional reactions and governance obstacles, such as a shortage of qualified personnel jeopardizing effective administration and economic stability (*A "Sudden Transition "*, n.d.).

During the early 1990s, Ukraine focused on symbolic gestures and legal actions to create a separate national identity and break away from its Soviet history. By connecting independence to historical symbols and transferring state regalia, Ukraine aimed to differentiate its narrative from Moscow's. Over the course of 1990 to 1992, fifteen versions of the new Ukrainian Constitution were crafted before the final version was approved in 1996, following multiple revisions. These symbolic

and legal steps played a vital role in shaping Ukraine's distinct national identity and moving away from its Soviet past (*A “Sudden Transition “*, n.d.).

In the early 1990s, there was a change in how Western experts viewed Ukraine, transitioning from seeing it as a potential independent nation to recognizing it as a sovereign state with a right to exist due to its national identity, resources, and self-determination. Despite the positive reception of Ukraine's democratic advancements, there were worries about the difficulties of achieving independence, power dynamics within the country, and its capacity to sustain a stable relationship with Russia (*A “Sudden Transition “*, n.d.).

In the early 1990s, the focus was on building relationships based on mutual respect for sovereignty and borders, with concerns about potential conflicts over economic restructuring, nuclear disarmament, language issues, and the Crimea situation. Analysts were uncertain about how Russia would view Ukraine as a partner of equal standing. Despite concerns, there was hope for Ukraine's progress, particularly when compared to conflicts in other areas. Both Ukrainian and Russian officials and citizens were commended for opting for negotiation over violence. Western backing was deemed essential, along with the ongoing need for Ukrainian security and economic support to prevent the rise of nationalist sentiments. These concerns from three decades ago have proven to be prescient and pertinent (*A “Sudden Transition “*, n.d.).

1.2.12 The 2014 Russian annexation of Crimea

The 2014 Russian invasion of Crimea demonstrates Russia's irredentist ambitions, seeking to bring back countries that gained independence after the collapse of the Soviet Union, especially those with Russian-speaking populations, into Russia's perceived sphere of influence or its current borders. Vyacheslav Nikonov's comment that Kazakhstan is a "Russian gift" suggests a potential focus on Kazakhstan due to its Soviet past and large Russian population. The annexation of Crimea, originally given to Ukraine by Nikita Khrushchev in 1954, further illustrates Russian irredentism.

During the NATO summit in April 2008, there were heated discussions regarding the potential extension of a Membership Action Plan (MAP) to Ukraine. A MAP is a necessary step for countries interested in joining NATO, a military alliance consisting of 28 European nations and two North American nations committed to promoting peace and security in the North Atlantic region. Russian President Vladimir Putin opposed Ukraine's NATO membership, arguing to President George W. Bush that Ukraine did not qualify as a legitimate nation-state. Despite these deliberations, NATO ultimately decided against granting a MAP to Ukraine (Fitzgerald & Davis Jr, 2024), and according to ALJAZEERA(n.d.), Russia has expressed its opposition to NATO's military presence near its borders and has requested written assurances that the military alliance will not expand to the east. The main concern for the Kremlin is preventing Ukraine from joining NATO, which Russia views as a significant threat and a clear boundary.

The Euromaidan Protests ignited by President Viktor Yanukovich's rejection of an economic partnership with the EU in November 2013, were the biggest public display since the Orange Revolution in 2004. The protests began in Kyiv and expanded to various cities, garnering substantial backing and involvement, particularly in the capital. The demonstrations were perceived as an unfavorable choice by the pro-Western sentiment in the nation, and Russia's annexation of Crimea could be interpreted as a calculated reaction to Ukraine's Western orientation.

Russia justified the annexation of Crimea by claiming it was in accordance with the people's right to self-determination. The referendum in March 2014, where 96.7% voted to join Russia, was criticized for alleged fraud. Most countries and international organizations did not accept the results and imposed sanctions on Russian and Crimean officials.

1.2.13 Russian invasion of Ukraine 2022

Since gaining independence after the collapse of the Soviet Union, Ukraine has chosen to distance itself from Russian influence in economic and security affairs. The country has instead looked towards the West, aiming to join NATO and the EU in order to protect its political and economic independence.

However, Russia sees Ukraine not as a separate and sovereign nation, but as an essential part of its own territory, citing shared ethnic, historical, religious, and cultural connections. As a result, the root causes of the escalating tensions and conflicts between the two countries have only grown stronger over the last thirty years (Demir, 2022).

The outbreak of war can be attributed to four main factors: strategic competition among Western powers, geopolitical factors, Putin's leadership, and unresolved disputes. The enduring rivalry between the US and Russia has been defined by a battle for dominance, resulting in a decrease in Russia's power. Ukraine has become a new battleground for this conflict. The invasion of Ukraine by Russia is fueled by a quest to regain global influence, driven by imperialistic ambitions (Demir, 2022).

Russia perceives the eastward expansion of NATO as a serious threat to its national security, viewing Ukraine as a protective barrier against the West. The decision to potentially include Georgia and Ukraine in NATO at the 2008 Bucharest Summit was seen by Russia as a major security concern. Since the 1990s, Russia has consistently opposed NATO expansion, feeling that the West is infringing on its territory and strategic interests. Russia has warned that Ukraine joining NATO could lead to future conflicts with the alliance, fearing potential intervention in disputes involving Ukraine (Demir, 2022).

Ukraine has recognized the pressing need for NATO protection and EU membership in light of the events that unfolded in Crimea in 2014 and the resulting unrest in Donbas, where the majority of the population speaks Russian, were sparked by Russia. Following Zelensky's election as president in 2019, he worked to strengthen ties with the US and NATO and pursued immediate NATO membership to safeguard Ukraine's sovereignty. Despite Russia's invasion of Ukraine on February 24, 2022, Ukraine remains committed to integrating with the West on its own terms, aiming for EU membership and the security of NATO's defense umbrella. In contrast, Russia's goal is to assert itself as a dominant global power once again, using tactics outlined in the Gerasimov Doctrine to dismantle Ukraine piece by piece (Demir, 2022).

The conflict between Russia and Ukraine has led to a major humanitarian emergency, resulting in more than 4.5 million refugees and extensive devastation. This crisis has unsettled the political and security structures of Europe, challenging long-standing norms and principles. Immediate assistance is needed for refugees, internally displaced individuals, and those trapped in besieged areas. It is crucial for international organizations to collaborate in order to effectively respond to this crisis, which has transformed the political and security dynamics of Europe (Demir, 2022).

1.2.14 Responses from the International Community

The ongoing conflict between Russia and Ukraine has sparked a significant humanitarian crisis, with over 4.5 million refugees and widespread destruction. This situation has disrupted the established political and security frameworks in Europe, necessitating urgent aid for refugees, internally displaced persons, and those in besieged areas. International cooperation is essential to address this crisis and address the shifting political and security landscape in Europe (Elmalı, 2022).

Military and humanitarian aid from NATO and EU countries has been sent to Ukraine, which includes antitank and air defense missiles, large amounts of small arms and ammunition, and financial assistance totaling 450 million Euros and 50 million Euros, respectively. Russia has been met with sanctions in various sectors, such as arts, sports, and cultural events, with the International Olympic Committee prohibiting Russian and Belarusian athletes and officials from participating in international competitions, and FIFA and UEFA suspending Russian football teams from participating (Elmalı, 2022).

Conclusion

After analyzing the historical origins of the two wars, we can identify key similarities and differences between them. The Russian invasion of Ukraine on February 24, 2022, though seemingly unjustified, contrasts with Israel's military action in Gaza in 2023 following an event on October 7 by the Hamas movement. The two crises are not new issues; the conflict in Ukraine has deep roots in

Russian-Ukrainian history, while the Gaza war traces back to the Zionist settlement movement in the 19th century and the establishment of Israel, marked by the displacement of hundreds of thousands of Palestinians and siege suffering in the Gaza Strip. Both conflicts revolve around issues of land and sovereignty. However, their underlying causes differ significantly. The Ukraine war stems from Russia's expansionist ambitions to reassert its influence and protect its borders against NATO. At the same time, the Gaza conflict revolves around the establishment of Israel in Palestine with US support. Notably, the US plays a pivotal role as a security ally for Ukraine and Israel, raising concerns about its stance towards the Palestinian plight under Israeli occupation. While both conflicts share themes of territorial disputes and power struggles, their historical contexts and driving forces highlight distinct geopolitical dynamics shaping the ongoing conflicts in Ukraine and Gaza.

CHAPTER TWO

An Analysis of Biden's Speeches Towards the War in Ukraine and Gaza: A Comparative Study

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Introduction

Scholars have long been drawn to the analysis of political speeches, particularly those addressing conflicts like the Gaza and Ukraine wars. While existing research has explored political speeches broadly and within the context of these conflicts, a notable gap exists in the examination of official remarks regarding the Gaza war versus the Ukraine war. This study seeks to fill this void by examining how President Biden presents the Gaza and Ukraine wars in his speeches, utilizing Van Dijk's critical discourse analysis model for a comprehensive analysis. This chapter is divided into two sections: the theoretical section provides an overview of Van Dijk's CDA approach, highlighting its ability to uncover hidden ideologies, power dynamics, biases, and inequalities within Biden's speeches, shedding light on American foreign policy and its impact on the nation's global standing. The practical section aims to analyze Biden's speeches on the Gaza war compared to the Ukraine war, offering insights into the nuances of these representations and their implications on public perception and policy decisions.

2.1 Critical Discourse Analysis; Van Dijk's Socio-cognitive Approach

2.1.1 Language, Power, and Ideology

Fairclough (1989) in his book "Language and Power" explains interrelationship between language and society. Fairclough states that language is viewed as a social practice, and identifies two primary ways in which power is expressed through discourse. Firstly, power in discourse refers to the exercise and enactment of power within the context of discourse. Secondly, power behind discourse refers to the ways in which relations of power shape and constitute the orders of discourse within social institutions and societies.

According to Van Dijk (2008), The relationship between the structures of discourse and society is not direct. A cognitive and interactional interface mediates it. Social representations, such as attitudes and ideologies, must pass through mental models before being expressed through discourse.

Conversely, discourse only has social effects and functions when it shapes or reinforces the underlying social attitudes and ideologies.

Language is not inherently powerful; rather, it is a tool wielded by those in positions of authority to establish and maintain power. It serves as a mirror reflecting the power dynamics within society. Power permeates all aspects of social life, with the potential to be both constructive and destructive. Discourses play a crucial role in legitimising or delegitimising power dynamics. Power structures dictate the types of discourse that are allowed to exist through various forms of control. Power is not only evident in the grammatical structures of language, but also in an individual's ability to control social interactions, select appropriate forms of communication, and regulate access to public platforms (Meyer, 2001).

The idea of ideology is frequently mentioned in the media and social sciences, yet it remains ambiguous. In common language, it is usually seen in a negative light, describing the inflexible, misguided, or biased beliefs of others: we hold the truth, while they hold ideologies. This negative connotation can be traced back to Marx and Engels, who viewed ideologies as a type of false awareness (van Dijk, 2006).

Hence, one could argue that language has an impact on society and politics, while also being influenced by them. Political texts often contain hidden ideologies that shape social practices reflected in language usage. Joseph (2006) claims that language is defined as political in the context presented through the idea that the recognition and categorization of languages are not solely based on linguistic criteria like structural differences or mutual comprehensibility. Instead, the determination of what constitutes a language is influenced by political factors, community beliefs, cultural identities, and historical contexts. Joseph emphasizes that the classification of languages, the recognition of dialects as separate languages, and the shaping of linguistic identities are inherently intertwined with power dynamics, cultural perceptions, and societal influences (Joseph, 2006).

2.1.2 Political discourse

According to van Dijk (1997), political discourse is mainly defined by its participants, particularly politicians. Research on political discourse typically focuses on the language and communication of professional politicians or political figures such as presidents, prime ministers, government officials, parliamentarians, and members of political parties, operating at different levels from local to international. This definition is similar to how other specialised discourses, like medical, legal, or educational, are linked to their respective practitioners in the fields of medicine, law, or education. Given the contextual boundaries that shape political discourse as functional political involvement within the political system, it is logical to expect this emphasis on political actors and institutions in the examination and analysis of political discourse.

Political discourse plays a crucial role in shaping, maintaining, and changing power dynamics within established structures. It acts as a form of ideology that influences, validates, supports, and changes perspectives on the world from different positions within power dynamics. Furthermore, political discourse is not only a site for power struggles but also a key component of such conflicts (Fairclough, 1992, as cited in Döşkaya (2019)).

Van Dijk (2006) suggests that the political landscape is the terrain where the relationships between political ideologies and discourse are explored in depth. He argues that political practices and discourses are inseparable ingredients, where there is a particular emphasis on structural aspects like lexical biases, syntactic patterns, and metaphors. The nature of political discourse is not limited to its structural form but is intertwined with the political environment and objectives. The key to political discourse is that it is the most powerful kind of political action that can be done like governance, legislation, and opposition, and this is showcasing the dynamic and intentional nature of political communication (van Dijk, 2006).

Political discourse is a discourse that is generated by politicians in the official political setting which can be governmental, parliaments or political parties. It is not the same as chatting that we do

on a daily basis and we consider it to be political only when these actions which we take affect the political institutions, for example, governing, legislating or campaigning (Van Dijk, 1995).

2.1.3 What is Critical Discourse Analysis

Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) is an analytical framework that enables to study how language is employed to reflect, perpetuate, and challenge the social domination, power, and inequalities in various social/political settings. Looking the world through a critical lens, CDA aims to expose, analyse, and challenge social injustice through language (written and spoken) (VAN DIJK, 2001). The Frankfurt School's critical theory, which was formulated before the Second World War, was one of the key precursors of the CDA (Agger, 1992; Rasmussen, 1996 as cited in VAN DIJK, 2001). The modern development of Critical Discourse Analysis and the focus on language and discourse can be traced back to the rise of Critical Linguistics in the end of 1970s, especially in the academic communities in the UK and Australia (Fowler et al., 1979, cited in Van Dijk, 2001).

Meyer (2001) highlights the distinctions between Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) and other sociolinguistic methods, particularly in CDA's emphasis on predetermined social issues. Unlike approaches without predefined research interests, CDA stands out for its focus on advocating for marginalised groups experiencing social discrimination. This blurs the boundary between social scientific research and politica discourse, with CDA scholars actively working to uncover hidden power dynamics within discourse for real world impact.

Mayer (2001) explains that Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) utilises concepts like intertextuality and interdiscursivity to investigate connections with other texts, a characteristic not commonly seen in other methods. CDA differs in its perspective on the relationship between language and society, rejecting a deterministic viewpoint in favour of mediation. This mediation, which is lacking in many linguistic approaches, is demonstrated by scholars like Norman Fairclough, Ruth Wodak, and Teun Van Dijk who incorporate socio-cognitive aspects into discourse analysis. The specific focus of CDA on linguistic elements, such as pronouns and verbal modes, sets it apart as a method that condenses

texts to uncover distinct formal properties, contrasting with the more interpretive approaches that dominate the field.

Overall, CDA examines the interplay between discourse, social structure, and social relations, and aims to identify any potential bias or unequal power dynamics present in political discourse. It can serve as a tool to raise awareness among individuals and promote resistance against any form of abuse or inequality stemming from social power (Tian, 2021).

2.1.4 Teun Van Dijk: A Socio-Cognitive Model

Teun A. van Dijk, a Professor of Discourse Studies at the University of Amsterdam and the University of Pompeu Fabra, Barcelona, is a prolific author with multiple books, six international journal editorships, and three honorary doctorates. His research delves into critical analyses of discursive racism, press news, ideology, knowledge, and context. Among his published monographs in English are works on ideology, racism, discourse, society, and knowledge, such as *Ideology* (1998), *Racism and Discourse in Spain and Latin America* (2005), *Discourse and Power* (2008), *Discourse and Context* (2008), *Society and Discourse* (2009), and *Discourse and Knowledge* (2014) (Wodak & Meyer, 2015).

The socio-cognitive analysis goes beyond conventional discourse and conversation analysis theories by expanding into social and cognitive structures. It improves upon these theories by defining structures in terms of social and cognitive concepts like coherence and manipulation, which require a social and cognitive perspective for full comprehension (Van Dijk, 2014).

The socio-cognitive approach stands out from other theories in Critical Discourse Studies, sociolinguistics, or linguistic anthropology by emphasising the absence of direct connections between social structures and discourse structures. Instead, all discourse activities are influenced by the mental representations of individuals, underscoring the significance of mental structures in grasping the interplay between discourse and social power (Van Dijk, 2014).

The relationship between discourse structures and social structures is characterised by a unique mental interface that connects their representations. This perspective underscores the interaction between discourse and social structures at both macro and micro levels, underscoring the importance of mental representations in text and speech analysis (Van Dijk, 2014).

Van Dijk's approach seeks to connect the micro-structure of language with the macro-structure of society. The micro-structure pertains to the specific elements within discourse, such as individual propositions and their connections. Conversely, the macrostructure encompasses the discourse as a whole. These two levels, the micro and macro, are linked through designated semantic mapping guidelines called macro rules. Coherence within discourse is crucial at both levels, with discourse being deemed coherent when its sentences and statements are interconnected and structured on a global scale at the macro level (Kintsch & van Dijk, 1998).

At the micro-level of the social order, language use, discourse, verbal interaction, and communication are key components. On the other hand, power, dominance, and inequality among social groups are concepts typically associated with the macro-level of analysis (VAN DIJK, 2001).

2.1.5 Ideology

According to van Dijk (2006), ideologies are crucial for comprehending the beliefs and attitudes of people and groups in a society because they have both social and cognitive aspects.

Van Dijk assumes that Ideologies are social and cognitive belief systems shared by specific groups. Group identity is based on ideology, which forms the basis of group knowledge and opinions. Ideologies can be positive or negative depending on perspective. Socio-culturally shared knowledge is pre-ideological and forms common ground for communication between ideologically different groups. Group knowledge based on ideology may be viewed differently by other groups (van Dijk, 2006).

Political discourse and ideology are closely intertwined. Political ideologies shape discourses and practices, and vice versa. Discourse explicitly expresses ideologies, while other practices implicitly

reflect them. The relationship between discourse and ideology is complex and crucial in understanding political dynamics (van Dijk, 2006).

2.1.6 Van Dijk's Ideological Square Model

The connection between political ideologies and discourse is usually examined by studying the frameworks of political discourse. This study involves studying different components of conversation, such as biased vocabulary, sentence structure like active and passive voice, pronouns like "us" and "them", metaphors or topics, arguments, implications, and other discourse characteristics.

Van Dijk (2006) developed at the macro level the concept of the Ideological Square model in his approach to Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA). Ideological squaring model refers to the socio-cognitive strategies utilised by the dominant or powerful, the group justifies or legitimises the inequality and dominance in a society (Van Dijk, 1993):

- **Emphasise Our good things:** This principle involves highlighting the positive aspects of one's own group or party, focusing on achievements and preferred topics.
- **Emphasise Their bad things:** It entails portraying political opponents or out-groups in a negative light by associating them with negative topics or characteristics, creating a contrast with the positive self-representation.
- **De-emphasise Our bad things:** This principle involves downplaying or minimising the negative aspects or shortcomings of one's own group or party to maintain a positive image.
- **De-emphasise Their good things:** It entails ignoring or downplaying the positive attributes or achievements of political opponents or outgroups to diminish their credibility or positive image.

These strategies are applied across various levels of action, meaning, and form of text and talk, influencing political speeches, interviews, programs, propaganda, and media discourse. The ideological square model highlights how ideologies are expressed and reinforced through discourse by

emphasising certain aspects while suppressing others, ultimately shaping perceptions and power dynamics within society.

Van Dijk (2006) has introduced categories of ideological analysis at the micro level that promote the representation of "Us versus Them," called the discursive strategies:

ACTOR DESCRIPTION: Actors are described differently based on ideologies. In-groups are portrayed positively, outgroups negatively. Downplaying negative traits of the ingroup members and highlighting them in others.

CATEGORIZATION: People categorize others like immigrants, refugees in parliament, influenced by social psychology.

COMPARISONS: Occur in discussions about refugees or minorities, where in-groups are compared positively and outgroups negatively, such as in racist talk. Antiracist talk involves comparing our country to undemocratic regimes.

CONSENSUS: Utilizing consensus as a political tactic is common in times of national peril, such as external threats, where advocating for bipartisan or national agreement is a recognized approach.

EVIDENTIALITY: Plays a crucial role in argumentation by making claims more plausible through evidence or proof. This can include references to authority figures, institutions, or personal experiences. It is important in debates on immigration to convey objectivity and reliability.

VICTIMIZATION: Portraying outgroups in a negative light by sharing disturbing stories about them.

NATIONAL SELF-GLORIFICATION: Refers to positive self-presentation in parliamentary speeches, focusing on praising one's own country, principles, and traditions. This may include racist and nationalist ideologies, which vary across countries.

POLARIZATION: Refers to positive and negative subcategories within outgroups, such as friends and enemies. When expressed as clear contrasts, attributing opposite qualities to 'us' and 'them' can enhance rhetorical polarization in discussions about different groups.

2.2 The Analysis of Biden's Speeches

2.2.1 The American President Joseph Robinette Biden, Jr

According to The White House (2021), He began as a former Senator from Delaware for 36 years and is known for his leadership in addressing key national and global issues. As Vice President, Biden was a leader in addressing important issues domestically and internationally. He chaired Cabinet sessions, coordinated interagency efforts, and worked with Congress to improve the living standards of middle-class Americans, reduce gun violence, combat violence against women, and advance cancer research. He helped with the Recovery Act, the largest economic recovery plan in the U.S. On April 25, 2019, Biden launched his presidential bid focused on unity, rebuilding the middle class, and fighting for the nation's soul. His message gained even more importance in 2020 amidst a pandemic, an economic crisis, calls for racial justice, and the threat of climate change, solidifying his platform as a candidate for president, he won the election and became the President of America in 2020.

2.2.2 The Analysis of Biden's Speeches toward Ukraine War

Actor Description

The president Biden said:

Vladimir Putin has been planning this for months as something we have been saying all along. Russia's aggressive actions. Putin declared his war. Putin is the aggressor. The Russian propaganda outlets will keep trying to hide the truth and claim success for its military operation against a made up threat. Within hours of Russia's unleashing its assault. Putin will be a pariah on the international stage. Tyrants like Putin and his armies (The White House,2022).

First, from a diplomatic view, the president usually prefers to use titles like "Mr." or "President" in front of the name of another president. But president Biden is not fond of President Putin as the

president of the biggest country in the world, and that's disrespecting President Putin, by describing Putin's "criminal allies" and calling him a "tyrant" claiming Putin will be a "pariah on the international stage, and referring to Putin's actions as "war" and "aggressive actions". Biden is trying to describe his 'ideological enemy' (van Dijk, 1998), Putin as mere one man who decides and exercises monopoly. This act of having all kinds of power in one's hands is called authoritarianism, which is according to Linz (1964), the state of affairs where no opposition and plurality of politics is found, and the party in power is the only one that holds all the political and legislative power. finally, Biden accuses Russian propaganda outlets of trying to "hide the truth".

Comparison

The president Biden said:

The United Nations Security Council was meeting to stand up for Ukrainian sovereignty to stave off invasion, Putin declared his war. Putin has unleashed a great pain on them, but the Ukrainian people have known 30 years of independence. Putin has committed an assault on the very principles that uphold the global peace, but now the entire world sees clearly what Putin and his criminal allies are really all about. The United States and our allies and partners will emerge stronger, more united and more determined and more purposeful. And Putin's aggression against Ukraine will end up costing Russia dearly economically and strategically. Putin's choice to make a totally unjustifiable war on Ukraine will have left Russia weaker and the rest of the world stronger. Liberty, democracy, and human dignity, these are the forces far more powerful than fear and oppression. In the contest between democracy and autocracy, between sovereignty and subjugation, make no mistake (The White House, 2022).

In Biden's speech, Putin's actions are contrasted with global peace principles, framing the conflict as a battle between democracy and autocracy, emphasising liberty and human dignity over fear and oppression, and highlighting Ukraine's struggle for sovereignty. This portrayal positions Russia as violating international norms while casting Ukraine and the West as defenders of democratic values, legitimising the U.S. and its allies' response to the invasion. The comparison strategy employed by Biden paints a picture of a global struggle between good and evil, democracy and autocracy, with the U.S. representing democracy and freedom against Russia's autocracy and subjugation. The comparisons serve to justify severe sanctions on Russia and garner support from the international community, aiming to weaken Russia both militarily and ideologically while strengthening alliances and unity among democratic nations.

National Self-Glorification

The president Biden stated:

We have been building a coalition partners representing well more than half the global economy. We provided over 650 million dollars in defensive assistance to Ukraine just this last year. I've also spoken with defense secretary Austin and chairman of joint chiefs general Millay about preparations for additional moves should they become necessary to protect our NATO allies and support the greatest military alliance in the history of the world NATO. We stand up for freedom. This is who we are. They have repeatedly shown that they will not tolerate anyone who tries to take their country backwards. Putin's action betrays sinister vision for the future of our world; one more nations take what they want by force. But it is the vision that the United States and freedom-loving nations everywhere will oppose with every tool of our considerable power (The White House, 2022).

Biden is clearly showing the United States as a global leader and the defender of freedom, which is supported by the language that focuses on power, influence and the moral superiority of the country.

The statement demonstrates the US's ability to lead a large coalition whose economies account for more than half of the global economy against a foreign enemy who wants to displace America as a superpower, which is a sign of its global leadership and influence. Biden's speech demonstrates the US's willingness to support allies and defend freedom, portraying it as a benevolent global power. He emphasises the US's commitment to NATO and its role as the leader of the "greatest military alliance", further reinforcing its global dominance, and Biden's direct statement of the US's values and identity casts it as a defender of freedom, a noble and virtuous position. He also portrays the US and its allies as intolerant of those who threaten freedom and progress, again positioning them as morally superior. his speech directly contrasts the US's vision of freedom with Putin's "sinister" vision, while emphasizing the US's power to oppose it, further glorifying the US's role.

Overall, these excerpts demonstrate how the speaker uses language to construct an image of the US as a global leader, defender of freedom, and morally superior force, embodying the ideological discursive strategy of national self-glorification.

Evidentiality

Biden stated that:

The United States is not doing this alone. For months, we have been building coalition partners representing well more than half the global economy. 27 members of the European Union, including France, Germany, and Italy, as well as the United Kingdom, Japan, Australia, New Zealand and many others, to amplify the joint impact of our response. I spoke with the G7 leaders this morning, and we are in full and total agreement. There is no doubt that the United States and every NATO ally will meet our article 5 commitment which says an attack on one as an attack on all. Over the past

few weeks, I ordered thousands of additional forces to Germany and Poland as part of our commitment to NATO. We're going to impose major, and we're going to impair their ability to compete in a high-tech 21st century economy. We've already seen impact of our actions on Russian currency in the ruble, which early today hits its weakest level ever, ever in history. The Russian stock market plunged today. The Russian government is borrowing rates spiked by over 15 percent. But, history has shown time and again how swift gains in territory eventually give way to grinding occupations, acts of mass civil disobedience and strategic dead ends (The White House, 2022).

The ideological discourse strategy of evidentiality, is clearly evident in the extracts from the speeches. Biden uses concrete evidence and examples to justify his assertions regarding the USA's actions and the effect they have on Russia. The US-led coalition members which have joined from specific countries and organisations are cited here to show the worldwide support. he also brings up the collapse of the Russian ruble, the drop of the Russian stock market, and the rise in the Russian government's borrowing rates, giving concrete figures to prove the claims about the impact on the Russian economy. Through this demonstration and the use of data, Biden uses the ideological discursive strategy of evidentiality to add credibility and authority to the arguments made, and build a narrative of the US as a world power that is capable of and is taking effective measures against Russia.

Consensus

Biden said:

27 members of the European Union including France, Germany, Italy as well as the United Kingdom, Japan, Australia, New Zealand. The United States is not doing this alone. Our actions and those of our allies and partners. There is no doubt no doubt that the United States and every NATO ally will meet our article 5 commitment which says an attack one is an attack

on all. I spoke with the G7 leaders this morning, and we are in full and total agreement. For months, we have been building coalition partners representing well more than half the global economy. and many others to amplify the joint impact of our response (The White House, 2022).

The ideological rhetorical strategy of consensus is evident in these excerpts from the speeches. Biden stresses the collectivity and cooperativeness of the activities taken, thus, he underlines the wide international consensus and the agreement shared by the US and its allies. Sentences like "we have been building coalition partners," "27 members of the European Union including. ", and "I spoke with the G7 leaders this morning, and we are in full and total agreement" create an impression of togetherness and shared purpose by a group of many countries. The mention of "our allies and partners" and the pledge to NATO's Article 5, which says that an attack on one is an attack on all, strengthen the impression of an entity that works together and arrives at a consensus. Through the constant use of the language that the actions are a joint effort, the speaker constructs a story of the world cooperation and solidarity, which is then used to legitimise the US position and the measures being taken. This strategy of stressing consensus is a way of showing that the acts of US are supported by the majority of the international community and not just self-serving or unilateral.

Victimization/criminalization

The president Biden said:

The Russian military has begun a brutal assault on the people of Ukraine Without provocation, without justification, and without necessity. Putin is the aggressor. For months, we have been working closely with the private sector to harden our cyber defenses and sharpen our ability to respond to Russian cyberattacks as well. This is a dangerous moment for all of Europe, for the freedom around the world. Putin has committed an assault on the very principles that uphold global peace, but now the entire world sees

clearly what Putin and his kremlin allies are really all about. Liberty, democracy, human dignity; these are the forces far more powerful than fear and oppression. They cannot be extinguished by tyrants like Putin and his armies. They cannot be erased from people's hearts and hopes by any amount of violence and intimidation. They endure. In the contest between democracy and autocracy, between sovereignty and subjugation, make no mistake. Freedom will prevail (The White House, 2022).

The victim vs. the criminal dichotomy remains an important contribution in the process of the polarisation. The "Other" is portrayed in the first line by Biden as a criminal. He makes that manifestly clear where he uses the words 'aggressor' and 'criminal' to characterise the Other(s) (i.e., the enemy). The other side of the coin is that when the media portrays the opposition as unpatriotic, this may also strengthen the hands of President Putin and his allies). Further, Biden pledged to punish the "corrupt" Russian elites who gained from the war. Biden talks in a general manner and does not give specific information about who they are (generalisation strategy). Without a doubt, this will be an indication that he has achieved his target (i.e. creating the other as a criminal) to grant him his punishment. By this time, President Putin is always shown as the enemy. He says that President Putin has started an unjustifiable and unnecessary war that is brutal and aggressive against Ukraine. He is presented as a threat not only to Ukraine or the American "empire", but to the whole world. The portrayal of him as a tyrant surrounded by a corrupt billionaire group making cyber-attacks against others, threatening the peace and freedom of the world, is a danger for Europe, who fights democracy, liberty, human dignity, and sovereignty, and is sufficient to impose unmerciful sanctions not only on his regime but also on the country as a whole. However, on the contrary, Biden and his team, the 'guardians' and 'gatekeepers' of the much praised principles, seems to be on the defensive. They struggle against fears, oppression, violence, intimidation, autocracy and subjugation. Consequently, the conflict is not only between the two nations but also between two different value systems.

2.2.3 The Analysis of Biden's speeches towards Gaza War

Victimization/criminalization

Biden (2023) said:

I met with Israelis who had personally lived through horrific horror of the attack by Hamas on the 7th of October. The terrorist group Hamas unleashed pure, unadulterated evil in the world. But sadly, the Jewish people know, perhaps better than anyone, that there is no limit to the depravity of people when they want to inflict pain on others. In Israel, I saw a people who are strong, determined, resilient, and also angry, in shock, and in deep, deep pain. Hamas, its stated purpose for existing is the destruction of the State of Israel and the murder of Jewish people.

He added: " I was deeply saddened and outraged by the explosion at the hospital in Gaza yesterday. And based on what I've seen, it appears as though it was done by the other team, not you" (The White House, 2023a).

" Hamas unleashed this terrorist attack because they fear nothing more than Israelis and Palestinians living side by side in peace." (The White House, 2023c)

" We stand firmly with the Israeli people as they defend themselves against the murderous nihilism of Hamas."(The White House, 2023b)

From the speeches above Biden embedded The ideological discursive strategy of "Victimisation/criminalisation" there through his portrayal of the outgroup members (Hamas) as a criminal by calling them "evil terrorist" organization that has unleashed "pure, unadulterated evil" on the innocent Israeli people the (ingroup member, ally), including the murder of children, the rape and assault of women, and the taking of hostages in violation of "every code of human morality." Biden emphasises the deep pain and trauma experienced by the Israeli people, describing them as "strong, determined, resilient, and also angry, in shock, and in deep, deep pain." He contrasts this with his

characterization of Hamas as a group whose sole purpose is the "destruction of the State of Israel and the murder of Jewish people", and who uses Palestinian civilians as "human shields", causing "innocent Palestinian families" to suffer greatly. And in this statement " it appears as though it was done by the other team" Biden considered the Palestinians and Hamas as "the other". By this strategy Biden serves to cast Hamas as the sole perpetrator of violence and to position Israel and the Jewish people as the victims, justifying Biden's unwavering support for Israel.

Actor Description

Biden said:

The US remains committed to the Palestinian people's right to dignity and to self-determination. The actions of Hamas terrorists don't take that right away. The terrorist group Hamas unleashed pure, unadulterated evil in the world. But sadly, the Jewish people know, perhaps better than anyone, that there is no limit to the depravity of people when they want to inflict pain on others. Hamas, its stated purpose for existing is the destruction of the State of Israel and the murder of Jewish people. In Israel, I saw a people who are strong, determined, resilient, and also angry, in shock, and in deep, deep pain. Hamas does not represent the Palestinian people. Hamas uses Palestinian civilians as human shields, and innocent Palestinian families are suffering greatly because of them." (Biden, 2023)

He added "In the wake of Hamas's appalling terrorist assault, it was brutal, inhumane." (The White House, 2023a).

In his speeches, Biden obviously uses an ideological discursive strategy that presents Hamas as an "outgroup" and Israel as an "ingroup" (van Dijk, 1998). He is always negative about Hamas, calling them a "terrorist organisation" which is the source of "pure, unadulterated evil" on the planet. The Biden team paints Hamas as the sole perpetrator of violence, stressing that their "stated purpose for

existing is the destruction of the State of Israel- and the murder of Jewish people." In sharp contrast, Biden's portrayal of Israel and the Jewish people is one of unconditional solidarity and understanding. He portrays the Israelis as "strong, determined, resilient, and also angry, in shock, and in deep, deep pain". He puts them in the shoes of the victims of Hamas' "terrorist assault". Biden goes to great lengths to validate Israel's right to "defend themselves" against Hamas' aggression, even suggesting that the U.S. will ensure Israel has "what you need to defend yourselves".

Furthermore, Biden actively attempts to delegitimise Hamas by claiming that they "do not represent the Palestinian people" and have "brought them only suffering." This amounts to the impersonation of Hamas as the sole authority and the one who is causing the conflict, while relieving Israel of any guilt. Through this contrast of Hamas as the "evil" and Israel as the "righteous," Biden's speeches tend to justify and legitimise his administration's continuous support for the Israeli government, even in the face of criticism of the way it treats Palestinians.

Comparison:

Biden said:

I also spoke with President Abbas of the Palestinian Authority and reiterated that the United States remains committed to the Palestinian people's right to dignity and to self-determination. The actions of Hamas terrorists don't take that right away. Hamas uses Palestinian civilians as human shields, and innocent Palestinian families are suffering greatly because of them (Biden, 2023).

He also added

Seventy-five years ago, your founders declared that this nation would be one based quote, "based on freedom, justice, and peace. We will continue to have Israel's back as you work to defend your people. We'll continue to work with you and partners across the region to prevent more tragedy to

innocent civilians. The United States stands with you in defense of that freedom, in pursuit of that justice, and in support of that peace today, tomorrow, and always (The White House, 2023a).

In the course of his speeches, Biden uses a deliberate discursive strategy that depicts the conflict between Israel and Hamas as a fight between good and evil, peace and violence. Through the constant contrasting of Hamas' activities with the global principles of peace and human dignity, Biden draws a portrait of Hamas as a terrorist, totalitarian entity that violates international laws. and the same comparison strategy used by Biden is to give a legitimacy for Israel to defend itself against Hamas' aggression. By portraying the conflict as a clash between democracy and autocracy, good and evil, Biden depicts the U. S. and its allies as the champions of liberty and human dignity, and therefore, the immovable supporters of Israel. Biden's speeches seek to make Israel free from any responsibility for the suffering of Palestinians but rather assign it to be the sole cause of Hamas' actions. He says that Hamas employs "Palestinian civilians as human shields" and is "the only source of their suffering", which means that Israel is not the one responsible for the humanitarian crisis in Gaza. Biden is trying to convince the international community that it is the U. S. and Israel that are the righteous actors in the conflict, while Hamas is the only one that is perpetrating violence and oppression. This discourse becomes instrumental in the legitimisation of the U. S. and its allies' response to the situation, as well as their support for the Israeli government's actions.

National Self-Glorification

Biden said:

We will continue to have Israel's back as you work to defend your people.

We'll continue to work with you and partners across the region to prevent more tragedy to innocent civilians. Seventy-five years ago, your founders'(Israeli) declared that this nation would be one based, quote, "based on freedom, justice, and peace. The United States stands with you

in defense of that freedom, in pursuit of that justice, and in support of that peace today (The White House, 2023a).

He added:

The United States is the essential nation. We're a nation of religious freedom, freedom of expression. And here in America, let us not forget who we are. We reject all forms, all forms of hate, whether against Muslims, Jews, or anyone. That's what great nations do, and we are great nation (Biden, 2023).

In President Biden's speeches, the ideological discursive technique of "national self-glorification" is evident through his emphasis on the US' commitment to promoting freedom, justice, and peace globally. Biden's statements that the US will always stand with the Palestinian people and their rights even when Hamas complicates matters, and will continue to support Israel as its democratically, portray the nation as a champion of democracy and human rights. By associating the US with values like dignity, self-determination, and peace, Biden constructs a narrative of America as the protector of liberty and justice. Furthermore, his assurance to Israel that he will not fail them and will strive to prevent tragedies reinforces the perception that the US is a dependable partner and a source of stability in the region. Through these speeches, Biden also highlights the concept of national self-glorification by presenting the United States as a beacon of freedom, justice, and peace, aligning with the principles of American exceptionalism and moral authority.

Consensus

The President Biden said:

Our goal should not be simply to stop the war for today, it should be to end the war forever, break the cycle of unceasing violence, and build something stronger in Gaza and across the Middle East. That's what we have been working to realize in the Middle East. It is a future that has no place for

Hamas's violence and hate. We rally allies and partners to stand up to aggressors and make progress toward a brighter, more peaceful future. The world looks to us to solve the problems of our time. That is the duty of leadership, and America will lead. A two-state solution, two peoples living side by side with equal measures of freedom, opportunity and dignity is where the road to peace must lead. Reaching it will take commitments from Israelis and Palestinians, as well as from the United States and our allies and partners (The White House, 2023b).

He also added:

The US remains committed to the Palestinian people's right to dignity and to self-determination. The actions of Hamas terrorists don't take that right away. The United States and our partners across the region are working to build a better future for the Middle East, one where the Middle East is more stable, better connected to its neighbors (Biden, 2023).

The ideological discourse strategy of "Consensus" is infused into Biden's speeches through his focus on unity, collaboration and shared aims. Biden's words on working with partners across the region to construct a better future for the Middle East and calling on allies to resist aggressors are an appeal for a common ground and a joint effort to achieve certain objectives. Through his emphasis on conflicts ending, stability, and the peace that can be achieved through joint effort, Biden paints the picture of a common ground and a collective action. His support for a two-state solution in the Israeli-Palestinian issue reflects this necessity of mutual commitments and agreements to realise a permanent peace. By these speeches, Biden advocates for the development of consensus, collaboration, and joint responsibilities as the key elements in the process of solving complex issues and bringing the world closer to a more peaceful state.

Evidentiality

Biden said:

More than 1,300 people slaughtered in Israel, including at least 32 American citizens. Scores of innocents from infants to elderly grandparents, Israelis, Americans taken hostage. As I told the families of Americans being held captive by Hamas, we're pursuing every avenue to bring their loved one's home. As President, there is no higher priority for me than the safety of Americans held hostage. I also spoke with President Abbas of the Palestinian Authority and reiterated that the United States remains committed to the Palestinian people's right to dignity and to self-determination (Biden, 2023).

He stated:

On Oct. 7, Hamas slaughtered 1,200 people, including 35 American citizens, in the worst atrocity committed against the Jewish people in a single day since the Holocaust. Infants and toddlers, mothers and fathers, grandparents, people with disabilities, even Holocaust survivors were maimed and murdered. Entire families were massacred in their homes. My team and I are working hour by hour, doing everything we can to get the hostages released. We stand firmly with the Israeli people as they defend themselves against the murderous nihilism of Hamas (The White House, 2023b)

According to The White House (2023c) Biden said: "And I want to once again thank the Emir of Qatar, President Sisi of Egypt, and Prime Minister Netanyahu for their partnership"

Evidentiality is the ideological discursive strategy applied by Biden in his speeches through the presentation of facts and the use of firsthand accounts to support his statements. Biden points out the specific numbers and facts to show the cruelty of Hamas, like saying that "Around 1,300 people were

murdered in Israel, including at least 32 American citizens" and describing the massacres of babies, children, and families by Hamas. Through mentioning the figures of the casualties and the nationalities of the victims, Biden successfully makes his speech look credible and authentic. On top of that, he mentions his discussions with the Emir of Qatar, President Sisi of Egypt, and Prime Minister Netanyahu, which emphasises their partnership and leadership in resolving the crisis, thus lending more credibility to his statement. Additionally, Biden's reference to ongoing negotiations to secure the release of hostages held by Hamas, including Americans, reflects his determination to safeguard the affected and presents a concrete example of his administration's response to the crisis. This way of evidentiality is a powerful tool that makes Biden's arguments more compelling, the credibility of his narrative is enhanced, and there is a sense of urgency and authenticity in his communication with the public.

2.2.4 Discussion

2.2.4.1 Comparative study

One of the key similarities in President Biden's rhetoric towards the conflicts in Ukraine and Gaza is the creation of an obvious "us vs. them" dichotomy. In both the Ukraine and Gaza scenarios, Biden describes the "outgroup," which is Russia in Ukraine and Hamas in Gaza, as the sole culprits of violence and aggression. Conversely, he positions the "ingroup" Ukraine and Israel respectively as the righteous victims deserving of American support and protection.

One of the key differences is presented in the selectiveness of the "us and them" concept. Putin is considered "them" because he is the ideological enemy, with his suspension meaning that the Soviet Union would never be established again. Ukraine is seen as the "us" because it is important for NATO expansion. On the other hand, Israel, the state of the Jewish people, is viewed as the "us" while Hamas, representing the Arab and Muslim population, is labeled as the "them" due to Israel being a US ally and its connections with Orientalism, imperialism, and racism, serving the interests of Western ruling political and economic elites.

According to Daher (2024), Orientalism is an ideology that suggests individuals' fates are shaped by their timeless cultures and religions. In his speeches, Biden has emphasised that Russian soldiers are committing genocide and war crimes, urging Ukraine's independence. The US has sided with Israel by providing arms, using the veto power to block ceasefire resolutions, and advocating for a two-state solution while showing sympathy for the Palestinians. Despite the higher number of Palestinian casualties due to Israeli raids in a month compared to the total casualties in the nearly two-year-long Ukraine war, which reached 9,806. After looking at differences and similarities, we found the following:

2.2.4.1.1 The US Injustice, Bias, and Inequality Toward the Palestinian

The study highlights the new form of Orientalism in the US through Biden's speeches. The American injustices, prejudices, and inequalities towards Palestinians are deeply embedded and multifaceted. They are reflected in the sympathetic portrayal of Israel's position in Biden's speeches. In contrast, the study supports Israel's political government despite its human rights record, its failure to hold Israel accountable for discriminatory treatment and human rights violations against Palestinians. The international community's lack of action in the face of this injustice and the lack of historical context in the American dialogue deepens the suffering of the Palestinian people. They face discrimination, violence, and displacement, while their human rights and national aspirations are denied. The American contribution enables Israel's actions and the international community's failure to hold them accountable, further worsening the situation. This situation calls for a radical change in U.S. policy, media representation, and international action to prioritise human rights, international law, dignity, and self-determination for the Palestinian people. The injustice is highlighted by the apparent contradiction in the international community's swift and decisive response to the Russian invasion of Ukraine, in contrast to the lack of urgency, condemnation, and support for the Palestinian people. This selective condemnation reveals the hypocrisy and bias in US foreign policy and the international community's approach to human rights violations worldwide.

2.2.4.1.2 Double Standards of U.S. Foreign Policy

The discursive strategies embedded in Biden's speeches serve multiple purposes for the Biden administration. It enhances the legitimacy of the US reaction to each conflict. The study shows that both Ukraine and Palestine were colonised by Russia and Israel respectively for a long time. However, for the US, the conflicts are not a matter of colonised and coloniser or right and wrong. Instead, it is a question of whether you are an ally or not, whether you support their interests or not. This places the US and Biden's foreign policy in the position of double standards to the world, through the contrasting responses of American officials to the conflicts in Ukraine and Gaza. While Biden readily blames and imposes harsh sanctions on Russia for its actions in Ukraine, it takes a much different position towards Israeli strikes on Gaza. Presidents Biden has not been silent about Russia's actions in Ukraine, calling them war crimes and genocide. Nevertheless, when it comes to Israel's military response in Gaza, the American reaction is surprisingly more lenient, with Biden expressing sorrows and trying to justify Israel's actions despite the massive civilian casualties and destruction caused by Israeli airstrikes. This disparity is further highlighted by Biden ignoring the Israeli bombing of the Al Ahli Hospital in Gaza, contrasting with his condemnation of Russia's actions at the hospital in Mariupol. Additionally, the differing reactions towards the targeting of journalists in Ukraine and Gaza underscore the inconsistency in the US approach, with strong condemnation of Kremlin forces for killing journalists in Ukraine but a lack of condemnation for Israel's actions resulting in the deaths of journalists in Gaza. These contrasting responses reveal a clear double standard in how the US addresses similar violations of international norms and humanitarian laws in different geopolitical contexts. Biden uses his language as the leader of the most powerful country in the world to legitimise his support, stance and at the same time construct hidden ideologies.

2.2.4.1.3 Constructing a Narrative of U.S. Global Leadership

Biden highlights the positive aspects of the US and Israel by portraying the United States and its partners as defenders of justice and democracy against authoritarian rivals. This framing is probably

an attempt to gain broader international support for US policies and actions. By depicting the "outgroup" as the sole aggressors, Biden is able to deflect criticism away from the conduct of allied nations, such as Israel's military operations in Gaza. This strategic positioning helps justify American interventions, garner worldwide support, and reinforce the US's self-proclaimed role as a moral leader on the world stage.

Conclusion

This chapter provides an overview of critical discourse analysis (CDA), its key concepts, and approaches. We focused on van Dijk's socio-cognitive approach, which contains the strategy adopted in this study: the ideological square model. In this research part, a field study was conducted to reveal the American bias or unequal power dynamics present in political discourse in Biden's speeches.

Through this analysis, Biden's speeches were found to reflect bias, hidden power dynamics, social injustice, and dominance towards the Gaza war compared to the Ukraine war. The study also revealed the presence of American foreign policy double standards in how the US responds to conflicts involving its allies versus adversaries. The US condemns Russia's actions in Ukraine but is much more tolerant towards Israel's military brutality crimes in Gaza despite similar violations of international law and human rights.

Through Biden's speeches, the US portrays itself and its allies as defenders of justice and democracy against authoritarian rivals in an attempt to gain broader international support for its policies and actions. By depicting the "outgroup" (Palestine) as the sole aggressors, the US can deflect criticism away from the conduct of its allied nations, such as Israel's military operations in Gaza and its support for Ukraine.

This strategic positioning helps justify American interventions, garner worldwide support, and reinforce the US's self-proclaimed role as a global moral leader. These contrasting responses reveal the inconsistency and hypocrisy in how the US addresses similar international norms and humanitarian law violations in different geopolitical contexts based on its strategic interests and alliances. The

presence of double standards in the Gaza crisis is a significant obstacle to the application of international law, making it challenging to establish a universal standard that includes Israel.

General Conclusion

The Gaza and Ukraine wars, despite occurring in different regions, attracted significant global attention and had profound implications for international law. The United States' positions and attitudes towards the conflicts in Gaza and Ukraine were distinct. This analysis explores the perceived inconsistencies in the U.S. approach to these wars, as evident in President Biden's speeches and the resulting policy actions. It conducts a comparative analytical evaluation of the language used, policies implemented, and global responses to both conflicts.

The first chapter introduces the historical background of the Gaza and Ukraine wars, in which we discussed the historical roots, including the main causes and actors, as well as the consequences and the international community's reaction regarding the two conflicts. The background reveals how the Russian invasion of Ukraine and Israel's military action in Gaza have key similarities and differences. Both involve conflicts over land and sovereignty, but their underlying causes are distinct. The Ukraine war is driven by Russia's expansionist ambitions and border security concerns, while the Gaza conflict stems from the establishment of Israel with US support. The conflicts have deep historical roots, with the Ukraine crisis rooted in Russian-Ukrainian history and the Gaza war tracing back to the Zionist settlement movement. The US plays a significant role in both conflicts as a security ally, raising concerns about its stance towards the Palestinian plight. Despite common themes of territorial disputes and power struggles, the conflicts in Ukraine and Gaza are shaped by unique geopolitical dynamics. Despite experiencing the same struggle for gaining independence, the two wars received different responses from the International Community, particularly the US led by President Joe Biden, whose speeches are characterized by contradictions, inequality, and power dynamics in upholding the two wars.

The second chapter was a mixture of theoretical and practical aspects. In the theoretical section, it highlighted an overview of Critical Discourse Analysis and its aims to expose, analyze, and challenge social injustice through language. We discussed the key concepts of CDA: language, power, ideology,

and the definition of political discourse and how they play a crucial role in shaping, maintaining, and changing power dynamics within established structures. Also we delved deeply into the CDA approach, specifically Van Dijk's socio-cognitive approach, which emphasizes the indirect connectedness between social structure and discourse structure. This section ended with a brief overview of the American president Joe Biden. The practical section contains an application of all that was mentioned in the first section, which is an analytical study of Biden's speeches toward the Gaza war in comparison to the Ukraine war, with the aim of detecting American bias or unequal power dynamics present in political discourse. The purpose is to determine whether America, as the world's leader, is an ideal of democracy and justice. In this part the hypotheses were proved valid through data description and analysis.

After discussing the results obtained from the analysis, we concluded that Biden uses language to construct and justify the United States' foreign policy that is characterized by bias and double standards. The US applies a clear double standard in its responses to the conflicts in Ukraine and Gaza, condemning Russia's actions in Ukraine as war crimes and genocide, while being much more lenient towards Israel's military strikes on Gaza, despite similar violations of international law and humanitarian norms.

Through his discourse, Biden used his position and authority as the president of the country that governs the world first to legitimise the US's foreign policy double standards and its allies' actions, and second to construct the US as global leader, by emphasising the US and its allies' good attributes by highlighting the positive aspects of the US own group (Israel and Ukraine) while emphasising the outgroup members' (Hamas and Putin) negative characteristics (aggressors, terrorists, etc.) and creating a contrast with the positive self-representation as defenders of freedom, human rights, and democracy. De-emphasizing the US allies' negative aspects by downplaying or minimizing Israel's crimes, as Biden said, "defend your people." He also de-emphasizes Russia and Hamas' positive attributes by ignoring or downplaying their achievements.

The study exposes the new form of American Orientalism in Biden's speeches, showing bias towards Israel while ignoring Palestinian injustices. It supports Israel despite human rights abuses, leading to discrimination and violence against Palestinians. The US enables Israel's actions by not holding them accountable, worsening the situation. Urgent changes are needed in US policy and international action to prioritize Palestinian rights. The international community's quick response to Russian aggression in Ukraine highlights hypocrisy towards Palestinian suffering. This reveals bias in US foreign policy and international human rights responses.

As is common with most studies, the current study's design is subject to some limitations. Due to its novelty, we faced the challenge of lacking previous research. Throughout our research, we encountered various difficulties, including selecting reliable sources for historical war events due to differing perspectives. Ultimately, the study suggests further research addressing the impact of political discourse on public opinion, policy choices, and international relations, ultimately improving our understanding of how language affects conflict perception and resolution.

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ملخص

تعد حروب غزة وأوكرانيا من أبرز الأزمات الإنسانية الكبرى والأكثر جدلاً في الآونة الأخيرة. تتبع هذه النزاعات من جذور تاريخية عميقة، ناتجة عن اختلافات دينية ونزاعات على الأراضي والسياسة والاقتصاد والعوامل الأيديولوجية. لم تكن هذه النزاعات معروفة ومفهومة على نطاق واسع كما هي اليوم. يسلط تزامن الحربين الضوء على المعايير المزدوجة في السياسة الخارجية الغربية، خاصة فيما يتعلق بالرد الأمريكي على الحرب الأوكرانية مقارنة بالصراع في غزة خلال إدارة بايدن. تهدف هذه الدراسة إلى كشف الجذور التاريخية وأسباب حروب غزة وأوكرانيا لفهم الدوافع الكامنة والديناميكيات القوية التي تشكل السياسة الخارجية الأمريكية. من خلال فحص خطابات بايدن بشكل نقدي حول هذه النزاعات، تكشف الدراسة الاستخدام الاستراتيجي للغة لتبرير أفعال إدارة بايدن ومعاييرها المزدوجة. تتبع هذه الدراسة باستخدام المنهج النوعي المستند إلى الأساليب التاريخية والوصفية والمقارنة والتحليلية، باستخدام تحليل الخطاب النقدي الذي يركز على نموذج المربع الأيديولوجي لفان ديك. من خلال هذا التحليل، تبين أن خطابات بايدن تعكس التحيز والديناميكيات القوية الخفية والظلم الاجتماعي والهيمنة تجاه الحرب على غزة مقارنة بالحرب الأوكرانية. كشفت الدراسة أيضاً عن وجود معايير مزدوجة في السياسة الخارجية الأمريكية. للولايات المتحدة تاريخ طويل في خلق والحفاظ على نظام دولي يفضل دولاً وشعوباً وثقافات محددة. يرتبط هذا النهج بتراث القوى الاستعمارية الأوروبية الذي استمر لقرون.

الكلمات المفتاحية: خطب بايدن، غزة، اوكرانيا، حرب.